



DAVID.



ALBANAC



CAMBER



A Chronicle at large  
and meere History of the  
affayres of Englande and  
Kinges of the same, dedu-  
ced from the Creation of the  
worlde, vnto the first ha-  
bitation of thys Ilande: and so  
by contynuance vnto the  
first yere of the reigne of our  
most deere and soueraigne  
Lady Queene Eliza-  
beth: collected out  
of sundry Auc-  
thors,  
whose names are expressed in  
the next Page of  
this leafe.

Anno Domini.

1569.

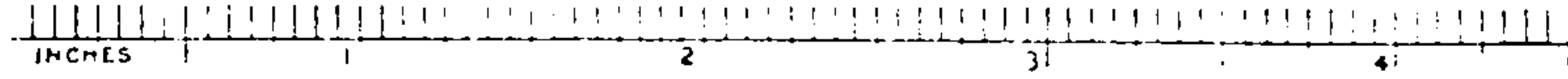
Cum privilegio.



SALOMON.



WYLLIAM CONQUE-ROVR.

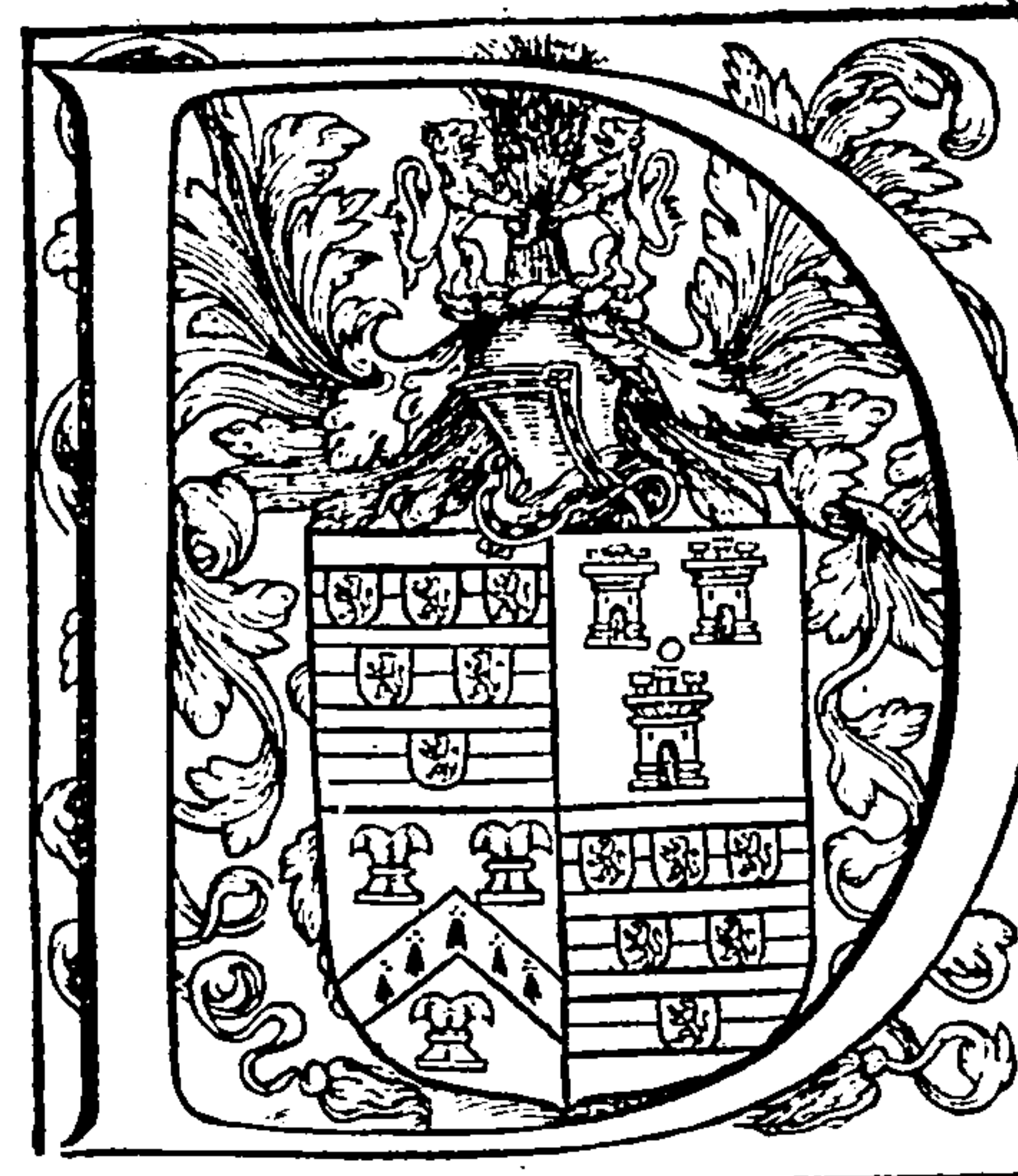




The names of the Authors that are  
*alleged in this History.*

A	G	N
<b>A</b> Lanus. Antoninus: Annales of Fraunce. Augustine.	<b>G</b> Aufride. Geoffrey of Montmouth George Lylye. Gerardus Mercatour. Gildas. Guydo de Columna.	<b>N</b> Ennius. Nicholas Lira. Nicholas Brodyngham.
<b>B</b> Eda. Berofus. Biblia. Bishop Anthony. Boccas.	<b>H</b> Henry Archedeacon of Huntyngton. Hector Boethus. Hheronimus Marius.	<b>P</b> Paulus Emilius: Peter Pictauiensis: Philip Commines: Polidore. Policarpus. Polichronicon.
<b>C</b> Arion. Caxton. Casars Commentaries. Clarenceaux king at armes Conradus Vspbergenfis. Cornelius Tacitus. Cronica Cronicorum.	<b>I</b> Ames Bergamo. Iohn Lidgate. Iohn Hardyng. Iohn Leyland. Iohn Rastell. Iohn Sleydon. Iohn Bale. Iohn Maior the Scot. Iornalensis. Iosephus. Isidore. Iustine.	<b>R</b> Abutine Frenchman. Reynulph of Chelster. Robert Gaguine. Roger Houeden.
<b>D</b> Iodorus Siculus: Dionice. Domes day.	<b>L</b> Anquet.	<b>S</b> Saxo Grammaticus. Sebastian Munster.
<b>E</b> Edward Hall. English Chronicle. Enguerrant: Eusebius. Eutropius.	<b>M</b> Athewe of Westmin- ster the author of the booke called the Flowres of histories. Marian the Scot. Marlyn.	<b>T</b> Thomas Moore Knight. Thomas Lanquet. Thomas Cooper. Titus Liuius. Trogus Pompeius.
<b>F</b> Abian. Froiffard.		<b>V</b> Vincencius Gallus.
		<b>W</b> Willyam of Malmes- bury: Willyam Thorne Monke of Cauntorbury.

To the Right Honorable Sir  
Wylliam Cecill Knight, principall Secreta-  
rij to the Queenes Maiesty, and of hir priuie Coun-  
sayle, Mayster of the Courtes of Wardes and Lyueries,  
and Chauncelour of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge: Richard  
Grafton Citezen of London, wysheth long health  
wyth encrease of honor.



**D**OVBTLES, YOVR  
Honor and other maye mar-  
uayle, or paradventure mis-  
lyke, that after so many books  
alreadie set forth, bearing the  
names and tytles of Chroni-  
cles of Englande, I should ac-  
comber the Readers super-  
fluouslye wyth one mo of the  
same matter: Neuerthe-  
lesse, the contentes of thys and  
the sayde other former bookes being compared, your wisedome  
can well discerne, and other shall easely perceyue, that this la-  
bor of mine was neyther altogether needelesse nor unprofitable.  
For among so many writers, there hath yet none to my know-  
ledge, published any full, playne and meere Englishe historie.  
For some of them of purpose meaning to write short notes in  
maner of Annales, commonly called Abridgements, rather  
touch the tymes when things were done, then declare the ma-  
ner of the doyngs, leauing thereby some necessitie of larger ex-  
plication, and referring the desirous Reader to a further serch  
and study. Other haue dealt but with the reignes of a few kings,  
& yet therof haue made long bookes, with many tedious digres-  
sions, obscure descriptions & friuolous dilatations: which forme  
of



of writing if it should not be reformed, could not in the whole be folowed without peſtering the Reader with importable Volumes. Other haue intermyngled the affaires of other forreyne Nations with the matters of Englande, yea, euen where the one had no concurrencie or dependaunce of the other. Others, namely ſtraungers, as well in their bookes written purpoſely of England, as in diſcourſes enterlaced in their histories of their awne Countries, and ſpecially concerning the actes of later times, both in matters of Religion and ciuill pollicie, partly following common reportes, and partly vsyng enuious conſtructions haue eyther by ignoraunce or malyce ſlaunderouſly written and erred from the manifeſt truth: ſo farre as to me ſeemeth a better worke could not be taken in hande, then that ſome learned Engliſhe man of good intelligence would by ſome ſpeciall worke, written in ſuch a language as other Nations might for the more part beſt vnderſtand, detect, and with plaine declaration of the truth, confute ſuch errors & vntruths as are written and ſcattered in foreyn ſtorieſ concerning this realme: For ſome ſupply of all which defectes and errors conteyned in the ſaid former Chronicles of Englande, I haue to the beſt of my ſmall ſkill & with the vttermoſt of my diligence, gathered this booke, conteinyng a complete and whole hiſtory from the firſt entrie and habitation of the Britons in this Iſlande, vnto the firſt yere of the reigne of our ſoueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, preſently reigning. Large ynough (I truſt) without tediousneſſe, ſhort ynough without darkneſſe, meereſly and onely of Englande, not mingling the ſame with foreyne matters impertynent to oure ſtate, and finally true without miſreporting, ſo farre as the following of the beſt Authours & reporters & mine awne experience (hauing of long time ſeene and purpoſely noted much thereof) could conceaue. And now hauing ended this worke, and

ſeking

ſeking to whom I might for teſtification of my ſpeciall good will preſent it, or for patronage and defence dedicate it, and principally for all iudgement and correction to ſubmit it: Among many I haue choſen your Maſterſhip, moued therto by experience of your curteous iudgement towards thoſe that trauaile to any honeſt purpoſe, rather helping & comforting their weakneſſe, then condempning their ſimple (but yet well meanyng) endeouours. By which your accuſtomed good acceptation of others, I am the rather boldened to beſeeche your Maſterſhip to receaue this my worke and me, in ſuch maner as you doe thoſe, in whome (howſoever there be want of power) there wanteth no poynt of good will and ſeruiſeable affection. Wherefore at this preſent, not meaning to trouble your Maſterſhip with any farther tedious matter, my prayer ſhall be to God for your long prosperous eſtate with encrease of Gods grace, and ſo thereby to direct your trauayles in the ſeruiſe of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, and the common weale of this Realme, as you may alwayes leaue to the poſteritie happy and plentifull matter of worthy report.





## To the gentle Reader.



AS I HAVE (WITH MY no little trauayle) collected this History, which I name a Chronicle at large and mere History of the affaires of Englande, for that the same is not intermixed with foreine affayres: so most gentle & louyng Reader, I beseeche thee take these my said traueyles not only in good part, but also pardon the rudenesse of my stile & lack of learning which I acknowledge, or otherwise the same should haue beene better furnished. But for some instruction to the better vnderstanding of mine order obserued in the discourse of this History: I thought best to admonish thee, that forasmuch as this Island of Briteyn (whereof the greater part is now called England) had the same time of creatiō that al the rest of the earth had: therefore I begin this booke at the creation of the world, and so continue the same with the blessed line and issue of Adam by Seth his sonne, vnto our Sauour Christ. And by the waye, when Brute, as by the testimonie of most aucthors, first entred this Island and named it Briteyne: there beginneth mine History of this Realme, and from thence lyneally I proceede to the reignes of all such as succeeded Brute in state of kings, euen to the tyme of Wylliam the Conquerour, where I begin my second volume, because in the former parte (as maye at large appeere) thys Islande being first inhabited by Brute, was afterwarde conquered by the Romaines, and then subdued and possessed by the Saxons, & lastly by

## To the Reader.

by the Danes, and so was it neuer in perfect state of gouernement, vntill the last conquest of the Normanes, from whence the Histories of times doe more plentifully and plainly appeere. And in the discourse of this Historie, folowing the common opinion of the deuision of this Islande in three partes made by Brute to hys three sonnes, Locryne, Albanact and Camber, that is to say, of the part nowe called Englande vnto Locryne his eldest sonne, and of that part nowe called Scotlande vnto Albanact his second sonne, and of that part nowe called Wales to Camber hys thirde sonne, of whose name the same part is called to thys day in welshe *Cambry*. Forasmuch, I say, as before this deuision, this Island of Briteyn was but one entier Isle, therefore professing to write an History of the Princes of this part, now called Englande: I thought it not meete vtterly to omit Scotland, being a part of this Isle of Briteyn: And therefore in order as the Britones reigned, so I note also the succession of the kings of Scotlande, wherein I doe not professe to write of them any speciall Historie, farther then they had to doe with the kings of this Realme, or the kinges with them, but with a brieue recytall of their kings names & time of their reignes to passe them ouer.

I haue also to admonishe you concerning the numbers that stande in the margent of this booke, from the creation of the worlde to the birth of Christ, hauing a lyne stryken betweene them. Those numbers that are aboue the lyne, are the yeres of the worlde from the creation: And those vnder the line, are the yeres before Christ. But after the comming of Christ, then the vppermost numbers are the yeres of Christ, and the ne-

thermost

HARI MASON



*To the Reader.*

thermost are the yeres of euery feuerall king, and so it continueth to the ende of the booke.

Here also I must aduertise you that in the computation of yeres, I follow the accompt of the Hebrues, the which I take to be most true, the which accompt, I haue at large set forth in the .72. page of my first Volume.

Also in the ende of this booke, ye shall finde an exact table, wherein is expressed not onelye the reigne of euery king of this realme, sithen the time that the City of London hath beene gouerned by Bailifes, Maiors and Shrifes, and the day and yere that they first entred into their feuerall reignes: but also the names of those that then were and euer sithence haue beene Maiors and Shiriefes of London, with the yeres, monethes and dayes of their entrie into their feuerall charge. Also I haue placed in this booke two feuerall Tables, the one in the ende of the first volume, and before the conquest, which I haue deuided into seuen parts according to the vij. Ages of the world, as may at large appere in the .72. page of the said Volume as aforesaid, & the other at the end of the second and last volume, that is, from the conquest to the reigne of our Soueraigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth, the which Tables serue for the readye finding of anye name or speciall matter conteyned in the sayde booke, by the letter and order of the Alphabet.

And where I haue in the .xiiij. yere of king Henry the first promised to place the maner & order that was first taken for the holding of the Parliament in the time of king Edward the thitde. I haue sithen that time for sundry good causes thought meete to omit the same, and therefore I admonishe the Reader not to looke for it.

And

*To the Reader.*

And here to conclude most gentle Reader, I beseeche thee louyngly and fauourablye to iudge and report of mee and my booke, to whose iudgement I most humbly submit the same, and such things as shall seeme to be a misse, or not so well penned and fully set foorth as by a learned and skilfull man the same might haue beene, either fauourably doe thy indeuour to amende the same, or else impute the fault to the diuersitie and variance of Aucthors, among which differences, it shall be harde to trie the truth, and thus I bid thee farewell.

*Richard Grafton*







ORASMUCH AS THE EXAM-  
ples of good and euill doings, in thys that the one  
sort doe allure to good, the other doe fraye from  
euill, doe tende both to one good ende in well dispo-  
sed mindes, it hath euer beene thought a beneficiall  
woorke to the societie of men to set forth in histo-  
rie and true report, the doings and liues of men as  
they haue deserued. And though vertue of it selfe be  
of worthynesse ynough to be loued for it selfe, and  
in honest raindes free from vanitie, is to her selfe  
sufficient recompense, yet hath God for commodi-  
tie of mankinde planted in nature a prayse worthy  
affection to be well spoken of for doing well, and  
shame to beare infamy for doying euill. Thys hath

made vertue comended to encrease: This hath restreyned those from sinne, whom  
conscience coulde not: This hath holden men in order for feare of the sight of  
men, whome the feare of God that seeth all withheld not: This hath rayced men  
out of drowtie idleneisse, whome the sounde of Gods promises and threatnings a-  
waked not: This, whereby is quickened endeuour to lyue after death, is the very  
prooffe in nature, that mans minde confesseth and hopeth for immortality.

As true reporting therfore auayleth to the encrease of well doing, so good ac-  
ceptation is profitable to the furtheraunce of the true reporters labour, and is the  
verie recompense that euery honest trauayler in any good worke shall be sure to  
finde at the hands of euery one that feareth not to heere shame for his euill deedes.

And as it is reason that good be done to him that doth good to many, so where  
the author and gatherer of this woorke hath with his honest labors made the no-  
ble actes and good deseruings of many to liue in good memorie, so I thought it not  
reason, specially hauing among infinite other receaued commoditie by his labors,  
that his owne well doings should altogether dyc in forgetfulnesse. I must there-  
fore good Reader, to the intent to prouoke thy fauourable receauing and con-  
struyng of thys worke, put thee in remembraunce how many wayes the great la-  
bors of this man susteyned with great charge and perilles, haue bene to vs profita-  
ble, that we be not to him vnthankfull. It hath suffised him to deserue well, it shall  
not suffice vs to receaue without receauing well, that is, to the encouragement of  
him and other to deserue well. That which he of modestie maye not vtter, we of  
honestie maye not hide. This therefore I am to affirme, because I knowe it, and  
the more assuredly to affirme because many moe knowe it, and most reasonably to  
allege because the whole Realme hath profite by it, that the man hath not spent  
one quarter of hys lyfe to his owne ease or commoditie, but as a good Citezen for  
the benefite of the Citie of London, as a good Englishman for the profite of the  
Realme of Englande, and as a good Christian for the furtheraunce of true religi-  
on. The Bible in English, that vnvaluable Iewell, we haue by his trauayle, first with  
his charge and attendaunce procuring the translation thereof, then fundrie times  
copying the same out with his owne hande, thirdly printing it in Fraunce with his  
great expense and perill, when the rage of those holy fathers which then entuyed  
Christiā mens christianity, not only would not suffer it to be done in England, but  
also procured the same beyng printed to be attached in Fraunce & openly burned,  
himselke hardly escaping with his life. Not discouraged herewith, but still caried  
with zeale to doe good, he attempted the woorke againe, and to Gods great praise  
and to the edification of Christes Church, performed it. Sithence that, how benefi-  
ciall he hath beene in furthering good wittes to learning, in setting learned wittes  
to working, because the reheartall in particularitie cannot but haue some affinitie  
with exprobration, I leaue to their remembraunce that haue tasted of it, and shall  
be moued in their conscience where it maye doe him good, to testifie it. But the  
Citie

Citie of London may not forget, or forgetting may not be vntolde of it, or well re-  
membring may not suppress it, that moe maye be moued by his example and their  
thankfulnesse, to be suche Citezens as he hath beene, how he hath trauayled in their  
affayres from time to time, as if anye priuate man among them had but a seruaunt  
or factor of such faythfulnesse, policie and painefulnesse, as he hath shewed himselke  
for them all, it should not for shame be forgotten, I will not saye vnrecompensed.  
Who knoweth not his diligence in laboring for and attending on that noble worke  
of that most blessed Prince, King, yea saint, Edwarde the sixt, in erecting the Hospi-  
talles? his labors and expences in ouerseing the same beyng erected, preferring it be-  
fore all his awne businesse to his great hinderaunce? It is proueaible ynough if any  
will be so past honest thankfulnesse to denie it. And nowe lastly, beside a number of  
good bookes by him published, he hath for the whole realme gathered thys Chro-  
nycle of Englande, wherein thou mayest readily see with small trauayle and coste  
that which heretofore scattered in manye woorkes was chargeable to get and trou-  
blesome to finde, beside very much that in none heretofore hath beene vttered.

In this he hath brought things vnknowne from darknesse, vnto true reportes from  
error, confusion of affayres from disorder, impertynent tediousnesse to reasonable  
proportion, and hath made a large, playne, true and meere historie of this Realme,  
wherby men may be certified of truth, the Reader may haue delitefull & profitable  
knowledge: our Countrie men and the subiects, but specially the princes therof, dely-  
uered from slaundersous reportes of foreyne writers: Kings maye learne to depende  
vpon God, and acknowledge his gouernaunce in their protection: the nobilitie may  
reade the true honor of their auncestours: The Ecclesiasticall state maye learne to  
abhorre trayterous practises and indignities done against kings by the Popishe vsur-  
ping Clergie: high and lowe may shonne rebellions by their dreadfull effectes, and  
beware how they attempt against right, how vnhable foeuer the person be that bea-  
reth it: we all may be warned to thanke God for the most vertuous, wise and peace-  
able gouernement that we now enioye in comparison of terrible times heretofore:  
Eche man maye haue a glasse to see things past, whereby to iudge iustly of thinges  
present and wisely of things to come: To beholde the beautie of vertue and defor-  
mitie of vice: what sweetnesse remayneth after well doing, what stinges of repen-  
taunce euill doing leaueth: Men of elder honor, maye learne not to deface their  
forefathers praye: The newer sort maye seeke to bring light and dignitie to their  
houses: and finally all men in seing the course of Gods doings, may learne to dread  
his iudgementes and loue his prouidence: maye see how good doings be defended,  
euill doings and wrongs reuenged, bloud with bloud, violence with violence, iniu-  
ries with miseries, and so growe into an affection to geue to eache matter his right  
iudgement, to eche superiour his right duetie, to eche other that which iustice or  
charitie wyll eth, and to all well doers, & among others to this setter forth of so ma-  
ny well doings, such thankfull acceptation as his whole life employed to common  
benefite hath deserued. Receaue it therfore good Reader so, as thy selfe maie haue  
most benefite of it, and he may in his age thinke his youth well spent in doing good  
to London, Englande and Christianitie. And aboue all things forget not, to geue  
God thanks for the Queenes maiesties most gracious reigne, so farre in comparison  
exceeding the tymes that here thou readest of: And beseeche him long to preferue  
her, without or after whome there is great daunger and small hope: and specially  
let euery one endeuour for himselke, not to moue God for our sinnes to cal her home  
from vs to him to hastily:

*Sera at in calum redeat, diu,  
Læta ut intersu populo Britanno,  
Nou sinat hostes equitare inultor,  
Se duce, Christi.*



# The first Age, and first part of this Chronicle.



*The first Age*



**I**n the beginning God made Hea-  
uen and Earth: and Moses the deuine Pro-  
phet and Historiographer (who was before  
the incarnation of Iesu Christ, 1569. yeres)  
sheweth vs howe that G O D deuided hys  
woorde of Creation into, vi. dayes.

Moses.  
Creation of  
the World.

¶ The first day he made the Light, and  
deuided the same from the darcknesse, and  
the light he called Daye, and the darcknesse  
Night.

The .i. day

¶ The seconde day he ordeyned the Fir-  
mament to be betweene the Waters, the  
which deuided the waters from the waters, that is to saye, those that are a-  
boue from them that are beneath.

The .ij. day

¶ The thirde daye he gathered all the waters together that couered the  
face of the Earth into one place, that the earth might be drie, and that it might  
bring forth Herbes, and Trees.

The .iij. day

¶ The fourth day he beautified the firmament with lights, and ordeyned  
the Sonne to shine in the daye, and the Moone and Starres in the night.

The .iiii. day

¶ The fift daye he Created the Fishes in the Water, and fowles vpon  
the Earth.

The .v. day

¶ The sixt day he Created Beastes, euery one in his kinde: and the same  
day (as the holy Scriptures doe witnesse) when the Heauen, the Earth, and  
all

The .vi. day



Creation of Man. Genesis. j. The by. day 3962  
all the furnitures thereof, were created and made, God then of the slyme of the Earth made Man, that most excellent Creature vnto his owne likenesse, and similitude, and breathed into him the breath of lyfe. Thus was Heauen and Earth finished with all their Apparell in sixe dayes, and the seuenth day God rested from his labors and sanctified the same, and commaunded it to be kept as his holy Sabaoth.

¶ After that God had created Man (as afore saide) he then gaue vnto him such grace that without any instructions, but onely with the endowment of his originall righteousnesse, he was perfectly learned and seene in all the liberall Artes and Sciences. He was also endewed with the knowledg of all Herbes, Trees, Metalles, Stones, Birdes, Beastes, fowles, Fishes, Wommes, and all other Creatures. Also God gaue vnto him power ouer all things that were vpon the Earth, and in the Sea, so that vnto all Beastes, Fishes, and fowles, he gaue a proper and conuenient name according to their natures, eue in such sort as they are called at this day. Then was he brought by the Almighty Lorde into the pleasant place of Paradise replenished wyth all delights and pleasures, the felicitie of which place Saint Augustine doth describe in this maner.

S. Augustin Paradise

Man lyued in Paradise as he would, so long as he willed that God commaunded, he lyued hauing the fruition of God, of whome came his godnesse, he lyued wanting nothing. Hauing in his power withall, to lyue continually. Heate was euer ready and at hand bicause he should not be hungry, and drinke for that he should not thirst: and the tree of lyfe, that age should not consume and ende the same. No corruption was their eyther in his body or came of his body, which was to the lothsomnesse or annoyance of any of his senses. He feared neither inward diseases nor outward violence. In his flesh was most perfite health, and in cuerie part of his soule no lesse tranquillitie and quietnesse. As in Paradise no grieffe was felt throught heat or colde, so likewise to the inhabitours thereof happened there nothing throught vnlawfull desire, or feare, that might be to the impechment of his god and godly enclined will. In him was there no sorrowfulnesse at all, nor yet any vaine mirth or gladnesse. True ioy was in him, continued by God, towards whome there issued a burning Charite out of a pure hart, a good conscience and an vnfaigned faith: Betwene the Man and the Woman, there was semblably a faithfull societie, proceeding of vertuous and honest loue, and agreeable watching of minde and bodye: and finally a keeping of Gods commaundements without grieffe or grudging, to wete, that of all the trees in Paradise he might lawfully eate, so that he absteyned from the tree of the knowledg of god and euill. Hitherto Saint Augustine.

¶ Then God perceyuing that as yet there was no creature made like vnto man which might be an helper and companion vnto him, he forthwith cast Adam into a slumber, and tooke a rib out of his side, filling the place with flesh, whereof he made the Woman, and named her Heuah, or Eue (that is to say, lyue or be lyuing) and brought her vnto him, whome when Adam sawe, he sayde: This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh, she shall be called Woman, bicause she is taken out of the Man: vwherefore Man shall forsake his father and mother and cleave vnto his Wyfe, and they two shall be one flesh. And the Lord blessed and sayde vnto them. Increase and multiplie, and fill the earth and subdue it, and be ye Lorde ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of the aire, and of all the Beastes that moue on the earth.

Creation of the Woman

¶ But after that Man was placed in the highe felicitie as afore sayde, he forgetting God, throught the craft and subtiltie of the Serpent (which a little before was driven oute of Heauen) and by the prouocation of the Woman, brok

the fall of man.

broke the commaundement, geuen to him by God, wherfore he with Eue his wyfe were driven out of Paradise and made subiect to death, Sinne and all kindes of miserie: For the earth was restrayned, that it should no more bring forth fruit of it selfe, but that by the sweate and painefull labors of theyr bodies, they should trauaile and leade their lyues. Then also came sicknesse vpon them, and heate and colde began to assaile their tender bodyes. For after they began to sinne, God did open the power of Sathan, but yet against him of the seede of the Woman: he promised that Christ should come and destroy his power, and deliuer vs from his thraldome, death and sinne. This was the first promulgation of the Gospell, at which tyme began the kingdome of Christ and the Church. And so Adam and Eue tooke comfort of the promise that was made of Christes coming, and of these two persons the Church first began.

Gene. iij.

Gene. iij.

Adam and Eue, & first of Christes Church.

¶ And when Adam was thus for his disobedience and transgression cast out of Paradise, he fell to labour and tilling of the ground, according as almighty God had sayd vnto him, and soone after he knew his wyfe Eue (and as James Philip of Bergamo sayth, in the suppliment of his Chronicles) he begat on her. xv. yeres after the creation of the worlde two Children at one tyme, a Sonne and a Daughter, that is to say, Cain, and Calmana, and. xv. yeres next following which was the. xxx. yere of the creation of the worlde, he begat againe at one tyme a Sonne and a Daughter, that is to say, Abell, and Delboza.

James Phil.

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¶ The afore sayde two brethren Cain, and Abell, were the first founders of two contrarie Cities, Babel, & Jerusalem, by the one is vnderstand Confusion, and by the other, the vision of peace. Their father taught them to feare God, and to worship him with sacrifices. Cain was of a naughty and vnhappie disposition, geuen vnto all vice and mischief, and was the first that filled the earth, he offered alwayes the worst and most vile things vnto God: But Abell the yonger Brother, was of contrarye conditions: he gaue himselfe to all vertue, and in all things that he went about, he thought God to be present, his occupation was the keeping of Beastes, and he euer offred vnto God of the best things that he had. For in their Sacrifices his offering was euermore consumed with fire from Heauen, but his brother Cains remained vntouched: wherfore Cain (perceyuing that his brothers doynge, was more acceptable before God than his) enuided him, and ought him most damnable hatred and malice, and in the ende most cruellye and shamefullye murdered and slue him.

Babel, Jerusalem.

¶ But Adam heering of the death of his sonne Abell whom he loued most derely, mourned and lamented his death, and continued mourning for him by the space of one hundred yere. And as sayth Nicholas de Lira vpon the iij. of Gene: Adam did with himselfe decree neuer more to haue knowne Eue his wyfe: But afterward by Gods speciall will and prouidence, he did knowe her, to the intent that of that lyne our Sauour Christ should come, and not of the line of cursed Cain.

Adam mourned for the death of Abell an hundred yere.

¶ And after that Adam had knowne his wyfe againe, he begat on her his thirde sonne named Seth, when he was. C. xxx. yeres of age, of whom came and discended Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Dauid, and consequentye our Sauour Jesu Christ. And Adam (as faith James Philip) had beside Cain, Abell,

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3832  
Seth.  
Gene. iij.

A. ij.

Abell.



Abell, Seth, and theyz sisters, other .xxx. Children, and liued. lx. C. xxx. yere.

¶ Now after y Cain had done this horrible murther aforesayd, he fled fro his father, and builded a Citie in the Orient, which was the first Citie in the world, and named it Enoch, after the name of his first begotten sonne, whom he begat of his sister Calmana, in the lande of Jude after he had taken her to wife, as it was laifull for him then to doo for the multiplication and encrease of the worlde, which Calmana was borne. xv. yeres after the creation of the worlde as Cain himselfe was. And as Saint Augustine in his booke of the Citie of God sayth, that as it was then laifull for the brother to take the sister to wyfe for the encrease of the worlde, so is it now most damnable to attempt or do the lyke, for that we are by the expresse worde of God prohibited and forbidden so to doo. This Cain was a great toyle and moyle in the earth, but very couctous and full of malice withall, at the prosperitie of any other, which was the onely cause that he murdered and slue his alone onelye brother Abell as aforesaide: for the which fratricide or brother murthring, he was by the sentence of almighty God publyshed for a vagabond and a ronnagate, & reputed and taken all the dayes of his lyfe, as afterward it shall more plainely appeere in the discription, or rather in the Historie of Abell. Of the foresaide Enoch came afterward a great spacion of people, but they were very wicked full of sinne, and aboute all other thinges they did excede in the Sinne of the flesh, which was the greatest cause that his lyne did so wonderfullye encrease and multiplie. This Cain for that God had pronouced him to be accursed, and sayde that the Earth should not yeelde vnto him any fruite, as it is expresse in the .iiij. of Gene: for that cause he left off from the toyle and laboz of the Earth, the which before he did exercise, and sought out by his wicked imagination the Mathematicall artes. And although he found in that traualle great veration of mynd, and businesse, yet as the paine ceased not, so did not his auaricious couetous and greedye desire cease, by rapyne, spoyle, or by any other wicked meane to attaine to treasure and ryches, to the enryching of himselfe, without regarde or respect by what meane so euer he came by the same, not sparing neyther the robbery nor spoyle of his people, nor yet the robbery of his children, nor of his childers children, and all that came of them or any of them: Of the which mischiefes he was a most chiefe and principall doctoz. Also he altered and chaunged the honest and simple doings that before tyme had bene vsed by honest and good men in their exchaunges and traffiques, and caused all things to be done by weyghts and measures, and brought in craft and corruption.

¶ The name of Cain by interpretation is as much to say as possession, and as Saint Augustine sayth in his. xv. Booke of the Citie of God in the. xvij. Chapter: Cain might well be called possession, for in a little tyme he and his posteritie possessed in a manner the whole Earth, but in the ende they were drowned and destroyed by Noes flood.

¶ Abell the sonne of Adam and brother to Cain borne with hys sister Dalbora in the. xxx. yere of the age of his father Adam; that is to saye. xv. yere after Cain. This Abell in his tender age learned the feare of God and his iustice, in such sort that in all his doings and affaires, he imagined God to be present, and that he coulde doe nothing out of Gods sight and knowledge, and therefore he endeouored himselfe to all vertue and good liuyng, and did

Enoch the first Citie in the worlde.

S. August.

Cain y first Murtherer. Gene. iij.

Gene. iij.

Cain the inuenter of the Mathematicall artes.

Augustin

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did sacrifice vnto God of all the chiefest and best of his Cattell. And therefore almightie God had respect and regarde vnto him, and did multiplie and encrease his Cattell and goodes, which was the cause that his brother Cain enuied him. For the saide Cain, being a laborer & toylet of the earth, and yet notwithstanding insatiabile, greedye, and couetous coulde not abide to see his brother so greatly to prosper and encrease, and therefore by the prouocation of the Deuill, rather desiring to be deprived of all consolation and comfort, then to lyue and remaine in the fellowship and companie of his owne naturall and onely brother Abell, on a tyme sayde thus vnto his sayde brother Abell, brother let vs go forth into the fieldes: To the which innocent Abell not thinking of any guile or deceit did consent. And when they were together alone, sodainely Cain ranne vpon him and slue him, the sayde Abell being then one hundred yeres of age, the which Abell is accounted the first Martir, and the first that possessed Paradise. Cooper.

¶ Afterward God called Cain and cursed him, saying: Cain, what hast thou done? The voyce of thy brothers blood is come by from the earth before me, thou shalt be cursed vpon the earth that did open and receiue at thy hand the blood of thy brother Abell. And when thou shalt labour the earth it shall not yeelde to thee any fruit. Thou shalt be as a Vagabond and fugitiue vpon the earth all the dayes of thy lyfe. And God set a signe vpon Cain, that is to saye a most horrible trembling and quaking of all the members and partes of his bodye and (as sayeth Lira vpon the. iij. of Genesis) God did print a signe or marke in his forehead or face, to yntent he should be knowne vnto all nations, and that he should not be slaine by chaunce where so euer he should be found.

¶ After the death of Abell and banishment of Cain, Adam when he was (as aforesayde) C. xxx. yeres of age begat Seth, and lyned after. liij. C. yeres: which Seth as aforesayde gaue himselfe to all vertue and to the feare of God. Of this Seth (as is aforesayde) the holy fathers were begotten, whose posteritie continued, but the posteritie of Cain perished in the flood as shall appeere.

¶ Iosephus writeth that Adam & Seth made two Columnes or Pillers, one of Brasse, the other of Stone, for they foresaw that the worlde should perithe and be consumed, once by water, as it came to passe at the generall flood, and afterward by fyre, which tyme is yet to come, graued in the sayde Pillers such things as they vnderstood of the glorie of almightie God, to the intent that Gods most holy worde might be preserued from perishing, and that the same should remaine to their posteritie; that those y followed might know what God had done in the former time: And he also writeth that Adam and Seth deuoyded the yere into. xij. Monethes, and did first obserue and teache the course of the Celestial bodies, for that it was impossible that mans wyt could attaine to so high and difficile things, vnlesse God almightie had shewed and declared the knowledge thereof to Adam in his creation.

¶ By Abell which by interpretation is Sorow, or death, and by Seth, which by interpretation, is Resurrection, is signified the death and resurrection of Christ, as sayth Saint Augustine in his. xv. Booke of the Citie of God. Chap. xviii.

¶ Seth in the. C. v. yere of his Age begat Enos, and lyned after that

Abell slain. Abell the first martyr

Gene. iij. Cain accursed of God.

Lira.

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Iosephus

Adam and Seth deuoyded the yere into. xij. monethes.

Abell signified Sorow or death. Seth signified Resurrection.

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bij. C. yeres. This Enos was one that altogether sought the glorie and will of God, not as many other good fathers did, but as one that most specialle and wholly dedicated himselfe to the advancement of Gods highe honor and glorie, and lyued not after the worldly felicitie, but after the will of God, as S. Austine writeth of him in the booke last before alleaged.

¶ Enos the sonne of Seth in the. xxi. yere of his age begat Kenan, after whose birth he liued. vij. C. x. yeres.

¶ Kenan the sonne of Enos in the. lxx. yere of his age begat Malalehel, after whose birth he liued. vij. C. xl. yeres. This Kenan was the fourth in order of the fathers from Adam in the Genealogie of the righteous men, but begotten in the thirde generation. For in the first generation Seth was borne, in the seconde Enos, in the thirde Kenan, in the fourth Malalehel, in the fift Jared, in the sixt Enoch, in the seuenth Mathusalem, in the eyght Lamech, and in the ninth was Noe borne, who was the tenth from Adam: For according to the mind of S. Augustine, the beginning of Adam was no generation, but a formation: Neuerthelesse, the plasination or creation of Adam is reconed among the generations, where he is accounted in the first, and Seth in the seconde, and so consequently, which maner is most vsed.

¶ Malalehel the sonne of Kenan in the. lxx. yere of his age, begat Jared or Jared & liued after. vij. C. yeres: But here (sayth Lanquet) that which Macrobius doth only attribute vnto the Egyptians (meaning the account of yeres) were better accounted by the Hebues, among whom there was alwayes a certaine course of the yere which was obserued by y circuite of the Sonne. The yere was then of. xii. moneths as it is now. The moneth conteyned the same time that it doth now. The whole course of the Sonne & Moone was then, as it is now. The day. xxiii. houres, as it is now, whereby worthily are refused y errors of them which holde that the yeres of that age were ten times shorter than they are now, the which opinions the holy scriptures condemne to be false. For the Scripture sayth that the flood began in the. vij. C. yere of the lyfe of Noe, in the. xvij. day of the seconde moneth, and ceased the. xx. daye of the same moneth in the yere following, in the which place the. xii. monethes is read, whereby it appereth that there was then no fewer monethes than is now. And as at this time, men liued much longer than we do now: so is it true that they had far greater bodyes & were of much more strength than we are now. S. Augustine writeth (as Lanquet sayth) that he himselfe sawe in Utica (a citie in Africa) the iawe tooth of a man of such exceeding greatnesse that it might well haue made an hundred of our teeth, and there he alleageth the sentence of Plinie, who sayth, that the longer that time passeth, the lesser bodyes shall be engendred. And I the writer and collector of this whole Booke, and Hystorie, did see the tenth daye of March. 1564. the checke tooth of a man, and had the same in my hande, which was as great as a Hennes egge, and the same did wey ten ounces of Troy weight. And the skull of the same man, as I am credibly informed, is extant and to be seene which will holde fiue pecks of wheate, and the thinne bone of the same man is also to be seene, which is reported to be six foote in length, and of a marueylous greatnesse.

¶ Jared, or Jared, the sonne of Malalehel in the C. lxx. yere of his age begat Enoch, after the birth of whome he lyued. vij. C. yeres. And in thys time

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The yere, moneth, and course of the Sonne and Moone, was at the beginning, as it is now.

Lanquet.  
August.

Strange  
yth.

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time the children of Seth suffered much violence and wrong of the children of Cain.

¶ Enoch the sonne of Jared or Jared in the. lxx. yere of his age begat Mathusalem, and liued after. iij. C. yeres. This Mathusalem or Mathusalem, as the holy scripture sayth, was of longest lyfe, and being borne in the vij. generation from Adam, did prefigure the. viij. age of the world, which shall be the time of the Resurrection, which shall begin in the last day, and neuer after shall haue ende.

¶ Mathusalem or Mathusalem in the. C. lxxvij. yere of his lyfe begat Lamech, after whose birth he liued. vij. C. lxxij. yeres, and dyed in the yere of the flood. He was borne in the tyme when wickednesse and malice began to abound vpon the earth, not onely amongst the children of Cain, but also among those which were called the children of the Godly. This Lamech was not onely a iust man, but also a Prophet, for he was the father of Noe, and he prophesped of him and sayde, he shall comfort vs from the workes and labours of our handes in the earth which the Lorde hath cursed. And Lamech when he had lyued. C. lxxij. yeres he begat Noe.

¶ Noe, when he was fiue. C. yeres of age, begat Sem, Cham, and Japhet, and here I will retorne a little to the line of Cain, and shewe what cursed ende he came vnto, as matter by Gods sufferance, that with such measure as himselfe had measured to his only & owne naturall brother, whom he had most cruelly murthered, so he likewise at the last was murthered himselfe, and that by one that proceeded out of his owne lyne.

**I**N The beginning of the worlde most people went naked, sauing that they were partly couered with the skines of some beast, & at that tyme they had no dwelling houses to defend them, neyther from the colde, nor yet from the heate, but after their owne phantasies they made with pretie boughes and twigs of trees, such little pretie lodgings, as we call Cabons, or Boothes. And it so chaunced that Cain being verie olde and also werre, happened one day to lay him downe to rest in a bush that was enclosed with grene boughes as aforesaid. And Lamech one of the kindred of Cain in y fift degree, who by reason of his great age had lost his sight, & yet at a time was disposed to go abroad to kill some wilde Beast, and taking his Bow and Arrowes, he tooke also with him a little boy to lead and direct him where he might haue a good shot. And when they drewe somewhat neare vnto the bush where Cain lay, the little boye espying the bush to wag, and seeing as it were a great thing in the midst thereof, he imagined that there lay some wilde beast, and the boye beyng afraid therof gaue knowledge vnto old father Lamech, that in a bush standing right before him and not farre off, there lay a great and terrible beast. And Lamech vpon the report of the child stretched out his arme & drew a streight draught towarde the bush, where he slew his colin Cain, that lay in the same after he had liued. vij. C. xxx. yeres, as sayth Philo. Of this ye maye reade more in Nicholas de Lira vpon the fourth Chap. of Genesis.

¶ This Lamech as sayth Raymolph Donke of Chester, was the. vij. in degree from Adam, and was of the lyne of Cain, and the most shrewde, for he was the first that brought in Bigamy and spousebreach against the lawe of God and nature, and against Gods owne doome.

¶ And this Lamech had a sonne called Juball or Jabell, who was the first inuenter

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Adigressit

Cain

Ranul



Portatiue tents. Cattle de- uided one from another.

Tuball. Musick.

Gene. iij.

Tubalcain.

Forging of Iron.

Loemia.

Gen. xij.

Gen. xij.

Gen. xij.

Gen. xij.

Gen. xij.

Gen. xij.

inuentor of the Portatiue tents or ledgings, the which first was practised and vsed by the Shepheards and keepers of Cattell. And he also was the first that deuided the Lambes from the Sheepe, and one kinde of Cattell from another.

The same Lamech had also another sonne named Tuball, who was a great louer of Musick, and was the first inuentor of proportions and measures: But he was not the maker of the Instruments, for that was inuented long time after, in the time of Pythagoras. And this Tuball by the sounde of the Hammers that Tubalcain his Brother being a Smith did vse, did imagine the distinction of soundes. Genesis. iij.

Tubalcain the second sonne of Lamech was a warrelike Man, and begotten of his wyfe Sela, this Man was a lover and inuentor of all those things that were meete or necessarie for the warres: he founde out the Arte of forging of Iron. He and his brother Tuball foreseeing the two destructions of the worlde that were to come, the one by water and the other by fire did erect two great Columnes or rounde Pillers, the one of burnt Brick to defende the fire, and the other of Marble to defende the water: and therein did graue the Artes and Sciences that were by them inuented: This Tubalcain was the last of the lyne of Cain.

Loemia the daughter of Lamech and of Sela the Sister of Tubalcain did first finde out the vse of Linnen and Wollen, & the Spinning, Carding and weauing of the same, and made it into cloth, both for lightnesse and warmenesse, where before they did weare beastes skins as is mentioned in Cronica Cronicarum.

**B V T** Now to returne again to the line of the iust, where before mention is made that Jared begat Enoch & Enoch begat Mathusalem, the sayde Enoch about this time was by God taken by into heauen, which thing doth evidently set forth vnto vs the immortalitie that remaineth after this lyfe, and that God wil saue those that are righteous and condemne them that are wicked.

Also before is bittered that Mathusalem begat Lamech, not that same Lamech of whome the storie last before is written, for he came of the lyne of Cain, but this Lamech whereof mention is nowe made came of the lyne of Seth, and the same begat Noe, as a foresayde.

**NOE** The sonne of Lamech which came of the lyne of the iust, when he was .v. C. yerres of age, begat Sem, Cham, and Japhet, not all at one time, but he was so olde before he begat any of them. This Noe was a iust & righteous Man & one that loued and feared God, by the which he obtayned the blessing & fauor of almighty God. And after the recitall of the birth of the sonnes of Noe, forthwith the holy Scripture declareth the occasion of the flood, because saith almighty God, the worlde began to waxe wicked. And amonge other the great vices of the worlde, there is recyted the contempt of God, Adulterie, Voluptuousnesse and pleasure of the body, for thus the text saith: When that Men began to multiply vpon the earth and brought forth Daughters, the Children of God, seeing the Daughters of men to be faire, tooke them to their vyues.

The holy Scripture calleth the children of God all those which descended from Seth, the thirde sonne of Adam. And those the children of men that

that descended from Cain the first sonne of Adam. For Adam commaunded that the children of Seth should in no wise coople with the children of Cain, which was obserued of a long time, vntill that the zeale and loue of vertue decayed. And God perceyuing thereby that the wickednesse of man was great vpon the Earth, repented him that he had made man, not that there is any such passion in God, but that the Scripture so speaketh to vs after our familiar and worldye maner: and therefore he threated a destruction to the worlde by a flood, and would therefore that Noe should declare this vnto the people. C. xx. yerres before it should come to passe. In the meane tyme God commaunded Noe that he should build an Arke, that should contein in length C. C. Cubites Geometricall, euery Cubite conteyning as S. Augustine saith .vi. common Cubits, which is .ix. feete, and so it was in length, two thousand, seven hundred feete. In bredth it was .xv. Cubites, which was foure hundred fiftie feete, and in deepenesse from the upper decke to the bottome, .xxx. Cubits, which was two hundred seuentie feete, and the rooffe ouer it was one Cubite highe, which was .ix. feete. Cooper. This Arke was not by mannes power brought into the Sea, but by the course of the waters rysing by, it was borne away: and rather by diuine prouidence, than by mans pollece, it was gouerned from running to wreck. And Noe began to build this Arke in the .v. C. xxij. yere of his age, and before the flood, as Berofus sayth, lxxviij. yerres.

In the .vi. C. yere of the lyfe of Noe, and the second moneth, God saide vnto him y after .viij. dayes this flood should come, in which space he brought into the Arke his stufte, prouision and all other necessarye thinges for him, whereat euery man laughed, & toke him as one out of his wit. But finally, as it is written in the Gospell, they were eating and drinking, they maryed and were married euen vnto the day that Noe entred into the Arke, and would not know it euen vntill the flood came and destroyed them all. For Noe shewed it vnto them, aswell in worde as in deede, and the building of the Arke was also a certaine declaration vnto them: But they were both without faith and the feare of God, for which cause they were worthely punished. Thus the time passing the seuenth day came, & that day Noe with his wife and his three sonnes and their wyues entred the Arke. And beholde, sodenlye came together vnto him Beastes of all kindes, not brought thither by man, but euen by the miracle of God: neyther did Noe take them, but suffered them as they came to enter into the Arke, neyther came there anye moe than of vncleane beastes two, a Male and a female. Of cleane beastes seven, foure Males, and thre females, of the which one Male was reserued for Sacrifice after the flood, the residue were kept for generation.

Thus they being entered, the Lord shut the doore of the Arke the .xviij. day of the second Moneth. And behold incontinent the springs of the Sea burst out, the windowes of Heauen were opened, the raine fell continuallye .xl. dayes and .xl. nights, and the waters swelled and rose aboue all Mountaines. .rv. Cubits. All liuing creatures dyed, except fish and such as might endure in the bowels of the earth. The waters encreased. C. l. dayes, and on the .xvii. day of October the Arke stakke vpon the Mountaynes of Armeny. The last day of Januarie, Noe opened a window, and put forth a Crowe, which was euer goyng and comming vntill such time as the waters were

Cooper.

Berofus.

A miracle most wonderful.

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The day Noe ten ble.

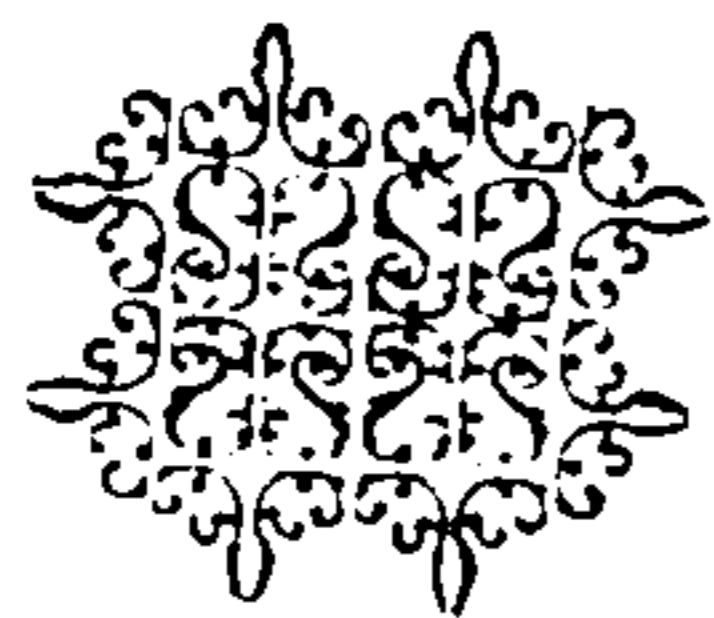


were dyed vpon the earth, and then came no more againe. After. vii. dayes he put forth a Doue, which for that she could finde no resting place, came againe at night. And after this, he taried yet other. vii. dayes, and put forth the Doue again, which at night returned vnto him and brought in her mouth a braunch of an Oliue tree. And he taried yet other. vii. dayes and sent forth the Doue againe, but then she returned no more. Howbeit, yet he would not issue out, but remayned for the commaundement of the Lord, who commaunded him not to go forth vntill the. xliij. day of the second Moneth, wherby it appereth that he remayned a iust yere and ten dayes in the Arke.

Berosus.

¶ Berosus the Chaldean wyrteth of this flood in maner following. Before (sayth he) the famous flood of waters came, whereby the whole worlde perished, there preceded many yeres, which of our Chaldeans were faithfully obserued. They wyrteth that about Libanum was a great Citie of Gyantes called Enoch, who were Lordes of the worlde from the rising of the Sonne vnto the setting of the same (that is from the East vnto the west) and they trusting in their strength and hougennesse of their bodyes, with armour that they had inuented, oppressed all men. They deuised Tents, Musicall Instruments, and all delicacies: They fed of Mans flesh and accompanied commonly with their Mothers, Daughters, Sisters, Men & Beastes. There was no wickednesse which they omitted. When many prophesied and preached that destruction should come, which they did write in stones, but they scorned all things. And there was one of these Gyants wiser than all the other in Siria, whose name was Noa: he with his three sonnes, Samo, Japeto & Chem, and their wyues, Titea, Dandoza, Noela, and Noegla, fearing this destruction, which he percepued by the Starres, began to make a Ship in fashion of an Arke. lxxviij. yeres before the flood. And in the same yere that the Ship was finished, sodenly the Ocean swelled, and all the Seas, floods & Springs roase about the Mountaines with continuall raine that fell from the Heauens, whereby all mankinde perished (except Noe with his Familie) who were saued in the Ship, which the waters bare vp to the tops of the Mountaine Cordiei, where in my tyme remayned part thereof, he therto the wordes of Berosus.

Here endeth the first Age of the worlde, which is from Adam vnto the Flood of Noe, and is after the account of the Hebrewes. xli. C. lvi. yeres, and after the lxx. interpretoys. 39. C. xliij. yeres.



The seconde Age



When Noe had continued a yere in the Arke and more, and the waters being asswaged, and the Earth dyed, God commaunded him to come forth, vnto whom he builded an Altare, and offered of all cleane Beastes and Birdes, a delectable Sacrifice. Then God blessed him and sayde: Encrease and multiplie the Earth.

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¶ And after God instituted as it were a newe worlde againe, and first he gaue his worde, and promised that he would neuer more destroy the worlde with water, and for the confirmation thereof, he gaue the Rainebow for a sure token betwene him and man. For in that Bow is expressed both the colours of water & fyre, the one part being blew, and the other red, that it might be a witnesse of both the iudgements, the one past, and the other to come. Also then he graunted libertie to men to eate flethe, which the holy Fathers before the flood neuer vsed.

The Raine bowe.

¶ Moreover, God gaue a newe precept for externall thinges and commaunded more plainely, that who so euer did shed any mans blood, his blood should be shed againe, of them to whom lausfull authoritie for the iudgement thereof was giuen (meaning the Maiestrates and Rulers) for that Man is made to the Image and similitude of God.

A newe commaundem

¶ This Noe was faythfull vnto God, and another father vnto mankinde,



kinde, having within the space of one hundred yeres his issue wonderfullpe encreased, being also thoroughly learned in the knowledge of devine and humane things, in the revolution of tymes, in the Historie of the world passed: But most specially in Justice & Religion, and he divided the world into three parts, which he himselfe in the residue of his life traueiled and went through, leaving behind him in all places perpetuall monuments, both of his vertue, and also of his Empire. He planted the first Grape, and inuented the vse of Wyne, with the which he was made dronke, so that he lay dishonestly discovered: who being seene of Cham his sonne, the Father of Canaan, was of him scorned, and he in derision brought his two brethren to behold that sight. But they moued with shamefastnesse and honestie, couered their fathers members and would not see them. The which when Noe perceyued, he blessed them, but Cham he would not curse, because God had blessed him, and therefore he cursed Chanaan his Nephew the sonne of Cham, who as some suppose did deride and mocke his Grandfather.

This Noe lived after the flood. CCC.L. yere, and for his sundrie benefites shewed vnto all Nations, they gaue vnto him diuers names, among the which, these as the most famous are celebrated. Noe, Gyges, Fenix, Uranos, Coelus, Sol, Protheus, Janus, Geminus, Innominus, Quirinus, Patulcius, Bacchus, Voltumnus, Chaos, Ileton, Seede of the world, and Father of all Gods and Princes. The Italians after his deceasse dedicated vnto him by the name of Voltumnus, a Temple, and worshipped him with deuine honours and ceremonies.

And also his wife Vesta, for her great prudence and worthy deserts obtained these names following. Earth, Opis, Aretia, Vesta, Cybiles, the great Mother of the Gods, who taught the Maydens to kepe the holy fire, whereof arose the error and ceremonies of the Virgines Vestalics.

After the vniuersall flood, the World by the children of Noe was shortly replenished with people: for God or Nature neuer yet sayled the necessity of things: Of them there were many mighty nations as hereafter followeth.

Sem the first sonne of Noe Prince of Asia, called also of some Meichisedech, a iust and peaceable King, and priest of almightie God, from whome Christ lineally descended, possessed all Asia, with his children. For of Ham came first the Persians: Of Assur, the Assirians: Of Arpharat, the Chaldeans: of Lud, the Lidians: and of Aram, the Sirians. Hether to Lanquet.

Asia is the thirde part of the worlde, deuided from Europa by the Sea called Bosphorus Thracius, & the great ryuer of Tanais: and from Affricque, by the famous ryuer Nilus, and is in quantitie supposed to be as great as Europa and Affricque. Asia minor is a part of the other Asia, which is now called Turkey, and conteyneth in it these Realmes, Pontus, Bithinia, Phrygia, Cozia, Lycia, Lidia, and Licaonia. Cooper.

Cham the seconde sonne of Noe, Prince of Aphyck called also Innus, Incumbus, Sylanus, Pana, Saturne of Egypt, the rayser and spreader of the wickednesse punished with the flood, inhabited the South part of the World with his children. Of Canaan came the Cananites: of Phyth the Libians: of H'sraim the Egyptians: of Chus the Ethiopians: and of Saba the Arabians.

Affricque as sayth Isidore in the. xiiij. booke of his Ethimologies, and the

The worlde deuided into three partes by Noe.  
The planting of the Grape first inuented by Noe.

Asia.  
Me'chisedech.

Cooper.

Africa.

For.

fift Chapter, doth begin at Egypt, and so passeth Southward vnto the Mounteyne Atlas, and toward the North, the same is enclosed with the Sea Mediterraneum, and endeth in the Sea Gadique. Some also say that it is called Affricque of Afer, the sonne of Abraham, begotten of Cetura his wyfe, which conquered that country, and named it Affricque according to his awne name. And it is the same country that we now call Barbary, wherein is the Citie of Carthage.

Iaphet the thirde sonne of Noe Prince of Europa, called also Iapetus, Dilcus, Diris, Maurus and Athlas, receyued of his father Noe for his portion all the countries of Europe, from the Gades, called at this tyme the streits of Harock, vnto the great ryuer Tanais.

Europe as sayth Isidore in the. xiiij. of his Ethimologies and. iiii. Chap. beginneth at the Ryuer Tanais, and so lyeth Westwarde by the great Northren Sea, vnto the ende of Spaine. And the East part and South part of the same is ioyned vnto the great Ocean Sea, and it endeth at the Isles called Gades, and it is the same part of the world wherein we doe now inhabite. But Cooper sayth that Europa is deuided from Asia with the great Seas Hellespontus, Propontis, Bosphorus, Thracius, and Pontus Eurinus, and hath the vttermost boundes in the Northest, the Riuer Tanais, and from Affricque it is deuided by the middle Sea.

Of Iaphet came these Princes and Nations: Comerus Gallus, who first reigned in Italy. Magog of whome came the Scythians, and of them the Turkes. Madaus of whome sprang the Medes. Of Janan the Grecians, which were called Janes. Of Tuball the Spanyards. Of Mosoch the Moscouites, and of Tyras the Thracians.

And of this Iaphet came also Briten who first inhabited this Realme, of him called Briten, for Iaphet begat Janan, and Janan begat Sethum, and he begat Siprius of whome Cypres had his first name, and he begat Saturnus, and he begat Iupiter, and he begat Vardamus, and he begat Etichomus, and he begat Cros, and he begat Assaratus, and he begat Capis, and he begat Anchises, and he begat Eneas, and he begat Assanius, and he begat Silnius, who was the father of Briten.

I finde also alleged by Berofus that Noe had another sonne borne after the flood, who was named Jonithus, or Jonichus, which was a great Astro-nomer, and was the first that attained to the whole science of Astronomie, and thereby did deuine and shew before what should after happen to the. iiii. principall Monarchies of the worlde: He was also Scholemaster to Nemroth who began the building of the towre of Babilon, and at that tyme all the people of the world spake but one tongue.

Sem the first sonne of Noe, the which some doe affirme to be the great and highe priest Melchisedech, was borne in the yere of the worlde as appeareth in the mergent, when his father was. D. yeres olde, and one hundred yeres before the flood. He builded the first citie after the flood, the which hee named Salem, and at this day it is called Ierusalem (as sayth James of Bergamo.) And of him came. xxvij. generations, and also the Patriarches, and Prophets, and finally our Sauour and Redemer Iesu Christ. And the sayde Sem in the. C. yere of his lyfe begat Arpharat, of whome came the Chaldeans.

Europa.

Isidore.

Cooper.

Brute.

Berofus.

Jonichus son of Noe

Nemroth

Ierusalem

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Here I leave  
the line of Cham  
and go a little  
forth with  
the line of Cham  
who begat  
Chus, and  
Chus begat  
Nemroth. &c

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¶ Arphaxat in the .xxxv. yere of his Age begat Sale, of whome came the Indians.

¶ Sale in the .xxx. yere of his lyfe begat Heber, and lived after that three hundredth threec yeres. In the house of Heber continued the language, which at the first, and before the building of the Tower of Babilon was called Hebre.

¶ Heber in the .xxxiiiij. yere of his lyfe begat Phalech and Tectan, and lyued after that. iiii. C. xxx. yeres. Phalech is interpreted diuision, because it chaunced him to be bozne in the tyme of the confusion of the tongues.

¶ Phalech when he was .xxx. yeres of Age begat Rue, and lived after C. ii. yeres. The first yere of the life of Rue was the first yere of the reigne of Nemroth in Babilon, where he reigned .lviij. yeres.

**NEMROTH** The sonne of Chus, was among all the other that issued out of Noe, the mightiest and most hardiest, and he was the first that tooke vpon him the Empire and gouernement ouer his Subiects, and his abyding was at Babilon, which Citie he builded. This Nemroth enterprised the building and erecting of an houghe, great, and most highe Tower made of Bricke, which was commonly called the Tower of Babel or Babilon, and he purposed that this Tower should haue extended vnto heauen, to the entent that he would make an euerlasting memozy of him selfe. But after that this Tower began to be of a great heigth, and was halfe finished, God almighty willing to abate and ouerthrow the great presumption and enterpryse of Nemroth, confounded the speches and languages of the workemen that wrought vpon the same Tower, so that no one of them vnderstood another.

¶ But for that the foresaid Tower is by certaine wyters noted to be marueylous great and houghe, I thought it good to note and mencion somewhat thereof vnto you. This Tower & Citie of Babilon was compassed with foure walles square, euery wall beyng fiftie Cubites in bredth, and two hundredth Cubites in heigth. And the length of euery of the square walles, was. xviij. Myles (after the accompt of our Myles) so that the compasse of the foure walles were .lxxiiij. Myles. And in the same Citie were one hundredth Gates of Brasse. And the sayde Towre was builded. CC. lxxij. pace highe. But some wyte that the sayde Towre was three Myle highe. And other wyte that it was fyue Myle highe and. C. lxx. paces. And was in bredth foure Myle. And throughe the middest thereof ranne the famous Ryuer Euphrates, whose heade spring came out of Paradise, and that the same was builded wyth Tyle, and Pitch in stede of Morter. Ranulph, Eliot, Cooper, and other.

¶ Ninus the thirde King of Babilon, was the sonne of Belus, the sonne of Nemroth, that was first King of Babilon, and he reigned. Liiij. yeres, and married Semyramis, which Semyramis after the death of her husband Ninus reigned as Queene of Babilon, xliij. yeres, but not contented with the lymytes and circuite of that Realme, she made a conquest of the whole countrie of Ethiope, and adioyned the same vnto her Realme of Babilon, and she attempted also merueylous fierce and cruell warre against the people of Inde, and by force entered into that Countrey and conquered the same, in such sort, that after that conquest the Indians neuer had other Emperour, kin

Ninus.

other Prince but her and Alexander the great.

¶ Mefraim, otherwise called Osiris the seconde sonne of Cham, was the first King of Egypt. He is called Mefraim of Moses as apereth in the .x. of Gene. And Herodotus in his booke of Antiquities calleth him Osiris. This Osiris (sayth Herodotus) did find out in Affricque the vse of Wheate, and the manner of sowing, reaping and dressing of the same. And afterward he came into Egypt where he inuented the Plough, and all that euer appertayned vnto husbandrie. And from thence he passed traouyng through the rude Countreyes and people, who fed of Acornes and fruite, and had nothing else to feede vpon: Those also he taught his inuention. And by this meanes he became a soueraigne Lorde and a great ruler through the vniuersall worlde, except vnto them which were vnder the Empire of the Babilonians. He also did first teach the Almaynes to sowe Corne, to set Trees, to plant Vines in places most commodious. And where there was no store nor plentie of wyne, there he taught them to make drinke of Barlye, Otes, and other Grayne, which drinke they called in theyr tongue, Ceruoy, somewhat applying to the name of his Sister, which was called Ceres. And furthermore at the request of the people of Italy he discomfited the Gyautes called cruell tyrantes, for that they most tyrannously did reigne ouer that countrey. He kept him selfe out of the Realme of Tuscan, and reigned ouer the Italians by the space of .xx. yeres, being resident the greatest part of that tyme in the Citie of Viterbe, which afterward was called Vetulonia. And from thence he passed by Sea into Grece, that is to say, vnto the Prouince of Deloponesse, which is nowe called the Moores lande, and there he reigned in the Citie of Argos by the space of .xxxv. yeres, as Eusebius writeth, and in the end returned againe vnto Egypt. And after all these thinges thus done and finished, the malice of his brother Typhon an Egyptian, being as great as the malice of Cain was to his brother Abell, conspired by treason to slaye him, which at length he brought to passe and cut him in .xxvi. peeces and deuided the same among the conspirators, which were in number .xxvi. After his death as Bocas in his second Booke of the Genealogie of Goddes, sayeth he was called Serapis.

¶ Laabin or Libycus surnamed Hercules, commonly called the great Hercules of Libia, was the sonne of Osiris (as Herodotus sayeth) who did accompany his father in all his great warres and traouailes. And afterward for the reuengement of his fathers death, he offered open warre to all the Gyants of the world. And first he went into the land of Phenice, the which he conquered, and after he went into frigia where afterward Troye was built, and there he slue Typhus the Gyant of that Countrey, and gaue the lande to his abone sonne Athus, and with the same one faire Ladie called Omphale. In lyke maner he discomfited Milinus king of the Isle of Candy. And from thence he came vnto Affricque, which now is called Barbary, and there he destroyed Antheus the Gyant and named the Countrey after his abone name Libia, which before was called Phuthee of the name of Phuth the thirde sonne of Cham. And there he set by a great and highe Colome or Piller in the memozy of his conquest. After he came into that parte of France that is called, Gaule Celtique, where he married Galathe, the onely daughter of Jupiter Celte, the .ix. king of the Frenchme. And in this pastime dyed Jupiter, by the death of whome, great Hercules reigned in France

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Osiris.  
Wheate.  
Plough.  
Corne,  
Trees,  
Vines,  
Barly,  
Otes,  
Drinke.  
Eusebius.  
Bocas.  
Serapis.  
2232  
1731  
Herodotus.  
Troy.  
Typhus.  
Milinus.  
Barbary  
Antheus.  
Libia.  
France  
Gaule C  
tique.  
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as the .x. king of that Realme with Galathe his wyfe, where they builded a great Citie in the Cuntre of Laurois, the which he named Alexia, of the which Julius Cesar maketh often mention in his Commentaries. And then purposing to go into Italy, he chaunced to light vpon a great armie, and entered into the Cuntre of Allobroges, which now is called Sauoy, and first he brake and tare in peeces the harde & stony rocks, and passed ouer the same rocks and Mountaines which we nowe call the Alpes, making away thoroowe euen by force of people, for it was a maruailous enterprize and a thing neuer lyke to be brought to passe, that in such a streight and so harde a rock and in so high and terrible a Mountaine withall, that there should be awaye made for an armie with their Cattell and Baggages to passe cleane ouer: and there he destroyed all the Theeues and Murderers that lay hidden in those Mountaines who did much hurte to such as were traauylers by that Region. After he had passed the Mountaines he descended into Italy and there he made warre against the Titans, which were Gyants, who within .x. yeres following, after he had bidden them diuers battailes, he destroyed them and cleane droue them out of the Cuntre. And the place where one of the battailes was foughten and they banquished, is called at this daye, the Valley of y Gyants nere to the Citie of Tuscanel in Tuscane. And after this the great Hercules King of France was quietly possessed of all Italy, in the which he reigned after peaceably the space of .xx. yeres as sayth Berofus. And afterwarde when he had crowned Tuscus one of his sonnes, king of Italy, then he went into Spaigne and there dyed. And after his death the Spaniards made for him a sumptuous and costly Sepulture in the place which yet they call Gades Hercules, where standeth the Pillers called Hercules Pillers. Berofus and Bergamo.

Julius Cesar  
Sauoy.  
Alpes.

The valley of Gyants.

Italy.

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ere I leaue  
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Tuscus the sonne of Hercules of Libia, was by him ordeyned king of Italy, he gaue the name of the Prouynce of Tuscane in the which he had remayned long, otherwise called Ethuria, and before that it was called Janicula, of the name of the good father surnamed Janus, and all they that haue rule and gouernment in Italy, they call Janigenes, that is to saye, the children of Janus. Bergamo.

Altheus the sonne of Tuscus was after his father king of Italy. And in his time Atlas Italus king of Spaigne did leaue his Realme to Sicrotus his sonne, and came into Sicile, where he reigned a certaine time, and after he arriued in Italy, and there planted and placed himself as in his awne Realme, and called all the Cuntre by his awne name Italy. Bergamo.

**RAGAV** or Reu the sonne of Phalech in the .xxxij. yere of his age begat Seruch or Saruch, & lyued after. CC. vij. yeres. In this time there were. iij. Realmes that tooke their first beginning, that is to saye, the Realme of the Scithes, wherein first reigned Canaus, of the which the Riuer Canais did first take his name. The second was the realme of the Amasones the which as Iustine writeth were warlike women descending from the Scithes. The .iij. is the Realme of Egypt. The .iiij. is the Realme of Boheme, the which was so called by a Prince named Bohemus, that was present at the building of the Tower of Babilon as sayth Bergamo.

And in this time Nobilitie was aduanced and tooke place, and that for diuers and sundry causes. First for necessitie: that the generation of Man

to

so greatly encreased, and men prone and ready to all mischiefe, it was of force that the wickednesse of the euill must be suppressed by the honestie and discretion of the good; and therefore they chose some certaine Man more sage, wise and prudent, than other to rule the Commonaltie, to aduance and procure vertue, to defend the innocents, and to punish the wicked. And hereof is he rightly called Noble, the which in vertues before other is notable. Whereof S. Hieron speaketh; I can see noie other thing in Nobilitie (saith he) but that they are by a certaine necessitie compelled to be Noble, least they should degenerate from the Noblenesse of their parents.

S. Hieron.

The second cause was the discord, variance and Brawles among the people for lacke of right iudgement: wherefore it was most necessaric, that by the aucthoritie of the Nobilitie, they shoulde be compelled to concord and vnitie as by them vnto whose iudgement and aucthoritie they must obey.

2

The thirde cause proceeded of the valyaunt courage and manly prowes of certaine notable persons declared in resisting and encountring the enimies of their Cuntre and repressing their inuasions. And such a one the people had in great reuerence and estimation and worshipped and honored him as one that had deliuered their Cuntre from daungers; and by this meanes most chiefly did the Cuntre yeelde and geue vnto suche worthy Men the name of Nobilitie, to them and their heyres for euer, and for this purpose were they chiefly aduanced to the dignitie of Noble men.

3

The fourth cause, came of abundance of ryches, that when penurie and scarcetie came, then the common people were relieued and succoured of the ryche, for the which reliefe and succour the poore men had the ryche in great reuerence and estimation, and accompted them euer after as their Masters and Lordes.

4

Therefore all such as are descended of noble Parents and Ancestors, ought chiefly & before all others to call to often remembrance these fore sayd causes of true Nobilitie, that thereby they maye be the more stirred to such soueraigne vertues, for the which their worthy progenitors first became Noble, thinking themselves unworthy the name, except they haue withall those endowments and qualities for the which the same name was first geuen vnto them.

There were also certaine personages made Noble by Gods deuine prouidence (but not many of them) and some of them continued as Noble, as Dauid, and some were ouerthrowne in short time as Saul, Jeroboam, and many other.

There are many also that haue made themselves Noble by violence and tiranny. And here the olde and auncient writers of Histories doo note, that seldome or neuer among the Turkish and heathen people, there is anye roote or perpetuall successe of Nobilitie, bicause they enter by pride, & continue by violence and tiranny. And euen many among the Christians haue for the verie same cause bene oppressed and confounded according to the saying of Ecclesiasticus in the .x. Chapter. The high and mightie Princes for their pride and tiranny God hath ouerthrowne and cast downe, and hath aduanced therevnto the lowly and meeke. And note also that no man can hate Nobilitie, for that euerie man desireth by nature to be accompted as Noble, euen as we desyre to be accompted verteous and religious. But yet manye

Eccle.10.

B. iij. verteous



berteous and holymen haue fled that vocation, for the great perill that is proper and annexed to the same, and this may at large and sufficiently appere in the Prophet Dauid, whome God himselfe did speciallly elect and choose.

**S**aruch the sonne of Ragau being .xxx. yeres of age begat Nachoz and lyued after two hundred yeres.

**N**achoz the sonne of Saruch when he was .xxix. yere olde begat Terah, or Thare, and lyued after .C. xix. yere.

**T**hare or Terah the sonne of Nachoz, when he was .lxx. yere olde he begat Abram, Nachoz and Aram, and lyued .CC. v. yeres.

**A**bram the sonne of Thare borne in Ur in the Countrie of Chaldee, and he departed from thence, when he was .lxx. yeres of age.

Here endeth the second Age, which began at the flood of Noe and ended at the birch of Abram, which continued .CCC. lxxij. yeres and x. dayes, but after the account of Septuaginta it is .lxx. C. lxxij. yeres.



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# The thirde Age, and thirde part of this Chronicle.



## The thirde Age



**A**bram was a Man more prudent and expert in all thinges both diuine and humane, then any other before him was. He was the first that durst mainteyne God to be the Creator of all thinges, against the opinion of all the Chaldehyes, for the which he was compelled to forsake his country of Chaldehy. And soone after, he by the will and commandement of almightie God, with Thare his father, and his wyfe Sara, and his Nephew Loth departed from the sayde coutry of Chaldehy to go into Chanaan, that

Abram.

Gene.xij

is to say, into the lande of Chananee, which afterwarde was called the land of Iury, or the land of promes, & he first arriued in y land of Haran, which is in Mesopotania, there makyng some abode, where for some speciall causes he remainned untill the death of Thare his father. And then God made his first promes vnto Abram sayng. Get thee out of thy Countrey and from thy kynred, and out of thy fathers house into a lande which I will shewe thee. And I will make of thee a mightie people, & I will blesse thee and make thy name great, that thou mayst be a blessing: And I will blesse them that blesse thee, and curse them that curse thee, and in thee shall be blessed all the generations of the Earth.

**A**nd Abram went as the Lord commaunded him: and Abram was .lxxv. yeres



peres olde when he departed out of Haran to go vnto Cananee . And he tooke with him Sara his wyfe, and Loth his nephew, with all their goodes which they had gotten, and all the Soules that they had begotten in Haran, and they departed to go into the land of Canaan. And when Abram was arryued in the lande of Canaan, God spake vnto Abram and sayd, vnto thy lyne and seede I geue all this lande. And soone after Abram buylded an Altare vnto the Lord in the same place where the Lord appered vnto him, vpon the which he offered sondry Sacrifices vnto the Lorde . After this, there came a dearth in the lande, and Abram went downe into Egypt to soiorne there . And knowing that the Egyptians were lecherous people, & fearing also that Pharao King of Egypt would not let to kill him, to the entent he might freely haue the vse of his wyfe which was one of the fayrest women in the worlde, he streightlye charged and commaunded her, that she shoulde declare none other vnto the Egyptians (and stoutly to stande therein) but that she was the sister of Abram and not his wife.

¶ And when Pharao was aduertised of the great beuty of Sara, he caused her to be taken and sent home to his house, for the which God sent vnto him many plagues, which lighted both of him and all his householde. But after, when Pharao vnderstoode by his wyse men that the aforesayde plagues happened vnto him bicause of the rauishing & withholding of the wife of Abram: He forthwith restored her vnto her husbände Abram, and did further commaunde that his seruantes should safely conduct her, and all thinges that belonged vnto her, to the entent that nothing should be hurt or spoyled by the Egyptians. Reade. Genesis.xii.

Gene.xii.

¶ Abram and Loth after they had bene a little time in Egypt, they returned into Cananee. And in the meane tyme Loth and he so greatly encreased in cattaille, that it was impossible for the lande to mainteyne the goodes of them both in that place, and there happened much brabole and vquietnesse betweene the Shepards, and heardees of Loth, and the heardees & Shepards of Abram, wherfore Abram spake vnto Loth and sayde. My Brother and my friende, thou seest daylye what discordes and variaunces there happen betweene thy seruantes and myne, for the keeping and feeding of our Cattaille, I pray thee hartely, because there shall aryse no malice nor displeasure betweene vs two, which I would not should come to passe, for we two are brethren, choose thee a place for thee and thine to go vnto, and if thou choose the ryght hand, I will go on the left. And if thou take the left, I will go on the right hand. Then Loth beholding the Countrey round aboute, and noting the goodly playnes & Medowes that led to the flood of Jordan, which was very pleasaunt for the comfort of his Cattaille, chose that part, and so leaving the East part or Country vnto Abram, departed toward Jordan into the place where afterwarde was Sodom and Gomorra consumed from Heauen with fyre and Brymstone.

¶ And after the departure of Loth from Abram, the Lorde spake vnto Abram and sayde. Lift vp thine eyes and behold from the place where thou art Northward, Southward, Eastward, and Westwarde, for all the land which thou seest will I geue vnto thee and thy seede for euer. Gene.xiii.

¶ Then Abram seeing that he could haue no issue by Sara his wyfe, did by the counsaile of the sayde Sara take one of his Maydens or bondwomen named

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named Algar and knew her, and she conceyued with childe and brought forth a sonne which was called Ismaell, and of him is come the Nation of the Saracens.

Saracens.

¶ In this tyme God almightie instituted circumcision to be an euerlasting couenant vnto the posteritie of Abram, and saide vnto him, Abram, thou shalt from henceforth no more be called Abram, but Abraham, for I haue made thee a father of many nations.

Circumcision.

Abraham.

¶ And shortly after there apere .iiij. Angelles vnto Abraham and hee washed there fete, and standing vnder a Tree he serued them at a Table. The Tree endured vntil the reigne of Constantius the yonger. Lanquet. This man taught the Egyptians Astronomie and Geometrie, he dyed before the incarnation of Christ. 1838. yeres. Cooper.

Sodom. &c.

Ezechi. xvj.

¶ In this tyme also God destroyed Sodom, Gomorra, Adama, and Semois: The cause of that destruction as Ezechiell the Prophet sayeth was, for their iniquitie, pride, superfluity of meate, abundance of ryches and ydlenesse, and they reached not forth their handes vnto the pooze, and did abominations against nature. This place is now called Mare mortuum, the dead Sea, whose length and bredth containeth niaue Miles. And at this day it is full of Pitche and boyleth continually out in Vapours, which is a wytnesse & testimony of the deuine indignation and wrath of almightie God vpon such wickednesse. At the tyme of this destruction God by his Angelles preserued Lot his Wyfe and two Daughters; But hauing a commaundement that none of them after they were come out of the Citie should looke back againe, it happened Lot's wyfe breaking the commaundement to looke back againe, and she was forthwith turned into a Salt stone. Afterwards Lot by the incest of his Daughters begat Ammon and Moab the fathers of the Ammonites and Moabites. Genesis.xix.

Loth.

Saltstone.

Moabites.

Ammonites

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Gene.xxj.

¶ Isaac the sonne of Abraham by his wife Sara, was in this tyme borne, a Man beloued of God, of whose lignage Christ descended. He represented the figure of Christ, when God commaunded his father to offer him in Sacrifice, whereby was signified that Christ should be an oblation which should satisfie for sinne and death. When he therfore should haue bene sacrificed by his father, and was come both to the Altar and to his death, he exhorted his father that with a good hart he should obey and fulfill the commaundement of God, sayng. My father it were not iust, that any should be borne, if he would refuse the iudgements of God and his father, or would not shewe himselfe obedient vnto their willes. After, when he came to the age of .xl. yeres, he tooke Rebecca to Wyfe: who being a long time barrein, at the last by the fauour of God, she brought forth two children at one birth, the first Esau the Prince of the Idumeis: and Jacob although the yonger, yet by the will of God, both blessed of him, and also endued by his father with the right of the first borne, and afterwarde was the father of the .xij. Patriarches. Finally, after many troubles and temptations, and being with age also made blinde, he gaue his blessing not to Esau, to whome he would, but to Jacob to whome he would not. And herein is to be noted the prouidence of almighty God, who before purposed, that it should so come to passe. And when Isaac had lyued. C.lxxx.yeres, he dyed. Lanquet.

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¶ Jacob the sonne of Isaac, surnamed Israell, that is the Prince of God,



God, of whome the people of Israell had their beginning, in the lxxi. yere of his lyfe, when he had gotten the blessing of his father, he went into Mesopotamia to auoyde the displeasure of his Brother Esau, and there tooke a wyfe: when he had serued with his Uncle Laban. vij. yeres for his Daughter Rachell: but he gaue him Lya his daughter in her place, because Lya was the elder, he alleged that it was not their custome to mary the yonger before the elder, and after vij. dayes Laban gaue also vnto Iacob Rachell his Daughter to be his wyfe, and for her he serued other. vij. yeres, and Lea gaue him Bilha hir Maide to wyfe, and Rachell gaue him Silpha hir Maide to wyfe. And by Rachell he had Ioseph and Benjamin. By Lea he had Ruben, Symeon, Leui, Juda, Isachar and Zabulon, and by Bilha he had Dan and Nephthaly, and by Silpha, he had Gad and Assur. So that vpon the foresaide two wyues and their two Handmaydens, he begat the. xij. holy Patriarches from whom descended the. xij. Tribes of the Iewes. And such as are desirous to read more of his lyfe, maye resort vnto the Booke of Genesis. Chapter. xxix. xxx. &c.

Rachell.

Vincencius Gallus.

¶ This Iacob not long before his death, prophesied most plainely of Christ and of the vocation of the Gentiles, whose prophesie was this in effect as Vincencius Gallus writeth sayng. Of the stock of my soune Juda shall come a Virgine of whome the Lambe immaculate shall be borne, which is the Lambe of God that by grace shall saue all men, whose kingdome shall be everlasting and neuer corrupted. Therefore the great Lorde shall appere in earth as a man, and shall take vpon him a mortall body, and shall eate as a man: his Starre shall arise in heauen, and he shall shyne in the earth as the Sonne. The heauens shall open ouer him, and out of the Temple no little sanctification of glorie shall come vnto him. He shall poure out the spirite of grace vpo vs, and you shall be his children in the truth. He shall be from Leui a Priest, and from Juda a King, he shall be both God and Man, a Mediator betweene God and Man: and shall take awaye all darkenesse which is vnder the heauen: and there shall be peace thoroow the vniuersall world. The voyce of the euill doers shall be against him, not knowing his resurrection: But the blood of his innocencie, ye shall receiue on your heads. And in his passion, the stones shall cleaue a sunder, the Sonne shall be darkened, and all other things shall be troubled, the inuisible Spirites shall tremble, and Hell shall be spoyled: he shall open the gates of Paradise, and shall make the threatening sworde against Adam to stande, and shall geue vnto his Saints to eate the tree of life: Beliall shall be bounde by him. Then shall yee see Enoch, Noe, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, and mee your father, rysing in ioy from the right hande of God, and shall geue power to his children to overcome pernicious Spirites: and as many on the earth as beleue on him shall also reioyce. Then shall all men arise againe, the Godly to glory and ioy: and the vngodly to shame and perpetuall damnation: & most specially he shall iudge Israell which would not beleue in him, hether to Vincencius Gallus.

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Abraham  
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¶ In this tyme, Abraham that most holy Patriarche fynished his lyfe in this worlde, after whose death, there arose a great famine in the land of Canaan, for which cause Isaac went to sojourne with Abimelech King of Palestine.

¶ Ioseph the soune of Iacob, and Rachell, a man most chaste and vertuous,

ous, was in this tyme borne: he in his youth, by his excellent fauour, vertue, and wisdom, excelled all his brethren and was of his father aboue all other beloued: for which cause, and for his dreames, he was of his brethren had in great despite, and by them solde into Egypt, where after long imprisonment, in the. xxx. yere of his age, he expounded the dreames of Pharaos, by whom he was made President of all Egypt, and was called among them the Saviour of the world. For God would by this maruelous occasion he should come into Egypt, that his power might be there knowne, & that helpe might be ministred to Iacob and his family in the tyme of famine and dearth. This Ioseph taught the Egyptians both Religion, and Ciuile pollece, which is most woorthy to be obserued. And it is to be noted, that a man inspired with the holy Ghost (as Ioseph was) should institute so hard and so seuerer a manner of administration of iustice among the Egyptians as he did, and yet draw together the whole Realme of Egypt (a Countrie beyng so large and wyde) and ioine them together as it were the members of one body without murmure or grudge. And here we may learne that sometyme seueritie is to be bled to keepe the people in obedience, and the same is here approued of God, although gentle gouernement is to be commended. But to our purpose: After that Ioseph had gouerned the Realme of Egypt by the space of. lxxx. yeres he then deceased, being of the age of. C. x. yeres, whose Bones he gaue charge in his death bed that the Hebrues should cary with them into the land of promes at their departure out of Egypt. The residue of his noble histoye ye may read at large in the booke of Genesis, in the. xxxvij. xxxviij. &c.

¶ Of this Ioseph, Trogus Pompeius, and also his abreniator Iustine do write in this maner: Ioseph was the yongest among the brethren, whose excellent wit they fearing, solde him vnto straunge Marchauntes, by whome he was brought into Egypt. When Ioseph was in Egypt, and by diligent studie and in short tyme had learned the Magicall actes and sciences, he grewe in fauour with the king. For he was both expert in Prodigious, and also first found out the right interpretation and expounding of dreames: yea, there was nothing neither of Gods law nor mans, that seemed vnto him vnknowen. Inso much that he foreseeing the barrenesse of the fieldes to come, gathered in tyme come to prouide for the dearth that followed. And so great was his wit and experience, that his answers seemed not to come of man, but rather of God: But Iustine saith that Moses was the soune of Ioseph, whose excellent fauour did much commend him. And the Egyptians when they were plagued with scabbes and filthinesse of body, were admonished that they should expell him with all the sicke people out of Egypt, least that Pestilence shoulde be more infectious.

Trogus Pompeius.

Iustine.

¶ After the death of Ioseph, the people of God merueilously increased, and liued quietly vntill there was another king in Egypt, to whome Ioseph was not knowne: Then by reason of their great multitude and aboundance of goodes, they were of the Egyptians greatly hated, and by them kept vnder in miserable seruitude and bondage, which they susteyned. C. liij. yeres, vntill that by the mightie power of God, they were deliuered from thence.

¶ Aaron the soune of Amram, nephew to Leui and brother to Moses, was at this tyme borne. And incontinently after his birth, Amenophis then King of Egypt, who also was the. viij. Pharaos, commaunded all the Hebrue children

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born to be drowned: For Aaron was borne without any icopardie, but so was not Moses.

**A**whiles that the Hebrewes were thus entangled in miserie and thraldom, God in a vision in the night apered vnto Amram promising him a sonne to be borne, who should both deliuer his people from the Egyptians seruitude, and also ouerthrow them, plague them, spoile them, and drowne them in the Sea, which vision followed to be true. Therefore when Moses was borne, hys birth was kept secret (by the will of God) and. iij. Monethes was he nourished at home. But his father fearing the crueltie of the Egyptians, made a little vessell of Bulrushes, well pitched within wherein he put the childe, and set it in the Riuer, commending it to the tuition of almightie God, who before had promised him to be borne. Then almightie GOD shewing that not by mannes wisdom and policie, but by his awne diuine prouidence his determinate will and pleasure is brought to good effect, saued this little helpless and innocent childe. For he caused Termuth the daughter of Pharaos to walke to the Riuer syde to sport her, where she sawe this little vessell swimming vpon the water. Incontinent she commaunded it to be brought vnto her, and opening it, founde therein a wonderfull fayre and goodly Babe, at the which she reioysed not a little, and according to the chaunce, she named it Moses, which signifieth preserued from the water. After this, for the fauor and forwardnesse of the childe, she adopted him for her sonne, and caused him to be instructed in all the learnynges of Egypt. It chaunced on a time, that the King for his daughters sake tooke the childe in his armes, and set the crowne vpon his head: which Moses as it were childishly playng, hurled it to the ground, and with his fecte spurned at it. But the Priest the Sodothfayer, beholding this, cryed out and sayde, that this was he, whom before he had prophesied should be borne which should destroy the Kingdome of Egypt, except he were by death prevented. But Termuth excused the childe, alleaging that his age had yet no discretion, and for prooffe thereof, she caused burning coles to be put to his mouth, which the childe with his tongue licked, whereby hee euer after had impediment in his tongue: By this meanes their fury was for that tyme appeased.

**E**n processe of time there arose cruell warres betwene the Ethiopians and the Egyptians: The Ethiopians destroyed Egypt, tooke their Townes, wasted and ouerran their country, euen vnto Memphis their principall Citie. On the other part, the Egyptians by this necessitie compelled, fled for counsaile to their Oracles and Diuinations: where they receyued answer that they must elect an Hebrew Captain of their armie, by whose helpe they should not onely expulse the Ethiopians from their borders, but also bring them vnder their subiectiō. Moses both for his wisdom and personage was chosen soueraigne Capiteine of this Armie, and he so politiquely led his host, that vnbwares he set vpon them, and at the first battaile he discomfited them and put them to flight, not withoute the slaughter of a great number of them. And when they in no place were able to resist him, they fled to their strong Citie Saba. In which, whilst they suffered the siege, & Moses often tymes politiquely and valiantly assaunting them, he was of the Kinges Daughter of Ethiopie vehemently loued, which being no lenger hable to sustaine the force of loue, by certeyne faythfull ministers required of Moses marriage: he vpon

vpon condition that the Citie might be rendered vnto him, agreed thereto, so by her meanes was the Citie geuen by and she married vnto him according to his promise. By this occasion he subdued all Ethiopie, returning to Egypt with great triumph and victoꝝ: which prosperitie to the Hebrewes was hope of libertie, and to the Egyptians cause of great feare: wherefore they sought dayly occasion how to destroy him. The which thing Moses perceyuing, diligently imagined how to auoyde their deceytes, and therfore denied himselfe to be the sonne of the daughter of Pharaos, chosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, then to enioy sinfull pleasure of the woꝝlde. Wherefore, he slue an Egyptian that oppressed an Hebrew, and fled into Madian, not farre from the Mount of Synay, where he was receyued into the house of Jethro the priest of that Citie, who gaue to him in mariage his Daughter Sephora: There he continued. xl. yeres and kept sheepe. Josephus.

**A**fter this when king Pharaos without all measure bered the children of Israell, God sent Moses to deliuer his people out of Egypt, who after diuers miracles by him done in the sight of Pharaos for confirmation of his auctoritie, at the last obtained of Pharaos to lead and carie away the children of Israell out of Egypt, and he led them towarde the land of promission: But Pharaos chaunging his minde, pursued the Israelites with most eger cruelty, intending to haue vtterly destroyed them, for so much as they had at that time no place of refuge, nor succour. For on the one side they were enclosed with Hilles, and on the other side with the Sea, and he their most cruell enimie followed at their backs. But here God declared that when extreme necessitie happeneth, and all mans helpe and strength fayleth, then is he readie and hereth the voyce of his people. For at the prayer of Moses and wayling of the Israelites, the water of the Sea contrarie to the naturall course thereof, went back, and by the space of certaine Myles gaue way to the people to passe without daunger: which thing when Pharaos and his host assayed to follo and were in the deepest, the Sea keeping againe his former course, swallowed him by with all his power. wherein God shewed a notable spectacle or example vnto vs, that we may assure our selues that he will be reuenged of the stubborne, impious, and cruell Tirantes, which bere and persecute hys people.

Here endeth the thirde Age of the woꝝlde, and is from Abraham to the departing of the children of Israell out of Egypt. CCC. lxx. yeres.



Jethro,  
Josephus.  
2454  
1509



# The fourth Age, and fourth part of this Chronicle.



The fourth Age



**T**he fiftie daye after that the Israelites were thus departed out of Egypt, and were come to the Mount of Sinai, the lawe of the Decalogue or .x. Commaundements was to them geuen by almighty God, with a great and terrible magnificence. At which tyme also God gaue to them a certaine polittique gouernaunce, and a speciall kingdome, in which nothing wanted that appertayned to the true worshipping of God, Priesthood and Ciuil iustice, to the intent that a certaine people should be notably knowne, among whome the worde of GOD remayned: and of whome Christ in tyme to come shoulde be borne: So that among this people alway remayned the Church, the kingdome and the true worde of God, vntill after Christ had suffered. Whereby all men may know that the Church hath alway beene: and that God from the beginning of the worlde hath both reueled and preserved his worde among his people.

In the .xxi. yere of the Dukedome of Moses, Atho, Prince of Media gaue vnto Dardanus part of his lande, who incontinent left all his right in Italy, and went to his newe possession, where he builded a Citie, which after his awne name he called Dardania, that after was called Troye. Vnto this place Verofus continued his Historie and finished.

Moses ouercame the Kinges of Amozrea, and the Moabites, and he deuided

Latn. Comaun- cements.

deuided their lande and dyed in the Mount Sebo, beyng of age .C. xx. yeres, whose eyes were neuer dunne, nor his Teeth loose: He was buryed by Angelles, and his Sepulture was yet neuer knowen vnto Man. Lanquet.

¶ After the death of Moses the Israelites had Princes and Gouvernors, which were created, partly by the aucthorie of wise men, partly set by by the speciall calling of God, by which Princes, many notable and famous thinges were done. And so God declareth that he is present, and doth continually defende his people, although they may seeme for a tyme to be tossed in the waues of these worldly troubles and perilles. These Gouvernors after the custome of the Hebrues were first named Judges.

¶ The number of the children of Israell when they went out of Egypt, were (as it is written in the .xij. Chapter of the booke of Exodus) sixe hundredeth thousand men on foote, beside women and children.

**A**fter Moses, Iosua was seconde Judge or Duke of the Hebrues, and reigned .xxviii. yeres after the computation of the Hebrues, he brought the Children of Israell into the lande of promission: and had a great battaile against the Amorites in Gibeon, where he commaunded the Sonne to stande, and it stode still longer then before had beene accustomed by the space of one whole day, and he had a notable victorie, for God fought for him, and he slue in that day .xxxj. Kinges, and almost all their people, and he deuided the land of Chananee to the Tribes of Israell. This Iosua was a Man that feared God, he was also right sage and wyse, mightie in armes, and in peace berpe happye and fortunate, and finally endued with all vertues, who when he was .C. x. yeres of age ended his life.

¶ After the death of Iosua, the Seniors and Elders of the Children of Israell gouerned and ruled them .xvii. yeres. And Israell serued the Lorde all the dayes of Iosua, and long time after, and they knewe all the workes of the Lorde which he had done in Israell.

**A**fter Iosua, Othoniell iudged Israell, and gouerned them .xl. yeres. This Othoniell was of the Tribe of Benjamin, and he is surnamed Zenes. He deliuered the Children of Israell out of the handes of the king of Assiria.

**A**ioth the sonne of Gera, which was the sonne of Gemini, of the lynne of Benjamin, iudged Israell after Othoniell, he deliuered the Israelites from Eglon king of the Moabites, whom also he slue, and he iudged Israell lxxx. yeres as is wozitten in the booke of Judges, the .iiij. Chapter.

**S**Angar the sonne of Anath iudged Israell next after Aioth, he slue .viij. C. Philistines with an Ore goade, as they were entering into the land of Israell. And he died within the first yere that he ruled Israel, as saith Iosephus.

**D**ebora, or Delbora a prophetisse, a woman of the lynne of Ephraim, was ordeyned Judge ouer Israell. She deliuered the people of Israell out of the hande of Iabin King of Chanaan, which had troubled Israell by the space

2493  
1470

Judges.  
Exo. xij.

Iosua

252  
144

253  
142

257  
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C. ij.



Judges.iii). space of .xx. yeres : The aforesayde Delbora after she had ruled Israell .xl. yeres, dyed, as appereth in the booke of Judges.

2699 / 1264 Gedion, called also Terobaall iudged Israell .xl. yeres. He deliuered them from the power of the Madianites, vnder tohome they were .viij. yeres, and he slue Oreb, Zeb, and Zalmana, their Princes, with .C. xx. thousand of the Madianites and Arabies. And when he dyed he left .lxx. sonnes behinde him.

2739 / 1224 A Simelech the some of Gedeon iudged Israell tyrannously and occupied that some three yeres, he slue his .lxx. brethren, the sonnes of Gedeon, and at the last was himselfe slaine miserably of a Woman, casting downe a piece of a Millstone on his head.

2742 / 1221 Tola the sonne of Phuah iudged Israell and ruled them quietly. .xxij. yeres, and then dyed.

2765 / 1198 I Air ruled Israell .xxij. yeres. This man prospered greatly in all his attempts, he had .xxx. sonnes, and they were Princes of .xxx. Cities, which were called the towne of Jair.

2876 / 1177 I Ephte ruled the Israelites .viij. yeres, he deliuered them from the Philistines (whome for the sinne of Idolatrie) they serued. .xviij. yeres. He by an brauidised boboe sacrificed his alone Daughter.

2793 / 1170 After Jephthe, Abessan ruled the Israelites .viij. yeres. He had .xxx. sonnes and .xxx. Daughters, the which he bestowed all in marriage in his lyfe tyme, and then deceassed.

800 / 163 A Elon, or Ahialon, gouerned the Israelites .x. yeres.

810 / 153 A Adon or Labdon, gouerned Israell by the space of .viij. yeres, he had .xl. sonnes and .xxx. Nephewes begotten by his sonne, and afterwarde dyed.

818 / 45 Samson the sonne of Manue, of the Tribe of Dan, ruled the Israelites .xx. yeres, and deliuered them from the subiection of the Philistines, vnto whome they payde tribute .xl. yeres. He was a man most strong, which with his hand strangled a Lyon, and with the Cheeke bone of an Assle slue a thousande Philistines, putting the residue to flight. Finally, by the fraude of Dalila an Harlot, he was deceyued and brought into the hands of his enemies, who blynded him, and afterwarde being brought forth to play before the Princes of Palestine, he tooke in his armes the pillers of the house wherevpon the whole house stood, and so ouerthrewe the whole house, and slue in that place at the same present tyme, thre thousande Philistines, and himselfe also was there slaine.

838 / 25 Heli came of the lyne of Ithamar, which was the sonne of Aaron, and he was iudge ouer Israell : he was also the great and high Priest after the death of Ozi, which came of the lyne of Eleazer. And in the tyme of Heli the Arcke of the Lorde was taken by the Philistines, and that came to passe by the fault and foly of Heli, for that he kept not his two sonnes, Ophni and Phinees

Princes in due order and correction, but suffered them to runne in all ryot and wickednesse. For the which at the last he was plagued, for when he heard of the death of his two sonnes and how the Philistines had taken the Arcke, he fel backward out of his scoole and brake his neck, after that he had iudged Israell the space of .xl. yeres. i. Reg. iij.

After the death of Heli, Samuell the sonne of Helcana and of Anne his wyfe, the verie true prophet of our Lord God : iudged Israell .xl. yeres, who being but a Childe was offered by his father and mother vnto God in the Temple, where he bowed vnto God. And he was in so great fauor that almighty God declared vnto him that he would translate the office of Priesthood from the house of Heli, onely for the wickednesse of hys sonnes : and in his tyme the Arcke of God was restored againe by the Philistines. This Samuell by the commaundement of almighty God did annoint Saul the sonne of Cis the first king of Israell.

Here beginneth the Kinges of Israell.



Saul the sonne of Cis being of the Tribe of Benjamin, was at the impertunate sute, petition and request of the people, made and ordeined the first king vniuersall ouer all Israell. He was a mighty man and great and high of stature, and was so high that being among all the people, his shoulders were sene aboue any mans head. And as he was beautifull and comely in shape and propozion of bodye, so was he also adozned and beautified with many singuler vertues, for he was prudent, sage and wise, and there was not found in all Israell one that did loue, feare, and obey God and his commaundements, more then he did. And for this cause God did chose him out before all the rest.

After that Samuell by the commaundement of almighty God had brought Oyle to annoynt the King, hee called together the people, and specially all the Trybes of Israell. To whome after he had declared vnto them the aucthoritie, right, power, prerogatiues, commaundementes, and executions that kynges shall dayly and from tyme to tyme haue ouer euery of them, as his Vassalles and subiectes, and also that their request to haue a King was against the will and minde of God, and many other persuasions he bled to haue remoued them from that opinion, but they would not, but still cryed out they would haue a King. Then he caused lots to be cast out, to know who should be King, and the lot fell vpon the Tribe of Benjamin, and to conclude, in the ende it fell vpon Saule the sonne of Cis : by reason whereof he was immediately sought out, and annointed and confirmed King.

Saule continued and perseuered in his former vertnes the space of two yeres, as it may apere in the .iij. Chapter of the first booke of Kynges : But afterward

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afterward he despysed and brake the Commaundementes of almightie God, geuen vnto him by Samuell the Prophet. Wherefore it was declared vnto him that his reigne and continuance should not be perpetual, but that it should be taken from his lyne and issue, and geuen vnto another. Finally, after many great iniuries, verations, persecutions, and wronges by him done to Dauid which had maryed his Daughter, he was ouerthrowne in a battaile against the Philistines in the mountaynes of Gelboe, in the which his whole armie perished. Three of his sonnes, that is to say, Ionathas, Abinadab, and Meechine, with manye other were also slaine and murthered. And because Saule would not dye by the handes of the Philistines, after he had reigned xx. yeres, he fell vpon his awne sworde and slue himselfe, as appereth in the xxxi. Chapter of the first booke of Kinges.

1, Ser. himself

**N**ow that we are come vnto the tyme that this our native country now called England was as the comon opinion is first inhabited by Brute, and called of his name Britaine. It were not amisse that we shewed how this land hath bene heretofore called, and by whom the same hath bene before time inhabited: But for þ here in the wyters of the Histories of this Realme do so greatly vary & are of sundry opinions, & also that almost no one of them all but speaketh doubtfully and diuersly thereof. I thought it best to passe ouer the vaine & fonde story written by the wyter of the English Historie, who sayth, that this Realme was first named Albion of Albine, the Daughter of Dioclesian King of Syria, who had xxxii. daughters and were married vnto xxxii. Kings, and in one night they did cut all their Husbandes throtes: And that then Dioclesian their father beyng wroth with them for those cruell murthers, did therefore cause them all to be put into a Ship, without any person with them and turned them to the aduerture of the Sea, and so by chaunce they arriued in this lande, and called the same Albion, of Albine the eldest Sister: And that afterwarde Deuilles did accompanie with them, and begat Gyautes and Monsters of them, and so this land was first inhabited: which story as it is most fabulous and foolish, so is it also false and slaundersous to shew that this noble Realme should haue so lewde a beginning. But sundrie other wyters, wyrite otherwise: sayng, that it was called Albion of the whyte Clifes that are scene vpon the East costes. But I will passe forward with the report of the Historians that haue written in this our latter tyme, which say that Brute descending of the auncient blood of the Troians, and beyng the sonne of Syluius Posthumus king of Troy, did arriue in this Iland in the yere of the world, two thousand eight hundredth fiftie and five, and the .xj. C. viij. yeres before the coming of our Sauioz Iesu Christ, accompting the yeres after the accompt of the Hebrues continued in the holy Scriptures, which accompt I obserue throughout this whole story. But Policronicon and Fabian say that Brute was the sonne of Syluius Aeneas, for they say Aeneas begat first vpon his wife Lauina, a sonne who was called Ascanius, & he had a sonne also by his first wife whom he named Syluius Aeneas, and this Syluius Aeneas was father to Brute: But other say otherwise, wherefore I refer it to the iudgement of the reader. But now returning to the story of Brute, this following, I find written in an olde Pamplet which hath no name:

After



**A**fter the Citie of Troy, by the false coniecture and treason of Aeneas, the Sonne of Achilles and other (vpon peare to be had with the Grekes for themselves, their friends, and parents, and vpon condicion also that their goodes might be referued vnto them) was entered and destroyed: And the king thereof named noble Priamus taken and murdered, and Polixena king Priamus Daughter taken and beheaded vpon the Tombe of Achilles, and Heleus the sonne, and Cassandra, another daughter of king Priam taken and deliuered at large. And for that Aeneas at the time of the taking of the sayde Citie, had hid and conueyed from the knowledge of the Grekes the sayde Polixena, and woulde not deliuer her but by compulsion: Agamemnon, and the other Grekes commaunded Aeneas to take his goodes and friends and to depart out of that lande, and so was he banished.

After that Aeneas with Ascanius his sonne had bene in Sicile and there buried his father Achilles: And after that Aeneas with Ascanius had bene three yeres in Afrique, where Aeneas was louingly receyued of Queene Dido: And after the same Aeneas had taken to wyfe Lauiny, daughter of Latyn king of Italy: And after his death Ascanius his afozenamed sonne tooke vpon him as king of that region: And after that his sonne Siluius had taken to wyfe the Queene Lauiny, and had gotten hir with childe, of whose deliuerance she deceased, and the same childe was named Brute: And that the same Brute being of the age of .xx. yeres was chased in exile out of Italy, for that by misadventure he had kyled his father Siluius in shooting and chasing of a Dere. And therefore being exiled went into those partes of Grece where were of the progeny of the Troians, to the number of .viij. thousand beside women & children kept in seruitude vnder king Pandrasus king of that region: with which king Pandrasus the sayde Brute for his prowesse and amiable personage fortunied at the length to be in great fauour: And after that at the prayers of the sayde Troians the same Brute with the helpe of Asaracus, brother to king Pandrasus by the father side, in Concubinage by a Troian woman had taken Pandrasus and put him in prison: (for whose deliuerance the same Pandrasus gaue vnto Brute in marriage Inuogen his daughter with Ships, treasure, victuall, and other necessaries to seeke aduentures:) And after that Brute had made his sacrifices, prayers, and requestes to the Goddes Diana, and had receyued answer of the sayde Goddesse that he should go into France and there build two Cities, which he named Towers and Towrayn: And after that he had builded the sayde Cities in the remembrance of his Cousyn Turnys which was there kyled and buried in a battell that he had with Goffare then king of Poytenynes: & after diuers victories had by the sayd Brute vpon the Poytenynes in the time that Hely was highe Priest of Israell, and in the yere from the creation of the worlde, M. M. viij. C. lb. and before the birth of Christ. M. C. viij.

Aeneas

Priam

Heleus

Enca

Ascan

Lauin

Brute

Pand

Asar

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M. C. viij.



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M. C. vij. hee arryued in this Realme then called Albion and landed in the weſt part of the ſame in a Haven then called Totueſſe, where then inhabited certaine Gyants, whome afterwards he valiantly oppreſſed and deſtroyed, and after that poſſeſſed and enioyed all this Realme, and named it Briteyn after his owne name, and called alſo the inhabitants thereof Briteyns.

¶ This Brute gaue to Coryn his Coſyn a parte of the ſayde land, which he named after his name Cornewall, and the people thereof Cornyſhmen, which Country and people are ſo named at this day.

¶ This Coryn had no children but one daughter, named Gwendolena, which was married to Locryne Brutes eldeſt ſonne. For Brute begat on his Wyfe Innozen three ſonnes, Locryne, Albanact and Camber, and gaue to Locryne his eldeſt ſonne (as aforeſayde) the land on this ſide Humber, which the ſame Locryne after his fathers death named Loegria. And to his ſecond ſonne Albanact he gaue that part of the Northſide of Humber, which he named Albania, whereof a great part is nowe called Scotland. And to his yonger ſonne Camber, gaue he that parte of this land, which is beyonde the Ruyer of Scuerne, and he named the ſame after his owne name Cambria, which of the Welchmen is ſo called at this daye, but the Engliſhmen call it Wales.

¶ Howbe it Fabian, and the Engliſh Chronicle and others ſay that Brute with his company after his firſt landing in this Iſland at Totueſſe as aforeſayde, he ſearched and traualled throughout all this land, and found the ſame to be maruellous ryche and plentifull of wood and paſture, and garniſhed with moſt goodly and pleaſaunt ryuers and ſtremes. And as he paſſed, he was encountred in ſundry places with a great number of mightie and ſtrong Gyants, which at that tyme did inhabite the ſame: Howbeit he alwayes ouerthrew them and wan the victorie. But among all other, as ſayeth the Engliſh Chronicle, there was one that was of paſſing ſtrength named Gogmagog, the which he cauſed to wreſtle with Corineus his kiſnman beſide Douer: in the which wreſtling the Gyant brake a ryb in Corineus ſide, by reaſon whereof Corineus being put in a chafe, with great ſtrength overthrow the Gyant, and caſt him downe the rock or diſſe of Douer, whereof the place was named the fall of Gogmagog, but ſithen that tyme the name is chaunged, and the place called the fall of Douer, and ſo is it called at this day. For this deede and other, Brute gaue vnto his ſayd Nephew Corineus or Coryne, the whole Countrey of Cornewall, as aforeſayd.

¶ Thus haue you heard the opinion of the writer of the Engliſh Chronicle, and of Polychronicon, Fabian, and others: But forasmuch as in theſe our dayes and tyme, a learned, wiſe, & famous Man whoſe name is Thomas Cooper now Vicechancelor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, hath with great induſtrie and traualle ſearched the Originall names, and the firſt inhabitation of this Realme, and hath alſo ſhewed many euident and great reaſons and argumentes for the prooſe thereof, aſwell to condemne the fond coniectures of ſuch as ſlaunderouſly haue written of the ſame, as alſo to confirme a truth, and to declare that which is moſt lykely and probable: I thought it therefore very meete in this place to inſert his ſayings in his laſt Dictionary, which he named Theſaurus lingue Latine, vpon theſe two Wordes, Albion & Britannia.

ALBION

Albion.

ALBION ſayth he (the moſt auncient name of this Iſle) conteyneth England and Scotland: of the beginning of which name, haue bene ſundry opinions, one late feygned by him, which firſt printed the Engliſh Chronicle, wherein is neyther ſimilitude of truth, reaſon, nor honeſtie: I meane the fable of the fiftie daughters of one Diocleſian king of Siria, where neuer any other ſtozy maketh mention of a King of Syria ſo named. Alſo that name is Greke, and no part of the language of Syria. Moreover the coming of them in a Boate or Ship from Syria without any Mariners, through the Sea called Mediteraneum into the Ocean: and ſo finally to finde this Iſle, and to inhabite it, and haue generation by Deuilles, is both impoſſible, and much reproche vnto this noble Realme; to aſcribe her firſt name and habitation to ſuch inuenteres.

¶ Another opinion is (which hath a more honeſt ſimilitude) that it was named Albion, ab Albiſ rupibus, that is, of white rockes, becauſe that vnto them that come by Sea from the Eaſt or South, the Bankes and Rockes of this Iſle do apere white. Of this opinion haue I moſt meruaile, becauſe it is written of great learned men. Firſt Albion is no latin word, nor hath the analogie, that is to ſay, the propoſition or ſimilitude of latine, for who hath found this ſyllable, on, at the ende of a latin word. And if it ſhould haue bene ſo called for the white colour of the Rockes, men would haue called it Alba, or Albus, or Album. In Italy were townes called Alba, and in Aſia a Countrey called Albania, and neyther of them tooke their beginning of white Rockes or Walles, as ye may reade in bookes of Geography: nor the water of the Ruyer called Albiſ, ſeemeth any whytter than other water. But if where auncient remembrance of the beginning of thinges lacketh, it may be leſſe full for men to ble their coniectures, than may mine be aſwell accepted as Plinies (although he incomparably excelled me in wiſedome and doctrine) ſpecially if it may apere that my coniecture ſhall approach more nere to the ſimilitude of truth: wherefore I will alſo ſet forth mine opinion, onely to the intent to exclude fables, lacking eyther honeſtie or elſe reaſonable ſimilitudes.

¶ When the Grekes began firſt to proſper, and their Cities became populous, and wared pyſſant, they which traueylled on the Seas, and alſo the Iſles in the Seas called Hellespontus, Aegeum, and Creticum, after that they knew perfectly the courſe of ſaylyng, and had founden thereby profite, they by little and little attempted to ſearch and finde out the commodities of outwarde Countries: and lyke as Spanyardes, and Portyngales, and our Merchants of England haue of late done, they experienced to ſeke out countreyes before vnknown. And at laſt, paſſing the ſtreytes of Marrocke, they entred into the great Ocean Sea, where they found dyuerſe & many Iſles: among which they perceyuing this Iſle to be not onely the greateſt in circuit, but alſo moſt plenteous of euerie thing neceſſarie to man, the ayre moſt wholeſome and temperate, the earth moſt apt to bring forth all things that maye ſuſteyne: The fleſhe of Beefes and Muttons moſt ſweete and delicate, the Wood moſt fine, not lacking any kinde of Metall, hauing abundaunce of Wood and Timber to builde with, alſo great and fayre Ryuers, with great Lakes or Meeres of freſh water, & as well in them as in the Sea, where-with the countrey is environed, there was great plenty of fiſhes of diuers ſorts moſt apt to be eaten: they wondering and reioyſing at their good and fortunate



Olbion.

nate arriual, named this Isle in Greke Olbion, which in English signifieth happy & in latine Foelix. Like as a part of Arabia which is most fertile, is called Arabia foelix. But in processe of time by resort of sundrie people hauing diuerse languages, no maruaile though one letter were chaunged, & the first letter O, turned into A, & so for Olbion, it was at the last called Albion, which worde hath no maner of signification. This chaunging of letters is not vnlikely since at this present tyme the Northren men of this Realme do vse A in wordes, where Southren men vse O, as a Bane, a Stane, a Bare, a Bande: for a Bone, a Stone, a Boze, a Bonde. And among the Grekes were lyke alteration of letters. And it may be the more easely borne, that one bowell may be chaunged in a word, & specially, A into O, which in some mannes mouth soundeth often tymes lyke, then that a sillible unpertinent to the proportion of latine, should be vnaptly added to. Notwithstanding Pomponius Mela maketh mention of a Gyaunt called Albion, whom Hercules slue in Gallia, which was the sonne of Neptuneus, who mought with more reason be demed the first gener of this name vnto this Isle, then y<sup>e</sup> the other surmises should be likely.

If any man can find matter more certeyne concerning the beginning of this Isle, I will not be offended, but congratulate with him his good fortune and diligence. Hetherto Cooper shewing howe this Realme was first called Olbion, and after Albion. And the lyke trauaile he taketh in shewing of hys opinion why this Realme was called Briteyn, & therein wyrteth as foloweth.

Britannia.

Of the first naming of this Isle (sayth he) is yet no certeyne determination, forasmuch as there remayneth no auncient Historie, making thereof remembrance, the olde Britons bookes (such as were) beyng all destroyed by y<sup>e</sup> Saxons: who endeuored themselves vtterly to extinct the honorable renoune with the name of Britons, lyke as the Gothes dealt with the Romaines. Also the part of Titus Liuius, where the conquest of Briteyn is remembred, with the stozies of Iulius Rusticus, and dyuerse other noble wyrters, that wrote speciallye of this Countrey, are vtterly perished. Such as remaine, as the Commentaries of Iulius Caesar, Cornelius Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus, and they that wrote of Cosmographie, haue omitted the originall beginning of the name. The Historie of Gildas the Briton cannot be found, who was after that the Saxons had inuaded the Realme, and therefore mought lacke such bookes as best should instruct him. As for Beda seemeth to haue seene nothing written of that matter. For where he sayth that this Isle took the name Britannia of the inhabitantes of Briteyn in Fraunce, it is nothing like to be true. For that Countrey was (not long before the tyme of Beda) named Armorica, & Armoricus tractus, when this Isle was called of most auncient wyrters Britannia, and (as Solinus wyrteth) seemed to be an other worlde, forasmuch as the West part of Gallia was thought to be the vttermost part of this World. Also Iulius Caesar wyrteth that the places of this Isle were vnknowne to Frenchmen sauing to a fewe Marchantes, and yet they knewe no farther than the Sea coast towarde Fraunce. Moreouer the same Britons affirme that it was left among them in remembrance that the innermost partes of the countrey was inhabited of them which had their first beginning in the same Isle. This well considered with the authoritie of the wyrters, both an excellent Prince, and also a great learned man, and was himselfe in this Isle, it is not to be doubted but that he most diligently searched for the true knowledge of the auncientie thereof.

Britannia.

thereof. And if he mought haue founden that the inhabitants had come of the stock of Aeneas, of whose progeny he himselfe came, he would haue reioyced much for the prowesse and valiant courage which he commended in them. Moreouer, that the name came of Brutus (whome our wyrters imagined to descend of Aeneas the Troyan) is no more lykely then that this Isle was called Albion of Dioclesians daughter, or of white rocks. All the olde Latyn Histories agree that the sonne of Siluius, the second in succession from Aeneas, and of them named the sonne of Ascanius, was Aeneas, called also Siluius, wherunto also the Grekes do accorde, but they name Siluius to be brother to Ascanius, and borne after the death of Aeneas, and was therefore called Posthumus. But neyther the Romaines, nor the Grekes doe write of any man called Brutus before Iulius Brutus which expelled Tarquinus out of Rome. Which name was also geuen to him (by the sonnes of Tarquyne) in derision bicause they tooke him to be foolish and dull wytted. Moreouer, there is so much diuersitie betwene Britannia and Brutus, that it seemeth against reason that the one should proceede of the other. For if Brutus had bene the first gener of the name to thys Isle, he would haue called it Burtia rather then Britannia, which hath no maner of proportion nor Analogie with Brutus. But here (as I haue done before in the worde Albion) I will declare a reasonable cause of coniecture why this Isle was named Britannia. About .xxx. yeres hence it happened in Wilshire at Iupe Church about two Myles from Salisourie, as men digged to make a foundation, they found an holow stone couered with another stone, wherein they founde a Booke, hauing in it little aboue .xx. leaues (as they sayde) of berye thicke Uelume, wherein was something written: But when it was shewed to Priestes and Chanons which were there, they coulde not reade it. Wherefore after they had tossed it from one to another (by the meanes whereof it was torne) they did neglect and cast it aside. Long after a peece thereof happened to come to my hands: which notwithstanding it was all to rent and defaced, I shewed to M<sup>r</sup> Hayster Rycharde Pace, then chiefe Secretarie to King Henry the .viij. whercof he exceedingly reioyced. But bicause it was partly rent, and partly defaced and blurred with wet that had fallen out, he could not finde any one sentence perfite. Notwithstanding, after long beholding he shewed me, it seemed that the sayde booke conteyned some auncient Monuments of this Isle, and that he perceyued this worde Pritannia to be put for Britannia: but at that tyme he sayde no more vnto mee. Afterward I geuing much study and diligence to the reading of Histories, considering whereof this worde Britannia first came, finding that all the Isles in this parte of the Ocean, were called Britannia, after my first coniecture of Albion, remembryng the sayde wyrtynge, and by chaunce finding in Suydas that Pritannia in Greke, with a circumflected aspiracion, doth signifie Metalles, also reuenues belonging to the common treasure, I than conceived this opinion, that the Grekes flourishing in wisdom, prowesse, and experience of sayling, as I sayd before in Albion, and finding the Isles of the great Ocean full of ryche Metalles, as Tymme, Leade, Iron, Brasse, Copper, and in some places great store of Golde and Syluer, they called all those Isles by this generall name Pritannia, signifying the place, by that which came out of it, as one would saye he went to market when he went to Andwarpe

Pritannia.



warpe or Barow, or to the fayre, when he goeth to Sturbridge, or to his reuemies, when he goeth to anye place from whence his reuenues do come. And yet because this Isle excelled all the other in any condition, it was of some priuately called Albion, that is to say, moze happier or richer. Thus farre D. Cooper. And thus haue you his opinion and iudgement concerning the first name and habitation of this Realme. And nowe I will returne to the Historie of Brute where I left.

Champs.

¶ After that Brute had landed in this Isle as aforesayd, and that he had passed and searched throughout the land, & comming by the riuer of Chamis, for the great pleasure that he had in that Ryuer and pleasaunt Medowes adioyning to the same, began there to buylde a Citie in the remembraunce of the Citie of Troy lately ouerthrowne & rased, & named it Troynouant, which is as much to say as newe Troy: which name endured vntill the comming of Lud, who was king of Briteyn about a thousand and fortie yere after. And the sayd king Lud commaunded it to be called after his abone name Luddes Towne, which now by shortnesse of speche we call London, and the same was builded. iij. C. lvi. yere before Rome was builded, in the time of Heli the high priest of Iewrie.

Troynouant or London.

Rome.

¶ When Brute had thus builded his Citie, and saw that he was stablished in his Realme quietly: he then by the aduice of his Lordes, commaunded the sayd Isle and Countrie to be called as dyuerse Authoꝝ write, after his abone name Briteyn, and his people Britons, and so continued his reigne prosperously. In the which time he established many good lawes and ordinaunces, for the good government of his people. But after this, as in this stoy shall apere, this Realme was conquered and brought in subiection to Straungers dyuerse and sundrie tymes, as first after Brute to the Romaynes, then to the Saxons which conquered this land, & called it Anglia (as saith Polichronicon) eyther of Angli, that is to say, people of Saxony, or of the name of a Queene of this lande that was called Angela. And some also thinke it was called Anglia of Angulus, which is in English a Corner, for that it is but a Corner in respect of the mayne and continent land of the whole worlde. Then was it in subiection to the Danes, and lastly to the Normanes.

Briteyn.

¶ Now, when Brute as is aforesayde, had set this Realme of Briteyn in order, he as the superioꝝ Lord deuided it into three partes, and gaue the same to his three sonnes, as aforesayd. And vnto Locryne his eldest sonne, he gaue this Isle of Briteyn, the which after was called middle England, wherein he had built his Citie called Troynouant, with all the Countries therebnto adioyning, both East, West, and South. And because this part shoulde sounde somewhat toward the name of Locryne, it was called Loegria, or Logiers: and therefore the Welshmen call it in their language vnto this day Hoyer.

Loegria.

Cambria  
now called  
Wales.

¶ To his second sonne Cambre, he gaue the Country of Wales, the which was first named after him Cambria. This in the East syde was sometyne departed from England by the Ryuer of Seuerne, as before is sayde. But now the Riuer named Dee at Chester departeth Englande and Wales on the Northsyde: and in the South, the Ryuer that is called Wyne, at the Castle of Stringlyng parteth the sayd Countryes.

¶ To the thirde sonne Albanact he gaue the North part of this Isle of Briteyn, and called the same Albion, or moze truely the sayd country tooke the name

name of the thirde sonne, and was called Albania. This Country was after named Scotlande, and so is it called to this day, and it is deuided as S. Vide sayth, from Loegria or Logiers by two armes of the Sea, but they meete not. The East arme of these two beginneth about two myles from the Mynter of Eburcuring in the West syde of Denilton. The West arme of those twaine hath in the right syde (or sometyne had) a strong Citie named Aclind, which in the British tongue was named Clinstone, and standeth vpon the Ryuer named Clint, supposed of some to be that towne, which is called at this day Burgh on the Sandes, within. v. myle of Carlisle, where that famous Prince King Edward the first dyed, in his returne from Scotland. And of others it is iudged to be the Towne called Aldburgh in Yorkshire set on the Ryuer of Ouse, which runneth from thence to Yorke, the space of. xij. myles or thereabout.

Albion now called Scot-land.

Aclind.

Burgh.

¶ Thus when Brute had deuided this Isle of Briteyn, as before is the word in three partes, and geuen the same vnto hys three sonnes, and had holden the principallitie thereof noble by the terme of. xxiiij. yeres, he dyed and was buryed in London, then called Troynouant.



**L**ocrinus, or Locryne the first and eldest sonne of Brute, was made King of Briteyn, next after the death of his father, in the yere of the worlde. M. D. viij. C. lxxv. In the tyme of the reigne of this Locryne, there was a certeyne Duke (who as the wyter of the Britons stoy sayth, was named Humber) who warred sore vpon Albanactus his brother, beyng the ruler of Albania, now called Scotland, and slue Albanact in plaine battaile. Howe be it, as some writers affirme, the sayde Duke was not at the tyme of his comming into Albania called Humber, but Hunys, or Hunnys, King of Hunes, or King of Scithya without any other addicion.

2879  
1084

Humber.

¶ This King as before is sayde, after he had thus subdued Albanactus, he helde the lande of Albania, vntill that Locryne with his brother Cambre gathered a great power of men of Armes together, and went against him, and by strength of the Britons chased and subdued the sayd Hunes so sharply, that many of them with theyꝝ King were drowned in a Riuer which departeth England and Scotland. And because vnto the wyter of the Stoy of Britons his name was declared to be Humber: therefore the sayde wyter sheweth that the Ryuer wherein the sayde Duke or Capitaine was drowned, tooke the first name of him, which name continueth yet to this day.

Gaufride

¶ Moreover, after the death of Brute his father, Locryne married with Gwendolocna the daughter of Cozyn, Nephew vnto the aforesayde Brute. And it so came to passe, that after the aforesayde victory had against the king of the Hunes, or of Scithya, as aforesayd, that Locryne fell in great phancy and loue with a faire Damoysell named Estrild, who was also the daughter of the aforesayde Humber, as the sayde Authoꝝ wyrteth, and Locryne kept her vnlawfully a certeyne tyme. Wherewith his wife Gwendolocna beyng sore discontent, excited her father and her friendes to make warre vpon the sayde Locryne her husbände, in the which warre Locryne was slaine, when

Gwendol

D. J.

he



he had reigned after the agreement of most wyfters. xx. yeres, and was buried by his father in Troynouant leauing after him a yong sonne named Madan. Fabian.

Gaufride.

But because myne Authoz whom I here follovo dissenteth in manye things from Gaufride, witer of the British Hystorie, I haue thought good to recite also as briefly as I can, what the sayde Gaufride reporteth hereof, to the ende that the reader may vnderstande wherein they varie, and then vse his awne iudgement touching the truth of the matter: his wordes in effect are these. When the threc bethzen, Locrinus, Albanactus, and Camber, had of long time peaceably reigned every one in his awne dominion, at the length a certaine king of the Dunes named Humber, arriued with an armie in Albania, and geuing battaile vnto Albanact slue him, and thereby compelled the inhabitours of that Countrie to flie vnto Locryne for ayde and succour; the which thing when Locryne vnderstoode, he ioyning vnto him his brother Camber, and they both assembled together a power of all the warrelike yong men of their Countries, and met and encountered with the sayde king of the Dunes, about the water now called Humber, and in fine discomfited his host and put him to flight, and then pursued him so egerly that he was compelled to take the sayd water, wherewith he was drowned, and therefore was it after the name of the king there drowned called Humber. This done, he deuided the spoyle of the field among his Souldiours, reseruing nothing to himselfe, but such treasure as he founde in the Ships, saue that he kept also for his awne store thre goodly yong Damoselles of passing beutie. Of the which thre, the first of them named Castrildis, was the daughter of a certaine king of Almayn, whome with the other two, the sayde Humber had caried awaye with him from her father, after he had wasted and destroyed his lande. The which Castrildis so farre excelled in beutie, that none was then lightly found vnto her comparable, for her skin was so whyte that scarcely the fynest kinde of Iuorie that might be found, nor the Snowe lately fallen downe from the Clament, or the Lyllys did passe the same: For this cause Locryne being rauished with the sight of her, determined to marry her. The which when Corineus vnderstood, he was in a wonderfull chafe, because Locryne had promised him before to marry his daughter: he therefore taking his battaile Acre in his hande, went vnto the king and spake vnto him on this wise: Is this the rewarde that thou geuest me Sir King for so many woundes as I haue receyued in thy fathers seruice and quarell, all the time that he warred against straunge and vnknowne Nations, that thou I saye, forsaking my daughter intendest this to couple thy selfe in marriage with a damosell of a barbarous Nation? Be thou sure I will be aduenged vpon thee, so long as there remaineth any strength in this right hand of mine, which hath beene the death of so many Gyants in the Sea coastes of Tuscane. And when he had repeated these wordes twise or thrise together, he tooke by his Acre as though he would haue striken the king, but both their friends perceyuing that, ranne betweene them, so that there was no harme done. And so Corineus being pacified, compelled the other to accomplish his promise. Thus therefore came it to passe that Locryne married Corineus daughter called Gwendoloua: Howbeit, the singuler great loue and affection that he bare vnto the sayde Castrilde could not yett out of his minde & be forgotten, wherfore

Humber.

Castrilde.

Corineus.

Strilde.

fore he made a Cane vnder the ground in the Citie of Troynouant and enclosed her therein, committing her vnto the custody of his most neere and fauourer friends: for standing in dread of Corineus he durst not vse her company openly, but as it is before sayde priuely and by stealth: in so much as he had the companie of her the space of vij. yeres full, and none knewe it, but a fewe of his verie familyer and faithfull friendes, for so often as he had access vnto her, he feyned that he would make a secret sacrifice to the Goddess of his countrie, and so he brought all men into a false beliefe causing them to thinke that it was so in deede as he sayd. But at the length it came so to passe that Estrild was great with childe and delyuered of a verie faire daughter, whom he named Habzen. At the same season also Gwendoloua was brought a bed of a man childe called Madan, which was committed to his Graundfather Corineus to be brought vp in those Artes that he was skilfull in. Afterwards, when in procelle of time Corineus was dead, Locryne put away his wife Gwendolyn, and caused Estrild to be crowned Quene. The which thing Gwendolyn being maruellous wroth withall, went into Cornewall, and assembling together the power of the youth of the country, began to disquiet Locryne and to warre vpon him. At the length they ioyned battaile and met together nere a Ryuer called Stooze, where the sayde Locryne was slaine with an Arrow. Then incontinent after his death, Gwendolyn folowing the raging passions of her fither, tooke vpon her the gouernement of this realme, commaunding Estrild with her daughter Habzen to be cast both hedlyng into the riuer Seuerne, called in English Seuerne. And further made a proclamation throughout all the whole realme of Briteyn, that the same water should be euermore called Habzen, after y<sup>e</sup> Haydens name, for so euen at this day is Seuerne called in the Welsh tongue. And this did she as one desirous to make thereby the name of the yong Hayden immortal, because she was her Housbands daughter: The same Gwendolyn reigned. xv. yeres after the death of Locryne, who reigned. x. yeres. At the length when she saw her sonne Madan was of a good stature and hable to gouerne himselfe, she caused him to be crowned king, being contented her selfe to leade the residue of her lyfe in her awne country of Cornewall. Hetherto Galfrid.

Habzen.

Estrilde crowned Quene.

Stooze riuer Locryne slaine.

Habzen the Riuer of Seuerne.

Habzen in Welsh, is Seuerne in English.

**I**n this time David, of the Tribe of Benjamin being the sonne of Iesai, or Jesse, was both the Kinge and Prophete of almighty God after the death of Saul: For by the commaundement of almighty God he was annointed king of Israell by the Prophete Samuell, whome Saule (after the spirite of God had forsaken him) partly for enuy that David was so highly praysed of the Israelites, and partly fearing that he would defeate him of his kingdome, vexed with cotinuall persecution: during which tyme, David shewed many examles, both of Godly pacience, & also of loyall obedience toward his Prince. Insomuch as when Saul (by the prouidence of God) fell in his hands: he onely cut a peere of the hemme of his garmēt, in token that if he had listend at that present, he might haue slaine him, & for y<sup>e</sup> dede, afterward he greatly repented that he had bene so bold, as to cut off a pece of the garment of Saul, his souereigne Lord & King: notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> he was his most grieuous enimie, and enery houre sought his death. This noble king reigned ouer Israell. xl. yeres, that is to say, he reigned ouer Iuda. vij. yeres, & ouer all Israell.

2891

1072

Dauid annointed King of Israell.

D. ij.

raell.



2. Reg. 2

raell. xxxij. yere. He did that was right in the sight of God, and put his trust and confidence in the Lord God of Israell, so that before, nor after him, was not the lyke among the Kinges of Juda: He cleaued to the Lorde, and went not from his steppes, he obserued the commaundementes that the Lorde had geuen to Moses: Wherefore God bare witness of him, that he was a man according to his owne heart and desire: and to him God remued his promises, of the health and saluation that was to be looked for in Christ our Sauour: and for a more certeyntie thereof, Christ of the Prophetes is called the sonne of Dauid. And furthermore, Dauid himselfe by the inspiration of God in his Hymnes and Psalmes most manifestly prophecieth of the Conception, Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, & heauenly Kingdome of our Sauour Christ. Wherefore among the Prophetes and other holy men, his writings were had in great estimation, and of like auctoritie as were the writings of Moses. This noble king expelled out of Israell the Jebusites, and made Ierusalem his Citie: He vanquished the Philistines, and brought the Arke from the house of Aminadab to Ierusalem. Lanquet.

Lanquet.

¶ But after all this, he forgat God and committed both murder, and adultery, but he most greuously repented the same, and called vpon God for mercy: but yet God did greuously punish him, neuertheless at the last he did behold his repentance, and forgave him, and restored him to the peaceable gouernement, not onely of all the Israelites, but also of all their borders, and made them all tributaries vnto Israell, and finally sent him a sonne by Bethsabe his Wife called Salomon, whom Dauid in the. xl. yere of his reigne assigned to take the charge and gouernance of the Kingdome of all Israell, and gaue vnto his sayde sonne Salomon a charge, that he shoulde buylde the Temple of God in Ierusalem, and gaue him also a plot and description howe he should buylde the same, and then he dyed. But such as are desirous to reade more of the story, may resort vnto the Bible, and read the seconde booke of the Kinges.

Salomon booke.

3. Regum.

2899

1064

Swendoline ouerred Briteyn.

**S**wendolena, or Swendolynne the wife of Locryne as before is expressed, which was the daughter of Corineus Duke of Cornewall, did after the death of her Husbände, because her sonne was to yong, take vpon her the gouernement of Briteyn, and was by the common assent of all the Britons, made Ruler thereof. And hauing full possession of the same, she well and discretely ruled it to the quiet and contentation of her subiectes, and so she continued vntill such tyme as Madian her sonne came vnto his laboufull age. At which tyme she gaue ouer the rule and dominion vnto him, after she had ruled this Islande, xv. yeres.

914

049

**M**adian, or Madian, the sonne of Locryne and Swendolynne, tooke on him the Gouernance of Briteyn at thys tyme, who (as some write of him) vsed great tyranny ouer his Britons. Notwithstanding, all or the most part agree, that he ruled the same. xl. yeres. At the ende of which terme, he being at disport on hunting, was of wyld Beastes or Wolues slaine or deuoured, and as Raynulphe of Chester sayth, he left after him two sonnes, the one called Memyricius, the other Manlius.

931

032

¶ About this tyme Salomon the sonne of Dauid by his wyfe Bethsabe, after

after the death of his father began to reigne as King ouer all Israell. And of him it is written in the. iij. Chapter and the. iij. booke of the Kinges, that he besought God to graunt him wisdom, which God gaue him in such abundance, that he excelled all that euer were before him, namely, in wisdom, policie, and good gouernance. And in the. iij. yere of his reigne, and. iij. Moneth called Zif, which some say is April, and some May, he began to buylde the Temple of God at Ierusalem, that is to say in the foure hundredth eightie yere after the Children of Israell departed out of Egypt. But in the ende, he forgat God and delighted in fleshy lustes and pleasures, he had seven hundredth wyues that were Queenes, and moreouer he had three hundredth Concubines that were straungers and Idolaters, and they turned his heart from God to Images, and Idolatry, so that his heart was not perfect with the Lorde his God, as his fathers was. And because Salomon would not turne to the Lord his God, therefore God sayde vnto him, that he would rent his Kingdome, but not in his tyme, but after his dayes. And Salomon reigned ouer Israell. xl. yere, and then dyed, and was buryed with his father in the Citie of Dauid, and after his death Jeroboam the seruant of Salomon reigned ouer x. Tribes of Israell, and Rehobam the Sonne of Salomon reigned but ouer two Tribes.

3. Regum. 6

The building of the Temple.

Jeroboam.

Rehobam

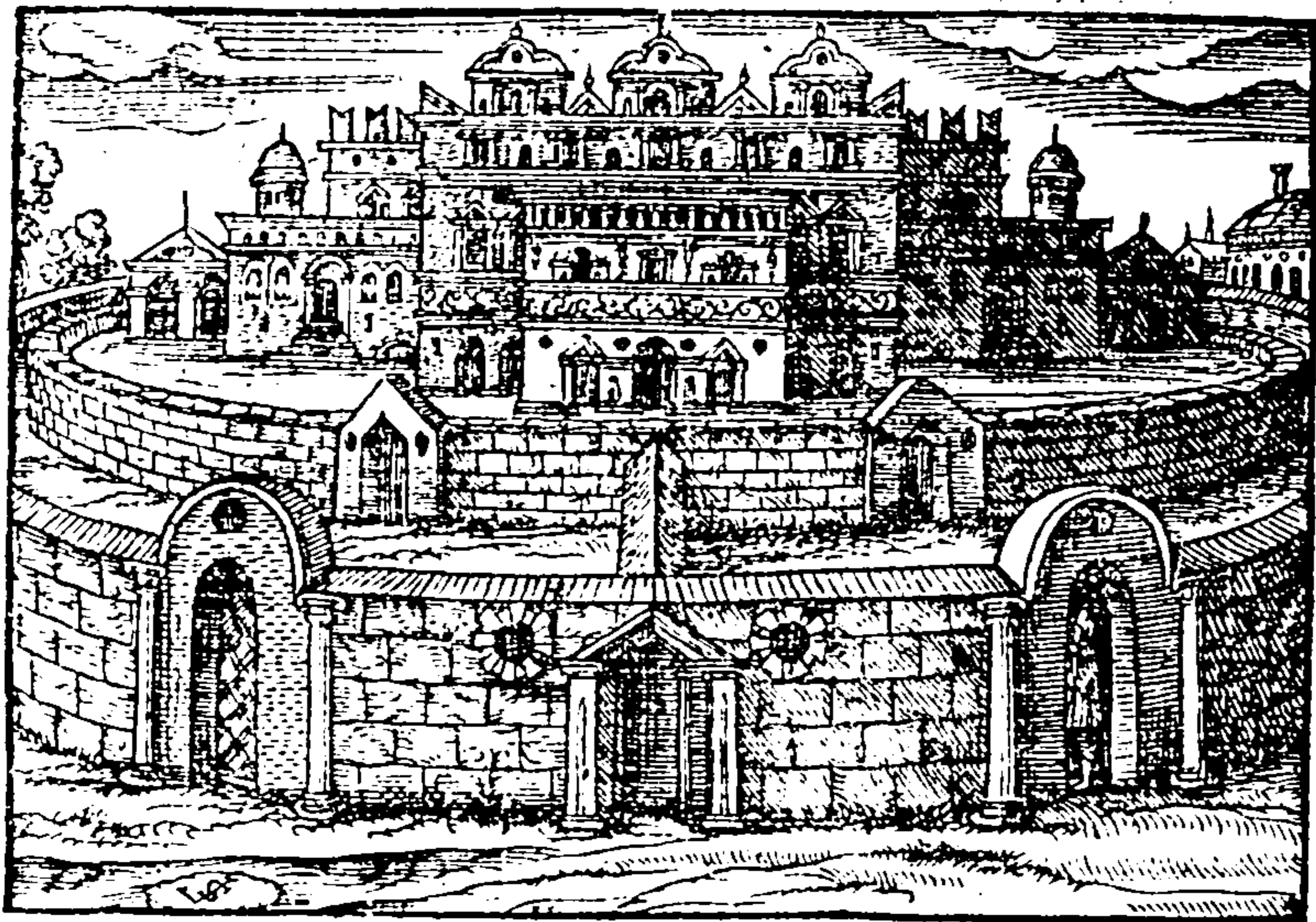
Here endeth the fourth Age, which continued from the departure of the Children of Israell out of Egypt, vntill the building of the Temple which conteyned, CCC. lxx. yeres.



D. iij.



# The fift Age, and fift part of this Chronicle.



The fift Age



**M**emprius, or Memprius the eldest sonne of Madan, and his brother Manlius, after the death of their father, made great strife for the soueraigne dominion of this Realme of Briteyn: But at the last Memprius by treason, procured the death and destruction of his bother Manlius, and shortly after he tooke vpon him the sole gouernement of this Realme of Briteyn, who in the tyme of his reigne vled such crueltie, and tyranney towards his subiectes, that he endeuoured to make away almost al the nobles of his Countrie, and now thinking himselfe in rest, he waxed slouthfull and tooke pleasure in filthie and fleshly affections, and at length gaue himselfe wholly to Harlots and Concubines, and finally forsooke his lawfull wyfe, and exercised the act of filthie Sodomy, and so brought himselfe into the hatred of God and all his people. And on a tyme goyng on huntynge, when he had lost his people, he was destroyed of weolues, after he had reigned. xx. yeres, leauing after him a goodlye yongling begotten of his lawfull wyfe, named Ebranke.

In this tyme Roboham the sonne of Salomon, began to reigne onely ouer two Tribes of Israel, that is to say, the Tribe of Juda, and Benjamin, and he was the first that reigned in Israel, the Tribes being deuided, as apereth in the. xi. Chapter of the thirde booke of the kings. And the cause why the

2954  
1009  
Memprici<sup>9</sup>

odomy.

Memprius  
the wyth  
the weales

271  
992

the other. x. Tribes of Israel did forsake to be vnder the gouernance of Roboham, was for that he refused and despised the counsaile of the sage, graue, and auncient fathers which were counsailers to his father, and gaue credite to the phancies and opinions of yong men, among whom he had bene brought by wantonly: and in the ende none folowed the house of Dauid but Juda. For Benjamin was geuen vnto Nathan, the brother of Salomon, but nevertheless they saythfully ayded Juda, as often as they needed: and he dyed when he had reigned. xviij. yeres.

Auncient fathers & graue counsellors are to be honoured.

**E**branke the sonne of Memprius, was made ruler ouer this land of Briteyn, in the yere of the world two M. ix. C. lxxiiij. and had as testifieth Reynulph Honke of Chester, Gaufride and other writers. xx. wyues, of the which he begat. xx. sones and. xxx. daughters, whose names are rehered of Geoffrey of Monmouth, wherof the sayrest was named Gwales, or after some Gwalea. He sent these daughters to Siluius, which was the. xj. king of Italy, or the. vij. king of Latynes, to the ende to haue them married to the blood of the Troyans.

2974  
989  
Ranulph. Gaufride.  
Geoffrey of Monmouth

This Ebranke was also a man of a comely stature, & of a great strength, and by his power and might he enlarged his dominion: in so much, that he boanne and occupied a great parte of Germania, by the ayde and helpe of the Latynes, and returned thence with great praye and ryches. After which returne he builded the Citie of Caerbranke, now called Yorke, which should be as sayth the Autho<sup>r</sup> of the booke named the flowres of stoyres, written in French in the. xxiiij. yere of the reigne of the sayde Ebranke, which account to follow, it should seeme that London was builded before Yorke. C. xl. yeres, supposing the Citie of London to be builded in the second yere of the reigne of Brute. In his saide Citie of Ebranke, hee made a Temple to Diana, and ordeyned an Archflampyn to gouerne the same, according to the labours of their Gods, or as we now call him an Archbysshop.

Yorke.  
Edon builded before Yorke. C. xl. yeres.  
Archflampyn or Archbysshop.

Also he builded in Albania or Scotland, the Citie and Castle of Maydens, the which now is called Edeborough, in the time that Roboham the sonne of Salomon reigned king of Israel. After which buildings finished and done, he with a great armie sayled into that part of Gallia, which now is called France, and subdued the Frenchmen, and a great parte of Germany and returned with great triumph and ryches. And when he had guyded this land of Briteyn nobly by the space of. lx. yeres, as most writers agree, he died and was buried at Caerbranke, or Yorke, leauing after him for his heyre his eldest sonne (as Gaufride sayth) named Brute Breneshield.

Edeborough  
Gaufride

At this time Abia the sonne of Roboham, and the fourth king of the Jewes, was after his father king of Juda, and reigned threer yeres, he overcame Hieroboam in battaile. He had. xiiij. wyues, and of them he begat. xxij. sones and. xviij. daughters.

2988  
973

Asa the sonne of Abia was after the death of his father king of Juda, he was iust and righteous in the keeping and obseruing of the commaundments of God, and in the ouerthrowing and destroyng of the Altares that were erected for to sacrifice vnto Idols, and after he dyed, when he had reigned. xliij. yeres,

2999  
973



3 Reg. 15.

lii. yeres, as apereth in the .xx. Chapter of the .iiij. booke of the kings.

3000

And here I finde noted in Lanquet these wordes: about this time, according to the prophetic of Heli, halfe the yeres of the worlde were fulfilled, signifying that the worlde should continue but .vij. M. yeres.

3031

932

This time also Josaphat the .vij. King of the Jewes reigned next after Asa his father, and he reigned .xxv. yeres in Jerusalem, and followed the good steps of his forefathers: wherefore God blessed him with great abundance and riches. He ordeyned Judges in euerie Citie of Juda, and commaunded the Levites to reade the lawe of God vnto the people, that they might thereby learne to feare God.

3034

929

Brute Greneshield the sonne of Ebrank was made gouernor ouer this land of Briteyn, and reigned .xij. yeres, and is buried at Caerbranke, or Yorke, leauing after him a sonne named Leyll, as sayth Fabian, Lanquet, and Bergamo. But Rastall and Carton saye that he reigned .xxx. yere.

3046

917

Carlile.

Leyll, the sonne of Brute Greneshield, after the death of his father, tooke vpon him the kingdome of Briteyn, and ruled .xxv. yeres. This was a iust man and a louer of peace, and in his time he builded a Citie or Towne, which after his awne name, he named Caerleyll, now Carlile, in the which he builded a Temple, and therein placed a flamin, and after dyed and was buried in his aforesayde Towne. This Leyll left after him a sonne named Lud, or as some call him, Lud Hurdibras.

3048

315

Chab King of Juda, a wicked king, reigned twoo yeres, hee ouercame Benadab King of Siria, and slue of the Sirians a hundred thousande.

3050

913

After him Jehoram the sonne of Josaphat the .viij. King of Juda reigned in Jerusalem: he walked in the wicked wayes of the kinges of Israell, as did the house of Achab, for the daughter of Achab was his wyfe, and he did that which displeased the Lord, and slue all his brethren: neuerthelesse, God would not destroy Juda, because of his promise made vnto Dauid, who promised that he would geue him a light in his children alwaye. And in his tyme Edom fell from vnder the hand of Juda and made them a king of their awne. And Jehoram reigned .xiiij. yeres, and then dyed, and was buried in the Citie of Dauid. 4. Reg. 8. 9.

Ochozias.

After Jehoram, Ochozias, or Ozias his sonne was the .ix. king of Juda, he was but .xxij. yere olde when he began to reigne, and he reigned but onely one yere. And in the ende, for yeelding to Idolatrie, hee was slaine by the people of Jehu king of Israell, the same murder being done at his commaundement.

061

902

Athalia the mother of Ochozias to be reuenged of the death of her sonne, slue all the blood royall, sauing one little childe called Jehoas, which was the sonne of the sayd Ochozias, which was kept and hidden from her, by Jehosaba the daughter of King Jehoram which was his Aunt. And he was with her hidden in the house of the Lorde. .vi. yere: And Athalia did reigne ouer the lande all that tyme: But in the ende she was most cruelly slaine, and yong Jehoas restored to the kingdome of Juda.

Jehoas

Jehoas, or Joas the .xj. King of Juda, and the first of the house of Nathan, reigned .xl. yeres. In the .vij. yere of his age, he was proclaimed and appointed king, and Athalia his Grandmother was slaine as abouesayd. And as long as he folowed the good admonitions of Joiada the high priest, he prospered: But afterward, falling into Idolatrie and other wickednesse, he slue Zacharias the Prophet betwene the Temple and the aultare, for which deede God punished him by the Syrians, and after he was slaine in his bed by hys awne seruantes.

3067

896

Zacharias slaine.

Lud Hurdibras, or Kathudibras, or as some wyte Rudibras, sonne of Leyll, began to reigne in Briteyn: And after he was stablithed in his kingdome, he appeased the great variance and discordes that sprang in his fathers tyme, and that beyng done, he then builded the towne of Caerkyu, which now is called Cantorbury: He builded also the Towne of Caerquen, now called Wynton or Wychester: And another towne called Mount Paladoure, now called Septon or Shaftesbury. In the time of the buylding of which towne of Septon, as affirmeth Gaufride, an Egle there spake certeyn wordes, the which he sayth he will not wyte nor declare for any certentye. And when he had ruled this land nobly by the space of .xxx. yeres, he dyed, and left behind him a sonne named Baldud or Bladud. But in very deede the sayde Gaufride was here deceyued, taking Aquila for the name of a birde called an Egle, which was the proper name of a man, that liued in the dayes of the aforesayd Lud Hurdibras, who by reason of the great knowledge and skill that hee had in the Judicialles of Astronomie, coude tell before of thinges to come, and therfore was in those dayes taken for a great Prophet, insomuche that when the same King was determined to builde Septon, or Shaftesbury, and had already layed the foundation of the walles, he desired the sayd Aquila, the Horoscope of the beginning of the said woork first considered, to shew his opinion touching the continuance and fortune of the same Towne: And therfore it is that many report how an Egle should then speake. This Aquila is of writers called Aquila Septonius, that is to say, Aquila of Shaftesbury. And of his diuinations and propheticies, there is further mention made in the .ix. booke and last Chapter of the sayd Gaufride.

3071

892

Cantorbury Winchester. Shaftesbu.

In euery of these thre Townes, he buylded also a temple, and therein placed a flamin, which is a Bishop.

Gaufride.

Bladud, or Baldud, the sonne of Lud Hurdibras, after the death of his father reigned ouer Briteyn. This man as sayth Gaufride, Polichronicon, and others, was very well sene in the Mathematicallies, and in Negromancie, and by that Art he made the hoate Bathes in the Towne of Caerbadou, now called Bathe, the which Towne or Citie he also builded.

3100

863

Bale.

John Bale in his booke of the famous writers of Briteyn, writeth of him in this wise: Bladud, surnamed the Magician the .x. king of the Britones, was sent in his youth to the famous citie of Athens in Greece, there to be instructed in Philosophie and the liberall Sciences. And when he had there studied a certaine time, hearing of the death of Lud Hurdibras his father, he returned home againe, bringing thence with him foure expert Masters in many Sciences, not thinking it meete that his Country should lack any lenger such singuler ornaments of learning as they were. These Philosophers as wyrteth Marlin, placed he at Staunforde in a verie pleasaunt soyle,

Marlyn Staunfoyle.



soyle, and made schooles for them, to the intent they should there reade the ly-  
 betall sciences, where they had many tymes a great audience. He was a man  
 very cunning and skilfull aswell in prophane sciences of the Gentiles, as in  
 all wisdome and knowledg that the Grecians excelled in: But especially stu-  
 dious and singularly well seene was he in the Mathematicall artes and sci-  
 ences, for the which cause, one of the Sibelles that liued in his tyme, hearing  
 of the wonderfull fame that went of his name and doctrine, wrote and dedi-  
 cated vnto him a booke of Prophecies, and foretellings of thinges to come.  
 Some affirme that the same Bladud builded the Citie of Bathe, and therein  
 made by a wonderfull arte certeyne hote Bathes, for the vse and commoditie  
 of the people, which do remaine yet to this day, committing the conseruation  
 thereof vnto the Goddesse Minerua, in whose honour he caused a Temple  
 there to be erected, to the entent that beyng preserued by so mightie a God-  
 desse should neuer faile, but continue for euer. They wrote also how that he  
 read and taught Necromancie throughout all his Realme. But these things  
 are verily as I suppose feined matters. Hetherto Bale. And it foloweth after  
 in the same Authour: And when he had at the length prepared himselfe by  
 Artinagique and Sorcery such winges as Dedalus made himself, he attempt-  
 ed to flye in the ayre in the presence of the people, in which attempt he fell  
 downe hedlong vpon the Altare of Apollo, and so brused his body with the  
 fall that he dyed thereof, when he had reigned. xxi. yeres, and was buried at  
 Troynouant. John Harding in the first booke, and. xrb. Chapter of his sto-  
 ry, sheweth that the schole or vniuersitie of Stamford aforesayd was forbid-  
 den by Austen the Monke, like as other vniuersities of this Realme were,  
 vnder this pretence, that they mainteyned the Arrian and Pelagian heresies,  
 the which his prohibition was the cause of the decay of the same vniuersities  
 and therefore long after his tyme, there was no common professing of lear-  
 ning, but in great Monasteries or Abbeyes. But William of Malmes-  
 burye sayth, that the hote Bathes were made by the procurement of Ju-  
 lius Cesar Emperour, hee dyed and was buryed at Troynouant, when hee  
 had ruled Briteyn by the space of. xx. yeres, leauing after him a sonne named  
 Leyr.

John Hard.

Austen the Monke.

3111  
852

Amasia Gaine.

3119  
844

Leycester.

Leyr.

**A**masia the sonne of Joas was after his father King of Iuda, and reigned  
 in the tyme that Joas the sonne of Joacham was King of Israell. In the  
 beginning he gouerned very well, but yet he did not ouerthrow the hill Altars  
 where they sacrificed to their Idols, and therefore when he had reigned  
 xxix yeres, hee was of his awne people slaine.

**L**eyr the sonne of Bladud, or Baldud, after the death of his father, was  
 made ruler ouer the Britons. This Leyr was of noble condicions,  
 and guyded his land and subiectes in great wealth and quietnesse, he  
 made the Towne of Caerleir now called Leycester. And albeit that this man  
 reigned long ouer Briteyn, yet is there no notable thing worthe of memo-  
 ry written of him, except as Gaufride sayth, that he had by his wife three  
 daughters and no sonne, and the daughters were named Gonozilla, Ragan,  
 and Cordeilla, the which he loued much, but most specially hee loued the yon-  
 gest, Cordeilla by name.

When this Leyr, or Leyth, after some writers, was fallen into com-  
 petent

petent age, being desirous to know the minde of his thre daughters, he first  
 demaunded of Gonozilla the eldest how well she loued him: the which calling  
 her Goddes to record, sayde, she loued him more then her owne soule. With  
 this answere, the father being well contented, demaunded of Ragan the se-  
 cond daughter, how well she loued him: To whome she answered, and af-  
 firming with great othes, sayde, that she coulde not with her tongue expresse  
 the great loue she bare to him: and added further, that she loued him aboue  
 all creatures. After these pleasaunt answers had of those two daughters,  
 he called befoze him Cordeilla the yongest: who vnderstanding the dissimu-  
 lation of her two sisters and entending to proue her father, sayde: Most re-  
 uerende father, where my two sisters haue dissimuled with thee, and vttered  
 their pleasaunt wordes fruitlesse, I knowing the great loue and fatherly  
 zeale, that thou euer hast borne toward me (for the which I may not speake  
 vnto thee otherwise then my conscience leadeth me) therefore I saye to thee  
 father, I haue euer loued thee as my father, and shall continually while I  
 liue, loue thee as my naturall father. And if thou wilt be further inquisitiue of  
 the loue that I beare thee: As thy ryches and substance is, so much art thou  
 woorth, and so much and no more doe I loue thee.

Gonorilla.

Ragan.

Cordeilla.

The father with this answer being discontent, married his two eldes-  
 daughters, the one vnto the Duke of Cornewale, and the other vnto the  
 Duke of Albania, or Scotlande, and deuided with them two in marriage his  
 lande of Briteyn after his death, and the one halfe in hande during his na-  
 turall life. And for his thirde daughter Cordeilla he reserued nothing.

It so fortun'd after, that Alganippus, which the English Chronicle na-  
 meth Alganip king of France, heard of the bewtie and womanhood of Cor-  
 deilla, he sent vnto her father and asked her in marriage. To whome it was  
 answered, that the king would gladly gene vnto him his daughter, but for  
 Dowar, hee would not depart with, for he had promised all vnto his other  
 two daughters.

Alganippus  
or Alganip  
King of  
France.

Alganippus, by his Messengers beyng thus enformed, remembering the  
 vertues of the afozenamed Cordeilla, did without promise of Dowar, take  
 the sayde Cordeilla to his wyfe.

But here is to be noted, that where this Alganippus or Alganip is cal-  
 led in diuers Chronicles the king of Fraunce, it can not agree with other hi-  
 stories, nor with the Chronicles of Fraunce. For it is testified by Reynulph of  
 Chester, and by Peter Dictaniens, by Robert Gargwyne, by Bishop Antho-  
 ny, and many other Chronicles that long after this tyme there was no king  
 of France, neyther was it long after called France: But at this day the in-  
 habitants thereof were called Galli, and afterwards were tributaries to  
 Rome without hauing any king, till the time of Valentinianus Emperour  
 of Rome, as hereafter in this worke shall be plainely shewed.

Galli.

The story of the Britons sayeth, that in the time that Leyr reigned in  
 Briteyn, the land of Fraunce was vnder. xii. kings, of the which, Alganippus  
 should be one, the which sayng, is full vnlke to be true, and the same maye  
 be proued many wayes, but I passe ouer, for that it is not my purpose to vse  
 any speciall discourse of the kings of Fraunce.

Then it followeth in the History, when Leyr was fallen into age, the a-  
 foresayd two Dukes, thinking long befoze the Lordship of Briteyn fell into  
 their

Conetons  
the roote of  
all euill.



Gaufride

Maglanus

Henninus.

Leyr fleeth out of his land.

Aganippus

Leycestre.

3149

814

Ozias plagued with leprosie.

3158

805

Cordeilla name in prison.

3162

800

Parasites & caterers.

side & countnes.

their handes, arose against their father (as Gaufride sayth) and spoyled him of the gouernance therof vpon certayne condicions to be continued for terme of lyfe, the which in proesse of tyme were minished, as well by Maglanus as by Henninus houbands of the afozenamed Honorild and Ragan: But that most displeased Leyr, was the unkindnesse of his two daughters considering their wordes to him before spoken and sworne, and now found and proved them all contrary.

For the which he being by necessitie constrained, fled his land, and sayled into Gallia for to be comforted of his yongest daughter Cordeilla. Whereof she hauing knowledge, of naturall kindnesse comforted him: And after shewing all the matter to her Husband, by his agreement, receyued him and his to her Lordes Court, where he was cherished after her best maner.

Long it were to shew vnto you the circumstance of the bitterance of the unkindnesse of his two daughters, and of the wordes of comfort geuen to him by Aganippus and Cordeilla, or of the counsaile or purueyance made by the sayde Aganippus and his Lordes, for the restoring againe of Leyr to his dominion: But finally, he was by the helpe of the sayde Aganippus restored againe to the gouernement of the Realme of Briteyn, and possessed and ruled the same as Governour therof, by the space of three yeres after. In which season dyed Aganippus. And when this Leyr had ruled this land by the terme of xl. yeres, as diuerse do affirme, he died and was buryed at his awne towne Caerleyr or Leycestre, leauing after him for to inherite the lande, his daughter Cordeilla.

This tyme Ozias, or Azarias, the sonne of Amasias, reigned king after his father ouer Iuda, and he reigned. Lij. yeres, and towarde the ende of his reigne he began to ware proude, and would haue vsurped the Priestes office, wherfore he was stricken with a leprosie, and dyed. 2. Paral. ij.

Cordeilla, the yongest daughter of Leyr, was by the assent of the Britons made Queene of Briteyn, and she guyded the land full wisely by the terme and space of. v. whole yeres. The which tyme expired, her two Nephewes Morgan and Cunedagius sonnes of her two sisters, came vpon her land, and made therein great waste and destruction, and at the last tooke and cast her into a strong Prison, where she beyng in dispaire of the recovery of her estate (as sayth Gaufride) slue her selfe.

Cunedagius, and Morganus, Nephewes as aforesaide of Cordeilla, deuided this land of Briteyn betwene them: That is to say, the Countrey ouer and beyond Humber towarde Catnesly, fell to Morgan, and the other part of y land toward the West (as sayth Gaufride) fel to Cunedagius.

After two yeres ended, some Pykethankes and Flaterers came vnto Morgan and sayde, that to him it was great reproche and dishonor (considering that he was come of Honorilla the elder sister, and of Maglanus her Husband: And Cunedagius was descended of Ragan the yonger sister, and Henninus her Husband) that he had not the rule of all the land, to which lewde persons Morgan geuing credence, was enflamed with pryde and couetousnesse, and anone by theyr counsaile, assembled a great host, and made warre vpon his Cosyn, brenning and destroyng his land without mercy. Whereof Cunedag

Cunedag being ware, in all haste gathered his people: And after a certeyne message sent by him for reconciliation, seeing that there was no peace to be made, but the same must be determined by dynt of sword, and the iudgement of battayle, he met with his Cosyn in plaine fielde: where the Goddes were to him so fauourable, that he slue many of the people of his sayde Cosyn, and at the length compelled him to flee. After which victorie thus had, he pursued Morgan from Country to Country, vntill he came within the Province or Country of Wales, in the which the sayd Morgan gaue vnto the sayd Cunedag another Battayle: But for that he was farre the weaker, he was there ouerthrowen, and slaine in the fielde. Which fielde or Country where the said Morgan fought, and was slaine, is to this day called Glamargan, which is as much to say, as Morgans land. And thus was Morgan slaine, when he had reigned with his Nephew two yeres.

I Datham the sonne of Ozias, or Azarias was after his father king of Iuda, and when he began to reigne, he was. xxx. yere olde, and reigned. vij. yere. He was a good Man, and one that feared God, and obeyed his commaundementes, but he did not breake downe the hill aultares, that were set vp to sacrifice vnto Idoles.

Riuallus or Riuallo the sonne of Cunedagius, was after his father ruler ouer Briteyn, and he ruled with great sobernesse and kept the lande in great wealth and prosperitie: Albeit that of him is left no speciall memory of anye notable act done in his tyme, except that (as Gaufride sayth) it rained blood in his tyme by the space of three dayes continually within the land of Briteyn. After the which raine ensued a great an exceeding number and multitude of flies, the which were so noysome and contagious that they slue many people. And after (as sayth an olde Authour) ensued great sicknesse and mortalitie, to the great desolation of this land.

Then it foloweth in the history: that when this Riuallo had reigned after most wyrters xlj. yeres, he dyed and was buried at Yorke, leauing after him a sonne, named Gurgustus. And in this time the Citie of Rome was greatly enlarged and encreased by Romulus, or after the minde of Fabian and others first builded.

Chas the sonne of Jonathan was after his father king of Iuda, he was xxx. yere olde when he beganne to reigne, and he reigned. xxx. yeres in Jerusalem, he folowed the wicked wayes of the kings of Israell.

Ezechias the sonne of Ahas was after the death of his father king of Iuda, and reigned. xxxix. yeres in Jerusalem, he loued, feared, and serued the Lorde, and was a Prince, iust, verteous, and religious, he was diligent in the obseruing and keeping of the commaundements of almighty God, and there was not found in any of the kings that reigned before him no defect vnto him, lyke vnto him in bountie and vertue: He brake the Brasen Serpent and restored againe the true honouring of God.

Manasses the sonne of Ezechias was after his father king of Iuda, and he reigned. lb. yeres in Jerusalem, he was a very euill Man, and wrought much wickednesse in Iuda, he set vp Idols and worshipped them, he defiled the Temple, and sacrificed his children vnto the Goddes, he filled Jerusalem with the blood of Innocents, he despised the admonitions of the Prophets,

Morgan slaine. Glamargan fielde.

3176  
787

3197  
766

Blood rained by the space of three dayes.

Flies slue many peop

Romulus greatly encreased R

319  
77

326  
75

Wale Serpe

327  
7



Esay the Prophet put to death.

Manasses repented.

3 2 4 2

7 2 1

Gurgustus or Gorboduan.

Pozke.

3 2 7 9

6 8 4

Bathe.

2 9 2

6 7 1

2 9 5

6 6 8

Bible read to people by Isidore.

2 6

8 7

2 7

phets, and put to death the most holye Prophet Esaias, cutting him in the middle with a Sawe: wherefore God being displeased, reysed by the king of Babilon, who with a mightie power invaded Turye, tooke the king by a trayne, and brought him captiue to Babilon. Then in his captiuitie he acknowledged God, and confessed his sinnes, and tooke great repentance, through which, finding grace with God, he was restored againe to his kingdom, where he abolished all Idolatry, and restored the true honoring of God and commaunded that it shoulde be iustly obserued, and so passed all the rest of his lyfe in the feare of God. He also repayed the walles of the holy Citie of Jerusalem, and ordeyned Garrisons in all his Cities. Lanquet.

**G**urgustus the sonne of the afozenamed Riuallus was made Ruler of Briteyn after the death of his father. And this man in the Englishe Chronicle is named Gorboduan the sonne of Reignold, of whom there is small mencion made eyther of his reigne, or of any notable dedes done in his tyme, except that the aforesayde Authoz doth witnesse, that he reigned xxxviij. yerres: leauing after him none heyre of his body begotten, and lastly dyed and was buried by his father at the Citie of Caerbzank, other wise called Pozke.

**S**illus, or after some wyters, Siluius the brother of Gurgustus (as sayth the English Chronicle) was made ruler ouer Briteyn, and reigned as sayth Lanquet. xliij. yerres, and was buried at Caerbadon or Bathe, and left after him none heyre of his body.

**A**mon or Ammon the sonne of Manasses was king of Juda, and reigned two yerres, and his owne seruantes conspired against him and slue him in his awne house.

**J**osias the sonne of Amon, was after his father king of Juda, and he reigned in Jerusalem. xxxi. yerres, he was a good man and feared God, and obeyed his commaundements, and walked in the good wayes of king Dauid, without declyning eyther to the lefte hande or to the right. He purged his lande from all Idols, Images, and Woodes, and burned the bones of the Priestes of Baall, and densed all wickednesse out of the Cities of Manasse, Ephraim, Simeon, and euen vnto Nepthalim: he repayed the Temple, that the holy thinges might be couered. The Booke of the lawe of Moses which had bene lost of a long tyme, was found againe by his meanes, which he caused to be read vnto the people. Finally, vpon to much presumption, he made warre vpon the king of Egypt, where he was wounded and dyed thereof. 4. Reg. 23.

**J**achas the second sonne of Josias, was after his father king of Juda, and reigned onely three Monethes, and was taken and brought captiue into Egypt, in whose place his brother Joachun was made king, and reigned. xi. yerres, an insolent and naughtie Prince, who not regarding the prophecies of Jeremie, burnt the bookes thereof, and was at the last slaine, and left vnburied as a Beast.

**L**ago or Lago, the Coyne of Gurgustus (as sayeth Gaufrid) as next heyre was made gouernour of Briteyn. Of this man also the wyters make small mencion, eyther for the quietnesse of the tyme, or else for the

the rudenesse of his dedes, he reigned. xviij. yerres and dyed without issue and was buried at Pozke.

**J**achin called also Jechonias reigned ouer Juda thre Monthes, and. x. dayes, he yeelded himselfe wyllingly vnto Nabuchodonosor, by the counsaile of Jeremie: who sent him to Babilon, with all the Noble men and ornaments and Jewels: among whome also was the Prophet Ezechiel.

**J**osias the fourth sonne of Josias to take vpon him the rule of Juda, and made him sweare by the name of the Lorde that he shoulde saythfully serue the Chaldeys, in token whereof he named him Zedechias, he was the. xxiiij. and last king of the Jewes, and reigned. xi. yerres. This Zedechias brake his amitie with the king of Babilon, and entered into league with the Egyptians. For which cause Nabuchodonosor returned and besieged Jerusalem by the space of one yere. viij. Monthes, and. v. dayes. After which siege, the holy Citie with the most sacred Temple, miserably with pestilence, famine, sword and fyre, was destroyed. The king himselfe with all his Nobilitie taken, his children slaine before his face, his eyes pulled out and sente into captiuitie to Babilon. ij. Para. xxxviij. Chapt.

**T**hus was the whole Nation of the Jewes without respect eyther of Age or kinde, eyther slaine or brought into Babilons bondage for their obstinacie against God and his Prophets, and for the sinne and transgression of their kings, Priestes, and all the people, the yere after the vniuersall flood. M. lxxviij. after the arriual of Brute. CCC. Lxxxiij. after the beginning of the kingdom of the Jewes. CCC. lviij. after the building of the temple. CCC. xliij. and after the building of Rome. C. xxxviij.

Here endeth the fift Age of the worlde, and is from the building of the Temple, vnto the captiuitie of Babilon, which the Hebrewes accompt. CCC. xliij. yerres.



E.ij.

3 3 3 7

6 2 6

Ezechiel taken captiue

3 3 4 7

6 1 6

Manasses the last king of the Jewes

Jerusalem the Temple utterly destroyed.

The destruction of the Jewes.



# The sixt Age, and sixt part of this Chronicle.



The sixt Age

352  
619



**K**inimacus the sonne of Sifillus, as some wyrters haue, but more truly as sayth the olde Chronicle, the brother of Lago, was made ruler of Briteyn, as his brother before him was, and passed his tyme without any notable actes or deedes, so that of him there is no more memozye than is of his brother. For the most of them that write the feates and deedes of the Britons, make but a short reherisall of these five kings, that is to say, from Riuallo to Gorbodug, sayng that after Riuallo succeeded Gurgustus, after him Lago, and after Lago, Kinimacus, and after Kinimacus succeeded Gorbodug. Of these five kinges is made little other mention. Then it follooweth in the olde Chronicle, that when Kinimacus had reigned. Liii. yeres, he died, and was buryed at Porke: leauing after him a sonne named Gorbodug.

60  
03  
atel the  
phet.

In this tyme was that most noble Prophet Daniell, and he flourisheth in Babilon. And in his youth by his wisdome, he deliuered Susanna from death, and he expounded the dreames of Nabuchodonosor: And finally, he was cast into a denne among hungry Lions, where by the power of God he was preferred from harme. Afterwarde he prophesied both of the coming of Christ, and also of the Empires of Babilon, Media, Persia, Grecia, and the Romaynes.

83  
80

The Scots as their Chronicles shew, did at this time first inhabit Scotland,

land where they liued long tyme vnder sundry Capitaines, as they call them, untill the tyme of Fergus, sonne of Ferquard, King of Irelande, who ayded the Scottes against the Pichtes, and was the first king of Scottes, as they say.

England habitid before Scottes as the Scottish Cronicle doth accompt 528. yere.

**G**orbodug succeeded his father Kinimacus, in this Realme of Briteyn, and by most wyrters he reigned. lxiij. yeres, and then dyed, and was buryed at London, which then was called Troinouant, and left behind him two sonnes, named Ferrer, and Porrer, but some call them Ferrus, and Porreus.

3404  
559  
Troinouant

In this tyme Barachias, called also Zorobabell, Nephew to Joachim, and Jelas the high Priest, with. xlv. thousand, three hundred, three score and ten Jewes, were deliuered free from Babilon by Cyrus, and returned into their awne land: where they repayed againe their Citie, and cast the foundation of their Temple, renewed their labours and Sacrifices, albeit they were sometyme let by their borderers. .i. Eld. 4. .v. vi. And in the yere of the worlde 3446. the Temple was cleane finished, and with great ioy dedicated againe unto the Lorde, wherin they offerred their Sacrifices, and celebrated theyr Phase, or feast of Passouer, in geuing of thanks to God which had turned the heart of Darius vnto them.

3418  
545

Jerusalem the Temple againe repayed.

**F**errer and Porrer his brother, Sonnes of Gorbodug reigned ouer this Realme of Briteyn, and continued in amitie a certain tyme. After which tyme expired, as sayth Reynulph and Gaufrid: Porrer being covetous of Lordship gathered his people together vnknowne to his brother Ferrer, intending to destroy him. wherof he being warned, for lack of space to assemble his people for sauegarde of his lyfe, fled sodainly into Gallia or France, and prayed ayde of a Duke of Gallia named by Gaufrid, Marhardus or Suardus, the which Duke ayded him, and sent him againe into Briteyn with his host of Gallis. After whose landing, his brother Porrer with his Britons met him, and gaue to him Battaille, in the which battaille Ferrer was slaine, with the more parte of his people. But here some wyrters write that Porrer was slaine and Ferrer suruyued. But whether of them both was lying, han did the mother of the same two brethren named, Widen, setting a parte all motherly pittie, with the helpe of her women, most cruelly murdered, in the night season in his sleepe, and cut him in pieces. And thus ended the aforesayde two brethren, after they had reigned in Briteyn in warre and peace. v. yeres. And here endeth the lyne or offspring of Britte, after the opinion of most wyrters, for as Gaufrid sayth, after the death of these two brethren, great discorde arose among the Britons, the which continued long among them, by meane wherof the people were forebered and rayped vnder. v. Kinges, whose names I finde in an olde Bedegge to be Rudaneus, that was King of Wales, Clotemis King of Cornewall, Plamor King of Loegria, Scaterius King of Scotlande, Ysaac King of Northberlande. And as sayth Guydo de Columna the Britons abhorred the bylage of Gorbodug, for so much as first the one slue the other, and chiefly for the vnnaturall disposition of the mother, that so cruelly slue her awne child. The English Chronicle sayth, that after the death of the two forrenamed brethren,

3467  
496

Ferrer slaine.

A cruell vnnaturall murder.



then, no rightfull inheritor was left on lyue, wherefore the people were brought into great discorde, insonuch that the lande was deuided into foure partes. So that in Albania was one ruler, in Loegria another, in Cambria the third, and in Cornewall the fourth. But of these foure Rulers, the English Chronicle alloweth Cloten Duke of Cornewall, for most rightfull heyre.

Raynulphe of Chester sayth, that after the death of the sayde brethren, great discorde was in this lande vnder the gouernement of .v. kinges, but he neyther reherfeth their names nor the times of their reignes, saying that he sayth that the discorde continued vnto the coming of Mulmucius Dunwallo. So that here appereth no time certaine, howe long this discorde and variance among the Britons continued, but who so lust to looke in Fabian, in a draught by him drawne, in the beginning of his Chronicle, shall there finde that it continued nere to the terme of .Lj. yeres.

About this time Eldas, by the lycence of Artaxerxes came from Babilon to Jerusalem with .xviij. C. .lxxv. Jewes, to repaire the lawe and Citie of God, and to teache the people: for he gathered and brought in order the bookes of the holy Scripture, before scattered and destroyed, and inuented the same Hebrew Charectes which are used at this day.

And here also I finde noted by Lanquet, that at this time began the computation of the .lxx. weekes of Daniell, euery wecke conteyning .vij. yere, which finisheth at the death of Tiberius, after whome Caius caused his Image to be set in the Temple, vnder the name of great Jupiter.

Mulmucius or Moluntius Dunwallo, the sonne of Cloten, banquished the other Dukes or rulers, and reigned himselfe ouer Briteyn. This man ruled Nobly and builded a house in the Citie of Troynouant now called London, which house as some suppose is now called Blackwell Hall. Also he made many good lawes, the which long after were called Mulmucius lawes. These lawes Gildas translated with great diligence out of the Britische speche into Latyn. And long time after, Aluredus or Alured king of England turned the same out of Latyn into English, or the Saxon tongue. He also gaue priuilege to Temples, to Ploughes and Cities, and to the wayes leading to the same. Wherby as Raynulphe sayth, all such malefactours as fled vnto them for succour and sauegarde of themselves, might not be emperched nor molested any maner of wayes of their enemies, so that had a man done neuer so much harme (as Carton reporteth in his story) if he might once come into the Temple, it was not lawfull for any to mistreate him, and lykewise he shoulde bee suffered therein to go safe and in peace, and afterward go into what Country he would without any harme. And if any man fortun'd to set any violent hand vpon him, he then shoulde leese his lyfe. And as some Authours affirme, he began the foure highe wayes of Briteyn, the which was finished and priuileged also by Belinus his sonne, as after shall be declared. The olde Chronicle testifieth that this Mulmucius, whom he nameth Moll and Carton Douebant made the two Colonies of Malmesbury and Wyres. And many other wyrters affirme that after he had stablished himselfe in this land, and set his Britons in good order, he by the aduise of his Lordes ordeyned him a Crowne or Diademe of Golde, and caused himselfe to be crobored with great solempnitie after the vsaunce of the Dagan

John Duke of Cornwal.

3503  
406

3510  
453  
Daniell. 9.

3522  
441

Blackwell Hall.

Raynulphe.

Carton.

four wayes.

Mulmucius first king of Briteyn made a waye of

Daganlabo. And for this cause, after the opinion of some wyrters, he was called the first king of Briteyn. And all the other before reherfed were called Rulers, Dukes, or Gouernours. Of the same Mulmucius it is further written by John Bale Doctour and others, that he was a great fauourer and supporter of all learned men, and that by him was restored to the auncient trade and maner, the science of Chiuallrie, wonderfully decayed before his tyme, and in maner cleane extinguisht.

Finally, when he had guided the lande well and nobly the space of .xl. yeres, he dyed, and was buried in Troynouant, now called London, leauing after him two sonnes, the one named Belinus, the other Brennus.

Belinus and Brennus the two sonnes of Mulmucius, began to reigne ioynntly as kinges of Briteyn: and Belyne held Loegria or Logiers, which is that part that we now call England, Wales, and Cornewall. And Brennus had all the land beyond Humber, with the which partitione eche of them held himselfe well contented, and so was the Realme of Briteyn peaceably gouerned betwixt them, the space of .v. yeres, as Polichronica sayth, and in this meane tyme Brennus builded the Citie of Bristow. After which tyme, the sayde Brennus entending to haue more lande or all, arose against his brother Belyne, and made vpon him sharpe and mortall warre. In the which warre Brennus was ouerset and compelled to fle the lande, and to sayle to Armorica, now named little Briteyn, but as Raynulphe and Gaufride sayth, he went into Norway, and there married the daughter of Elfinge or Elfyng which then was Duke of Norway. When this was shewed vnto Belyne, he considering the sodaine departing of his brother: did in all the hast first lease Albania, and al the other land that belonged to Brenne into his atone hand, and fortified the Cities thereof and other strong places, with his atone Garisons and Souldiours. Wherof when Brenne was aduertised, he in all possible hast assembled a great armie of people of the Norwayes, and tooke his shipping to sayle into Briteyn. And as he was keeping his course vpon the sea, he was encountred with Guithdacus king of Denmarke the which had lye in awaite for him, for loue of a Damself that he had married, which before tyme was promised vnto the saide Guithdacus by the saide Elfinge her father. When these two Princes were met, strong shot and fight was vpon both parties: but finally the Danes overcame the Norwayes, and tooke the Ship by strength, wherein the yong Damself was, who was quickly brought vnto the Ship of Guithdake. And so in fine Brenne with a fewe of his Shippes left, was faine to prouide for his atone safetie by flight.

When Guithdake had thus obteyned the victory, he entending to haue sayled toward Denmarke, the tempestes were so great, and wind so contrary, that he was enforced to land in Northumberland, where at that tyme was Belyne making of preparation of defence against his brothers coming. But when word was brought vnto Belyne, of the landing of the king of Denmarke with a smal company he reioyced at it, and commaunded him with his Shippes and company to be put in sure holde and keeping.

It was not long after, but Brenne had newly rygged and victualled his Shippes, and hearing of the arriual of Guithdacus in Northumberland with

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Brennus  
Belyne

Guithdacus  
king of  
marke.

Guithd

Guithd  
king of  
marke



with his wyfe, sent woordes of manace vnto his brother Belyne, willing him to send vnto him his wyfe, wrongfully rauished and deteyned by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, and also to restore him to his Patrionomy, or else he would shortly inuade his lande, the same for to waste, and as his enemy to destroye. The which request was of Belyne plainly and shortly denied. Wherof when Brenne had knowledge, he shortly after landed in a part of Albania, & made towarde his brother, and his brother towards him: so that their hostes met nere vnto a Wood, named the Calatere, where betuene them was a mortall and terrible battayle, insonuch, that much people were slaine vpon both parties: But in the ende the Britons wan the fielde, and chased the Norwages vnto their Shippes. And as Gaufride sayth, the fight was so cruell & sharpe, that there were of both sydes slaine, to the number of .xl. M. men.

¶ After this discomfiture, Brenne was constreyned to flie, and with a very fewe in number, recouered the land of Gallia.

¶ Belinus hauing obteyned this great victory ouer his enemies, after thanks and oblations made vnto his Goddes, after the maner of the Pagan lawe: he then assembled his Lordes at Porke, and there tooke their aduice what he should do with the King of Denmarke. In the which counsaile it was concluded, that the aforesayde Guilthdacus should holde and do homage to the king of Briteyn for the land of Denmarke, and yerely pay vnto him a thousand pound for a tribute: which beyng done with suretie and hostages, the sayd Guilthdacus with his woman, was set at libertie, and returned into his awne Country.

¶ Now when Belyne had by this victorie possessed the quiet state of this Realme, he confirmed the lawes made before by his father, and did ordeine that iustice was ministred throughout the lande. And wher the foure wayes begon by his father were not perfighted and ended: He therfore called workmen and set them to paue the same with stone, that they might the better bee knowen to all traauylers.

¶ The first of these foure wayes was named Fosse, the which stretcheth out of the South, into the North, & began at that tyme at Cotnesse in Cornewall, and passed forth by Devonshire, Somersetshire, and so forth by Cutbury vpon Coffeswolde besyde Couentry vnto Leycester, and from thence by wyld playnes toward Newarke, and endeth at the Citie of Lincolne.

¶ The seconde way was named VVaelingstreete, the which stretcheth ouer what the waies of Fosse, out of the Southeast, into the Northeast. This began at Douer, and passeth by the middle of Kent ouer Chamts beside London, by west of Welminster, and so forth by S. Albones, in the west syde of Dunstable, of Stratford, of Touceter, & of Wedon: by South Killingbourn, by Atherstone, and then passeth besides Bewdley ouer Senerne vnto Gilbertes hill, that now is called the Wrekyn, and so forth vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales vnto a place called Cardican at the Irish Sea.

¶ The thirde way was named Ermingstreete, the which stretcheth out of the West, Northwest, vnto the East Southeast, & beginneth at S. Davids in west Wales, and so stretcheth forth vnto Southampton.

¶ The fourth and last way is called Kyleseldes streete, the which stretcheth forth by Worcester, by Naycombe, by Birmyngham, by Lichfelde, by Darby, by Chesserfelde, by Porke, and so forth vnto Tynmouth, the which were

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were sufficiently made. And he graunted and confirmed vnto them, all such priuileges as before were granted by Dunwalio his father. The which priuileges with other lawes by him made, such as are desirous to knowe, let them reade the translation of Gildas, made of Adulmucius lawes, out of Britishe speech vnto latine, and there he shall see the whole.

¶ While Belyne was thus occupied, his brother Brenne beyng as aforesayd in a prouince of Gallia, taking his expulsion very grienouly, and beyng without comfort to attayne to his former dignitie, at the last resorted (being accompanied onely with .xij. persons) vnto the Duke or ruler of that Prouince or Country.

¶ For ye shall vnderstande, that in those dayes (as sayeth Eutropius and other wyters) the Gallis occupied diuers Countries. And therefore Titus Linius wrote the histories of the Romaynes, made distinction of the Gallis, and nameth them that Brenne lead when he besieged Rome, and afterwards the Capitoll Senones Galli, of whome the Citie of Sene in Tuscayne tooke name, because (as testifieth the Authoz of Chronica Chronicarum, and other) it was first builded of the aforesayd Galles in the tyme of Brenne being there Duke and leader before the comming of Christ. CCC. lxxx. yeres. And for this cause the Senenses are of the aforesayde wyters reckened also among the Galles.

¶ Now when Brenne was comen to the Duke, whome Gaufride calleth Signinus Duke of Alebrog, the which is to be vnderstande the Duke of Armorica, now called little Briteyn, as Reynulph doth plainely declare, and that he had opened vnto him all his griefe and trouble: the sayde Duke receyued him into his Courte with all curtesie and gentlenesse. And for that he was a personable & of gentle nature furnished with all that belonged to a Gentleman, he within a short tyme after was had in great estimatiō before any other that appertained to his Court. By reason wherof at the last he fell in loue with his daughter, and in the ende married her vpon condicion that if he dyed without issue Male, that he then should be ruler of that Countrie, and if it happened him to haue an heyre Male, that then yet notwithstanding, to ayde and helpe him to recouer his land lost.

¶ The which condicions well and surely vpon the Dukes partie, by the assent of the Nobles of his land were assured. And the sayde Duke within lesse then one yere following dyed. After whose death, when by a conuenient tyme, it was knowne that the Duchesse his wife was not with childe, all the Lordes of the land did their homage to Brenne. To the which Lordes, the more to winne their loue, he departed much of his treasure, and shortly after with their assent gathered a great armie, and so in all haste sayled into Briteyn to make new warre vpon his brother Belyne, and after a little tyme landed there. Of whose landing when Belyne was informed, he in all haste gathered his Britons together in great number & made towarde Brennus, as to his mortall enimie. But the mother of the two brethren, named Conwenna, or after the English booke Conwey, considering the mortall hatred betuene her two children, of a motherly pitie went betuene her two sonnes, and bled her selfe so wisely and discretely, that at length she agreed them. After which agreement, both the brethren with their Lordes and friendes sped them vnto Troynouant, or London, and there after many things done and ordered

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ordered for the weale of the lande, they agreed to leade both their hostes into Gallia for to subdue to them the sayde Countrie. And in as goodly haste as they might prepare for the iourney, they tooke shipping and so sayled into a part of Gallia, brenning and waisting the Countrie without all pittie. And as sayth Gaufrid, they in short time subdued a great parte of Gallia, Italy, and Germany.

¶ Here Gaufrid doth vary from Eutropius, Titus Linius, and other the writers of the Romaine Histories, for where Gaufrid sayeth that at suche time as Belyn and Brenne made warre in Italy, Gabius and Porfena were the Consules of Rome, that sayng differeth farre from other. For as they affirme, at the time when Brenne besieged Rome, Claudius Emilius, and Lucius Lucretius were Consules, & Furius Camill' was at that time Dictator of Rome, and none lyke vnto the other were Consules many yeres before nor after.

¶ But truth it is, that the sayde two brethren did many great actes in the afozenamed Countries, but not all agreeable with the sayng of Gaufrid. For where he referreth all those deedes to both brethren, the afozenamed Titus Linius speaketh but of Brenne, as hereafter shall appere. Now when Belyn had remained a certeyne of time with his brother Brenne in those partes, by agreement of them both, Belyn returned into Briteyn, & Brenne remayned behinde.

¶ When Belyn was returned into Briteyn, he repayred certaine olde Cities and builded vpon the Riuer of Uske a Citie, and called it Caerufke, nere vnto the Riuer of Seuerne. This Citie was after named the Citie of Legions because the Legions of the Romaines were lodged in the same Citie, and now it is called Caerleon, which in the time of king Arthur was an Vniuersitie and had in it two hundred Philosophers, as Gaufrid writech, which being well learned in Astronomie and other Sciences, diligently obserued the courses of the starres, and by true and infallible reasons, shewed before what straunge and wonderfull things should that time happen vnto king Arthur.

¶ Also he builded in Troynouant an Haven, with a gate ouer the same, in the Dynacle or top whereof was a vessel of brasse, in the which was inclosed the Ashes of his brent body, when he was dead. This gate was long after called Belyns or Belynus gate, and at this day it is called Belyngsgate.

¶ While Belinus was thus occupied in Briteyn, his brother Brenne desirous to winne fame and honour, builded in Italy and in certeyn partes of Gallia certeyn Cities and Townes as foloweth.

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|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| { Pauy.     | { Comum.  | { Vincencia, |
| { Bergomum. | { Nixia.  | { Milcyn.    |
| { Seua.     | { Verona. | { Tridentum. |
|             |           | { Cremona.   |

¶ The which Cities and Townes were builded of the Galles, or at the least were new repayred in the time that Brenne was their Duke and leader, although some writers suppose that Comum, and Cremona were builded after Brenne was dead. Reynulph sayth, that the Senons, which he meaneth by the Galles dwelling about the Citie of Sena, by the leading of Brennus ouercame the Romaines. xj. Miles from Rome, at the Riuer Albia, and chased

Belyne and Brenne were great conquerors.

Caerleon.

Belyngsgate

Reynulph

chaced them to Rome and tooke the Citie, and after layed siege to the Capitoll. And in a night while the warders of the Capitoll slept, the Frenchmen or Galles by a way vnder the earth came into the Capitoll and were lykely to haue wonne it. But a noble Romaine named Mallius or Manlius Torquatus, awoke by the crying and noyse of a Gander or Ganders. The which Manlius resisted the Galles, for which the Romaines long time after held a feast of Ganders the first day of June: Howbeit, afterward, it was called Junos feast, because they thought that Juno the Goddesse had by her influence geuen that grace vnto the Ganders, that they should by their noyse awake the Romaines. But yet the Galles or Frenchmen, helde the Romaines so shorte, that they were compelled to giue vnto Brenne their Duke a thousande pound weight of Golde, as sayeth Titus Linius, and he sayeth further that the Galles slue of the Senators of Rome a great many in number, whome they supposed to haue bene Goddes, because of the riche apparel that they sate in. But shortly after this, the afozenamed Furius Camillus, which was called againe from the Citie of Ardea, where he was outlawed before, and by the Commonalty of Rome in this distresse made againe Dictator, pursued Brenne and his people, and gaue to them battaile, and slue of them a great number, and wanne from them all the Golde and Jewels that before time the Galles had wonne of the Romaines. The which deede was done. CCC. lxxij. yeres before the comming of Christ.

¶ Now when Brenne was this discomfited of the Romaines, he turned his people toward the Macedones or Grekes, and deuided them into two hostes, whereof he reteyned the one with him, and the other he sent into a Countrie called then Gallacia, and after Gallogrecia, and lastly Galates. Then Brenne ouercame the Macedones, with their Duke Sofreme, and after spoyled their Goddes and their Temples, and sayde in myrth, riche Goddes must geue to men some of their riches. Also he spoyled the Temple of the God Appollo Delphicus, standing in the hill of the Mount Parnassus. Wherefore as sayth Politarpus, the people of that Countrie prayed to God for helpe, and sodainely the earth began to quake, and a great parte of the hill fell vpon the host of the Galles and slue them. And after that, there fell Hailestones of such greatnesse, that it slue another part of the host, and Duke Brennus was sore wounded, whereby he fell in such dispaire, that he slue himselfe with his awne sword.

¶ Now for as much as I haue here shewed you the ende of Brennus, I will now retorne to Belinus his brother, who as before is declared, busied himselfe in the guyding and ordering of his Realme and people of Briteyn, and in executing many notable deedes, like as he constituted and ordeyned three Archflamyns, whose Seas, were at London, Yorke, and Caerleon. And as Master Layland sayth, he buylded the Tower of London, and did many other notable things in his dayes, the which for length I ouerpasse: and finally he dyed and after the Dagan maner, was with great pompe buried and buried at Troynouant in London, when he had reigned with his brother and alone, after some writers. xxvj. yeres, leauing after him a sonne named Gurguinthus, or Gurguint Brabtruc, or after some wyrters Gurguint Barbaronge, which is to meane Gurguint with the red beard.

Gurguintus

The noyse of a Gander awoke Mallius and saved the Capitoll.

Ganders Feast.

A great gill not long inoyed.

Furius Camillus a Dictator of Rome, wanne againe from Brenne, all that euer Rome had lost.

Brenne discomfited

Gallacia, Gallogrecia, Galates.

Brenne ouercame the Macedones.

A straunge thing.

Brenne killed himselfe.

Belyne dead.

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75

**G**urguintus the sonne of Belyne, a Prince of great wisdom and sober-  
 nesse and when time came succeeded his father, & reigned king of Bri-  
 teyn. xix. yeres, who following his fathers steppes, loved both peace  
 and iustice. This king forasmuch as the tribute that was graunted to his fa-  
 ther by the king of Denmarke, was nowe denyed to bee payed, assembled a  
 great army, and prepared a great flay, and sayled into Denmark, and there  
 wasted & spoyled the Country with sword and fyre, in such wise, that at length  
 the king of Denmarke, with the assent of his Baronage, graunted to pay and  
 continue the aforesayde Tribute of a thousande pound yereley. Howbeit Gau-  
 frid wyrteth, that he slue the sayde King in battaile. After which victoery thus  
 had of the Danes, he with great triumph returned into Briteyn. And in kee-  
 ping of his course, he encountered with a nauie of. xxx. sayle besyde the Isles  
 of Orades full of Men and women, of which flote, the chiefe Capiteyn was  
 called as most writers affirme, Bartholomew, & which when he was brought  
 vnto the kinges presence, shewed that he with his people were put or exiled  
 out of Spaine, and were named Balenges, and had sayled long time vpon the  
 Sea, to the ende to finde some Prince that woould geue to them a dwelling  
 place, and they to become his Subiectes, and to holde their lande of him, be-  
 seching the king to haue compassion vpon them, and to graunt to them some  
 place to inhabite in, that they should no lenger dwell in their Shippes, consi-  
 dering their victuall was spent by reason of their long lyng vpon the Sea.  
 After which request thus made by their Capitaine, the king with the aduice  
 of his Barons, graunted to them a boyd and waste Countrie, which was and  
 is the farthest Isle of al the Isles toward & west, the which, Isle as saith the  
 English Chronycle, was then named Irelande, after the name of their Capi-  
 teyn called as he wyrteth Irlamall. But who so will knowe the first cause of  
 the naming of this Isle Ireland, let him reade the. xxxij. and. xxxiii. of the first  
 booke of Polichronica, and there he shall finde the more certenty of the naming  
 thereof, with many other thinges touching the sayd Isle.

Then it foloweth in the story, after Gurguintus was returned into his  
 land of Briteyn, he established and ordeyned to be kept the lawes made by his  
 forefathers, and exercised iustice to his Subiectes, and gouerned his lande  
 well and nobly by the space of. xix. yeres, and then dyed, and was buryed at  
 Caerleon, or after some wyrteth at Troynouant, leauing after him a sonne  
 named Guynthelinus or after some, Guintellius.

**G**uintelinus, or Guintellius the sonne of Gurguintus, was made king  
 of Briteyn, and he guyded this lande with great meekenesse and so-  
 bernesse. He had also a noble wyfe called Marcia, who was learned in  
 many sciences, and among other noble deedes by her done, she set forth vnto  
 the Britons a wholesome and notable lawe, which long tyme after was called  
 Marcians lawe. This lawe, for that it was good and necessary, Aluredus  
 which long after was king of England, translated out of Britisch into the Sar-  
 ons speech, and then was it called euer after in the Sarons tongue, Marthe-  
 helag, that is to say, the lawe of Marcia. To this woman for her wisdom,  
 was committed all the gouernance of the land, and (as Gaufride sayth) shee  
 reigned as Queene of Briteyn a certeyn tyme after her Husband was deade.  
 But the yeres of her reigne are accompted with the yeres of her Husband, or  
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356

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lawes.

with the yeres of her Sonne Sifillus, so that the tyme of her reigne is not  
 certeyne.

In this time the said Guintelyn builded the towne of Warwike, which  
 was about the tyme of the birth of great Alexander. But after that the Sar-  
 ons destroyed it. But it was reededyed agayne by king Gyderius.

Now when Guinthelinus had reigned well and worthely the space of  
 xxij. yeres, he dyed, and was buried at Troynouant, or London, leauing  
 after him a sonne named Sifillus, or Cecilius.

**C**ecilius, or Sifillus, the sonne of Guinthelyn, reigned king ouer Bri-  
 teyn, but there is no notable thing wrytten of him, but that (as the Scot-  
 tes wryte) in the first yere of his reigne, a people of Ailmaine called Wich-  
 tes, arpyed here in Briteyn, and possessed those partes which we now call the  
 Marches of both the Realines of England and Scotland, and when he had  
 reigned. vij. yeres he dyed, and left after him a sonne named Kymarus.

3640  
330  
Wichres.

**K**ymarus, & sonne of Cecilius, reigned king of Briteyn, but of him there  
 is nothing wrytten, but that he was a wilde and wanton Prince, geuen  
 to all pleasure and pasture, & reigned but thre yeres, beyng slain of his  
 aduersaries as he was a hunting, and left after him a sonne named Clanius.

3640  
323

**C**lanius the sonne of Kymarus, reigned king after his father, but some  
 Authours wyte that Clanius was brother to Kymarus, and some  
 wyte that Kymarus and Clanius was but one person, howbeit: it is  
 moit lyke they were two persons, now to be thort, he reigned but two yeres,  
 but other wyte (whom I credite) as Lanquet, that he reigned. ix. yeres, and  
 then dyed.

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**M**ozindus the bastard sonne of Clanius (as sayeth Gaufride) was  
 made king of Briteyn. This man was gotten vpon the Concubine  
 of Clanius, named Tanguetela, and was a man of worthy faime in  
 dedes of Chivalrye, but he was so overcome with wrath and cruellnesse, that  
 commonly he was the death of any that angred him. Besides this, he was  
 comely of personage, and liberall in rewarde, and was also of a merueyous  
 strength, insomuch, as he had not his lyke of any man that was within the  
 Realme, beyng of Noble birth.

3652  
311

Mozindus  
a cruell  
man.

In his time there came a Prince into this realme out of a Country called  
 Mauritanie, the which Prince with his cruell and fierce people wasted the  
 land of Briteyn with sword and fire, without all pitie and mercy. Whereof  
 when Mozindus was certified, he in all haste gathered his people, and met  
 with him in the field, and bad him battaile, and fought in such wise, that at the  
 last he chased the Prince to the Sea againe, and tooke many of his Soul-  
 diers Prisoners, whome to be reuenged of the tyrannie vled by the sayde  
 Prince, he caused to be put to death in diuerse cruell maners, as by hangyng,  
 heading, sleayng, brenning, and other cruell executions done in his sight.

Cruell exe-  
cutions.

Finally (as sayth Guido de columna) and other, this Mozindus on a time  
 walking, or riding along by the Sea coast, espied a wonderful strange Mon-  
 ster, the which of his knighthood and courage he thought to slaye. And with

Guydo de  
Columna.

f. j. a manly

78  
88



Mozindus was slaine & deuoured of a Monster in the Sea.

a manly force assayed the Monster, fighting with it a certeyne space: But in conclusion, he was deuoured and swallowed of the sayde Monster, after he had reigned. viij. yeres, leauing behinde him. v. sonnes, Gorbomannus, Archigallo, Elidurus, Wigenius, and Beredurus.

3652  
311

About this time the Scottes begunne their Chronicles at Fergus or Fergusius the sonne of Ferquard king of Ireland: who (as they write) came with a great power out of Ireland to their ayde in the tyme of dissension, betwene them and the Pichtes, where by wisdom and prowesse he so handled the matter that he agreed those people, and obteyned such fauour, that they elected him to be their king, and he reigned among them. xxv. yeres, and finally in passing the Seas betwene Ireland & Scotland, he was drowned.

Fergus king of Scottes drowned.

But these Histories of the Scottes, as they set them foorth are full of lyes, and agree with none other Historiens, for they saye that Fergus slue Coill king of Briteyn, when there was then no such of that name, nor many yeres after, as it maye hereafter appere. But I will take the yeres of the reignes of their kings as they write them, which were from this time vnto the comming of Cesar. CC. lx. yeres, for the which cause I haue here for the better agreement of the Historie and computation of the yeres, begonne to write of them.

3660  
303

Gorbomannus the first sonne of Mozindus was made king of Briteyn, he was a iust and a righteous man both to his Goddes and to his people, that is to saye, he yeelded and gaue to eyther part that was theirs, he gaue to his Goddes due reuerence and sacrifice, and ministred to his people iustice and equitie. And he renewed and repayzed all the olde Temples throug his Realme, and builded some new, and as the English Chronicle sayth, he builded the Towne of Cambridge and Grantham. And in the time of his reigne the land was much more welthier than it was in the dayes of his predecessors. But finally to the great sorrow of all his people, he was taken with a grieuous sicknesse, and thereof dyed without issue of his body, when he had reigned after most wynters. xi. yeres.

Cambridge builded. 309. yeres before Christ.

Gorbomannus dead.

3671  
292

Archigallo or Artogallo, the second sonne of Mozindus, and brother vnto Gorbomannus reigned king of Briteyn. This man folowed nothing the steppes of his brother, but gaue himselfe to all quareling and strife, and imagined causes against his nobles, to pull from them their goodes and dignities, and in their places to set vp bnnoble, and men of rude birth and maner. And so from the riche, by synister meanes he plucked their riches and goodes: by which inordinate meanes, he enriched himselfe, and impouertised his subiectes. For which condicions his Lordes and subiectes murmured against him, and at the last by one assent tooke him and deprived him of all honor and kingly dignitie, when he had reigned. v. yeres. And they aduanced into the kingdome his brother Elidurus.

Archigallo deposed.

3676  
287

Elidurus the third sonne of Mozindus and brother to Archigallo, was by the assent of the Britons made king. This man became so mylde and gentle to the Britons, that they gaue to him a surname, and called him Elidure the meeke. And among other deedes of meekenesse, this that

that foloweth is not the least to be noted. It happened him on a day to be on hunting in a Wood nere vnto Porke called Calater, and there he founde hys elder brother Archigallo late king, wandering in the thickest of the Wood, whom lovingly & charitably he in secret maner conueyed home to his mansio house, into the Citie then named Aldud or Aclint. And (as Gaufride sayth) to the intent to bring his brother to his former dignitie, as after solloweth: For when Elidurus returned home, he feyned him selfe sicke, and in all the haste sent his messengers about his realme to gather an assembly of the Barons of his land together. And when the day of assembly was come, and his Lordes according to his commaundement were present, he called them one by one, as they were of honour into his priuie Chamber, and there by his wyse and discrete wordes he gat graunt of his sayde Lords to ayde and strength him to bring his brother Archigallo to his former dignity and Regality. After which graunt by the Lordes made, he assembled a counsaile at Porke, and there so perswaded the commons that they were content to receiue Archigallo againe to be their king. And then Elidurus when he had reigned. v. yeres, resigned to his brother the Crowne, and all his kingly honor and dignitie.

Gaufrid.

Elidurus worthy and gētīc Prince.

About this time Ptholomeus Philadelphus, king of Egypt reigned in Alexandria. This prince aboue al other was geuen vnto study & learning. He made a Librarij in Alexandria, which hee furnished with innumerable sortes of bookes of all Sciences. Among which as chiefe was the volume of Moses law. And the king heering that the deuine lawe was in Jerusalem, he being verie desirous to haue it translated, first discharged out of bondage all the Jewes that were in his subiectiō, who were in number aboue one hundreth thousand persons. And then he sent Demetrius and Aristeus to Eleazar the high Priest of the Jewes with great gittes to the Temple of God, desiring that the law might be sent vnto him, with learned men to translate it into Greke. And forthwith Eleazar sent. lxxij. interpreters, who commonly are called Septuaginta interpretes. These the king honorably receyued, & sent them to Demetrius Clerk of his Librarij in Alexandria, who provided a place for them, where they assembled daylie to translate the holys Scripture, and in lxxij. dayes, they finished it. Lanquet.

Ptholomeus Philadelphus.

Demetrius Aristeus.

The lxxij. Interpreters.

But the Authoz of Chronica Chronicarum sayth, that when the lxxij. were come to the king, he caused euerie of them severally to be enclosed in seuerall places alone, and euerie of them by him selfe did severally translate the lawe, which in lxxij. dayes they finished, and the sayde Authoz allegeth for him Saint Augustine, that when the translations were conferred together, they differed not, neither varied in worde nor sentence, the which translation was by the Jewes offered vnto the king, and the king calling vnto him the interpreters, did first geue them thanks, and after lycenced them to depart to their Countrie, and gaue vnto euery of them in rewarde three sites of Apparell, and two Talents of Golde, and one Cup of one Talent of Golde, and sufficient furniture for all their iourney and expences.

And in this tyme also Ferithias, brother to Fergus, was chosen King of Scottes during the nonage of his brothers children, who by Ferlegus his Nephew, for the desire to reigne, was slaine, when he had reigned. xv. yeres, and Ferlegus for that act fled Scotland.

f. ii.

when

3678  
288



Archigallo  
king of Brit-  
eyn amended  
his life.

When Archigallo was againe restored to his kingdome as aforesayde, he remembered well the euill life that before tyme he had led, and the punishment that he had suffered for the same, wherfore in the eschewing of like daunger, he chaunged all his olde condicions and became a good and a righteous man, ministring to the people equitie and iustice, and bare himselfe so nobly and honorably towards his Lordes and the rulers vnder him, that he was beloued and drad of all his subiectes, and so continued during the terme of his naturall lyfe, and finally he dyed, when he had reigned now lastly. x. yeres, and was buried at Porke.

3691  
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Elidurus a  
vertuous  
Prince, com-  
mitted to the  
tower of  
London.

Elidurus before named, was now againe by one assent of the Britons made king: But his two yonger brethzen, Uigenius and Peredurus hauing indignation at him, for that he was for his vertue and good gouernaunce so well fauoured and beloued of the Britons, conspired against him of malice, and gathering an armie of Souldiours, gaue him battayle: and in the fielde tooke him, and then sent him to the Tower of Troynouant, which now is called the Tower of London, and there kept him as prisoner, when he had reigned now lastly two yeres.

3693  
270

Briteyn par-  
ted betwene  
two brethzen

Uigenius and Peredurus the yongest sonnes of Mozinus and brethzen of Elidurus before sayd, reigned ioyntly as kings of Briteyn. These brethzen parted the land betwene them: So that all the lande from the water of Humber westwarde fell to Uigenius: and the other parte of the land with Albania or Scotland also, fell vnto Peredurus. But as sayeth Guydo, Uigenius was not king, but alonely Peredurus, who as he sayeth, kept his brother Elidurus in Prison, by his owne assent, because Elidurus was not wylling to be king, as the sayde Guydo sayth. Peredurus was cruell and tyrannous to the Britens, and slue and intreated the Lordes in most cruell maner, so that in the ende he became so odious vnto them, that they rebelled against him and slue him. But Saufride sayth, and it appereth to be tru, that Uigenius dyed when he had reigned. vii. yeres: After whose death Peredurus seized all the land into his owne rule, and ruled it with great sobernesse, in such wise that he excelled all his other brethzen, so that Elidurus was cleane forgotten of the Britons: But at the last Peridurus was visited with sicknesse, and thereof dyed, when he had reigned with his brother and alone. ix. yeres, leauing behinde him no childe.

Peredurus  
daine.

3693  
270

Magnus yongest sonne of Fergus, after the death of his Uncle, was king of Scottes, and in his tyme he deuised many superstitious Ceremonies to be vsed in his Pagan law, and when he had reigned. xxix. yeres, he dyed.

3702  
261

Elidurus before named, as sone as Peredurus was dead, forasmuch as he was next heire to the Crowne, was taken out of Prison and made the thirde tyme king of Briteyn: who as before tyme he had bled himselfe, so he continued still in ministring to all persons, right, and iustice, all the dayes of his lyfe. And lastly, beyng of a good age, he dyed when he had now reigned. iiii. yeres, leauing after him a sonne named Gorbonianus, or Gorbomannus, and the sayd Elidurus was buried at Carlisle.

Gorbomannus

3705  
258

Gorbomannus, or Gorbonianus the sonne of Elidure, was king of Briteyn, after whome succeeded Morgan, and after Morgan Emerianus, brother to the sayd Morgan, the which Emerianus was de- priued for his cruelnesse.

Peridure being king gouerned the land well and wo:thely, and reigned. iiii. yeres, and is buried at Dekring.

VIGEM when he had reigned. iiii. yere, dyed.

Regin put away all maner of cruelnesse, and was gracious, and full of pity among the people, and reigned two yeres. Mercifull.

Morgan was a cruell king, and reigned. ix. yeres, but Lanquet sayth, he was a mercifull king and reigned. xiii. yeres. Mercifull.

Emerianus, or Ennian, brother to Morgan, reigned as a Tyrant ouer Briteyn, for the space of. vii. yeres, and then he was deposed. Cruell.

Iswall, beyng king of Briteyn, was a good Man, and commendable in all his actes, he reigned. xx. yere. Mercifull.

RIMO A vertuous man, and he reigned. xx. yere. Mercifull.

Groncyus sonne of Elidure was king and liued vertuously, and had two sonnes, Cathell, and Coyll, and reigned. xx. yeres. Mercifull.

CATELLVS or Cathell, the sonne of Geroncius reigned. x. yeres.

COILL was brother to Cathell, and reigned. xx. yere.

PORREX the sonne of Coill reigned in Briteyn. v. yeres.

Cherinus, or Cheryn was a great Dronkarde, and he had three sonnes, Fulgenius, Eldadus, and Androgius, and he reigned but one yere. A drunkard.

EVLGEN sonne to Cherinus, reigned two yeres.

Eldadus sonne to Cherin, reigned one yere. And in this time, as sayth Lanquet, there was a Childe borne in Rome with four feete, four handes, four eyes, as many eares, and hauing both natures. A wonder.

ANDROGIVS reigned after Eldadus king of Briteyn one yere.

Vrian the sonne of Androgius, succeeded his father in the Realme of Briteyn, and reigned. iiii. yeres, and was a lecherous man, and gane himselfe wholly to the filthie lustes of the flesh. Lecherous.

Eliud Cosin to Vrian, was made king by election of the people, and reigned. v. yeres.

ELEDANCVS was son to Vrian, who liued delicately & reigned but one yere.

CLOTHEVS was king, and reigned two yere.

f. iij.

GVRGVNCIVS



GVRGVNCIVS reigned. viij. yeres.

MORIAN was a Man of great beutie, he reigned two yeres.

BLEDVD, or Bladunus, reigned after Morian two yere.

CAPENVVS, some to Morian, reigned three yeres.

OVINVS ruled Briteyn two yeres.

SILIVS, reigned in Briteyn two yere.

Musick.

**B**ledgabredus succeeded in the gouernement of this realme, and he was the most excellent man in musick that was in those daies, & he reigned. x. yere.

ARCHIMALVS was king after his brother Bledgabred, & he reigned. ij. yere.

ELDOLVS reigned king of Briteyn. iij. yere.

RODIAN reigned king of Briteyn two yere.

REDARGIVS reigned king of Briteyn three yere.

SAMVLIVS reigned king of Briteyn two yeres, & was a very good Man.

PENISELLVS reigned king of Briteyn two yeres.

**P**yrus reigned king of Briteyn two yeres, and the heare of his heade was as bright as the shining Golde,

CAPORVS the sonne of Pyre reigned two yeres.

**D**iuellus reigned ouer Briteyne. iij. yeres, he was a very wyse and be-  
trous Prince.

Hely.

**H**ely the sonne of Diuellus reigned ouer Briteyn, not full one yere, and he had three sonnes, Lud, Cassibelan, and Stennius, or rather Stennius, they were wise men, and valiaunt in warres. And of this man the Isle of Hely tooke (as some writers affirme) the first name: notwithstanding, Laylande supposeth it to be so called, of Celys, which are there ingendred in great stoye, and therefore callieth it in latine Insula Anguillaria.

Ludgate.

**L**ud the eldest sonne of Hely, was after his father King of Briteyn. This Man was honorable in all his deedes, and he builded new temples and repayed the olde. He also repayed olde Cities and townes, and specially the Citie of Troynouant, where he caused many buildings to be made, and also made about the sayde Citie a strong wall. And in the west part of the sayde wall, he erected and made a strong and fayre Gate, and commaunded the same to be called by his abone name Luddes gate, which at this day is called Ludgate. And for that he loued this City, he used much and often to lye therein, by reason wherof it was called Caerlud, or Luds towne, & after by corruption of spech, it was after called, & is so named at this day London.

Wale wyrteth how there fell great dissension betwene Lud and his brother

ther Stennius aforesayd, about the chaunging of the name of Troynouant into Luddes towne, or London, because it might be the occasion that the memorie of Troy and the worthy deedes there done, should thereby be buried in obliuion, and be forgotten.

**T**his Lud also (as sayth Gaufrid) was strong and mightie in armes in subduing his enimies. He was also bounteous and liberall and kept a great household, by meane wherof he obteyned the great loue and fauour of all the Britons. And when he had reigned in honour. xj. yeres, he dyed, and was buried in his gate called Ludgate, and left after him two sonnes, as Guydo sayth, the one named Androgeus, and the other Temancius, or Temancius.

And buried  
in Ludgate

**C**assibelan or as some wypte Cassiuelan, after the death of his brother Lud, was made king of Briteyn, for so much as the two sonnes before named, were to yong and insufficient to take in hande so great a charge. But as sayth the flowre of Histories, this Cassibelan was not made king of Briteyn, but rather ruler or protector of the lande, for the time of the nonage of the aforesayde brethren: albeit Gaufrid sayth, that after Cassibelan was set in authoritie, he became so noble and liberall that his name sprang farre, and by his exercise of iustice, the Britons ought to haue more fauour then to eyther of his nephewes: howbeit, he cherished them and brought them by accordyng to their birth. And when they came vnto yeres of discretion, he gaue to Androgeus, the Citie of London, with the Dukedome or Erldome of Kent, and to Temancius the Dukedome of Cornewall.

3905  
58A flowre of  
Histories.

**I**n this tyme Caius Iulius Cesar, who most commonly is called Iulius Cesar, being sent by the Senate of Rome, as felow and Consull with Lucius Bulbus into the countrie of Gallia, for to subdue the Galles to the Empire of Rome. The which Iulius being vpon the Sea side, as sayth Gaufrid, after he had ouercome the sayde Galles, and beholding the white Clifes or Rockes of Briteyn: enquired of the Countrey, and what people dwelled therein. And when he was sufficiently informed of all the commodities thereof, he had great will to bring the sayde Countrey vnder the obeyfance of the Romaynes, as other Countreyes for the most parte then were. But as Bergamo wyrteth, the time that Iulius made warre vpon the Galles, he knew that they receyued great ayde out of Briteyn, and therefore was he the willinger to conquer it; because they should not be any more ayded by the Britons. And so hauing diligently enquired of the state thereof, he wrote to Cassibelan, willing him as he tendered his abone safetie and the quietnesse of his realme and people, that he would become tributarie vnto the Empire of Rome, like as many other Nations were.

Iulius Ca-  
sar.

**B**ut Cassibelan hauing great indignation to become subiect, wrote vnto him sharpe and short answers, shewing that he and euerie noble man was bounde specially to keepe his Countrey and people from seruitude and bondage, the which to obserue he would doe his vttermost endeouour: with the which answer Iulius Cesar being nothing contented, in all haste made ready his shauie and people, and sayled towarde Briteyn. And when the Romaynes were come nere the land of Briteyn, and should haue landed: the Britons pight sharpe stakes and long vpon the bancks, which caused them to winne the lande with great daunger. And not long after their landing, Cassi-  
belan



Iulius Cæsar and his Romaines had the repulse.

Iulius Cæsar had a second repulse.

Gaufrid.

John Lydgate.

A feast made for victorie.

Games.

Wrestling.

Hirelda.

Euelinus.

Hirelda slaine.

Euelinus sommoned to appere for the death of Hirelda.

belan with a strong hoste of Britons encountered the Romaines, geuing to them a fierce battaile, in so much, that they were faine to flie to their Ships for surtie; and after with sodaine tempest his Flaue being almost destroyed, he returned againe into France there to winter. Notwithstanding (as Gaufrid and other sayth) after he had renewed his armes, and also rygged and increased his Flaue, he came againe the second tyme: But as before time, so he was now againe by the Manhood of the king and of his Britons manfully and knightly withstanded and chased away, and compelled to flie with great dishonour. In the which battaile, the valiaunt courage of the hardy and noble knight Penmus brother vnto king Cassibelan is worthy of perpetuall memorie, who manfully fighting for the defence of his Countrie and the libertie thereof, besides other noble deedes of armes then by him achieved, ranne vnto Cæsar and plucked his sworde out of his hande, and therewith slue Labienus Tribune or chiefe Captaine of the Romaine Nobilitie: And receyuing againe as Gaufrid wyrteth his deathes wound by the same Cæsar, dyed thereof verie shortly after; and was buried at the Northgate of Troy nouant, and the sayde sworde put in the Coffyn with him by his commaundement.

John Lydgate in his booke named the Serpent of Division wyrteth that Iulius Cæsar buylded in this land diuers Castelles and Cities for a perpetuall memorie of his name, that is to say, a Castell not farre from Douer, the Castelles of Cauntzburie and Rochester, and the auncienteste parte of the Tower of London. The Castell and Cobne of Cæsars Bury, which now is called Sarisburie or Salsburie: he also edefied Cæsars Chester or Chichester and the Castell of Excester.

For which victorie thus twise obteyned, Cassibelan entending to geue thanks vnto his Goddes, and to rewarde his knightes, in goodly haste caused an assembly to be made of all his Lordes and knightes at the Citie of Caerlud, or London, where after due obseruaunces done to their Goddes, after the vse of their Pagan lawes, a great and solempne feast was holden by the king to all that would come with most liberalitie and plenty, in all that was necessarie to such a feast. And the more to encrease the kings honor, and to the comforte and delectation of his Lordes and other being there present, there was all maner kinde of games and pastimes, that at those dayes were exercised and vsed. During the tyme of which feast, two noble and yonge knightes among other hapned to assay epyther other in wrestling, wherof the one was Nephew to king Cassibelan named Hirelda, & that other was named Euelinus, who was allyed vnto Androgeus, Erle or Duke of London. By meane of this wrestling, deuision, or vnfitting words fell betwene them, and after wordes ensued strokes, by meane whereof partes were taken on epyther side, which ranne together in great pye and malice, so that on epyther parte, many and diuers were hurt and wounded. Among whome Hirelda Nephew to the king was slaine, which caused great disturbance in the Court among the Lordes.

Now when that knowledge of the death of Hirelda was brought vnto the King: he was therewith greatly moued, and entending due iustice to be had and ministred by the aduise of his Barons caused the afozenamed Cosyn of Androgeus, who was named Euelinus to be sommoned for to appere before

fore him and his Counsaile, and there to acquite him of such crime as to him should be layed, for the death of Hirelda before slaine. But Euelinus by the counsaile of Androgeus his Cosyn, withstoode that commaundement, and shortly after, the sayd Androgeus and Euelyne departed the Court, without taking leaue of the king.

The king disdeyning this demeanour of Androgeus, after diuers monitions to him giuen, gathered his knightes together and made warre vpon Androgeus. Wherfore, after many wayes and meanes sought, at the last he sawe that he was not of power to withstaunde the kinges great indignation, sent his Letters vnto Caius Iulius Cæsar, then being in the Countrie of Gallia, shewing him the circumstance of the matter, and excusing himselfe of all guilt, prayed him in most humble wise, that he would shortly returne with his armie into Briteyn, and he with his whole power should be readie to ayde and helpe him against the Britons.

Of this message Iulius was verie glad, and in all haste made toward Briteyn with a great power. To whome the winde was so fauourable, that in shorte time after this message, he drewe nere the lande: But (as Gaufrid sayth) before he would land, to auoyde all treason that might be brought by Androgeus and the Britons against him, he receyued from him in Hostage his sonne named Scena, with xxx. other of the most Noble of his Lordship, and that done he landed with the helpe of Androgeus. Wherof when Cassibelan had warning, he forthwith made towarde the Romaines; and in a Ualey nere vnto Dorobernia, now named Cauntzburie, there he founde the hoste of the sayde Iulius lodged, and with him Androgeus with all his power. After which knowledge had, they fiercely with their habiliments of warre bered and grieued eche other, till at length both hostes met hande to hande, and fought cruelly, in such wise, that many fell to the ground and were slaine on both parties. But when the Britons (as sayth Gaufrid) had long foughten and knightly defended the Romaines: Androgeus Erle of Kent, came with his people in a wing vpon them, and so sharply assailed them, that they were constrained to forsake the fieldes, and place, that they before had kept: The which flight so discomfited the other, that finally all fled and gane place to the Romaines, who pursued and slue them without all mercie. So that Cassibelan with his Britons that were left, were faine to get them to a place of surtie, there to rest and encampe themselves that they might newly provide to withstand their enemies.

But to conclude, all wyrters agree, that Iulius helde the king so short, that for an vnicie and concord, hee was faine after manye losses to geue pledges and to become tributarie to the Romaines, and to paye verely as Gaufrid sayth, in the name of a tribute, three thousande pounde in Golde. Now when Cæsar had accomplished his will and pleasure, in all thing that to him was thought necessary: He with Androgeus departed the lande with a great number of Hostages and Prisoners, and so sped him towarde Rome, where soone after he was againe by the will of the most of the Senators made Emperour. But finally, beyng Emperour, he was at the last slaine in the Senate house, by the Senators with Bodkins, as Rastell sayeth. And this tribute was thus granted, when Cassibelan had reigned as king of Briteyn full .liij. yeres and more. And by the agreement of most wyrters

Androgeus sent Letters to Caius Iulius Cæsar to prouoke him to warre against Cassibelan King of the Britons.

Iulius Cæsar suspected Androgeus.

A battell becometh Cauntzburie.

Gaufrid.

Iulius Cæsars victory.

Iulius Cæsar made this Realme tributarie to Rome, in the 50. yere before the coming of christ.

riiij.yeres.



rlviii. yeres before the incarnation of Jesu Christ, or as some write fifty. And as Lanquet sayeth, this conquest of Briteyn made by the Romaines, was M. CC. lb. yeres after the uniuersall flood: and M. lbij. after the arrival of Bute: and. vij. C. ij. after the building of Rome, in the second yere of the. C. lxxij. Olimpiade, and the. M. C. xvj. yere before the conquest of Englande made by Mylliam Duke of Normandy, and. M. vi. C. xvj. yeres, before this present yere of our Lorde. M. D. lxxij.

Lanquet.

3909  
54

Now after this conquest, Cassibelan reigned as Tributary. ix. yeres, and as sayeth Lanquet, he reigned in all, before the Tribute and after the Tribute. xix. yeres, but other write. xvi. yeres, and some other as Carton, xli. yeres, and then dyed, and is buried at Pozke.

Edeir, after the death of Ewyn, tooke vpon him the gouernance of Scotland, and ruled it. xxxiiij. yeres. In the time of his reigne, as appereth before, Briteyn was subdued to the Romaines, and Scotland also troubled with sundry sedicions.

3921  
42

A traitorous person is fearefull.

Theomancius, or rather Tenantius, the sonne of Lud, and Nephew to Cassibelan, succeeded in the realme of Briteyn. This Man in the English Chronicle is not named King, but his brother Androgeus. But Gaufrid sayth, that for as much as Androgeus feared the hatred of the Britaynes, for his treason wrought against the king and the lande: he therefore conected to abide with Iulius Caesar at Rome, rather then to be king ouer such as he thought would neuer loue, nor fauour him.

The foresayd Tenantius was a noble Martyr, and ruled this land of Briteyn with great diligence and iustice, and defended it well and knightly against all Alyens and straungers, and payde his tribute to the Romaines, which Cassibelan had graunted, and lastly dyed when he had reigned. xxiiij. yeres, and was buried at London.

3944  
19

Cimbelinus or Kymbelinus, the sonne of Tenantius, as sayeth Gurdo, succeeded next after him, who was brought bp at Rome among the Romaines, and there made knight, and was of the Emperour Augustus Cesar so fauoured and beloued, that he was at libertie, whether he would pay the tribute or not. Of him is little written, saying that all wyfters agree, that in the time of his reigne, our Sauoure Christ Jesu was incarnate of the blessed Virgin Marie. And when this Cymbalyn had reigned. xxx. yeres ouer the Britons, he dyed and was buried in London; leauing after him two sonnes, named Guiderius and Aruiragus.

I haue before as is aboue saide declared that our Sauoure Christ was borne in this Kings tyme, which was in the. xix. yere of his reigne, and that was in the yere of the worlde after the account of the Bible and of the Hebrewes, which account I folow. M. D. C. lxxij.

3946  
17

Ewyn, the thirde sonne of Edeir succeeded hys Father in the Realme of Scotland and reigned. vij. yeres. A Prince geuen all to vice and lechery, for being not content, as they write with an hundred Concubynes, with whome he might fulfill his lust, he made a law, that it should be lawfull for his Subiects to haue as many wyues as they were hable to keepe, and that the wyues of his Commoners should be common to the Nobles: and that the Lorde

Lorde should haue the Maydenhead of all Virgins dwelling in his Lordship: the which lawe continued vntill the tyme of Malcolme Canmore, & from thence vnto this tyme, they pay to the Lorde of the soyle a redemption of their Maydenhead. And when he had thus continued. vij. yeres, in exercising of his tirannie and filthy lust, he fell into the hatred of his Lordes, and was by them deposed and slaine in prison.

Stellane, Nephew to Edeir, was chosen king of Scottes, a vertuous, and quiet Prince, who peaceably reigned. xxxix. yere.

And here I thinke meete to note to the reader, that the order that I haue kept in this my story hetherto, hath bene chiefly to expresse and set forth vnto you the pedigrec and discent from Adam to Christ, in the line of the righteous, wherein is to be learned that all those that heard the voyce of the Lorde, and obserued his lawes, prospered and were blessed of the Lorde, and brought to high honour and aduancement: And such againe as hearkened not to the worde of the Lorde, were deliuered as prayes and spoyles to their enemies. And although sometye, I haue vpon sundrie occasions made some notes of the lyne of cursed Cain and others, yet I haue chiefly obserued the lyne of the iust, out of the which almighty G O D promised there shoulde issue of the Seede of the Woman, one that shoulde breake the Serpentes head, which Seede was ment by our Sauoure Jesu Christ, who in this tyme was borne of the Virgin Mary. And here I will as it were drawe forwarde the lyne where I left before, at the kinges of Iuda, (in the tyme that they were made captiue to Babilon, which kinges disceded out of the loynes of Dauid) and will now for the perfighting of my purpose recite the ende thereof. The last king of Iuda that I haue spoken of before, was Sedechias the sonne of Josias, who was captiue in Babilon, from whom issued Joachim, and successively, Jechonias, Salathiel, Zorobabell, Abiud, Eliachim, Azor, Sadoch, Achim, Eliud, Eleazar, Jacob, and Ioseph, who maryed Mary the Virgine, of whom was borne our Sauoure Jesu Christ.

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He that heareth the word of God, and both it, shall be happy in his deede.

The ende of the lyne and issue of Iuda was Christ.

And the Virgin Mary disceded also out of the Loynes of Dauid, as first Nathan, the second sonne of Dauid, begat Mathata, and he begat Menana, from whome successively came Melcha, Heliachim, Jona, Ioseph, Iuda, Symeon, Leui, Mathat, Joram, Eliezer, Jesu, Her, Helmadam, Cesan, Abdi, Melchi, Peri, Salathiel, Zorobabel, Reka, Johanna, Iuda, Ioseph, Semei, Mathathias, Ioseph, Jamma, Melchi, Leui, Mathat, Joakim, and Marie the Virgine, who was borne. xv. yeres before Christ, and married vnto Ioseph. Flores historiarum. Polichronicon, and sondrie others.

And here for order and keeping of a full account, endeth the sixt Age of the worlde, or first part of my booke, and this sixt Age was from the Captiuitie of Babilon, vnto the Birth of our most blessed Redemer and Sauoure Jesu Christ, to whom be all honoz, prayse, and gloze, for euer and euer. Which age continued. 627. yeres.

And



¶ And here also I thought it conuenient to make a recitall of the Ages of the Worlde.

- 1 The first Age is from Adam to the Flood of Noe. 1656.yeres.
- 2 The second, from Noe to the birth of Abraham. 363.yeres.and.x.dayes.
- 3 The third, frō Abrahā to the departing of the Childrē of Israell out of Egypt. 430.yeres.
- 4 The fourth, from their departure, to the building of the Temple. 480.yeres.
- 5 The fift, from the building of the Temple, to the Captiuitie. 419.yeres.
- 6 The sixt, from the Captiuitie, to the birth of Christ. 627.yeres.

And thus it may appere, that the number of yerres from the Creation of the Worlde, vnto the birth of Christ, were. 3963.yeres.

¶ And for the better satisfaction of those that knowe not the true summarie or accompt of the aforesayd Ages, I will shew by a perticuler accompt gathered out of the holy Scriptures, how the true knowledge of every Age is collected, which may appere as foloweth

The first Age conteyneth. M. vj. C. lvj. yerres and is proued thus.

*The first Age*

Adam being. C. xxx. yerres olde, begat Seth. Seth beyng. C. v. yerres, begat Enos. Enos beyng. xc. yerres, begat Caynan. Caynan beyng. lxx. yerres, begat Malalchell. Malalchell beyng. lxxvi. yerres, begat Jared. Jared at the age of. C. lx. yerres, begat Enoch. Enoch beyng. lxxv. yerres begat Mathusalah. Mathusalah at the age of. C. lxxviii. yerres, begat Lamech. Lamech beyng. C. lxxvii. yerres, begat Noe. Noe at the beginning of the flood, was. vi. C. yerres olde, as appereth in the fist of Genesis. So that the whole summe of yerres of this first Age, were as is aforesayde. M. vi. C. lvi. yerres.

The seconde Age conteyneth. iij. C. lxiiij. yerres, and. x. dayes, and is Proued thus.

*The second Age*

The flood continued a yere and. x. dayes. Sem (which was Noes sonne) begat Arpharat two yerres after the flood. Arpharat beyng. xxxv. yerres olde, begat Salah. Salah beyng. xxx. yerres old, begat Heber. Heber at his age of. xxxiii. begat Phalech. Phalech beyng. xxx. yerres, begat Megu. Megu beyng. xxxii. yerres, begat Saruch. Saruch at. xxx. yerres begat Nahoz. Nahoz beyng at the age of. xxx. yerres, begat Thare. Thare beyng. lxx. yerres, begat Abraham, and Abraham departed from Chaldee, when he was lxx. yerres olde. So that the whole summe of yerres of this second age, as is aforesayde, is. CCC. lxxij. yerres, and. x. dayes.

The

The third Age conteyneth. iij. C. xxx. yerres, and is collected in this maner.

*The thirde age*

Abraham was in Charan. v. yerres, and departed in the. lxxv. yere of his age. And he begat Isaac, when he was an hundred yere olde, and in the. xxx. yere of his departing. Isaac begat Jacob when he was. xl. yere olde. Jacob went into Egypt with all his family when he was. C. xxx. yere olde. And Israell remayned in Egypt. CC. x. yerres, at which tyme Moses departed with the Children of Israell out of Egypt, so that the whole somme of yerres of this thirde Age is as aforesayd, iij. C. xxx. yerres.

The fourth Age conteyneth. iij. C. lxxx. yerres, and is gathered in this maner.

*The fourth Age*

Moses remayned in the Desart of Wildernesse. xl. yerres. Josue, and Othoniell, reigned. xl. yerres. Aioth. lxx. yerres. Delboz. xl. yerres. Gedeon. xl. yerres. Abimelech. liii. yerres. Thela. xxxiii. yerres. Zair. xxx. yerres. Then were they without a Capitaine. xviii. yere vnto the coming of Jephthe. Jephthe. vi. yerres. Abisam. vii. yerres. Elom. x. yerres. Abaton. viii. yerres. Sampson. xx. yerres. Hely high priest. xl. yerres. Samuel, and Saul. xl. yerres. David. xl. yerres. Salomon in the. liii. yere of his reigne, began the building of the Temple. So that the whole somme of yerres of this fourth Age as aforesayd, is. liii. C. lxxx. yerres.

The fift Age conteyneth. iij. C. ix. yerres, and. vj. Monethes, and is collected in this wise.

*The fift Age*

Salomon reigned after he began the building of the Temple, xxxvi. yerres. Roboam. xvii. yerres. Abia. iii. yerres. Asa. xli. yerres. Josaphat. xxx. yerres. Jozam. viii. yerres. Ochozias one yere. Athalia the Quene. vii. yerres. Joas. xl. yerres. Amasias. xxx. yere. Ozias. lii. yerres. Joathan. vi. yerres. Acas. xvi. yerres. Ezechias. xxx. yerres. Manasses. lv. yerres. Amon. ii. yerres. Josias. xxxi. yerres. Joachas, iii. Monethes. Elachim. xi. yerres. Joachim. iii. monethes: And then began the Captiuitie of Babilon, and not after the. xl. yere of Zedechiah (when both the Temple and the Citie were destroyed and burned) as some suppose. So that the whole somme of yerres of this fift age, are as aforesayd, liii. C. ix. yerres, and. vi. monethes.

The sixt age is from the captiuitie of Babilon, vnto the comming of Christ, and conteyneth fixe C. xxv. yerres, and is proued thus.

*The sixt Age*

The captiuitie continued. lxx. yerres. The children of Israell were deliuered and restored to their freedome in the first yere of King Cyrus. The Temple was begonne to be reedified in the. xi. yere of the sayde Cyrus, and finished in the



Daniell. ix.

the. vi. yere of the reigne of Darius. After that Darius had reigned. xx. yeres, he was restored to libertie, and went to builde the Citie, which was finished in the xxxv. yere of the sayde Darius. Also it is mencioned in the. ix. of Daniell that Ierusalem should be builded by againe, and from the tyme of that building vnto the comming of Christ, should be. lxxii. weekes, and euerie weeke is by that text reckoned for. vii. yeres. So lxxii. weekes amount to. CCC. lxxii. yeres. For from the. xxxii. yere of Darius vnto the. xlii. yere of Augustus, in the which yere our Sauour Christ was bozne, are iust and complet so many yeres. Whereupon we reckon that from Adam vnto Christ are 3963. yeres, vi. Monthes and x. dayes. And from the Birth of Christ, vnto this present time is 1567 yeres. And the whole somme and number of yeres from the beginning of the worlde vnto this present yere are 5530. yere, vi. Monthes and x. dayes.

And here is to be noted that the Ages of the worlde are not called Ages in respect of the number of yeres that they conteyned (as some doe imagine that euery age conteyned certaine thousands of yeres) but for certaine great and marvellous things that happened or were done in the beginning of euery of them.

- 1 In the beginning of the first Age, God made Heauen and Earth and all the Creatures that are therein, and also made Man vnto his awne Image and similitude.
  - 2 In the beginning of the second, God sent the vniuersall flood, and drowned all the creatures in the worlde, eyght persons onely except.
  - 3 In the beginning of the thirde, God made his couenant with Abraham in Circumcision.
  - 4 In the beginning of the fourth, God brought the children of Israell out of Egypt, throu the red Sea, and deliuered his holy law vnto Moses out of the Mount Sinai.
  - 5 In the beginning of the fift, was the Temple of Ierusalem builded.
  - 6 In the beginning of the sixt. The Temple was destroyed, and all the Iewes brought captiue into Babilon.
  - 7 In the beginning of the. vij. our Sauour Iesu Christ was bozne of a Virgin, and toke vpon him our nature, who suffered mosse cruell death and passion for the sinnes of the whole worlde.
- ¶ Thus haue I set forth vnto you the Ages of the worlde, and why they are so called, and also the true computation of them as is expressed in the holy Scripture, which computation I obserue throughout this my Chronicle, because the same agreeing with the Scriptures must of force be most true.

**W**hen Caesar Augustus, or other wise called Octavian the Emperour had stablished most sure peace throughout the world, our Redeemer and Sauour Iesu Christ, very God and man, and the onely pacifier of Gods wrath, and the true peacemaker was bozne in the. xl. yere of the reigne of Augustus, after the vniuersall flood 2305. yeres, and from the birth of Abraham 2012. yeres. And after the departure of Israell out of Egypt 1509. yeres. And from the arrivall of Britte in Englande 1107. yeres. After the building of the Temple of Salomon 1029. yeres. From the building of Rome 752. yeres. After the captiuitie of Babilon 614. yeres, and in the last yere of the 194. Olimpiade. And here is to be noted that the first yere of our Lord hath but. vii. daies after some computation, for he was bozne the. xxv. day of December, and the first day of January folowing began the second yere. Lanquet.

And now foloweth the seventh Age of the Worlde, and the seventh part of this booke, which Age beginneth at the birth of Christ, and shall continue to the ende of the Worlde.



The seventh Age



**I**esus of Nazareth king of Iewes and onely head of the Christians, with the Father and the holye Ghost, one Eternall God, and almightie Lorde of all things, begotten by his Father God in euerlastingnesse, and in the fulnesse of time, taking flesh of the pure Virgin Marie, by the worke of the holye Ghost, and being verie God and man, according to the holy Oracles of the Prophets, to redeeme with his most precious blood the streyed Sheepe, and losse grote, was bozne in Bethlem a City of Iuda: where incontinent by the glorification of the Angels, the agnition of the Shepherds, the veneration of the wise men, the prophecy of holy Simcon, and the admiration of the Doctours, he was had in honour. And then from the. xii. yere of his lyfe, in age, wisdom and fauour both with God and man he encreased: He was in the. xv. yere of the reigne of Tiberius baptised in Iordane by John Baptist, to the example of his, and so executed all things, subduing his fleche with fasting, the Deuill with prayer, and the world with humilitie. At which time the weekes of Danyell being fulfilled, he taught euery where most constantly, euen to the Crosse, partly with his mightie worde, and partly with his effectuall workes, the kingdome of God, that is, the true knowledge of God the Father and his exceeding charitie towardes mankinde, with the sure confidence in him, the sonne of God: declaring also

G. ij. the



the way of helth, and the mutuall loue, with the rewarde of the faithfull and punishments of the vnfaithfull. Then for the confirmation of his doctrine and faith, euen with a little beck he commaunded calmenesse to the Elements, helth to all diseases, life vnto the dead, obedience vnto the quick, detection vnto thoughts, abolition vnto sinnes, and flight vnto the Deuill. For all this, after all the passions and labours of mans miserie, which he suffered (sinne onely excepted) whereby he witnessed himselfe to be a very man, and after the innumerable documents and beneficiall deedes (passing mans power) openly shewed vnto his kinde people the Jewes, by which he declared himselfe to be true God, as it was before written in the Prophets: he was by the elders of the Jewes and people (his Disciple Judas Iscarioth betrayng him) taken, accused, endited, scorned, scourged, crowned with thornes, crucified betwene theeues, and euen then all things fulfilled, with the quaking of the earth, and darknesse of the Sonne, he dyed. After which being buried, he losed Hell, and the thirde day folowing, lyke a conquerour of sinne, death and Hell, he rose againe, from which tyme being .xl. dayes conuersant with his, in the .xxxiii. yere of his lyfe, with glorious triumph he ascended to the heauens vnto his father, from whence he came. Where being the onely Mediator, Intercessor and aduocate of his, sitting on the right hand of God his father, shall in the ende of the worlde be iudge over all the lyuing and the dead, rendring to euerie man according to his deserving, to the faithfull certeyntie of lyfe, but to the vnfaithfull euerlasting death. Then good and euill segregated, with the whole worlde purged and pacified: our Lorde Iesu Christ the onely and verie almightie Emperour of the worlde, as he hath from the beginning, so doth he now, and for euer shall reigne, to whom euerie knee of celestiaall, terrestriall, and infernall creatures shall bowe, and euerie tongue shall confesse that Iesus Christ is the Lorde, to the glory of God the father. Lanquet.

¶ And from this place forward vnto the end of this worke, the numbers that are about the lyne in the Margent are the yeres of Christ, and the numbers vnder the lyne, are the yeres of the reigne of euery seuerall king.

**G**uiderius the first sonne of Cymbalyne began his reigne ouer the Britons: This man was balaunt, hardie, welthie, and trusted much in his awne strength, and for that he thought the Romaines had the aforesaid tribute with wrong, he therefore of a knightly courage denyed to them the payment thereof: wherefore Claudius the fift Emperour of Rome, came into Briteyn with a great armie of Romaines (as sayth Polichronica) and wanne againe the sayde tribute without great fight, and therof came a Prouerbe among the Romaines, that the Britaines were neyther strong in bataille, nor faythfull in peace. And that done, he also subdued the Isles of the Orchades, which stand beyond Scotland within the great Ocean, and after returned againe to Rome, in the sixt Moneth that he came from thence.

¶ But Gaufrid sayth, that in the hoste of the Romaines, there was a Capitaine named Hamo, who extending the hurte of the Britons chaunged his Shilde and Armour, and put vpon him the Armour of a Briteyn, and by that meane being not suspect, he entered into the thickest of the Britons, and lastly came where king Guiderius fought, and shortly after slue the king. But Aruiragus

Hamo.  
Culderius  
Name.

uiragus seing this sodeyne mischiefe, fearing that the Britons would haue geuen back, quickly caused himselfe to be armed with the cognisaunce and Armour of the king: And as King continued the fight with such manhood and courage, that the Romaines were at that time put to flight. And thus was Guiderius slaine of Hamo, when he had reigned ouer Briteyn. .xxviij. yeres, leauing after him none heyre.

**C**Aratak, king of Scottes, reigned. .xxi. yeres, a Prince more balaunt then fortunate, he gaue his whole minde and courage to defende his Realme and subiects from the seruage of the Romaines, with whome he kept long warre, and ayded the North Britons.

**A**nd in this tyme Saint Paule, the elect Vessel of God, being called by a Quision, was made of an open aduersarie and cruell persecutor of the Church of Christ, the most faythful Apottle and true Doctor of the Gentiles: Among whome he taught the worde of God with so great fruit, and encreased so largely the christian faith, that he was after worthily and rightly named the chiefe of the Apostles.

**A**ruiragus the yongest sonne of Kymbelyn, and brother to Guiderius before slaine, was ordeyned king of Britons in the yere of our Lorde .xlv. This Man did well and knightly behaue himselfe against the Romaines, and slue the afore named Hamo; nere vnto a Hauen or Port of the Sea. And when he was slaine, he threwo him gobbet meale into the same sea. And for this cause, that Hauen was long tyme after called Hamons Hauen, which at this day is called Southhamto. Fabian. But here in a very old Hamphlet, which beareth no name, I finde that in the tyme of Hengist afore mentioned, and in the reigne of Woxtiger, there was a Saxon named Varius Ham and he builded thre townes, one in the South, and named it after his awne name South Hams towne, another North fro thence, which he named North Hams towne. Another West, and by North from thence, which he named (bicause he had there made a staple of wolles) Woluer Hams towne.

¶ Then sayth Reynulph, that Claudius after dyuers happes of Battaille, tooke Aruiragus to his grace, and brought his base daughter Genissa by name from Rome, and maryed her vnto Aruiragus. And because he woulde make the place of the mariage more solempne, he therefore called the Towne of mariage Claudiocestria after his awne name, and after Glouerna, of a base sonne (as some say) of the sayd Claudius Cesar called Glorus, begotten and borne in the same Citie, which afterwarde was Duke of Demecia or Southwoales, and at this day it is called Gloucester. Hector Boecius the writer of the Scottish Chronicle sayth, that Aruiragus before this mariage was made, was deuorced from his former wife, named Uoada, sister vnto Careticus king of Scottes, of a desire that he had to be alyed vnto the Romaines.

¶ Then it foloweth, after the solemnitie of this mariage, which was with all honour finished, Claudius sent certeyne Legions of his Knightes into Ireland, to rule that Countrie, and returned himselfe to Rome.

¶ It was not long after the departing of Claudius, but that Aruiragus roade about his Realme, and with great diligence repayred Cities & townes before decayed and broken with the strength of the Romaines, and as it is of some mencioned, builded the Castle of Douer, and finally intreated his subiects

G.iiij.

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18

S. Paule.

45  
1

Aruiragus.

Southamto.  
Northamto.  
Woluerhamton.

Gloucestre.  
Hector Boecius.

Douer Castle.



jects with such iustice and good order, that they loued and drad him more then any of his progenitors. And this in continuance of tyme made him very welthy, and thereof ensued pryde, so that he thought great shame to be vnder the rule or guyding of the Romaynes, wherefore, at the last he denyed the Tribute betoze graunted to Rome, wherof, when knowledg came vnto the Senate of Rome, in all hast a Duke was sent from Rome called Vespasian, with certeyne Legions of knightes and Souldiours to subdue Aruiragus.

¶ When Vespasianus was landed in Briteyn (as sayth Reynulph) he sped him so, that in short tyme he subdued Aruiragus to the Empire, and caused him to graunt payment of the aforesayde tribute.

¶ But Gaufride here wyrteth howe Aruiragus heering that Vespasianus was about to lande at Sandwich, met him there with a pyssaunt armie of the Britons, and by mayne force kept him off, that he could not enter the Haven and land: for so great was the multitude of the sayde Britons, that the sight of them made the Romaynes afeard, insomuch that they durst not lande for feare lest the other would haue sodeinly set vpon them, before they could bring themselves in aray and order of battaile, wherefore they hoysed by their sayles, and departed from thence againe, and went to Totnes in Devonshire and there aryued, and beyng landed, their Capitaine and Generall Vespasianus marched incontinent towarde the towne, which then was called in the Britissh tongue, Cair Penchuet goit, as ye would say, the towne vnder the wood, and at this daye is called Excestre, to the entent to besiege it. And when he had continued his siege by the space of seuen dayes, Aruiragus entending to rayse the same, sodeinly came with his armie and set vpon them, and manye went to wracke on both parties, but neither partie had the victorie of the other. On the morow both the Capitaynes were made agreed by the mediati- on and meanes of the Queene Gemilla. Thus it apereth that the tribute was payed againe by her intreatie, and not by any violent constreynt or coercion.

¶ After Vespasian had thus recovered the tribute, he then also made sub- iect to the Empire an Isle lying in the Sea, which we nowe call the Isle of Wight, and after returned to Rome.

¶ When Aruiragus was thus the second tyme subdued, and brought vnder the yoke of the Romaynes, he became more mylde towarde them, so that during his lyfe, from thenceforth, he payde the tribute with lesse grudge, and kept himselfe in their fauours, in such wise that he was of them very wel beloved. And lastly he dyed, when he had reigned. xxx. yeres, and was buried at Glocester, leauing after him a sonne named Marius.

¶ After the decease of Caratake king of Scottes his yonger brother Cor- breid obteyned the crowne, and reigned. xviii. yeres. He was fierce and of a valiaunt courage, and beyng confederate with the Pictes, made often times warre against the Britons.

¶ And for as much as at this time, Nero that notable Tyrant Emperour reigned at Rome, vnder whome a great number of the true Preachers and Apostles of Christ, suffered most cruell persecution, Martirdome, and death, I thought it not much impertinent to the story to make some speciall mention of him, and namely because this lande as is aforesayde, was in his tyme againe made tributarie to the Empire of Rome, the saide Nero reig- ning now as Emperour. But chiefly for that he was a wicked Tyrant and a cruell

A legion of  
knights is  
vi. li. vj. C.  
li. vj.

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Corbreid  
king of  
Scottes.

A cruell persecutour of the vniuersall Church of Christ.

¶ At this tyme as is aforesayde, Nero the sonne of Domicius, being adopted to be Emperour by Claudius, which married his mother, reigned. xliij. yeres. This man, although he was brought up by the reuerent, wise, and learned Seneca, yet by the ineuitable corruption of his nature, he became horrible in all kinde of unhyuing, and so detestable in dissolute wantonnesse, prodigalitie, monstrous lecheryes, beastly crueltie, and couetousnesse, that he seemed to be borne to the destruction of the whole worlde. He was so greatly delighted in singing and playng with the Harpe, in sword playng, and dryuing of Cartes or Wagons, that he did not onely these exercises priuately, without all measure, but also wearing the garments of Minstrels, Sworde players, and other vile personages, wandered ouer all Italy and Grece, to seeke and haunt common games, where he might trie masteries, and shewe his cunning in those feates: and at his returne, triumphed in the Citie of Rome, and sent into all Countries letters of commaundement to make supplications and reioysing for his victories.

¶ In vncleane lust of his body, he so furiously raged, that he absteyned not from his naturall Mother, Sister, ne any degree of affinitie or kindred. He tooke in open marriage a Boye of excellent fauour, named Sporus, and vsed him as his wife, he viciously bent and gaue himselfe to filthy imbracings of his auncient seruants, & in riotous spending of his treasure he exceeded, for he vsed to fische with Nettles made of Golde, which shoulde be drawne with Cordes of Purple silke: He neuer wore one garment twise: he caused to be put to death his mother, his brother in lawe, his two wyues, and his instruc- tor and Schoolemaster, the reuerend Seneca, hauing thereto no iust cause, nor honest pretence: He commaunded the City of Rome to be set on fyre, and himselfe in the meane season with all semblant of ioy, sitting in an high Tower to beholde the same, played vpon the Harpe, and sang the destruction of Troy. This Nero was so wicked, that at the last he gaue himselfe openly to such naughtie and wanton hyuing, that in the night season he woulde haunte Brothell houses, and other suspitious places, and ostentines breake by mens houses, and eyther robbe and beate them, or else rauishe their wyues. And after that he had committed most abhominable incest with his naturall mo- ther, he commaunded her to be put to death. And then married Poppea, a wo- man of notable incontincencie. And after all this he caused himselfe to be gel- ded and cut in the forme & shape of a woman, and so to be abused. And when the Senate had considered of the outragious life & wicked doinges of Nero, they charged him with the setting of Rome on fyre, and he to excuse himselfe charged the christians therewith, whereof folowed a most cruell persecution of the christians, and in this persecution Peter and Paule, the Apostles of Christ, with many other Martirs were put to cruell death. And by his beastly crueltie, there were also many noble and verteous men put to most shame- full death, among the which were the aforesayde Seneca and Lucan, men of excellent learning. Finally, this wicked Tyrant Nero was proclaymed by the Senate to be an enimie of the weale publique, and iudged to be drawne through the Citie, and to be whipped to death: wherfore he fearing to come into the handes of his enemies, fled into a farme house of his seruants in the Countrie, where at last he was inforced to flea himselfe. Cooper.

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Nero the  
Tyrant.

A description  
of Neroes  
filthy & abho-  
minable life.

Seneca put  
to death by  
Nero.

Poppea, the  
wife of Nero  
a shamelesse  
Whore.

Lucan a fa-  
mous Clerk,  
cruelly put to  
death by  
Nero.

At



At this tyme the Scottes, because Corbreid Galdus the eldest some of King Corbreid was not of sufficient age, made Dardannus the nephew of Metellane their king, who for his seemely personage was greatly beloued of his people. In the beginning of his reigne, he vsed the counsaile of his Nobles, but after thre yeres he left all iustice and honesty, and slipt into most vncleane vices and cruell tyranny, and lastly endeuoured himselfe to haue murdered Galdus with his brethren, and therefore the Scottes deposed him, and put him to death, when he had reigned. iiii. yeres.

Marius.

Marius the sonne of Aruiragus, after his father was king of the Britons: Which Marius as Gaufrid sayth, was an excellent wise man, and gouerned this lande very honourably, and greatly prospered and encreased in welth and riches.

In the time of the reigne of this Marius, a Duke or King of a Nation called Pictes, which descended of the Scythians, named also of some Gothes, or Hunes, came into this Isle. The aforesayde Duke or leader of the Pictes, as Gaufrid sayth, was named Londricus, and he landed with a great Flaue in the Prouince of Albania, now called Scotland, and there summercifully he began to spoyle the Country, with sworde and fire: Whereof when Marius was warned, he in all haste assembled his knightes and people, and made towards them, and gaue them a strong battaile, in the which Londricus was slaine, and a great part of his people ouerthrobne. In the remembraunce of which victorie, King Marius caused a great stone to be erected, and commaunded therein to be grauen these wordes, Marii victoria, that is, the victory of Marius.

Londricus a Duke of the Pictes.

Londricus slaine.

This battaile as the English Chronicle sayth, was foughten at a place which now is called Stanes Hoore. But wherefoeuer this stone is set, the Country thereabout was long after called VVestmaria, and is now called Westmerland.

Stanes Hoore.

Now when the residue of the people of Londricus which were fled from the fildes, vnderstood that their hed & Capitaine was slaine: they made their humble request to the king, that he would accept them into his grace, and that he would geue them some land or country to dwell in. And at the last the king graunted them a place in the farre ende of Scotland, which Gaufrid nameth Cathenesia, where the sayd Scottes, or Pictes first inhabited. And forsomuch as the Britons disdeined to geue vnto them their daughters in marriage, therefore they acquainted them with the Irish men, and maryed their daughters, and grew in processe of tyme vnto a great people. And for this allyaunce betwene the Irishmen and them, their Country (as sayth Reynulph, in the xxxvii. Chapter of his first booke) was called Irelande, and after Dictaia, and lastly Scotland. But I find in an olde written Chronicle, that when they tooke the Irish women to their Wyues, and vnderstoode not their language they were therefore called Sottes, and afterward Scottes, and their countrey which before was called Albania named Scotland, and this was the beginning of the Scottes, as it is there alleaged. Howbeit, Mathew of Westminister, Authoz of the booke, entituled the Flowres of Histories, sayth they were called Scottes, because they were a Nation that tooke their beginning of diuerse Nations: For Scot, sayth he, is a worde signifying an heape of diuerse

Marius king of Briteyn gaue Londricus a people of farre ende of Scotland to inhabite in.

Reynulph.

Scottes were first called Sottes.

diuerse thinges gathered or mingled together, according to our common speeche, thou shalt pay scot and lot, that is to say, all such duties as shall bee charged vpon thee.

And when Marius had thus subdued his enimies, he attended and set his minde to the common weale of his lande and subiects, and continued the residue of his lyfe in great rest and quietnesse, and in the ende payde his naturall debt or tribute, and was buried at Caerleyle, leauing after him a sonne named Coplus or Copll, when he had reigned. lii. yeres.

Marius dead.

In this time the Citie and Temple of Jerusalem was taken, conquered, spoyled, and destroyed by Titus, in such wise that scarcely any man coulde iudge where the place was that it once stood in: which chaunced in the. xj. C. and one yere, after the Temple was first builded by Salomon, and the same day of the Moneth that it was first destroyed by Nabuchodonosor king of Babilon. And in the time of the siege of the same, were slaine of the Jewes xi. C. thousand, ouer and beside them which Vespasian slue in the subduing of the Countrey of Galile. And. xvij. thousand Titus sent into Alexandria there to be kept in most vile and peynfull bondage. And two thousand he brought in his triumph to Rome, of the which, parte he gaue to be deuoured of wilde beastes, and parte were otherwise most cruelly slaine: at which time apered the most terrible example of the wrath & vengeance of God, for the contempt of his worde & veritie. For what hart is so stony or hard that will not tremble for feare, when it considereth that God tooke so sharpe punishment vpon his awne people, whom before he loued most entirely, & among all other nations of the worlde, chose them for his peculier flock and Vineyarde. And shortly after Vespasian the Emperour, and Titus his sonne, triumphed at Rome for their victorie and conquest in Judea. Cooper. But hereof ye may reade more in Iosephus, and there shall ye finde a most horrible and terrible Histozie.

The destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.

Galdus, after the death of Dardannus, was ordeyned king of Scottes. This was the most valiaunt Prince that euer reigned among them, and was endued with many excellent and Princely qualities. At the first entry he punished the wicked counsaillours of Dardannus, and after called a parliament of his Lordes, wherein many noble acts were deuised, and the naughty lawe of king Ewyn (by the which the Wyues of the commons were free to the nobles) was repealed and fordone. Of him the Scottes made manye goodly remembraunces in the honour of his noblenesse and great victozies that he atchieued.

79

A wicked law.

About this time Petulius Cerealis was sente of the Romaines, as Lieutenaunt to Briteyn, where he discomfited Galdus King of Scottes, banquished the Pictes and the Silurians, subdued to the Romaynes the Countrey of Brigantes or Porckeshire men, ouerthrewe and chased Uodicia the daughter of the valyaunt woman Uoada, and quieted the Kentishe men, and certaine other Britons which rebelled. After this Petulius, a Romaine named Iulius Frontinus was Lieutenaunt in Briteyn, who also warred against the Scottes and Pictes.

Petulius Cerealis a Romaine sent from Rome to gouerne Briteyn.

And after the death of Galdus king of Scotland, succeeded Lugtack, an Ahatefull and wicked tyrant, & was as much hated of the Scottes for his vice, as his father was beloued for his bertue. He slue many of the rich men onely to confiscate their goods, and committed the gouernance of the Realme to most

104

Lugtack, king of Scottes.



to most bniust and coueteous persons, and with their company he was most delighted: He defloured his auncles, Sisters, and Daughters, and scorned his wife and graue Counsaylours, calling them olde dotting fooles, wherefore in the thirde yere of his reigne he was slaine of his Nobles.

106  
Mogallus  
king of  
Scottes.

**M**ogallus, being ordeyned king of the Scottes after Lugtack, at the beginning gaue himselfe to follow the wisdom and maners of his Uncle Galdus, and obteyned diuers great victories against Lucius Antonius the Romaine Capitaine: but in his age he became hatefull in all kinde of Vices, and chiefly in conetousnesse, lecherie & crueltie. He gaue lycence to theeues and robbers to take the goods of their neighbours without punishment. He first ordeyned the goodes of condemned persons to be confiscate to the kings vse, without respect of wyues, children or debtours, for which naughtynesse he was slaine of his Nobles.

126  
1  
Coilus king  
of Briteyn.

**C**oilus the sonne of Marius reigned King of Briteyn after the death of his father. This man was from his infancy nourished and brought vp among the Romaynes; by reason whereof they were louing and kinde to him, and he to them. And for as much as he knewe the power of the Romaynes to be inuincible, he yeldd and payde to them the tribute during his life. This Coilus also (as Gaufride sayth) was a liberall man, by reason whereof he obteyned great loue of his Nobles, and also of his commons. And as some write, he made the towne of Colchester, but other ascribe it to one Coill that was king next after Asclepiodatus. And after that this Coilus had reigned in soueraigne peace the terme of liii. yeres, he dyed, and was buried at Porke, and left behinde him a sonne named Lucius.

144

**Q**uarius, which was the chiefe causer of his fathers death, was made king of Scottes, who dissimuled the vices wherunto he was naturally enclined: But as soone as he was established in his kingdome, he wasted all the rentes pertaining to the Crowne, in his leude lustes, and gaue landes and riches to most vile and naughtie persons, because they fauoured his corrupt liuyng, he inuented new exactions vpon his people, and therefore was of his nobles cast in Prison, and his wicked counsaylours hanged. In his place Argadus guided the Realme about. xiiij. yeres.

165  
Ethodius  
kinge of  
Scottes.

**E**thodius the first, nephew to Mogallus, was ordeyned king of Scottes, and reigned, xxxij. yeres. This Man was greatly deyled with hunting, and made many lawes thereof: He rewarded Argadus for his administration of iustice: He quieted the Isles, and being ayded by the Pictes, he banquished Victorine the Romaine Capitaine, and brake downe the wall of Adrian.

180  
1  
Lucy the first  
christian  
king.

**L**ucius, or Lucy, the sonne of Coilus, was made king of Britons, by the ayde and auctoritie of Marcus Aurelius Antonius then Emperour of Rome, who fauoured him singularly: He was a very good Man, and folowed his forefathers steps, in all that was good, and his gouernement was so graue and discrete that he obteyned the loue of all his people. This Lucius as sundrie Authours doe write, did sende to Cleutherius then Bishop of Rome, two godly learned men named Eluanus and Meduinus with certaine Epistles and Letters, praiyng him, that he and his Britons might be receyued to

ued to the fayth of Christes Church. Whereof Cleutherius being very glad, sent into Briteyn two noble Clerkes, Faganus and Dunianus, or after some Fugacius and Damianus.

¶ And as the reuerend Maister Jewell, Bishop of Sarisbury, writeth in his Replie vnto Maister Hardings aunswere. Fol. 191. The sayd Cleutherius for generall order to be taken in the Realme and Churches here, wrote his aduice vnto Lucius the King in this maner folowing.

Ye haue receyued in the Kingdome of Briteyn by Goddes mercy, both the lawe and fayth of Christ. Ye haue both the new Testament and the olde: Out of the same through Goddes grace by the aduice of your Realme take a lawe, and by the same through Goddes sufferaunce, rule you your Kingdome of Briteyn: For in that Kingdome you are Goddes Vicare.

¶ Now when these learned men were come, they were honourably receyued of Lucius, the which by their good doctrine & vertuous example geuing, converted the king and a great part of the Britons. Now after that Lucy had thus receyued the fayth, he by the aduice of the aforesayd learned men, & with the instructions sent to him by the aforesayde Cleutherius, did institute and ordeyne, that all or the more part of the Archflamyns, which is to meane Archbishops, and Bishops of the Pagan law, which at that day were in number (as sayth Gaufride and other) three Archflamyns, and. xxiiij. Flamyns, shoulde be made Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Christ as foloweth.

¶ The first Sea of the first Archflamyn, was at London. The seconde at Porke, and the thirde at Gloucester. To these three Archbishops were subiect the aforesayd. xxiiij. Flamyns or Bishops. To the Archbishopps Sea of London, was subiect Cornewall, & all middle England vnto Humber. To the Archbishopps Sea of Porke, was subiect all Northumberlande, from the Bowe of Humber, with all Scotland. And to the third Archbishopps Sea, which was Gloucester, there was subiect all Wales: In which Province of Wales were. vij. Bishops, where as now is but foure. And at that day Seuerne departed Briteyn and Wales. But after the Saronis had the rule of the land, they altered much of these orders, and to be short, there are now but two Archbishops in Englande, that is Cantorbury and Porke, wherof Cantorbury hath the premacie, and hath vnder him. xv. Bishops in Englande, that is to say, Rochester, London, Chichester, Winchester, Saleisbury, Exeter, Bathe, Worcester, Hereford, Couentry and Lichfield, Chester, Lincolne, Orford, Ely, and Norwich. And in Wales he hath. iij. Bishops, Landaffe, S. Davids, Bangor, and S. Asaph, commonly called S. Asse. And Porke hath but two Bishops in Englande vnder him, which is Caerleyll, and Durhame.

¶ Besydes these good orders taken, the sayd Lucius destroyed the temple of the false God Apollo, which then stood in a place called the Isle of Thorney nere London, and was so called for that it was a place all ouergrowne with Thornes, and he erected and made the sayde Temple a place dedicated to the honour of God, and named it Westminster, as it is called at this day, and endowed the same with such and so great priuileges, that what person soeuer could escape to the sayd Church, for what trespassse so euer it were, the same shoulde be safe body and goodes.

¶ Now

Cleutherius  
Bishop of  
Romes Let-  
ter.

Britaynes  
first receyued  
the fayth of  
Christ, in the  
yere of our  
Lozde. 188.  
and in. 1294.  
yeres, next  
after the ar-  
riual of  
Bryte.

London.

Porke.

Gloucester.

Seuen Bi-  
shoppes in  
Wales.



Now after that Lucius had thus set this realme in good order, he died, when he had reigned. xii. yeres, leauing behinde him none heyre, which was the occasion of great trouble to the Realme: For the Britons among themselves coude not agree vpon a Gouernour, by reason whereof there was among them great discord, which continued the space of. xii. yeres, in the which tyme, the Empire and Senate of Rome apointed their Lieutenantes to gouerne and reigne ouer this Realme.

196  
Sathrahell King of Scottes.  
Atrahell the brother of Ethodius (because his sonnes were not of sufficient Sage to gouerne the Realme) was ordeyned king of Scottes, he was of faise and subtile wit, and geuen to such cruelty, that for feyned causes he slue all the frendes of Ethodius to the intent to defraude his heires of the crowne, wherfore he was murdered of his familiers when he had reigned. iiii. yeres.

199  
Money first owned in Scotland.  
Donald, an humble and gentle Prince was chosen King of Scottes, and reigned. xxi. yeres. He was the first King that coyned any money of Gold or Silver in Scotland, for the Scots vsed before enterchaunging of wares for chaffer, and one thing for another, and had no money of their awne, but of the Britons and Romaines, and other externall Nations.

The Britons receiued the fayth of Christ. xx. yeres before Scottes land.  
About the yere of our Lorde. CC. iij. this Donalde procured certeyne wise and learned men to instruct him, his wyfe, Children, and Subiectes in the fayth of Christ, which happened, 533. yeres after the beginning of the Realme of Scotland.

208  
Seuerus.  
A wall of Turues.  
Seuerus Emperour of Rome heying of the great discorde in Briteyn, made hast from Rome, and came into this land to apease the vprozes of the same. And at this tyme the Scottes and Pictes invaded Briteyn, and vexed the Britons very sore: wherfore Seuerus caused a Wall of Turues to be made, wherein were driuen great stakes, which Wall as sayeth Polichronica was in length. Cxxij. Miles, and it began at the Riuer of Tyne and stretched to the Scottishe See, or from the ende of the Lordship of Deira vnto the sayde Scottishe See, or after some Writers, from Durham to the See aforesayde.

And now fulgenius the chiefe leader and Capitaine of the Pictes issued out from Albania or Scotland into the land of Briteyn, & destroyed much of the Countrie beyonde Durham. Wherfore Seuerus with an hoste of Britons and of Romaines met with the sayde fulgenius in a place nere vnto Porke, where after sore fight, the sayde Seuerus was slaine, when he had ruled this land siue yeres, and was buried at Porke, leauing behinde him two sonnes the one named Geta and the other Bassianus, betweene whome there was and euer had bene from the beginning moztall hatred and enmity.

213  
Bassianus Caracalla, after the death of his father, began to rule thys land of Briteyn, he was a Man of nature cruel and fierce and habile to endure all paines and labours, specially in warfare. But as Gaufrid sayth, after the death of Seuerus, great strife arose betweene the Romaines and the Britons then being within the land of Briteyn. For the commons helde for their king Bassianus because he was borne of a Britishe Woman: And on the other side, the Romaines allowed Geta for their king, because he descended of a Romaine. And for this dissension a battaile was foughten betweene

twene the sayde two brethren, in the which Geta was slaine, and Bassianus remayned for king ouer all the land.

In the tyme that Bassianus was now both Emperour and king of Briteyn, one named Carassus a Briton of lowe birth, but valiaunt and hardie in martiall affaires: purchased of the Emperour the keeping of Briteyn, or as some write onely of the coastes of Briteyn, and promised to withstand the malice of straungers, as the Pictes and others. By meane whereof Carassus drewe vnto him many knightes, and specially of the Britons, promising to them that if they would make him king, he would cleerely deliuer them from the seruitude of the Romaines. By reason wherof the Britons (as saith Gaufrid) rebelled against Bassianus, & with their Duke and leader Carassus arrered against him deadly warre, conceiuing the better hope of victorie because he was priuily certified of the Emperours death, who was then slaine by a seruant of his abone in Mesopotamia, when he had ruled this land by. yeres.

But Polidore affirmeth that this Carassus tooke on him the gouernance of Briteyn in the tyme of Dioclesian, and sayeth that this lande was in good quietnesse the space of. lxxvi. yeres, with whome the Latyn Stoies seeme to agree.

219  
Carassus reigned after Bassianus ouer Briteyn, who as before is expressed, was by the Emperour of Rome deputed for a substitute or a ruler vnder him. This Carassus for that he was not of power to withstande the Pictes, or for the fauour that he bare vnto them for ayding him against the Romaines: gaue to them a part of the Countrie of Albania, that now is called Scotland: For as witnesseth Polichronica, that part which was thus geuen to the Pictes, was the Southeast part of Albania, and began at Tweede, and endured to the firth, for before that tyme the Pictes inhabited only the Northeast Countrie of Scotland, which now are called ffeff, Angus, Murray, and Rosse. Of the nature and kinde of these Pictes, is somewhat shewed before, in the story of Marius, but more shall be shewed hereafter in place comenient both of their offspring and maners.

Nowe it foloweth when the Romaines had knowledge of the death of Bassianus, they forthwith sent a Duke from Rome named Alectus, with thre Legions of knightes to subdue and vanquish Carassus, who in the ende slue him, when he had ruled ouer the Britons. viij. yeres, and such as are disposed may read more of this man in Fabian and others.

224  
Ethodius the seconde was ordeyned king of Scotlande and reigned. xvi. yeres, he was of dull wyt, geuen to auarice and gathering of riches, and nothing meete to gouerne the Realme: wherfore his Nobles tooke vpon them the charge, and so continued all the tyme of his reigne.

226  
Alectus a Duke or Confull of Rome, sent as before is sayde from the Senate of Rome, began to rule the Britons: and first he restored the land to the subiection of Rome, and then pursued certaine of the Britons that had fauoured Carassus against the Romaines. And in that doing, he vsed and exercised many tyrannies and exactions, by reason whereof he fell in grudge and hated of the Britons. Wherfore, they entending to oppress and subdue the power of the Romaynes, procured and excited a Noble

Geta slaine.

Note that Albania now called Scotland was wholly in the possession of Carassus, and he gaue the same to the Scottes and Pictes.

Carassus slaine.

man



man of the Britons called Asclepiodatus Duke of Cornewall to take upon him to be their Captaine, who gathered a great hoste of the Britons, and made warre upon the Romaines, and chased them from Countrey to Countrey, and from Cobone to Cobone: and lastly Alectus with his Romaines drew him to London and there abode for his more suretie. Whereof Asclepiodatus being warned, he with his Britons came nere unto the sayde City, where by meanes of prouocation of eyther partie used, at the last, the Romaines issued out of the Citie and gaue battaile to the Britons. In the which fight many fell on eyther partie, but the more on the partie of the Romaines, among the which was slaine Alectus, wherfore a Capitaine of the Romaines called Linius Gallus, perceiuyng this mischiese, and the great daunger that the Romaines were in, drew back into the Citie with the Romaines that were left aliue, and defended it with their powers. This was Alectus slaine of the Britons when he had reigned and ruled this land vnder the Romaines the space of. lxx. yerres.

Alectus name.

232

1

Asclepiodatus or Asclepiodotus Duke of Cornewall (as sayeth Gaufride) tooke upon him the gouernement of the Britons, and with a great Armie besieged London, and kept the aforesayde Linius Gallus and hys Romaines in streight holde, and with knightly force and violence entered the sayde Citie, and slue the afozenamed Linius Gallus, nere unto a Brooke which then was within the sayde Citie, and threwe him into the sayde Brooke: By reason whereof, the same was from thence forth called Gallus Brooke, or Wallus Brooke, and at this time the place where that Brooke was, is called Walbrooke. And after Asclepiodatus had thus banquished the Romaines, he held this lande a certaine of tyme peaceably and quietly, and ruled the Britons with good iustice.

This brooke came from a place which we call now Brooze field, and that place being then a marsh, water ran from thence thow London into Thames

Colchester.

Asclepiodatus slaine.

240

Therco after the slaughter of Ethodius his father, was chosen king of Scottes, and reigned. xij. yerres. At the beginning, he shewed some tokens of honest towardnesse: but after he was so wrapped in all vnclane vice and effeminate lustes, that he was not ashamed to go openly in the sight of the people playng upon a flute, and reioysed more to be a fidelar than a Prince: finally, being pursued for rauishing of the daughters of Nathalas, by a noble man of Argile, he slue himselfe.

252

Nathalake tooke on him the kingdome of Scotland, by force, murther, and tyrannie, and trusting to the counsayll of Wyches and Inchauntours, was slaine of his awne seruaunt Surrey, whome of all men he bled most fauorably, when he had reigned. xi. yerres.

Coill

226

1

Coill, Erie of Colchester tooke upon hym the gouernance of Briteyn, and ruled the same very well for a certeine tyme. But as Gaufride sayth: When the Senates of Rome had vnderstanding of the death of Asclepiodatus, they were ioyous of his death, for that he had euer bene an enemy to the Empire: But forasmuch as at those dayes the Romaines themselves were at great dissention, they could not conueniently send any army to warre upon this Coill, by reason whereof he continued the longer in rest and peace.

Constantius sent from Rome to gouerne Briteyn.

Howbeit at length, the Senate sent a noble and wyse man called Constantius, who when he was arriued in Briteyn with his army, anone Coill assembled his Britons: But before he proceeded further, he sent an Ambassade to the said Constantius, for that he feared the strength and fame of him, which Ambassade declared vnto him condicions of peace, and graunt of the payment of the Tribute: But finally, while this matter was in talke, Coill dyed, and then the Britons for peace sake, entreated this noble man to take to wife Heleyn the daughter of Coill, with the possession of the land of Briteyn, which by him was granted. And thus Coill when he had reigned. xxvij. yerres dyed.

263

Findock king of Scottes.

At this tyme Findock the eldest sonne of Athirco was made kinge of the Scottes, he kept peace with the Romaines, and Britons, and quieted the rebellion of Donald (a noble man of the Isles) by whose counsayle, through the consent of his awne brother Carance, he was afterwarde slaine, when he had reigned. x. yerres.

273

Donald was king of Scottes one yere, he was taken in battail by Donald of the Isles, and shortly after he dyed.

274

After the death of King Donald, great trouble was in Scotland: for Donald of the Isles tooke on him the Crowne, which was Donald the thirde, and bled much Tyranny the space of. xij. yerres: He neuer laughed, but when he heard of the discorde and slaughter of his Nobles, and therefore in the end for his crueltie he was slaine of Craithlint the sonne of Findock, with. CC. of his naughtie Counsaylours.

Donald of Isles king of Scottes.

Craithlint the sonne of Findock, after the death of Donald the Tyrant, was made King of Scottes, and reigned. xxiiij. yerres, with great wisdom and iustice. In his tyme happened great variance betweene the Pictes and the Scottes (which continued friendes from the tyme of Fergus the first King of Scottes, to these dayes) for stealing of a Greyhounde, whereof ensued great murder and slaughter on both partes.

286

Craithlint King of Scottes.

Constantius aforesayde, tooke upon him the gouernement of the Britons, and as is abovesayde, first maryed Heleyn the Daughter of Coill, last King of Briteyn, which Heleyn was very beautifull and fayre, and therewith had learning and many other vertues, and after gouerned Briteyn very wisely and honorably: But within short tyme after, Dioclesian, and Maximinian had geuen by the Imperiall authoritie, he was chosen Emperour, and reigned Emperour and King of Briteyn. xxx. yerres, and then dyed, and is buried in Pozke, leauing after him a sonne named Constantine.

289

Constantius

This Constantius was a Man of great affabilitie, clemency, and gentleness, and therewithall very liberall, endenouring alwaies to enriche his subiectes, little regarding his awne treasure, thinking that to be his that the Commons had. Wherefore he sayde, that it was better that priuate persons had

H. ij.



had the common treasure to the vse of the weale publique, then the same to be locked by in Princes Coffers. In feastiuall dayes when he bade his Nobles to any banquet, he bozowed Plate of his friendes to furnishe his Cubbardes withall. Cooper.

312  
1  
Constantine.

Constantine the sonne of Constancius and of Helyn, daughter of king Coilus, reigned ouer Briteyn after his father, and ruled the lande with much equitie. And albeit, that at this time he was a heathen and Pagan, yet he vsed no tirannie, neither did he compell the Britons to refuse their law, and to worship Idols, as other Tyrants before had done.

Christians persecuted.

In this time, while Constantine ruled the Britons, one Maxencius which was the sonne of Hercules Maximianus sometime felow in the Empire with Dioclesian, was of the pretorian Souldiours declared Emperour. Thys Maxencius did there behaue himselfe the worst of all men, and enterprised all maner of tirannie, and persecuted the christians with all kindes of torments. And when Constantine heard of the tyranny of this man. He assembled a great hoste of Britons and Galles for to oppresse his outrage and malice.

And for to rule and guyde this land of Briteyn in his absence, he ordeyned a man of might called Octavius, which then was king of Wales & Duke of Swiscop, which some expound to be Westser, some Cornetwall, and some Wynsoze, to haue the gouernement of this dominion. Now when he had prouided all things necessarie for his boyage, he betooke the lande of Briteyn to Octavius, and sped him forward in his iourney.

Octavius vsurped the gouernment of Briteyn.

After whose departure, and during the time that he was occupied in the affaires of the Empire, Octavius being Lieutenaunt in Briteyn vnder the sayde Constantine, ruled the lande to the contentation of the Britons for a certaine time. But when he perceyued that he was in fauour with them, and also that Constantine was now farre from him, and considering with himselfe also, that the sayde Constantine being then Emperour, would not, nor could not so lightly retorne into Briteyn: he therefore with the helpe of hys friendes and such as he was ayded with, withstood the Romaines that were left in Briteyn by Constantine, and vsurped the rule & dominion of the land: whercof when Constantine was truly certified, in all haste he sent a Duke into Briteyn, named Trayherne, the which was Uncle vnto Helyn the mother of Constantine.

Trayherne.  
Portchester  
Winchester

When this Trayherne was arriued in Briteyn with three Legions of souldiours or men of warre: anon Octavius made toward him with his Britons, and met him nere vnto the Citie then called Caerperis, and nowe named Portchester, but more truly in a fielde nere vnto the Citie of Caeruent, which at this day is called Winchester.

Now when the two hostes were met, they ioynd a most eger and cruell battayle, wherein was a long and terrible fight. But in the ende, Trayherne was inforced to forsake the fielde, and withdrew himselfe and his Romaines into Albania or Scotiande. Whercof Octavius being warned, folowed him, and in the Countrie of Westmerland gaue him the second battaile, where then Octavius was chased and Trayherne had the victorie, the which pursued Octavius so egerly, that he compelled him to forsake the lande of Briteyn and to sayle into the Countrie of Norwaye for his safegarde.

But

But it was not long after, but the sayd Octavius gathered a newe power of people, aswell of Britons as also of Norwayes, and was redye to retorne againe into Briteyn. In which tyme an Erle of Briteyn that entirely loued Octavius by treason slue the sayd Trayherne a little before the landing of Octavius aforesayde, who afterwardes reigned in this lande at the least. liiij. yeres. but not without great and often warres made by the Romaines. And this shoulde be as most wyrters doe affirme, when Constantyne with the ayde of Trayherne had ruled this lande. x. yeres. But Polidore affirmeth that this Realme was in good quiet all the tyme of Constantyne and his successors vnto the. iiii. yere of Gracian, and maketh no mencion of this Octavius, whercof it may apere what great varietie there is euen among the best and most aproued story wyrters.

Trayherne slain.

Polidore.

This Constantine was a right noble and balaunt Prince, and the sonne of Helena, a woman of great sanctimony and borne in Briteyn, the which Hyn as it is reported of her, founde the Crosse at Jerusalem, on the which our Saviour Christ suffered his passion, and thre of the Nayles wherewith his handes and feete were pierced.

Constantine the great.

The sayd Constantine was so mightie in Martiall prowesse, that he was surnamed Constantine the great. Of whome it is further written, that when he was in his boyage or iourney, which he made against Maxencius the Tyrant, who was an extreme persecutor of the Christians, he saw in the night season, the signe of the Crosse shining in the Element lyke a fyze, and an Angell by it sayng on this wise: In this signe thou shalt overcome. Wherfore receyuing great comfort thereby, he gathered such a courage, that shortly after he banquished the armie of Maxencius and put him to flight, who in the chase was drowned in Tyber.

Finally this good Emperour had the fayth of Christ in such reuerence, that alway most staidously he endeoured to augment the same. And in witness of his beliefe, he caused the booke of the Gospelles to be borne before him. And further made the Bible to be copped out, and sent into all partes of the Empire. Of this man, the kynges of Briteyn had first the priuelege to weare close Crownes or Diademes. He ended his lyfe at Nicomedia, where he receyued Baptisme by Eusebius Bishop there, and was buried at Constantinople, called before Bizance, who lust to know more of his actes and life, may read the sayd Eusebius, who hath written a speciall treatise therof extant among his other workes.

Close crownes came frō Constantine & Emperour.

Incomake, after the death of his Cosyn Cairthquint, was ordeyned king of Scottes, and reigned. xliij. yeres.

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Octavius Duke of the Jelles, tooke vpon him againe to rule as king of Briteyn, and in the tyme of his reigne, he gathered such plenty of Treasure that he feared no man, and he ruled the land peaceably, saue that he was now and then as is aforesayd, troubled with warres by the Romaines. And of him is no notable thing written, except that when he was fallen into age, by the counsaile of the Britons, he sent vnto Rome for a yong Man of the kindred of Helyn mother vnto Constantyne called Maximianus, to whome Octavius offered his daughter in mariage, and to yelde vnto him the Kingdome of Briteyn, the which when Maximianus vnderstood, he consented

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1

H. iii. therevnto



thereunto, and prepared in all haste for his voyage, and shortly after he with a comenient companie landed at Southhamton, whereof Conan Meriadock being warned did purpose to haue fought with the sayd Maximianus, & thought to haue distressed him, for so much as he knew right wel, that by him he should be put from the rule of the land. But this purpose was letted by the commaundement of the king, or otherwise, so that the sayd Maximianus, was conueyed safely to the kinges presence: and shortly after the king with the consent of the moze partie of his Lordes, gaue his daughter in marriage vnto the sayd Maximianus, with the possession of this Isle of Briteyn. The which marriage being solemnised, and ended, the said Octavius dyed shortly after, when he had reigned as the most wynters agree. liii. yeres.

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Romake  
king of  
Scottes.

After the death of Fincoymake king of Scottes, because his heyres were but children, fierce warre was arreared betwene two noble men called Anguliane, and Romak, for the gouernaunce of the Realme: whereof ensued much trouble in the Realme of Scotlande, and great displeasure thereby engendered betwene the Scottes and the Pictes, for as much as by the ayde of the Pictes Romake tooke on him the Kingdome, and vled great crueltie thre yeres.

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Angulian  
king of  
Scottes.

Not long after the Nobles of Scotland assembled themselues and set vpon Romake their king and slue him, and then was Anguliane ordeyned king: Betwene whome and the Pictes was great warre for the death of Romake, and in the ende therof both Anguliane and Nectanus king of Pictes were slaine. Then was Fethelmak crowned king, which vanquished the Pictes, and was after slaine in his bed by two Pictes, which were his seruautes.

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Eugenius  
king of  
Scottes.

About this time one Eugenius the first, was made king of Scottes. Here the Scottishe Historie maketh a long processe of the fierce & cruell warre that this king kept against Maximus the Romaine Capiteyn, and the Pictes and Britens, which I thinke to be of no more credit than the residue of their Historie, that they haue feyned from the beginning. For vndoubtedly, if they had put the Romaines to so much trouble as their Chronicles shewe, both in the tyme of the Conquest and after: Casar, Tacitus, Plinie, and other woulde haue made some mention of the Scottes, as they did of the Trinobantes, Cenimagnes, Segontiaces, Bibraces, Brigantes, Silures, Icenies, and diuerse other.

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Note here  
that the Britons  
had the  
possession of  
all Scotland.

The Scottes say, that in this time, after long and cruell warre made by the aforesayde Maximianus, they were vtterly extermined and driuen out of their Realme into Ireland and other Countries, and that then the said Maximus the Romain, placed in their land the Pictes and Britons. And Hector Boecius sayth, it was for rebellion: But rebellion could it not be properly named, except they had bene subiectes.

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Maximianus or Maximus, the sonne of Leonyu and Cosyn Germain vnto Constantine the great, tooke vpon him the gouernement of this lande of Briteyn. This man was strong and mightie, but for that he was cruell against the Christians, he was called Maximianus the Tyraunt. Betwene this man and Conan before named, was great enuy and strife, and diuers conflicts and battayles were foughten, in the which eyther parte of them sped diuersly: howbeit, at the last, they were made friends. So that Maximianus reigned a while in quiet, and gathered ryches and treasure, but not

not altogether without murmure and grudge. Finally, he was prouoked and excited to make warre vpon the Galles, through which counsaile, he with a great hoste of Britons sayled into Armorica that now is called little Briteyn, where he bare him selfe so valiantly that he subdued that Countrie vnto his Lordship, and after gaue the same vnto Conan Meriadok, to holde of him and his successours the kings of great Briteyn for euer. And then commaunded the sayde land to be called little Briteyn.

America is  
called little  
Briteyn.

Now for this victorie, the Souldiours of Maximianus proclaymed him Emperour, by reason whereof, he being the more exalted in pride, passed further into the landes of the Empire, and victoriously subdued a great parte of Gallia and all Germania. For this dede, dyuers Authours doe account him false and perjured, wherefore it should seeme that before his coming from Rome, he was swozne to Gracian and Valentinian the Emperours, that he should neuer clayme any part of the Empire.

Maximianus  
proclaymed  
Emperour.

Now after that worde was brought vnto the Emperours that Maximianus had by force of armes thus subdued Gallia and Germania: Gracianus with a great hoste came downe to resist him. But when he heard of the Marciall deedes of Maximianus, he feared and fled back to the Citie of Lyons in Fraunce: where afterwarde the sayde Gracianus was slaine, and his brother Valentinian compelled to flee to Constantinoble, for safegarde of his lyfe.

Then Maximianus to haue the more strength to withstand his enimies, made his sonne named Vircour, felow of the Emperour. And in this time that Maximianus warred thus in Italy, Conan Meriadock, to whome as aforesayde Maximianus had geuen little Briteyn, for so muche as he and his Souldiours had no will to marrie the daughters of the Frenchmen, but rather to haue wyues of their owne blood: sent Messengers vnto Dionotus then Duke of Cornewall and chiefe ruler of Briteyn, willing him to send his daughter Ursula with a certaine number of Virgins to be coupled to him and his knightes in marriage, the which soone after was prepared according to the request of Conan, the aforesayde Ursula accompanied with xi. thousand Virgins, were sent by her sayde father toward little Briteyn, as sayeth Gausfred and other. But truely it appereth rather to be a fable, and the wynters herein doe not agree, and therefore I will wade no further therein. But to returne where I left.

Ursula com-  
monly cal-  
led Saint  
Ursula.

A fable.

Maximianus, being thus occupied in warres in Italy, two Dukes named Gwanus or Guanius Capitaine of the Hunes & Melga, king of Pictes, the which as Gausfred saith, were set on by Gracian and Valentinian the Emperours, to punish and subdue the Britons that fauoured the parte of Maximianus, warred sore vpon the coastes of great Britaine, and occupied a great parte of Albania. Whereof when Maximianus had knowledge he sente into great Briteyn a knight and Capitaine called Gracianus, the which with two Legions of Souldiours bare himselfe so valiantly, that in a short tyme he chased the sayde two Dukes into Ireland, and helde the land of Briteyn in good peare to the behoofe of Maximianus.

Gwanus  
Melga.

In this tyme Maximianus continuing his warre against the Empire, and intending to be Emperour. Theodocius named the elder, being then Emperour of the East part of the worlde hearing of the death of Gracian, and the chasing



Maximian<sup>9</sup> beheaded.

chasing of Valentinian his brother, sped him with a great power towarde Maximianus, and shortly after at a Citie in Italie named Aquileia tooke the sayde Maximianus and him beheaded.

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**W**hen knowledge of the death of Maximianus was come to Gracian, who then had the rule of great Briteyn, he sealed the land and made himselfe king of Briteyn by strength, when or after that Maximianus had governed the same, as most Writers doe beare wytnesse, the space of viij. yeres.

This Gracian having nowe obtayned the soueraigne auctoritie, became a verie cruell Prince and exercised all tyranny and exaction vpon the people, for which cause he was abhorred of all the Britons, and by them was slaine when he had reigned foure yeres. Then was the Realme a good space without a head or gouernor, in the which time the Britons were oftentimes sore vexed with the aforesayde Barbarous people and their forrein enemies.

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Augustine whom we call Saint Augustyn.

This time was Augustine the most famous & learned Doctor of Christs Church: he was Bishop of Hippon a Citie in Affrique. This man was of such excellent wyt, that in his childhood he learned all the liberall Sciences without any instructor, and in all partes of Philosophy was wonderfully well learned. At the beginning he fauoured the opinions of them which be called Manichees, but by the continuall prayer of his good mother Monica: and the persuation of holy Saint Ambrose, he was conuerted to the true faith. They both of them being replenished with the holy Ghost, sang the Psalme, Te deum, answering mutually one to another. And afterwardes, in prayer writing and preaching he so much profited the Church, that to this daye his name is worthily had in honour and reuerence of all men.

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Christostom

And in this time also was Chylostomus Bishop of Constantinople, and named the Noble Clerk, and for his eloquence he was called the Golden Mouthed Doctor, and yet escaped he not some persecution by meanes of Theophilus in Alexandria, for he dyed in exile.

423

Fergus king of Scottes.

Beda.

The Scottes (according to their Histories) vnder their king Fergus the second, returned out of Ireland into Albion, and continuing the reigne of three kings, that is Fergus, Eugenius and Dongarde, pursued the Britons with most cruell warres. But here they dissent from the English Chronicles, as well in the computation of tymes, as in the relation of the whole Historie, for after Beda, Gildas and other auncient and credible Writers, the Scottes came first about this time out of Ireland into that Countrey, which they afterwards named Scotland. But howsoeuer these Histories agree, truth it is that the Scottes being confederate with the Pictes, not long from this time, by consent of all Writers, invaded and spoiled the lande of Briteyn so cruellly, that the Briteyns were constreyned to sende for ayde to the Romaines, promising that they would perpetually be subiect to the Empire: which request was heard, & a Capitaine sent with a Legion of Souldiours, who within a fewe dayes chased their enemies out of the land, teaching them to make a Wall of Cornes and stakes, ouertwahrt the lande, from Sea to Sea, that is to meane from the water of Humber to the Scottishe Sea, and ordeyned them Wardeyns and keepers of the Wall (wherewith their enemies might be kept back out of the land) and then they tooke leaue of the

A Wall of Cornes.

the Britons and departed to Rome. But Polichronicon sayeth, that the sayde Wall stretched from Denulton to the Citie of Aclind.

But notwithstanding the sayd Wall, the Britons were againe invaded by the Pictes and Scottes, who spoiled the Countrey verie sore: So that they were driuen to seeke for newe helpe of the Romaines, who sent to them againe a company of Souldiours, which eftsones chased the Pictes, and made a wall of stone of viij. foote thicke, and in heighth. xij. foote: which thing when they had done, comforting the Briteynes, and admonishing them hereafter to trust to their owne manhood and strength, they returned againe to Rome.

A wall of stone.

433

The Scottes and Pictes yet once againe after the departure of the Romaines, entred the lande of Briteyn, and spoiled the countrey, and chased the commons so cruellly, that they were altogether comfortlesse, and brought to such misery, that eche robbed and spoiled other, and ouer this the ground was vtillid, whereof ensued great scarcetie and hunger, and after hunger death. In this necessitie they sent for ayde to Accius the Romaine Capitaine beyng then occupied in warres in a part of Gallia. But they had no comfort at his hand. And therefore were forced to send Ambassade to Aldroenus king of little Briteyne to desyre of him ayde and comfort, which they obtained vpon condicion, that if they atchiued the victorie, Constantyne his brother should be ordeyned king of great Briteyn, for to that day they had no king. Which thing beyng graunted of the Ambassadors, the said Constantine gathered a company of Souldiours, and went forth with them. And when he had manfully banquished the enemies, and obteyned the victorie, according to promes made, he was ordeyned king, & guded this land. x. yeres with such manhood and pollecy, that he kept it in quietnesse & from daunger of straunge enemies.

Accius.

Aldroenus.

Constatyne

Here endeth the Dominion and tribute of the Romaines ouer this land of Briteyn, which had continued the space of. 483. yeres.



Constantine the second, who was the brother of Aldroenus king of little Briteyn, was crowned king of great Briteyn and guded wel the land the space of. x. yeres, and in great quietnesse. Of this Constantyne is little written, except that he had by his wife thre sonnes, of which were named, Constantianus, Aurely Ambrose, & Uter surnamed Bendragon. But for that he sawe his eldest sonne named Constantianus to be dull and insolent of wit, he therefore made him a Monke in the Abbey of S. Swithines at Winchester. And the other two brethren, he betoke vnto Gwethelinus Archbishop of London to nourish and instruct. Some wyte that Constantianus entred into religion of pure deuocion, without the consent or knowlege of the king his father.

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Constantianus name.

In the Court of this Constantyne (as sayth Gaufride) there was a Pict, that was much loued & greatly fauoured of him, so that he might at all times come to the kinges presence, when he would himselfe. The which beyng an arrant Traytour, and serching conuenient time to execute his detestable treason, by a secret meane slue the king in his Chamber, when he had reigned as king. x. yeres. The Authoz of the story named the flowers of stories, writeth that he slue him with a knife in a very thicke Coppes, as he was a hunting.

In the tyme of this Constantyne of Briteyn, their reigned also among the

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Constantius  
king of  
Scottes.

the Scottes one of the same name, who was named Constantyne the first, he was a wicked Prince, and geuen wholly to filthy lust and pleasure of the body, and without all vertue of pollicye or noblenesse, wherefore in the ende he was slaine for rauishing of a noble mannes daughter.

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Constantius, the sonne of Constantyne, by the meane of Vortigerus Duke of Cornewall, or as some write of the Jewelles, after called West Saxon, was made king of Briteyn. This man as before is mentioned, was thought by his father, for that he was dull of wit and hadtpe of minde to be therefore vnnete to take the charge of the Gouvernement vpon him, and therefore his father made him a Monk as aforesayde. But now it came so to passe that by the practise and procurement of Vortiger he was taken out of the Abbey and made king: By meane whereof the sayd Vortiger had all the rule of the lande, so that Constance had but onely the name.

Constantius  
first a Monk  
and then a  
king.

This Vortiger then considering the innocencye and mildenesse of the king, cast in his minde how he might be king himselfe. And among other meanes, he practised to haue about the king an hundreth Pictes, to waite and attend vpon his person as a garde, which beyng brought to passe, he bare himselfe so friendly towards the sayde Pictes, and shewed him selfe so liberall vnto them euery way, that at length he had thereby so wonne their good will and fauour, that they abashed not to say openly, that he was more worthy to be king than Constance.

A Sord first  
appointed to  
attend on the  
king.

And in this while Vortiger gate into his possession the kinges Castels and treasure, and looke what he commaunded, that was done, though some did murmure and grudge thereat, and euer in right or wrong he fauoured the aforesayd Pictes.

Now when he sawe that he had wonne all their fauours, he made them all dronke on a tyme, and then declared vnto them in that case his pouertie and miserie, and that with teares, sayng howe he was not able of his atone proper reuence to wage somuch as fiftie Souldiours, and with that he departed from them vnto his lodging, as a man altogether dismayde, leauing them still drinking and quaffing in the Court. The Pictes hearing him say so, beyng nowe distempered and set in a rage by reason of Wyne, murmured one of them to another, sayng, why do we not kill this blockish Monk, that this noble Man Vortiger, who is so good and beneficial a Lord vnto vs may enjoy the Crowne. And with that they rose vp in their dronken moode, and fell vpon the king and slue him.

Constantius  
slaine.

After which cruell deede so by them done, they presented the head of Constance vnto Vortiger. Wherof when he was ware, and to thentent that the Britons should thinke that deede to be done against his minde and will, he wept and made semblaunce of all sorow and heavinesse, and caused the sayd hundreth Pictes forthwith to be taken, and them by the iudgement of the lawe of the lande to be beheaded, by reason whereof he was iudged not to be culpable, but innocent of the kinges death.

The kings  
Garde put  
all to death.

When the kings death was knowne to such persons as had the keeping of the two yonger brethren, Aurelius & Uter, they in all hast for the sauegard of themselves fled into little Briteyn, & there kept them vntill it pleased God otherwise to prouide for them. And thus as ye haue heard was king Constance

stance slaine when he had reigned fiiue yere.

Ingallus, the sonne of king Dongarde was ordeyned king of Scotland after the Death of Constantine. He was geuen to peace, quietnesse, and iustice, and was a good and moderate Prince.

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Vortiger after the death of Constance, by force made himselfe king of Briteyn, and ruled, but not all without trouble. For it was not long or that the Pictes hauing knowledge of the death and destruction of their knightes and knismen, invaded the Northpartes of the land, & did therein great damage and hurt. And besides this, many of the nobles of the Britons perceuyng that king Constance was not murdered altogether without the consent of the sayde Vortiger, rebelled against him, and dailye sent and sayled ouer into little Briteyn to the ayde and assistance of the aforesayde children of Constantine, which put the sayde Vortiger to great vniquietnesse, the more for that that he wist not, nor knewe not in whome he might put his trust and confidence.

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Now yet in all this broyle and vniquiet time, there was in this Realme so great plentie of Corne and fruite, that the lyke thereof had not bene seene in many yeres passed, wherewith was toynd lecherie and pestilence, with many other inconueniences, so that vice was accompted for small or none offence. The which reigned not onely in the Temporalitie, but also in the Spiritualitie and heads of the same. So that suerie man turned the point of his Speare against the true and innocent man, and the commons gaue themselves altogether to dronkenesse and Idlenesse, by reason whereof ensued fighting, strife, and much enuie. Of which aforesayd mischiefes ensued much mortalitie and death of men, that the lying scantly sufficed in some Countreies to burie the dead. And besides this, the king was so heard beset with the aforesayd enemies, that he was constreyned, as sayth Polichronica, to sende for Daynems, as the Saxons, to helpe to withstande his enemies and to defend his land, and also he dailye feared the landing of Aurely and Uter.

Plenty of  
Corne and  
Fruite.

Lecherie,  
Pestilence.

Dronkenesse  
Idlenesse.

Spotality,

Saxons.

Vortiger being thus beset with many enemies, and then being for the exployte of sundrie his affaires at Cauntorbury, tydinges was brought him of the arriuing of three talle Ships full of armed men at the Isle of Tenet. Wherfore, first he made countenance, as though he had bene in doubt whether it had bene the two brethren of Constance or no: But when the same was bloven about, that they were none enemies: anone he caused the leaders and Capitaines of them to be brought vnto his presence, demanding of them the cause of their landing, and of their Nation and Countreie: who answered vnto the king and sayde, they were of the Countreie of Germany, and put out of their Countreie by a maner & sort of a Lot, which is sundrie times vsed in the sayde lande, and the vse thereof grewe for that the people of that Countreie encreased so greatly, that without such prouision had, the Countreie might not suffice to finde the people that were therein: And that therefore sence fortune had brought them into this land, they besought the king that he would take them to his seruice, and they would be ready to fight for the defence of him and his Countreie. And when the king had enquired further, he founde that they had two leaders, named Hengist and Horsa, and they and their people were called Saxons.

Hengist  
Horsus.

The



The king being thus ascertayned of the maner of these strangers, & that they were of the heathen and Pagan law, said, he was verie sozie & they were miscreants, but he was glad of their coming, forsomuch as he had neede of such Souldiours to defend him and his lande against his enimies: and so receiued them into his wages and seruice, as saith Gaufride and other writers.

¶ Beda the holye man and saythfull Historian sayeth, that Vortiger sent for the Saxons for that they were strong men of armes, and had no lande to dwell in, the which came in three long Shippes or Hulkes, and receyued a place of him to dwell in, in the East side of Briteyn called the Isle of Tenet beside Kent: but Guilielmus Malmisburiensis in his worke De Regibus, sayth, that the Saxons came out of Germany of their owne will and courage to winne worshipp and laude, and not by any lot or compulsion. He sayeth also that they worshipped in those daies, a God named WODEN, supposed to be Mercury, and a Goddesse named FRIA Venus. In the worshipp of which God, the third seriall daye in the weeke, they named Wodensdaye, which we nowe call Wednesday. And in worshipp of the sayde Goddesse, they called the fiftte daye frees day, which we nowe call Friday.

¶ And these foresayde people were of three maner of Nations, that is to saye, Saxons, Anglys and Jewets. Of the Saxons came the East Saxons, West Saxons, and the South Saxons. Of the Anglys, came the East Anglys, the middle Anglys or Mercers, called Mercis, which helde middle Englande, that stretcheth Westward towarde the Riuer of Dee beside Chester, and to Seuerne beside Shrewesbury, and so forth to Bristow, and Estwarde towarde the See, and Southwarde towarde the Chamys, and so forth to London, and turning downeward and Westwarde to the Riuer Mercea, and so forth to the West See.

¶ And of the Jewets came the Kentishmen, and the men of the Isle of Wight. Of the first coming of these Saxons into Briteyn, the writers doe varie. But to returne to the storie.

¶ These Saxons with the kings power did beate downe the enimies aforesayde, and defended the land in most knightly wise, so that the king had the Saxons in great loue and fauour: which fauour Hengistus well perceyuing, vpon a season, when he saw conuenient time, he asked of the king so much ground as the hyde of a Bull or Ore would compasse, which the king graunted him. After the which graunt, the sayde Hengist to the entent to winne a large plot of ground, caused the sayde beasteskinne to be cut into small and slender Thonges. And with the same he met out a large and great circuit of ground, vpon the which he shortly after builded a large and strong Castell. By reason of which Thonge, the sayde Castell was long after named Thong Castle, and it was builded in Lyndsey.

¶ After this, tydings went into Germany of the plentie and fatnesse of the lande of Briteyn, with other commodities belonging to the same: By meane whereof, the Saxons dailye drewe to the sayde lande, and couenaunted with the Britons, that the Britons should exercise and attende vpon their husbandry and other necessarie traffique, and the Saxons as their Souldiours would defende the lande from incursions of all enimies, for the which the Britons should geue to them competent meate and wages.

¶ Then by the assignement and apoyntment of Hengist, there came out of Germany

William of Malmsbury

The dayes called Wednesday and Friday, from whence they came first.

Saxons, Angles, Jewets.

Bull hyde.

Thong Castle.

Germany. xvi. Sayles well furnished with men of warre, and in them came Ronowen the daughter of the sayd Hengist, which was a Mayden of excellent beutie. After whose coming, Hengist vpon a day besought the king that he would see his Castle, which he had newly edified. To whose request the king was agreeable, & at the day assigned he came to the Castle, where he was ioyously receyued. And there among other pastimes, the sayd Ronowen with a Cup of Golde full of Wyne presented the king, saluting and sayng vvaslayle. The king which before that tyme had heard no like salutation, neither vnderstood what she ment, asked of her father what she ment by that worde vvaslayle. To whome it was answered by Hengist, that it was a salutation of good lucke and gladnesse, and that the king should drinke after her, and adding also this answer, that it was as much to say, as drinke hayle. Wherefore the king as he was informed tooke the Cup of the Maydens hand and dranæ: And after he behelde the Damsell in such maner, that he was wounded with the dart of the blinde God Cupide, in such wise that neuer after he coulde withdrawe his lust from her: but lastly by the instigation of the Deuill, asked her in marriage of her father. And by force thereof as witnesseth Polichronica, he put from him his lawfull wyfe, of the which he had before tyme receyued three noble sonnes, Vortimerius, Catagrinus, and Pascencius. Then the king gaue to Hengist the Lordship of Kent, though Garangonus then Erle thereof thereat grudged with many of his Nobles and Comunons.

¶ For this, and because the king had married a Pagan woman, all the Britons in a maner forsooke him and his woorkes. Notwithstanding, yet some there were, as well of the Nobles as other, that comforted the king in hys euill doying. By which meane and other vnlawfull deedes, then dayly bled, the sayth of Christ began soze to decay. And besides that, an heresie called the Ariens heresie began to spring in Briteyn, for the which two Bishops named Germanus, and Lupus (as Gaufride saith) were sent into Briteyn to reforme the people that were infected with the same, and erred from the way of truth.

¶ Then to finish the story of Vortiger, forasmuch as the Britons withdrew themselves from hym, he was therefore constrayned to retayne with him the Saxons. By whose counsaile he afterwarde sent for Octa the sonne of Hengist, the which brought with them another companie out of Saronie. And from this tyme the Saxons sought alway occasion to extinguish vterly the power of the Britons, and to subdue the land to themselves.

¶ When the Lordes of Briteyn saw and considered the great multitude of Saxons, & their dayly repayre into this land, they assembled them together, and shewed to the king the inconuenience & ieopardy that might ensue to him and his land, by reaso of the great power of these strangers, & they aduertised him in aduoyding of greater daunger to expel & put them out of this realme, or the more part of them: But all was in vaine, for Vortiger had such a mind to the Saxons by reason of his wyfe, & he preferred the loue of them, before the loue of his owne natural kinsmen & friends. Wherefore the Britons of one will & mind crowned Vortimerus the eldest sonne of Vortiger king of Briteyn, and depriued the father of all kingly dignify, when he had reigned. xvi. yeres.

¶ Vortimer the sonne of Vortiger, was by the assent of the Britons made King of Briteyn, the which in all haste pursued the Saxons, and gaue vnto them a great battayle vpon the Riuer of Daruent, where he had

Ronowen the daughter of Hengist.

Wassayle.

Polichron. Vortimerus, Catagrinus, Pascencius.

Arians heresie. Germanus Lupus. Octa the son of Hengist.

Vortiger. depriued.



Carrignus.  
Hozsus  
Gaine.

Cole Hoore.

Vortimer.

Thetford.

Gaufride.

Rowen practised the poisoning of Vortimer.

of them the victorie. And secondarily he fought with them vpon the Fooorde called Epyfoord, or Aglisphorpe. In the which fight Carrignus the brother of Vortimer, and Hozsus, brother to Hengist, or Cosin, after long fight betwene them two, eyther of them slue other, in which fight also the Britons were victours. The thirde battaile he fought with them nere vnto the Sea syde, where also the Britons chased the Saxons, and compelled them to take the Isle of Wight for their suretie. The fourth battayle was nere vnto a Hoore called Cole Hoore, the which was long and soze fought by the Saxons, by reason that the sayd Hoore closed a part of their Hoast so strongly, that the Britons might not approche to them for daunger of theyr shot. Hobbeit, in the ende they were chased, and many of them by constraint were drowned and swallowed in the sayde Hoore.

¶ And ouer and besides these foure principall battailes, Vortimer had with the Saxons sundrie other conflicts and skirmishes, as in Kent, Thetfoorde in Norfolk, and in Essex, nere vnto Colchester, & left not vntill he had bereft from them the more part of suche possessions, as before time they had wonne, and kept themselves onely to the Isle of Tenet, where Vortimer besieged them, with his Nauie, and oftentimes fought with them by water.

¶ And as Gaufride sayeth, when they sawe that they were not able any longer to endure the force of the Britons, and to make their partie good with them, they then sent Vortiger the father (whome they had present with them in all the fieldes that they fought against the Britons) vnto the king his sonne, praiyng him to lycence them safely to depart againe into their country of Germany. And whiles this matter was in talke betweene the father and the sonne, they priuily conueyed themselves into their Shippes, and so returned home againe, leauing their wyues and children behinde them. Fabian.

¶ When that Rowen the daughter of Hengist perceyued the great mischief that her father and the Saxons were in, by the martiall knighthood of Vortimer: she sought such meanes (as sayeth Gaufride and other) that Vortimer was poisoned, when he had ruled the Britons. vij. yeres.

¶ Because the storie touching the end and death of the sayde Vortimer is verie notable, it shall not be amisse to recite it here in effect, as it is written by the sayd Gaufride. When Vortimer had now gotten the victorie of the Saxons, he beganne lyke a good Prince to restore againe vnto the Britons such possessions as were taken from them by the sayde Saxons, and to loue and honour them: And at the request of the holy man Germaine to reedefie such Churches as were by them destroyed and ouerthrowne. But the Deuill by and by enuied at his vertue and godlynesse, who entering into the heart of his stepmother Rowen, moued her to imagine his death: whereupon she sending for all the Wytches and Poysoners that she coulde hereof, caused verie strong Poyson to be ministred vnto him, by a verie familiar and nere friend of his, whome she had corrupted before with many great giftes. Now when this noble warrour had receyued this deadly poyson, he vpon a sodaine became desperately sick, in such wise as their was no hope of lyfe in him. Then commaunding all his Souldiours to come before him to shewe to them what daunger he stood in, and how the houre of death was at hande, he deuoyded among them his treasure and such goodes as his auncetours had left him. And perceyuing them greatly to lament and bewaile the miserable case and daunger

daunger that he was in, he comforted them, sayyng, that the waye which he should goe was comen to all fleshe, and so exhorted them that as they had before stiked vnto him like men, and had shewed themselves valyaunt and couragious in fighting against the Saxons, euen so hereafter they woulde lykewise perseuer in the defence of their native Countrey, against all the inuasions of forrein enemies. That done, of a great hardy courage he commaunded a Sepulcher of Brasse to be made spire wise, and the same to be set in that porte or Hauen where the Saxons were commonly wont to arryue, and his dead corps to be layde in it, that as soone as those barbarous people should see once the Sepulchre, they for feare might returne backe againe into Germany. For he sayde that not one of them all durst be so hardie as to approche the lande if they once saw the sayde Sepulchre. O most hardie and dowtie king, who desyred to be feared of them euen after his death, vnto whome he was a terrour in his lyfe time: But when he was dead, the Britons performed not his commaundement, but buried his body at London.

¶ Vortiger was now againe restored to the kingdome of Briteyn, and shortly after Hengist eyther of his awne accorde, or as Gaufride wytteth sent for by the procurement of his daughter Rowen, entred thys land againe with a great multitude of Saxons, whercof Vortiger, being informed in all haste, assembled his Britons and made towardes them. But when Hengist heard of the Britons, and of the preparation that was made against him, he then made meanes for the intreaty of peace, where in the end, it was concluded that a certaine number of Britons, and as manye of the Saxons, should vpon the next May day assemble vpon the playne of Ambziz, now called Sarisbury, or as Gaufride saith, nere vnto the Abbey of Amesburie, founded by one Ambzius: which day being certeynly prefixed, Hengist vsing a new practise of treason, charged all his Saxons by him appointed, that eche of them should put secretly a long knyfe in their hosen, and at such time as he gaue to them this watch or bye worde, Nempnith your Sexes, that is, drawe your knyfes, that euerie one of them should drawe out his knyfe and slea a Briton, sparing none, but Vortiger the king onely. And at the day before appointed, the king with a certaine number of Britons, not ware of this purposed treason, came in peaceable wise to þe place before assigned, where he found ready Hengist with his Saxons. The which after due obedience made vnto the king, he receyued him with a countenance of loue and amitie, where after a time of communication had, Hengist being minded to execute his purposed treason, gaue forth his watchword. By reason whereof anon the Britons were slaine lyke shepe among wolues, to the number (as Gaufride wytteth) of. iiii. C. and. lx. barons & noble men, hauing no maner of weapon to defend themselves withall, except that any of them might by his manhood & strength either get þe knife out of his enemies hand, or else by stoues or such like weapõ as they might come by, any of them, by which meanes diuers of the Saxons also were slaine, so þe this there trechery was performed. And among the number of these Britons þe were thus distressed, there was then an Erle called Edolfe Erle of Chester, or rather after Gaufride Edole, Baron of Glovcester, who seeing his felowes & friends thus murthered (as the said Gaufrid saith) by his manhood recovered a stake out of a hedge, with the which he knightly defended him

471  
1  
Vortiger restored to his kingdome.

Sarisbury.

Treason wrought by Hengist.

Distimulation.



ded himselfe and slue of the Sarons three scoze and ten persons, and being ouer set by his enimies and not able to make any longer resistance was compelled to flie to his awne Citie. After which treason thus executed, the king remayned with Hengistus as Prisoner. Fabian.

¶ But the sayde Gaufride writeth moze fuller hereof in this wise. After the Sarons had accomplished their mischeuous purpose, they woulde in no wise slay Vortiger: But threating to kill him, they kept him in a holde, and demaunded him to geue by a delyuer vnto them his good townes and strong holdes as a raunsome for his lyfe: vnto whome the king graunted whatsoeuer they requyred of him, so that he might depart with lyfe. And when he had confirmed his graunt made vnto them by an othe, then was he set at libertie and delyuered out of Prison. This done, the Sarons tooke Porke, Lyncolne, and Winchester, and wasting al the Countreys as they went, they set vpon the common people and slue them, as Wolues are wont to deuoure the sely pore Sheepe that are left alone and forsaken of their Shepheards. Now when Vortiger sawe the great murther and slaughter of his people, he gat him into Wales as a man that wist not what to doe, and howe to be reuenged vpon this wicked Nation.

Vortiger taken.

Treason

Thong Castle.

Trayterous practise not altogether breuenged.

Polichron.

Hengistes lande.

Mathew of Wellminst.

¶ Of the taking of Vortiger, and slaying of the Lordes of Briteyn (Guilielmus de regibus sayth) that Hengist agreed with Vortiger and his Britons that he should enioy the Castell by him before made, with a certeyne lande thereto adioynng for him and his Sarons to dwell vpon. And when the said agreement was surely stablished, this Hengist entending treason, desired the king with a number of his Lordes to come and feast with him within his sayd Castle, the which of the king was graunted. And at the day assigned the king and his Lords came vnto the sayd Thongcastle to dynner, where he with his, was well and honourably receyued, and also deyntily serued.

¶ But when the king and his Lordes were in their most mirth, this Hengist had commaunded before, that his awne knightes shoulde fall out among themselves: which beyng so done, the remnaunt of his Sarons, as it were in parting of frayes, should fall vpon the Britons, and slay them all, sauing only the king. The which thing was done, as ye heard before deuised, and the king was kept and holden as prisoner.

¶ Hengist then hauing the king as prisoner, and a great part of the rulers of Briteyn, thus as aforesayde subdued, was some deale exalted in pride, and compelled the king to geue vnto him, as Polichronica sayth, three prouinces in the East part of Briteyn, that is to say, Kent, Suffer, Norfolk and Suffolke (as sayth the floure of Histories) But Guido de Columna sayth, that the aforesayde three prouinces were Kent, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolke. Of the which sayde prouinces when Hengist was possessed, he suffered the king to go at his libertie. And then Hengist began his Lordship ouer Kent, and sent other of his Sarons to guyde and gouerne the other prouinces, vntill he had sent for other of his kinsmen to whome he purposed to geue the same prouinces vnto.

¶ Thus Hengist beyng in the possession of this prouince of Kent, commaunded his Sarons to call it Hengistes land, whereof as some Authours wyte, the whole land of Briteyn tooke his first name of England: But that is not so, as after shall be shewed in the story of King Egbert.

¶ The

¶ The Lordship of kingdome of Kent had his beginning vnder Hengist, in the fift yere of Vortigers second reigne, and in the yere of our Lorde after most wyters. iij. C. lxxvj. But Denys and other which say, it begonne. xxj. yeres sooner, aloweth the beginning hereof to be when Hengist had first the gift of the same, by reason that Vortiger maryed his daughter. This Lordship conteyneth the Countrie that stretcheth from the East Ocean vnto the Ryuer of Chamys, and had vpon the Southeast, Southery, and vpon the West, London: vpon the Northeast the Chamys aforesayde, and also Essex, and in this Lordship was also conteyned the Isle of Thanet, which Lordship of kingdome endured after most wyters, from the tyme of the first yere of the reigne of Hengist, vntill the. xxb. yere of Egbert before named, which by that accompt should be. iij. C. xliij. yeres. At which season the sayd Egbert then king of West Sarons, subdued Waldredus then king of Kent, and ioyned it to his awne kingdome. Howbeit Polichronica affirmeth it to endure by the space of. iij. C. lxxvij. yeres, vnder xx. Kinges, whereof Waldredus was the last. The first Christen King of this Lordship was Ethelbertus or Ethelbert, the which receyued the fayth of Christ by Austine or Augustine the Monke, in the yere of our Lorde. iij. C. xxvj. The which Ethelbert caused the Monasterie of Saint Peter and Paule at Cantorbury to be buylde, and as some say, he first began the building of Poules Church in London. He gaue vnto Austyn and his Successors Bishoppes of Cantorbury, a place for the Bishoppes See, at Christes Church within the sayd Citie, and endowed it with many riche possessions, as moze at large shall be shewed in the lyfe of Careticus.

The kingdome of Kent continued C.C. xliij. yeres.

Ethelbertus the first christen king of Kent.

¶ This Hengist and all the other Sarons which ruled the. viij. principates of Briteyn, as after shall be shewed, are called of most wyters Reguli, which is as much to say in our bulgare speche, as small or petie kings: So that this Hengist was accompted as a little king. The which when he had thus gotten the rule of the thre prouinces before mencioned, he sent for mo Sarons, and gathered them together that were sparkled abroade, so that in these prouinces the fayth of Christ was vtterly quenched and layde a sleepe.

Reguli. Small kings

¶ Then Hengist with Octa his sonne gathered a great strength of Sarons, and fought with the Britons and ouercame them, and chased them in suche wise that Hengist kept his Lordship in peace and warre the space of xxiiij. yeres as most wyters agree.

¶ Nowe let vs retorne againe to Vortiger, the which when he sawe the Sarons in such wise encrease their strength, and the Britons dayly to decrease, for as Gaufride sayth, the Sarons had the rule of London, Porke, Lincolne, and Winchester, with other good townes. Wherefore the king for feare of the Sarons, and also for that he was somewhat warned of the cunning of the two brethren, Aurely, and Uter, sonnes of Constantyne: He therefore considering these manye and great daungers, fled into Cambria, or Wales, and there held him for the more suretie, where before he had builded a strong Castle. Of the which buylding, and impediment of the same, and of the Prophet Marlyn many thinges are written by Gaufride, and reported by the common voyce of the people yet at this day.

¶ Now while Vortiger was thus in his Castle in Wales, the aforesaymed two brethren Aurely and Uter prepared their nauie and men of armes,

Aurely. Vter.

J. iij.

and



and passed the Sea, and landed at Cornelle, whereof when the Britons had knowledge, they drew vnto them in all hastie wise. The which sayd brethren, when they saw that they had a competent number of knightes and men of warre, first of all made towarde Wales to distresse Uortiger.

¶ Whereof he being well warned, and knowing also that he coulde not make sufficient defence against them, he therefore furnished his Castle with strength of men and victuall, entending there to sauegarde himselfe, but all was in vaine: for the said two brethren with their army, besieged the Castle and after many assaultes, with wyldesyre consumed the same, and Uortiger also, and all that were with him.

¶ Of this Uortiger it is redde, that he lay with his abone daughter, in trust that Kinges should come of his blood. And lastly, he ended his life as before is expressed, when he had reigned now the second tyme .ix. yeres.

¶ Durannus, for so much as the Children of his brother Congallus were but yong, was ordeyned king of Scottes, and guyded them in good peace and quietnesse a long space: but at the last he was slaine for extortion, that Comset his Chauncelour vsed in his name.

¶ Aurelius Ambrose, the seconde sonne of Constantine was by the Britons made king of Briteyn. Of him it is wrytten that when he vnderstood of the deuision that was in the land of Briteyn betwene Uortiger and the Saxons, and in what maner the Saxons had subdued the Britons, he in all goodly haste, with the ayde of the King of little Briteyn, sped him into his land, and first came to Porke, and there chased the Saxons that helde the Citie with Octa the sonne of Hengist, and tooke the sayde Octa, and kept him as prisoner a certeyn season.

¶ But howe it was, by treason of his keeper or otherwise, he brake Prison and escaped. And after, he with his father gathered a great hoste, and met Aurelius and his Britons, at a place called Crekynforde, where was foughten a strong and mightie battaile, to the losse of both parties, but the greater losse fell vpon the Saxons: for of them was slaine foure Dukes, and .iiij. M. of other men, and the residue chased to their great daunger. Yet this notwithstanding Hengist continued his Lordship in Kent: and Aurelius Ambrose kept the Countrie called Logiers or middle England with Wales, and chased the Saxons that dwelled in the two Prouinces of East Saxon, and East Anglis out of those Countries.

¶ And in this tyme a Saxon named Ella, with his three sonnes, Symon, Pletynger, and Cilla, came with three Shippes or Hulkes, and landed in the South part of Briteyn, & slue many Britons, at a place then named Cuneue-shore, or Comingsborough & chased many into a Wood then called Andresleger, and after occupied that Countrie, and inhabited himselfe & his Saxons within the sayde Prouince, making himselfe king and Lorde thereof: By reason wherof and by his might and power, the said Prouince or Countrie was after named the Kingdome or Lordship of the South Saxons. The which after most wryters had his beginning the xxxii. yere after the first coming of Hengist, which was the yere of our Lorde 482. and the second yere of the reigne of Aurely Ambrose then King of Briteyn.

¶ The kingdom of the South last aboue named had on the East side, Kent, on the

on the South, the See and the Isle of Wight, and on the West, Hampshyre, and in the North Southerey, and conteyned Southhampton. Somersetshire, Deuonshire and Cornewall. Of which sayde kingdome Ethelwald or Ethelwald was the fourth king, and the first christen king. This kingdome endured thortest season of all the other kingdomes: for it endured not aboue an hundred and .xij. yeres, vnder .v. or .viij. kings at the most.

¶ But now to returne where we left: Aurely which as before you have heard, held and occupied the middle part of Briteyn with Cambria or Wales, did his diligence to repayre ruynous places, as well Temples as other, and caused the seruice of God to bee sayde and done, which by the meane of the Saxons was greatly decayed thorough all Briteyn.

¶ And after this, Aurely besieged the Saxons in the hill of Badon or Baathe, where he slue many of them. But daiely the Saxons encreased and landed in great Briteyn, as shall appere. For shortly after a Saxon named Porth, landed with his two sonnes at a Hauen in Suller, after whose name as some wryte, the Hauen was afterwards called Portesmouth, which Hauen is so called to this day. And lykewise they came to lande in diuers places of Briteyn, so that Aurelius had with them manye conflictes and battailes, wherein he sped diuersly, for he was sometime victour and sometime ouercome.

¶ It is wrytten in the English Chronicle and other, that Aurely by the helpe of Marlyn did fetch the great stones now standing vpon the playne of Salburie, (called the Stone Henge) out of Ireland, and caused them to be set there as they now stand, in the remembraunce of the Britons that were there slaine and buried in the tyme of the treyterous communication that was had with Hengist and his Saxons as before in the storie of Uortiger is touched: But Polichronica allegeth the same act to Uter his brother.

¶ In the tyme of this Aurely, as sayeth Polichronica, dyed Hengist in his bed, when he had reigned ouer the Kentishe Saxons. .xxiiij. yeres. After whose death Octa his sonne ruled the sayde kingdome other. .xxiiij. yeres. Albeit that the Britishe bookes and also the English Chronicle, saye that Aurelius slue in battaile Hengist, & then tooke to his grace Octa his sonne, and gaue to him and his Saxons a dwelling place in the Countrie of Galewaye, which seemeth not lykely, for matter that shall after ensue, and also that which before is touched of the Pictes and Scottes in the tyme of the miserie of the Britons.

¶ Now it foloweth, that this Octa, neyther augmented nor minished his Lordship, but helde him therewith contented as his father had lefte it vnto hym.

¶ And finally in the ende of the reigne of Aurely, Pascentius the yongest sonne of Uortiger, which after the death of his father was fled into Ireland for feare of Aurely, purchaced ayde of Guiliamoz king of Ireland. And with a great armie invaded this lande of Briteyn, by the Countrie of Wales, in taking the Citie of Meneua, now called S. Davids, and in wasting the sayd Countrie with sworde and fyre. In the which season and tyme Aurelius laye sicke in the Citie of Winchester.

¶ For which cause he desired his brother Uter to gather an hoste of Britons together, and to appease the malice of Pascentius and his Adherents.

The

Ethelwald the first christen king of the South Saxons.

Aurely who ruled Wales.

Portesmouth.

Marlyn, Stonehenge, Salburie playne.

Hengist dead. Octa.

Pascentius.

Guiliamoz king of Ireland.

475

Extorcion.

481

Aurelius Ambrose.

Octa taken & after escaped.

Crekynforde battaile.

Ella. Symon. Pletynger. Cilla.

South Saxons.



The which accordingly prepared his hoste, and at length ouercame the hoste of Pascentius and slue him and the afozenamed Guplamour in the fiede.

Howbeit, Gaufride reporteth this storie otherwise, affirming that Pascentius the sonne of Nortiger, who for sauegarde of his lyfe, fled into Germany, came with a great armie of Germanes out of the same Countrie against Aurelius to be reuenged vpon him for his fathers death, and gaue battaile vnto Aurelius himselfe, in the which the sayde Pascentius and his Germanes were discomfited and put to flight. Then Pascentius who durst not after the sayde discomfiture returne into Germany, gate him into Ire-land desiring ayde of Guillomannius then king of that Countrie, who taking compassion of him, ayded him with all he might. And so by the helpe of the sayde king arrived at Meneuia, now called S. Davids in Wales: At the which season Aurelius being sick at Winchester, commaunded his brother Uter to gather an armie to appease his malice, the which he did, and then went into Wales to meete hym, where was foughten a cruell battaile betwene them, in the which Uter had the victorie, and Pascentius and Guillo-mannius were slaine.

Now while Uter was thus gone against Pascentius, a Saron, feyn-ning himselfe a Briteyn, and a cunning man in Physick, by the entisement of Pascentius & vpon great rewards by him promised, came vnto Aurely wher he lay sicke, and by his subtil and false meanes, purchascd fauour with those that were nere vnto the Prince, that he was put in trust to minister potions and Medicines vnto the king. This man of some wyters is called Copu, and of some Coppu, but of Gaufride Copu. The which when he had espied his conuenient time, gaue to Aurelius a potion enpoysoned: by violence whereof he hostly after dyed, when he had reigned. xix. yeres, and was bu-ried at Stonhenge besides Amesburie.

In the time of the reigne of the aforesayde Aurely (Polichronica sayeth) that the kingdome of East Anglys began vnder a Saron named Uffa, in the yere of our Lorde. CCC. xxi. The which conteyned that Province which we call now Norfolk and Suffolk. They had in the East and Northsides, the Sea, on the Northwest, Cambridshire: notwithstanding dyuers wy-ters affirme Cambridshire to be parte of the sayde kingdome, and in the West S. Emondes Diche, and Hertfordshire, and in the South Essex. Thys Lordship was called first Uffins Lordship, and the kings thereof were na- med Uffins, or as some write, they were called Uffines people, but at the last they were named East Anglis.

The first christen king of this principate, was Redwallus, but he was not so constant as was meete for his Religion. His sonne named Corpwal- dus was more stedfast, which after was slaine of a misbeleuing man, and for Christes faith as some write. But Guido sayth that Sebertus was the first Christian king of this Lordship, and that he made Pauls Church of Lon- don. This Lordship vnder. xij. kings, endured vntill the Martirdome of S. Edmond the last king thereof, the which was martired in the yere of our Lorde. viii. hundreth. lxx. And of this Lordship at those dayes was Elman or Chetford the chiefe Towne.

The Historie of Scotland sayth, that the Pictes and Scottes were ayded with this Ambrose, and made partakers and chiefe doers in all the victo- ries

Treason.

1181, first king of the East Anglis.

Redwallus the first christen king of the East Anglis.

Sebertus was the first builder of Pauls Church.

Chetford.

ries that the Britons atchieued against the Saxons.

Ter the last and pongest sonne of Constantine, and brother of Aurely, tooke vpon him the Kingdome of Briteyn, and gouerned the same ve-ry honourably. This man was surnamed Bendragon. The cause thereof, as sayth the English Chronicle, was for that Merlyn lykened him vnto a Dragon vnder a starre apering in the firmament: whereof there is made long processe in the story of Gaufride, but Layland a man in his tyme very skilfull in the antiquities of this Realme, thinketh this name was geuen him for his great prudence and wisdom where in Serpentes do excell. But how so euer it were, truth it is, that after Uter (as is aforesayde) was made king, he atchieued many victories against the Saxons, and lastly slue theyr chiefe Capitaines, Octa, & Cosa, as Gaufride writeth of him: It is also writ-ten that he was enamored vpo the Dukes wife of Cornewal named Igerne, and for to obtaine his vnlesfull lust, he sought many and dyuerse meanes: So that lastly he made warre vpon her Husbnde named Carolus, or Corleys, and at length slue the sayde Duke at his Castle called Tynntagell, standing in Cornewal, and after maryed his wyfe, and receyued of her the noble knight Arthur, and a daughter named Anne. And in the ende he dyed at Uerolame by force of poyson, when he had reigned. xvi. yeres, and was likewise burped at Stonage or Stonehenge, vpon the plaine of Sarisbury, leauing after him the most puyfaut and noble King Arthur.

500

Uter Ben- dragon.

The birth of King Arthur.

Arthur, the sonne of Uter Bendragon, of the age of. xv. yeres, or as some wyte. xviii. tooke vpon him the gouernement of Briteyn, and hauing continuall battaile and mortall warre with the Saxons, did meruey- lously prosper and preuaile.

512

Here sayth Fabian I would fayne declare the fame of this noble Prince to the comfort of other to follow his martiall dedes, so that I might somewhat iustifie my report by some autentique Authour, but hereof I doubt the more because of the sayng of Reynulph Monke of Chester, which voucheth vpon William of Malmsbury, wyter of the Histories of Kinges, as is rehered at length in the. vi. Chapter of the fift booke of the sayd Reynulph, vnto the which place because I would be brieve I referre the reader. But somewhat yet to say to the honour of so great and victorious a Champion as was thys Arthure, I will do my endeuour, so farre forth as I may be able to auouche my sayng by sufficient warrandise, and therewith glad the Welshmen, that he should discende of so noble a victour, that so many dedes of honour in his dayes executed. For though of him be written many thinges in the Englishe Chronicle of small credence, and farre discordant from other wyters, yet all agree in this, that he was a noble and victorious Prince in all his dedes, and testific that he fought. xij. notable battayles against the Saxons, and had al- wayes the vpper hande: But that notwithstanding he could not auoyde them out of his lande, but that they helde theyr Countries, which they were posses- sed of, as Kent, Southery, Northfolke, Southfolke. Notwithstanding some wyte that they helde those Countries of him as tributaryes. And the foresayd. xij. battayles as I finde written in the auncient wyter Nennius, who liued about the yere of Christes incarnation. 620. whose authoritie I preferre,

Nennius.



preferre, wyteth thereof as foloweth.

¶ The first battayle (sayth he) was foughten in the mouth of the water of Gleyne, other wise called Gledy.

¶ The second, the thirde, the fourth and fift, nye vnto another Ryuer called Duglesse, the which is in the Countrie of Lyneweys.

¶ The sixt vpon the Ryuer called Bassus.

¶ The. vii. in the Wood of Calidon, other wise called Carcoite Celidon.

¶ The. viii. beside the Castle called Gynnyon.

¶ The. ix. in Careillon in Wales.

¶ The. x. in a place by the Sea syde called Traphenrith, other wyse Ryttherwyde.

¶ The. xi. vpon an hill named Aigned Cathregonion.

¶ The. xii. at the hill or Towne of Bathe, where many a one was slaine by the force and might of Arthure.

¶ For as it is reported of him, he slue with his atone hande in one day by the helpe of God, an hundreth and fortie Saxons, he bare the Image of our Lady in his Shielde, which shielde he called Pridwen, his sword was called Calaber, and his Speare was called Rone, after the Britishe tongue or speche. John frofard affirmeth, that king Arthure first builded the Castle of Windfour, and there founded the order of the rounde Table.

¶ In this tyme also I finde mencion made of a noble and valiant man called Arthgall, and he was the first Erle of Warwike, and he was one of the knightes of the round Table of king Arthure, after whome folowed by succession Morwyde, and Morthrude. This Arthgal tooke a Beare for his beest because the first sillable of his name which is Arth in the Britishe speche, and is in English a Beare.

¶ About the fift yere of his reigne, began the Lordship of the West Saxons, vnder the Saxon called Cerdicus and Kenricus his sonne: for Dionice and other say, that this Lordship or Kingdome should haue his beginning the lxxi. yere after the first comming of Hengist, or the yere of our Lord sine hundredeth. xxii. which agreeth with the fift yere of Arthure aforesayd.

¶ This Lordship conteyned the West Countrie of England, as Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Berksheire, Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornewall, and had in the East syde, Southhamton, on the North Chamys the famous Ryuer, on the South and West, the Sea Ocean.

¶ The aforesayd Cerdicus, which of some is called Childericus, landed first at Cerdishore, which now is called Vermouth, an haven Towne in the Countie of Norffolke. And by the helpe of other Saxons which then dwelled there, the sayde Cerdicus at length obteyned the aforesayde Countries, and named them West Saxons, and reigned therein as Lorde and king a certeyn of yeres, and after him Kenricus his some.

¶ The first christian king of this Prouince: was named Kyngillus, and converted to the fayth by meanes of that verteous man Brennus Bishop of Dorchester. To whome Quichelinus brother of the aforesayde Kyngillus, gaue the sayde Citie to make there his See, after that he also had receyued Baptisme of the sayd Berinus. And as Guydo sayth, the sayde Quichelinus gaue after to the Bishoppe of Wynchester. vii. Myle compass of lande to buylde their a Bishops See, the which was accomplished and finished by Kenwalcus

Pridwen.  
Calaber.  
Rone.

Arthgall the  
first Erle of  
Warw. be.

Cerdicus  
first king of  
the west  
Saxons.

Parmonth.

Kyngillus  
the first chri-  
stian king of  
the west  
Saxons.

Brennus bi-  
shop of Dor-  
chester.

Kenwalcus his sonne.

¶ This kingdome endured longest of all the other, which were seuen in number, or sixe beside this. Some writers accompt the continuance of thys kingdome from Cerdicus to Egbert, and some to the last yere of Aluredus. But Guydo accompteth the continuance of this kingdome from the first yere of Cerdicus vnto the last yere of Edward the Confessor, and by that accompt it should endure sine hundred and. liii. yeres: But most agree that it should be reconed from the first yere of Cerdicus to the last yere of Aluredus, for he made one Monarchy of all the. vii. kingdomes, in the which time passed away. CCC. lxxviii. yeres.

¶ But nowe to returne to Arthur, the which by a long tyme dwelled in warre and mortall battaile with the Saxons, by meane of their daylie repaire into this lande. The which also alyed them with the Pictes and other Nations, and made their partie the stronger by that meane: But yet King Arthur brought them into such an obedience, that they knowledged him to be the chiefe Lorde of Briteyn.

¶ Finally, when he had by a long time maintained his warres against the Saxons, and specially against Cerdicus king of West Saxons: he for a synall concord gaue vnto the sayde Cerdicus (as sayth Polichronica) in his sixe Chapter of his fift Booke, the Prouinces of Hampshire and Somersetshire. And when he had set his lande in some quietnesse, he betooke the rule thereof vnto his Nephew Mordred, and with a chosen armie sayled (as sayth Gaufride and other) into Fraunce where as sundrie Authoers write, he wrought wonders.

¶ After the departure of Arthur (as Polichronica sayeth) the aforesayde Mordred being desirous to be king, feared somewhat the might of Cerdicus king of the West Saxons: he therfore sought for his fauour and to obteyne his good will, gaue vnto him certaine Townes, Fortes, and Castels, and other great giftes, so that at the last he wanne him, in such sort that he consented to Mordreds request: in so much that Mordred was shortly after at London crowned king of Briteyn, and Cerdicus was after the maner of the Pagans crowned king of West Saxons at Wynchester.

¶ Now when knowledge came to Arthur of all this treason wrought by his Nephew Mordred: he in all the haste made towarde Briteyn and landed at Sandwiche, where he was met of Mordred and his people, which gaue vnto him a strong battaile at the time of his landing, and there Arthur lost many of his knightes, as the famous knight Gawen and other. But yet this notwithstanding, Arthur at the length recouered the land and chased his enimies, and after the buriall of his Cosyn Gawen and other of his, that were there slaine, he set forward his hoste to pursue his enimies.

¶ Mordred being thus ouerset of his Uncle at the Sea side withdrew him to Winchester: where he being furnished of newe Souldiours, gaue vnto Arthur the second battaile, wherin also Mordred was put to the worst and constrained to flee. Thirdly and lastly, the sayde Mordred fought with his Uncle Arthur at Baath, where after a long and daungerous fight, Mordred was slaine, and the victorious Arthur wounded vnto death, when he had reigned. xxvi. yeres, and after buried in the vale or Isle of Aualon, nowe

521

Guydo.

The king-  
dome of the  
west Saxons  
continued sine  
C. liii. yeres.

Mordred.

Treason.

Mordred  
slaine.  
nowe



nowe called Glasceburie, whether he was comeyed to bee cured of hys woundes. Who so lust to know more touching the certepntie and truth of these matters maye reade the booke of the excellent antiquary John Leyland, intituled the Assertion of Arthur, where euerie thing is more at large discoursed.

534

¶ Eugenius the thirde, the sonne of Congallus, was made king of Scotland after Conannus, and reigned. xxxiii. yeres. The Scottishe Historie affirmeth, that he with his Scottes were present in the battailes that Mordred fought against Arthur.

¶ The Scottes say that this Mordred was king of Pictes, and that Arthur was slaine in battaile, and the Britons discomfited, and Guanoza the Queene taken prisoner by the Scottes with great spoyle.

543

¶ Constantine the thirde, the sonne of Cado, Duke of Cornewal, and Cousyn to king Arthur by assent of the Britons was crowned king, and he was by the two sonnes of Mordred grievously bered, for that they claymed the lande by the right or title of their father. So that betwene him and them were foughten many and sundry battayles, but where or when, it is not shewed, neyther are the names of the two sonnes of Mordred expressed.

¶ But sundrie Authoers agree that after the aforesayde two battailes thus foughten finally the two sonnes of Mordred were constreyned of pure force to fle for their safetie. And so the one fled to London, and the other tooke Sanctuarie in the olde Abbey Church of Winchester, dedicated to Saint Amphibalus.

¶ Whereof Constantine being warned, left not untill he had slaine the one within the Monastery of Winchester, and the other within a Church or Temple of London, of the which crueltie of his, Gildas sore complayneth.

¶ When Constantyne had thus subdued his enimies and thought himselfe now in a sure and quiet state: then arose by his awne kynsman named Aurelius Conanus and arreared mortall battaile against him, and at the last slue him in the fiede, when he had reigned three yeres, who was buried at Stonehenge. But some wypters say, he dyed by the hande of God of a great sicknesse.

Gildas.

Aurelius Conanus.

546

¶ Aurelius Conanus after the death of Constantine was crowned king of Briton. This man was noble and liberall, but he bled to cherishe and make much of such as loued strife and dissention within his lande, and gaue light credence to them that accused other, were it right or wrong. And as sayeth Gaufride and other, he tooke by strength his Uncle, which of right should haue bene king and cast him into a strong prison, and after slue titannously the two sonnes of his sayde Uncle: But his reigne continued not long, for as sayth Gaufride, he dyed in the second yere of his reigne leauing after him a sonne named Mordred.

¶ And here is to be noted, that after this time, the Britons decreased of Lordship and rule within Briteyn, and drew them toward Wales, so that the Countrie about Chester was the chiefest of their Lordship within Briteyn. For dailye the Saxons landed with their companies, and occupied the principall partes of the same, as shall after appere.

Britons decayed.

¶ Now

¶ Now in the time of the reigne of the aforesayde Aurely (as sayth Polichronica, Guydo and other) beganne the kingdome or Lordship of Bernicia, vnder a Saxon named Ida in the. D. xliij. yere of our Lord, and in the last yere of the sayde Conanus. This Lordship was in the North parte of Briteyn, and grewe in thort while more and more, so that finally, it was named the kingdome of Northumberlande, and was first deuuyded into two kingdomes, whereof the first as abouesayde was called Bernicia, and the other Deyra. The meres or markes of this kingdome of Northumberlande, were by East and by West the Ocean Sea, by South the Ryuer of Humber, and so downeward toward the West by the endes of the Shires of Notyngnam and Derby, vnto the Ryuer of Werse, or Martia, and by North the Scottishe Sea, which is called North or Frith in Scottishe, and in Britishe, the Werde.

Ida the first King of Bernicia, or Northumberlande.

Deyra.

¶ The Southside of this Lordship is called Deyra, which is now called the Bishoprick of Durham, and the Northside was called Bernicia, which were then departed or seuered with the Ryuer of Tyne, Deyra conteyned the lande from Humber to the Ryuer of Tyne, and Bernicia included the Countrie from Tyne to the Scottishe Sea.

Bishoprick of Durham.

¶ In Bernicia reigned first as is abouesayde, Ida or Idas, and in Deyra reigned first Ella, which Lordships beganne both within three yeres. But in processe of time both in one were named the kingdome of Northumberlande, which so continued, somewhile vnder one king, and somewhile vnder two, the space of. CCC. xxi. yeres, as sayth Reynulph Monke of Chester. And the name continued afterward vnto the Saxons and Danes, vntill the comming of Ederus brother of Ethelstane, and sonne of Edward the elder. The which Ederus in the. ix. or last yere of his reigne toynded this to his awne kingdome. By which reason it should seeme that this kingdome endured vnder that name foure hundreth. ix. yeres.

Ella first King of Deyra.

¶ The first christian Prince of this kingdome was named Edwynus, that receyued the fayth of S. Paulyne (as Guydo sayth.) In this Lordship also were included these Shires and Countries now called, Yorke, Notyngnam Shire, Derby Shire, the Bishoprick of Durham, Copelande and other.

Edwynus the first christian King of Northumberlande.

¶ Among the many kinges of Saxones that reigned in thys Lordship, which after some wypters were to the number of. xxiiij. there was one which was accompted the. viij. king, named Ethelfridus, who destroyed moe Britons than all the other Saxon kinges, and he was father to Oswy, called Saint Oswald.

Ethelfridus.

¶ But most cruelllye raged he against them in a battayle that he had besyde Chester, where by the instigation of Ethelbert King of Kent, he slue also two thousande Monkes of the house of Bangor, as sayth Polichronicon in the. v. Chapter of his fift Booke, the which Monkes were come together to praye for the good speede of the Britons. And besyde this number of Monkes, there were fiftie that fled, whereby they with their leader Bricinall were saued. Of such a number of Monkes in one house, might be demed a wonder: But Reynulph and Guydo also do affirme that in the house of Bangor at those dayes, were three tymes seuen hundreth Monkes which liued by the traunple of their handes.

Daughters of Monkes.

¶ i.

¶ The



Gaufride.

¶ The cause of the great slaughter of the aforesayd Monkes is declared by Gaufride in the. viij. booke and. iij. Chapter, who wyrteth thereof as foloweth. Their Abbot sayth he named Dionotus, was a man singularly well learned in the liberall sciences, who when Austyn required the Britische Bishoppes to submit themselves vnto him, and perswaded him to take paynes with him to preach the Gospell vnto the Englishe Nation, proued by diuerse reasons that they ought not to yelde any such subiection vnto him, forasmuch as they had an Archbishop of their owne, nor yet to preach to their enemies the Saxons, which seased not dayly to take from them theyr owne naturall Countrey, for the which cause they hated them deadly, and weighed not what sayth or Religion they were off, neyther did they communicate with them in any thing more than with Dogges. Therefore when Ethelbert king of Kent saw how the Britons disdeined to submit themselves vnto Austyn, and contemned his doctrine, and preaching, beyng highly displeas'd therewith he increased Ethelfride king of Northumberland, and other of the Saxon kinges also, to assemble a great power of men of armes, and then to go to Bangor and destroy Dionotus, with the Clergie there, & all the sayd religious persons that had so dispised the sayd Austyn. The which Princes folowing his aduice and counsaile, gathered together a wonderfull great army, and so marching forwarde towards Wales, came into the towne of Chester, where Buciual head ruler of that towne wayted for theyr comming: Whether also came at that same season an innumerable sort of Monkes and Heremites out of diuerse Prouinces of the Britons, but especially out of the Citie of Bangor, to pray to God to saue and defende their people.

¶ Nowe when Ethelfridus king of Northumberlande had arrered a great power out of all quarters, he set vpon the sayde Buciual, who by reason he had the lesse number of Souldiers, was constreyned to forsake the Citie and fle away, but not before he had slaine a great number of his enemies. Nowe when Ethelfridus had taken the City, and vnderstood the cause of the comming of the sayd Monkes, he commaunded them first of all to be set vpon, and so were there of them the same day a thousand and two hundred martyred. Hetherto Gaufride.

¶ The aforesayd Oswy or Oswolde, was after king of this Prouince, which gaue with his daughter Elleda a Nonne. xij. Lordshippes vnto the Church, to buyld therewith. xij. Monasteries, whereof. vi. of the sayd Lordshippes were in Bernicia, and. vi. in Deyra, as sayth Guydo and Reynulph in his fift booke, and. xvi. Chapter.

Oswald or  
Oswy. viij.  
xx. Lordshippes  
to buyld. xij.  
Abbeys.

**V**ortiporius the sonne of Conanus, reigned after his father ouer the Britons: Of this man is no notable thing wrytten, but that Guydo sayth he was a victorious knight, and that in sundry battayles he discomfited the Saxons.

¶ In the tyme of the reigne of this king, a Saxon named Ella the sonne of Iffus, began to reigne on the Southside of the Kingdome of Northumberland called Deyra, as before is exprest.

¶ When Vortiporius had ruled the Britons foure yeres, he dyed, leauing none heire of his body.

¶ And forasmuch as all wryters agree that the kinges of West Saxons, at

at length subdued all the other kingdomes in Briteyn, and made the whole lande of Briteyn but one kingdome or Monarchy, and all other aswell of Britons as Saxons left off: Therefore I entende to bring in the name of euery king of the West Saxons from the first Cerdicus or Childricus, and ioyne them with the kinges of the Britons, for so long as hereafter the sayde Britons continued their reigne within any part of Briteyn.

**M**algo a Duke of Briteyn, and nephew to Aurely, reigned ouer the Britons. This Malgo by the testimonie of many wryters was the comlyest and most personable man of all the Britons that then lyued, and therewithall was a hardie knight. And he so withstood the Saxons, and kept them binder, that they dammaged not the lande, the which he then had possession of, and as Gaufride sayth, he subdued sixe Prouinces, that is to say, Ireland, the Isles of the Orcades, Gothland, Iseland, Norway, and Denmark, and held them in quiet possession.

¶ In the tyme of the reigne of this Malgo, reigned in the Lordship or Kingdome of Kent Ethelbert, who (as sayth Reynulph) assembled a great armie, and gaue battayle vnto Ceaulmus sonne of Kenricus, and then king of West Saxons, the cause whereof is not exprest. But this battayle was the first battaile that was foughten betwene the Saxons, after that they obeyned land and dwelling within Briteyn, which was foughten in a place called Wilbaldowne. And in that fight were slaine two Dukes of Ethelbertes, and himselfe with his people put to flight and chased.

¶ Also the sayd Reynulph witnesseth that the yere folowing Cutwolphus the brother of Ceaulmus before named, fought strongly against the Britons at Bedford, and recovered from them foure Cities or townes, named Liganbrough, Egelsbrough, Besington, and Cuytham.

¶ But now to retorne to Malgo king of the Britons, the Authour of the flowre of Histories sayth, that notwithstanding the many vertues, the which God had endued him with, yet in the ende he forgat God, forsaking all vertue and gaue himselfe to sundry vices and sinnes, namely to the abhominable sinne of Sodomy: whereof ensued to him the wrath of God, wherby he was afterwarde sore persecuted of his enemies the Saxons.

¶ It was not long after the aforesayd battaile done at Bedforde, but that the aforesayde Cutwolphus dyed: But yet his sayde brother Ceaulmus desirous of honour, mainteyned his warre against the Britons, so that after he made a newe voyage against them, and gaue them another discomfiture, and tooke from them the Cities of Bathe, Gloucester, and Worcester, which should be as Reynulph accompteth in the. xxij. yere of the reigne of Malgo.

¶ About the. xxxij. yere of his reigne Ceaulmus before named, gathered his Saxons, and fought with the Britons at a place called Isechanlege: where after long fight the sayde Ceaulmus chased the Britons, and waun of them victory: but his brother called Cutha, was slaine in the fight, for whom he made great sorow. Thus in his latter dayes, Malgo beyng oppressed and pursued of his enemies, lastly dyed, when he had reigned. xxx. yeres.

¶ Onwall was made king of Scottes, and reigned. x. yeres. He was a Man of great deuocion, and gaue much to Chutches. He made many lawes concerning the libertie of Priestes. In his tyme Saint Colme of Ire-  
land,

552

Malgo.

Irelande.  
Orcades.

Sodomy.

568

17



land, and Mungo the holy Bishop of Blasquet were in Scotland.

¶ In catill brother of Contwallus reigned in Scotlande foure Monethes, and after him Aidane. xxvij. yeres. In his tyme variaunce happened betwene the Pictes and Scottes, because that Lerudeus Kinge of Pictes would not restore to Aidane certaine Traytors which fled out of his land.

¶ Careticus, or Carencius, as some call him, after the death of Malgo, reigned ouer the Britons. This Man was a louer of ciuile battayle, and was in maners and condicions the worst of all men, and therefore was hated of God and his subiectes, in such wyse as they excited and prouoked the Saxons to warre against him (as sayth Guydo) and chased him from Citie to Citie, and from Towne to Towne, vntill they had recovered from him all such land as his predecessor Malgo, had holden before him.

¶ But Polichronicon addeth more therevnto, and sayth, forasmuch as the Saxons knewe of the dissension betwene Careticus and his Britons, they in all haste sent into Ireland for the King called Gurmundus, King of the Africans, and he warred so sore vpon the Britons, that lastly the sayd Careticus was faine to take the Towne nowe called Sicester, and therein besieged him with his Britons a certaine time, where, by daile skirmishes and assaultes he lost many of his people.

¶ When Careticus had a season assayed and proued the strength of his enemies, and sawe that they still encreased and his people lessened and diminished: he sodainely left that Towne, and with a certaine number of Britons tooke ouer Seuerne water and so into Wales, then called Cambria, which should be in the thirde yere of his reigne.

¶ Truth it is, that after Careticus and his Britons were thus driven into Wales, yet he leste not continually to make assaultes vpon the Saxons that were nere vnto him.

¶ In this time, or sone after, Ethelfridus ruled the North Saxons, for as sayth Guydo, he began the reigne ouer Deyra and Bernicia, in the yere of our Lorde five hundred. xciiij. This is Ethelfridus the sonne of Ethelricus that pursued so sore the Britons, & slue so great a number of the Monkes of the Towne of Bangor as is before reherfed, the which daylie warred vpon the Britons, and the Britons vpon him, so that he destroyed & subuerted much of Christes fayth, with the helpe of the aforesayd Gormond: insomuch as the Bishops of London and Yorke, with other ministers of the Church, fled into diuers Countries, so that their Church dozes were shut vp after them, or else occupied in the worshipping of their Idolles and false Goddes.

¶ Thus the fayth that had endured in Briteyn from the time of Lucius the first christian king in Briteyn till this day, nere vpon the space of foure hundredth yeres and odde, was almost extinct throughout all the lande.

¶ And when the aforesayd Gurmund had finished his tirannie within the lande of Briteyn, then he sayled into France, where he was after slaine (as sayth Polichronica) albeit the French Chronicle speaketh nothing of any such man during this persecution, as witnesseth Guydo.

¶ During also this trouble betwene the Saxons and the Britons, the Lordship or kingdome of the East Saxons beganne to take place, as after shall be shewed.

¶ In

¶ In this time also Ethelbert reigned in Kent, and bare himselfe verie valiantly, in such wyse that he enlarged his kingdome to the bounds of Humber. In which time Gregory, who for his notable deedes was surnamed the great, was made Bishop of Rome: This Gregory as before is touched in the storie of Ethelbert, hauing compassion on the Countrie from whence so fayre children came, as he before had scene, and thinking it not meete that it should be inhabited with Pagans or people of misbeliefe, sent into Briteyn a learned man named Austyne, with other of his brethren, to preache to the Anglis the fayth of Christ. But as sayeth Antoninus in the thirde Chapter, and xij. title of his aforesayde worke: when Austyne was thre dayes iourney gone and passed, such a sodaine feare entered into him and his felowes that they turned againe. Then Gregory comforted the sayde companye, and sent them with Letters to the Bishop Arelatensis, wylling him to helpe and ayde him in all that to him needed. The tenour of which Letters and other sent to Ethelbert king of Kent, with their answers, are written with other questions in the Register of Gregory, and in the bookes of Beda and other.

¶ Austyne being thus comforted, sped him on his iourney and landed on the East side of Kent in the Isle of Thanet with xl. of his felowes, whereof some were Interpretours, or such as could speake all languages. Nere vnto the place before named, where Austyne landed, stood at those dayes, the manour or Palace of the sayde king Ethelbert, where at this daye appere some of the ruynous walles, and is called of the inhabitants of that Isle, Richbourgh. It is apparaunt betwene the Isle and the Towne of Sandwich, vpon a Myle and a halfe from the sayde Towne, Eastwarde from Cauntorbury.

¶ Then when Austyne was landed, he sent the sayde interpretours vnto Ethelbert, sayng that they were sent from Rome for the saluation of the king and his Realme. The king before time had heard of the fayth of Christ, for he had to wyfe a French woman that was christened, named Berta, and had receyued her vpon condicion that he should suffer her to lyue after her lawe.

¶ Then after a certaine time, the king spake with Austyne, but that was without the house, after the maner of his lawe, who against the comming of the king arreared and displayed a Banner of the Crucifixe, and preached to him the worde of God. Then the king sayde, it is fayre that ye promise, but for that it is to mee straunge and newe, I maye not so soone assent vnto you. But for that ye become so farre for my sake, ye shall be well entreated, and haue all things that shall be vnto you necessarie, and we graunt you leaue to conuert of oure people as many as ye can. And when they had receyued this comfort of the king, they went with procession to the Citie of Cauntorbury, singing Alleluya, where they led their liues, like as holy fathers did first begin in the Primatine Church, in fasting, prayng, watching, and such lyke godly exercises. Fabian.

¶ At length, when the king had well considered the conuersion and godly lyfe of Austyn and his felowes, he heard them the moze gladly, and lastly, by their good exhortacions & ghostly loue, he was conuerted, and christened in the yere of our Lord five hundredth. xcviij. and the sixt yere of his reigne, as sayth Polichronicon.

¶ K. iij.

¶ Then

Gregory 254. Bishop of Rome

Antoninus

Austyn sent into England to preache.

Richbourgh

Procession.

Ethelbert conuerted to the fayth of Christ.

Polichro.

173  
7

186  
1

Ciuile battayle.

Gurmundus King of Ireland.

Sicester.

Ethelfridus the sonne of Ethelricus.

Bishops fled out of this Realme.

Fayth of Christ decayed in England.

Persecutio.



Christes Church in Cauntorbury. Saint Austines in Cauntorbury.

¶ Then the king gaue to Austyn a place for his Bishops See, at Christes Church in Cauntorburie, and builded the Abbey of S. Peter and S. Paule, on the East syde of the sayde Citie, where after Austen and all the kinges of Kent were buried, and that place is called now Saint Austynes.

¶ Then Austyn sayled into fraunce to the Bishop of Arelatensis, and was of him consecrated Archebishop of Cauntorburie.

Melitus. Iustus. Paulinus.

¶ Now when Gregoꝝ was certefyed of the good expedition of Austyn, he sent to him mo helpers, as Melitus, Iustus, and Paulinus, with bookes and answers to Austynes questions: that was, that all such goodes as fell to the Church, should be deuided into foure partes: The first part should go to the house and maintenance of the Bishoppes housholde: The seconde to the Clergie, the thirde to the amendment of the Churches, and the fourth to the reliefe of poore people and deedes of mercie.

A charitable diuident.

¶ When Austyn had baptised a great part of the kingdome of Kent, he after made two Archbishops by the commaundement of Gregoꝝ, the one at Cauntorburie, the which before was at London, and the other at Porke, as sayth the wyter of the flowes of stozies: and by the helpe of Ethelbert, he assembled and gathered together the Bishoppes and Doctours of Briteyn, that were before disparkeled. The place of the assembly was long tyme after called Austynes Oke, which is expounded to be Austines strength, & is in the Marches or confines of the people then called Wictij, now Wigorniensis, that is to say Worcester. For this synode, as Bale writeth was holden in Worcestershire.

Archbishops to Caunterburie & Porke

Austynes Oke.

¶ In this place, he charged the sayd Bishoppes, that they should ayde him to preach the worde of God to the Anglis, and also that they should amend certaine errors then vsed in the Churche, and specially for the tyme of keping their Easter, the contrary whereof, the Bishoppes of Briteyn held an opinion untill (sayth Fabian) that Austyn by his prayers & deed there a Myracle by a blinde Angle or Saron.

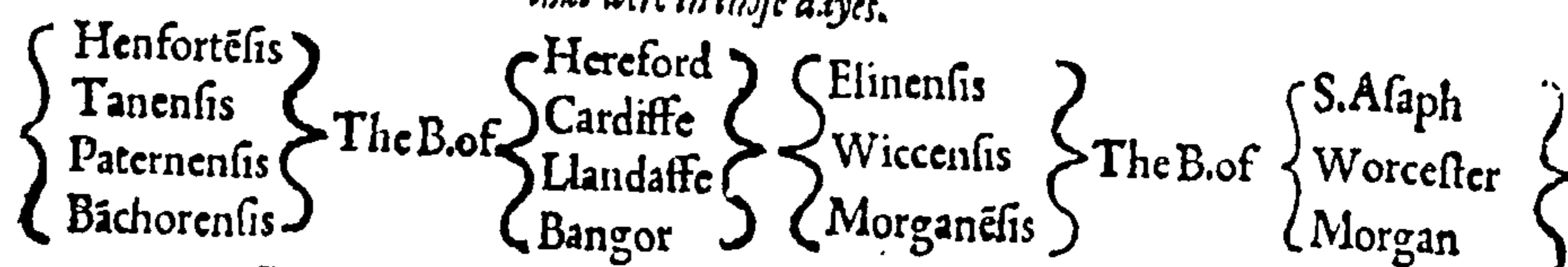
Myracle.

¶ After the which Myracle shewed, the sayd Bishoppes applyed them to the will and minde of Austyn in that matter: But for all this, there were of them that sayd, that they might not leaue the custome which they so long had continued, without the assent of all such as had vsed the same. Then he gathered a Synode, to the which came. iij. Bishoppes, but they agreed not.

¶ The Authour of the flower of stozies, sheweth howe Austyn haning conference with the Britishe Bishoppes and Clergie, coulde in no wise perswade them at the first, to receyue his doctrine: And beeing by him required to come to a second Synode or counsaile, as they were goyng to the same, they came first vnto a discrete godly man, which had of a long tyme led an Anchores lyfe amongst them, to aske him counsaile, whether at the preaching of Austen they should forgo their olde tradicions or no? who answered on this wyse: if he be a man of God, folowe him. To whom they sayd againe, & howe may we knowe that? you knowe (sayth he) that the Lorde gaue this commaundement, sayng: Take my yoke vpon you, learne of me because I am lowely and meeke in heart, then is it likely that he beareth the yoke of Christ him selfe, and also offereth the same vnto you to beare. But if he be proude and hye minded, you may be sure that he is not of God, neyther ought you to take any regarde vnto his wordes. Then sayde they againe, and how may

may we discern this? Prouide (sayth he) that he and his may come first into the Synode, and if when you come, he arise by and reuerence you, then you may be sure that he is Christes minister, and is to be heard obediently of you: But if he dispise you, and thinke himselfe to good to geue any such reuerence vnto you being the greater part, dispise you him againe. And it so fortunied after wardes, that Austyn being set downe before they came in, fate still in his Chayre, and made them no countenance at all, neither yelded any reuerence vnto them. The which thing they beholding, were by and by in a chafe, and notyng him to be hautye and proude, endeoured themselves, to contrary and speake against al that euer he spake: But who so desyret to read moze hereof, shall finde the same set out at large in Fabian in his fift part and .C. xix. Chapter.

*These following were the names of the British Bishoppes that were in those dayes.*



And all these were vnder the Archebishop of Penecula, called at this day Saint Daupes.

¶ Ethelbert as diuers writers doe write being now confirmed in the faith, among other chargeable and costlye deedes began the foundation of Paules Church within the Citie of London, and ordeyned it for the Bishops See of London. For the Archbishops See that before tyme had beene there, was by Austyne and Ethelbert at the sute and request of the Citizens of Cauntorburie, translated to Cauntorbury. But of the building of the Church of S. Paule, dyuers opinions be. For some write that it was builded or begonne to be builded by Sigebert king of East Anglis, but moze truely king of Essex. This Ethelbert also fouded the Church of S. Androw in Rochester in Kent.

Ethelbert fouded Paules church in London, but some say Sigebert fouded it.

Archebishop rike of Lodū translated to Cauntorbury.

¶ Also (as Fabian sayth) he excited an inhabitant or Citizen of London to bulde a Church or Chappell in the worship of Saint Peter in the West ende of London then called Thorney (and now the Towne of Westmynster, the which at that time was exceedingly forgrowen with Thornes, Bulthes and Byers,) where the sayde Citizen began to bulde the Church of Westmynster, which afterwarde was by Edward the Confessour enlarged or new buylded. But by king Henry the thirde it was newly edified and made as it is now a bewtifull Monastery, and he endued it with goodly possessions and riche Jewels.

S. Peters at Westmynster.

The building of Westmynster.

¶ And as Reynulph sayeth, this king when he had reigned. lvi. yeres ouer the Lordship of Kent, dyed in the. xxi. yere after that he had receyued the fayth of Christ.

¶ Idane king of Scottes, being confederate with the Britons about thys tyme warred fiercely against Ethelfride king of Northumberlande and the Pictes, and ouerthrowe them in two great battailes,

¶ Kenneth Keir the sonne of Conwallus was ordeyned king of Scotlande, and reigned onely foure Monethes. And after him Eugenius the fourth of that name, xv. yeres. He was a iust and vertuous Prince, and instructed in his youth by the holy man Colme. He commaunded all Juggelers, Mynstrels,



Julius & Augustus  
infectus  
gabonds.

Sebertus  
first king of  
the East  
Saxons.

Sebertus  
converted to  
the christian  
faith.

Cadwane.

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freels, Scoffers and such idle persons epyther to auoyde his lande, or else to finde some honest craft or occupation to lyue by.

¶ During also the aforesayde persecution of the Britons, before anye ruler of them were specially named, began the reigne of the East Saxons (as sayeth Reynulph) vnder Sebertus their first king. Albeit that Guydo de Columna sayth, that it began when the kingdome of the East Anglis began. This kingdome, that is to say, Essex, hath on the East side the Sea, on the West Middlesex and London, on the South the Chamys, and on the North Suffolke, and endured two hundreth yeres, as most writers affirme.

¶ The first christian king of this Lordship was the afozenamed Sebertus, conuerted by the meanes of Politus Bishop of London, as sayth Guydo: But after his sayng this Sebertus should be the thirde king of Essex. All writers agree that the kings of this Lordship were most commonly named vnder kings, or Dety kings, & were subiects vnto the kings of Mercia.

¶ But now to returne to the Britons, which in all this time occupied a part of Cornewall and the Countreies of Cambria, as Northwales & Southwales, and there held them in making of assaultes vpon the Saxons as before is sayde, the which so continued by the space of. xxiii. yeres. At which tyme the Britons of one assent chose for their soueraigne and ruler the Duke of Northwales named Cadwane,

**C**adwane Duke of Northwales, was by one assent of the Britons made their Lorde and gouernour.

¶ We haue heard before what disorde and trouble was among the Britons in the tyme of Careticus last king, and long after, by reason wherof the Saxons wanne the more lande. And as before it is shewed that Ethelfride king of Northumberland ouerset the Britons at the Citie of Chester, and forced them to flee ouer Seuerne, and so into Wales, where they then chose or elected this Cadwane to be their Duke and leader. The which after he was put in auctoritie, assembled his Briteynes and came againe into Briteyn, and gaue battaile vnto the sayde Ethelfride, in the which they sped diuersly, so that some season the Saxons wanne, and sometime the Britons: But the Britons helde Chester and other good Townes, which they recovered at their last coming.

¶ It should seme by the meaning of Reynulph, that this Cadwan should at the length slea the sayde Ethelfride and Osricus, both kings of Bernicia and Deyra. But Guydo and Gaufride saye, that after this Cadwan had the better of Ethelfride, it was agreed by Mediatours that Ethelfride should enioy all the lande ouer and beyonde Humber into Scotland: and Cadwan also should haue the lande from Humber toward the South. To the which sayng agreeth the Englishe Chronicle, affirming also that he should be the sonne of Bruciuall King of Leycester, the which of other Writers is not testified.

¶ It is also there shewed, that after the sayd accorde betwene Ethelfride and Cadwan, that then they continued during their lyues as two most speciall friendes and louers, during the reigne of this Cadwan, the two sonnes of Colricus, Kingilsus and Quichilinus after the death of their fathers brother, Colwolphus ruled ioyntly the principalltie of the West Saxons. The which in their

Bruciuall  
king of Ley-  
cester.

in their beginning fought against the Britons at Abyndon beside Oxford, and wanne of them the Towne and other holdes, which the Britons in that Countreie occupied. But by agreement of writers, this Cadwane was not at this conflict, neyther medled he so farre within the lande. But as it should seme by Guydo, these Britons should be some company that should lyue vnder the tribute of the Saxons, the which for the manhood that they had heard reported of Cadwan, rebelled against the Saxons.

¶ Then it foloweth, when this Cadwan had thus continued his amitie with Ethelfride, it fortuneth, that this Ethelfride for hatred or otherwise, put from him his wyfe being great with childe, and tooke to him another. Wherfore this woman being remedlesse, calling to minde the great loue that was betwene her husbände and Cadwan, she went vnto him and most instantly besought him to reconcile hir Lorde and husbände, that she might be restored to his companie. But for that Cadwan, after many meanes and requests made, coulde not bring it about, he therefore tendring her necessitie kept her in his Court vntill she was deliuered of a man childe, whome she caused to be called Edwyn. And soone after was the wyfe of Cadwan deliuered of a sonne, whome the father named Cadwalyn. But the Authour of the Flowre of histories sayeth, that these two children were borne long before this tyme. The which should seme to be true, for so much as this Cadwalyn was of laudfull age to gouerne this lande when his father dyed, the which he coulde not do if he had bene borne but now, and of this ye may reade more in Fabian, in his fift booke and. C. xxviiij. Chapter.

¶ But to returne to the storie of Cadwan: About the. xiiij. yere of his reigne Quinchelinus that was brother vnto Kingilsus, and ioyntly ruled the West Saxons, sent vpon an Easter day a Ruffian called Eumerus, to slea Edwyn king of Northumberland. This Cutthroate ruffian came to a Citie beside the water of Darent in Darbithire, & wayted his tyme, and at the last finding the king finally accompanied, intending to haue runne through him with a sworde enuened: But one Lylla the kinges trustie seruaunt, beyng without epyther swilde or other weapon to defende his Maister, start betwene the king and the sword, and was stricken through the body and dyed, and the king also was wounded with the same stroke: and after also he wounded another which was a knight, and then was he taken, and confessed by whom he was appointed to woork that treason. The knight and the kinge that were wounded, lay long sicke before they were healed. And the night following the Queene was deliuered of a Daughter, the which King Edwyn caused to be Christened of Paulinus Archebishop of Yorke, in token that he would fulfill such promise touching the receyuing of baptisme as he before had made. And she was named Enfleda.

¶ And after Whitfontide then next folowing, Edwyn beyng scantly whole of the wounde, assembled his hoste, and made toward the kinges of the West Saxon, and after a great and foze fight, he vanquished and ouerthrew them. But for all this victoery he forgat to be thankfull vnto God, the geuer not onlve of his health, but also of the same victoery. And afterwarde he receyued letters of exhortation from Boniface then Bishop of Rome, to take vpon him baptisme: And the sayd Bishop likewise exhorted the Queene, and sent vnto her a Glasse to looke in, with a combe of Iuozy richely garnished, and a shirt for

Edvyn,  
Cadwalyn.

Mathew of  
westminster.

A bile  
Treytort.

Enfleda.

Tobens sent  
from the By-  
shop of Rome

for



for the king wrought in sundrie places with letters of Golde : But all this prevailed nothing at all.

¶ How be it, it was not long after, that the king assembled his counsaile, and by theyr agreement he was of the sayde Paulinus baptised within the sayde Citie, the .xj. yere of his reigne, and the yere of our Lorde. 627. He was the first Christian king that reigned in that Countrie. And after him, many of his Lordes and subiectes were also Christened of the sayde Paulinus, and the flampus or Bishops which were worshippers of false Goddes, were converted and made the Ministers of Christes fayth. In token whereof, they armed themselves as knightes, and bestrydde good hozsles, where before by their law, they might vse no armour, nor ryde but onely on a Mare. Fabian.

¶ From this tyme forwarde by the terme of .vi. yeres, during the lyfe of king Edwyn, Paulinus christened continually in both the Prouinces of Bernicia, and Deyra, in the Ryuers of Gucny, and Swala, which he bled for his fontes, and Preached in the Shire of Lyndesey, and builded a Churche of Stone at Lincoln, the which of some is supposed to be the Minster Churche. And in this tyme was so great peace in the Kingdome of Edwyn, that a woman might haue gone from one towne to another without grieffe or annoyauce. And for the reliefe and refreshing of wayfaring men, this Edwyn ordeined at cleere Welles and Springes, certeyne Cuppes or Dishes of Iron and brasse, and caused the same to be fastned vnto them with small chernes, and no man was so hardy to take away any of those Cuppes, he kept so good iustice, and therewith was knightly of his deedes.

¶ He was the first that wanne the Ile of Cubonia, now called the Ile of Man. And by his meanes Orpwaldus, or Corpewaldus the sonne of Redwaldus king of the East Angles, or Northis, to whom Edwyn had fled for succour, was converted to the true fayth, & a great part of his men with him.

¶ And about this season began the kingdome of Mercia or middle England, vnder the strong Saxon or Danyme called Penda, which Lordship conteyned Huntingtongshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and other, and that was the greatest of all the other Kingdomes. And at that tyme reigned in diuerse partes of this land seven kinges: Sibertus among the East Saxons: Redwold king of East Angles, now called Essex, Northfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire: Ethelbert king of Kent: Ethelwolphus king of Suffex: Kingillus, and Quinchelinus king of West Saxons: Penda, of Mercia, and Edwyn of Northumberland.

¶ And for that this Edwyn excelled the other kinges, they enuided at him, and specially Penda king of Mercia, the which prouoked Cadwan king of Britons against him. So that they two assembled a great host against Edwyn, and lastly met in a place called Hatfield, and after sharpe and sore fight on both sides, there Edwyn was slaine, when he had reigned ouer the Northumbers. .xviij. yeres. Fabian.

¶ When these two kinges Cadwan, & Penda, had thus overcome the king, and slaine both him & many of his people, they became so cruell to men of that countrie, y they destroyed therein great numbers of people, not sparing, men, women, children, religious persons, nor other. Wherefore Paulinus the Archbishop, beholding their cruellnesse, tooke with him the Queene, and Enleda her daughter, & fled by water into Kent. And because the Bishopricke of Rochester

Edwyn the first christian king of Northumberland.

Christening first used in Brytains.

Cuppes of Iron.

Cubonia now called the Ile of Man.

Paulinus.

chester was then boyde, by reason that Romanus the last Bishop was deade: Paulinus was there ordeyned and made Bishop of that See, and there dyed, and also as Reynulph sayth, he left there his Pall, and the Archbishopricke of Yorke was void. .xxx. yeres after. But the Queene which was named Etherberga, sayled into Fraunce, and became there a Rome, and lykewise her daughter Enleda kept her possession, and was after Abbelle of Stemhalt in the Vale of Whytbie.

¶ After the death of Edwyn, Ostricus that was the sonne of Elfricus, which was brother to Ethelfridus, tooke vpon him to be king of Deyra, and Eaufricus the eldest sonne of Ethelfrida, was made king of Bernicia, both the which reuolted from Christes fayth, and became Ayscreantes. For the which the wrath of God shortly after fell vpon them, for they were both slaine in the yere folowing, of the afozenamed Cadwan and Penda.

¶ And when the sayd two kinges were thus slaine, Oswalde the second sonne of Ethelfride began his reigne ouer the prouince of Bernicia, as chiefe of that Kingdome of Northumberland, and had the rule of Deyra likewise, whereof when Cadwan was ware, he gathered his Britons, and thought to haue slaine him, as he had before slaine his brother Eaufricus. But when Oswalde was warned of the great strength that Cadwan had, he made his prayers to God, and besought him meekely of helpe to withstand his enemye for the saluation of his people. Then after he had thus prayed, the two armies met in a fielde named at that tyme Denysbozne or Denyslake, where was foughten a strong battaile, and in the ende Cadwan was slaine, and his people chased, the number whereof did farre exceede Oswaldes hoste. And thus ended the sayde Cadwan when he had reigned ouer the Britons. .xxij. yeres, leauing after him a sonne named Cadwallync.

¶ Erquhard the eldest sonne of Eugenius was king of Scottes. .xij. yeres. In the tyme of this mannes reigne, by his negligence was great diuision, and debate among the Nobles of the Realme, and for his cruelty and negligence in the affayres of the common weale, he was of the Lordes disgraded, and cast in Prison, and for sorow thereof slue himselfe.

¶ Mahomet, of Arabia, at this time when there was great confusion of things both in the East and West, then began his errour, he came out of a base stock, and being fatherlesse, one Abdemonaples, a man of the house of Ismaell bought him for his slaue, and loued him greatly for his fauour and wyt: for which cause, he made him ruler of his merchandise and other busynesse. Then one Sergius a Monke, which for Heresie fled into Arabia, who instructed him in the heresie of Nestorius. In the meane season, his master dyed without children, leauing behinde him much ryches, and his wyfe a riche wydowe of fiftie yeres of age, whome Mahomet maried, and when she dyed, he was made heire, and greatly encreased in ryches: And for his magicall artes, was had also in great admiration and honour of the foolish people. Wherefore by the counsaile of Sergius, he called himselfe the Prophete of God, and shortly after, when his name was published, and then taken to be of great authoritie, he deuised a lawe or kinde of Religion, called ALCARON, in the which he tooke some parte well neere of all the heresies that had bene before his tyme. With the Sabellians he deuised the Trinitie:

Ostricus.

Oswalde.

Cadwan slaine.

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Mahomet, Abdemonaples.

Sergius a Monke.

Alcator.



Trinitie: with the Manichees, he affirmed to be but two persons in the deitie: he denied the equalitie of the father and the sonne with Eunomius: and sayd with Macedone, the holy Ghost was a creature: and approued the multitude of wyues with the Nicolaites: He bozowed of the Jewes, circumcision, and of the Gentiles much superstition, and somewhat he tooke of the christian veritie, beside manye Deuelishe phantasies inuented of his awne braine: Those that obeyed his lawe, he called Saracens. When he had lyued fourtie yeres, he dyed of the falling sicknesse, the which he had of long time dissembled, feynyng that when he was taken therewith, the Angell Gabriell appered vnto him, whose brightnesse he coude not beholde. Cooper.

**D**onewald the thirde sonne of Eugenius was ordeyned king of Scottes, and gouerned the realme vertuously and wisely. x. yeres.

**C**adwallyn, the sonne of Cadwan, after the death of his father tooke vpon him the gouernement of the Britons, and he was valiaunt and mightie, and warred strongly vpon the Saxons, which were neere about him, and he wanne from them both Castelles and Cobones, and droue them back into the lande toward London: whereof, heering Wenda king of Mertia, assembled his Saxons and made towarde the sayde Cadwallyn: But he was in the ende distressed, and glad and fayne to seeke and purchase his fauour and friendship, and to lyue vnder his tribute.

**A**nd after this Wenda was in great fauour with Cadwallyn, insomuch as he tooke parte with him against the other Saxon kings. And about this time Kyngilfus one of the kings of the West Saxons, was by the preaching of Berinus conuerted to the right beliefe, and christened of him at the Citie of Dorchester, within. liij. Myles of Oxforde. And Oswald king of Northumberland, or rather king of Bernicia, was his Godfather, & wedded his daughter afterwarde. And then that Citie was geuen to the Bishop, to the ende that he shoulde there ordeyne his See, where the sayde Berinus late liii. yeres after, and there was buried, vntill Beda Bishop of Winchester translated his body to the City of Winchester, albeit, the Chanons of Dorchester said, that y<sup>e</sup> body of Beryne was not taken thence but another in the stead thereof, & yet in token that it was not remoued thence a Beare of a wonderfull worke stood of late daies ouer that graue where this holy man was first buried. It should seeme that this Citie of Dorchester, is now called Dorset. This See was in the time of William Conquerour translated to Lyncolne.

**A**bout this time Sigebertus or Sigilbertus king of the East Anglis set by certayne scooles in diuers places, and ordeyned ouer them Scoolemasters and Mhers, as he sometime had seene in Fraunce. And after the opinion of many writers one of them was by him erected in Grantbridge, being then the head Citie of his dominion, now called Cambridge, the which in processe of time grew to be a famous Vniuersitie, as it is now at this day. And the sayde Sigebert was conuerted to the faith of Christ, by that holie man named Felix a Burgonion: and finally the sayd king betooke his kingdome vnto his nephew Egrius, & became himselfe a Monke in an Abbey which he himselfe buyded.

**B**ut when Wenda king of Mertia warred after that Countrie, the sayde Sigebert was against his wyll pulled out of the sayde Monastery, and

and went in armes, or as some write vnarmed with a whyte rod in his hande nyce, and so was slaine, and well neere all his hoste that came with him to that fiede.

**A**fter the death of this Sigilbert, Anna was made king of East Anglis.

**A**bout the. vii. yere of the reigne of Cadwallyne, a Saxon reigned in Kent named Ercombertus, who helde that principate. xx. yeres nobly. And among other of his famous dedes, he reuiued and quickned againe the faith of Christ, that in some places of his kingdome was sore apalled. For he destroyed the Temples of false Gods thorough all that Countrie and ordeyned by the aduice of his Clergie the time of Lent to be fasted. He wedded the daughter of Anna king of East Anglis, named Serburga, of whome he receiued a daughter & named her Eukendoga, the which after was a Nonne in a Monastery in France.

**A**bout this time, as it were about the. viii. yere of Cadwallyne, dyed Kyngilfus king of the West Saxons, when he had reigned with his brother and alone. xxxi. yeres. And Kenwalcus his sonne was king after him, the which at the beginning of his reigne would not be christened, and forsooke his wyfe the daughter of Wenda, and tooke to him another. Wherefore Wenda to be aduenged for his daughters cause, gathered his host and chased Kenwalcus out of his kingdome, and kept him thence three yeres. In the which time, he was with Anna king of the East Anglis and was christened of Felix, and after by the helpe of the sayde Anna recouered his kingdome.

**W**hen Kenwalcus was thus restored to his lande, he made a Bishops See at Wynchester, and ordeyned there a Bishop named Agilbert, a Frenchman borne, but he came out of Ireland. The which when he had sitten there a certaine of time, he was deposed and put from thence, but the cause why, I know not, and in his place was set one named Wyn, of whome sayeth Polichronichon, the Citie tooke the name of Wynchester, as it were Wynnes Citie. But he was also deposed: And then was Leutherius Bishop, and after Leutherius succeeded Cedda: And after him Theodorius Archebishop of Cauntorbury ordeyned two Bishops to the Prouynce of West Saxon. The one at Winchester, and to that was subiect two Countyes, Southrey and Southhamphire. And the other See he ordeyned at Sherborne, to the which were subiect sixe Countyes, that is to saye Barkeshire, Wyltshire, Somersethire, Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornewall, but in William the Conquerours time, the See of Sherborne was turned to the See of Sarisbury, as was also the See of Wynnesbury.

**I**t was not long after but that Kenwalcus warred with the king of Britons, the which fought with him at a place called Whyte Gosneborough, and was of him there ouercome. Then Cadwallyne assembled a newe hoste of Britons, and met with Kenwalcus at a place called the hill of Pent, where after a long and sore battaile, the Britons were put to flight.

**W**e haue heard before how Oswald was made king of Northumberland, the which continued his lyfe in iustice and vertue as a king should do, by the space of. ix. yeres: But Wenda king of Mertia, who to him and to all christian men had great disloyne and enmie, about the. ix. yere of Cadwallyne made warre vpon Oswald, and slue him in a field called Meseffelde, where after his death (as Fabian sayth) God shewed for him many miracles. But

Sigebert  
slaine.

Anna.

Ercobertus.

The institu-  
tion of the  
time of Lent.

Kenwalcus.

Agilbert.

Wyn, of who  
the towne of  
Winchester  
tooke his  
name.White Gos-  
neborough.Oswalde.  
Meseffelde

631

Donewald  
kinge of  
Scottes.

635

Wenda.

Dorchester,  
Lyncolne.

Cambridge



after one yere of his death Oswy his yonger brother recovered the kingdome, and buried his head in the Churchyarde of Lyndesfar, for the bodye was conveyed by the Pagans, and deuyded in sundrie peeces.

¶ When Oswy had a season ruled his kingdome, he by vnlawfull meanes procured the death of Oswyn king of Deyra. This Oswyn was the sonne of Cauftricus eldest brother of Oswald, which Oswyn was good of condition and therewith both meeke and mylde, and being thus slaine, as is aforesayde, the sayde Oswy tooke to him as felow of that kingdome his brothers sonne Odylwald, the sonne of Oswald. This Oswald gaue vnto Cedda Bishop of Wynchester before named, a grounde in a place of the North Countrie in the high hilles called Lastyngery, for to buylde an Abbay vpon, which he there buylde, and after taught his brother Chymbillus how he should rule and gouerne that place.

Oswyne.  
slaine.

Penda.

¶ Nowe Penda Kinge of Mertia, which forgat not the strengthening and fauouring that Anna Kinge of East Anglys had shewed to Kenwalcus his daughters husbande, and his enemye, and therefore desirous to be reuenged on him, gathered a power of men of warre and went against the sayde Anna, and slue him in plaine battaile.

¶ After the which victoery, the sayd Penda, beyng puffed vp with pryde, and glozy, went forward with his host into Northumberlande, entending to slea Oswy, as before he had slaine his brother Oswald. Wherof when Oswy had knowledge, he assembled his power and made towarde him. And for affinite of marriage that was betwene their children, and other causes as after shall apere Oswy offered vnto him many great offers, to the intent to haue had him to haue stayed from battaile, and to haue had peace with him.

Oswy.

¶ When Oswy perceyued the obstinacie and pryde of Penda, and sawe that by no reasonable meanes he coulde moue him to peace, he sayde, seeing this Pagnyn will not receyue our giffes and proffers that we haue offered vnto him, we will now offer it to him that can receyue them. And forthwith he made his vowe vnto God, that if he had the victoerye ouer his enemies, he woulde offer his daughter Elleda vnto him, with sufficient possessions for to buylde. xij. Abbeyes. And shortly after, he ioyned in battaile with Penda, in the countrey of Leedy, not farre from Yorke, which battail was so sore foughte that the lyke was not seene many yeres before: But in the ende Penda was slaine, and .xxx. of his chiefe Capitaynes, and yet he had thre tymes the number of people that Oswy had. And those that escaped the shot and sword, were for the greatest part drowned in the Ryuer Wynwed, which was nere vnto the place of that battaile. And among the Prisoners that were taken at this fielde, the wife of Penda was one, and her sonnes Uncle named Egfridus was another. Fabian.

Howe.

Penda slaine

¶ Then Oswy yelded his thankes vnto almighty God, and according to his former promes, he offered his daughter Elleda beyng of the age of thre yeres vnto God, and tooke her to the Lady of Hilda, Abbelle of Hertsey, or Hertes Islande. And after that the sayde Hilda remoued to the Abbey of Stremhalt in the vale of Whitby. xxx. Myle from Yorke, where she was after Abbelle, and so was Elleda also. And Oswy as he had promised gaue landes and rentes to buylde. xij. Abbeyes, whereof sixe were in Bernicia, and sixe in the Prouynce of Deyra.

¶ This

¶ This aforesayde Penda had diuerse sonnes, as wyrters report, that is to say, Wolferus, Weda, Egfridus, besyde other not mencioned. To this seconde sonne Weda, Oswy had before tyme maryed a daughter of his by consent of Penda his father: Wherfore, by the helpe of Oswy his father in law he was made King of South Mertia, the which Lordship is seuered from the North Mertia by the ryuer of Trent, & it contained by the recorde of Weda fife thousand householdes. This Weda also promised when he maryed the sayd daughter of Oswy, that he would become a Christian man, the which he perfourmed after the death of his father. But when he had scantly reigned thre yeres ouer the sayde South Mertia, he was by treason of his wyfe slaine (as sayth Fabian) but he sheweth no cause. And after that kingdome fell to Wolferus the other brother, the which had wedded the daughter of Ercombert king of Kent, named Ermenilda. This Wolferus was shortlye after christened, so that he is accompted for the first Christined king that reigned in Mertia, and was father to Keneredus, and to Wereburga.

Wolferus.  
Ercombert  
king of Kent.

¶ And for that it is long sithen I spake of Kenwalcus king of West Saxons, it is to be noted that after he had ouercome the Britons (as before is shewed) and at that tyme had not perfited the Bishops See of Winchester, he then busied himselfe thereabout. And according to the will of Kingilfus his father, he gaue to the sustentation of the sayd See, all the land which lay within. vij. miles of the sayde Citie (as sayth the floure of Histories) and finished it some deale to his purpose, but farre from that it is nowe.

Kenwalcus.

Kingilfus.

¶ Soone after that Kenwalcus had ended this worke, he made warre vpon Wolferus of Mertia. But in that iourney fortune was not friendlye vnto him, for he lost thereby and wanne nothing of his entent and purpose.

¶ It was not long after, but Ercombert king of Kent dyed, and his sonne Egbert was king after him. ix. yere. And shortly after chaunced great mortalitie and death throughtout this land of Briteyn, the which continued and encreased more and more during the life of this Cadwallyn, and the lyfe of Cadwallader which folowed him. In the which season or beginning of this mortalitie and sicknesse, dyed many Bishops in this lande, insomuch that Vitalcanus then beyng Bishop of Rome ordeyned Theodorius Archebishop of Cantorbury to haue the rule of the Churches of Briteyn. Somewhat before this tyme, Benet that was in good fauour with king Oswy, and descended of riche kindred, forsooke service and house and all his kindred, and became a Monke. This Benet was he that first brought the craft of Glasing into this land, and tooke to his scholer Weda, when he was but. vij. yeres of age, and taught him during his lyfe.

Spotalitie.

Glasing first  
brought into  
this land.

¶ And here for that speciall mencion is made a little before that Benet was the first that brought into Briteyn the Arte and craft of making of Glasse, I thought it well to adde this note ther vnto, which I find witten in Reynulph in his fourth booke and fourth Chapter. That in the tyme of the reigne of Tiberius Emperour of Rome, which was not long after Christes incarnation, a certeyn craftes man had found out the Art of myxture and melting of Glasse in such sort, as he made the same malliable, that is to say, to abide the Hammer as Tynne and other metalles do: And he came to the Emperour thinking to haue receyued some rewarde, and shewed it vnto him. The Emperour when he saw it, caused some of his awne Glasses to be fet and broken,

Reynulph.

Tiberius  
Emperour of  
Rome put to  
death him &  
inacted glasse  
to abyde the  
Hammer.



and the Artificer forthwith amended them. And when the Emperour had well considered of the man and of his cunning, he demaunded of him if there were any man living beside himselfe that could do the like, and he simply answered, none that he knewe or euer heard of, and the emperour answered, neither shalt thou euer do it againe, for this Art would make golde and other precious metall to be of no balure: wherefore he commaunded him to be beheaded, and it was done, which certainly was a tyrannous deede, namely for that he would attempt to suppress the giftes of God.

¶ Howe I will returne againe to Oswy: the which when he had long reigned ouer the Northumbers, he made Cedda that was Abbot of Lastingay, Archebishop of Yorke, more of wyll then of good skill, and put out Wilfride the Archebishop of that See: But it was not long after but that Cedda was deprived of that dignitie, by the authoritie of the Archebishop Theodorius, as he deprived other at that tyme, which came to their benefices against the lawes of the Church, and made him by great instaunce after this, Bishop of the West Saxons. And about the .xxx. yere of the reigne of Cadwallyn, Cissa that was father to Iue king of West Saxons builded the Abbey of Abingdon. Eabian.

¶ In these dayes the Monkes and Clergie of Briteyn set all their minds to serue God, and not the worlde, and were wholly giuen to deuocion, and not to filling of the Paunch and pampering of the bodye: wherefore they were then had in great reuerence and honour, so that they were then receyued withall worship. And as they went by the streetes and wayes, men that sawe them, woulde runne to them and desire their blessings: and well was him then that might geue vnto them possessions, and to builde them houses and Churches. But as they encreased in ryches of worldly treasure, so they decreased in heauenly treasure, as in the dayes of Aluredus some deale began, and sithen that time hath sprong not all to the pleasure of God. Then they applyed nothing that was worldye, but gaue themselues to preaching and teaching of the worde of our Sauour Jesu Christ, and folowed in lyfe the doctrine that they preached, geuing good example to all men. And besides that, they were bitterly boyde of couetousnesse, and receyued no possessions gladly, but were inforced therevnto. Fabian.

¶ At this time Oswy king of Northumberlande dyed and Edfridus hys sonne was kinge after hym and reigned fiftene yeares, after hys father had reigned with hys felowes Oswyne and Oswalde, twentye and eyght yeares.

¶ There dyed also Kenwalcus king of West Saxons, about the .xxxix. yere of Cadwallyne, when he had reigned ouer them .xxx. yeres, and his sonne Kenewynus succeeded him, but entred not into possession before Sexburga his mother had ruled that Prouynce one yere.

¶ We haue heard before howe Wilfride was deposed & put out of the See of Yorke, wherfore he went to Rome and complayned vpon him to Agathon then Bishop of that See, and was well allowed in some things. But the king and Theodorius had there such Docters and friends, that he sayled of his purpose, wherefore he returned to the South Saxons, and after he had preached among them .xv. yeres, he then taught them the arte or craft of Fishyng.

¶ Egfridus

Staffe made to abide to Hammer,

Monkes religious.

Monkes had in great reuerence.

Decay of Religion.

The arte of Fishyng.

¶ Egfridus or Edfridus king of Northumberlande, claymed the lande that Etheldred king of Mercia helde, for the which diuers assemblies of intreatie were had, but they tooke none effect, wherefore eyther partie gathered his strength, and met vpon a playne, neere vnto the Ryuer of Trent, where was foughten betwene them a long and sharpe fight: In the which among a great number on both parties, was slaine the brother of Egfride named Elswinus, but yet the saide Egfride had the better. Then after this battail, meanes of peace was againe made, so that finally Egfride had great sommes of money in recompence of his brothers death, and so the sayde two kings agreed and rested afterwards in quiet.

¶ Some after this time, Theodorius for diuers causes kept a Synode or Counsaile of Bishops and other men of the Church, at Hatfielde: By authoritie of which counsaile (sayth Fabian) he deuyded the Prouynce of Mercia that Serwolphus then ruled alone, into fyne Bishopricks, that is one to Chester, the second to Worcester, the thirde to Lichfielde, the fourth to Cedema in Lyndesey, and the fift to Dochester.

¶ About the .xlvj. yere of Cadwallyne, Kenewinus king of West Saxons had occasion of warre against the Britons, so that they met neere vnto the West See, where after a sharpe skirmithe, the Britons were chased. And some after Edfridus king of Northumberlande made warre vpon the Pictes or Scottes, because they fauoured & ayded the East Anglys against him. But in the ende by colour of flyng back, they brought Edfride into a strepte among hilles and mountaines, and slue him there with a great parte of his people. And after his death a bastarde brother of his, named Alfri- dus, the bastarde was king of Northumberlande and reigned among them .xviij. yeres.

¶ And shortly after, dyed Cadwallyne king of Britons, when he had reigned .xlvij. yeres, and many other things are written of him by Gaufride, but neyther by Keynulf nor by any other authour of good authoritie, and therefore I passe them ouer.

¶ Ferquhard called Ferquhard the second, the sonne of the late king Ferquharde was made king of Scottes, and reigned .xviij. yeres. This man in his priuate lyfe was verie liberall aboue his power, but when he was authorized king, he became a cruell coueteous and glottenous Tiran, wherefore he was stricken of God with a vile and painfull sickenesse, whereof he dyed.

¶ Aldwyn the sonne of Dowald was authorized king of Scottes, and reigned .xx. yeres: he made peace with the Pictes and Saxons, and at the last was murdered of his wyfe for suspicion of Adultrie.

¶ Cadwalader, began to rule the Britons and also the West Saxons. He made warre vpon Lotharius king of Kent, and destroyed much of that Prouynce, and wanne the Isle of Wight, and gaue the fourth part to S. Wilfride, in the which fourth part were accompted thre hundred households.

¶ The whilest that Cadwalader was busied in one part of Kent, his brother named Gulkyu with a certaine of knights were besieged, and lastly brent in another parte thereof. In reuengement wherof, Cadwalader of newe destroyed the more parte of the sayde Prouynce. And the sayde warre

L. iij.

conti-

Theodorius holdeth a Synode. Hatfielde.

Egfride slaine.

Cadwallyn dead.

646  
12

665  
31

683  
1

The Isle of Wight.



continuing Lotharius afozenamed was wounded and dyed, after tohome Edricus was king, and reigned but a short tyme.

¶ Then Cadwalader made warre vpon the king of Southsex named Athelwalde, and slue him in plaine battaile, and after made his Prouynce subiect to him.

¶ When Cadwalader had ruled the Britons, and also the west Saxons by the terme of three yeres, he then (as sayth Reynulph Monke of Chester) of pure deuotion renounced the pompe and pride of the world, and went on pilgrimage to Rome, where of Sergius then Bishop of Rome, he was confirmed, and after made a whyte Monke, and so continued all his lyfe tyme.

Nicholas Brodugan,

¶ But other write as namely Nicholas Brodugan in his Epitome, that king Cadwalader reigned ouer Briteyn in great peace and tranquillitie .xij. yeres. And then there happened so great a death among his people, that in maner the lyuing did scarcely suffice to burie the dead, and therefore he fled into little Britteyn, whose Colyn Juoz and Jue, being repulled out of Englande by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons, they and their posteritie remayned Princes. And now vpon this great death and cruell warres among the Saxons, the Scottes thought to slip the Coller of obedience, and entered into league with Charles then king of Fraunce, the articles whereof folow in the historie of Achaius king of Scottes.

Mallo or Gallo.

¶ And here endeth the lyne and gouernement of the Britons, now called Welshmen, which tooke that name of their Duke or leader called Mallo, or Gallo, or else of a Queene of Wales, named Galaes, or Wales. But how soeuer that name came first to them, now they are called Welshmen, which sometime were named Britons, or britons, and descended first of the Troians (sayth Fabian) and after of Brite, and lastly of Mulmucius Dumwallo: Albeit they were mingled or medled with sundrie other Nations, as Romaynes, Pictes, and others. And now they be English, that in their beginning were named Saxons or Anglis.

Welshmen

¶ And after the departure of Cadwalader, this Realme was called Englande, and the Inhabitanes thereof were called Anglis, or English men. And this happened 1972. yeres, or as sayth Fabian 1822. yeres after that Brute first arriued in this Islande: And after the conquest of Cesar 735. yeres: And from the entring of the Saxons vnder their leaders Hengist and Horsa in the tyme of Woxtiger 235. yeres.

686  
4647

¶ Thus then apereth by the former processe of this worke, that the last yere of Cadwalader, was the yere of our Lord sixe hundreth. lxxxvi. which maketh the yere of the worlde foure thousand, sixe hundreth. xliij. So that as Fabian sayth, the Britons had the rule of the moze part of this land, reconing from Brute vnto this tyme, a thousand. liij. C. xxiij. yeres. And now the Saxons or Anglis began fully to reigne, and to haue the whole dominion of this Realme.

¶ After the departure of Cadwalader (as Fabian sayth) this land of Briteyn was in great dissention, by meane of variaunce betwene the Britons and Saxons, and the sayde contencion continued. xi. yeres. And beside this, the great death and mortalitie before mentioned, behemently and greatly encreased, and by reason thereof folowed great scarcitie, whereof ensued

ned hunger, and vniuersall famine through the Realme: So that by the occasion of one thing and other, the people of this Realme were wonderfully diminished and decayed, and that so many and so much (as sayth Gaufride, and also the English Chronicle) the quicke bodies suffised not to burie the dead.

¶ Eugenius the first of that name was king of Scottes, and reigned foure yeres. In his tyme, as sayth the Historie of Scotland, he warred vpon Edfride king of Northumberlande, and slue him in battaile.

Famine.  
A pitfull and horrible plague.

685  
3

¶ Iewe, or Juas, descending of the blood of the Saxons, was ruler or king of west Saxons, next after that Cadwalader had renounced the pompe of the worlde. He ruled the west Saxons berie honourably, and mainteyned such warre against the kentish Saxons, that they of Dorobernia or Cantorbury, graunted him to haue peace, and also gaue vnto him for a recompence of the death of Mulking brother to Cadwalader before slaine, thre thousand pounde.

687  
1

¶ In the. xi. yere of the reigne of this Iewe, chaunced the wonder & meruaile that is written in Polichronica, in his fift booke, and. xxi. Chapter, and he allegeth Bede for his Authour, of one Bighwaldus, the which after that he had beene a long while dead, was restored againe to lyfe, and tolde manye thinges of great wonder to many men. Whereby he caused great almose, and many deedes of charitie to be done.

Wighwaldus raised frō death to lyfe.

¶ In the. xvi. yere of this mannes reigne, Ethelredus before mencioned, which was king of Mertia, forsooke his worldly honor, and became a Monk at Bardeney, when he had long tyme ruled the men of Mertia.

701  
16

¶ In the. xxij. yere of this Jew, Cotredus then king of Mertia assembled his people, and warred vpon Jew. Wherof when Jew had knowledg he likewyse gathered his people together, and they met to both their harmes at a place called Woddenworgh: where after long fight, eyther of them sped so unhappely, that it was not knowen whether part had greatest dammage.

708  
23

¶ Nowe when Jew had ruled the west Saxons nobly by the space of xxxvij. yeres, by the importunate labour of his wife Ethelburga, he renounced his honourable estate, and tooke on him the wede of a poore man, and became a Pilgrime to Rome. And Ethelburga his wife made her selfe a Nonne in Barking. viij. myles from London.

721  
37

¶ Also some Authours write that this Jew was the first king that grauted of enery house that had fyre burning in it a penny, to be payed to the Bishop of Rome & his successors, and it was called Rome skot, or Peter pence.

Rome skot, Peter pence.

¶ And as Fabian sayth, when he should renounce his estate and gouernment, he resigned the same vnto Ethellardus his Nephewe. This man also as sayth Cooper, builded the Colledge or Cathedryall Church of Welles, and the Abbey of Glasfenbury.

Welles Colledge.

¶ Eugenius the first of that name, reigned. x. yeres in Scotland. He made peace with the Northumbers, and hated extremely the Pictes.

688  
3

¶ Aberkeleth, a cruell Tyrant, reigned in Scotland two yeres, and was slaine by one of his seruants, as he was goyng with an army against the Pictes.

698  
13

¶ Eugenius the. viij. was king of Scottes. xviij. yeres. He was mightye of body, and of honest maners: he made peace with the Pictes, and caused the Actes

700  
15



A worthy  
note.

Actes of his auncetours to be put in wytyng, and commaunded that Histo-  
riographers should be found of the common cost.

716

**M**ordack was King of Scotland, and reigned. xvi. yeres. In his tyme  
the foure diuerse Nations reigning in Albion, had peace betwene them-  
selues, that is, the Britons, the Anglis, the Scottes, and the Pictes.

¶ And about this tyme Germanie receyued the fayth of Christ.

724

**E**thelard the Nephew of Iewe, reigned ouer the west Saxons: Of  
this Man is little written, sauing that he reigned five yeres, and then  
died, leauing behinde him none issue of his body. And in his tyme, the  
reuerend and holy Priest Beda, was famous, who wrote his booke called  
Anglica Hystoria to Offrike king of Northumberland.

Beda that  
reuerend  
father.

729

**C**utbert the Nephew of Ethelarde, reigned ouer the west Saxons  
next after his sayd Uncle, of whome also is little mention made, sauing  
that in the sixt yere of his reigne, holy Beda dyed, who in his tyme wrote  
lxxviii. bookes. And this Cutbert when he had reigned. xvi. yeres, departed  
out of this worlde also. This man made often warre vpon Ethelwalde of  
Mertia, and sped therein dyuersly.

Beda dyed.

733

**E**dine the sonne of Eugenius the seventh, reigned in Scotland. xxx. yeres:  
This man was geuen to iustice and peace, and kept the league that was  
made with the Britons, Englishmen, and Pictes.

745

**S**igebert the Cosyn of Cutbert, reigned ouer the west Saxons. He  
was cruell and tyrannous to his subiects, and turned the lawes and  
customes of his forefathers, after his aboue will and pleasure. And  
because a noble man of his Realme named the Erle Combranus, did some-  
deale sharpely aduertise him to chaunge his maners and to be more prudent  
and temperate towarde his people, he therefore maliciously caused him to be  
put to most cruell death.

Tyrannie.

¶ Now for as much as this king Sigebert continued in his malice and  
cruell condicions, and would not amend, his subiects conspired against him,  
and depriued him of all kingly dignitie: so that he fell after into great desola-  
tion & miserie, for being on a season found in a wood or desolate place, wan-  
dering alone without all comfort: he was by a Swynheard or villaine, mur-  
dered & slaine, in the reuengement of Earle Combranus death, whom Sige-  
bert being king had before most cruelly caused to be put to death in the same  
place: vnto the which Earle the sayde byllaine had beene sometimes belong-  
ing. And thus was Sigebert deposed and murdered, when he had reigned  
two yeres.

A plague due  
to a tyrant.

748

**K**enulph of the lync or blood of Cerdicus the which Cerdicus was the  
first king of the west Saxons, tooke vpon him the rule and govern-  
ment of the sayde West Saxons. The vertue of this man passed hys  
fame: for after that he with the agreement and consent of his people had  
depriued Sigebert their king from his regall authoritie, he then first of all  
appeased dyuers murmures and grudges that kindeled among his subiects,  
for the sayde depriuation, and so set his Lordship in great quietnesse, and rest  
touching

touching their ciuile disorde.

¶ About the. viij. yere of the reigne of this Kenulphus, Offa the a Ty-  
raunt named Beozuredus, who before had slaine Ethelwald king of Mertia.  
After whose death the sayde Offa, Nephew to the sayde Ethelwald, reigned  
as king of that Prouynce.

756  
8

¶ Of this Offa is tolde many things, whereof something I entende to  
shewe. He had warre with the Northumbers, and them for a tyme sub-  
dued. He also had warre with Etheldrede king of East Anglis, and with  
Egbert otherwise called Bren king of Kent, whome he tooke prisoner, and  
led him bounde with him into Mertia.

Egbert king  
of Kent im-  
prisoned.

¶ Then after these victories, Offa buylde the Church of Winchecomb.  
In the time of the which buylding, and in the presence of. xiiij. Bishops and  
many other great estates, he discharged the sayde Egbert of imprisonment,  
and set him at libertie for ioy whereof the people there present, made such a  
shouting and cry of reioysing and gladnesse, that al the Church rang thereof.

Wincheob  
Church.

Egbert king  
of Kent en-  
larged.

¶ This king had such displeasure to the Citizens of Cauntorburie, that he  
remoued the Archebishops See, by the agreement of the first Abzian then  
Bishop of Rome, vnto Lichfielde. He furthermore chased the Britons or  
Welshmen into Wales, and made a strong Dyke betwene Wales, and the  
vtter boundes of Mertia, or middle Englande, the which to this daye is na-  
med Offdiche. And after he buylde there a Church, which long time after  
was called Offkirck: he also buylde the Abbey of Saint Albons. Besides  
this it is written of him that he married one of his daughters to Brightricus  
that was king of west Saxons. And for that in his time there was variance  
betwene him and the Frenchmen, and that passage and traffique of Mar-  
chaunts was forboden: therefore he sent the famous Doctor Anselmus vnto  
Charles the great, then king of France to intreat of peace. Which Charles  
had the sayde Anselmus euer after in such fauour, that he became hys Dis-  
ciple. Eabian.

The Arche-  
bishops See  
of Cauntor-  
burie remo-  
ued to Lich-  
fielde.

Passage of  
Marchants  
forbouden.

¶ But nowe let vs returne to Kenulphus, who before time had often  
warre with Offa, and also had with him many conflicts, but lastly they were  
agreed. About the. xi. yere of this Kenulphus, Egbert king of Northum-  
bers, renounced his kingly dignitie, and became a Monk.

759  
18

¶ And finally, when Offa had reigned ouer Mertia. xxxix. yeres. as saith  
Gyudo, he left the kingdome to his sonne, who also was named Kenulphus,  
or as some write Egfurtus, and went himselfe to Rome.

¶ And the foresayde Kenulphus king of the west Saxons kept strongly  
his Lordship against the power of all his enimies, and had his subiectes in  
due order of obedience. Lastly, he was surprisid with the loue of a woman  
that he kept at Merton, whose companie he haunted more secretly, then  
stode with his honour. Whereof hauing knoledge, a kinsman of Sige-  
bert late king, intending to reuenge the deposing and murdering of his  
kynsman, awayed the tyme, and beset the house where Kenulph and his Pa-  
ramour were smally accompanied. But so soone as the sayde Kenulph had  
espied his enimies, he set vpon them, and as Reymulph sayeth, though they  
were in number. lxxx. yet fought he with them a long while, but in the ende  
he was slaine of Clito hisemie.

Lecherer.

Murder.  
Clito.

¶ It was not long after or woerde sprang of the kinges death: wherfore  
Offricus



Officius then beyng maister of the Kinges Souldiers and garisons, armed himselfe, and tooke with him a certaine of the sayde Cheualrye, and pursued the sayd murderers, and at the last encountered with them, and slue the sayde Clito their Capitaine, with the more part of his companie. And that done, he returned to Merton, and there tooke the Corps of Kenulph, and with great solemnitie conueyed it to Winchester, where it was with all reuerence buried, when his father and he had ruled. xxxi. yeres.

Murder by  
an murther.

761

Eugenius the. viii. was king of Scottes, and was slaine of his Lordes for his couetousnesse, filthy lust, and cruelty, when he had reigned thre yeres.

764

Fergus the thirde was made king of Scotland, and reigned thre yeres: He was a foule drunken glutton, and so outrageously geuen to Harlottes, that he neglected his awne wife, and brought her to such penurye, that shee was faine to serue other noble women for her liuing. Wherefore, she murdered him in his bed, and after slue her selfe also.

Lechery.  
Murder.

768

Soluathius reigned in Scotland. xx. yeres, and then dyed of the Goute. In his tyme rebelled Vanus of the Isle of Tyre, and Gilloboham of Galoway, which were brought to due obeysaunce.

778

Brithricus of the blood of Cerdicus, began his reigne ouer the west Saxons, in the yere of our Lorde. vij. C. lxxviii. This Man before tyme had maryed one of the daughters of Offa king of Mertia, as before is touched, by whose ayde and power, he put out of his rule Egbert the sonne of Alcumundus, the which Egbert at that day was an vnder king or ruler in the Lordeship of west Saxons, which Egbert was descended of the blood of Genulphus, of whome some part of the story is declared in the. xxv. Chapter of the fift booke of Polichronicon. And after he was thus of Brithricus expelled, he sayled into Fraunce, and there exercised himselfe in the feates of warre with the knightes of Charles court the French king during the life of the sayde Brithricus.

Polichroni.

779

About the second yere of this Brithricus, was seene in great Briteyn a wonderfull sight: for sodenly as men walked in the streete, Crosses lyke unto blood fell vpon their clothes, and blood fell from heauen lyke droppes of raine.

A strange &  
terrible sight.

788

This after some expositors, betokened the coming of the Danes into this lande, the which entered shortly after. For as sayth Keynulph, about the. iij. yere of Brithricus the Danes first entered this land. In defence wherof, this said king sent forth his Steward of his household, with a small compaignie, which shortly was slaine. But by the strength of Brithricus and the other kinges of the Saxons, they were compelled to auoyde the land for that tyme.

The first en-  
tering of the  
Danes.

9

Brithricus thus well and knightly ruling his lande, his wife named Ethelburga, not contented with him as she ought to be, sought diuerse wayes and meanes howe she might bring her Lorde out of lyfe, so that finally shee poisoned him with many other of his famely: wherefore shee fearing punishment, fled into Fraunce, and by such frendship as she there had, was well cherished in Charles Court the French king surnamed the great.

Ethelburga.

Poysoning.

Of her it is tolde, that when he had information of the vnstablensse of this womans condicions, he at that season beyng a Widower, and at a time talking pleasantly with her, sayde: Nowe I put to your choyle, whether ye will

will haue me vnto your wedded Lord, or else my sonne standing here in your presence: and him that you choose, him shall ye haue and enjoy for your husband: But she chose the sonne, and left the father. Then sayd the king, if thou haddest chosen me, thou shouldst haue had my sonne: but for that thou hast forsaken me, thou shalt haue neyther of vs. And after he closed her in an Abbey, where in processe a lewde man kept with her such companie, that shee was boyded that place, and after demeaned her selfe so viciously, that in processe of tyme she fell in such pouertie, that she dyed in great penury & misery.

Nowe because of the misdeameanor of this Woman, that shee had thus vnnaturally slaine her Lorde and husbände, the king of Anglis, and specially of west Saxons, would not suffer their wyues to be called Quenes, nor yet suffer them to sit by them in places of great honour or kingly seate, by a long tyme after.

Thus as before is shewed, dyed Brithricus, beyng empoysoned by his awne wyfe, when he had ruled the west Saxons. xxv. yeres.

Chaius was ordeyned king of Scottes, and reigned. xxv. yeres. In his tyme was made the soleme league betweene Scotlande and Fraunce, against the Saxons or Englishmen: which tooke such effect, that euer sithen that day, the Scottes haue more enclined to the French men, than to Englishmen. And here I haue entered the Articles of the sayd league as they are written by Hector Boecius in his Scottissh Chronicle.

The names  
and prece-  
minence of  
Quenes  
forbiddet.

788

A league be-  
twene Frañce  
and Scot-  
land.

Articles be-  
twene the  
Frenche men  
and Scottes.

First that the Amitie and confederacie of French men and Scottes to be made for euer, both for the people present, and to come.

2 The Iniurie of Englishmen done to any of those people, shall be perpetually holden as common to them both.

3 When French men are inuaded by English men, the Scottes shall send their armie in defence of Fraunce, so that they be supported of mony and victualles by Fraunce.

4 When the Scottes are inuaded by English men, then the French men shall come vpon their awne expenses to their support.

5 And if any priuate person, eyther Frenchman or Scot support the English men, against any of them, with counsaile, money, or victualles, or remaine among them during the tyme of battayle: the doer thereof shall be holden a Traytor and an enemy to them both.

6 None of these two people shall take peace or truce with the Englishmen, but by the aduice eyther of other. Hector Boecius. x. Booke, iij. Chapter.

Egbert, or after the Englishe Chronicle Edbright, the sonne of Alcumundus, reigned ouer the west Saxons. This man as is before sayd, was driven out of the lande of Briteyn by the force of Brithricus. But he hauing knowledge of his death, sped him out of Fraunce, and in so knightly wyse behaued himselfe, that he obteyned the gouernement aboue sayd, and was made king of west Saxons.

795

1

Bernulphus king of Mertia had this Egbert in great derision, and vsed against him sundrie scoffes, and made of him trifling and rayling rymes, the which for a tyme he patiently suffered. But when he was somewhat stayed in his kingdome, and had proued the heartes of his subiectes, he at the last assembled his knightes and Souldiours, and gaue vnto Bernulphus a bat-  
taye

Bernulphus



Clindone.

tayle in a place called Clindone, in the Province of Hampshire. And albeit that in that fight was great diuersitie of number, as. lxx. viij. againe one, yet Egbert had the victorie: For his knightes were leane, pale, and long brethed, so that they might endure to fight long: But Bernulphus Souldiours were fat, corpulent, grosse and short breathed, and therfore could not endure.

¶ Here is to be noted, that after the death of Offa king of Mercia, or middle England (of whom somewhat is spoken in the story of Kenulphus) reigned his sonne Egfertus, and after Egfertus reigned Kenulphus, the which was father vnto Kenelme, and vnto the two fayre Virgines Quindreda, and Burgemilda. And after Kenulphus reigned the sayd Kenelme: And after Kenelme, Colwolphus; and after him Bernulphus before named.

¶ And nowe to returne to Egbert, who when he had as before is sayde overcome Bernulphus, he sealed that Lordship into his alone hand: and that done, he made warre vpon the kentish Saxons, and at length obteyned also of them the victorie. And lyke wyse, he subdued the Northumbers, and caused the kinges of these three Kingdomes to liue vnder him as tributaries, and ioyned them to his Kingdome.

¶ This Egbert also wanne from the Britons or Welshmen, the towne of Chester, which they had kept in their possession vntill that daye. For the which victories thus by him obteyned, he shortly after called a counsaile of his Lordes at Winchester, and there by their aduises, he was crowned king and chiefe Lord of this land, which before this day was called Briteyn: But nowe he sent into all the Costes of this lande his commaundementes and commissions, that from that day forwarde the Saxons should be called Anglis, and the land Anglia, in Englishe, England.

¶ About the. xviij. yere of the reigne of Egbert, Kenelme before mentioned the sonne of Kenwolphus was admitted for king of Mercia, beyng then but a childe of the age of. viij. yeres. The which by treason of his sister Quendreda was slaine in a thicke wood, by a tyrant called Hefbertus.

¶ In the. xxix. yere of the reigne of Egbert, the Danes with a great hoste entered the second tyme into this land, and spoyled the Isle of Shepey in Kent, or nere to Kent. Whereof, when king Egbert had knowledge, he assembled his people and met with them at a place called Carrum: But he wou in that fight little worship, for the Danes compelled him and his knightes to forsake the field. And beyng encouraged by that victorie, they drew westwarde, and made a confederacie with the west Britons, that liued in seruitude: By whose power they assayled Egberts landes, and did much harme in manye places of his dominion and else where, so that after this day they were continually abiding in one place of the Realme or other, vntill the tyme of Herdikenitus or Canutus fortis the last king of the Danes blood, so that many were maryed to Englishe women, and many that nowe are, or in tyme passed were, are discended of them. And albeit they were many and sundrye tymes chased and driven out of this land, and chased from one country to another, yet that notwithstanding, they ever gathered new strengthes & power, so that they abode still within the land.

¶ Of the king of these Danes, and of what people they be discended, dyuerse opinions of writers there be, which here I passe ouer, because afterward I purpose somewhat at large to say more therein.

¶ Nowe

Briteyn.

Anglia first named.

England.

819

24

Treason.

Quendreda

824

29

The entrance of the Danes.

¶ Nowe it foloweth, in the tyme of the persecution of these Paganes, and Danes, Egbert dyed, when he had well and nobly ruled the west Saxons, and the more part of Englande the terme of. xxxvij. yeres, and was buried at Winchester, and left behinde him a sonne named Ethelwolph, other wise called Edelfhus.

¶ Onuallus, succeeded Achaius in the kingdome of Scotland, and reigned five yeres.

¶ Ongallus reigned in Scotland sixe yeres, & as he was going with an armie against the Pictes (in the quarrell of Alpine a Scot, which claymed the crowne of the Pictes) he was drowned in a ryuer.

¶ Alpine the sonne of Achaius was made king of Scottes: He pursued the Awarre against the Pictes, and slue their king Feredech, but not long after he was vanquished and slaine by Bryndus king of Pictes, when he had reigned foure yeres.

¶ Ethelwolph, or Edelfhus the sonne of Egbert reigned ouer the Saxons or Anglis, in y yere of our Lord. 832. This man in his youth was very willing to be a priest, and was entered into the order of Subdeacon. But after he was married to Osburga his Butlers daughter, a woman of low birth, but in an old writte Chronicle, I find y he was married to Judith, daughter of y French king, which was Lewes y first, by whom he had foure somes, Ethelwald, Ethelbert, Etheldread, and Alured, the which after their father, reigned as kinges of Englande, the one after the other as shall apere.

¶ This Ethelwolph after he had bene a while king, went to Rome, and tooke with him his yongest sonne Alured, or Alfrede, and tarped there the space of a yere. In the which season he repayred the Saxon schole, the which before tyme was there founded by Offa king of Mercia (as saith Guydo) but more truely by Iewe king of west Saxons, as sayth Mathew of Westminster. And for that he graunted of euery house in his Kingdome a pennie, as in his story before is shewed: But this schoole was sore decayed, and the house thereof lately brent, the which this Ethelwolph newly repayred, and set it in much better order than before it had bene.

¶ This king also to reforme the grieuous corrections that he sawe there executed to Englishe men for spirituall offences, as in wearing of Irons and Guyues, he graunted of euery house of his lande wherein fyre was brent a pennie, as Iewe before had done, for the mittigating of the sayd corrections. By the which it should seeme, that there was two pence graunted of euery house throughout the land. For this Rome skot, or Rome shot as it was then called, was of euery house a penny and no more. And therefore it is mistaken of the writers, that alegge the dede to the one king for the other: Notobeyt, it may stande by reason, that Iewe made the first graunt, and this king confirmed the same. But the Authoz of Chronica Chronicarum sayth, that Ethelwolph graunted to Saint Peter the Peter pence, and speaketh no worde of Iewe, nor of none other.

¶ It is also shewed by Polichronica, that this king for the acquiting of the Churches of England, of all maner of kinges tribute, payed yerely to Rome three hundreth Markes: that is to saye, to Saint Peters Church, an hundreth Markes, to the light of Saint Paule, an hundreth Markes, and to the

M. i.

Bishop

832  
37

819  
25

824  
30

829  
35

832  
1

Ethelwolph

A Schole at Rome builded by the Saxons.

Peter pence.

Euery house that had fyre a pence.

Rome skot, or Rome shot.

Chronica chronicarū.



Denotion. Bishop of Romes treasure, an hundreth Markes. And ouer and besydes all this, of his deuotion he gaue to the Church of Rome, the tenth part of his mouable goodes.

Charles the Walde. ¶ When Ethelwolph had thus sped his businesse at Rome, he returned by Fraunce, where at that tyme was king of that land Charles the Walde, of whome he was ioyously receyued. And after he had disported him there a season, he married the daughter of the sayde Charles in the .xx. yere of his awne reigne.

Judith daughter to Charles the French king. ¶ Then Ethelwolph taking leaue of the frenche king, tooke shipping and landed in England with his wife Judith by name. And for that he contrary to the lawe (made in Brithicus time) set his wife in the kinges throne, and magnified her like a Queene, the Lordes of his land arose against him, and tooke from him a great part of his dominion, and made his eldest sonne ruler thereof, the which was done altogether in the reproch of Ethelburga, that she her Lorde Brithicus as befoze is shewed. But in the end, the matter was appealed, and he to his kingly honour was restored. And in the yere folowing died the said Bertulphus king of Mertia. After whose death, Burdredus was made king of Mertia, or middle England, who befoze had spoused the daughter of this king Ethelwolph.

¶ In the latter dayes of this Ethelwolph, the Danes did much harme in Lyndsey, and also in Kent, and from thence came to London, and robbed and spoiled the Citie. Wherefoze Ethelwolph gathered his people, and at the last met with them in Southrey, vpon a downe called Oclea, and there discomfited them, not without shedding of great plentie of the Anglis blood, and forced them to take the Sea, so that afterward they landed in East Anglia, as shall appere. And nowe this good king ended his life when he had reigned .xxij. yeres.

835  
+  
Kuneth reigned in Scotland. .xx. yeres, he mainteyned hys warre against the Pictes so fiercely, that he banquished them in diuers great battayles and slue their king, and lastly chased them vtterly out of the bounds of Scotland. .1151. yeres (as sayth the Scottishe Chronicle) after they began to haue dominion in that Countrie, and from the comming of the Scottes into Albion (after their opinion) a thousande thye hundred. .xxj. yeres.

855  
1  
Ethelwald the sonne of Ethelwolph after his father reigned ouer the west Saxons or Anglis. This man was very wicked, and married the woman which his father sometime kept for his Concubine, or as some write his stepmother: But to be short, there remaineth in story noworthy thing written of him, but that he reigned not aboue one yere, & then dyed, but howe he came to his death as testifieth Reynulph it is vncertaine, except it be as one writer sayeth that he was slaine of the Danish princes, Hunger and Hubba.

856  
1  
Onalde the fift of that name (a vicious and wicked Prince) reigned in Scotlande. .vi. yeres. In his tyme Osbret or Osbright and Ella which were kings of the Anglis and Britaines made warre vpon the Scottes, tooke their king and subdued all the Countrie from Striuelling to the Irish Seas, and from the water of Fryth and Clyde to Cumber, with all the strengthes thereof. The Englishmen had the landes betwene Sterling and Northumber-

Scotland conquered.

Northumberlande. This was Clyde March betwene the Scottes and Britons one the one side, and the water of Frith named the Scottishe Sea March betwene them and the Englishmen on the other side: and Sterling common March to three people. Britons, Englishmen, and Scottes. And in the Castle of Sterlyng the sayde king Osbright caused his first money to be coyned, which yet we call Sterling Money. And the Englishmen did there build a bridge of stone for passage ouer the water of Frith, in the midst whereof they made a Crosse, and vnder the same woxit these two verses,

Sterling money.

I am free Marche, as passengers may ken  
To Scottes, to Britons, and to Englishmen.

¶ Nicholas Bradyngham in his Epitome sayeth, that after Ethelwald their reigned one Osbright king of Briteyn, who conquered Scotland, and at the last an agreement was taken that from thenceforth the water of Frith should be the March betwene the Scottes & Englishmen in the East parts, and should be named the Scottishe Sea. The water of Clyde to Dunbriton, to be Marche in the west part betwene Scottes and Britons. And at Dunbriton was a Castle called Aclude, and now Dunbriton. So that the Britons had all the landes from Sterling to the Irish Seas, and from the water of Frith.

856  
1  
Ethelbert the seconde sonne of Ethelwald reigned ouer the greater parte of England. And in his time the Danes with more strength entered the west part of this land, and robbed and spoiled the Countrie befoze them, vtill they came to Winchester, and tooke the Citie by strength, and did therein what they would: but the king made such prouision, that by him and his Dukes they were forced to forsake the Citie. And as they went toward their Shippes, they were fought withall, and a great parte of them slaine and taken.

¶ Of this king, nothing else is left in memorie, but that he dyed when he had reigned sixe yeres, and was buried at Sherborne, leauing after him none issue.

860  
1  
Constantine the second, a good and verteous Prince, reigned in Scotlande. .xij. yeres.

863  
1  
Etheldred the thirde sonne of Ethelwald tooke vpon him the gouernment of the west Anglis. And in the beginning of his reigne the Danes landed in East England, called Northfolke and Suffolke: but they were compelled to forsake that Countrie, and so to make againe into their Shippes, in the which retire they were foughten withall and many of them taken and slaine, and then they sayled Northward, and landed in Northumberlande, where the two kings that reigned there, met with them, and gaue them battaile, their names were Osbright and Ella, and there was a strong fight: But the Danes with the help of such as inhabited in the Countrie, wanne the Citie of Porke and held it a certaine time.

Danes laded in Northfolke & Suffolke.

¶ Then the people of Northumberlande, varied within themselves, and were more readier to ayde and helpe the Danes, then to lye vnder the gouernment of the king of west Saxons. For here is to be noted, that all such kings as reigned there after Egbert, were tributaries, and therefore oppressed

M.ii.



pressed the people that lyued vnder them.

¶ Wherefore Etheldredus hearing of the ayde and comfort that the Danes had there, assembled his people and sped him thitherward, and sent vnto the aforesayd two kings that had the rule of that Countrey, commaunding them also to prepare their people against his coming. But howe it was, or the king came with his hoste, the Danes so prouoked the Northumbers to battaile, that they met in playne fielde, and fought a long fight: But in the ende the Danes wanne the price, and slue both the aforesayde kings with a great multitude of their people. After which victorie, they subdued much of the sayde Countrey and destroyed the towne of Aclint, the which as sayth Beda, was one of the strongest townes of the North.

¶ When Etheldred had prepared all thing for the warre, and was set forward toward the North, worde was brought vnto him of the great discomfiture of the Northumbers, and also of dyuers of the sayde Danes, with other that were come to Mertia, and howe that they had wonne the Towne of Notyngham, which tydings letted him of that iourney, and so the Danes kept possession of that Countrey, in suche wise that no Angle had rule therof vntill the time of Adelfstone, or as some write, vntill the tyme of Edredus, so that they helde it in possession the terme of .xl. yeres.

¶ Then the Danes being thus possessed of the North Countrey, manned the same, and fortified the strong holds thereof. And the other companie of them came downe into Mertia or middle England and wanne a part therof with the aforesayde Towne of Notyngham, and dwelled there the more part of the yere following.

¶ Wherefore king Etheldred with the ayde of Burdredus, then king of Mertia, layde siege vnto the Towne: the which when the Danes perceyued should be wonne, they refused the towne & tooke the Tower or Castell, and defended it in strong maner, in so much that they helde it vntill a peace or appointment was concluded betweene the two kings and them: which was, that they should go free where they woulde, and carie with them their horse & harneys without any pillage. And when this peace was thus made, eyther of the kings departed to their owne, and the Danes returned into Yorke and dwelled there the yere following.

¶ And in the yere following, a certaine number of the sayde Danes, taking shipping in the North, purposed to sayle into East Englande, and vpon the Sea, they chaunced to meete with a great flote of Danes, whereof the Capitaines or chiefe leaders, were named Hungar and Hubba: The which by exhortation of the other coming out of the North, made all one course, and lastly landed in East England or Northfolke, and in proesse of tyme came vnto Thetford.

¶ When Edmond king of the Prouynce heard hereof, he assembled an hoste, and gaue vnto them battaile. But Edmond and his hoste was forced to forsake the fielde, and Edmond with a fewe persons fled into the Castle of Fremingham, whome the Danes pursued: But he in short tyme after yelded himselfe vnto the persecution of the Danes. And for that this vertuous Man Edmond woulde not denie, or renie Christ, and his lawes, they therefore most cruellie bound him vnto a Tree, and caused him to be shot to death, and in the ende caused his head to be smitten from his bodye, and cast amongst

amongest the thicke of the Bushes, as sayth Fabian.

¶ Then his friendes with great solemnitie caried the body vnto the Abbey, then called Eglidon, or Eglyuon, and now called Saint Edmondes bury, and there buried him in the yere of our Lord. viij. C. lxiij.

¶ But now to returne againe to the Danes. When they had as before is sayd martired this godly Man Edmond, and robbed and spoyled that Countrey, they tooke againe their Shippes, and landed in Southerey, and continued their iourney vntill they came to the towne of Reding, and wanne the Towne and Castle.

¶ And as Polichronicon sayth, the thirde day after they came thither, Hungar and Hubba, as they went in purchasing of prayes, were slaine at a place called Englefield, which Capitaines of the Danes being thus slain the rest of them kept close together, in such wise that y west Saxons could take of them none aduantage. But within fewe dayes after, the Danes were holden so short, that they were forced to issue out of the Castle, and to defende themselves in plaine fielde. In the which by the comfort of king Etheldred, and of Alured his brother, the Danes were discomfited, and many of them slaine: whereof the other being ware, fled againe to the Castle, and kept them with in the same a certeyne tyme.

¶ Then the king commaunded Ethelwold who at that tyme was Duke of Barcoke, or Barkshire, to attend with his people vpon that Castle, and to see that the Danes brake not out at large, while he went into other partes of that Countrey to subdue other of the sayde Danes. But when the Danes knewe of the kinges departure, they brake out, and tooke the Duke vnprouided, and slue him and most of his people, and caused the rest to withdrawe themselves from that towne and Castle.

¶ It was not long after, but that the king was certified of the death of Ethelwoolde Duke of Barkshire, and of the discomfiture of his people, and of the great victorie of the Danes: which vnto him were heauie newes. And foorthwith also, he heard that a Dane was landed named Osricke, whome Polichronicon nameth to be the king of Denmarke, the which Osricke in a short tyme had gathered together by the helpe and assistance of the other Danes a great hoste, and were embattayled vpon A thedowne.

¶ Vnto this battaile Alured was sent for, to his brother the king with great speede, that he should set forward vpon the Danes. But before he could be ready, the hostes of the Anglis, and the Danes were ioyned together with great violence. And although the Danes had wonne the hill, and the christian men were left in the balley: yet by the grace of God, and manhood of themselves, the christian men recovered the hil of the Danes, and slue their Duke or king called Osricke, and fine of their Dukes, with many of their people, and chased the rest vnto the towne of Redyng.

¶ Wherefore the Danes reassembled their people, and gathered a newe hoste, so that within .xv. dayes, they met at a towne called Basingstoke, and there gaue battaile vnto king Etheldred, and had the better. Then the king gathered his people, the which at that fielde were sore scattered, and seperated, and with fresh Souldiours to them accompanied, met the Danes with in two Monethes after, at a Towne called Merton, and gaue vnto them a sharpe battaile, so that many people were slaine on both parties, that is to

Aclint or Aclint, a Towne or City by west the arme of the Sea that departeth Englande and Scotlande, and it standeth at the ende of the wall that was made to deuide Englande and Scotlande, and it is thought not to be farre from Carlisle.

Hungar Hubba.

Fremingham Castell.

The martir-dome of king Edmond.

Saint Edmondes bury

Reding.

Hungar Hubba. Englefield.

Danes discomfited.

Barkshire or Barcoke.

Osricke.

A thedowne

Osricke slaine.

Basingstoke.

Merton.



say, aswell of the Christians, as of the Danes. But in conclusion, the Danes had the honour of the fiede, and the king of Anglis was wounded and faine to sauegarde himselfe by pollecy, because might and strength fayled him.

¶ After these two fieldes thus woome by the Danes, they obeyned and enjoyed a great circuite of grounde, and destroyed man, woman, and childe, that to them were disobedient. And Churches and Temples they turned to the vse of Stables and other vile occupations. And to this great sorow was yet added another.

¶ For where the king hoped well to haue recovered his losses by the ayde and helpe of his subiectes, aswell of other partes of the lande, as of hys owne which was the west Saxons, he sent his comissions into Northumberland, into Mercia, and East Anglia: But he had of them small or little comfort, & in effect it was no comfort at all, so that the Countrie of west Saxons was brought into great desolation. For the king was beset with enemies on euery syde, and besides that, his knightes and Souldiours were tyred, and worted with ouer watching and labour. The number of which aduersities and troubles entring, and deepelye sinking into the kinges minde, with his sore broose and hurt ensuyng of the wound taken at the battaile besyde Merton, shortened his dayes, so that he dyed when he had reigned in great vexation and trouble of the Danes. viij. yeres, without issue of his bodie, and was buried at Winbourn: By reason whereof, the rule of the lande fell vnto his brother Alurede. Some write that he first founded the Cathedrall Church at Exeter.

Exeter.

872  
1

Alurede the fourth sonne of Ethelwolphe, and brother to Etheldred reigned ouer the west Saxons. This Alured was borne at wantage, x. Miles from Oxforde then a Cobone of the king of the west Saxons, who as some write was. xij. yeres of age before he was set to schole: but for all that, he spent so well his tyme, that he exceeded all his brethren that were long set forth to schole before him. And by the counsaile of a verteous and well learned Monke named Neotus, and other learned men of that tyme, he founded the Uniuersitie of Oxforde, and fraunchised the same with many great liberties and priuileges. But the historie of that Uniuersitie of Oxforde seemeth to make it to be of a much greater antiquity, and to referre the beginning thereof vnto certaine Greeke Philosophers that came into this Iland with Bute and the Troyans, and afterwards placed themselves in a place not farre distaunt from Oxforde, called corruptly Crekelad for Grekelade. The which Philosophers being afterwarde allured with the pleasaunt situation of the place, remoued from thence to the soyle where Oxforde now standeth, and there taught the liberall Sciences. And the same schole being at the length decayed, and brought to extreme ruyne by ciuill warre and alteration of time: Alfred (say some) otherwise called Alurede as a seconde founder restored againe vnto the auncient state, who besides many other godly actes done for the encrease and maintenance of good learning, founded there a College, named the Wyckle Uniuersitie Hall, now called the Uniuersitie Colledge: and in the same ordeyned a Governour by the name of a Master and a societie of. lxxviij. felowes, wherof there were. xxvj. Diuines. xxvj. Philosophers. xxvj. Grammaticians, to the mainteyning and

sustenance

The founder  
of the Uni-  
uersitie of  
Oxford.

sustenance of the which number, he appointed a competent yerely reuenew to be payde out of the Kings Cofers, by his heires and successours for euer, the which payment did still continue, as the monuments and auncient writings of the sayde College doe testifie, vntill the conning of Wylliam the Conquerour, who was the first that vpon displeasure conceyued against the students and scholers there, withdrew the sayde payment.

¶ Also he translated manye lawes, and namely the lawe of Mertia, and other out of the Britishe speeche into the Saxon tongue. He was also verye cunning and skilfull in building and making of Plottes, and excellent in hunting. He was of goodly stature and the best beloued of his father of all his other children. In his youth he was somewhat giuen to the pleasure of the fleshe, which hindered him from many a verteous purpose, for the repressing whereof, he euening and morning and oftentimes in the night season woulde resort vnto Churches and there deuoutly praye a long season, and at the last he fell into an extreme sicknesse called ficus. For it is sayde that he desired of God that his fleshe might be chastised with suche a sicknesse, whereby he might serue God the better, and yet not to be vnapt to worldly businesse. And when he was cured of the aforesayde sicknesse, then he fell into another more grieuous than that, the which continued with him from the. xx. yere of his age, till he was. xlv. But yet notwithstanding he wedded a noble woman named Ethelwyd, aby whome he had two sonnes, Edward surnamed the Elder, and Egelward, and three daughters: Elfeda that after was Lady of Mertia, Ethelgotha which was made a Queene, and the third was called Elfrida. And he caused all his children as well daughters as o-ther to be brought vp in science and learning, and for that purpose reteyned the learned man Asserius and Meneuia and other.

Ficus.

¶ Nowe after this Alured was admitted king, he considering the great daunger that his lande was in, gathered vnto hym his Lordes, and those whom he coulde not winne without strife, he wanne by strength and power: So that shortly, he assembled a great hoste, and in the seconde Moneth that he was made king, he met with the Danes on Wylton hil on the South part of Wylpe Bourne, and there gaue vnto them a great battaile, but not without great daunger and losse of men on both partyes. Fabian.

¶ Mathew of Westmynster, Authoz of the flowres of stozies, sayth that the victorie fell vnto the Danes, because Alureds army was much fewer in number than the other were: For the force of the nobles and people of the west Saxons was then sore minished and abated, by reason of. ix. battailes that had bene foughten against the sayde Danes the yere past on the Southside of Thames, beside diuers roades and skirmishes made by their horsemen. After the which victorie, the Danes returned to London and wintered there, and thether came also vnto them, Buthredus king of Middle England, and friendly compounded with them for mony and tooke a truce.

¶ Then he remedied his people, and in sundrie places fought with the Danes in the first yere sixe tymes: By meane whereof his people were so sore minished and weakened, that he was forced to take peare with his enemies, vpon condicion that they should auoyde the Countries and Prouinces that he had dominion of.

¶ Upon which agreement firmelye concluded, the Danes for a tyme boyded



Colwolph?

boyded these Countreies, and drew towards London, and rested them about that coast the greatest parte of the yere following: and from thence to Lyn-  
sey in robbing and spoiling the Townes and Villages as they went, and holding the common people in seruitude and bondage, and so continued the space of two yeres and more. But before the thirde yere was ended, they went vnto Repindon, and there put downe oꝛ slue Burdredus then king of Mertia, and they deliuered the kingdome vnto a seruant of his named Colwolphus, vpon condition that he should kepe it to their vse. And then they besieged a towne thereby called Hambourgh, and assaulted it right sharply. After the which assault the inhabitants of that towne of Hambourgh fled vnto Winchester. Fabian. But this storie in all pointes agreeth neyther with Huntingdon, noꝛ the Authour of the flowres of stozies and other auncient Wytters.

¶ Then the king made againe peace with the Danes, as he had done oftentimes before, and in trust thereof he roade with the fewer people, whereof the Danes hauing knowledge, layde bushmentes for him, and set so nere him, that they slue a great part of his companie, in an euening as he rode towards Winchester. But Polodore wyrteth, that this was done in a Manour of the kinges not farre from London, whether the kinge came at that tyme to recreate himselfe with hunting.

The Danes distressed.

¶ And for this treason, Alured was sore amoued against them, and in as secreete maner as he might, he assembled a chosen companie of knightes, and Souldiours, and as Gyudo sayth, fell vpon them sodenlye and distressed a great number of them, and left them not til he had chased them vnto Chesser, oꝛ as some say to Exeter, and there kept the Danes so short, that he constrained them to geue to him pledges to kepe the peace, and to dwell no longer there then they could prouide shipping to sayle into Denmarke.

Penda.

¶ After the which agreement, the king returned to Mertia, oꝛ middle England. And for that he heard that Colwolphus was dead, to whome the Danes had taken that Lordship to keepe, he therefore seased that kingdome and ioyned it to his owne. By reason whereof the kingdome of Mertia surceased, which had continued from their first king named Penda vntill þ time.

Gytrus.

¶ And in the fift yere of the reigne of Alured, the Danes (as affirmeth Polichronicon) sayled from Werham toward Exeter, in the which iourney they lost. C. r. of theyꝝ small shippes by a tempest on the Sea: But some of them remayned and occupied the kinges towne of Chipnam, and the Countrey thereabout, and chased the Anglis and put them to flight, oꝛ made them as subiectes vnto them. And so sore their power encreased, that the Anglis lost and decayed dayly, and they preyayled the more a great deale, by reason of the landing of a Prince of the Danes, called Gytrus, which was named king of Denmarke.

If good life of a King.

¶ King Alured beyng thus ouercome with a multitude of enemies, did lead an vncerteyne, troublesome and vnquiet lyfe, and hauing very fewe folkes about him would walke about in the Wood Countrey of Sommersetshire, and had skant to liue withall, but lyued of suche as he and his people could get by hunting and fishing.

¶ How be it, at the length he was well comforted, and shewed him selfe more at large, so that dayly resorted to him men of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and

A strange enterprise of a King.

and Hampshire, vntill that he was well and strongly furnished. Then as sayth a wyrtter called William of Mahnesburge de Regibus, the king put himselfe in a great ieoperdie: for he put on him the garment of a Minstrell, and with his Instrument of Musicke he entered the tentes and Paulions of the Danes, and in shewing to them his pastime, with ieastes and songes, he espi-  
ed all their slouth and idleness, and also heard much of their counsaile, and after returned againe vnto his company, and tolde to them all the maner of the Danes.

Edeling.

¶ Then the king with a chosen companie fell vpon them by night, and distressed, and slue of them a great multitude, & chased them from that coast. And when he had thus chased the Danes, by counsaile of his knightes, he buylded there a Tower, and named it Edeling, that is to say, a Tower of noble men: Out of the which Tower he and his souldiours made many assaults vpon their enemies and did to them much griefe and damage, and at the last clerly aduoyded the Countrey of them betwene that and Selwoodes.

¶ This Edeling standeth in a greene Marells oꝛ Moore, so that men can not come at it without Ship, oꝛ Boate, and it conteyneth no great ground, but yet therein is Wenison & other wilde beastes, and foule, & fish great plenty.

¶ Thus king Alured dayly pursued his enemies, by the helpe of God and his Subiectes, who heering of his victories and manfull deedes, drew to him continually out of all Coastes: By whose power & strength he helde the Danes so short, that he wanne from them Winchester, and many other good Townes, and compelled them at the last to sue for peace, the which was concluded vpon certeyne conditions, whereof one and the Principall was, that theyꝝ king named as before is sayde, Gytrus, shoulde be Christened, and a certeyne of his Dukes with him. And for that the king would haue the Danes banished out of the West partes of Englande, he graunted to him East Anglia, to abide and dwell in.

Peace taken with the Danes.

The Danes christened.

¶ Then this Prince of Danes, according to the couenantes, was christened at Winchester, (oꝛ as Mathew of Westminster sayth, at a place called Alre, not farre from Edeling aforesayde) and. xxx. of the greatest of his Dukes with him. And to the Danish Prince, king Alured was Godfather at the Font stone, & named him Athelstane. And after he had a season feasted the sayd Danes, he according to his promes gaue vnto their king the Countrey of East Anglia, which then conteyned, Norfolk, and Suffolke, and a part of Cambridgeshire. And also, as sayth Polichronicon, he graunted to the Danes that were christened, the Countrey of Northumberlande. And the other that would not be christened departed the land, and sayled into France, where they rested them with their cosyns and kinsmen, and at those dayes they wasted and spoiled the Countrey of France in most despitemaner.

Athelstane.

¶ When this Danishe king Athelstane, had the possession of the Countreies aboue mencioned, then were all such Anglis, as inhabited there vnder his obedience. And albeit that he helde the sayde Prouynce as in fee of the king, and promised to dwell there as his liege man, yet that promise notwithstanding, he continued lyke a Tyrant, by the terme of. xj. yeres full, and in the. xij. yere he dyed.

¶ About the. xv. yere of the reigne of Alured, the Danes which before as ye haue heard, sayled into France, returned nowe againe into England, and landed



landed in Kent, and at the last came to Rochester, and besieged that Citie, and lay there so long, that they builded a Tower of Tymber, and not of Stone, against the gates of the Citie. But by the strength of the Citezens that tower was destroyed, and the Citie defended vntill king Alured reskewed them. The which had made such puruepaunce for the distrelling of them by water, and land, that they were so nere trapped, that for feare they left their Horses behinde them, and fled to their Shippes by night. But when the king was thereof ware, he sent after them, and tooke .xxj. of their Shippes, and slue many of the sayde Danes. After this iourney the king returned to London and repayzed certeyn places of the same, which the Danes had hurt & febled.

Athelstane  
dead.

¶ And in the .xxj. yere of the reigne of this king, the Danes landed in foure places of this Realme, that is to say, in the East England, & the North, and in the West in two places. But by reason the king before their landing had warning of the death of Athelstane the Danishe king of East England, and of other complaintes of the Danes, he therefore went thether himselfe, and in the tyme of his there beyng, the aforesayd newes came to him.

Etheldred.

¶ And so soone as he heard thereof, and that some of the Danes were landed in that coast, and knewe well that the further that they drewe into those partes, the more they shoulde be ayded and strengthened: he therefore sent messengers in all hast vnto Etheldred Erle or Duke of Mertia and the borderers thereabout, to make resstaunce against the Danes which landed in the west. And that done, the king sped him towarde his enemies and set on them so egerly and sharpely, that in the ende he droue them out of East Anglia. And then they landed in Kent, whether also the king and his people folowed, and likewise draue them from thence. Howbeit, of anye speciall fight or battaile, authours make no mention. After this againe the Danes tooke shipping and sayled into Northwales, and there robbed and spoyled the Britons, and from thence returned by Sea into Est England, and there rested them, for so much as the king was then gone westwarde.

¶ In this meane tyme, the aforesayd Danes had wonne the Towne of Chester, but the Countries adioynng therevnto, came so sore and so thicke vpon them, that the Danes were compelled to keepe them within the sayde Towne or Citie, and to defende themselues therein as well as they coule. But their holding and keeping of that Towne continued so long, that they were compelled to eate their Horses for hunger. And at the last by apointment they gaue ouer the Towne, and went thence to Northumberland.

Londoners.

¶ And in the while that the king with his hoste sped him thetherward, they leauing their strong holdes & Castels garnished with men and victuall, tooke againe shipping, and fet their course in such wise that they landed in Suffer, and so came to the Towne of Lewes, and from thence toward London and they builded a Tower or Castell nere vnto the Ryuer of Lewes. But the Londoners hearing of their doings, made out a certaine number of men of armes, who hauing the ayde of the Countrie, put the Danes from that Tower, and after ward did beate it doone to the grounde.

¶ And shortly after, the king came doone thether, and for that he thought that the sayde Ryuer would be a meane to bring enemies estsones into that Countrie, therefore he commaunded the streame to be deuyled into dyuers streames, so that by reason thereof, where a Ship might haue sayled in tyme

passed

passed, then a little Boate might scantly rowe. And now by reason of the presence of the king, the Danes were enforced to flie and to auoyde that Countrie, and from thence tooke againe their way toward Wales, and kept along the Ryuer of Seuerne, and byon the border thereof they builded them a Castell nere vnto Wales, and so rested them there for a tyme. And three yeres after this land was vexed with thre maner of plagues, the one was warre with the Danes, the other was death and pestilence of men, and the thirde Hozeyn of Cattell. The which troubles & aduersities notwithstanding, the king honourably and valiantly resisted his enemies, and gaue God hartye thanks whatsoeuer came, and susteyned it with great humilitie & pacience.

Three great  
plagues,  
warre, pesti-  
lence mozeyn  
of Cattell.

¶ And finally, this martiall Prince continuing in all prowes and vertue, at the last dyed, when he had ruled this lande .xxviij. yeres, and first was buried at Wilton, and after certaine yeres remoued and caried vnto Winchester, leauing after him a sonne named Edward the Elder, for the other brother called Egelward dyed before his father.

¶ Thus reigned in Scotlande two yeres, he was so swift that in running, he coule ouertake a Harte or Greyhounde.

876

¶ Regour reigned in Scotland .xxiiij. yeres. This was a sage, wise, and Gnyssaunt Prince, and a man of great prowes. He recouered fifte and Louthian, & the countries that were taken from the Scottes, by the Danes and other enemies, he also droue the Danes out of Northumberland (as affirmeth the Scottish history) and made that Province tributarie to him: he tooke from the Britens Chumber and westmerlande, and banquished and subdued the Irishmen.

5

878

7

¶ Donald the .vi. reigned in Scotland .xi. yeres. He made a lawe, that all men that did forswear themselves, or spake of the Deuill, should be burned in the lips with a hoate Iron.

894

23

¶ Edward surnamed the Elder, the sonne of Alured began after his father to gouerne the Realme of England. This man was not so well learned as was his father, but in honour, fame, and martiall prowes, he was nothing inferiour. Howbeit, Wyllyam of Malmesbury in the .xiiij. Chapter and second booke of the story of Kinges, affirmeth that he was excellently learned, and folowing the diligence of his father king Alfrede, caused his base sonne called Ethelstane, who afterwards succeeded him, to be well instructed in the Latyn tongue. He was also very profitable to the common weale in building and repaying many Castels, Townes, and Cities, which were rased and broken by the Danes, he adioyned to his Lordship all this lande, sauing only Northumberland, which was possessed of the Danes. By his first wyfe he had a sonne named Ethelstane the which was king after him. But the Authour of the flowers of Histories sayth, that he begat Ethelstane of a Concubine named Egwine. By his second wyfe he had two sonnes, Edredus, and Edwynus, and .viij. daughters. And of the thirde wife, he receyued two sonnes, Edmond, and Edred, and two daughters, Eburga, and Edgina.

901

1

This was  
Edward the  
Martyr.

Ethelstane  
sonne of king  
Edward.

Edredus.  
Edwynus.

¶ The first of these three wyues was called Edwyna, the second Edgina, and the thirde Ethelwida. Of the aforesayd seven daughters, which he had by his second wife, one named Alunda, was maryed to the first Otto

Alunda,  
the



Algina.  
Charles the  
simple king of  
west France.  
Lewes king  
of Guyan.

the Emperoz, and another named Algina, was married to Charles the Simple, King of west France, & the yongest of his daughters as sayth Reynulph, he wedded vnto Lewes king of Guyan, but hereof speaketh nothing the Frenche Chronicle. He set his sommes to schoole, and his daughters to wooll worke, taking example of Charles the Conquerour.

¶ But because there is diuersitie among writers touching the names of his wiues and children, and also of the number of them, he that findeth fault with the Authoz whom I folow, may read Mathew of Westminster in the lyfe of Edward the sonne of Alphred, and Reynulph in his sixt booke, and fourth Chapter, and there he shall see howe, and toherin they disagree, and so try out what is most probable and lykely to be true: But yet that the reader may haue some present tryall hereof, I will shewe what the Authour called Mathew of Westminster, which compiled his story at the commaundement of Richard the seconde, wyrteth hereof, whose wordes are these.

¶ King Edward sayth he, of his first wife named Egwina, begat his eldest or first bozne sonne Ethelstane: of his wife Edgira, he begat Eoredus, Edwinus, and sixe daughters, of the which he married one vnto the Emperoz Otho, another to Charles, king of the west french men, & the thirde vnto Schitericus, Duke of Northumberland. Of his thirde wife named Ethelwitha, he begat Edmond and Eldred, which reigned both after Ethelstane. He begat also by the sayd thirde wife, two daughters, that is to say Eburga, which was professed a Nonne, and lyeth buried at Winchester, and Edgira the saye, which maryed with Lewes king of Aquitaine. But Holidoze agreeth not herewith, but sayth much otherwise.

¶ In the fift yere of his reigne, Clito Ethelwoldus a neere kinsman of his (for he was Cosyn germaine vnto him on the fathers syde, but as Holidoze sayth his brother) rebelled against him, and occupied the towne of Winborne besydes Bathe, and tooke thence by force a Nonne thinking to marry her, and went thence vnto the Danes dwelling in Northumberland, and prouoked them to ryse against king Edward. But the king pursued him so sharply, that he constrayned him to leaue that Countrie, and so he sayled into Fraunce, and left the Nonne behynde him, the which the king caused to be restored againe to the house that she was taken from.

The next yere folowing, the sayd Clito with his companie landed in East England, and gathered to him the Danes of that Countrie, and with theyr ayd destroyed and pilld the Countrie about Crekinford, and Crickland. And then he passed the ryuer of Thames, and spoyled the land vnto Bradenestoke or rather Basingstoke, and so from thence returned againe into East Anglia aforesayde. But where mine Authour hath here Crekynfoord, and Cricklande, Reynulph hath Crekanefoorde otherwise called Kreklade, whome I do rather allowe.

¶ Now the king folowed still his enemies, and spoyled their landes which they helde by composition of him from the Ryuer of Dwise, to the border of Saint Edmondes lande, commaunding the knightes of his hoste, that none should drag or tary after his armye, for feare least the enemies should snatch them vp. But the Kentish men trusting to much in their alone strength, came not away as the king commaunded: wherefore the Danes wayting theyr praye, fell vpon them by bushments, and slue a great number of them, toherewith

Clito Ethelwoldus.

winborne besydes Bathe.

Clito with his company landed in England.

Crekinford Crickland.

Bradeneestok Basingstoke.

wherewith the king was soze discontented.

¶ Sone after, both the Armies met, where after long and cruell fight, Clyto with a great number of the Danes were slaine, and the residue constrained to flie, and to crie and seeke for peace, the which was graunted vnto them vpon certeyne condicions, namely, that they shoulde keepe them within the boundes to them limited, & besydes that to pay yerely a certeine summe of money in way of Tribute. After which peace so stablished with them, the king repayred Cities, Townes, and Castels, that by the sayde Danes were battered and broken.

¶ And in the. viij. yere of his reigne, king Edward repayred the walles and also the Citie of Chester. To the which were great helpers, Etheldredus Duke of Mertia, and Elleda his wife, daughter of Alured, as before is shewed, and sister of this king Edward. And after the king builded a strong Castle at Hereforde in the edge of Wales. And he enlarged so greatly the Walles of Chester, that the Castell which before time was without the wall, is now within, and the sayde Citie of Chester is at thys day much moze beautified and enlarged.

¶ In the. xij. yere of his reigne the Danes repentyng them of theyr couenantes before made, and mynding the breach of the same, assembled an hoste and met with the king in Staffordshire at a place called Coten hall, and soone after at Wodnes field: At which two places the king slue two kinges, two Earles, and many thousandes of the Danes that then occupied the countrey of Northumberland. And soone after, dyed the noble man Etheldredus, Duke or Earle of Martia or middle England, after whose death, the king forsomuch as he had often proued her wisdom, tooke the rule of that countrey to his wife Elleda (London onely excepted) the which he tooke vnder his alone rule.

¶ In the. xiiij. yere of this king, a great nauie of Danes which in the time of Alured were driuen into fraunce nowe returned againe, and sayled about the west countrey, and landed in dyuerse places, and tooke prayes, and went to their Shippes againe. And at one tyme among other, they robbed and spoyled at a place called Irchinfielde, and tooke a Britishe Bishop, and caryed him to their shippes, and finally raunsomed him at. xl. pound. But assoone as king Edward had knowledg of their beyng in that place, he assembled his people and made towardes them by lande, and sent another armie by water to encounter with the Danes Shippes vpon the Sea: whereof the sayd Danes hauing knowledg, fled to Irelande, and by that meanes both escaped the king by land, and his nauie by Sea.

¶ Then the king for the strengthening of that countrey made a Castell at the mouth of the water of Auene, and another Castle at Bokingham, and the thirde nere therevnto, that is to say, on eyther side of the Ryuer of Dwise one. And after this he returned into Northampton shire, and Bedfordshire, and fought there with the Danes of those Countries, and at the length subdued them and their leader or Duke called Turketillus.

¶ In the. xvij. yere of this king, Elleda Lady of Mertia, gathered together her knightes: And where the Britons or Welshmen brake into the land about Brekenocke, she with her people withstoode them, and among other prisoners and prayes, tooke there the Queene of Welshmen.

Clito slaine  
Peace vpon  
condicions.

Chester  
repayred.

Hereford  
Castle.

Coten Hall,  
wodnes field.

Etheldredus  
duke of  
Mertia dead.

Elleda ruled  
Mertia.

Danes soze  
bered  
Wynnes.

Irchinfield.

Auene  
water.

Bokingham  
Castle.

R. J.

¶ And



Toucester,  
Wigmore,  
Temesford

¶ And the yere folowing, King Edward builded or newly reedefyed the Townes of Toucester, and Wigmore, and destroyed the Castell that the Danes had made at Temes foord. And the sayde yere the noble Ladye Elleda wanne the Towne of Darby from the Danes, where they put her in suche adventure, that foure knightes which were called the Gardians of her body were slaine fast by her.

¶ And in the .xxiiij. yere of his reigne dyed that noble Princes Elleda, in the Moneth of June, and was buryed in the Monasterye of Saint Peter, which her Lorde and thec before tyme had buylded within the Towne of Gloucester, which Monasterie was after throwne downe by the Danes.

¶ When Elleda was dead, her daughter named Elwyna helde the Lordship of Mertia for a season: But for that the king considered it to be a thing ouer chargeable for her gouernement, he therefore discharged her thereof, and ioyned it to his kingdome, but not all without some strife. For dyuerse Townes she kept of the king for a tyme, as Notyngham, Comworth, Derby, and other, he supposing that the daughter would haue defended them, as the mother by her lyfe had done, but at the last they came all to the kinges subiection.

¶ When king Edward had reconciled the aforesayde Townes, he then builded a new Towne, right against the olde Towne of Nottingham, on the South syde of the Ryuer of Trent, and made a Bridge ouer the sayd Riuer betwene the sayde Townes. And as sayth Reynulph, the yere folowing in the sayd Citie or Towne of Nottingham, there were two kinges, that is to say of Scotland and Wales, that yelded themselues vnto king Edward. And sundry Authours, as Marian the Scot, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntington, and other, doth shew that this king Edward subdued the kinges of Scotland, and of Combrys, about the .ix. yere of his reigne. And of the sayde Authours it is also witnessed, that about the .xx. yere of the sayde Edwardes reigne, the sayd kinges of Scotlande and Combrys, chose king Edward for their chiefe Lorde and Patrone, which should be aboute the season before expressed.

¶ Then this noble Prince, after all thinges were set in order as aforesayde, he builded on the North parte and in the ende of Mertia, a Citie or Towne, and named it Chilwall, and strengthened it with knightes. And after he repayred the Citie of Manchester, which was sore defaced with the warres of the Danes. After which notable deedes by this pyssant prince finished, with the mariage of his children, and many other thinges which I passe ouer for length, this noble Prince sickened, and dyed when he had victoriously reigned ouer the greatest part of this lande. .xxiiij. yeres, and was buried at Faringdon, leauyng after him dyuers sonnes, as is before reherced, of the which Ethelstane was the eldest.

¶ Marian the Scot in hys Chronicle doth wypte that thys Edward subdued Constantine king of Scottes, which reigned in his tyme, and that he helde the Realme of Scotland vnder the obedience of the aforesayde king Edward, the space of .xxiiij. yeres.

Constantine the thirde of that name was ordeyned king of Scottes, and reigned. .xl. yeres.

Athelstane

925  
1

¶ Athelstane, or Adelstane, the sonne of Edward the elder, after the death of his father tooke vpon him the gouernement of this Realme. He was a worthy Prince, valiant, and politike in all his actes and doirges.

¶ In the seconde yere of his reigne, for an vnitie and peace to be had betwene the king and the Danes of Northumberland, he maryed his sister to Sithicus their king, vpon promes that he would be Christened, the which he performed, but shortly after he put away his wyfe, and returned to Paganisme, and finally dyed miserably.

¶ And when he had thus accorded with the Danes of Northumberland, soone after he made subiect to him Constantine king of Scottes, and the whole Realme of Scotland at Broningfelde, where also he discomfited the Danes, & Aue Malcolme Deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots, with .xx. thousand Scottes, in the which battayle the Scottes confesse to haue lost more people than were remembred in any age before. And this Athelstane folowed this his good lucke throughout all Scotland, and wholly subdued it, and beyng in possession of it, gaue land there liyng in Almandale by his dede, the Copie wherof foloweth. I King Athelstane, geues vnto Paulan, Oddam and Roddam, as good and as fayre, as euer they mine vvere, and thereto vvitnesse Mavde my wife. By which course wordes, not onely appereth the plaine simplicitie of mennes doyngs in those dayes, but also proue fullye that he was then seized of the whole Realme of Scotland.

Constantine  
Kynge of  
Scottes.

Scotlande  
conquered.

¶ And after this conquest, the sayde Constantine so humbled himselfe vnto the king, that he restored him to his former dignitie. Wherefore, the sayde Constantine sayde in the prayse of a king, that it vvas more honour to make a king than to be a king.

The right  
honour of a  
king.

¶ It is also witnessed by Reynulph, and other, that this Athelstane, or Adelstane, should marry one of his sisters named Edith vnto Otho the first of that name Emperour of Almaine, and (as some wypte) receyued from him many precious Jewelles: But of this speaketh nothing the Chronicles of the Romaynes. Howbeit, it is shewed there, that the aforesayde Otho had a wyfe named Alinda, which as before is sayde in the story of King Edward the elder, might be the daughter of the sayd Edward, & of Edgina his second wife, and sister vnto this king Athelstane. But Vincencius sayth, that Henry Duke of Saxony, which was father vnto the first Otho, sent vnto Athelstane, requiring of him his sister to marry vnto his sonne Otto: By which reason it maye be truly sayde that Otho or Otto maryed the eldest sister of Athelstane, but not Edith.

Otho Em-  
perour of Al-  
maine.

¶ Of the aforesayd Jewells sent by Otto, one was a precious vessel of stone called Onychites, which was of such cleerenesse and also so finely and artificially wrought, that it appered to mans sight that grene corne had growne within it, and moued and waued as corne doth standing in the field: Moreouer in it appered vynes burging and bearing of fruite, and men also to fight, mouing and ferring. He also receiued the great Constantines sword, wherein was granen in great letters of Golde the name of the owner: and the hiltes thereof were couered with great plates of Golde, and one of the Nayles was fastened to the Crosse of the sayde sword, that crucified and nayled Christ to the Crosse. Fabian. But Reynulph sayth otherwise. He also receyued the Speare of Charles the great, which after the opinion of some

Onychites  
a precious  
stone, of great  
value.

¶.ij.

wyters,

King Edward posses-  
sed all Scot-  
land.

904  
+



Athelstane &  
first announ-  
ced king of  
Briteyn.

Writers, was the Speare wherewith Longens opened Christes side. And the Baner of Saint Morice, with a part of the holpe Crosse, and a parte of the Crowne of Thorne that our Sauour Christ was crowned with. Of the which Jewels, king Ethelstane gaue part vnto S. Swithines of Winchester, and some he gaue vnto the Abbey of Malmesbury. And some write that this Athelstane was the first annointed king at his coronation, Fabian.

¶ Now it followeth in the Historie, how Constantyne king of Scottes, for all his humilitie, and for all the princely fauour that he had shewed vnto him by king Athelstane, forgetting altogether both fayth and loyaltie, as the maner and custome of the Scottes is, reuolted and brake covenant wyth the king. Wherefore king Athelstane assembled his knights and power, and made towarde Scotlande, and in his waye he turned to the Towne named Saint Johns of Beuerley and offered there his knyfe vpon the Altare sayng, that if he returned with victorie, he woulde rederne his knyfe with a noble price, and that being done, he marched forward on his iourney, and in conclusion, discomfited the Scottes, and brought them againe into due subiectio. And after accordyng to the promise before made, he returned to York, and so to Beuerley, where he redeemed his knife worthily as before he had promised by endowment and great priuileges graunted vnto that towne.

¶ And Reynulph in the vi. Booke, and vi. Chapter, sayeth that king Athelstane after he had subdued the Scottes being then with his Lordes and familiers, neere vnto the Castle of Duntarke, prayed to God that in that Countrie he might leaue some remembrance or token, that those that were then liuyng, and also such as should come after, might know that the Scots by right should be subiects to Englishmen. And forthwith he toke his sword in hande and smote vpon a great stone standing neere vnto the sayde Castell, with which stroke the stone did cleaue an Elle in length, which in the tyme of Edward the third was there to be scene, as Fabian sayeth.

¶ Ye haue heard before, that king Athelstane, after the death of Sithericus king of Northumberland, seased that lande or Prouince into his owne hande, and put out his soune: which after allyed himselfe with Constantine king of the Scottes and maryed his daughter. By whose prouocation and stirring, he gathered a company of Danes, Scottes, and other, and entered the mouth of Humber with a strong Army. Whereof king Athelstane when he had knowledge, did in all goodly haste prepare his armie, and at length met with him and his people, at a place called Brimford, where Athelstane obteyned a great and notable victorie. For after the king by the helpe of God had defended the subtil assault made vpon him by night by his enemies, he in the morning by the helpe of his brother Edmond, and Odde the Archbishop chased his sayd enemies, and slue there Constantine king of Scottes, and siue petre, or vnder kinges, and. xij. Dukes, with the greatest part of all the straungers that were there gathered at that tyme: The which battaile should be done by the meaning of the sayd Reynulph, about y last yere of his reigne.

¶ It is also writen of dyuerse Authours, that the king after this victorie, subdued also the North Briteynes that dwelled at Hereford, and there about, and compelled them to pay him yerely three hundred pound of Siluer. xlv. C. head of Beate, and. xx. pound in Golde. But Guido sayth, that the king caused at Hereford Citie, to come before him all the rulers of the North Briteyn,

Briteyn, and there had with them such communication, that he forced them to graunt vnto him as a yerely tribute. xx. pound of Golde, three hundred pound of Siluer, and. xlv. C. head of Beate, with Dogges, and Hawkes to a certeyne number. After which victories, he went vnto Exeter, and repayed it and the walles thereof sufficiently.

¶ John Lydgate a Monke sometyme of Saint Edmondes bury, made a goodly treatise of this king Athelstane, shewing that he was in so great persecution of the Danes, that he was constrained to call at Winchester a great counsaile of his Lordes. Where, after long debating of the matter, and dyuerse Ambassades and messages sent about by the king, and the Danes: It was firmly concluded, that the king should prouide him a Champion to fight with Colbrond or Colbrond, a Gyant and Dane, which the Danes had appoynted for theyr Chiefteyne. Wherefore the king in searching through his landes for such a knight, and none could finde, was in great daunger and distresse of heauinesse. And forso much as he well perceyued, that mannes power fayled, he by the aduice of his Lordes Spirituall, and Temporall, fell to fasting and prayer, and continued therein by a certeyne of tyme wyth perfect and charitable deuotion.

¶ In the tyme of which sayd abstinence, a vision was shewed vnto Athelstane, comfortyng him, and also commaunding him, that early vpon the next morning, he should stande at the North gate of the Citie of Winchester, and there he should finde amongst the number of the poore people, a man clothed in Habners wede whome he should choose for his Champion.

¶ After which vision thus to him shewed, he did accordyng, and founde a man of goodly stature, & some deale stricken in age, and apparelled as he was tolde in the vision. Wherof the king first gaue vnto God his heartie thanks, and after made request to this man, that he would take vpon him this Combate for the defence of the lande: And the man layd for himselfe many causes and considerations, as well for his age as otherwise, that he ought to be hold excused to take vpon him such an enterprize. Howbeit, after much discourting at the last he graunted the king to fulfill his request and commaundement.

¶ And at the day assigned and appoynted, he met in the fildes with the aforesaid Gyant, called Colbrond without the Gate of the Citie in a Meddowe, called Hilde Medc, where betweene them two was foughten a long and cruell fight, so that the king was in great feare of his Champion. But finally by the helpe of God, the man wonne the honour of that fight, and slue that Gyant that was of exceding stature, & also of great and passing strength.

¶ Which victorie by the man thus obteyned, with the helpe and fauour of God: the king then with his Barony fet the Man into the Citie of Winchester with solempne Procession, & conueyed him vnto the Cathedral Church of the same, where he thanked God with great deuotion, and offered there the Acre with the which he had slaine the Danes Champion. After which oblation with due reuerence, and other obseruaunces by him and other finished: The king caused him to be conueyed vnto his Court, where he taried that night with much entreatye. And in the morning early he made such meanes that he would needes depart, and that in the same apparell that he came thither. When the king was aduertised that this man would so hastely depart, whome he entended to haue holden with him in his Court, and to haue en-

D. iii.

Dobed

Erlbute.

John Lyd-  
gate.Colbrond a  
Giant which  
was a Dane.This man  
was Guy of  
Warwike.Hilde Medc  
beside Win-  
chester.Colbrond  
the Giant  
slain by Guy  
of Warwike.Guy of War-  
wicks Fre.Ye may be-  
lieue this if  
ye will.Constantine  
kinge of  
Scottes slain



dowed him with riche possessions : He commaunded him to be brought vnto his presence.

¶ And when he sawe that he could not cause him to tary, he requyred him to shew vnto him his name : wherof also he besought the king to pardon him. Wherfore the king considering his hasty departing, with many other thinges in him to be considered, was then the more desyrous to haue of him some knowledge. And therfore the king was earnest in his desyre and request, and would haue no nay, but that he should declare his name: Then the man perceiuing that without the kinges displeasure he could not depart without disclosing of his name, sayde, he might not discover his name within the walles of the Citie, without the offence of his conscience.

¶ Wherfore, the king graunted to go with him vntill he were in the brode fieldes: Upon which graunt thus made, the king commaunded dyuerse great giftes to be to him presented, which all he vtterly refused. Shortly to conclude, the king with a certeyne of his Lordes conueyed this sayde man vnto the Townes ende: And when he was thether come, he there requyred him of the performance of his proues. And then the man kneeling on his knee, besought the king of his especiall grace, that he would put apart his Lordes and other, so that he might shewe his name vnto him onely.

¶ Which beyng done, he besought him that he would kepe his name secret for the space of. xxiiiij. houres: the which the king graunted vnto him, and then he sayd, that he was his naturall liege man, and subiect, and that his name was Guy of Warwike. Of which tidynges the king was very ioyous, and offered him then of netwe, many riche rewardees and giftes: But all was in vaine, for he would receyue nothing, so that the king and he lastly departed with weping eyen. And after the sayd Guy of Warwicke purchased in a Wildernesse a lodging in an Hermitage, where, by the terme of two yeres and more, he dwelled and kept an hard life. And he heering that Dame Felice his awne wife fed dayly. xiiij. pooze men for Christes sake, he went thether sondry tymes, and fet there his Almoze, his sayde wife then liyng at the Castell of Warwike, not knowyng of any man what he was, vntill at the last, he was visited with sore sicknesse, and that he knewe well he should dye: Wherfore he sent his wedding ring vnto his wife, requyryng her in all the haste to come and speake with him, which shee obeyed in humble wise, and sped her vnto the sayde Hermitage with all womanly diligence, and founde him dead at her comming, whome shee bespyent with many a salt teare. And as shee was enformed of the Messenger, at the tyme when he dyed, he determined to be buryed in the same place, and even there shee did bury him. And moreouer, as sayth the aforesayde Authour, he admonished his sayd wyfe, by the sayd messenger, that shee should prouide, for shee should die within. xv. dayes next after: which shee also obeyed, and made such prouision that shee was buried in the same place. All which matter the sayd John Lpdgate affirmeth, that he tooke out of a certeyne booke of Giraldus Cambrensis, other wise called Siluester Giraldus, which wrote many thinges of the Princes of Englande, as Reynulph also and others doe witnesse.

¶ All which sayd treatise is shewed at length in meter of. liiiij. stauces, by the diligent labour of the sayde John Lpdgate, the which I haue here omitted for breuitie sake. This Athelstane by the recorde of sundrie wyrters, brought

Guy of Warwike.

Guy of warwike dead.

brought againe this land into one Monarchy, and reigned as king thereof xviij. yeres, and was buried at the Monastery of Malmebury, leauyng after him no childe, & therfore the rule of this land fell vnto Edmond his brother.

¶ Edmond the brother of Athelstane and sonne of Edwarde the Elder, reigned next after his brother.

¶ In the first yere of his reigne, the Danes of Northumberlande rebelled against him: And for to make their partie the stronger, they sent for a Prince of the Danes named Aulaffe; then being in Irelande, the which brought with him another prince or ruler of the Danes named Reignald, with a great hoste of Danes and other straunge Nations, and entered the foresayd Countrey, and warred vpon the next borders, in wastling and spoilyng the inhabitants of the same.

¶ When king Edmond had knowlege hereof, anon he assembled hys people, and sped him towarde the Countrey, and at the last fought with the sayde two Princes of the Danes, and chased them from Towne to Towne, vntill he forced them with all their company of straunge Nations to forsake vtterly that Prouince, and further he did beate downe the Countrey of Comberlande, that had much fauoured and ayded the sayde enemies against him, and tooke therein great prayes, and deuyded the spoyle amongst his knights. And that done, eyther for the good seruice that Malcolyne king of Scotlande had in his voyage done vnto the king, or for the truth & allegiance that he in tyme following should beare vnto him, or for both, the king gaue there to the sayde Malcolyn the Countrey of Comberland, and sealed the residue of the Lordship of Northumberlande, and ioyned it vnto his awne kingdome. But yet the Danes returned againe in the tyme of Edred the next king, as after shall be shewed, so that as yet the ende of his kingdome, is not to be accomplished. But Polydore alloweth not them that ascribe the banquishing of the Northumbers vnto this Edmond, affirming that to haue beene Athelstanes deede, who also subdued the Scottes: and so as it seemeth is of opinion that the kingdome of the Northumbers, ended in the sayde Athelstanes tyme.

¶ This king Edmond had a noble woman to his wyfe named Elgina, of whome he receyued two sonnes, named Edwyn and Edgar.

¶ This king Edmond, as sayeth Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon, had warre oftentimes with the Danes, who held many good Townes in middle England, as Lyncoln, Nottyngham, Darby, Stafford, and Leycester, the which by his knightly manhood, he toame from them, and he also amended many thinges within the Realme that had beene long tyme out of frame, by meane of the Danes: and as Polydore sayth, established many good lawes very profitable for the common wealth. Of the ende and death of this Edmond, there are diuers opinions, for Marianus the Scot sayeth, that while this king Edmond endeuoured himselfe to saue his Seuer from his enemy, that would haue slain him in a towne or place called Bulkre Church, the king in parting of the fray, was wounded to death, and dyed shortly after.

¶ But Wylliam of Malmebury de Regibus sayth, that the king being at a Feast at the foresayde Towne or place, vpon the day of Saint Augustin, espyed a felon, sitting in the Hall named Leof, which he before tyme for his

Felony

940

Danes rebelled.

Reignald a Captaine of the Danes.

Malcolyne King of the Scottes had for his seruice done to King Edmond, geuen vnto him the Countrey of Comberland

Elgina the wyfe of King Edmond.

King Edmond slain.



felony had eriled, and therfore he lept ouer the table and plucked that theefe by the heare of the head to the ground. In which doing the sayde felon, with a knife wounded the king to death, and also with the same knife wounded many other of the kings seruaunts, and at length was himselfe all to heuven in peeces. Fabian. If this be true, it should seeme that kings at those dayes were neyther so honorably garded nor accompanied, nor yet kept so princely estate, as they now vse.

¶ But which of these two meanes was vsed in the kings death, it appereth not certainly, but all wyrters agree that he dyed when he had reigned. vij. yeres and moze, and was buried at Glasenbury, the which before he had sumptuously repayred, and left after him two yong sonnes, as before is remembred Edwyn, and Edgar, but for that they were to yong to rule the land, therfore the rule thereof was committed to Edredus their Uncle, and brother to their father.

¶ Malcolm the first and the sonne of Constantine reigned King of Scottes xv. yeres, and at the last was slaine by conspiracy of certaine Traytors.

¶ Edred or Edred the brother of Edmond and sonne of Edward the elder, was made king, for þ the children of king Edmond were thought to yong to gouerne.

This Edred was annointed king of Oddo or Otho Archbishop of Cantorburie, in the towne of Kingstone vpon Tamys, and soone after, he warred vpon the Danes that then were entered into Northumberland (or after some wryters, that then were there dwelling vnder tribute of the king) subdued before of Edmond his brother, and bet them downe, and caused them to holde and obey vnto their former couenaunts. And the Scottes then also began to varie, but he brought them vnto due obedience.

¶ After a certaine terme, the Danes of Northumberlande, which euer continued full of guyle and doublenesse, not being content to holde and keepe the couenaunts before made, and promised vnto Edred the king, called vnto them their olde accessaries and helpers, and bereued from the kings subiects the Citie of Yorke and other strong Townes and Castels, to the great hurte and annoyance of the Countrey, and vtter displeasure of the king.

¶ Wherefore, he being therof aduertised, in goodly and conuenient haste, assembled his people, and sped him thether, and destroyed much of the land. And in that furie brent the Abbey of Rypon, which the Danes kept for a Fortresse and strength, and wanne from them much of their strengthes which they before had wonne, and brought them again vnder his subiection.

¶ When this king Edred had thus sped his iourney and was returning into England, nothing suspecting the sayde Danes, a company of them by the exciting of Hircus a king or prince of the Danes, then folowed the kings hoste, and before he came at Yorke set vpon the kings rereward, and destroyed and slue many a man. For the which doing the king was sore amoued, and turned his people againe, intending to haue destroyed the Countrey vtterly.

¶ Whether of the Danes beyng ware, so lowly meked themselues vnto him, and presented vnto him such giftes, that the king refrayned of that great ire that he purposed to them. But amongst other Articles that he bound them vnto,

¶ The strange tale of the death of a king.

Edwyn, Edgar.

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Rebellis of the Danes.

Yorke taken by the Danes.

Rypon Abbey brent.

Danes hating to their Capitaine one named Hircus did againe rebell.

vnto, one was, that they should banish and vtterly refuse their foresaid Duke or king called Hircus: which thing with dyuers and many other they graunted and firmly bound themselues to keepe, as well by hostages taken, as by other surety, and the king returned into England, and ioyned this kingdome to his other. So that here is reconed the ende of this kingdome, which ended iiii. C. ix. yeres.

¶ In the same yere that the king had thus subdued the Danes, a strong sicknesse tooke him, so that he dyed, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, in the. xxviii. yere of his age, & when he had reigned. x. yeres.

¶ Polidore sayth, that when he had quieted the Realme, and banquished his enemies, he became a great benefactor vnto religious houses, but specially vnto the Abbey of Abindon, who thinking to please God therby, & to gratify Ethelboldus then Abbot there accompted for a very holy man, and at the request of his mother Edgina, repayred the same Abbey, first founded by king Iua, as before is said, and at that season sore decayed, and in maner destroyed.

¶ Edwyn the eldest sonne of Edmond, brother of Athelstane, tooke on him the gouernement of this Realme.

¶ This Edwyn was crowned at Kingstone beside London of the Archebishop of Cantorbury: The which selfe daye of his Coronacion, brake sodenly from his Lordes, and entered into a secreete Chamber, and there occupied himselfe sinfully, and rauished another mannes wife, beyng his nere kindwoman, whose husband as one Authour doth testifie, the king had caused to be slaine before, for that he would haue the vnlawfull vse of her betwix, and not considering the allyaunce of affinite & kyndred betwene them. Some wryte that he committed the sayd Act in maner openly lyke a brute Beast, and Guydo sayth that Edwyn contrary to the lawes of the Church, helde a woman as his Concubine. Wherefore Dunstone who a little before was made Abbot of Clastonbury, first monished him of his fault, and after wardes accused him vnto Oddo Archebishop of Cantorbury, by whose power the king was caused to refuse and forsake the company of the woman. For the which Edwyn bare great malice vnto Dunstone, and at length by his extort power, he banished him the lande, and forced him for a season to kepe himselfe in Flaunders. And for the malice that he bare towarde him, he did much displeasure to all the Monkes of England, by banishment, and other wise. Inso-much, that at Malnesfourey he put out the Monkes, and set in secular priestes in their steede. Fabian.

¶ But Mathew of Westminster wryteth, that Edwyn had to his Paramoure, the daughter of a noble woman of the Realme, and the mother also at his commaundement. And that on the day of his Coronacion, he arose sodenly from the Table, as he was feasting with his Lordes and Nobles, and departed vnto his prey Chamber, where those two gentlewomen were, to the entent he might dally with them, and satisfie the sensuall appetite and beastlye pleasure of the body. The which fact of his, sore displeased all his sayde Nobles: and therefore they sent incontinent Dunstone vnto him, to perswade with him to returne againe, and to be mery with them at the table, who as he was by them commaunded, taking his kynsman Bishop Cynesius with him, entered into the kings Chamber, where they found the Crowne of

Danes that inhabited Northumberland were againe ouercome and put from gouernment for euer.

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Kingstone of Kings townes.

Dunstone banished.



of the Realme, all of gyltering Golde very riche and betotifull, plucked off his head and hurled after a retchelesse sorte on the ground a pety way from him: And the king himselfe tumbling in the dust betwixt the mother and the daughter, vnto whom the sayd Dunstone sayd on this wyse. My liege Lord, your Princes and Nobles haue sent vs vnto you, to besech you to returne againe vnto your Hall, where is a meete seate for your Royall person and estate, and there to solace your selfe, and to make mery with them, and then blamed the lewdnesse and folly of the Women: and perceyuing the King so vnwilling to aryse, he caught him by the hande, and so brought him backe againe with him vnto the scatt Royall, storming and chafing like a mad man. After this one of the Harlotets called Algina rose vp in a great chafe and fume sayng, how he was a rashe and a sawcie Messenger, that thus would presume to enter into the kinges pzeue Chamber, not beyng called. And so from thence forth, the same woman neuer ceased to persecute Dunstone, till she had brought him into the kinges deadly hated, and highe displeasure: And it foloweth in the same Wyter, howe by the consent of King Edwyn after she had spoyled his Abbey of all his mouables, shee caused him at length to be banished out of the Realme by the kinges commaundement. After the which banishment, he was faine to flie into Fraunce for his sauegard, during the tyme of his sayde exile. And howe there were certeyn tormentors sent beyond the Seas to haue put out his eyes, if they could haue met with him.

¶ It is read of him, that he tooke such precious Jewels as Athelstane had receyued before from Otho the Emperour, geuen vnto Winchester and Salnesbury, and gaue them vnto alyantes and strangers. And thus was he not onely vnkinde to Monkes, but also vsed such tyrannie, and other vnlawfull meanes to his subiectes, that lastly they abhorring his wicked lyfe, and detestable maners, rebelled against him, and specially the inhabitantes of the Countrey of Mertia, or middle Englands, and also the Northumbers and put him clerely from all kingly honour and dignitie, the which deposition greued him so much that he died for sorow, when he had reigned foure yeres, and was buried at Winchester, leauing none heyre of his body, and therefore the rule of the land fell vnto Edgar his yonger brother.

King Edwyn deposed.

959

King Edgar united all the prouinces of this realme into one Kingdome, where before they were divided into seven Kingdomes.

**E**dgar, the seconde sonne of Edmond, and brother of Edwyn the last King, beyng of the Age of. xv. yeres, tooke vpon him the rule of this Realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he called home Dunstone that before was exiled of King Edwyn. Then he made Dunstone that was Abbot of Glascenbury, Bishop of Worcester, and he ioyned and vnited together all the Prouinces and Lordships of England, and made them one Monarchie, and one Kingdome.

¶ In many places he put away Clerkes and Priestes that liue viciously, or as some wyte that had boyues, and set there for them Monkes. And as sayth Guydo, Reynulph, and other, he buylded and repayred to the number of. xl. houses of Religion, whereof Abyndon, Peterborough, Thorney, Ramsay, & Wilton were percell of them. And at Winchester, he put in Monkes, where before were married Priestes.

¶ The cause wherfore (as sayth Fabian) was, for so much as the Priestes were

were negligent in the deuyn service, and set Vicars in their places, while they liued at theyr pleasure in other places, and spent the Patrimonic of the Church after their sensuall will.

¶ Then King Edgar gaue to the Vicars the lande that before longed to the Prebendaryes, trusting thereby that they would do their dueties: But it was not long after, but that the sayd Vicars were as negligent as the other, wherfore the king aduoyded the Priestes and placed there Monkes, though some of his Prelates were not contented therewith.

¶ This Edgar kept such iustice and did so sharpe execution vpon Malefactors, that neuer before his dayes were vsed lesse felonyes or robberyes then was in his tyme. And to the entent that he would haue the rauinous beastes destroyed throughout his lande, he caused Ludallus Prince of Wales, to yelde to him yercly by way of Tribute three hundred Wolues. By meane wherof, within foure yeres after, in Englands and Wales myght skantly be found one Wolfe alyue.

¶ Polidore here noteth that the Welshmen, which could neuer willingly abyde to be gouerned of the Engliche Nation, founde the meanes at the length to make themselves a Prince of their awne Nation, as in this kinges tyme they had to theyr Prince and gouernour Ludallus, and long tyme after dyuerse other in dyuerse kinges dayes, which were tributaries vnto the kinges of England: But when they first obteyned this benefite of the sayde kinges, the sayde Polidore confesseth that he hath not found in any antient Chronicle or autentike Wyter.

¶ It is written of sundrie Authours, that Kynadus King of Scottes despised Edgar, for that he was little of stature, wherof King Edgar beyng warned desyred the sayde Kynadus to dyner, and made to him good countenance. After which dyner ended, he tooke the sayde Kynadus by the arme, and so with him helde company vntill they came to the fields: where being disseuered from their seruauntes: Edgar drewe from vnder his garment two swordes, and desyred Kynadus to take the choyce of them, and sayde vnto him, nowe thou hast good leasure to saye thy strength with mine, which before tyme thou hast so much despised: Nowe let vs proue which is more worthy to be subiect to other: It is not fitting for a knight to make great boast at the boorde, and to doe little in the field.

¶ When the Scottish king heard the king thus challenge him, he remembred well his wordes before spoken, and perceyued that they were disclosed vnto Edgar, wherof being somewhat abashed, he answered so humbly and behaued himselfe so lowly and gently, and gaue vnto the king such pleasaunt wordes, that he forgau the trespassse.

¶ This Edgar among other of his Politique deedes, vsed in the Sommer tyme, to scoure the Sea with certaine Shippes of warre, and had a great number alwayes in a readynesse. And against the winter, he provided to lay by the sayde Shippes in sure Hauens, and had readie in his awne service and in his Lordes, a certaine number of Souldiours that were alway ready to man the same, when the king had neede of them. And his Shipmasters were in wages with him throughout the yere, who ever attended vpon the Shippes, to see that nothing lacked that was necessarie. By meane wherof he kept his lande in great quiet from outward enemies. And in the wynter he

Execution of iustice hath wrought commendation.

The destruction of wolues.

Kynadus King of Scottes.

A challenge made by Edgar vnto Kynadus the Scottische King.

Edgar in Sommer scoured the Sea with his shippes, and in winter laid them vp.



he used to ryde ouer the lande, and to vnderstande how his officers intreated the people. And if any were accused of extortion or other crimes, and that duely proued against them, he did vpon all such, sharpe correction.

¶ And for so much as in his dayes, great multitude of Danes dwelled in diuers places of England, which vsed many vices, and specially great drinking, wherof ensued drunkennesse and many other vices, to the euill examples and hurtes of his commons and subiects: He therefore ordeyned certayne Cuppes with pinnes or nayles set in them, and ordeyned and made a law, that whatsoeuer person dranke past the marke at one draught, shoulde forfert a certayne payne: wherof the one halfe shoulde fall to the accuser, and that other halfe to the ruler of the Borough or Towne that the offence was done in, where the same shoulde be examyned and tryed.

¶ It is tolde of this Edgar by diuers Authours, that he vpon a season being at Chester, entred the ryuer of Dee, and there sitting in a Boate, tooke the rule of the sterne, and caused. vii. Kinges, which Guydo calleth Reguli, that is small or vnder kings, and commaunded them to robbe him vp and downe the Ryuer, vnto Saint Johns Church, which lately was an Abbey of black Monkes, and from thence to his awne Palace, in token, that he was Lorde and king of so many Prouinces.

¶ This Noble Edgar had two Wyues: By the first that was called Egelfleda the whyte, he had a sonne that was named Edward, who was after king, and slaine by treason as afterwards shall be shewed. And vpon his second Wyfe Elfrida or as the English Chronicle calleth her Estrid, he begat a sonne named Egelredus or Ethelredus, and after the English Chronicle Eldred, which was king next after Edward the Martir, and of Wilfride, which of some is called a Nonne, he had a daughter named Edith, but shee was base and not in wedlock. For as Guydo sayeth, this Wilfride, knowing that the king cast to her vnlawfull loue, put vpon her the habite of a Nonne, thinking thereby to withdrawe the kinges loue: But that notwithstanding, she was brought to the kings bed. For which deede he was greatly blamed of the Bishop Dunstane, and by him enioyned to doe therefore seuen yeres penance. And the afozenamed Wilfride, after the childe borne, lpyed bertrouly, as sayeth Fabian. Of her daughter Edith, it is read that at lawfull age she was at Milton thorne a Nonne.

¶ Edgar, thus ruling the lande after the death of his first wyfe Egelfleda, wo:de was brought to him of the bewtie of a yong Damisell named Elfrida, or Estrid, daughter of Orgarus Erle of Denonshire: wherfore he sent a knight of his Courte named Ethelwold, to espie whether the Mayde were of such bewtie, as shee was reported of, or not, charging him, if shee were so bewtifull, that then he shoulde aske her to wyfe for him.

¶ But this knight hauing sight of this Mayden, was so wounded with the darte of blinde Cupide, that he forgate his truth and allegeance, which he did owe to his Master and soueraigne, and returned, shewing to the king, that shee was nothing of the bewtie as shee was reported to be, but of meane fayrenesse as other women are. Wherfore he besought the king, considering she was her fathers Heyre and a good mariage, that he woulde be so good Lorde vnto him, as to write vnto her father, that he might haue her vnto Wyfe. The which the king graunted, and at the last he obteyned her and

marryed

marryed her.

¶ In processe of tyme the same of this woman sprang so wyde, that at the last it came to the vnderstanding of king Edgar: wherewith the king notwithstanding, he were in his minde discontented with Ethelwold, which had so deceyued him, yet kept he good countenance and made semblance as though he had nothing forced of that matter at all.

¶ And vpon a tyme, as it were in game, warned this Ethelwold that then was an Erle by reason of his wyfe, or otherwise, that he woulde one night come and lodge in his house, and appointed the tyme when it shoulde be. The Erle being nothing contented with this monition, ranne home almost dead for feare, and prayed his wyfe of helpe in that tyme of neede, and that shee would in all that she might make her selfe as foule and as vnseemly as shee could, and shewed to her all the residue of the matter. Then the woman cast in her minde, the great displeasure that might ensue towarde her against God, to make that foule, which he had made goodly and fayre, and also to her Lorde and husbände against the king, thinking that he shoulde cause her thus to do, to the entent to mocke and deceyue him. Wherfore, in consideration of the premisses, shee trimmed and decked her selfe in most costly and shewing apparell. And ouer that, if Dame Nature had any thing forgotten or misprinted in her, she left not what might be done by womans help to haue it amended and reformed, and at the kings comming receyued him with all ioye and gladnesse. By which meanes, this yong amorous king was soone caught in the Devils snare, so that he set reason aparte and folowed his awne sensualitie. And for to bring his purpose the better about, he kept forth a countenance as he had bene well contented with all thing, and desyred the Erle, that he woulde ryde with him on hunting, into the wood of Weluctley, that now is called Horsewood, where he awaying his tyme, strake the Erle thro: the body with his shaft, so that he dyed soone after. And then he married this Elfrida or Estrid shortly, and had by her Egelredus. For the which deede sayth Keynulph, this Elfrida buylde a house of Nonnes at Martwell. But some write that it was for the slaying of her stepsonne Edward.

¶ Then Edgar, was crowned king at the Citie of Bath, or as some write at Kingstone of Dunstone Archebishop of Cantorbury, and Oswole Archebishop of Yorke, when he had ruled this land. xij. yeres, but Polidore sayth, that Dunstone was not at his sayde Coronation, but remayned yet a vanished man. The cause why it was so long or this Edgar was crowned, was sayth Guydo, for his vnlawfull lechery, and specially for the offence done with Wilfride. For the which deede he was enioyned. vii. yeres penance, during the which tyme of penance, he was kept from the sayd annoyntment.

¶ It is also reported of this king Edgar, that he beyng vpon a season at the Towne of Andouer besyde Sarisbury, and was enamoured of a Noble mannes daughter, which was of passing bewtye, made such meanes by force or otherwise, that the parentes were agreed that the king shoulde haue his pleasure. But the mother beyng subtyll of toyt, bethought her of a wyfe, and when night came, sent a seruaunt of hers, which was both comely and fayre, vnto the kings bed. In the Morning, when the day began to waxe cleere, the woman began to styre, and woulde haue departed from the king: But the king stayed her, and asked the cause of her so hastie departing: The

W. I.

woman

A pollicie for the state of Drunkards.

A good precedent for the making of small lawes, and bestowing of the forfeitures.

King Edgar had vnder him seuen kings within this Reame.

Ethelfleda the mother of Edward, and wyfe of Edgar.

Edith the daughter of Wilfride, which Wilfride was a Nonne and Concubine to king Edgar.

Ethelwold vsed dissimulation with the king bys Master.

Deepe dissimulation.

Ethelwold was fouly deceyued, for women are not trusty.

Ethelwold slaine and murdered.

Coronation

The simplicity of kings in those dayes

Women are wily.



The king deceyued.

woman answered, I must be at my worke with my felowes at mine houre, to kepe my taske. And when the king had questioned with her further, he learned that she was a bond woman, and she asked of the king freedome for that nightes seruice. The king at this had good game, and cherished that Damosell so after, that he made her Lady of Ladies. For these insolent and wanton dedes, it is sayd, that by the counsaile of Dunstone, he buylded and repayred so many Abbeyes and houses of religion as is before named. Fabian.

¶ Thus this noble Edgar, passing his tyme in vertue, and sometymes medled with vice, at the last had knowledge of the rebellion of the Briteynes or Welshmen: wherefore he assembled his knightes, and entered the land, and did them great harme and waite. And among other prayes, he spoiled the Countrey of Glamorgan and the Countrey of Ono: But the king dyed within ten dayes after, when he had reigned the full terme of .xviij. yeres, and was buryed at Glasfenbury, leauing after him two sonnes, Edward the Martyr, and Egelredus by two sundry wyues. And here Fabian setteth forth a story of a lewde and false Judge, the which the Reader may there finde set out at large.

I Adulph reigned in Scotlande .ix. yeres: He kept peace with the Englyshe men, and banquished the Danes that invaded his Realme.

King Duffus reigned among the Scottes foure yeres, and was slaine by the treason of a noble man called Donewalde. After his death apered neither Sonne, Moone, nor Starre, the space of .viij. Monethes.

¶ Alue a vicious and wicked Tyrant reigned among the Scottes. He deflowred his awne sisters, and rauished other mennes wyues, and daughters, wherefore he was slaine the fift yere of his reigne.

Edward the sonne of Edgar, reigned after his father: And here ye shall vnderstand, that after the death of Edgar, great strife arose among the Lordes, for the admission of their king. For Elfrida or Estred, with Alphride Duke of Mertia, made diuerse friendes to haue her sonne Egelredus promoted vnto that dignitie, a childe of seven yeres of age, that she and he might rule the land together. But Dunstone with the ayde of other Bischoppes, and of the Erle of East England, or Esser, so withstood that doyng, that he crowned this Edward king at the Towne of Kingstone, to the greuous displeasur of the sayd mother Elfrida, and other of her affinitie.

¶ In the tyme of this Edward apered a blasing starre, after the which ensued many inuonieniences, aswell to men as to beastes, as sicknesse, hunger, moztynne, and other lyke calamities: But none of these thinges fell in the dayes of this Edward, but after his death. The afozenamed Alphride, Duke of Mertia, which in all thinges fauoured much the dedes of the Queene, put out the Monkes at Winchester, that king Edgar had ther set in, and brought in for them wanton Clarke, or as Keynulph sayth, Clerkes with Conturbines (or rather that had lawfull wyues.) But Dunstone, and the Erle of Esser withstood that doyng, and helde against the Duke and such as fauoured his partie: For the which arose great strife betwene the Priestes, and the Monkes of England. For the Clerkes that were before tyme put out by Edgar, sayd that it were a wretched and cursed dede, that a newe common company vnknowen, shoulde put out olde landishe men from their places: and

Sicknesse, hunger, moztynne and manye other plagues.

These I thinke were priestes with their wyues.

and it shoulde not be pleasing to God that had graunted the place to the olde dwellers, neyther ought any good man to allowe such doyng, for the yll example that thereof might ensue. The Monkes sayde, that Christ allowed neyther the olde dweller, nor yet the person: But who so woulde take the crosse of penance vpon him, and folowe Christ in vertuous liuyng he shoulde be his disciple.

¶ For this matter was there holden a generall counsaile of Bischoppes, and all the Clergie of England, at Winchester, but for all this the strife ceased not. In so much that a newe assembly of the Clergie and other was apoynted after at a place called the strete of Calue, where the counsaile was kept in an vpper loft. In thys counsaile Dunstone was greiuously despised and rebuked of some unskillfull men (as sayth Fabian.) And while they were there in this great deuision and argument, which way shoulde be admitted and allowed, sodeynly the Joystes of the loft sayled, and the people fell downe, so that many were slaine, and the people greatly hurt: But Dunstone with few other that tooke his part escaped unhurt. This wonder and other caused silence among them that entended to mainteyne the afozesayd quarell, so that Dunstone had all his will.

¶ But to retorne to the tyme of the reigne of king Edward, he came vpon a tyme from hunting in the Forest, nere vnto the Castell of Corfe, in the West Countrey: where he losyng his companie and seruantes, resorted vnto the Castle afozesayde, where at that tyme his Stepmother with her sonne Egelredus kept her household.

¶ When the Queene was warned of his comming, anone she called vnto a seruaunt of hers, whome she much trilled, and tolde to him all her counsaile, shewing to him further, how he shoulde behaue himselfe in the accomplishing of her will and minde. And that done, she went towarde the King, and receyued him with all gladnesse, and desyred him to tarie with her that night: But he in curteous maner excused himselfe, and for speede, desyred to drinke vpon his horse sytting, the which was shortly brought.

¶ And while the Cup was at his mouth, the seruaunt strake him to the heart with a sword, or long dagger sharpe on both sydes, After which stroke by the king receyued, he set spures to the horse, and thought to ryde to the place from whence he came, or else such a way as he thought to mete with his companie. But he bled so fore, that for faintnesse he fell from his horse, his one foote beyng fast in the Styrop: By reason wherof, he was drawen of the horse ouer wayes and fieldes, vntill he came vnto a place then named Coalgate, where he was found dead. And for that the maner of his death was vnknowen, and also he for king not knowen, he was buryed vnworthely at the Towne of Warram, and there rested by the space of thre yeres after. In which tyme and season, God shewed for him dyuerse myzacles, as sight to the blinde, health to the sicke, and heering to the deafe, with diuerse other, as sayth Fabian. But Polydore wyrteth, that his Stepmother Elfrida caused the dead corps to be carped in, and buryed in a secret place, where it was after found by miracle.

¶ At the last the same Elfrida fore repenting her fact, entended to visite him by way of pilgrimage. But how or for what cause she entended inwardly I can not say, but the horse or beast that she rode vpon, might not come nigh the place

Dunstone was fore a gantill priester wynged.

Some write that this was done by a deceptfull practice, and after was taken for a miracle.

Corfe called

A traiterous deuce of a mother in law

A vile murder.

King Edwards sword murdered.



place by a certeyne space, for beating, nor for any other thing that might be done for him by man.

Septon now called Shafesbury.

¶ But after this, by her meanes, or as Mathew of Westminster sayth, by Eilofius Duke of Mercia, or middle Englaunde, he was translated from thence to Septon, that now is called Shafesbury, and there buried with great honour.

Ambisbury Warwell.

¶ And as it is sayd for a testimony of her great repentance, she founded two Monasteries of women, the one at Ambisbury, and the other at Warwell. In the which place of Warwell in her latter dayes, she refusing the pompe of the worlde, helde there a solitary and streyt life, and ended her life with great penance and repentance, and was there buried when she was dead.

¶ Thus as ye haue heard, was this yong king Edward murdered, when he had reigned foure, or as some wypte three yeres, leauing behind him none issue, wherefore the rule of the lande fell to Egeldredus his brother.

977

3 Kenneth king of Scottes.

¶ Kenneth reigned in Scotland. xrb. yeres. In his tyme, the Danes arriued in Angus with a great company, and wasted the Countre very sore, with whom the Scottes met, and after sore fight and great slaughter, by the manhood of one Hay (an bplandishman, and his two sonnes) obteyned the victory. This Kenneth was slaine by meane of a Lady called Fenella, because he had poysoned Malcolme Prince of Comber.

978

**E**geldred or Etheldred the sonne of Edgar, and Elfride his last wyfe, after the death of Edward his brother reigned ouer this Realme. And in the beginning of this mans tyme, the grounde waxed barreine and all the miseries before signified by the appering of the blasing starre in the dayes of Edwarde, now began to take place and encrease vpon the earth. This king as his other progenitozs before him were, was crowned at Kingstone, of Dunstane, and Oswald, Archebishops. To whome as it is wrytten in the lyfe of Dunstane among his propheties, Dunstane shoulde saye at the day of his coronation. Thou comest to this kingdom by the death of thy brother, in whose death Englishmen conspired with thy wicked mother, they shall not be without bloudshedding and sword, vntill there come people of an vnkowne tongue, and bring them into thraldome. And this trespassse shall not be elensed without long vengeance.

Dunstanes propheties.

¶ This Egeldred was a man of goodly visage and tall of personage, but his nature was mixed with Lechery, crueltie, and dyuers other vices. It is also read that when Dunstane shoulde christen him, as he helde him ouer the fonte, he fylde the same with his ordure, and that then Dunstane sware by God and by his mother, this childe shall be vnkinde both to God and hys Church. Fabian. Although myne Authour wrote this as matter in that tyme whiche he thought to bee true, yet iudge you nowe thereof as your thinke best.

An angry Bishop.

¶ In the second yere of his reigne, a cloude was seene in England in the morning tyme the which appered halfe lyke blood, and the other halfe lyke fyre, and chaunged after into sundrie colours, and at the last vanished away.

The Danes arriued in Kent, Cornewall, Suffex, and diuerse other places of this realme.

¶ In the thirde yere of his reigne, the Danes allured by his cowardise, and chieflly for that he was vnskillfull of armes, arriued in sundrie places of his lande, as in the Isle of Chanet beside Kent, also in Southhampton, Cornewall,

Cornewall and Suffex, and in those coastes much harme: and afterwards, some of them came to London, but there they were put of: howbeit, they destroyed a great parte of Chester and Chestershire.

¶ And in the ende of the same yere, a great parte of the Citie of London was consumed with fyre, but how it began is not expessed. But ye shall vnderstande, that at this daye the Citie of London, had most housing and building from Ludgate toward Westminster, and little or none where the chiefe or hart of the Citie is, at this day, except in dyuers places were housing, but they stood without order. So that many Townes and Cities, as Cauntorbury, Porke, and other, diuers in England passed London in building at those dayes, as I haue sene and knowen by an olde booke in the Guildhall in London named Domes day. But after the conquest it increased, and shortly after it passed and excelled all the other. Eabian.

London, a great parte thereof consumed by fire

From the little Conduit in Chepburton into Fierre bridge and Holborne bridge was the first and chiefe part of the Citie of London.

¶ About the. liij. yere of his reigne, the king married Erle Egbertus daughter, named Ethelgina or Elgina. Of the which he begat a sonne, and named him Edmond, which after was surnamed Ironside, and two other sonnes named Edwyn and Ethelstane, and a daughter named Edgina.

¶ In the. ix. yere of this king, for strife and displeasure that was betwene the Bishop of Rochester and him, he with his knightes besieged the sayde Citie: whereof Dunstane sent to the king, admonishing him, that he should refraine from that crueltie, and to suffer the Bishop and his Citie to be in peace. But this message abated nothing at all the kings courage. Then the sayde Dunstane sent vnto him an hundreth pounce in Golde, wylling him to refrayne of that enterpryse, the which he receyued and brake by his siege.

Golde was of more force then Dunstane.

¶ About the. xi. yere of his reigne, Dunstane died, but it was not long after his death, before the Danes entred into many and sundrie places of the land, in such wise as the king was to seke to which coast he should go first to withstande his enimies. And in conclusion, for the aduoyding of more harme, he was compelled to quiet them with great summes of money: But when that money was spent, they fell to new robbing of the people. Then the king graunted more money: But for all that the Danes robbed and spoyled the Countre of Northumberland and at the last besieged London. The which their outrage troubled the king very sore because he thought they would now haue beene quiet.

Dunstane dead.

The Danes sore spoyled this realme.

¶ And for the encrease of the kinges sorrow, Elfricus that then was maiester or admirall of the kings Flaue, fled as a false traytour vnto the Danes. And after that was reconciled: and fled yet againe the second time vnto them.

Elfricus a Traytour.

¶ Wherefore the king to be aduenged on the father, commaunded the eyes of hys sonne Algarus to be plucked or done out of his head.

King Egeldred punished the sonne of Elfricus in pulling out of his eyes for the offence of his father.

¶ But while this persecution thus contynued, by meanes of Elphegus Bishop of Winchester, a peace was concluded for a tyme betwene the king and the Danes. And the Prince or chiefe Capitaine of them named Aulaff, was so exhorted by the sayd Bishop, that he became a christen man, to whom the king was Godfather, so that shortly after, the sayde Aulaff returned to his owne Countre, without doing of any more hurte, so that for a whyle the warres of the Danes ceased. But while they rested, the bloody flure with brenning feuers so bered the people thorow the land, that many dyed therof.

Bloody flure, and brenning feuers.

¶ And now againe the Danes assailed this land, and did in diuers places



great harme, so that for lacke of a good head or gouernour many things in the lande perished. For the Lordes were at such dissension one with another, that when they were assembled to speake or treate of peace betwene that one Lorde and that other, and if any good thing were deuysed for the hurt of their enemies, anone the Danes were warned thereof by some of the same counsaile: whereof were suspected Elfricus and Edricus.

¶ And to this sorrow was ioyned hunger and penury, amongst the commons, that euery one of them was constreyned to plucke & steale from other, so that what by the pillage of the Danes, and inward theenes and byrbours, this land was brought into great misery and mischiefe.

¶ The king being thus wrapped in miserie, left not to gather of his subiectes what he might, as well by vnlawfull meanes as otherwise. For sayth Reynulph, he would for feyned or small causes ditherite men of their possessions, & after cause them to redeeme their awne with great sumes of money.

¶ And besides this, he gaue himselfe altogether to lechery, and to the filthy lust of the body: By which vngacious meanes, he brought this lande into such ruyne, that what he might not helpe by strength, he redeemed with great summes of money. So that from the first entrie of the Danes, as witnesseth Reynulph in his. vi. booke and. xliij. Chapter, and Guydo and other Authours, and from the first tribute of ten thousand pound, he brought it at the last in processe of five or sixe yerres, to. xl. thousand pound. The which peerey during his lyfe and after, to the comming of king Edward was leuied of his subiects, and named for the continuance therof Dane Gelt, which is to meane, money payde to the Danes, or Dane money.

¶ In the. xv. yere of his reigne dyed Oswald Archbishop of Cantorbury, and sone after dyed Ethelgina the Queene. And thus the land continued vnder the greuous Tribute of the Danes, and also the Englishe men susseynded of them great numbers of vilanies and iniuries, as partly hereafter shall appere. The king at this tyme by counsaile of his familiers, about the. xxi. yere of his reigne maryed Emma the daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy: The which Richard was the thirde duke of Normandy, and the first of that name, and also was surnamed Richard without feare, or Richard the hardy, by whome he had issue Edward the Confessor, which after was king of Englande.

¶ By this mariage, Egeldred began to looke a loff, and thought much of himselfe, and toke vpon him with much more courage then before he had done. Wherefore he sent into all the good Boroughes, Townes, and Cities of his land, secret and streight commissions, charging all the rulers, that vpon a certeyne day, which was the day of S. Brice, at an houre assigned in euery place of this land, the Danes should be slaine, and so it was done. And as the common fame telleth, this murder began at a little Towne in Hertfordshire, within. xliij. Myles of London called Welmen: For the which dedde it tooke the first name, because that the weale of that countrie (as it was then thought) was there first wonne. But who that doth well consider the sequels of this dedde, shall finde little wynnynge or weale that ensued of this dedde.

¶ But before I proceede further, I will here touche somewhat of the pyde and abusion of the Danes, which they exercised in Englande, as I haue

Enuision and dissension among the Lordes.

A miserable realme.

How one miserie begat another.

Summe and mischiefe come together.

A tribute called Dane Gelt.

A miserable Englad

Emma the daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy.

The Danes murdered.

haue sene in an olde Chronicle. The Danes by strength caused husbandmen to eare and sowe their land, and to do all other vile labour that belonged vnto husbandry, and the Dane helde his wyfe at picaure, with daughter and seruaunt. And when the husband man came home, he should scanty haue of his aboue as his seruauntes had, so that the Dane had all at his commaundement, and did eate and drinke his fill of the best, when the obner had scant his fill of the worst. And besides this, the common people were so of them oppressed, that for feare and dreade, they called them in euery such house as they had rule of, Lord Dane: But in processe of tyme, after the Danes were boyded the lande, this worde Lord Dane, was in dirision and dispite of the Danes turned by Englishe men into a name of opprobry called Lurdane, which yet is not forgotten, for if one Englishe man will rebuke another, he will for the most part say, thou art but a Lurdane.

¶ But nowe to returne to our first matter: Truth it is when the Danes were thus murdered throughout Englande, tydings thereof sprang into Denmarke: which kindled in them such a fury, that the king thereof named Swamus, assembled shortly a great hoste and nauie of Shippes. And within short tyme after, he with his Danes landed in Cornewall. And by treason of a Norman named Hughe, which by fauour of Queene Emma was made Earle of Deuonshire, the sayde Swamus tooke Exeter, and after bet downe the walles.

¶ Then he entered further into the land: In which season the king sent vnto Edricus, charging him to assemble the west Saxons, and to withstand the further entry of the Danes: The which according to his commission assembled the west Saxons, and made good countenance to withstand the sayd enemies: But when the hostes should ioyne, were it for feare or for treason, he fayned himselfe sicke, and fled from his people. The which for lacke of an head were faine to geue backe to their great hurt, and to their enemies great aduantage and comfort.

¶ Wherefore the Danes, then resorted to Sherborne and Wylton, and anone spoyled both those townes, and there refreshed them: But Swamus had vnderstanding, that the king was comming towardes him with the power of his lande, he therefore departed thence, and returned with great pillage vnto his Shippes, and sayled about the land, and at the last landed in Norffolke: Where he wasting and spoiling the Countrie, came to the Citie of Norwich, the which he robbed and destroyed, and after went to Chetford, and did lykewise to that Towne, and byred it, and spoyled all the Countrey nere there about.

¶ But soone after, a noble man of that Countrie called Duke Uskatell, met with the host of Danes, and gaue vnto them a hard and sharpe battayle, and slue many of the enemies and put them backe. For this and for hunger that then assailed this land, Swamus returned to his Shippes, and departed againe into Denmarke, and taried all the Winter folowing. In which season he made great prouision to reenter the land of England.

In the. xxv. yere of the reigne of the king, the aforesayde Swamus with a strong army landed at Sandwich, and spoiled all the countrey nere vnto the Sea syde, and rested him there, vntill he heard of an armie comming against him. And when he was ware thereof, he returned to his Shippes againe: and

The crueltie of the Danes

Miserable bondage and villanie.

Lord Dane of the which sprang this worde Lurdane

Swamus king of the Danes entered into England.

Swamus fled to his Shippes

Swamus landed in Norffolke & spoiled that countrey.

Uskatell a noble man of Norffolke, & named a duke gaue the Danes a foyle, & repulse, and Swamus fled into Denmarke

Swamus returned againe into England with a great power.



and hearing that the king was farre westwarde, he landed in Suffex, and spoiled it wonderfull sore, and there also he was warned of the comming of the English men, and when anone he tooke shipping againe. So that when the English men had thought to haue met with him in one coast, then would he flie and land in another. And when the king prouided to meete with them, on the Sea, eyther they would fayne themselues to flie, or else they would with giftes blynde the admirall of the kinges shawie.

By which subtiltie and crafty meanes, they werped and tyred of English men. And where euer they went they slue, bent, and rauened, without all compassion and pitie.

The king then beyng at Shrewesburie, hearing of the great sleight and crueltie of the Danes, called his counsaile to take aduice what were best to be done for the defence of his enemies. Where it was concluded, that the king to haue peace with the Danes, should pay vnto them. xxx. thousand pound. But while this was in doying, the Danes destroyed a great part of Barkshire.

But when this peace was thus made, Swanus with his company returned into Denmarke. And the yere folowing, the king made Edricus a forenamed, Duke of Mertia. Thus Edricus beyng but of base birth was made riche, he was of tongue false, and subtile of wit, soft and eloquent of speeche, vntrustie, and inconstant of thought and promes, as of him something before is shewed, and after more shall apere.

In the .xxvij. yere of the king, a Prince of the Danes named Turkilus landed in Kent. The which so grienously warred in that countrie, that the Kentishmen were faine to make their peace, and so he departed. But yet the persecution of the Danes seared not: for in one countrie of England or other, they euer were robbing and pilling the English men. So that all the Countrie along the coast, from the North part of England, vnto the Ile of Wight, was by them eyther vtterly destroyed, or greatly empayred. And when the king entended to make prouision for to withstande them, euer Edricus would counsaile him to the contrary, shewing him that he should spend his treasure, and traualle his people in vaine. By meane whereof the Danes entered fiftie mile into England, and bent and destroyed diuerse Villages, and Townes. So that they encreased and wared passing riche, and the English men, nedy, bare, and poore. Thus continuynge this misery, Swanus then being in Denmarke, and hearing of the encrease of his people within England repented him of his former couenantes, and thought that the whole dominion of England should of right belong to him. For the which he prepared his armie and nauie in most defensible wise, and sped him into England, and to the ryuer of Humber, and landed in Northumberland, where the Earle and ruler of that Countrie with all the other rulers of the same, sware fealty vnto the sayde Swanus, and promised to kepe that Countrie vnto his vse. And when he had done his will in that Coast, he entred againe the water, and by the Ryuer of Trent, he passed to Gainsburgh, and so by North Watlingstreete, and subdued the inhabitautes of that Countrie, and forced them to geue him pledges. Which pledges, with also his nauie, he betooke vnto Canutus his sonne, while he went further into the land. And he and his people kept on theyr Journey vntill they came vnto Mertia, killing and sleiyng the men

Swanus of the Sea were as it appereth blinded in this time.

A great tribute payed to the Danes.

Swanus returned againe into Denmarke.

Turkilus a Prince of the Danes laded in Kent.

Edricus a false traytor.

Swanus a game entered England.

Canutus the sonne of Swanus.

men of that prouince, and reserved the women to vncleane liuyng, aswell the religious as the other, and tooke by strength Winchester, and Oxford, or rather Exeter, and did in them what him liked.

And after he had thus passed the lande, he drew the next way toward London: But in passing the Ryuer of Thames he lost some parte of his people, eyther for lack of a Bridge or for icoparding their passage vnauidedly. And so in fine he came to London and besieged it, where at that tyme the king was. Wherefore Swanus left the Citie, and drew into Essex, and againe the water passed into Kent and so towarde the Citie of Cauntorbury without any let, welding the Countrie at his will, and lastly besieged that Citie. The which manfully defended themselves against their enimies by the space of .xx. dayes, and then was the sayde Citie taken by the treason of a Deacon named Almaricus, the which before tyme Elphegus then Archbishop of that See had preserved from death. Fabian.

Holidore affirmeth that the Danes besieged the Citie of London, and the Londoners though they were somewhat dismayed at the first, by reason of the sodaine feare, yet they so manfully defended themselves, that at the length they were not afeard to set open the gates of the Citie, and to go out themselves in great multitudes and fight with their enimies: And so valiantly behaued they themselves against them, that they slue many of them, and in fine compelled Swanus or Sweno their king to get him awaye with the residue of his armie with such hastie expedition, that he ceased not trauallyng day and night vntill he was two dayes iourney from London, and then went he to Bath and there taried, where he was so sore distressed for lack of victualles, that he was fayne to let Egeldred redeeme the tribute, the which he had a little before graunted and bounde himselfe to paye. And hauing receyued of him a great summe of money for the redemption thereof, he returned into Denmarke, minding ere it were long to repayre to this lande againe with a greater armie then euer he had before.

Mathew of Westminster wyrteth also that after the saide Swanus or Sweno was in dispaire to winne the Citie of London, both because of the losse of his Souldyours that through rashnesse and misadventure were drowned in the Chamys, and also the manly resistance made by the Londoners in defending themselves, he gate him awaye with speede, and went first to Wallyngfoord and then to Bathe, exercising much crueltie all the waye as they went, and lefte nothing vndestroyed, and at Bathe rested him a space to refresh his armie, whether Almarus then Erle of Deuonshire, with all the Nobilitie of the west Saxons together wyth their seruantes and retynue, fearing his tirannie, came vnto hym and deliuered hym hostages, prayng withall that they might, be at peace with him. And afterwardes, when he saw that he might now do what he would, and that no man durst challenge the Crowne and fight with him for the same, he caused himselfe to be proclaymed king of England. But the sayde wyrteth maketh mention neyther of the scarcitie of victualles that shoulde then be amongst the Souldyours, neyther of the redemption of the sayde tribute, nor yet of his sodayn returne into Denmarke: But here to returne to mine Authour.

Then the Danes first spoiled the Citie of Cauntorbury, and tooke the Archbishop and put him in a strong prison, and then set the Citie on fyre. And

Cauntorbury besieged by Swanus king of the Danes. Almaricus a Deacon, a traitor.

Tribute redeemed.



Monkes  
tythed.  
Antoniu.  
Vincent.

And the Monkes of Saint Austynes Abbey they tythed, that is to saye, they  
tythed nyne, and the tenth they kept alnye, the which after were solde and set  
to all fruite labour. And as witnesseth Antonynus and Vincent Historio-  
graphers, they sire and brought in seruage aboute the number of nyne hun-  
dred persons of religion. They slue of men, women, and childzen, in the Citie  
of Cauntorbury aboute eyght thousande, and that with much crueltie as is  
shewed in the .viij. Chapter, 7. rvi. Title, of the worke of the sayde Antoninus.

Elphegus &  
Archbishop  
of Cauntorbury  
stoned to death  
by the cruell  
Danes.

¶ And finally, for that this Bishop Elphegus, would not condescende to  
geue vnto them, as sayth Reynulph, three thousand pounce, or else as Poly-  
dore sayth, because by his preaching and godly lyfe, he went about to conuert  
these barbarous people vnto the fayth of Christ, after they had kept him in  
harde prison by the space of .viij. Monethes, vpon an Ester euen, they after  
many vilanyes vnto him done at Greenewich within thre Myles of Lon-  
don, stoned him to death, where he laye in the fiede vnburied a certaine of  
tyme, and after was carryed to London, and buried reuerently in the Church  
of Saint Paule. But afterward in the tyme of Canutus, he was taken by  
agaime, and carryed to his awne Church.

King Egeldred  
sent Emma  
the Quene  
and her two  
sonnes Al-  
phred & Ed-  
ward vnto  
Richard the  
fourth Duke  
of Normandy,  
which was  
brother vnto  
the sayde  
Emma.

¶ The king fearing the ende of this persecution, sent Emma the Quene,  
with her two sonnes Alphred and Edward vnto Richard the second of that  
name, then fourth Duke of Normandy, which was brother vnto the sayde  
Emma, with whome also he sent the Bishop of London.

¶ In the .xxxiiij. yere of the king, when the Danes had wonne a great  
parte of the Countrie of west Saxon, they returned againe to London  
warde: whereof hering the Londoners sent vnto them giftes and pledges.

¶ In all this season I finde no mention that euer the king gaue vnto the  
Danes any notable battayle, but kept him in holdes and places for his awne  
sauegarde, and to the small benefite or aduantage of his Realme. And at the  
last he was chased vnto the Isle of Wight, where, with a small company he  
kept himselfe secret a great part of the Winter, and finally without battaile  
or comfort, sayled ouer to his wyfe into Normandy, and there helde him  
a certerne of tyme.

Swanus  
being certifi-  
ed that the  
king was  
dead, began to  
use many ex-  
actions vpon  
the people of  
England.

¶ When Swanus was assertheyned of the departure of the king out of the  
land, he was enflamed with excedyng pryde, so that he arrered excedyng im-  
positions of the people & grieved them wonderfully. And among other of his  
Tyrannies he demaunded a great summe of money out of S. Edmondes  
landes, which the rulers denayed, for so much as they claymed to be free of  
all kinges Tribute. Wherfore he entered into that territory, and wasted and  
spoyled the Countrie, and besides that, despised that holy martyr, and threat-  
ned the place of his Sepulchre: But the men of that countrie fearyng this  
Tyrant, gaue them to fasting and prayer, so that shortly after he was slaine  
or stiked in an Euening amongst his knightes, with the sworde or dagger  
of Saint Edmond in the Towne of Thetford, as sayth Guydo, but Reynulph  
and other, in the Towne of Gaynesborough, where he dyed yellyng and cry-  
yng the thirde day after: But Saxo Grammaticus sayth, that the sayd Swanus  
or Sweno, being conuerted vnto the Christen fayth dyed at the length very  
repentauntly and lyke a good christian man: And that he suffered Etheldred  
after that peaceably to reigne all his lyfe tyme as king of this lande by a com-  
position betwene them.

Swanus the  
Danish Ty-  
rant slaine  
by Gods  
prouidence.

The misera-  
ble death of  
Swanus  
king of  
Denmarke.

¶ In

¶ In feare whereof Canutus his sonne, after that he was king, closed in  
the lande of that holy Martir with a deepe ditch, and graunted to the inhabi-  
tantes thereof great fredome, and quit them of all kingly taske or Tribute.  
And after builded a Church ouer the place of his Sepulture, and ordeyned  
there a house of Monkes, and endued them with fayre possessions. And after-  
ward it was vled that kinges of England when they were crowned, sent for  
an offering their Crownes vnto S. Edmondes Shrine, & redemed them againe  
with a condigne price. Fabian. The which Polydore thinketh not to be true.

S. Edmonds  
bury enclosed  
by Canutus  
sonne of  
Swanus.

¶ Nowe when king Egeldred was certified of the death of Swanus, he  
by the procurement of his friendes returned home againe to his awne: But  
the Nobles of the Realme condicioned with him, that he should reforme his  
olde maners. And for performance thereof, he sent his sonne Edward into  
Englande before him, and in the Lent folowing the king came himselfe, and  
with his people sped him toward Lyndsey, where Canutus was at that tyme  
resiant, not prouided for the kinges so hastie comming.

Kinges of  
this Realme  
were accus-  
med to offer  
their Crow-  
nes to Saint  
Edmondes  
Shrine, and to  
redeme them  
agaime with  
a great summe.

¶ Wherfore Canutus, being not purueyed to withstande the king, fled  
to Sandwich in Kent. And for that he there proued such persons, as before  
tyme his father and he had taken pledges off, and finding them not firme in  
their promyses, he caused all theyr noses and handes to be cut off, and then  
sayled into Denmarke, and returned the next yere with a great flauye, and  
sayled about the land, and tooke prayes in the South countrey, whereof the  
kinges eldest sonne named Edmond, made prouision with the ayde of Edry-  
cus to go against him.

Canutus the  
sonne of  
Swanus  
fled into  
Denmarke.

¶ But when he should haue met with Edrycus at a place assigned, and  
his hoste, he was of him deceyued, and therfore was compelled to geue place  
vnto his enemies. And as it was after knowne, the sayde Edrycus had pro-  
mised his fauour and ayde vnto the sayde Canutus. By reason whereof Ca-  
nutus entered the Countrie of west Saxons, and forced them to sweare to  
him fealtie, and to geue to him pledges.

Edrycus a  
falle traitor.

¶ In this season, the king being at London, was taken with a greuous  
sicknesse and dyed, and was buryed in the Church of Saint Paule, where  
at this day in the North Isle behynde the Quyer, apereth a token in the wall  
of his Sepulture, he reigned .xxxvi. yeres, leauing after him two sonnes,  
Edmond, and Edward.

The death of  
King Egeld-  
red.

¶ Constantine the fourth, reigned among the Scottes thre yeres, by meane  
of him, and of Malcolme the sonne of Kenneth, the Realme of Scotland  
was miserably tormented with ciuile warre.

1000  
23

¶ Kinge reigned in Scotlande .ix. yeres, and against him Malcolme made  
a fierce warre for the Crowne, which was appeased by the counsaile of a  
Bishop called Fothadus. But the Scottes not contented to sustaine the Ti-  
rannie of their king Grime, rose by against him, whereof ensued much trou-  
ble in Scotland. Malcolme banquished and slue Grime, and tooke on him  
the kingdom, and reigned .xxxj. yeres. To him the Lordes of Scotlande  
graunted first the wardes and mariages of their heyses. And not long after  
Olanus, and Onetus, two Capitanes of the Danes inuaded Scotland, and  
banquished king Malcolme, and subdued Murrey: But not long after,  
Malcolme repayred his army, and discomfited the Danes, and slue Onetus.

1002  
25  
Grime king  
of Scottes.

¶ And shortly after, Canus another Capitaine of the Danes, inuaded  
Scotlande,

wardes and  
mariages of  
the heyses  
first graunted  
to the king in  
Scotland.



Canus  
Stand.

Scotlande, and nere to ferrey was discomfited and slaine, and the place to this day is called Canus stand. Fabian.

¶ Then Canutus by the commaundement of Swanus, brake into Scotland, with whom the Scottes fought a terrible battail, to the great damage, losse, & hurt of both partes: But after this battaile a peace was concluded.

1916

1

**E**dmond Ironsyde, the sonne of Egeldred, or Etheldred, and also Canutus, the sonne of Swanus king of Denmarke, did by the consent of certeyne of their friendes on eyther syde, take vpon them the gouernement of this lande. The Londoners with the assistance of some Lordes of Englande fauoured Edmond: But the more part of the Lordes fauoured Canutus, and specially the spiritualtie that befoze tyme had swozne fealtie to his father. And he then beyng at Southampton swoze vnto them, to be a true and good Justice, and to entreate the people soberly and righteously.

¶ Then Edmond beyng of the Archebishop of Yorke crowned at London and the solemnitie finished and ended, he sped him to West Saxon, and subdued that Country. In which tyme Canutus drew with his people to London, and would there haue entered: But that was forbodden him of the Londoners. For the which he layde his ordinance about the Citie, entending to haue entered perforce: But it was not long or he was faine to breake his siege and to depart thence.

¶ When Canutus was put off from London, he drew Westwarde, and in short tyme after met with king Edmond in Dorsetshire, besyde Gyllingham, where betwene them was foughten a strong and cruell battaile: But in the ende Canutus was ouercome, and compelled to forsake the fielde.

¶ After this, they met againe in Worcester shire, or as Polydore sayth, at Andouer in Wiltshire, where they fought a more strong and fierce battaile: For this was so strongly foughten on both partes, that men could not iudge which part had the better, nor which the worse: But as Reynulph sayth, eyther of them departed from other, eyther for werynesse of fight, or for lacke of the day.

¶ But on the morowe folowynge, both hostes met againe and fought egerly. The which fight continuyng, Edricus espiynge king Edmond to be at a vantage of wyning of the fielde, sodeinly pight a dead mannes heade vpon the head of a Speare, and cryed to the hoste of English men, flye, flye, you English men and saue your selues, lo, here is the head of Edmond your king. But Edmond beyng thereof warned, sped him to that part of the fielde, and behaued himselfe so comfortably amongst his men, that by his knightly courage, his people recovered that which befoze they had lost, and continued the battaile vntill night, and caused Canutus to flye that Countrie, and to returne againe towarde London.

¶ Then king Edmond beyng aduertised that Canutus was returned toward London, he folowed him and passed the Ryuer of Chamys, and deliuered the Citie from the daunger of the Danes, and after encountered the Danes at a place called Brentford within seuen myles of London, where he had with them a cruell fight, and at length discomfited them. Fabian.

¶ But because the Authoz whom I here folow leaueth many thinges vntouched worthy of remembrance, which were done after the sayde battaile foughte n

foughten by Andouer, I haue here thought good to supplie his defect by Polydore, who wyrteth hereof, as foloweth: When Canutus was this discomfited, he traueyled all night long to Winchester ward, and gate hun to a place of safetie: But Edmond as some do write pursued him not, but turned to Sarisburie to rescue the Citizens there besieged of another company of Danes. Whether also shortly after came Canutus, where not farre from the same Towne they pitched a newe fielde, and as men hauing nolue gathered a newe courage & refreshed themselves, fought very fiercely and egerly together, but with equall fortune tyll night came that parted them beyng weryed with long fighting. The next morning the English men anoue after the Sonne rising, stood ready aranged in battaile ray, awaityng the coming of their enemies, vntill Canutus came and set vpon them. Then fought they together verie fiercely, but doubtfully withall, and in such wise that many went to wrecke and were slaine on both sydes. And when it drew towardes the euening they gaue ouer on euen hande, neyther partie hauyng victoery of other. On the next morowe both the hostes rested themselves, and tooke their repast, & gathered together the deade corpses of them that were slaine the day befoze, and burned them as the maner was then to do. And all this while they neuer vnarmed themselves. There were slaine at that time aboue .xx. M. on both parties. The night folowynge Canutus dislodged as priuely as he could, & marched towards London: The which city his flecte had now in a maner besieged by water. But as soone as this they flying was once discryed by the day light, Edmond folowed him at the heeles, and with a little ado rayled the siege: Wherefoze, he entered the Citie triumphantly, with great ioy and solempne pompe. Canutus beyng thus disapoynted of his hope, hauing gotten great prayes and bootyes out of the Countries there about, departed thence to see his shippes which were newly entered into the Riuer of Rochester, called in olde tyme Medeganara, and nowe Medway, where the sayde Canutus taried a season, partly to increase his armie, and partly to learne by espyals the secret purposes of his enemies, the which he soone vnderstoode. For Edmond whose nature was not to sleepe bys matters, hauing assembled his power with incredible celeritie, lay in campe not farre from Canutus, & there made a long exhortation vnto his Souldiours, the effect wherof was, that they should call to minde the number of battayles that they had foughten with the Danes already, and remember withall that the time nowe serued if they would play the men, to repress their cruelty and violence: and therfoze he moued them in most earnest maner, that they would not cease to pursue and vige them, till they had with one battaile cleane vanquished and conquered them, that an ende might once be made of their long and great trauailes. The Souldiours beyng incensed with this exhortation, and also wery of the intollarable pride and haughtinesse of their enemies which dayly molested and prouoked them, went with a fierce courage to set vpon them. In like maner Canutus, who had commaunded his Souldiours befoze, to be dayly and hourly in a redinesse against the coming of the English men, came into the fielde, and ioyned battail with them, where they fought more then foure houres together, but at the length the Danes began to geue backe. The which when Canutus perceyued, he commaunded his horsemen to rescue them in the forward. But whiles it so chaunced that some of them

London  
besieged.

Canutus at  
sauced & city  
of London.

A cruell  
fight.

Edricus a  
bile traytor.

Brentford  
which we  
nowe call  
Brentford.

D.I.

gaue



gaue backe for feare, and some made no hast thither, the whole army brake aray, and then feare hauing the vpper hand of shame, they fled away. There were of the Danes slaine at that tyme thre thousand and fiue hundred, of the which number many were Dukes, and Capitaynes of great birth: But of Englishe men. vij. C. at the most, and they all footemen. King Edmondes intent and purpose was to haue had the vse and fruition of that victorie, that is to say, so narrowlye to haue pursued his enemies, that he woulde then haue cleane destroyed them, the which vndoubtedly had bene done, if fortune had not bene against him. For whiles after this great battayle he was in great consultation about the pursuing of his sayde enemies, he thought it would be greatly for his aduantage, if he both rested himselfe the residue of the same day, and the night following, and permitted his Souldiours to do the lyke. And so this little time seemed sufficient vnto Canutus to saue himselfe, but not to Edmond. In like maner on the next morow, king Edmond asone as it was once day, myndyng to haue the spoyle of the fielde, brought his Souldiours out of the Campe, to the entent they should afterwarde pursue their enemies, and the rather because he had intelligence howe they that were the day before dispersed, were now gathered together againe, and had passed the ryuer of Chamys, marchyng as fast as they could towardes Norfolke, and Suffolke. Wherefore king Edmond hastened thither with all he myght, to ayde his people there against his sayde enemies. And so vpon a watchworde geuen he set vpon them. And albeit some layde vpon the hindmost, and some stroke in the middelt, aswell on the right hand as on the left, yet the Danes for all that gaue not backe. Every Captayne encouraged his awne Souldiours to sticke vnto it manfully: But specially king Edmond admonished his Captaynes that they should cause their Souldiours to kepe array, reassyng not to say vnto them with a loude voyce that the same day if they woulde play the men a little while, they should confirme vnto them all their former traualles & victories, or else should be the beginning of most greuous sorowes and miseries, if they gaue neuer so little backe. By the which words the Souldiours were sodeynly so animated to fight, that the Danes began a little to shrinke and geue backe. The which when Canutus perceyued, by and by he set vpon the left wing of Edmondes hoste, the which were likeliest to do most harme, and so releued his distressed Souldiours, and that did he with such violence and manly courage, that he felled and layde on the ground as many as were in his way: By reason whereof it came to passe, that a great number of the English men nowe wearied with long fightyng, and hearing the rumor of the great slaughter of their company on euery syde, sodeynly fled away for feare. The which when King Edmond perceyued, he gate before them, and stayed them for a while: But when at the length his whole army was quite disordered and out of aray, it was not then possible for him to set them in aray, and bring them into the fielde againe which they had once forsaken. Here the English men, when the streytes and passages were all stopped by their enemies, so that none of them had any minde to make resistance, or hope to flye away and escape, were almost all slaine, specially such of them as were the best and worthiest Souldiours.

¶ Now king Edmond with a verie few with him, neuer ceased journeying Westward till he came to Gloucester, whome Canutus chased the space

of

of two houres, but could not ouertake him.

¶ This losse and discomfiture, though it greatly weakened and dismayed the Englishmen, specially because London and manye other good townes and places were then for feare, rebelled vnto the Danes: yet king Edmond vsed neuerthelesse diligence in preparing a newe armie, and so did likewise Canutus, which at length came vnto his enimie by long and great iourneys. For they knewe well that if they did fight againe, they should with one battaille trie who should haue all. And king Edmond was nowe vtterly determined at the next conflict to put himselfe in extreme hafard, and either to wyne all or lose all. And therefore both the armies being nowe readie to fight, stood so nere together that the one might see the other, not farre from Seuerne side. At what tyme Edricus (as some reporte) began to perswade with the two kings, that they should common together before the beginning of the battaille, to see whether they coulde fall to any agreement betweene themselves, because he knewe right well that this thing should be as much for the commoditie of the Danes as of the Englishmen. For now he that before time was wont to be the chiefe worker of all trechery and mischief, beganne to counterseyt honestie, in going about to set an vnitie and peace, betwixt the two sayde most redoubted and balliant princes. The which princes not mistyking with his counsaile, for that present season, refused not to follow it, albeit they thought it would be to small effect and purpose. And so they communed together a little while, not without the great expectation of the beholders what would be the ende and come of it. But where vpon they concluded among themselves it is altogether vncertaine. Some saye that peace was agreed vpo condition that Canutus should haue Mertia or middle England, and Edmond all the west part of the realme.

¶ And in this time Emma the wyfe of Egeldred, fearing the fortune of warre, sent her two sonnes Alphyred and Edward vnto her brother Richard the second of that name and fourth Duke of Normandy.

¶ But Edricus, which as before is sayde was euer subtile of wyt, considering the good fortune of king Edmond and his knightly courage, thought that at length he should overcome the Danes. Wherefore to saue his lande, and to bring about his malicious treason, he sought the wayes and meanes how he might stand in his grace and fauour, and at length obtayned his content, and swore to him to be his true subiect.

¶ When king Edmond had a while stayed at London, he then made toward the Danes that then were in Kent, and met with them at a place called Otford, and there discomfited them, and chased Canutus to the Isle of Shepey. And there he tooke shipping and sayled about the lande, and at the last entred into the Countrey of Mertia, and spoyled a parte thereof.

¶ Then the two hostes met soone after at a place called Ashedowne, where after a long fight Edricus with his retinue fled to the comfort of the Danes: By meane whereof king Edmond was put to the worlke, for many noble men were slaine vpon his party: among the which the Bishop of Yrncoln, and the Abbot of Ramsy were two, and were come thither to haue intreated a peace betweene the two princes. But when this was layde to the charge of Edricus, he by his vntreue meanes, so excused himselfe, that no man myght charge him with any default.

D. ii.

¶ Thus

Emma sent  
her two sonnes  
Alphyred and  
Edward vnto  
her brother  
Richard  
duke of Nor-  
mandy.

Edricus by  
subtiltie ob-  
tayne the  
kings fauour

The Danes  
discomfited  
at Otford in  
Kent.

Edricus a-  
gainne as a  
traitor re-  
uolued to the  
Danes.

Edricus had  
a subtile wit.



A good narra-  
tion.

¶ Thus this mortall warr continuing betwixt these two martiall princes, to the great desolation and mortalitie of the people, one of the knightes of the partie of king Edmond, gate him to an high place, where he might be somewhat heard of the hoste, and spake in this wise: daylie we dye, and no man hath the victorie: for Edmond maye not be overcome for his great strength, and Canutus maye not be overcome for favour of fortune. What shall then be the fruite of thys continuall strife? none other but when the knightes bene all slaine on eyther partie, then the Dukes compelled by nede will accord, or else they must fight alone without knights. Then seing thys must be the ende, why do they not one of these two? If they accord? why is not this kingdome sufficient for twaine, that sometye sufficed for. viij. If their coveteousnesse and greedie desire of Lordships be so great, that eyther hath indignation to take and part with other, or else the one to be vnder that other, then let them fight alone, that will be the Lordes alone, least if all men fight, all men be slaine, by meane whereof no men shall be left to be vnder the Lordship or leading of Dukes, nor yet to defend kings against their strong enimies or nations. Fabian.

¶ Some sayth Polidore, whome it repenteth not me to follow, doe write that the matter was done after this maner. One of the Capitaines, whether it were Englishman or Dane, it is not knowne, having first lycence graunted him to save his minde, spake in the presence of both the kings on thys wise.

¶ O most doubtie and valiant Emperours, you have nowe fought long ynough one against another: There hath beene bloud ynough shed betwixt you both. Your valiantnesse and the manly courage also of your Souldiours is sufficiently tryed. And yet can neither of you awaye with good or euill fortune. For if it so chaunce that one of you haue the upper hande of the other, he more fiercely pursueth his banquished enimie: Agayne, if his fortune be to be overcome, yet prepareth he a freche battaile against his banquisher. What wilfulnesse is this of yours (noble Princes) that can not be overcome and perswaded by reason? doe you more regard warre then peace? Whether rageth this your greedie desyre of Empire? If you fight for a kingdome, and that be your quarrell and the cause why ye thus warre one against another, deuide you then this most flourishing and wealthie Realme betwixt you, the which in times past was counted sufficient to maintaine. viij. kings: But if glorie doe pricke you to hasard the vncertaine chaunce of Empire or seruitude, deuise you some wayes by your selues whereby the matter maye be determined without any great slaughter or bloudshed which of you both shall haue the souereintie. Thus spake this Capitaine vnto them. But the latter sentence pleased king Edmond, and so did it Canutus also whome fortune favoured. And so by his perswasions they accorded at the length to trie the matter in their awne persons by dynt of sworde, hether to Polidore.

¶ These wordes thus spoken, were right well allowed of both hostes, for at this time, a truce was made betwene both the princes for a certaine tyme, after which tyme ended, were it by the occasion of these wordes, or otherwise, the sayde two princes Edmond and Canutus, agreed to trie their quarrels betwene them two onely.

¶ And for this was assigned by both their agreements, a little Isle then called

A truce  
taken.

called Olney nere vnto Gloucester. In which place, at the daye and tyme appointed, the two Champions met without company or assistance within the sayde Isle, the hostes of both parties standing without the Isle, and there abyding the fortune of this combate. There eyther proued other, first with sharpe Speares, and after with kyne and cutting swordes. What shall I of this make any longer processe, when eyther had other well proued and assayed, by receiuyng of harde and sore strokes, by the first motion of Canutus, as most Writers testefie, they at the last agreed and kissed together as louers, to the great comfort of both the hostes.

¶ And shortly after, by the aduise of both their counsailes they condiscended and agreed vpon a particion of the lande, which immediatly was done to both their contentations, and they loued after, as two brethren, during their naturall lyues.

¶ But the Serpent Idre, of enuy and false conspiracie which euer burned in the heart of Edricus, was kindeled so sore, that of pure force it must breake out. into a light flame, so that what he might not accomplissh by his awne person, he fulfilled by his awne sonne, as testifie diuerse Authours. For as affirmeth Gydo, this sonne of Edricus awaityng his time, espyed when the king was at a house of easement to purge nature, and with a Speare strake him into the fundament, and so into the body, wherof king Edmond shortly after dyed at Orentord. Notwithstanding there is great diuersitie amongst wyrters touching his death which for breuities sake I omit. For Martian sayth, that he dyed at London by naturall sicknesse.

¶ The king thus being slaine, anone Edricus thinkyng thereby to be greatly exalted, sped him in all hast to Canutus, and saluted him as king, and thewed him of this treason, onely done for his loue.

¶ When Canutus had well considered the confession of this Edricus, he lyke a discrete and righteous Prince, sayde vnto him in this wise. Edricus, for that thou hast for the loue thou bearest to me, slaine thine naturall Lord, which I most loued, I will exalt thine head aboue all the Lordes of England. And forthwith commaunded him to be taken, and his head to be striken off, and pight vpon a Speares head, and after set vpon the highest gate in London. But the Authour of Polichronicon sheweth in the. xliij. Chapter of his sixt booke that Canutus after the death of Edmond gaue vnto Edricus the Lordship of Martia or myddle Englande, and by his counsaile created Edwyn the brother of Edmond called the king of Chozles, and througth his counsaile also executed many cruell deedes.

¶ Finally, howsoeuer this noble Prince came to his death, it is agreed that he dyed, when he had reigned one yere, and somewhat more, and is buried at Glascenbury, by his Grandfather Edgar, and left behynde him two sonnes, that is to say, Edmond, and Edward, as sayth Fabian.

¶ Canutus or Knot, by the death of king Edmond had the whole gouernance of the Realme, and forthwith he assembled a counsaile at London, and then was consecrated and annoynted king, of Alured Archebishop of Cauntorbury, where among other thinges that were debated in that counsaile, a question was moued, whether in the composition made betwene Edmond, and Canutus, any speciall remembraunce was made for the

A Combate  
betwene two  
Princes.This realme  
was deuided  
betwene  
king Edmond  
& Canutus.Edricus his  
sonne slue  
king Edmond  
with a speare  
as he late in  
a house of  
easement.A iustre  
warre for a  
Craunce.1016  
1

P. iij.

children



children or brethren of Edmond for any portion of any part of the land.

*flatterers.* ¶ Whereunto, it was answered of the Lordes, naye, affirming furthermore with an othe (for the kinges pleasure) that they to the vttermost of their powers would put off the blood of Edmond in all that they might. By reason of which answer and promes, they thought many of them to haue stand in the great grace and fauour of the King, but it turned all otherwise.

¶ For many, or the moze part of them, specially such as Canutus perceyued and knew, were sworne before to Edmond and his heyses, and also were native Englishmen, he mistrusted and disdeyned euer after. In so much, that some he exiled, and some were slaine, and some by Goddes punishment dyed sodeynly, and came to a miserable ende.

*Dissemblers  
well rewar-  
ded.*

¶ But shortly after by the counsaile of dyuerse of his Lordes, he outlawed Edwyne the brother of Edmond surnamed king of Chozles. But yet he was afterwarde reconciled to the kinges fauour, and lastlye was slaine by one of his owne seruauntes.

*Edmond and  
Edward the  
sonnes of  
king Ed-  
mond, were  
sent to Swa-  
nus king of  
Denmarke.*

¶ Canutus also by the sayde counsaile, sent the two sonnes of Edmond, named as before is sayde Edmond and Edward, vnto his brother Swanus then king of Denmarke, to be slaine after the opinion of some wyrters: But he abhorring that deede, sent them to Salamon then king of Hungary, as sayth Guydo and other. Where in processe of tyme Edmond dyed, and hys brother Edward maryed Agatha the daughter of Henry the fourth, then Emperour of Almaine.

¶ Of the which Edward and Agatha, proceded Margaret that after was king of Scotland, and Christian that was a Nonne, and a sonne named Edgar, and surnamed Etheling: or as Polydore wyrteth two sonnes, Edmond and Edgar.

*Canutus de-  
uided the go-  
uernement of  
this realme  
into foure  
partes.*

¶ Canutus, after he had set certaine things in some order within y<sup>e</sup> realme, he then deuyled the same into foure partes. That is to say, the first and principall parte, which at those dayes was west Saxon, he held vnder his owne guyding. East England the which conteyned Norfolke and Suffolke, he betooke to the rule of the Erle Turkillus a Dane, or as Polydore calleth him Thrugillus. Mertia he betooke (as some write) to the subtil Erle Edricus. And the fourth part which was Northumberland, he betooke to a Dane named Hircius. But lyke as the man of Indee, can at no time chaunge his colour, so this Edricus neuer chaunged his false maners. And notwithstanding the great benefits that he daylie receyued of his princes, euen lyke as he had bene false and deceyueable to other princes before, euen so now he vsed himselfe toward Canutus.

*Edricus the  
false Tray-  
tour put to  
death.*

¶ Wherefore he being accused and prooued faultie, was commaunded of the king to haue iudgement: The which was done immediatly, and his head for dyuers causes smitten off, and the same head with the body, for spite, cast into a foule and filthie place. But Reynulph Honke of Chester sayeth, that he was slaine by the kings agreement, within his palace at London, and his body with the head throwne after into the Towne Diche: Thus with shame he ended, that in falshood and dissimulation continued most of his life.

*A Parlia-  
ment.*

¶ In the .xv. yere of his reigne, he called a Parliament at Drenforde, where among other things, it was enacted, that Englishmen and Danes should holde and firmly keepe the lawes of Edgar late king.

¶ And

¶ And in this tyme dyed Swanus, that was brother to Canutus king of Denmarke without issue, wherefore that land fell vnto Canutus. For the which cause, he with a strong armie sayled thether to take the possession, and to set the Countrey in an order, or after some wyrters, to appease and withstand the Vandales that then had pierced that lande, and done therein much harme. Wherein Goodwyn the Erle, whose daughter Edward the confessor after maryed with a certaine number of Englishmen, fell vpon the Vandales by night, and distressed them in suche wise that Canutus had of them his pleasure. For this deede the king had Erle Goodwyn euer after in good fauour and loued Englishe men moze specially.

*Swanus  
king of Den-  
marke dead  
and Canu-  
tus succeeded  
him in the  
sayde king-  
dome.  
Erle Good  
win.*

¶ But Polydore reporteth this stoye touchyng the kinges goyng into Denmarke farre otherwise, after this maner. When the Parliament (sayth he) was ended, he determined with himselfe to refozme many misorders in the common welth, and to beuotifie and furnishe the Realme with Nobilitie, and to do things that generally should redound to the great wealth and comoditie of all English men. But it so fell that he was sodeynly certified of the inuasion made by them of Norway into Denmarke, and desyred with all of his people there to come and ayde them with all speede. The which thing seemed vnto Canutus to be a matter of no small importance. For when Olanus king of Norway heard how the power of Canutus dayly encreased in such wise as he thought was daungerous for his estate, beyng afearde that he would make clayme vnto the sayd kingdome of Norway, which somtymes belonged vnto his auncestours, and therefore desyrous to cut off, and empeach his victories, he together with his brother Harold, a right doughty knight, inuaded the Realme of Denmarke, destroyng and wastyng the Countrey euery where as he went, dayly fighting and skirmishing with the Garrisons that lay in sundry places of that Countrey, in such wise that it was thought he would in short space winne all, if speedy resistance were not made to deliuer the Realme from such an imminent daunger. Wherefore Canutus mustered both Englishmen and Danes with a tryce, and hauing nowe all thinges redyly prepared for warre, tooke shipping, and the winde scruping him well, was soner arriued in Denmarke then a man would haue thought, where he found his enemies in armes, and the Countrey wasted and destroyed on euery syde. Then commaunded he his Banners and Pennons to be displayed, and his Standard to be aduanced and the army to follow, where euery thing was done as soone as it could be spoken.

¶ And here nowe were the Englishe men specially desyrous to do some noble deedes of armes, as well thereby to winne honour and shewe their manly courage and prowesse, as to purchase themselves the greater grace and fauour with their prince. Then met the two armies and fought so fiercely together, that they filled the Clament with great cry and noyse that they made. Long it was or it apered to whether partie the victory should encline. At the length the English men so fiercely assailed the enemies that they ouercame them. On the Morow Canutus pursuyng his enemies, tooke his iourney towardes Norway. And when he was entred into the Countrey, there met him incontinent Ambassadors, which were sent vnto him to intreat of peace, and submission, and to desyre him of a generall pardon, whome he heard very curteously, and after he had receyued hostages of them, he par-

doned



doned them of all trespasses and offences whatsoever they had done against him; And so was the kingdom of Norway recovered againe. Canutus despying nowe of victorie fled for succour vnto his father in lawe the Duke of the Easterlynges that he might lyue with him more safely in exile: The which Canutus whyles he went about to disturbe the quiet state of another mannes kingdom, lost his aboue: yet to say the truth, the same Godly and innocent man lost nothing at all, in asmuch as in all these his aduersities and troubles, he behaued himselfe alwayes in most honest and verteous wise, and therefore was counted of all men a very holy man. And it foloweth a little after in the same wyter: In this battaile Canutus proued the Loyaltie and manly prowesse of the Englishe men, whome for that cause, he euer afterwards loued out of measure, and rewarded them with great giftes accordingly. And when the king had thus taken order with his affayres in Denmarke, he returned shortly into England. And soone after he married Emma the wife lately of Egelredus, of the which he had a sonne, & named him Har- dyranutus, and after the English Chronicle, Hardyknought.

Canutus mar- ried Emma y late wife of Egelredus & had by her a sonne named Hardyknought

¶ But Polydore wyrteth that this marriage was concluded on in the former Parliament. For Canutus hauing none issue, but onely two sonnes base borne, and begotten of a Concubine of his named Aluina, of the which two sonnes the one was called Harold, and the other Sweno: And desirous to haue suche issue as might lawfully succede him, maryed Emma the wyfe of Etheldred, which with her sonnes Alfred and Edward were banished the realme & lyued in Normandy with Richard her brother Duke of that coun- tric, vnto the which Duke the sayde king married also his sister Hestriha, at the same tyme.

Malcolme kinge of Scots ouer- throwne and brought to subiection to the king of England.

¶ In the .xvi. yere of his reigne, the Scots rebelled against him: wher- fore he with a great armie entred Scotlande, and at length overcame the king of that lande, named then Malcolme and brought them againe to hys subiection, as sayth Marian the Scot. By reason of which victorie, Canu- tus was then king of foure kingdomes, of England, of Scotland, of Den- marke, and of Norway.

Leofricus, Egelnotus.

¶ Then as sayth sundry Authours, after that he had betaken this land of England to the gupding of Leofricus, Egelnothus and other, he then retur- ned into Denmarke. And from thence he went in pilgrimage to Rome in the .xviij. yere of his reigne, and redeemed the Schoole of Saxons free of all former Tribute graunted as before in the stozies of Iew and Offa is some- deale touched: which redemption of Tribute (as sayeth Guydo) was called Rome Scot, as ye maye reade more in Fabian.

Rome Scot redeemed.

¶ After his returne from Rome, he beganne somewhat to swell with pride: But to say truth, he was a king of great magnificence, and he bled such iustice mixed with temperance that in his daies, in the west partes of the worlde, there was no Prince of renoune lyke to Canutus and besides that, he was greatly beloued and drad of all his subiects.

Canutus dead and left behinde him two sonnes.

¶ Thys king Canutus when he had reigned ouer this Realme .xix. yeres, he dyed and was buried at Winchester, leauing after him two sonnes begot- ten vpon his wyues, the eldest named Harold, and the yongest Hardikanitus, the which while his father lyued, was made king of Denmarke. Fabian.

But Polydore sayeth that Canutus dyed in Normandy, and was buried at Roane,

at Roane, whose wordes are these: It was not long after, but Canutus was enforced to make great warre vpon Richard Duke of Normandy, be- cause he hauing no feare nor regarde vnto the Lawes, had caused himselfe to be deuorced for a berie light and trifling matter from his wyfe Estritha sister (as is aforesayde) of Canutus, who being desyrous to be reuenged vpon the sayde Duke for the same iniurie, prepared a great Flaue and sayled vnto Normandy. Nowe his armie was scarcely set a lande and encamped in the enemies Countrie when worde was brought him of the death of his sonne Sweno Lieutenaunt or Lorde Deputie of Norway, whome he specialle- loued, the which thing so wounded his hart with anguiste and sorow, that he fell into an Ague, whereof he dyed shortly after. Then (as it foloweth in the same Authour) his funerall obsequy being finished at Roane: the Soul- diours vpon safe conduyt and lycence graunted them to depart in safetie, re- turned home againe into England.

**H**arolde the base sonne of Canutus and of Elgina, or Algina, after the death of his father reigned ouer England. This man for his mymble- nesse and swiftnesse of foote, was surnamed Harefoote. In his begin- ning there was great strife among the Lordes, in a Parliament holden at Orford, for that some were in doubt of his birth, and whether he were the kings sonne or not, and specially Erle Goodwyn which did the vttermost of his power to haue set him by, and to haue preferred his brother Hardikini- tus the sonne of Etheldred and Emma, or anye of the sonnes of Etheldred and Emma that were in Normandy vnto that honor. But Leofricus whom Canutus so much loued and trusted, with the ayde of the Danes and Londo- ners, so stoutly withstoode Goodwyne and hys somes, that they sayled of their purpose.

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1  
Harold Harefoote.

¶ Alfoone as this Harolde was crowned, he gate him in all haste to Win- chester, and there tyrannically seased vpon all the goodes and treasure which Canutus had left vnto the sayd Emma, and then banished her the lande. The which Emma sayled then into Flaunders, and there of Baldwin the Erle was reuerently and curteously receyued, and obteyned of him the Castell of Bruges, where she made her aboade during the lyfe of this Harolde. The cause why she went not into Normandy, was because William then Duke there was by reason of his tender yeres and minoritie, not able to gouerne of himselfe, but was vnder the tuition and gouernance of others.

Emma the stepmother of Harold is banished.

¶ This Harold continued his life and reigne with little fruite, and lesse profite to the land, nor yet of the Subiectes, so that of him, either for vice that was in him, which learned men thought not meete to put in memozy, or else for the rudeness of his lyfe, and spending bairnely of his tyme, which was not worthy of memozy, nothing at all is put in remembraunce, but that he dy- ed at London, or as some wryte, at Drenford, and was buried at Westmin- ster, when he had reigned thre yeres and odde Monethes, leauyng after him none heyre, and therefore his brother Hardikinitus which was king of Denmarke, was king next after him.

Harold dead.

¶ Ulcane king of Scottes reigned at this time, seuen yeres, and was slaine by his brother Germayne Wakebreth.

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3

Hardikinitus



1041

**H**ardikinitus, or Hardiknot, the sonne of Canutus, and of Emma, was made king of Englande: This man after the death of his brother Harold was sent for into Denmarke, or as some write into Flaunders, where he was with his mother Emma, and was most ioyously receyued and crowned at London of Ethelnotus, then Archebishop of Cantorbury: But he was of such a cruelty, that he sent Alfricus then Archebishop of York, and Erle Goodwyn into Westminster, commaunding them for the injury by his brother Harold done unto his mother Emma, that they should drawe the Corps and dead body of the sayd Harold out of the ground, or place where it was buried, and caufe it to be throwne into the ryuer of Chamys, which was done according to his commaundement. The which Corps after, as sayth Guydo and other, was found by a fisherman, and buried vncruently with in the Church yarde of Saint Clement standyng without the Templebarre of London.

A cruell reuengemēt.

¶ And as Reynulph sayth, for a more cruelty, he caused first the dead hed of his sayde brother to bee smitten off from the bodye, and then thzowen into the sayde Ryuer.

Darre Gelt.

¶ This king also leuyed the afozenamed Tribute named the Dane gelt, and spent it to the litle profite of the Realme, but gaue the same vnto Mariners and Shipmen, and to sundry lewde persons, he gaue great and vnfitting fees and wages, and was of such prodigality, that his Boordes and Tables were couered foure tymes in the daye, and the people serued with great excesse both of meate and drinke.

Excesse of farce.

¶ Nowe for the leuyng of the aforesayde Tribute, the Commons greatly grudged, so that in Worcester two of his seruauntes, which were assigned to gather that money, were there slaine. For the which murder the king was so sore displeasid, that he brent a great part of that Towne.

Murther & mischiefe.

¶ Some Authours write that the king betooke all the rule of the lande vnto his mother Emma, and to the Erle Goodwyn, the which Goodwyn had married the daughter of Canutus, gotten vpo his first wife Elgina: by whom many things were misordered, & specially by the subtilty of y Erle Goodwyn.

Erle Goodwyn a subtilt man.

¶ This Erle had many sonnes, as sayth Reynulph, in his sixt booke, and xv. Chap. By his first wife that was king Canutus sister, & not his daughter, he had one sonne: The which with the stroke of a horse was thzowen into the Ryuer of Chamys and dzowned: and the mother was smitten with a blast of lightning, and so dyed. Of whome it is there remembred that she was so vngacious, and of so vile condicions, that she set yong women to whozedome, for to gather by that vnlawfull meane riches. After which wife so dead, he maryed the seconde, of whome he receyued sixe sonnes, that is to say, Swanus, Harold, Costitus, Wilnotus, Sirthe, & Leofricus, & a daughter named Goditha, which after was maryed vnto Edward the Confessor.

A plague among Erle Goodwyns wyfe and children.

¶ The two sonnes of Egclredus, that is to say, Alphredus, and Edward, which as ye before haue heard were sent into Normandie by Emma theyr mother came in the tyme of the reigne of this king into England to visite and see theyr mother, and brought with them a great number of Normans. Then this Goodwyn imagined in his minde, howe he might preferre his daughter Goditha to one of these brethren, and thought with himselfe that the eldest woulde disdain that marriage, and therefore he thought to ioyne her to the yonger,

Alphredus. Edward.

yonger, and to make him king, and her Queene, and to that purpose he compassed the death of the elder.

A tracterly practice of Goodwyn

¶ And first Goodwyn practised with the Lordes of England, and sayd, it was a great ieopardie for the lande, to suffer so many straungers to enter the land without licence, wherefore it were necessary that they were restrayned in tyme. By which meanes he gate aucthoritie to order the matter in such sort as to him should seeme best, and that of his awne power, because he was of most might next vnto the king: Wherefore he went and met with the sayd Normans, and slue of them the greatest number. For vpon Guyld done, he slue alway. ix. and saued the tenth. And yet because he thought there was to many of them liuyng, he eftsoones tithed them againe, and slue euery tenth knight of them, and that by most cruell death, as windyng theyr guttes out of their bodies (as sayth Reynulph) and among other, put out the epen of the elder brother Alphzed, and sent him to Ely, where he dyed in short tyme after: But Edward was comeied some other way, and was brought to his mother. But the fearing the treason of Goodwin, sent him sone ouer the Sea againe.

Normans cruelly murdered by Goodwyn.

Alphzed had his epen put out and was sent to Ely, and there dyed.

¶ When Goodwyn was after accused for this cruell deede, he excused himselfe, and sware depely that he was forced of the king so for to do.

¶ Then it foloweth, that this Hardikinitus beyng at a feast or mariage dinner at Lambeth besyde London, mery and iocund, while he stood drinkyng he fell done sodeynly and dyed, or waxed dumbe, and lay vntill the viij. day after, not without suspicion of popsoning as some wyte, when he had reigned two yeres and was buried at winchester, leauing after him none issue.

The death of king Hardikinitus.

*¶ Here endeth the line or offspring of Swanus, and all the other Danes that ruled in England, so that after this king, the blood of the Danes was cleerly extinct and put out from all kingly dignitie within this Realme of England. And also the persecution of them ceased cleerly after this kings death, the which had continued to eken from their first landing in the tyme of Britlacius king of west Saxon, and the ix. yere of his reigne, by the terme of. C. C. l. yeres.*

1043

**E**dwarde the sonne of Egeldzed or Etheldzed and of Emma his last wife, reigned ouer the realme of England next after the death of Hardikinitus: The which Edward, immediately after the death of his brother in lawe aforesaide, was sent for into Normandy, and pledges layde for him, that he without fraude should be made king. And then he came with a fewe straungers. But Marian the Scot sayth that some of the Lordes had sent for Edward the outlawe, sonne of Edmond Ironside for to be theyr king, but after the affirmance of the same Authour, when he knewe that Edward his nephew was in possession of the land, he would meddle no further.

This was Edward the Confessor.

¶ Then this Edward by the great aduice of Goodwyn Erle of west Saxon, and Leofricus Erle of Chester, was chosen king at London, and of Edsius, or Cadsius Archebishop of Cantorbury, and Alfricus Archebishop of Yorke on Easter Monday folowing consecrated at Winchester, and in processe of tyme after, he wedded Goditha the daughter of the Erle Goodwyn, which he had by his wyfe Thira, sister vnto Canutus the second, that of Guydo is called Editha, the which he entreated in such wise, that he put her not from his bed, nor yet had carnally with her to do. Whether it were for hate of her kinne, or for loue of Chastitie, the truth is not shewed: But all wyters agree that he continued his life without the vse of Women.

King Edward married Goditha the daughter of Erle Goodwyn.

¶ This



Dane Gell discharged.

Griffin a rebellion in Wales.

Emma the mother of King Edward accused of incest with the Bishop of Winchester.

A beastly Bishop.

A cruel penance.

It is most like that he durst not be there for shame that he awarded such a trill to a kings mother

A great miracle were true.

The Archbishop was glad he was gone.

This king discharged Englishe men of the great Tribute called Dane gelt, the which before is often mencioned, so that after his time it was no more gathered. And also he subdued the Britons or Welchmen that made warres within the boundes of the lande or frontiers: But soone after they Duke or leader called Griffin, or Griffith, with the ayde of the Irishe men entered the Ryuer of Seuerne, and tooke manye prayes, and departed againe without fight.

In the tyme of the reigne of this Edward, Emma his mother was accused to be familiar with Alwyn or Adwyne, Bishop of Winchester. Upon which accusation, by counsaile of Erle Goodwyn, he tooke from her many of her Jewelles, and caused her to be kept very strightly in the Abbey of Warwell, and the Bishop he committed to the examination and correction of the Clergie: notwithstanding, Polidore saith, they were both committed to ward in Winchester. But his mother more sorowynge the defamation of Alwyne the Bishop, than her awne estate, wrote vnto diuerse Bishoppes, & besought them of iustice, affirming that she was ready to abyde all lawfull and most sharpest tryall.

Then diuerse of the Byschoppes made labour to the king for her, and for the Bishop. But Robert then Archebishop of Cantorbury, beyng with their labour discontented, sayde vnto them in this maner. My brethren Byschoppes, sayde he, how dare ye defende her, that is a wilde beast and not a woman? she hath defamed her awne sonne the king. Fabian, and called her lecherous Lemman the Bishop, Christ her God. Polydore.

But be it so, that the woman would purge the Priest, who shall then purge the womā, that is accused to consent to the death of her sonne Alphyed, and procured benome to the empoisonyng of her sonne Edward? But how so it be, that she be giltye or giltyesse, if she will go bare footed for her selfe ouer foure ploughe shares, and for the Bishop ouer five ploughe shares brennyng, and fire hote: then if she escape harmeless, he shall be assoyled of thys challenge, and she also.

This was of her graunted, and the day of purgation assigned: At which day the king and a great part of his Lordes were present, but this Robert the Archebishop made default and was not there, were it for pitie or otherwise. This Robert was a Monke in an house in Normandy, and came ouer by the sending for of the king, and was first made Bishop of London, and after Archebishop of Cantorbury.

Then shee was blindfolde, and led vnto the place betweene two men, where the Irons lay globyng hote, and passed the, ix. shares vnhurt. Then at the last she sayde, good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation. When they vncouered her eyes, and shee sawe that she was past the paine, she kneeled downe and thanked God. Fabian.

Then the king repented him, and restored vnto her, and the Byschop also, that which he before had taken from them, and asked them for geuenesse: But the Archebishop of Cantorbury fled into Normandy.

Polydore wyrteth that king Edward was offended with his mother, for other causes aswell as for that she was suspected of the incontinent liuyng with the sayd Bishop: for it was layde vnto her charge that she was married vnto Canutus beyng both a straunger and an enemy vnto the Realme: And that

that she succoured not her children in the tyme of theyr exile and banishment, and lastly because there went a brute that she should imagine their deathes.

It was not long after, that king Edward gathered a strong nauie at Southampton, or to saye more truly at Sandwich, forsomuch as he was warned that Swanus king of Denmarke intended to make warre vpon hym. But Keynulph sayth that he gathered this nauie to withstande Harold Harfagar, then king of Norway which intended to haue entered England. But he was letted by the aforesayde Swanus, that shortly after made warre vpon the sayde Harold and other.

It is also reported of this king that being on a tyme in a certaine extasie of minde or high contemplation in the tyme of seruice, he fell sodenly into a great laughter, contrarie to his wonted and accustomed maner. And when the standers by meruayled thereat, and asked of him what was the matter that he so did: he answered how the Danes and Norwayes were about by common consent to haue inuaded England with a great nauie, and as they were in a readynesse to hoysse vp their sayles and to set forward, one brought forth a Bolle full of Mede or Methe to drinke vpon a bone voyage: and after that came Bolle after Bolle, so that after drinke came dronkenesse, and after that iangeling, and then strife, and at the last fighting: in the which many were slaine, and the rest returned to their awne home, so that they are now dispersed and gone from their purpose, and I trust (sayth he) that in my tyme forein Nations and straungers will neuer inuade and disquiet thys Realme againe.

In the .x. yere of his reigne (as sayeth Keynulph) and in the Moneth of September, Eustace Erle of Boloigne came a lande at Douer, which Erle had wedded king Edwards sister. And it so came to passe, that when this Erle was landed he conueyed himselfe in so secret maner from his company that none of them could tell what was become of him, and they thought he had bene slaine in the towne: And in this search made for him, the hurly burly was such that a Citizen of the towne of Douer was slaine. By meane whereof the people arose, and in the questioning of this mans death, they ranne at length vpon the Erles company, and slue .xx. of his men, and wounded many mo: then the Erle appered and tooke his mens parte: But in the ende he was fayne to withdrawe himselfe with a fewe persons, and roade vnto the king then being at Gloucester, or as Polydore sayth, at Cauntobury, and made vnto him a greuous complaynt of the men of Douer.

But Mathew of Westmynster reporteth this storie otherwise, sayng: About this time Eustachius Erle of Boloigne, who had married king Edwards Sister named Goda, landed with his treyne at Douer, where hys Souldiours as they sought for lodging after a proude and vndiscret maner fortunied to kyll a Townes man. The which outrageous fact when another Burgesse of the same towne perceuyed, he kyllled him againe that had done the murther. By reason wherof the sayd Erle and his company were greatly moued, and in their rage slue much people both men and women, besides children and olde folkes that were troden to death with men and horses. But when the straungers saw that the Burgeses came still mo and mo, flockyng on euery syde to rescue their neighbours, they toke their heeles like cowards and .xliij. of them beyng slaine in the flight, the rest fled to Gloucester where

Dronkenes causeth madness and mischief.

How a folish act begat a great fray.

D. j.

the



Erle Goodwyn sent by the king to take order with the men of Douer for the death of strangers.

the king lay. Howbeit, Polydore sayth that this conflict was at Cauntozbury and not at Douer: But nowe to retorne to the matter. After this ryot, Erle Goodwyn, forasmuch as to him was committed the rule of Kent, was charged to ryde thether, and to take wreche vpon the inhabitantes of that towne. But he withsayde that commaundement, and counsayled the king to send for the Wardeynes of the Castle of Douer, and the Rulers of the Towne, for to aunswere vnto such matters as should be layd against them, and if they were guiltye, to punish them, or else not.

¶ This Counsaile of Goodwyn pleased nothing the king, nor such as were about him, wherefore many mo Lordes were sent for. Among the which Leofricus Erle of Chester, & Seward Erle of Northumberland weretwo.

¶ After which assembly of the Lordes Erle Goodwyn had such monition of some of the counsaile, that he withdrew himselfe from the Court, and gathered to him strength of knightes out of dyuerse shires, as west Saxon, and Kent, and houed at Beuerston vntill his sonnes came vnto him with mo people. Some after, came vnto him his eldest sonne Swanus, and brought with him a faire companie, that he had artered in Orenfordshire, and Gloucestershire: And Harolde his other sonne with a felowship that he had assembled in East Englande and Huntingdonshire, so that of these people were made a great hoste.

Goodwyn accused for vnlawfull assemblies.

¶ Then Goodwyn was accused to the king for gathering of so great an hoste: But he excused him and sayde, it was done to withstande the welthe men, the which proued contrary. Then he was commaunded to send away the people, and to come himselfe with a certeyne number vnto the Court: but that he refused.

¶ Then the king and his Counsaile beyng at London, Goodwyn and Harolde, was againe sent for, and charged to come to the Court with. xii. persones to attend on them, and no mo, and to render into the kings handes all knightes fees that he and Harold his sonne had within England. To this by them was answered, that they might not come to the counsaile of Treachors & guilefull men, and that also with so fewe men in number they might not without perill or shame passe by the Country.

A lewde amfuerce of a subiect.

¶ Nowe during this tyme, a part of Goodwynes knightes withdrew them, and his power began to deminish, and the king in this meane season had gathered a strong host. Then Proclamations were made that Goodwyn should come to the Court, as before is sayde, or else to auoyde the lande within five dayes. Wherefore, Goodwyn considering the ieopardie that he was in, tooke with him three of his sonnes, that is to say, Swanus, Costy, and Gurth, or Biorno, and sayled into flanders, where he was receyued of the Erle Bladwyn, whose daughter Swanus his sonne had before married, named Judith. And Harold and Leofricus, two of his other sonnes with a fewe shippes sayled out of Bristowe into Ireland. Fabian.

Goodwyn an obitinate rebell.

Swanus, Costy, and Gurth, & thre sonnes of Goodwyn fled w thery father into Flaunders.

¶ Of this foresayde variance betwene the king, Erle Goodwyn, and his sonnes, I finde much diuersitye among wyrters: For Mathewe of Westminster somewhat dissenting from my Authour, wyrteth hereof as foloweth. Erle Goodwyn beyng greatly moued for the sleying of his men at Douer, assembled a great power out of Kent, Suffer, and the West Saxons. And so did likewise his eldest sonne Swanus out of his Seignory or honour, that is to

is to wete, out of Orfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Sommersetshire, and Barkelshire, as did his sonne Harold also out of his honour of East England, Grantbridge, and Huntynghdon. When king Edward was informed hereof, he also assembled a great army, because he would be in a readinesse to fight with his enemies if neede were. Then came Goodwyn with hys army into Gloucestershire, and sent his messengers vnto the king to require him to deliuer Custachius and his company vnto him, and if he refused so to do, then to shewe him that he would proclayme open warre against him. Vnto whome the king beyng now in a readinesse and well furnished of all things necessary for warre, sent aunswere againe, that he would not sende him Custachius, charging the sayd Goodwyn further, forsomuch as he had raysed an army against him, and without his leaue and licence disturbed the peace of his Realme, personally to apere at the Court at a day apoynted, and there to make aunswere to the sayde iniury, and misdemeamour before him and his Counsaile. But as Goodwyn durst not fight against the king, because hee thought himselfe to weake, so likewise would he not make his personall apurance as he was required. Wherefore, the sayd king by the decree and sentence of his Counsaile, banished him the Realme, with his five sonnes: who shortly vpon his banishment, with his wife Gina, and Costius or Costio his sonne, and his wife Judith, the daughter of Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, and two other of his sonnes, that is to say, Swanus, and Gurth, taking wyth them great store of treasure, tooke shipping, and sayled streight into Flaunders vnto the sayde Erle. His other two sonnes Harolde, and Leofwinus, went vnto Bristowe, and from thence gate them into Irelande. After that the king put away Edith the Queene, onely of displeasure conceyued agaynst her father, and appoynted that she should be kept in safe custody in the Abbey of Redwell by the Abbesse there, without any honourable entertaynement, hauyng one gentlewoman only to wayt vpon her. Hetherto Mathew. & c.

¶ When the king was asserteyned that the Erle Goodwyn with his five sonnes was in this maner departed out of his land, he shortly after called a Parliament, and by the auctoritic of the same banished Goodwyn and his three sonnes that were gone with him. And that done the king put his abone wife which was the daughter of Goodwyn called Edithe, a Lady of singular vertue and learning, into the Abbey of Warwell with one mayden to be safely kept, and tooke from her such Jewels as she had, as sayth Marian. And so Goodwyn and his said sonnes continued two yeres banished. In the which season he or his retinue tooke dyuerse tymes prayes in the Marches of England and in the ende drew to him such strength, that he was purposed to haue entered the land with force, and to haue warred vpon the king. But by mediators that fauoured Erle Goodwyn, a peace was made betwene the king and him, so that in the ende he was receyued to grace with his sonnes, and his daughter the kinges wife restored to hir first and former honour. And for this peace to be continued for Goodwynes part was deliuered for pledges, a sonne of his called Wilnotus, and a sonne of Swanus, named Macum, or as Polydore writeth, two sonnes of Goodwyn, named Costo, and Biorna. The which two pledges, king Edward sent to William Duke of Normandy to be kept. And Algarus the sonne of Leofricus Erle of Chester, to whome the king had geuen the Erledome of Harold, & he ruled it discretly in the tyme

Goodwyn outlawed by the auctoritic of parliament, and his thre sonnes.

Goodwyn & his people be came pirates and theues.

Goodwyn & gaue restore to fauour.



of his absence, and at his returne, deliuered it to him againe, gladly and without grudge.

¶ During the tyme of this Banishment of Goodwyn, William Bassard, Duke of Normandy, came with a good company into this land, and was honourably receyued, to whome the king made great cheere.

¶ And after he had tarped here a certeyne of tyme to his contentation, and pleasure, he returned to his abone with great giftes and rewardes. And Emma the kinges mother dyed shortly after, and was buried at Winchester. And Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwyn went to Jerusalem, and from thence toward Licia, and dyed by the way of colde that he had taken in goyng barefoote. Then the Normanes that had geuen to the king euill counsaile against Englishe men, were by Goodwyn and his friendes exiled. Among which, Robert Archebishop of Cantorbury that had spoken soze against them was one, of whome Fabian speaketh.

¶ In the .xiiij. yere of this king, the Scottes rebelled against him. Wherfore Seward Erle of Northumberland by the kinges commaundement gathered a great host, and entered that land, and behaued him so manfully, that in the ende he subdued the Scottes, and chased the king out of his Country, so that after king Edward gaue that kingdome vnto Malcoline, sonne of the king of Cambis, or Cumberland, to be holden of him and his heyres kings, as chiefe Lordes of Scotland.

¶ Upon Easter Monday the sayd yere, Goodwyn sitting at the kinges Boorde, with other Lordes in the Castle of Windsor, or as some report, of Winchester, it happened one of the kings Cup bearers to stumble, and to recover againe, so that he shed none of the drinke: wherat Goodwyn laughed and sayde, nowe that one brother, hath susteyned that other, whereby he meant, that the one foote or legge had stayed the other from falling. With which woordes, the king marked him and sayde. Right so my brother Alphyred should haue holpen me, had not Goodwyn beene. The Erle then conceived that the king suspected him of his brothers death, and sayde vnto the king in defending his vnturth: Sir, I perceyue well that it is tolde thee that I shoulde be the cause of thy brothers death. So mought I safely swalowe this morsell of bread that I heare holde in my hande, as I am guiltlesse of the dede. But he had no sone spoken the word, and put the bread in his mouth, but he was choked. Then the king commaunded him to be drawen from the boord by the legges, & so was he conueied to Winchester, & there buried. Fab.

¶ Mathewe of Westmynster sayth, that the king when he sawe him fall dohne starke dead before him, spake vnto them that were present, sayng: haue away this dogge and traytour, and burye him in some common highe way, for he is not worthy of Christian buriall. Then his sonnes that strode by drew him from the Table, and bware vnto the king, buried him in the olde Abbey of the same Citie.

¶ But Marian the Scot sayth, that as Erle Goodwyn sat at the kinges Table on Easter Monday, he was sodenly taken with a Palsy, or some other sicknesse, and dyed the thirde day after: and his Lordshipes were geuen vnto Harold his eldest sonne then liuyng, and Haroldes Erledome was geuen to Algarus the sonne of Leofricus, which was the Erledome of Dorsette after some wyrters,

¶ It was not long after that king Edward sent vnto the fourth Henry then Emperour of Almanie, Aldredus Bishop of Worcester with other noble men, prayng him that he would sende into England his Cosyn Edward the sonne of Edmond Ironside, for so much as he entended to make hym as heyre. The which request was fulfilled, so that he came into England sone after, the which as ye haue heard before was named Edward the outlaw. But as sayth Guydo and other, the yere after he came into England, he dyed at London and was buried at Westmynster.

¶ The yere following king Edward through euill counsaile exiled without gilt Algarus the sonne of Leofricus, the which did associate himselfe with Griffyn king or Duke of Wales, and destroyed the Countrie of Hereforde, and did much harme to the Towne, and set the Mynster on fyre, and slue .vij. Chanons therof. Then the king sent Harold against him, the which chased the Welshmen into their abone boundes, and recovered the sayde Towne by appointment, holden by the sayde Algarus, and trenched it about and amended all hurtes before done by the Welshmen, and lastly reconciled the sayde Algarus and his company vnto the kings grace.

¶ About the .xv. yere of king Edward dyed the Noble Duke Seward, ruler of Northumberlande of a flure, of whome Guydo reherseth dyuers notable actes whiche I passe ouer. Of him it is read that when he sawe well he should dye, he caused his armour to be put vpon him, and so armed and sitting in a Chayre, sayde, thus it becommeth a knight or man of honour to dye, and not lying in his bed as another meane man, and so he dyed and was buried at Porke, or as Keynolph writeth died at Porke and was buried in the Abbey of Salnahan which he himselfe had founded. And his Erledome was after geuen to Costy sonne of Goodwyn.

¶ In the .xvi. yere of this king dyed also the good Erle Leofricus Erle of Mertia and of Chester, & was buried in the Abbay of Couentrie the which before he and his wyfe Godina had builded. This man purchased manye great priuileges for the towne of Couentrie & made it free from any maner of Tolle, except onely of Horse. For the which also to haue free, the common fame telleth, that after long request made to the king by his wyfe named Godina, he graunted her to haue it thereof freed, if that she woulde ride naked thorow the Towne, which she did, by meane whereof, it was freed.

¶ But Saufride sayth that this gentle and good Lady did not onely for the freeing of the said Citie and satisfying of her husbands pleasure, graunt vnto her sayde Husband to ryde as aforesayde: But also called in secret maner (by such as she put speciall trust in) all those that then were Magistrates and rulers of the sayde Citie of Couentrie, and vttered vnto them what good will she bare vnto the sayde Citie, and how shee had moued the Erle her husband to make the same free, the which vpon such condition as is afoze mentioned, the sayde Erle graunted vnto her, which the sayde Lady was well contented to doe, requiring of them for the reuerence of womanhed, that at that day and tyme that she should ride (which was made certaine vnto them) that streight commaundement should be geuen throughout all the Citie, that euerie person should shut in their houses and wyndowes, and none so hardy to looke out into the streetes, nor remayne in the streetes, vpon a great paine, so that when the tyme came of her out ryding none sawe her, but her husbande

D. iij.

bande

William Duke of Normandy came into England, to visite and see the king.

Emma the kinges mother dyed.

The Scots rebelled.

How king Edward gaue the kingdome of Scotland to Malcoline, to hold the same Realme of him and his heyres, as chiefe Lordes of Scotland.

A wise reply of a king.

A notable plague and iust iudgement of God.

Edward the sonne of Edmond Ironside, returned into England, and shortly after dyed.

Griffyn prince of Wales, rebelled.

Algarus was againe reconciled to the kings grace.

Seward ruler of Northumberland dyed with a valiant courage.

Couentrie made free.

¶ It



bande and such as were present with him, and she and her Gentlewoman to wayte vpon her galoped thorough the Towne, where the people might here the treading of their Horse, but they saw her not, and so she returned to her Disoande to the place from whence she came, her honestie saued, her purpose obteyned, her wisdom much commended, and her husbands imagination vtterly disapointed. And shortly after her returne, when shee had arrayed and apparelled her selfe in most comely and seemely maner, then shee shewed her selfe openly to the people of the Citie of Couentrie, to the great ioy and maruellous reioysing of all the Citizens and inhabitants of the same, who by her had receyued so great a benefite.

¶ Then Algarus his sonne was Erle after him. But Mathew of Westminster wyrteth that his wyfe Godina obteyned the sayde liberties of the Erle her husbande then Lorde of the sayde Towne.

¶ Harold the eldest sonne of Goodwyn was now in great authoritie, and ruled much of the kings armie. The yere folowing Algarus was accused by malice, and was banished the lande. Wherefore he fled againe to Griffyn Duke of Wales as he before had done, of whome he was ioyously receyued and mainteyned. The king being thereof informed, sent Harold into Wales to make warre vpon Griffyn, the which quit him in so knightly wise, that he chased the Welshmen, brent the sayde Griffyns palace at a place called Rutlane, and destroyed his name, and then returned into England about myddlent. But about the Rogation dayes the sayde Harold and his brother Tosly were sent thither againe with a strong armie: at which season they destroyed a great part of Wales, and in conclusion brought the Welshmen vnto due subiection, and forced them to geue pledges for the continuance of the same. And that done pursued so sore vpon Griffyn by the commaundement of the king, that in the ende, his awne people for to purchase their owne lyues shue him, and sent his head vnto Harold in the Moneth of August: so that after the death of this Griffyn, by the commaundement of the king, the Countrie of Wales was committed to the guyding of the two brethren of Griffyn, the which fauoured more the kings partie in the time of warre, than they did their brothers. And this warre in Wales thus brought to an ende, Harold by his pollicie reconciled againe Algarus Erle of Mertia to y<sup>e</sup> kings grace, so that he continued in his fauour during his lyfe after.

¶ In the .xx. yere of the reigne of the king: Harold sayled toward Normandy to visite his brother Wilnotus and Hacun his Nephew, the which as ye before haue heard, were layd there for pledges for the peace to be holden vpon Erle Goodwynes side against the king. But he in his course of sayling was wether driven by tempest into the Countrie or Prouynce of Pountith, where he was taken as a prisoner of the Duke there, and sent vnto Duke Wylliam of Normandy: The which forced hym to sweare that he in tyme folowing should mary his daughter, and that after the death of king Edward, he should keepe the lande of England to his behoofe, according to the will and minde of king Edward as some writers affirme. And it is further written that Harold to be in the more fauour of Duke Wylliam, shewed him that king Edward had in the presence of his Barony of England, admitted the sayde Wylliam for his heyre, and couenaunted with him, that if he ouerlyued the king, he would in safe wise keepe the lande to his ble. For the which

Algarus againe accused and banished the realme.

Griffyn prince of Wales slain.

Algarus once againe reconciled to the kings fauour.

Harold take and brought into keeping of William Duke of Normandy.

which tydings and promise, the sayde Wylliam graunted him his daughter to wife, which then was vnder lawfull yeres of marriage with a great dower.

¶ And for to cause Harold to be the more constant in his promes, he deliuered to him Hacun his Nephew and some of his brother Swanus, the which he much desyred, and kept still Wilnotus the brother of the sayde Harold. After which couenaunts, sufficiently stablished and enacted: Harold departed from Duke Wylliam with great and riche giftes, and shortly after landed in England. And at his coming to the kings presence, he shewed to him all that he had done in the aforesayd matters, wherwith the king was well contented, as affirmeth Fabian mine aucthour.

¶ Mathew of Westminster reporteth the matter thus. Costius Erle of Northumberland, tooke his brother Harold by the heare as he was bringyng a Cup of wine vnto the king, and pulled him downe vnto the ground, all that stood by and behelde it merueyllyng thereat. Then Harold againe desirous to be reuenged vpon him for that vilanye, tooke him in his armes, and floong him on the pavement: But by and by the kings Garde ranne betwixt them, and parted them. After the which altercation, Costius departed the Court in a great rage, and coming to the Citie of Herford, where Harold had prepared a great feast agaynst the kings coming, shue all his brothers seruantes that he found there, and mangled and cut them in peeces, and into euery vessell of Wine, Meeth, Ale, or any other kinde of drinke else, hee cast epyther a legge, an arme, or some other peece of the bodyes so mangled, sendyng the king woorde withall, that whensoever he came to his brothers house, he should be sure to finde powdred fleshe ynoughe to serue him, but if he would haue delicates, he must then be faine to prouide them himselfe. The which mocke of his when the king heard thereof, he commaunded him for his sayde detestable fact and lewdenesse to be banished the Realme. But as Holidore wyrteth, he was offended with him, and sayd vnto him as foloweth: Tolve I not thee before that this mischiefe and inconuenience would ensue hereof vnto this Realme by thy meanes, if thou wentest to William of Normandy: But God epyther turne this harde destiny from vs, or else if it must needes come to passe, graunt that it chaunce not in our dayes.

¶ This cruell deede sprang wide, so that for it he was hated of all men, in somuch that his awne Tenantes, the men of Northumberland, of which prouince he then was Lorde of, arose against him, and in the ende chased him into flanders, with a fewe personnes then awayting vpon him.

¶ But the verteous king Edward not beyng contented with the commons doynge, consideryng it to be done without his aduice or commaundement, sent thither Harold to do correction vpon the heades or Captaynes of the Northumbers: wherof they beyng asserteyned, continued their strength and met with Harold, and his people, and made them to vnderstand that they were freely borne, and freely nourished, and that they might not suffer the cruelnesse of any Dukes.

¶ When Harold had receyued this message, and had well regarded the strength of the Northumbers, he perceyued that without great effusion of blood, he could not correct the misdoers: Wherefore it seemed to him better to fauour the Country, then to take heede of the singuler profite of his brother, so that he returned to the king with this aunswere, and purchased their pardon

From the  
of subiects.



pardon of him, and also so laboured the king, that he assigned them another Duke of Erie that was named Malcharus. And Costius his brother with his wife and children remayned in Flaunders during the kinges life.

The commō lawes of this Realme.

This king also purged the olde and corrupt lawes, and picked out of them a certain, which were most profitable for the commons, and those were called the common lawes of this Realme, for the institution whereof, there happened many comuocions and much trouble.

And now for an ende of this story, this king dyed the fourth day of January, when he had reigned. xxiii. yer. vij. Monethes, and odde dayes, and was buried at Westminster, and left after him no childe, for he was accounted for a virgine when he dyed.

It is written of him also that he was wont by touch of hand, to heale such as were diseased of the kinges euill, & that of him other kinges and princes of this Realme haue as it were by inheritance receyued the gift of healing that disease, by touch of hand and certeyne prayers, and ceremonies bled withall, like as they receyued also the custome to halowe and consecrate Rynge on Good Friday, which were reputed good and auaylable against the Crampe.

1044

Malcolme King of Scotland.

1061

Malcolme reigned among the Scottes. xvi. yer. vij. monethes, which at the beginning did many thinges to the profite of the Realme: but afterward he became a cruell Tyrant, and was banquished and slaine by Malcolme, by the ayde of the Englishe men.

In this yere of our Lorde, Malcolme recouered the crowne of Scotland, and reigned. xxxv. yer. vij. monethes.

1066

Harolde the second sonne of Ele Goodwyn, and last king of Saxons. This man forgettyng his promes befoze made to William Duke of Normandy, tooke vpon him as king, and was crowned of Aldredus then Bishop of Yorke, or as some wyte, set the crowne on his abone heade without any consecration or ceremonies. Albeit, as Guydo affirmeth, some of the Lordes entended to haue made Edgar Adeling king, which Edgar as affirmeth the sayde auctours, was sonne to Edward that was the sonne of Edmond Ironsyde, and named of some Edward the outlawe. But because this Edward was yong, and chiefly considering the strength and riches of Harolde, therefore Harolde obteyned the Crowne. Howebeit Marian sayth, that king Edward befoze his death, ordeyned that Harolde shoulde be king after him.

Soone after the king was crowned, he began to reuoke euill lawes, and customes, and established good lawes.

In thort tyme after that Harolde was made king, Costie his brother which as afore sayde was chased into Flaunders, made him a flauie of. lx. small sayles of Shippes, or as Matheto of Westminster sayth, of. xl. and sayled about the Isle of Wight, and tooke prayes within the sayde Isle, and in diuerse places of Kent. And from thence he sayled into Lynsey, and did there much harme both with fire and sworde. But sone after he was chased thence by Edwyn, and Malcharus, Erles of Martia and Northumberlande: And then he sayled into Scotland, and finding little comfort there, he went from thence into Norway to desyre ayde of King Harolde, who there reigned at that tyme.

Costius ro- ued about the Realme, and did much hurt.

When

When Costius was thus with his robbers chased, then Harolde Har- sager king of Norway moued thereunto by Costio, with a great flauie of thre hundreth shippes and mo, entered the mouth of the riuer of Tyne.

When Harolde of England had knowledge of this great flauie of the Norwayes, he sent vnto the aforenamed Erles of Martia, and Northumberland, commaunding them to withstand their landing, while he gathered his strength. Then the afore sayde Erles sped them toward the Norwayes, and gaue vnto them a sharpe and a strong fight, but in the ende the Englishe men were put to the worse, and were faine to geue backe, so that the enemies entered further into the land. The king heering of the discomfiture of hys people, made the more hast toward his enemies, so that within sixe dayes after he came to Senyfford Bridge.

Semyfford Bridge.

In this foresayde place both hostes ioynd and fought a most sharpe and cruell battaile, wherein was ouerthrobene manye a lustie knight vpon the Englishe partie, but many mo vpon the Norwayes, so that in the ende Harolde their king was slaine, and that of the hande of Harolde king of England, as saith Guydo, and Costius was also slaine in the same fight. Danus brother to the sayde Harolde Harfager, with Paulus Duke of the Isles of Orkeies were there taken prisoners. The which y king caused to be sworne vnto him that they shoulde keepe all such promises as they there to him made, and tooke good pledges for the same, and after suffred them to returne from whence they came. Fabian.

A cruell battaile.

Harold Har- sager slaine.

Danus the brother of Harolde Har- sager & Paulus y duke of y Isles, ta- ken prisoner.

A balsaune knight.

It is also specially remembred of the sayde Authour that one knight stood vpon the afore sayde Bridge, and with his Axe defended the passage, whaugre the whole host of the Englishmen, and lixe. xl. Englishmen or mo with his Axe, and might not be ouercome vntill an Englishman went vnder the Bridge with a Boate or Wherry and sticked him vponward with his speare through an hole of the Bridge.

For this victory, Harolde was highly enflamed with pride and also with couetousnesse, so that he deuyded not the prayes of his enimies among hys knightes, but he kept them to himselfe, or gaue parte vnto such knightes as he fauoured, and spared it from them that had well descrued, by reason whereof he lost the fauour of many of his Soldiours.

Harold in- flamed with pride and co- uetousnesse.

In this tyme the daughter of Duke William, the which Harolde shoulde haue married, died within age, but not befoze Harolde (sayth Polydore) was king, wherefoze Harolde thought himselfe the more discharged of his pro- mes befoze made to her father. But William warned Harolde of couenants broken, and mixed threates with prayers and petitions. Wherevnto Harolde answered, that a nice foolish couenant ought not to be holden, namelye the behest of other mennes right and kingdome, without the whole assent of the Senatours of the same lande. And furthermore, a lewde othe might and ought to be broken, and specially when it is compelled to be sworne for neede or for dreede.

Harolde excuses to William Duke of Nor- mandy.

Vpon these answers receyued by Duke William from king Harolde, in the meane while that messengers went and came, Duke William gathered his knightes, and prepared his nauie, and all other thinges necessary vnto the warre, and had the assent of the Lordes of his lande to ayde and assist him in his iourney. The like preparation also (sayth Polydore) was made by

William Duke of Nor- mandy ma- keth his pro- uision to come into England.

Harold



Harold to defende the realme from the inuasion of the Normans.

¶ And mozeouer he so informed the Bishop of Rome then named Alexander the second, that he confirmed him in taking of that voyage, and sent vnto him a Banner, the which he willed him to beare in the Ship that he himselfe should sayle in. And so hauing all thinges in a readinesse, he sped him to the sea syde, and tooke shipping in the Hauen of Saint Walery, where he tarried a long tyme before he could haue a iuncte and conuenient winde: for the which the Souldiours murmured and grudged, and sayd it was a madnesse and greatly displeasing vnto God, to desyre a nother mannes kingdome by strength, & namely when God withstandeth it by the working of his Clemēt.

¶ At the last the wind came about, and he tooke shipping, and helde his course towarde England vpon this ground and title folowing.

1. The first and principall was to chalenge his right, and to haue the dominion of the land that to him was geuen of king Edward his nephew.

2 The seconde was to be reuenged of the death and cruell murther of his Nephew Alphred, and brother of king Edward, which he ascribed wholly vnto king Harold.

3 The thirde was, for to be reuenged on the wrong that was done vnto Robert, that was Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which as he was enforced was eriled by the meanes and labour of Harold in the tyme of king Edward, as is afore sayde

¶ Duke William keping his course, at the last landed in Suffex, at a place called Peuenessey nere vnto Hastings. And in his goyng out of his ship, & taking the land, his one foote slipped, & the other stak fast in the sand: the which one of his knightes sawe, & beyng nere vnto him, sayd: now Sir Duke thou holdest Englande, and thou shalt soone be turned from a Duke to a King.

¶ The Duke entering further into the lande, made his proclamations that no man should take any prayes, or do any force to the people: for he sayd that it was reasonable that he should spare that thing that should be his awn.

¶ At this time Harold was king in the North partes of England, and had knowledge of the landing of the Normanes, & he made all the haste towards them that he might, and gathered his strength out of the Countries as he came. But the Duke passed still forward, and at the last came to Kingstone, where he and his armie passed ouer the Chamys, and made such good speede that he came to London befoze the king, where he was holden out vntill he had put in good pledges, that he and his people should passe through the Citie without tariyng, the which he did, and so went through the Citie, and passed ouer London Bridge, and so returned againe into Suffex.

¶ King Harold entending to know the strength of his enemies sent spies into the Dukes hoste, the which made report vnto the king, that all Duke Williams Souldiours were priestes: for they had their vpper lippes and cheekes shauen, and the Englishmen at those dayes vsed the heare of their vpper lippes shad and not shauen. But Harold vnto that answered and sayde, they be no priestes, but are stoute and balyaunt knights.

¶ Then Gurth, or rather Biozno, one of the yongest brethren of Harold, counsayled him that he should stand a parte, and suffer him with other of his Lordes to fight with the Normanes, forsomuch as he was swozne vnto the Duke, and they were not, sayng mozeouer, that if they were slaine or ouerthrowne,

throwne, that yet he might defende his quarell, and fight for his Country.

¶ In this meane tyme, Duke Wyllyam sent a Monk vnto king Harold and made him thre offers. The first that according to his othe he should render the land, or deliuer it by vnto him as his awne proper possession, and that done, to take it againe of him, and to hold it of him as in fee, and so to reigne vnder him for terme of his lyfe, and after hys death to returne it to hym againe, or to such a one of his sonnes as he would assigne it vnto.

¶ Secondly, to leaue the kingdome without any moze strife.

¶ Or thirde in exchewing of the shedding of christian mens blood, that he would defend his quarrell in his awne person against the Duke, and they two onely to trie the matter by dent of sword.

¶ But Harold refused these offers, and sayde he would trie his quarrell by dent of swordes, and not by one sword, and that he and his knights and Souldiours would defende their Countrey against all straunge Nations, praiyng God to iudge the right betwene them twaine.

¶ When Duke Wyllyam had receyued this aunswere from Harold, and saw well that there was no meane, but to abide fortune in battaile, he charged his people that might watch, to occupie themselves in prayer, and specially the Priestes and the religious people, where the Englishmen gaue themselves to drinking and surfeiting. Fabian.

¶ Then vpon the morrow being Saturday, and the. xiiii. daye of October, both hostes assayed other in the place where stood the Abbay of Battaille in Suffex. In the beginning of this battaile a Norman called Thilfer splayed a Banner befoze the hoste of the Normans and slue an Englishman that came against him, and after that another, and so the thirde, and at the laste was slaine himselfe.

¶ Then the Holberds smote together with a great shout and cry, and they fought soze a long season. And the Englishmen defended themselves manfully, and the better for that they kept them whole & close together without scattering or spreding abroad. The which when Wyllyam perceyued, he gaue a signe vnto his knightes, that they should geue back, and made a countenance as though they did flie. Then the Normans enbattelred their footemen, & set horsemen for winges on euerie side. By the which, while the Englishmen were disceuered, and soone out of array, the Normans turned againe vpon the Englishmen, and slue them downe on euerie side.

¶ This battaile was soze foughten of the Englishmen, so that Duke Wyllyam was thirde felled that day, by reason that thre horses were slaine vnder him. Lastly, Harold was wounded in the eye with an arrowe, and fell to the ground and was slaine, and his people scattered, so that well was he that might saue him selfe by flyng. Then Duke William buryed his men that there were slaine, and suffered his enemyes to do the same.

¶ When the death of Harold was knowne to the Erles of Mertia and of Northumberland, the which for streightnesse of way could not bring their people to that field, or else for that they wilfully withheld themselves from Harold, because he did none otherwise depart the prayes amongst them & their knightes at the former field of the Norwayes: then they drew the next way to London, and tooke Agatha Haroldes wyfe, and sent her to Chester. And they

Alexander Bishop of Rome sedeth vnto Will the Duke of Normandy a Banner to carry with him in his Ship against England.

The ground & chiefe cause of William Duke of Normandys challenge of the Realme of England.

A reuengement for the banishing of Robert Archebishop of Cauntorbury.

The landing of William Duke of Normandy.

A good policy.

Harold was now in the North partes

An unskillful messenger.

Good counsaile is not alwayes regarded.

These offers made vnto king Harold by William Duke of Normandy.

Good counsaile if it were true.

Battail Abbay in Suffex.

Thilfer,

King Harold slaine and William the Conquerour had the victory.

Agatha Haroldes wyfe committed to Chester.



they and Aldredus Bishop of Yorke with the Londoners, were agreed and promised epyther to other that they would make Edgar Atheling king, and defend his right to the bittermost of their powes. But that promes notwithstanding, when they heard of the great strength that dayly fell to duke William, and of his prouisions, they were faine to breake that apointment. And the sayde Erles submitted themselves, and gaue vnto him pledges, and became to him his liege men by homage and fealtie.

¶ And thus when Harold had ruled the lande, from the fift day of January to the .xiii. day of October, he was slaine, when he had reigned nine Monethes and odde dayes, and was buryed at the Monasterie of Waltham, which he before had founded.

The ende of the gouernement of the Saxons.

¶ And here endeth the gouernement of the Saxons, the which continued from the first yere of the reigne of Hengest in the yere of our Lord. 475. vnto this conquest, which was the space of 590. yeres.

**N**Owe for as much as it pleased almightie God to suffer this Duke to conquire so noble a land, and to be Lorde and souereigne ouer so many noble inheritours as then were, and nowe are within the same. I thinke it therfore conuenient to shew the dissent of the same Duke, and howe nere of blood he was vnto king Edward that last dyed.

The Pedegree of William Conquerour.

¶ Rollo who was first an Heathen, and after christened and named Robert, who married Silla the daughter of Charles the Simple, sometime king of fraunce, and had for her dooer the Duchy of Normandy, which he ruled .xiii. yeres, and the sayde Robert had by Silla a sonne named William, the which afterward was called Longa Spata, that is to say, William with the long Sworde. This William was Duke after his father. .xx. yeres, and left after him a sonne named Richard, which was named Richard the Hardy, and was the thirde Duke, and reigned. li. yeres and had by his wife a sonne named Richard the good, and Emma that was wyfe to Egeldred and mother to the last Edward the king. After him the good Richard was Duke, and reigned. .xxviii. yeres, and left after him two sonnes, Richard, and Robert. The first sonne after two yeres, was slaine by treason of his brother Robert, so that Robert was then Duke, and reigned. ix. yeres: The which Robert was father vnto this Duke William, and begat him of his concubine, called Arlet. And this William was the seventh Duke of Normandy, and ruled it before he conquered England. .xxx. yeres.

And thus it may apere that Emma was Aunte to Duke Robert, father of William Conquerour, and Emma was mother vnto king Edward, and so this duke William and king Edward of England were by the fathers syde colyn Germaines remooued.



# A Summarie of the aforesaid Hystorie.



**I**n the former part of this Hystoie it may apere vnto you (that after the opinion of most wyters) Britene did first inhabite this land, and called it then after his awne name Briteyn, in the .2855. yere after the creation of the Worlde, and in the .1108. yere before the birth of our sauour Christ. And the same land of Briteyn was conquered by C. Julius Cesar, and made tributarye to the Romaynes in the fiftie yere before Christes Incarnation, and it so continued. 483. yeres. And the Briteynes reigned without Tribute, and vnder Tribute, from Britene vntill the fourth yere of the reigne of King Cadwalader, which was in the yere of our Lord. 686. And so the Briteynes had continuance of the Gouernement of this land the space of

Briteyn first inhabited by Britene.

Conquered by the Romaynes.

Briteynes receiued the fayth of Christ

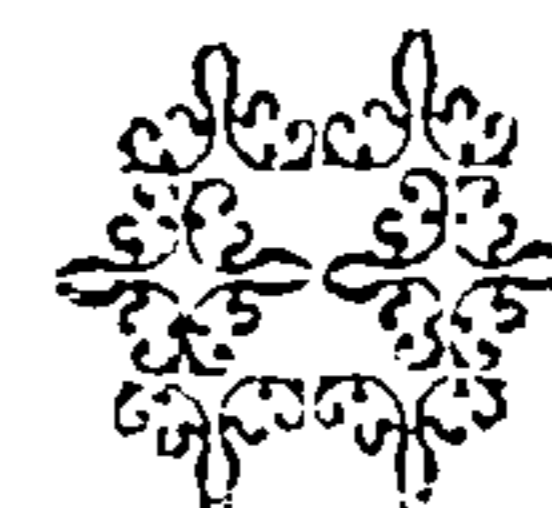
Conquered and ouercom by the Saxons.

Conquered & ouercome by the Danes.

Conquered & quietly possessed by the Normans.

1794. yeres. And then was the kingdome of Briteyn deuided into seuen kingdomes. And Briteyn receiued the fayth of Christ in the seventh yere of the reigne of King Lucy, which was in the .C. lxxvii. yere after the birth of Christ. And after the Britons, entered the Saxons in the third yere of Aortiger, and in the yere of our Lord. 450. and they gouerned vntill the last yere of king Athelstane, which was in the .938. yere of Christ. And so the tyme of the Saxons first entraunce into this Realme, and the tyme of their Gouernement, was the space of. 487. yeres. But yet in the time of the Gouernement of the Saxons, that is to say, in the .ix. yere of the reigne of King Balthicus, which was in the yere of our Lord 787. The Danes entered into the Realme, and spoyled and persecuted the people therein most greuously: And at the last Sweno, or Swayn the Dane, obteyned the possession and kingdome of this Realme, in the yere of our Lord. 1012. and he reigned thre yeres. And after him reigned Canutus his Sonne. .xix. yeres. And after him Harold his sonne thre yeres. And after him Hardikenitus the sonne of Canutus, who reigned thre yeres, and was the last king of the Danes, for then the Danes were bitterly expelled and dreyuen out of the Realme, which was in the yere of our Lord. 1042. And thus it may apere that the Danes reigned kinges of this Realme the space of. .xxviii. yeres. And it maye also apere, that from the time of the first entery of the Danes into this Realme, vnto their last expulsion, was. .CC. lb. yeres. And finally, the Normans entered this lande, and made a Conquest of this Realme, as before is expressed, in the yere of our Lord. 1067.

Which is siben vnto this present yere of our Lord. 1568. the number of five hundredth yeres.





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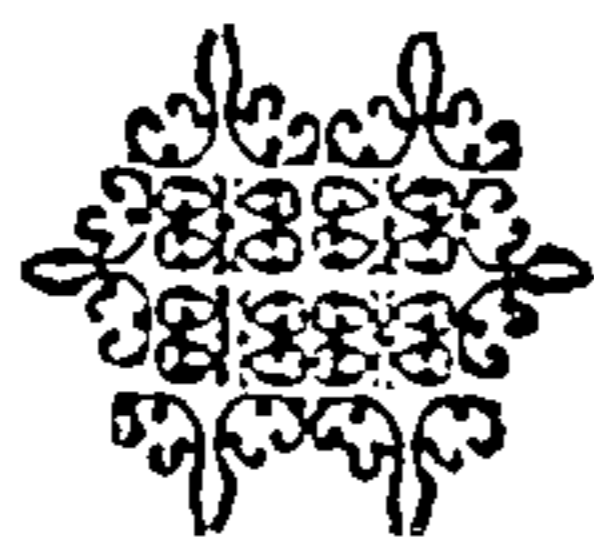
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FINIS.



This seconde  
Volume, beginning at  
William the Conquerour,  
endeth wyth our moſte  
dread and ſoueraigne  
Lady Queene  
Elizabeth.

Seene and allowed according to  
the order apointed.

Cum privilegio Regiæ  
Majestatis.

Anno. 1568.





To the Reader.



**N**Owe haue we passed the Historie of the Britons, Romaines, Saxons and Danes that reigned ouer this noble Realme, in the which tyme by reason of the continual warres and manifold spoyles and conquestes, from time to time here practised, and long continued, the olde and auncient writers of the said Hystories, and all their worthy and learned monuments were in maner wholly destroyed & defaced, and therefore but by the helpe of Gildas, Gaufride, Bede and a fewe other, the remembraunce of the Gouvernement, and of all the noble actes of this land had like to haue bene buried with vtter obliuion: But nowe, as we are come vnto the time of more rest: so by Gods sufferance shall follow a more large and ample hystory, praiyng most hartely the gentle Reader to beare with my rude stile and lacke of learnyng and knowledge, which if it were as great as my good will is, the same should want no necessarye furniture: But he that performeth and freely offereth that which he hath, is (as you knowe) bound to no more: and thus much after this sort, for this tyme with your fauour, may suffice.



The Historie of king William the Conquerour.



**W**ILLIAM the Conquerour, Duke of Normandie, and bastard sonne of Robert the first Duke of the same Dukedome, and nephew vnto Edward the Confessor late king of England as before is shewed, began his dominion ouer this Realme of England the .xv. day of October, in the yere of our Lord. M. lxxij. and was crowned king of the same at Westminster vpon Christmasse day next folowing of Aldredus Archebishop of Yorke: because at that time Stigandus Archebishop of Cauntorbury,

1067

William Conquerour crowned.

was then absent, and durst not come in the presence of the king, vnto whome the king ought no great fauour, as hereafter shall apere.

Some write that the sayde Duke required the aforesayde Stigand to consecrate him, because the office of consecrating of kings had alwayes apperteyned vnto the Archebishops of Cauntorbury. But forasmuch as he had aspired vnto the crowne by violence and vnlawfull meanes, the sayde Stigand would not be present at his coronation, nor in any wise assent therunto. Some againe say that the Duke refused to be crowned of him, because he was no lawfull Bishop, inasmuch as he receyued his Pall of Benet the tenth who was an vsurper of the Popedome, and not a lawfull Pope as they then tearmed him. And some againe make the cause of his reiection to be the corrupt life of the sayde Stigand. Polidore wyrteth that immediately vpon the ouerthrow of king Harold, duke William marched towards London, where Edwin Erle of middle England, and Marcarus or Marcatius Erle of Northumberland, earnestly myndyng the conseruation of their country, and to defende the libertie thereof, moued the nobilitie and commons to crowne Edgar Atheling, who onely was left aliue of the blood royall of the Realme. Vnto the which sentence although many did accorde, yet there were some of diuerse opinions concernyng this matter: But for all that, at the last they laid all their heades together and aduysed them selues howe and which way they might honestly submit them selues vnto the sayde Duke. But afterwardes, when he was come to the Citie, they made an ende of consultation, and euery man for feare submitted himselfe and receyued him as though they had bene right ioyous of his comming, deliuering him hostages, & praiyng him with all to receyue them to grace, and that they might be at peace with him: To whome the sayde Duke answered againe right curteously, making them many large and fayre promises, and that done, he was by them (although all were not like ioyfull at that solemnitie) crowned king vpon Christmasse day as aforesayde. But I finde written by one Thomas Chorpe Monke of Cauntorbury, among other things by him verie well noted and collected, of the beginning of the gouernance of William the Conquerour this story folowynge.

A. ij.

wyng.



wyng. After (sayth he) that the sayd Duke William had obteyned the victory, and had slaine king Harolde, and in like maner had taken the Citie of London, streight wayes he directed and bent his iourney towardes the Castell of Douer, to the entent he might conquere that also, with the other parts of Kent. The which beyng perfittely vnderstood: the Archebishop Stigand, and the Abbot Egelsyne, beyng then the chiefe potestates and gouernours of all Kent, vnderstanding all the Kingdome and Realme to be in an euill case, and that where as before the comyng of the sayde William there were no slaues or bondmen, now that all, aswell noble as meane men were brought vnder the perpetuall seruple yoke of the Normanes, by their neighbours daungers, taking an occasion first of their countries safegard & of their abone, gathered together at Cauntozbury the whole people and force of Kent, to whome they declared the daungers hangyng ouer theyr heades, the misery of their neighbors, the insolency of the Normanes, and the hardnesse of seruile condition: And the whole people rather desyryng to ende their haplesse lyfe, then to beare the vncustomed yoke of seruitude, with a comon consent decreed to meete Duke William, & to fight with him for their auncient laboes and libertyes. The afozenamed Stigand the Archebishop, and Egelsyne the Abbot, chosyng rather death in warre, then to see the miseries of theyr Nation, beyng hartened by the examples of the Machabees, were made Capitaynes of the Armie, and at the day apoynted, all the Kentishemen met at Swanescome, beyng hidden in the woodes, and wayted the comyng of the aforesayd Duke William. And because sufficient warinesse, and heed takyng in doubtfull cases doth no harme, they by their former talke were agreed among themselves, that wher the Duke approached nere, all passages beyng shut vp, least any wayes he should escape, that every seuerall person, aswell horsemen as footemen should carre a greene bough in his hand. The next day after, the Duke comyng into the fieldes and territories nere vnto Swanescome, and seeyng all the country ready set to hedge him in, and marking also a moueable wood with modcrate pace drawing nere toward him, not without astonishment of his mynde, much maruayled at it. And assoone as the Captaynes of the Kentishemen espied Duke William enclosed in the middest of their armie, they caused their Trumpets to be sounded, and their Banners to be displayed, and theyr downe their Boughes, and with their Bowes beyng bent, and their swordes drawn, and with their speares and other kinde of Armour, beyng set in a readinesse, theyr selves ready to fight it out. At the which sight Duke William with his adherentes & complices, not without cause were much amased. And he that a little before persuaded himselfe to haue helde all England in his fist, now doubted much of his abone lyfe. The Archebishop Stigand therefore, and the Abbot Egelsyne were incontiently sent forth to Duke William on the part and behalfe of the Kentishmen, who did their message vnto him after this sort. Sir Duke beholde here the people and inhabitants of Kent commeth forth to meete thee, and to receyue thee as their liege Lorde and gouernour, requiryng peace at thy handes vnder this condicion, that all they and theyr posteritie may quietly and peaceably enioy their auncient libertyes, and that they may vse still their olde and accustomed laboes, otherwise they are nowe in a readinesse presentlye to bid thee battayle, beyng readyer here altogether to leaue

Stigand Archebishop of Cantozbury preserued the liberties of Kent.

Wise and very good policie.

Wolde and wise messenger.

leau their lyues, then to depart from their auncient laboes and customes, or to submit themselves vnto slauih seruitude, which they haue not yet bene acquainted with. The Duke perceyuing himselfe to be entrapped, and in a streight, debating a while this matter with his wife Cayteynes, noting also wisely that if he should susteine a repulse or any hinderance at these peoples handes, which were accounted the key of England, that then all the bottom of threde which he a little before had sponne, were vntwisted, and that all his hope and securitie were turned into daunger, did not so willingly as wisely graunt all that which the Kentishmen demaunded of him, and sure pledges therevpon geuen from eyther parte to other. And then the ioyfull Kentishmen did conduct the gladded Normanes, and yelded to them the Countie of Kent and noble Castell of Douer, and so the auncient liberties of Englishe men, and their Countries, laboes, and customes, which before the comyng of William Duke of Normandy, were equally held through the whole realm of England, now was onely in the Countie of Kent, and that by the industry of Stigand Archebishop, and Egelsyne the Abbot of the Monastery of S. Austyns in Cauntozbury as aforesayd, and is vnto this day inuolably obserued and kept, namely that tenure which at this day is called Gauell kynde. Thus farre William Thorne.

The names of the Gentlemen that came out of Normandy with William Duke of that prouynce when he conquered this noble Realme of England.

The which I haue taken out of an auncient recorde that I had of Payster Clarenclus King at armes.

<b>A</b>	Arise	Basterupie.	Banaiter
	Atkeney	Bures	Baloun
<b>A</b>	Amarle	Bonilane	Beauchamp
	Apuccourt	Boyes	Braye
	Audeley	Botteller	Brady
	Angilliane	Boutcher	Bracy
	Argentouin	Brabayon	Boundes
	Arondell.	Berners	Beseoun
	Auenant	Breybuff	Broplem
	Abell	Brande	Broyleby
	Auierne	Buttcourte	Burnell
	Aundours	Brehus	Belet
	Angers	Burgh	Babodelwyn
	Angenoun	Bysseg	Beaumont
	Archer	Bardelf	Burton
	Annay	Bisset	Berteuilaye
	Asperuile	Bygot	Barre
	Abbeuile	Bohim	Bulleuyle
	Andeuile	Bailife	Blunt
	Amouerduille	Bondeuile	Beke
		Barfabon	Bykard
			Beauper

A.iii.

Beuyll



Beuyll  
 Bardonedoz  
 Bret  
 Baret  
 Bourett  
 Baynard  
 Bernuale  
 Bonett  
 Barry  
 Brian  
 Bodyn  
 Bertheuyle  
 Bertyn  
 Berneuyle  
 Belewe  
 Beuery  
 Bussheyl  
 Borauyle  
 Browe  
 Beleners  
 Buffard  
 Boteler  
 Bonueper  
 Botuyle  
 Beelyre  
 Bastard  
 Baynard  
 Brayfard  
 Belhelme  
 Brayne  
 Bient  
 Braunch  
 Belesus  
 Blundell  
 Burdell  
 Bagot  
 Beaumylse  
 Belemys  
 Beyfyn  
 Bernon  
 Boels  
 Belefroun  
 Butes  
 Barchampe  
 C  
 Amoyse  
 Camuyle

Chawent  
 Chauncy  
 Couderay  
 Coluyle  
 Chambulayne  
 Chamburnoun  
 Comyn  
 Columber  
 Tribett  
 Crenquer  
 Cozbyne  
 Cozbet  
 Chaundos  
 Chaworth  
 Cleremawse  
 Clarell  
 Chopys  
 Chaunduyt  
 Chantelowe  
 Chamberay  
 Cressy  
 Courtenay  
 Cunstable  
 Cholmeley  
 Campeney  
 Chawnos  
 Comuyle  
 Champayne  
 Careuyle  
 Carbonell  
 Charles  
 Chereberge  
 Chawnes  
 Chaumont  
 Caperoun  
 Cheyne  
 Cursen  
 Conyll  
 Cheyters  
 Cheynes  
 Cateray  
 Cherecourt  
 Camuyle  
 Clerenay  
 Curlye  
 Cuylye  
 Clynels  
 Courteney

Cliforde  
 D  
 Enaule  
 Dery  
 Dine  
 Dispencer  
 Denyce  
 Diuell  
 Denans  
 Dauers  
 Doningsels  
 Darell  
 Delabere  
 Delapoole  
 Delalynde  
 Delahill  
 Delaware  
 Delawach  
 Dakeney  
 Dauntrye  
 Desney  
 Dabernoune  
 Dauncy  
 Dauozos  
 Dauonge  
 Duylby  
 Durange  
 Delaroune  
 Delauoyre  
 Delahoyd  
 Delee  
 Delawnde  
 Delawarde  
 Delaplanche  
 Damnot  
 Danwoye  
 Dehuylse  
 Deuyle  
 Disard  
 Doynell  
 Durant  
 Dury  
 Dabitott  
 Dunsteruyle  
 Dunchampe  
 Dambelton  
 E

Estraunge  
 Estuteuyle  
 Estriels  
 Esturney  
 F  
 Creterers  
 Ffoluyle  
 Fitzwater  
 Fitzmarmaduke  
 fleuez  
 filberd  
 Fitz Roger  
 Fitz Robert  
 fauecourt  
 ferrers  
 Fitz Philip  
 filiott  
 furnynens  
 furninance  
 Fitz Otes  
 Fitz William  
 Fitz Roand  
 Fitz Payne  
 Fitz Anger  
 Fitz Aley  
 Fitz Raufe  
 Fitz Brovone  
 foke  
 freuyle  
 frount de Boet  
 faconbirge  
 forte  
 frifell  
 Fitz fouke  
 filioll  
 Fitz Thomas  
 Fitz Nozice  
 Fitz Hugh  
 Fitz Henry  
 Fitz Wareyn  
 Fitz Raynold  
 flamuyle  
 foemay  
 Fitz Custache  
 Fitz Lawrence  
 formiband  
 frison

fyuer

fyuer  
 Furnuale  
 Fitz Grofrey  
 Fitz Herbert  
 Fitz Peres  
 fichet  
 Fitz Kescwys  
 Fitz Fitz  
 Fitz John  
 fleschampe

G  
 Arney  
 Gressy  
 Graunson  
 Gracy  
 Georges  
 Gower  
 Gangy  
 Goband  
 Gray  
 Gaunson  
 Golofre  
 Gobion  
 Grenly  
 Graunt  
 Greyle  
 Greuet  
 Gurly  
 Gurley  
 Grammozy  
 Gernoun  
 Grendon  
 Gurdon  
 Gynes  
 Grynell  
 Greneuyle  
 Glateuyle  
 Gurney  
 Giffarroc  
 Gonerges  
 Gamages

H  
 Auntenay  
 Hansard  
 Hastyns  
 Hanlay

H  
 Auntenay  
 Hansard  
 Hastyns  
 Hanlay

Hurell  
 Hulle  
 Hercy  
 Heryoun  
 Herne  
 Harecourt  
 Henour  
 Honell  
 Hamlyn  
 Harewell  
 Hardell  
 Haket  
 Hamond  
 Harecord

I  
 Arden  
 Jay  
 Jhenyels  
 Jarconuylse  
 Januile  
 Jasparyle

K  
 Anut  
 Karre  
 Karrow  
 koyne  
 Kymazon  
 Kiriell  
 Kancey  
 Kenelre

L  
 Oneny  
 Lacy  
 Lynneby  
 Latomer  
 Loueda  
 Louell  
 Lemare  
 Leuetotte  
 Lucy  
 Luny  
 Logeuile  
 Longespes  
 Louerace  
 Longchamp

Lastales  
 Lonan  
 Ledet  
 Luse  
 Lotterell  
 Lozige  
 Longuale  
 Loy  
 Lozancourt  
 Loyans  
 Lymers  
 Longepay  
 Lammall  
 Lane  
 Louatote

M  
 Dhant  
 Mowne  
 Maundeuile  
 Marmylon  
 Mozibray  
 Mozuyle  
 Mirell  
 Manlaye  
 Malebraunche  
 Malemayn  
 Hulle  
 Marteyn  
 Mountbother  
 Mountfoler  
 Maleuyle  
 Malett  
 Mounterney  
 Mountfichet  
 Maleherbe  
 Mare  
 Mufegros  
 Mufard  
 Moyne  
 Mautrauers  
 Merke  
 Mures  
 Mountagu  
 Mountfort  
 Mantelet  
 Maudit  
 Mabile

M  
 Meucis  
 Mortmale  
 Moucheneley  
 Mallozy  
 Maruy  
 Monhermon  
 Mufet  
 Meneuile  
 Manfe  
 Mantenenat  
 Mepyncoy  
 Mayne  
 Maynard  
 Mozell  
 Maynell  
 Malcluse  
 Memozous  
 Murreys  
 Morley  
 Mauleuerer  
 Meyne  
 Mount Martyn  
 Myners  
 Mauclerck  
 Mountkenell  
 Monet  
 Mayntener  
 Meletake  
 Mortimer  
 Mortimayn  
 Maimile  
 Mangifere  
 Marmasyn  
 Mountlouell  
 Mawreboard  
 Mounthaut  
 Meller  
 Mountgomer  
 Manlaye  
 Maulard  
 Mendre  
 Martynast  
 Mare  
 Mawaryng  
 Mantell  
 Malemys  
 Malechey  
 Mozyn

Melum



Wicum  
Warcians  
Wayel  
Wozton

N

Nocers  
Neuile  
Newmarche  
Norbet  
Norice  
Newbrough  
Neyreinet  
Necell  
Normauple  
Nesmarch  
Nermits  
Nembutz

O

Otenell  
Olibef  
Olifaunt  
Oseuell  
Oysell  
Olifard  
Osmall  
Oziall

P

Pgot  
Pery  
Perepoynt  
Pershale  
Pover  
Panyell  
Pecher  
Peuerell  
Perot  
Picard  
Pynacny  
Pomeray  
Pounsey  
Panely  
Payfret  
Pulkenet  
Pekeny  
Paney

Phuars  
Punchardon  
Pinchard  
Plary  
Pugop  
Patefyne  
Playce  
Pampilion  
Percelaye  
Perere  
Potterell  
Penkeney  
Pecell  
Penell  
Putrill  
Pettuoll  
Prians  
Pantolfe  
Peyto  
Penicorde

Q

Quincy  
Quintine

R

Ridell  
Ryuers  
Ryuell  
Rous  
Russell  
Raban  
Rond  
Rye  
Rokell  
Rastok  
Rimulle  
Ronger  
Ract  
Ripet  
Regny  
Richemond  
Rochford  
Reymond

S

Souche  
Sheuile

Senchens  
Senclere  
Saint Quintine  
Saint Omer  
Saint Almond  
Saint Legier  
Someruyle  
Syward  
Saunfouer  
Sanford  
Sanctes  
Sanay  
Sanlay  
Sules  
Sozell  
Somerey  
Saint John  
Saint George  
Seyntelle  
Sesse  
Saluyn  
Say  
Solers  
Sanlay  
Saint Albyn  
Saint Martyn  
Sondemale  
Seguyn  
Saint Barbe  
Saint wyle  
Souremount  
Sozeglis  
Sandeuyle  
Sauncey  
Syzewast  
Saint Cheuerol  
Saint Hore  
S. Studemoz

T

Toget  
Tercy  
Tuchet  
Tracy  
Trusbut  
Traynell  
Taket  
Trussell

Taroot  
Tonny  
Traps  
Tollemach  
Tolous  
Tanny  
Touke  
Tibtote  
Turbeuyle  
Turuile  
Tomy  
Trenscheude  
Trenchelyen  
Tankeruile  
Trynet  
Tolet  
Trison  
Trauers  
Terdeue  
Turberuyle  
Tyzrell  
Tynneuile  
Tozell  
Tortechapell  
Trusbote  
Treuerell  
Tenwys  
Totelles  
Tauerne

V

Vere  
Verdon  
Westy  
Vernam  
Valance  
Verder  
Vauasour  
Verdonell  
Vendore  
Verley  
Venables  
Venoure  
Vilan  
Verlaund  
Veyny  
Vermels  
Vercere

Valenges

Walenges  
Wenycorde  
Arnall  
Wuket  
Wriafall  
Wernoys  
Wancozde  
Waberoun

Waldorell  
Wschere  
Wessay  
Wanay  
Wyan

W

Warde  
Wake  
Wely  
Wardebys  
Wate  
Wyuell  
Weyney  
Watelyn

Walanger  
Walers  
Wanuryle  
Wateuile  
Wafyz  
Waspayle  
Waren  
Wpyle

Nowe when as king William had possessed the imperiall Crowne and Diademe of this Realme of England as aforesayde: He then as a conquerour altered and chaunged the whole state and gouernement thereof. And first by displaing of such as before had borne rule, he aduanced the Lordes and people of his awne Nation vnto the highe and principall offices and dignities thereof, insomuch that Reynulph sayth, that there was skant left in England a Lorde that was an English man, and that then it was a shame to be called an English man. Polli. 7. Cap. 4. And after he caused a Proclamation to be made, that all former grauntes, liberties, and priuileges geuen or graunted by any Prince or King of this Realme afozetyne, should be from thence forth vtterly boyde to all constructions and purposes, except suche as should be renued and confirmed by him, by reason whereof, all degrees of people in the Realme, namely all fraternities, corporations, and bodie's politique, were forced to become newe suters to him, and compelled to make newe fines at his will and pleasure: And by this meanes he gathered into his possession the greatest part of all the ryches and treasure of the lande, as well of the Clergie, as of the Laytie. That done, he chaunged the lawes of the Realme, and made such newe lawes as were profitable to himselfe, and grieuous to the people, and he caused those lawes to be set forth in the Norman language to aduance his awne tongue as a woorthy and famous spech, and condemning ours as vile & barbarous: The which lawes are yet wyth vs in the same tongue.

While king William was thus occupied as abouesayde, it so chaunced that the people of Normandie began to quarrell among them selues, and there was such parttakyng among them, that if it had not beene looked vnto in tyme, it had lyke to haue turned to the destruction and confusion of the whole Duchy. Wherefore king William for the pacifyng therof was forced to gather an armie, and to leaue England for a while, and sayle into Normandie. And at his departure out of Englande, when he had set thinges in good order to his minde, he betooke the gouernement of the Realme to hys brother on the mothers syde named Odo, Bishop of Bayon, and in the Lent next folowynge he sayled into Normandie, & led with him the chiefe Lordes & rulers of England, for feare they should haue made any commocion or sturre in the tyme of his absence, with all those also that lay for hostages and pledges. Among the which number, were the Erles Marcarus, or Morcatus, and Edwyn aforesayde, Dukes of Northumberland, and Mertia, and also Stigandus Archebishop of Cauntozbury, and Edgar Ethelyng. To the which Stigandus, king William shewed great reuerence and countenance of much loue, and hartie fauour, but all proued great dissimulation, as after appered

King willis aduanced his awne country men.

King willis gathered great treasure. Lawes altered.

Rebellion in Normandie

King willis sayled into Normandie.

Marcarus & Edwyn Erles of Northumberland and Mertia.



appeared by his depoyng, and emprisoning at Winchester a long tyme. And beyng arriued in Normandy, he passed through the countrie triumphantly, and like a conquerour. But Polidore sayth that the cause of his goyng thither was, that for as much as he sawe how that from thenceforth he should be altogether occupied about the affayres of this Realme, and setting of orders in the same, he would first set such a stay in his Duchy of Normandie, that nothing might lightly happen afterwarde, by reason whereof he should be compelled to make his repayre thither againe.

The next yere when king William had sped his businesse in the sayde Countrie, he returned into England with great pompe, and shortly after set a fore taxe vpon the Englishe men, yea, so grieuous was he vnto them, that he neuer ceased to burthen them with newe taxes and impositions. Of the nobles he made so little accompt, that he seemed thereby howe he minded nothing else but their vtter destruction. By reason whereof in some partes of the land was there rebellion against him, namely in Deuonshire, & in Northumberland, but at the last he compelled them by force to obedience, and delt very cruelly with them. Many both of the Nobilitie and Commons he depriued as well of goodes as of aucthoritie and rule, and conferred the same vnto the Normanes and that for very small and light causes.

For these, and for other sterne and cruell deedes done by hym, the sayde Nobles were sore moued against him. And for that cause many of them fled the lande, some into Norway, and some into Denmarke, and some into one Countrie, and some into another. Marcarus, or Marcatus, Erle of Northumberland, and Edwyn Erle of middle England, with Edgar Athelyng, and dyuerse other, as Edgars mother, and his two sisters Margaret, and Christian fled into Scotland. But another Chronicle (sayth Iacobus) wytteth that Edgar entending with Agatha his mother and his two sisters to haue sayled into high Almayne or Hungary where he was borne, was by tempest of the Sea, dyuen into Scotland: where of Malcolyne or Malcolme then the thirde Scottishe king of that name, they were ioyously receyued. And in proesse of tyme, the sayde Malcolyne cast such loue vnto the said Margaret, that he tooke her to wife, as before is touched in the story of Canutus. Of the which Margaret the sayde Malcolyne receyued two daughters, and six sonnes, whereof three, that is to say, Edgar, Alexander, and David, were kinges of Scotland one after an other next after their father. And Holde one of the sayde daughters, was afterwarde married vnto Henry the first of that name king of England, and the other daughter Mary was married to Eustace Erle of Bologne. Of Holde the first daughter, king Henry receyued two sonnes, named William, and Richard, the which both dyed before their father, as after shall apere. And he receyued also two daughters named Holde and Mary, which Holde or Malwde was married to Henry the fourth of that name, Emperour of Almaine. After whose death she was againe married to Geoffrey Plantagenet Erle of Aungeow. Of whom descended Henry surnamed Shortmantell, afterwarde king of England by the name of Henry the second. And the other daughter Mary, was married to the Erle of Bloys, of whome descended Malwde, or Mary that was wife vnto king Stephen.

Nowe when king William had leuyed suche taxkes vpon the Englishe men

1068  
2  
Taxes began  
rebellion.

Edgar  
Atheling &  
other fled in-  
to Scotland.

Holde the  
daughter of  
the aforesayd  
Margaret  
Queene of  
Scots was  
married to  
Henry the  
first king of  
England of  
that name.

men as is before sayde, and espied their going thither, and also when he considered howe his Lordes were departed, he then had a neerer eye to the Lordes that remained, and kept them a little strayer: But it was not long after, but that Marcarus was reconciled to the king, and yet after fayled and forsoke him againe. For this & other causes, king William highly aduanced himselfe and his people with the possessions of this Realme, insomuch as they were greatly enriched, and the Englishe men in maner vtterly decayed. Then caused he foure Castles to be made, whereof two were set at Porke, the thirde at Nottingham, and the fourth at Lyncolne, and manned them all with Normanes, or as Polidore sayth one at Nottingham, an other at Lyncolne, the thirde at Porke, and the fourth at Hasting where he first landed. And this did he because that these foresayde places which were very commodius for the enemies, beyng thus manned and fortified might make all men asfearde, & to beware how they went about to disturbe the state of the realme by any newe deuided treason. And to make the people more quiet, and lesse able to rebell, he caused all their weapons and armor to be taken from them, and ordeyned also that euery housekeeper should be within his awne doores by eight of the clocke at night, and then to couer or rake by his fyre, and go to bed. And because they should not passe that houre, he caused a Bell to be rung in euery towne and billage iust at viij. of the clocke, the which is vsed in most countreies of England yet at this day, and is called in the Norman language, Couer le fue, which we now corruptly call Curfew.

About the thirde yere of his reigne: Harolde, and Canutus sonnes of Swanus king of Denmarke, came and sayled into the North part of Humber with a strong nauie of two hundred sayle and more, and in all haste drew them towardes Porke. Whether Edgar Athelyng came vnto them bringyng with him such Englishe men as had before fled into Scotland, by whom his power was encreased. Then the Normanes which had the rule of the towne and Castelles aforesayde, fearing that the Englishe men would ayde the Danes; and with the houses of the Suburbes of the towne, haue filled the towne ditches, set the Suburbes a fyre: whereof the flame was so big, and with the winde so strong, that it tooke into the Citie, and brent a parte thereof with the Minster of Saint Peter. In tyme of which fyre the Danes by fauour of some of the Citizens entred the Citie, Eabian. and slue more than thre thousande of the Normanes.

But Polidore reporteth the matter touching this inuasion of the Danes farre otherwise as followeth: Whiles these thinges were done in England, the Englishe Lordes that were fled into Denmarke, ceased not to moue Canutus the fourth then king of that Countrie, to warre vpon the Normanes, and to inuent newe causes whereby they might the soner incense him therevnto, sayng how the crowne of England ought of right to apperteyne vnto the kinges of Denmarke, as vnto them vnto whome the possession thereof had beene in tymes past no lesse profitable than honourable: and for that cause it should not stande with his honour, to suffer the same to be vniustly possessed of a newe Lorde that had no right or iust title therevnto, specially sith the time selfe serued so well for the purpose, in the which the Norman was so farre as yet from benefiting eyther the Englishe Nation, or such as bordred on them, that he nowe played the open tyraunt, and was hated of them

King William  
made foure  
Castles.

1069  
3

Swanus  
king of De-  
marke with  
his Danes  
landed in the  
North.



them all: And sayde further, that forsomuche as there was so great hope of victorie and successe, specially if he would preuent his enemye, and take suche holdes and places as were very fit for his purpose, it behoued him not to stay or sleepe the matter. This done; Canutus beyng much moued with these and such lyke perswasions, determined with himselfe to make warre against the Normanes. And it foloweth in the same booke: I am not ignorant howe it is reported in the Englishe Chronicle, that this warre against the Normanes was not made of Canutus, but of his brother Harold by his perswasion: The which thing Saxo Grammaticus a booke of the Danish History doth not affirme, neyther is it likely to be true, because Harold was a quiet man of nature, and one that much desyred to eschewe the trouayles of Martiall affayres and lyued not scarcely two yeres after he was made king, so that out of doubt it is, that he neuer durst be the authour of so great a warfare, neyther had he tyme or leysure thereunto. Hetherto Holidore. But to returne to the matter. It was not long after, but king William ouerthrewe them in battaile, and chased them to their shippes, and tooke so great displeasure with the inhabitantz of that Province for reuolting to Canutus, that he destroyed the land lying betweene Yorke and Durham in such wise, that ix. yeres after it lay vnlaboured and vntilled, except the land of Saint Johns of Beverley onely.

The Danes are chased to their shippes.

Yorke & the countrey round about vtterly destroyed.

Famyn.

And of the famyn that the people of that Countrey sustayned after ward, great wonders are reported: For it is written that they were for necessitie compelled to eate all kinde of Vermine, as Cattes, Rattes, Dogges, and such lyke, so harde and streit they were kept by the warre of the king. And in that yere also Holde, or Hadode the wife of king William was crowned Queene of England, of Aldredus Archbishop of Yorke, and was also deliuered of a fayre sonne named Henry, who was afterwarde king of England and called Henry the first of that name.

1070  
4

In the fourth yere of the reigne of this king, the Scottes with Malcolme, or Malcolme their king entered Northumberland, and wasted and destroyed soze that Countrey, and slue therein much people, and many they toke prisoners, and helde them as bonde men.

The building of the newe Forest.

After this, king William (whose greedy and couetous appetite and desyre of treasure beyng not yet quenched with the former great taskes or payments set vpon the peopie of this Realme) did by counsaile proccede further to enquire and search of all the Abbeyes in England, to vnderstand what riches was in them, & after an Inuentary taken thereof, caused the same to be brought into his treasure. And the same yere he caused the newe Forest to be made in the Countrey of Southamton, for the finishing whereof he was enforced to pull downe diuerse towones and Churches. xxx. myles of length, and stozed the same with wilde beastes, and then made sharpe lawes for the maintenance and encrease of them, as the losse of eyen, and other lymmes.

Stigand Archbishop deposed.

And soone after there was a sinode or counsaile holden at Winchester of the Clergie of England. At the which counsaile were present two Cardinales, sent from the second Alexander then Bishop of Rome. In this counsaile, Stigandus Archbishop of Cantorbury aforesayd, was deposed from his dignitie, and that for three causes, as Fabian sayth. First for that he had holden wrongfully that Bishoprike, while Robert the Archebishop was liuyng

uyng. The second, because he receyued the Pall of Benet the .x. Bishop of Rome, who was compted an usurper of the Papacie. The thirde, for that he occupied the sayde Pall, without the auctoritie of the Court of Rome. Holidore addeth a fourth cause, which was for that contrary vnto the Canons, he helde the Bishoprike of Winchester with the See of Cantorbury.

Stigandus Archbishop of Cantorbury.

And when Stigandus saue himselfe brought into this thraldome, he then thought good to proue what the king who had before in the tyme of his prosperitie pretended so much friendship and good will towardes him, would do for him in this case. But where before he made him a louyng and friendly countenance, and did vnto him great reuerence, then he chaunged all his mildenesse into stoutnesse, and excused himselfe by the Bishop of Romes auctoritie, so that in the ende Stigandus was deposed of his dignitie, and afterwarde committed to perpetuall prison in Winchester, where he dyed shortly after his sayd deposition.

Distinction.

It was reported of this Stigandus, that he was so couetous and sparing, that he would spende nothing moze than he needes must, and vsed to sweare by All halowes, that he had not one pennie to blesse himselfe withall: But that othe was not found true, for after his death, there was found a little key about his necke, by reason whereof there was founde great treasure vnder the earth in mo places than one, as sayth Fabian.

Bishopps deposed.

In this counsaile also were put downe diuerse other Bishopps, Abbots, and Priours, by the meanes of king William, and all to the extent that he might preferre Normanes to the rule of the Church, as he had preferred his knightes to the rule of the Temporaltie, and by that meane stand in the moze suretie of his estate, and bring riches and treasure to his possession.

Wolstane bishop of Worcester.

In this counsaile also, Wolstane that then was Bishop of Worcester, was an earnest suter vnto the king for certeyne possessions fallen into his handes by the death of Aldredus last Archbishop of Yorke, which were withhelden from his See by the sayd Aldredus. But the king would not seme to vnderstand his sute, for hurting the Church of Yorke. Fabian.

Lanfranke.

And shortly after the king gaue that Archebishoprike vnto Thomas a Chanon of Bayon, who was the first that buylded the Synster of Yorke, and sent for Lanfranke then Abbot of Cane, and gaue vnto him the Archebishoprike of Cantorbury. This Lanfranke was an Italian borne, and a very good deuine, and right expert withall in the gouernement both of Spirituall and Temporall thinges. And soone after that he was made Archebishop of Cantorbury, Thomas that before was chosen Archbishop of Yorke came vnto him to be sacced of him as the auncient vsage and custome was. Of whom Lanfranke required an othe, and required his profession in writing concerning his obedience vnto the See of Cantorbury. Thomas answered and sayde, that he would neuer do that, except he might therof here sufficient auctoritie and skilfull reasons, by the which it might apere that he should so do without any empchement or preiudice of his Church of Yorke.

Then the King calling Lanfranke before him sayde, that the sayd Lanfranke trusted moze in his cunning, than he did in good fayth or reason: But he answered so reasonably vnto the king, that in the ende, Thomas by the Kinges commaundement was faine to come againe to Lanfranke to be sacced, and wrote his profession with his awne hand, of his obedience, and read

B. J. it



it, in the which was conteyned, that he shoulde be obedient in all that belongeth to the worship of God and all Christian faith, which done he was sacred, and so departed. And shortly after Lanfranke required the like othe and profession of all the Bishops of England.

1071  
5

Marcarius the bishop of Duresme fled to the Isle of Ely.

Egelwinus Bishop of Duresme starued with hunger.

The newes of Ely.

1073  
7

Lanfranke.

The primas eye of Cauntorbury.

In the fift yere of this Kinges reigne, Edwyn and Marcarus of Mercatus, Erles of Mercia and Northumberland, beyng in feare and daunger of their liues, boyded the kinges Court secretly, and rebelled for a little time: But at length it turned to both their harmes. For Edwyn was slaine as he went toward Scotland, or as some write in Scotland of his alone company, and Erle Marcarus, with the Bishop of Duresme named Egelwinus, tooke the Isle of Ely for their sauegard. But the king helde them so short, that in processe of tyme they were faine to yelde and submit themselves to the kings grace and mercie. Then he sent the Bishop to the Abbey of Abingdon, to be kept there as prisoner, where he was so daintily fed, that at the length he dyed for hunger. But some writers report, that he was so high hearted and loftie of courage, that after he knewe that he should remaine there as prisoner, he would neuer eate meate more, and Erle Marcarus was had to the Tower of London. But Polidore sayth he scaped out of the Isle in a ship, and fled into Scotland, which was the cause why the king warred anon after vpon the Scots. For in the sixt yere of his reigne, he went with a great armie against them, and subdued Malcolme their king, and compelled him to do him both homage and fealtie. He also disherited Gospatrik Erle of Comberland, and exiled him the land, and gaue all Comberland with the honour of Carlisle to Raufe Meschynes, and made him Erle thereof. Also aboute this tyme, king William made the newe Forrest in the Countie of Southhanton: And for the enlarging of the same, he ouerthrowe Townes and Churches a great number by the space of. xxx. myles, and replenished the same with Deere, and then made sharpe lawes for the encrease and maintenance thereof.

In the seventh yere of king William, Thomas Archebishop of Yorke, not beyng content to be vnder the rule and obedience of Lanfranke Archebishop of Cauntorbury, appealed to the Court of Rome, so that the sayde two Archebishops apere both in proper person before Alexander Bishop of Rome. In whose presence Lanfranke, was so well fauoured, that where Thomas aboute named, and Remigius Bishop of Dorchester, were for iust causes deprived of their Croyses and Ringes, he by his fauour and meanes (as sayth Fabian) restored them to their former dignitie. The cause of Thomas his deprivation was, for that he had holpen Duke William towarde his iourney into England: for the which the said Duke promised him a Bishoprick if hee obtained victory. And the other was deprived for that he was proued a Priests sonne.

Then Thomas moued the cause of the Primacie of Cauntorburie, and of the subiection that to him should belong, and sayde that these two Sees were satre asonder, that is to say, Cauntorbury and Yorke, and that neyther of them by the constitution of Gregorie shoulde be subiect vnto another, but that the one is more worthie than the other, forsomuche as hee is of elder tyme. To this answered Lanfranke and sayde that the constitutions of Gregorie made no mencion of Cauntorbury, but of Yorke and London. Then the

the Bishop of Rome remitted this matter to be determined before the king, and the Bishops of England, and he gaue the Pall to Lanfranke.

But because this worde or terme Pall is to many vnknownen, I will therefore here shew vnto you what thing it is. This Pall is an indowment that euery Archbishop must haue, and he is not in full aucthoritie of an Archbishop (by the Bishop of Romes ordinance) vntill he haue receiued the Pall, and it is a thing of white Sylke, the bredth of a Stole that the Priest was wont to weare at his masse, but it is of another fashion. And that ye may the better knowe it, if ye looke vpon the armes of any Archebishop, there ye shall see it set out in white with a great many of blacke crosses vpon it.

What a Pall is.

1074  
8

Nowe when Lanfranke had thus finished his businesse at Rome, he with the other two Bishops returned into England, where this matter hangyng in variaunce betweene the sayde two Archebishops was had in communication. For triall whereof Bedes History was brought forth: wherein it appered, that from the first Augustines time, to Bedes last dayes, which was. C. xxxij. yeres, the Archbishop of Cauntorbury had the Primacie of all the Bishops in England. Fabian.

When Thomas had heard all these allegations, he denyed all, and laid for him the Epistle, in the which Gregorie Bishop of Rome demed that the Church of Yorke, and of London should be euen Peeres, and neyther of them subiect to the other.

The contention betwene the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and the Archebishop of Yorke, which of the should be chiefe.

To this was answered by Lanfranke, that he was not Bishop of London, nor this question was not moued for the Church of London. But Thomas sayde that Gregorie had graunted to Augustyne power to haue vnder him all the Bishops of Englande, and that London at that day was the principall See of all England. Albeit that the Bishop of Romes minde was that betwene London and Yorke should be no diuersitie of honour, because they beyng Archebishops might lyue in an vnite to the good example of all other. And though Augustyne chaunged the See from London to Cauntorbury, yet Gregorie would not that Augustynes successors should be aboute the Bishops of Yorke. For he woulde haue then set in his Epistle these wordes folowynge: I graunt to thee Augustyne and to thy successors: But for that he would there should no such power stretch to his successors, therefore he made no mencion of them.

Lanfranke, to this answered and said: If that aucthority were graunted to Augustine alone, and not to his successors, it was a simple gift that the Bishop of Rome gaue to Augustine that was so familer with him, & namely while Augustyne sacred no Bishop of Yorke while he lyued. For the See was full during his life, by reason whereof he put not his aucthoritie in execution. But priuileges of Bishops of Rome confirmeth this dignitie to Augustines successors of Cauntorbury, and demeth that it is skill and good reason, that all the churches of England shoulde take light and knowledge at that place.

1075  
9

By these reasons and other, Thomas was at length overcome, & graunted gladly that the farther brinke of Humber should be the beginning of his Diocesse. And furthermore it was there demed, that in all thinges concerning the worship of God and the fayth of holy Church, the Archebishop of Yorke should be subiect to the Archebishop of Cauntorbury: So that if the

The Archebishop of Yorke iudged subiect to the Archebishop of Cauntorbury

B.ij. Archebishop



Archebifhop of Cauntorbury would call a counfaile in any part of England, the Archebifhop of Yorke fhoulde be thereat with all the Bifhoppes of his Province, and be alfo obedient vnto his lawfull heftes. And at all feafons when the Archebifhop of Cauntorbury fhould be facred, the Archebifhop of Yorke with the Bifhops of his Province fhould come to Cauntorbury and confecrate him there. And if the Archebifhop of Yorke fhould be ftalled or facred, then fhall he come to Cauntorbury, or elfe where in Englande, where the Archebifhop of Cauntorbury fhall affigne him, and there to be facred of him, and he fhall make to him an othe, with profeflion of obedience.

Lanfrankes  
vnto gloze.

When Lanfranke heard this iudgement geuen, he reioyfed inwardly. And to the entent it fhould remaine of recorde, that his fucceffors fhould not neede to pleade that matter, he therefore caufed it to be regestred in moſte fubftanciall wife. And besides that ſent a Biſtle for that cauſe to Alexander the aforenamed Biſhop of Rome of all this doying, with the profeflion of Thomas the Archebifhop aforeſayd. Of this Lanfranke are by diuerſe wryters many notable thinges wrytten, ſayth Fabian.

1076  
10

In the .x. yere of this kinges reigne, Roger Erle of Hereford who had geuen his ſiſter in marriage vnto Raufe Erle of Norfolk and Suffolke againſt the kinges minde. The ſayde Roger together with the ſayde Raufe conſpired againſt the king, and caufed Walreſe Duke of Northumberlande, and Erle of Huntingdon, and Northampton, by their ſubtile perſwaſions to be agreeable to their vnturth. But at the laſt, when this Duke Walreſe had well vnderſtand the purpoſe that they went aboute, he went to Lanfranke and ſhewed him all the matter: By whoſe counſayle he ſhortly after ſayled vnto the king then beyng in Normandy, and diſcloſed the ſame vnto him, and put himſelfe wholly in his grace and mercy.

Creation of  
by cable forth.

1077  
11

When the king had heard theſe tidyngeſ, he made good ſemblance vnto the Duke Walreſe, and ſped him the faſter into England: But howſoener it came to paſſe, the two ſayde Erles were warned of the diſcloſynge of thys matter, in ſuch wiſe as they gathered to them ſuch ſtrength that y king could not haue them at his pleaſure, but as he was ſayne by ſtrong hande to chace and outlawe them. And for that he ſayled of his purpoſe of them, he imprifoned Duke Walreſe at Wincheſter, and laſtly caufed him to be behedded, more of tyranny than of iuſtice.

Duke walreſe  
an accuſar of  
Trawtoſ  
behedded.

1078  
12

In the .xij. yere of his reigne was holden a great counſayle or Synode of the Clergie of the land in S. Pauls Church of London, where amongeſt many thinges ordeyned for the rule of the Church of England, diuerſe Biſhops Sees were tranſlated from one place to another, as Selwy, to Chicheſter, Kynton to Exeter, Welles to Bathe, Shereborne to Sarisburie, Dorcheſter to Lyncolne, and the See of Lichefield to Cheſter, which thinges thus ordered with many othe. For the Church, the ſaid couſail was deſolued.

A Synode of  
the Clergie.

Biſhops ſecs  
tranſlated.

1079  
13

In the .xiiij. yere of his reigne, after the death of Harman Biſhop of Sarisburie, ſucceeded Oſmond, or Oſwald the kinges Chaunceloz, the which builded there a newe Church within the kinges Caſtell, and brought thether Clerkes that were garniſhed with vertue and cunning. And he himſelfe wrote and bounde bookes, that were ordeyned and made for the more deuout and ſolemne ſettyng out of the deuine ſeruiſe of the Church, as the ordynall and othe, and it was then called Sarisburie ble. And at this tyme the

Oſmond or  
Oſwald  
Bifhop of  
Sarisburie.

Sarisburie  
ble.

king

king gaue the Erledom of Northumberland to Walter Biſhop of Durham, who afterward was ſlaine by the men of Northumberland.

In the .xv. yere of his reigne, Robert the eldeſt ſonne of king William the conquerour, becauſe he might not haue the Duchy of Normandy, which his father had ſometime aſſigned & geuen vnto him, and after for his wilde- neſſe did reſume it againe: He with the ayde and fauour of the french king Philip, & Lewes his ſonne, toke prayes in that Duchy, and put his father to much trouble. In ſo much that at length the father & the ſonne met in plaine fieldes with two great hoſtes, and eyther with other fought a cruell Battail.

1081  
15

Robert the  
eldeſt ſonne of  
king William  
rebelled a-  
gainſt his  
father.

It is read that during this battaile, king William was throwne from his horſe, and in great ieopardie of his lyfe. Whereof his ſonne Robert beyng ware, was ſo moued with pittie that he reſcued his father, and deliuered him free from all the daunger of his enemies. But howe ſoouer it fortunied with the king: The truth is, that many of his men were ſlaine, and his ſeconde ſonne William Rufus ſore hurt, ſo that in the ende king William was faine to reſume the fieldes, and gat at that tyme none aduantage of his ſayde ſonne. For the which dede and rebellion thus made by the ſonne, the father accuſed him after the opinion of ſome wryters.

While king William was thus occupied in Normandy, the Northumbers rebelled, and ſlue in their rage Walter the Biſhop of Durham, but the cauſe is not expreſſed, whoſe death Odo Biſhop of Baion ſhortly after reuenged. After the aforeſayde battaile in Normandy, king William returned into Englande, bringyng with him the ſayde Robert his ſonne, whome he incontinent vpon his returne ſent with an armye againſt Malcolme king of Scottes, for that contrary to the league betwixt them, he had made in hys abſence diuerſe roades into the borders of England. But when Robert vnderſtood that the ſayd Malcolme was retired into Scotland, he ceaſed to purſue him any further, and therefore retyred he vnto the water of Tyne, where he lay in campe a ſeaſon, and there builded a forte, where as at thys day ſtandeth newe Caſtell vpon Tyne: But the towne and wall was builded afterwardeſ by king John, who gaue many great priuileges and liberties vnto the ſame, which was before but a ſmall fiſher towne without walles named Pandon.

1082  
16

New Caſtell  
vpon Tyne.

In the .xviij. yere of king William, there fell an vnhappy ſtriſe betwene Thurſton Abbot of Glaſcenbury a Norman, and his Monkes, the cauſe whereof (in part ſayth Fabian) was, that the Abbot deſpiſed and would haue ſet apart ſuch ſong and offices as by Gregorie Biſhop of Rome & Auguſtine his diſciſple, of olde tyme was to them aſſigned, and would haue compelled them to haue folowed the ble of William of ſeſtampe. And beſyde that, this Thurſtone waſted and inordinatly ſpent the goodes of that place, in lechery, and by other inſolent meanes, and withdrewe from the Monkes, their olde and accuſtomed diet. For the which cauſes, firſt began great wordes wyth chydynge, and after ſtrokes and fightes, ſo that the Abbot gate vnto him armed men, and fell vpon the monkes, and ſlue two of them at the high altare, and wounded .xviij. of them, and the Monkes with formes and Candleſticks deſeded themſelues in ſuch wiſe, that they hurt many of y armed men.

1083  
17

Thurſtone  
Abbot of  
Glaſcenbury  
& his monkes  
fought toge-  
ther.

After complaint was brought hereof before the king, by whoſe iudgement, Thurſtone was againe returned into Cadonie, from whence he was brought.

B.iiij.



brought, and the Monkes were spred abrode into dyuerse houses through England. But it is sayde that in the tyme of William Rufus, this Thurston obteyned the rule of the Abbey againe for the price of .D. pound.

1085  
19

A new tar.  
An hide of  
land.  
A knightes  
fee in land.

In the .xix. yere of his reigne, king William rayled a newe maner of Care: for he caused to be gathered through England of euery hyde of land .viij. shillings. An hide of lande conteyneth five Pardes, and euery Pard conteyneth foure Acres, and so an hide of land conteyneth .xx. Acres, an Acre conteyneth .xl. perches of length, and foure in bredth, and foure Acres make a Parde, and five Pardes make an Hide, and .viij. Hides make a knightes fee. By the which reason a knightes fee should conteyne .C. lx. Acres, and that is accompted for a plough land for a yere.

A great and  
streight in-  
quirie.

And not long after he caused to be searched howe much lande eche of hys Barons helde, howe many knightes fees, howe many towne, and what number of men and of beastes were within this land: whereof he commaunded a booke to be made, which also was done, and that afterward turned this land to sundry griefes and plagues, as after shall apere.

1086  
20

Canutus a  
Dane with  
the helpe of the  
Flemings  
landed in  
England.

In the .xx. yere of his reigne, Canutus king of Denmarke, with the helpe of the Fleminges came with a great armie toward England: But by the prouision of the king, they were so feared, that they wer let of that iozney.

Coventrie.

Then king William gaue to thre of his Chapleynes thre Bishoppikes. To Nozice he gaue London, to William he gaue Chetford, and to Robert he gaue Chester, which Robert was after remoued to Couentrie. Of this Robert reporteth Reynulph that he scraped from one Beame of his Church in Couentrie five hundzeth marke, to fill the hande of king William. For Leofricus that was Duke of Mertia in the time of Edward the Confessor, had adourned that Church, with great riches of Golde, Siluer & Jewelles.

In this yere Edgar Atheling, which was reconciled to the kinges fauour, by licence of the king, sayled into Apulia.

Paules  
brent.

Now began the aforesayde plagues to spring: for great mozevne fell vpon brute beastes, and brenning feuers among the people, and also great hunger and barenesse of the earth. Also in this yere great hurt was done in many places of the land by fyre, and specially in the City of London, where vpon the sixt day of July the Church of Saint Paule in London was bzent, and all that was therein, as in a table hangyng on the North syde of the Quyere may apere. And it was in the tyme that Nozice was Bishop of London. And lykewyse was bzent a great part of the Citie of London at the same tyme.

At this tyme king William beyng in Normandy prepared for warre against the French king: But shortly after he fell sicke, and kept his Chamber at Roan a long tyme, wherefoze Philip the French king beyng merely disposed, sayde that William lay in Childebed, and nozished his fat belly. The which wordes when they came to king Williams eares, he was much amoued therewith, and sayd, when I am churched I wyll offer vnto him a thousand Candelles light, with the which he shall holde himselfe finally contented. The which promise, he after performed. For in the moneth of July folowing, when corne, fruite, & grapes were most flourishyng, he entered into Fraunce with a great armie, and set on fyre many Cities and towne on the west syde of Fraunce, and at the last came vnto the Citie of Meaur, and fyred it, and bzent

brent a great part thereof, with the Church of our Lady, wherein he bzent a woman beyng closed in the Wall of the sayde Church, as a recluse.

In this heate, or as some say by the leaping of a horse, king William tooke such a disease and sicknesse, that it was shortly after the cause of hys death. And when he felt himselfe thus grieued, he called his sonnes befoze him, and exhorted them in his best and most louyng maner, that they should charitably loue and fauour eyther other of them, and to holde together as louyng brethren, and so afterward made his testament and last will.

He had five children, Robert the eldest, to whome he gaue the Dukedome of Normandy, Richard, the second, who died in his youth, William Rufus the thirde, to whome he gaue the kingdome of England, and Henry the fourth that also succeeded him in the same kingdome. And one daughter named Adela, who he gaue in mariage to Stephen Erle of Bloys or Bonony, who got on hir Stephen that after was king of England. But other write that king Henry the first maryed Adolde the daughter of Margaret Quene of Scottes, and by her had issue two daughters, named Adolde, and Mary. And Adolde was first maryed to Henry the Emperoz, and after to Geoffrey Plantagenet, by whome she had issue king Henry the second. And Mary was maryed to Custace Erle of Bloys, by whome she had issue king Stephen. So that king Henry the seconde came of the elder sister, and Stephen of the yonger sister. The which Adolde and Mary were the daughters of Margaret the wyfe of Malcolyne, or Malcolme king of Scottes, which was sister to Edgar Atheling, and of Edward the outlawe, which was the sonne of Edmond Ironsyde.

King William  
had five chil-  
dren, & what  
came of them.

After that king William had aduertised his sonnes as aforesayd, and had made his last will and Testament, he then deliuered out of Prison his abone brother the Bishop of Bayon, Harcarus Erle of Northumberland, Wilnotus the sonne of Harold, or as some do write he was the sonne of Goodwyn, which was sent to William by Edward the Confessor to remain for a pledge for his sayd father Goodwyn. And shortly after these thinges with other were done, he dyed the .viij. day of September, when he had reigned king of England. .xx. yeres, .x. Monethes, and .xxviij. dayes, and in the .liij. yere of his Duchye, and the .liij. yere of his lyfe, or as Polidore wyrteth. lxxiiij. and in the yere of our Lorde. 1087.

Charitic is  
most used in  
the extreme  
pangues of  
death.

After his death, men spake of him as they do of other Princes, and said that he was wise and guileful, riche and couetous, and loued well to be magnified and prayled, a fayze speaker, and a deepe dissembler, a man of goodly stature, but something fatte in the belly, sterne in countenance, & strong in armes, and therewith couragious and bolde, and had greate pleasure in hunting and making of great feastes. But he passed all other in leuiyng of Taskes, which condicion his subiectes construed thre maner of wayes, and sayde, that eyther it was to excell all other in ryches, or else to withstand and defend his enmyes, or to stauche the appetyte of his couetous mynde. He builded two Abbeyes in England, one at Battill in Suffex, where he wan the fiede against Harold, the which was called vntill the suppression thereof the Abbey of Battaille. And the other he set in Southwarke besyde London, vpon the Southsyde of Thames, and named it Warmondsey. And he builded also one in Cane in Normandie where he was buried, and dedicated the same

The descrip-  
tion of King  
William the  
Conqueror.



same unto Saint Steuen.

And when all ceremonies apperteyning vnto the funerall were finished and done, and that he should now be layd in his tombe, there suddenly stepped forth one that resisted and would not suffer him to be buried in that place, saying with a lowde voyce, how that the ground where they purposed to bury him, was percell of his auncient inheritance, which the Duke in his lyfe tyme had wrongfully taken from him perforce, and against his will for the buylding of that Abbey, and had neuer made him any recompence or amendes for the same, and therfore would not to die for it assent ne suffer that he should there be buried, onelesse he were first recompenced and agreed with accordingly, whereupon they were faine to see him recompenced before he could be entered, so that maruell it was that so great and noble a conquerour as he was when he was aliue, could not after his death attayne somuch ground as might receyue and couer his poore Carcas, without great adoo and businesse.


The sayde king had to Issue (sayth Holidore) by Matilde his wife, Robert vnto whome he bequethed the Dukedome of Normandy: Richard, who dyed very yong: William Rufus, and Henry which were afterwarde kings of England one after another. Of this Henry he propheryed before (as the same went) that he should rule both England and Normandy together after his brethren, vnto whome he gaue by testament a great part of his treasure. He had also five daughters, that is to wete, Cicill which was made a Nonne, Constance whome Alley Duke of hether Briteyne married, and Adela the wyfe of Stephen Erle of Bloys, mother to king Stephen, who reigned after the sayde king Henry: The names of the other two are not remembred of writers, which dyed ere they were marriageable, one of the which as is before mencioned should haue bene the wife of Harolde, if fortune had not bene against it.

It is also reported that when this king lay at the poynt of death, and should now depart the world, he much repented him of the cruell handelyng of the English men, specially because he had bene by them so much increased as well in honour as Empire.

And although this king helde Englishmen in great subiection, and as is aforesayd suffered almost no English man to gouerne or rule within the Realme: Yet it should appere he somedeale fauoured the Citie of London, for at the speciall sute and request of the right reuerend father in God William then Bishop of London, the sayde Conquerour in the first yere of his reigne graunted vnto the Citizens of London their first Charter and liberties, in as large forme as they enioyed the same in the tyme of Saint Edward the confessor that reigned before the Conquest. And the Citizens to shewe themselves thankfull vnto the sayde Bishop for his great loue and fauour, did not onely accompt him as a deere and speciall friend vnto them so long as he liued, but also after his death and buriall, beyng entered in the middle Isle of the West ende of Paules Church, they fixed on his graue stone this Epitaph folowynge.

The Epitaph of the reuerend father in God  
William Bishop of London, who of his great loue and  
charitie towarde the Citizens of the same, did first  
obteyne for them of William the Conquerour theyr

Charter, liberties and priuileges, as by the inscription  
of the sayde stone may apere, the contentes and effect  
whereof foloweth, first in Latine, and  
then in English.

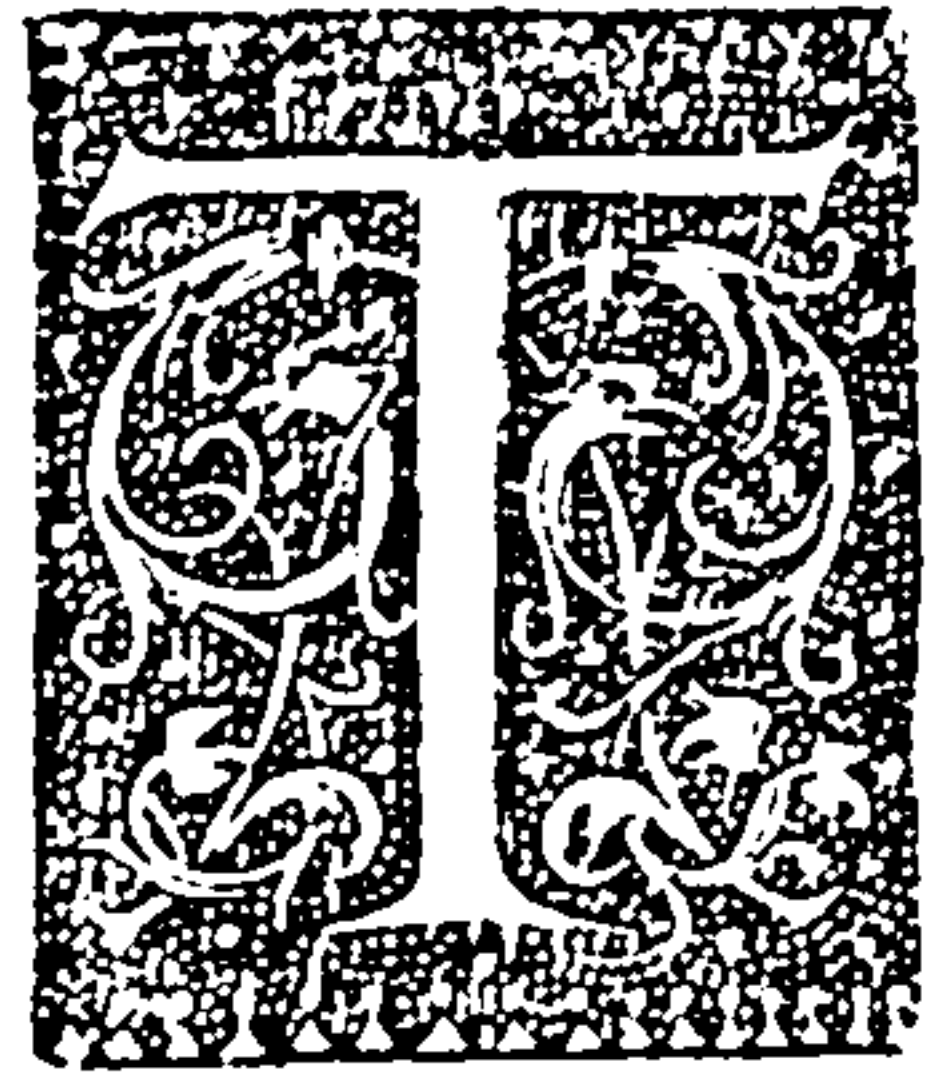
 Vilielmo viro sapientia & vite sanctitate claro,  
qui primū diuo regi & cōfessori familiaris, nu-  
p̄r in episcopū Lodinensis erectus, nec multo  
post apud inuictissimū principem Guilielmum Angliæ  
regem eius nominis primum, ob prudentiam, fidemque  
singularem in consilium abhbitus: amplissima huic Vr-  
bi celeberrimæ priuilegia ab eodem impetrauit, Senatus  
populusque Londinensis bene merenti posuit. Sedit  
Episcopus annos. 16. decessit anno à Christo nato. 1067.

*Hæc tibi, clare pater, posuerunt marmora Ciues:  
Præmia, non meritis, æquiperanda tuis:  
Hic sibi nam populus te Londinensis amicum  
Sensit, & huic Urbi non leue præsidium.  
Reddita libertas ductè: donataq; multis  
Te duce res fuerat publica muneribus,  
Diuitias, gemmas, formam, breuis opprimit hora  
Hæc tua sed pietas, & benefacta manent.*

The same in English foloweth.







O William a man famous in wisdom and holynesse of lyfe, who first wyth Saynt Edward King and Confessor being familiar, of late preferred to be Bishop of London: and not long after, for his wisdom and sincere fidelitie admitted to be of Counsaile with the most victorious Prince William king of England of that name the first, who obteyned of the same great and large priuileges to this famous Citie. The Senate and Citizens of London to him hauing well deserued, haue made this. He continued Bishop. xvj. yeres, and dyed in the yere of Christ a thousand three score and seuen.

*These Marble monumentes to thee thy Citizens assigne  
Rewardes (O father) farre vnfit to those deserts of thine.  
Thee vnto them, a faythfull friend, thy London people found,  
And to this towne, of no small weight, a stay both sure and sound.  
Their liberties restored to them, by meanes of thee haue bene,  
Their publike weale by meanes of thee, large gifts haue felt and seen.  
Thy riches, stock and beuty braue one houre it hath opprest  
Yet these thy vertues and good deedes, with vs for euer rest.*

The aforesayde Charter is written in the Saxon tongue.



William Rufus, or William the Red, the thirde sonne of William the Conquerour, began to reigne ouer this realme next after his father, the .ix. of September, in the yere of our Lorde. M. lxxxvij. Who being in Normandy at hys fathers death, departed thence before his funerall obsequy was finished and done, and in all haste addressed him into England, where he was sooner arriued than he was looked for, and being come into the Realme, he by and by made Lanfranke then Archebishop of Cauntorbury (in whose friendship and faythfulnesse he had reposed no small trust and confidence) priuie to all his counsaile, praiung him withall to put to his helping hand, that he might be crowned king as shortly as might be, according to his fathers Will and Testament: The which was at the last brought to passe by the importune labour and sute of the sayde Lanfranke, who for his learning was highly esteemed, aswell with the Nobilitie as also of the Commons of the Realme, but yet not without much ado: For a great many bare better good will vnto his brother Robert than vnto him, because he was of a more mylde and gentle nature, and besyde that he was the elder brother, and therefore ought by lawe and conscience to haue bene preferred: But yet the matter was so wrought by the wisdom of Lanfranke, promysing all thinges in his name, that might by any meanes purchase him credite or fauour with the people, that all in maner assented vnto his coronation, and so was he by him the sayde Lanfranke, with the assistance of diuerse other Bishoppes, whose names are all rehered by Mathewe of Westminster annoynted and crowned king at Westminster, the first day of October, the yere of our Lorde abouesayd.

Reynulph Monke of Chester that wrote Polichronicon sayth, that Robert Curthose eldest sonne of William the Conquerour, was at the tyme of hys fathers death in Allmaine, gathering of a great host against his father. And afterward heering that he was dead, and that he had preferred his younger brother to the kingdome of England, was therefore greatly amoued, inso-much that he layde halfe his Dukedome to pledge vnto his brother Henry to mainteyne warre agaynst king William. The which thing done, he gathered a great army, and shortly after landed at Hamton.

When William Rufus had vnderstanding thereof, he in all hast sent vnto him messengers, to whome he gaue in commission to say as foloweth. Thy brother William prayeth thee to take no grieffe with that he hath done, for he calleth himselfe not king, but as vnder king to reigne vnder thee, and by helpe of thee that art greater than he, and his elder brother. And if thou consider it well, he hath nothing misused himselfe against thee, for he hath taken vpon him the gouernement of this Realme for a tyme because of thyne absence. But for that he is now in aucthority and crowned by thy sufferance, he



he prayeth that vnder thee he maye so continue, payng to thee yerely three thousand Markes, with condicion y who soeuer ouerliueth other, may enioy the kingdome. When Robert had heard this messlage vnto the ende, he wagged his head, as he that conceyued some doublenesse in this report. But for that he was liberall, and allowed moze honour than he did his profite, as in other things folowing of his deedes it shall apere, therefore he lightly assented to all that was desired, and returned shortly after into Normandy with pleasant wordes and many fayre promises without profite.

Robert Curthose was soon dispatched with faire wordes.

1088

2

Odo bishop of Bayon brother to king William conquerour

The Lordes conspired against king William Rufus.

Rebellion.

This yere in the beginning of Sommer, Odo Bishop of Bayon, which as before ye haue heard was deliuered out of Prison by William Conquerour, came into England, whom the king ioyfully receyued, and gaue vnto him shortly after the Erledome of Kent. But he tooke vpon him in procelle of tyme to rule, in such wise as the king grudged at his doying. And for this the king and his vncle fell at unkindenesse, so that he withdrewe himselfe from the king, and alped him with the bishop of Duresme, the Erles of Northumberland, Shrewesbury, and others. The which beyng confederate together, conspired against the king, and made his brother Robert Curthose against him, and wrought many thinges to his displeasure and hurt. And amongst all other damages by them done, Roger de Mount Gomorik, Erle of Shrewesbury, destroyed the Countrie and north west parts of England to Worcester towne, by the ayde and helpe of the Welshemen: But in the ende, the Welshemen were so feeble and weak, that a fewe knightes discomfited a great armie of them.

When king William perceyued that almost all the Normanes tooke part against him, he then beyng forced by necessitie, drew to him the Englishmen, and fauoured them by giftes and easy lawes: So that by their strength he did in the ende reconcile the Erle of Shrewesbury, and chased some other of his enemies, and shortly after occupied the strong Castelles and holdes in Kent, belongyng to Bishop Odo his foresayd vncle, and in the ende compelled him to yelde himselfe and to forsweare England. And that done he besieged Rochester, wherein the Bishop of Duresme, the Erle of Northumberlande, and other noble men were gathered, and wan it at the last by yeldyng, so that his enemies were vnto him reconciled also, and in like maner was his brother Robert, who then again taking his leaue of the king returned into Normandy.

Robert Curthose was again reconciled vnto his brother Rufus.

1089

3

Lanfranke dead.

In the thirde yere of his reigne dyed Lanfranke, when he had beene Archebishop of Cantorbury. xliij. yeres. By whose meanes the Monkes of England were brought to the vse of their Religion, which before liued like secular priestes, and not like religious men. Fabian.

About this tyme Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy entending to take his borage into the holy land, layed his Dukedome to pledge vnto his brother William for ten thousand pound. For the leuyng whereof, King William set a taske vpon his commons and subiectes, and rayed a farre exceeding summe, vnder colour of the same, so that Bishops melted their plate, and the temporall Lordes spoyled their Tenantes for the payment thereof. But as some wyte these thinges were done a good space after.

At this tyme also, the king of Scots brake the peace before made with William Conquerour, and wasted and tooke prayes in the Countrey of Northumberland

thumberland. Then the king provided a flauie, and sayled thether in the winter tyme: But by the tempest of the sea, halfe his flauie or a great part thereof was drowned, and many of his knightes were lost for colde and hunger. But yet in the ende after diuerse skirmishes and bickeringes, by mediation of friendes, a peace was concluded: So that Malcolyne or Malcolme then kyng of Scottes should be obedient to king William, vnder the same othe that he was before tyme sworn vnto his father, and king William should geue him yerely in the way of a fee. xij. Markes of Golde.

The homage of Malcolme kyng of Scots done to king William Rufus.

1090

4

A great tempest.

In the fourth yere of his reigne, and the fift day of October, a passing great tempest chaunced in sundrye places of Englande, and specially in the towne of Winchcombe. For there by tempest of thunder and lightning a part of the steple of the Church was throwne downe. &c.

Also this yere by force of the sayde tempest there was great hurte done at London, insomuch as Reynulph sayth, it blew downe there. vij. hundred houses, and other like mischiefes were done in sundry places by the sayd tempest. And the same tyme was the roofof Bowe Church in London blown downe which killed two personnes, as Fabian sayth.

1091

5

The roofof Sarisbury church bent & lightning.

In the fift yere of his reigne, he went into Northumberland, and repayed such holdes and Castelles as the Scottes by their warres had eyther raised or else hurt and appayzed, and caused a newe Castell to be made at Carlyll and repayed the same towne which the Danes two hundred yere passed had destroyed. In the same yere the maine roofof the great Church of Sarisbury was consumed and bent with lightning. And after the king returned vnto Gloucester, where he was grievously vexed with sicknesse, so that he thought he should haue dyed. In the which tyme he tooke great repentaunce, and promised that if he might escape, he would amend his liuyng and become a new man: But after that he was restored to health, that promise was soone forgotten. In this yere also the king gaue to Anselme the Archebishopsrike of Yorke. Fabian.

Anselme made Archebishop of Yorke.

1092

6

Rees kyng or Prince of the welsh men rebelled, & was slaine.

In the. vi. yere of his reigne were exceeding floodes, whereof the like had not in many yeres before beene scene. And after that ensued a wonderfull frost, which frose the great streames in such wise that Horse and Cart passed ouer them. And in the ende when the Ice melted and brake, the payse and weight with the passage thereof brake many a strong brydge both of timber and stone.

About this tyme, the Welshmen with their kyng or Duke named Rees, brake out vpon the Englishmen in the border where standeth the Castell of Brekenoke, and there made masteryes for a while: but in the ende his people were chased and slaine, and he wounded vnto death, so that he dyed the thirde day folowyng. This Rees is accompted to be y last kyng of Wales, for after this day they were so quayed and brought to subiection, that they were vnder moze stedfast obedience of the kings of England then they were before tyme: howbeit they rebelled full often as after shall appere.

And in the yere folowyng, king William to haue the Countrie in moze quyet, hewed downe muche of the wood, and builded in sundrye places of Wales strong Castelles and pylles, by meane whereof, they were plucked moze and moze to obedience and quyetnesse, and specially in the dayes of Edward

Wales brought to quyetnesse.



ward the first, and Edward the thirde.

At this time Malcolme, or Malcolme king of Scotland came vnto Gloucester, to comen with the king of dyuerse matters, and to make a finall agreement. But because king William would haue deemed him in his Court, therefore the same Malcolme departed from the king in great displeasure, for the which and for other causes the warre betweene England and Scotland was reuued, so that shortly after the sayd Scottissh king with his retinue fought with an Erle named Robert Moubraye, which then was Erle of Northumberland, and there was slaine with his eldest son Edward. Now he was slaine Hector Boethius the weth in the .xij. booke of the Story of Scotland on this wise: When they within the Castell were now ready to yelde and brought to extream necessity, and in maner famished for lacke of victualles, a certaine aduenturous and couragious Englishe knight beyng mounted on a very swift Gelding, hauyng a speare in his hande, at the ende whereof were fastened the keyes of the Castell, rode vnto the kinges campe, making semblant as though he had bene come to giue vp the Castell vnto the king. When the Scottes sawe this, they drew together, and for ioye made a great shoute and noyes, thinking their long travayles and paynes had nowe bene at an ende, and then brought him where the king lay, who heering this noyes came out of his tent to knowe what the matter was. The Englishe knight when he sawe the king, helde downe his speare as though he woulde haue deliuered him the keyes: And whilest euery mannes eyes and mynde was fixed thereon, he in the meane time sodenly thrust his speare into the kinges left eye, and so wounded him therewith, that he there presently fell downe starke deade: and that done, he forthwith dashed his spurre into his horse and fled into the next woodes, and so escaped. And it is sayde that when king Rufus heard of this aduenturous deed, he sent for the sayde knight, and gaue him certeyne of his landes and reuencwes in Northumberland, and commaunded him ever afterwarde to be called Percye, because he had perced or bozed out the kinges eye, of whome (sayth he) that familie tooke their beginning, which haue bene sence that tyme Erles of Northumberland. When the king was slaine, the Scottes departed and went euery man his way, and so the siege brake vp and ended. Edward the sayde Scottissh kinges sonne was slaine befoze in a skirmishe at the same siege. Hether to Hector Boethius.

For sorowe whereof, Margaret Queene of Scotland, and sister vnto Edgar Atheling (as befoze in the story of William the Conqueroz is shewed) died soone after. Then the Scottes made Donwalde or Dunkard the brother of Malcolme their king, and put by his sonnes. But king William made Edgar the sonne of Malcolme king of Scottes, and he did vnto him homage for the same kingdome.

Dalidore setteth out these warres and the causes therof, and such things as chanced in Normandy betwixt king William and Duke Robert his brother, and the rebellion of the Welshmen that folowed shortly after on this wise: When the businesse of Scotland (sayth he) was thus quieted, Robert Duke of Normandie who alwayes bare a grudge to the king his brother, for that he was by him defeated of the Crowne, sent Ambassadors vnto the sayd king, & by the same charged him with perjury for that he had not firmly

kept

Malcolme kinge of Scots again rebelled.

Edgar the son of Malcolme made Kinge of Scots who did homage for the same.

Robert duke of Normandy charged king William his brother with perjury.

kept and holden the conditions of peace that were agreed vpon betwixt them, wherewith Rufus beyng highly displeased, reysed forthwith a great armie, and sayled into Normandy, purposyng so to trye the matter with him, that he would rather hazard his estate at once, then thus dayly be troubled and biquieted by him: Howbeit his wrath beyng shortly after asswaged, he sought not to fight with him by and by: but after he had once or twice lightly ouerrunne the Countrie thereabout without any great damage or hurt doying, he fell to a communication with him, where after long conference, they were at the length both contented by the intreatie of their friendes, to commit the effect of all matters in controuersie betwixt them, to the hearyng and arbitrement of certeine most graue and honourable personages, who (the causes and allegations of both the sayde parties, first deliberately heard and debated) gaue sentence for the Duke, awarding that the king should pay him a certeyne summe of money in the name of a mulct or penaltie, for that he had thus contrary to the league betwixt them ouerrunne and wasted his Countrie. But when the king vnderstoode their awarde, he was by and by in a great chafe, and sayde that he would in no wyse stande vnto it: Therefore both the sayde parties beyng greatly moued eyther with other gaue ouer talking and fell to fighting. The king toke perforce the Castell of Bure, and Robert by the aide of king Phillip of Fraunce, set vpon those Holdes and Castells which king William helde in Normandy, by vertue of the former composition betwixt them, and first of all he wanne by assault the Castell of Argenton, wherein he toke prisoner Roger Lieutenent or deputie of Poitiers, and with him .lxxx. men of armes, and with like successe also wanne he the Castell of Almes. At the length the king considering with himselfe howe there needed a greater force to subdue his aduersaries, and speedily to finishe the warres that were conuincing vpon him, commaunded in all hast an armie of .xx. thousand men or thereabout to be leuyed in Englande, and speedily to be conueyed ouer vnto him: nowe when all this multitude were assembled and come together at Hastings in Suffer at the tyme appoynted, where the kinges Shippes lay at Anker to receyue them, and that they were nowe in readinesse and willyng to depart: The kinges Agent met them there also, geuyng intelligence vnto the Capitaines that they should signifie vnto the rest, howe the Princes pleasure was of a speciall desyre he had to spare hys people, and deliuer them from further paynes and traualles of warrefare by them to be sustayned, that euery Souldiour there prest should pay ten shillinges, and therebpon to be discharged from that voyage, and to returne home againe, the which thing the more part of them was better willyng to do, then to commit themselues vnto the daungers of the sea, but the intent and purpose of the Prince was to fight against his brother, rather with a golden weapon, than with one of yron or steele, thinking vnder pretence of those warres to gether such a masse of money of his subiectes, as should both be sufficient to bye peace, and also to enrych him selfe. Therefore when both the armyes were nowe in a redinesse to fight, and that king William had found the meanes so to pacify Phillip the French king with gifts & rewards, that he would no more ayde the sayde Duke, then by and by the whole staye and strength of his warres was quite fallen downe, and for wantyng the French kinges ayde, he was of necessitie compelled to sue vnto the king his

C. ij.

brother

A sentence gaue on the behalfe of duke Robert against king William his brother.

warres renewed betwixt king William and Duke Robert his brother.

Argenton Castell.

Almes castles

Though Dalidore write this, yet it seemeth not to be true.

King William stayed the French king with rich gifts.

A peace concluded betwixt king William and his brother Robert.



brother for peace and at the length obeyned it.

When king William had thus finished the warres of Normandy after his mynde, he forthwith returned into Englande, where anon after chaunced vnto him greater businesse than he had before. For the Welshemen hearing of the variaunce that begonne to growe betwixt him and his brother, armed themselues myndyng to rob and pill the Countreyes adioynyng vnto them after their accustomed maner. And so entryng into the Marches, they burned houses and villages, draue away Cattell, tooke prisoners, and slue aswell Normanes as Englishe men: and finally rased towne and Castels where so euer they came. When the king was hereof enfourmed, he assembled a power in all haste to helpe his distressed people, and to kepe the countrie from bitter spoilyng and washyng, and hauing vsed great spede in hys iourney, he set vpon them on a sodein: But for all that the Welshmen did not onely manfully abide the brunt of the assaultes, but also enforced the king to gene back & retyze, and that with no small losse and damage, where fore being now thre daves iourney on his way, in his retyze he determined with himselfe to yelde vnto fortune for the tyme present, and so departed vnto London to prepare a stronger power. After whose departure, the Welshmen waxed so proude and gathered such a courage vnto them, that they besieged the Castell of Mount Gomerike of all the fortes and Castelles in Wales the strongest, and afterward notwithstanding it was for a whyle manfully defended by the kinges garison attempted to race it, and at length hauyng beaten downe the walles thereof they toke it, and very cruelly slue all that they found therein: But the king being this while letted by treason newly sprong vp against him in his awne land, & determining first to suppressse that before he prepared any resistance against them, went into Northumberland where the Authours of this newe conspiracie put themselues in armes against him: For Robert Erie of that Countrie who had oftentimes before required the king to consider the good seruise he had done what tyme he beyng generall of the armie, the Scottissh king was slaine in maner aforesayde, and perreyuyng the king not to be so redye to rewarde him for that worthie deede as he looked he should haue bene, was therewith so moued, that beyng sent for by the kinges letters, he openly refused to go vnto him. And in the meane season ceased not priuily to devise howe and which way he might deprive him of the Crowne: But the conspiracie beyng by chaunce shortly after disclosed, the king toke diuerse of the Conspirators vpon a sodeine and put them to death: But Robert for that he knew himselfe guiltie, and therefore feared least he should be punished according to his deserts, fled away, whom the king pursued to the Castell called at this day the Castell of Sanburghe, wherether he was gotten for succor with his wife and children, which the king forthwith besieged, and because the same beyng most strongly defended aswell by nature as mans industrie and policie seemed impregnable, he began to close it with a wall of Plankes or Bordes, so that no man might enter in or issue out of it. But when Robert distrusting his state and case, or at the least wyse the fidelitie of his friendes, sawe the boorde worke begon, he priuily conueighed himselfe out in the dead of the night, but yet not so priuily but the kinges scout perceyued it and pursued after, and beyng constrained to go vnto Cismouth, he there tooke sanctuary in the Church of saint Oswine the martyr, out

The welsh men resell.

Castell of mount Gomerike taken.

Robert Erie of Northumberland conspireth against the king

Sanborough Castell.

Robert Erie of Northumberland

out of the which he was by and by drawen by violence, and taken prisoner, and so brought vnto the king: Howe when the rest that were within the Castell ceased not yet to make resistance and to defende them selues, the king to beate a greater terror and feare into them, caused Robert to be brought before the Castell gate that they within might see him, and made proclamation withall, that vntill the sayde Castell were yelded, forthwith his eyes should out of hand be plucked out of his head, the which thing they beholding and fearing aswell their awne partes as the Erles, at the last yelded themselves and gaue by the Castell, of whom part were banished, and some had their eares cut off, and other some one of their eyes put out to make the rest to beware by their example, and so sent home: but Robert was had to the Castell of Windsor, and there cast in prison: When this businesse was at an ende, king Rufus bent all his whole force against the Welshmen, who still continued in their outrage besides all measure, and adressing himselfe with his armie with all hast to Wales warde, when he sawe that the Welshmen would at no hand geue him any oportunitie to fight with them, but hid themselves in woodes of purpose, he then began to waste and destroy the country next adioyning, and attempted to passe through those places euen where most dangerous and hardest passage was, to the intent he might come where the enemies were, and fight with them. But contrarywise, the Welshmen kept either the mountaynes or woodes, who beyng sufficiently prepared and furnished for the tyme, set vpon the kinges armie, sometymes here, and sometymes there, euer as they espyed any aduantage, in such wise, that they either wounded or slue very many of them. The which was the cause that the king desirous to be aduenged on them, pursued them more feruently then circumspectly, through mountaynes and marishes more to his losse and damage, than to the losse and annoyance of his enemies: who after he had lost many of his men and horses, and saw there was no hope for him to do any good there gaue ouer his purpose againe, and made an ende of those warres. Hetherto Holidore.

In the .vij. yere of the reigne of king William, Anselme that was Archebishop of Yorke was remoued to Cauntorbury as affirmeth one Chronicle: But Reynulph and Guido say, that Hugh Lupus Erie of Chester beyng sick and diseased, in the .vij. yere of the reigne of William Rufus, sent into Normandie for Anselme then Abbot of Berry or Becy for thre causes. The first, to visite and see him, and to be reconciled of him, as the man that he moste trusted. The second cause was that he should relieue some Abbeyes of England, whom the king had bereed with grieuous tribute. And the third, that he should found an Abbey in Chester, which place he after buylded, and made one Richard his Chapleyn first Abbot there, and soone after he was made Archebishop of Cauntorbury: wherby it appereth that the sayde See was boyde ouer the terme of thre yeres. And at this tyme, England and Normandy were sore visited with the plague of pestilence, and the same was so great, as some write, that many lay vnburyed, and the tilling of the ground was put off for that yere, and thereafter ensued great and extreme hunger.

This yere also the Scottes slue their king Edgar, and restored againe to the rule of the lande the aforesaid Donwald. And many straunge and wonderfull sightes were secne this present yere in the Skie, as hostes of

C.ij.

men

1093  
7

Pestilence. Tillage beyng left, famine doth follow.

1094  
8



men fightyng, and flames of fyre brennyng, and thotyng out of the Clament, and other monituous thinges, as sayth fabian.

1096  
10

Westminster  
Hall builded.

In the .x. yere of this king, strife and dissention fell betwene hym and Anselme Archebischop of Cauntorbury, because Anselme might not be suffered to call his Synodes, and correct his clergie but as the king would. The king also chalenged the inuestiture of Bischoppes, and tooke of the Spirituallie and Temporally great taskes and tributes, the which he spent vpon the walling of the Tower of London, and the making of Westminster Hall as some wyte. But John Kestall sayth in his Chronicle that it is not lyke to be true that the great Hall of Westminster that is now, was buylded by this king, but rather in the tyme of king Richard the second. For sayth he, the Armes that are there both on the timber and on the stone worke, which is the three Lyons quartered with the flower de luce, and the white Hart for his badge, were the armes of king Richard. For there was never king of England that gaue the flower de luce which was the armes of France before king Edward the thirde. And therefore it manifestly apereth that the great Hall which is now, was not builded by Rufus, except it were that he made the foundation thereof: But if Rufus made any Hall there, it was that which is aboute the stagers that we nowe call the white Hall. And besides all this, the kinges seruantes grieved and pilled Englishe men unreasonably. And to this miserie was ioyned the couetousnesse of Reynulph that was sometime Chapleyn vnto William Conquerour, the which at this day was the kinges procurator, and gathered his taskes ouer all England. He was so couetous and so euill disposed, that he would leuy three taskes for two. He pilled the riche, and bare downe the poore, and caused many men to lose their landes for small causes, and therefore the king did greatly fauour him. And by hys meanes, Bischoppes were bought and solde as commonly as other marchandises. Also at this tyme priestes vsed bushed and bryded heades, long tayled gownes and blasynge clothes thynnyng, and golden Girdelles, and road with guilt Spurres, with vsynge of dyuerse other enormities. All which vices Anselme would haue corrected, but he lacked assistance of his brethren the Bischops, for the which cause and other he departed the land: Wherewith the king beyng discontented, sent after him suche personnes as robbed and spoyled him, and intreated him in most cruell maner. For the which deede, Raufe Bishop of Chichester blamed the king, and also rebuked all such Bischops as had refused the party of Anselme, and had fauoured the king in causes concernyng the aforesayde variaunce. And furthermore he withstode the king and his officers in takyng of fynes of priestes for the cryme of fornication, for which causes the king with the sayd Raufe was sore amoued, and discontented, and obteyned such fauour that he suspended many Churches of his diocesse. But in the ende, Raufe demened him in suche wise that he had his awne will, and his Churches enlarged and freed that before were stopped with Thornes. And the king gaue vnto him the fynes of priestes within his Diocesse, and endued the See of Chichester with many great giftes.

The behauiour  
of priestes

Fynes for  
fornication.

And vpon a tyme as king William was ridyng towarde his dysport of hunting, suddenly a messenger came vnto him, and sayde that the City of Cene-mona or Constaucia in Normandy was besieged of the French men: wherefore he without long taryng or aduise-ment, tooke the streight way to the sea

sea syde, and sent to his Lordes, charging them to folowe. When the sayde Lordes came to his presente, they aduysed him to tary vntill his people were assembled. But he would do nothing after their counsaile, but sayd such as him loued would surely folowe, and so went to Ship, setting aside all perils.

The mayster of the Ship was afrayde, and saw the weather so darke and clowdie, and the Sea somewhat rough by reason of the south wind that then blew, that he counsailed the king to tary vntill the wynde would blow more fauourably: But he commaunded him to make all the speede he coude vpon paine of his lyfe, sayng that he neuer heard that anye Kinge was drowned. And so he passed the sea and landed in Normandie a good while before there was any byrte of his comming, and there gathered vnto hym his knightes.

When the Captaine of the Siege (whose name was Helias) knewe of the kinges landyng, he feared, and anone began to breake the siege: But by treason he was taken and brought to the kinges presence. To whome the king shewed such pitie, that he suffered him to be at his libertie, which after the opinion of William de Regibus, was done more of pride than of compassion. Holidore wyrteth that when the capteyn was brought vnto the kinges presence, he iested at him as one that had no courage nor mannes stomack. Then the sayde Capteyne turning him vnto the king sayde boldly againe. Sir king, thy fortune is nowe to take me prisoner, but if I were at libertie I would make thee to vnderstand that I were not a man so little to be passed on as thou makest me. And with that the king commaunded him to be set at libertie and then sayd vnto him, now go whether thou wilt, and do the worst thou canst against me: But (sayth he) it is not red that he euer attempted any thing against the king afterwarde.

In the .xj. yere of his reigne, at a towne called Finchester in the country of Barkeshire, a Well cast out blood as before it had done water. And after by the space of .xv. dayes great flames of fyre were seene in sundrie places, and at sundry tymes. This yere also the two Erles of Shrewsbury and of Chester who were both named Hugh, by the kinges commaundement entered with their knightes the Isle of Anglesey, which was the chiefe refuge of the Welthe men, and slue there a number of them, and shewed there such crueltie besides, as the like had not bene heard of before, for vnto some they put out their eyes, to some they cut off their noses, handes, legges, or armes, and some againe they gelded, so that no kinde of cruelty was left vnpacted.

Among the which a priest named Kynradus was drawen out of a Church and serued in the same maner, and had also his tongue cut out of his heade, and one of his eyes put out. In which season and tyme the King of Norway wanne the Isles then called Orkades, and nowe Orkneyes, and after came with his strength vnto the aforesayd Isle of Anglesey to rescue the people of the Isle, where at the same season were the sayde two Erles. Then betwene them was a mortall fight, in the which Hugh Erle of Shrewsbury was stryken with an arrow in the eye, and dyed within .liij. dayes after. But as sayth Guydo, the Danes were chased, and the Englishe men had the victory, but as other do wyte there was no notable thing else there done besides the death of the sayde Erle.

King William at this tyme was much in Normandy, because that Robert his

The desperate  
goyng  
into Normandy  
by of William  
Rufus.

A noble courage  
of a king

1097  
11

A strange  
thing.

Hugh Erle  
of Shrewes-  
bury slaine.



his brother was all this while in the holy land, of whose actes some mention shall be made in the story of Henry the first. And William had much paine to rule the Normanes, for they rebelled often against him.

1098  
12

Robert Cosauage that sometyne had bene Abbot of Ramsey, and then by the gift of a thousand pound to the king, was made Bishop of Thetford, repented him after, and bewayled that unskillfull deede, and tooke his way to Rome, and did for it his adioyned penance, and after returned into England, and turned his See from Thetford to Norwiche, and founded there a fayre Monastery of his awne goodes, and not of the patrimonie of Christes Church: But therein resteth a doubt, for he was first Abbot and then Bishop, sayth Fabian.

After that king William as befoze is sayde, was returned out of Normandie, many wonderfull prodigies and tokens were shewed in England, as the swelling or rising of the water of the Chamys, in suche wyse that it drowned many townes, and did much harme by out passyng of his boundes in dyuerse places about London and else where, with dyuerse other thinges which I passe over.

1099  
13

Forest of Windsor.

The death of king William Rufus.

In the .xiiij. yere of his reigne and the beginnyng thereof the thirde day of August as sayth Reynulph, or as some other write vpon Lannias day, thys king William beyng at his disport on huntynge within the newe forest, now called the forest of Windsor, or rather as Reynulph sayth in the newe forest in Hamshyre besydes Sarisbury by glaunying of an arrowe, which a knight named Sir Walter Tirell a frenche man did shote at a Deere, and hit the king, and wounded him to death, so that he gaue but one groone and dyed presently, when he had reigned .xij. yeres, .xj. monethes lackyng. viij. dayes. And it is written by John Hardyng, that king Rufus to enlarge the aforesayde forest did pull downe foure Abbeyes, .xviij. parishe Churches, and all the townes to them belongyng. Water Henningforde wyrteth, that in the place where the king was slaine had beene a Church in olde tyme, the which Church with other in his fathers tyme was pulled downe, and destroyed for the enlargyng of his said forest, and that in the same forest by a like chaunce was slaine also a little befoze Richard the kinges nephew, sonne vnto Robert Duke of Normandy of a knight of his awne.

After this deede, the sayde Walter escaped and saued himselfe, for febe they were that pursued after him. And so the king thus wounded was layde in a horse Litter, and conueyed to Winchester, and was there buryed in the Church of Peter and Paule.

Henry of Huntingdon

Of this William, reporteth Henry of Huntingdon and sayth that though this man were light in some things, yet he was stedfast and stable of his promise, so that what he promised good or euill it should be perfozmed, & though he were named couetous, yet it should apere by this that foloweth, that he sometymes shewed himselfe liberall: for thus wyrteth he of hym.

Vpon a certayne time, when the Abbot of an Abbey in England was dead, two Monkes of the same place, the which befoze had gathered money together, made their friendes to king William, and offered large offers either of them to be promoted to that dignitie. There was also a thirde Monke, the which of meekenesse and humblenesse folowed the other two, to the entent that vpon hym that the king should admit for Abbot, he would haue geuen attendance,

tendance, and as his Chapleyn to haue returned with him. The king called befoze him the two Monkes seuerally, and either out profered other: And at the length he cast his eye asyde, and espyed the thirde Monke, the which he supposyd had come for the same cause. Then the king called him and asked him, if he would geue any more than his brethren had profered to be Abbot. But he answered to the king and sayde, that he would offer, neyther yet geue for it one penny, nor woulde haue so great a charge by any wrongfull meane. When the king had well considered of this thirde Monkes answer, he sayd that he was best worthy to be Abbot, and to haue the rule of so holy a charge: and so he gaue vnto hym that promotion, without taking of hym one penny.

Money bid- den for Ecclesiastical promotions.

This king William was variable and inconstant of his behauiour, very couetous, and therewithall cruell, and burdened the people with great taxes. Furthermore he neuer maryed but vsed concubines continually, wherefoze he dyed without issue legitimate, when he had reigned as aforesayd fully .xij. yeres, and almost .xj. monethes.

Of this king it is wozitten that he was wastfull and sumptuous in hys apparell, an example whereof is brought in by a certayne wyrtter to the great reproofe of excelle of apparell vsed in these our dayes. For when his Chamberleyn on a tyme brought him a newe payze of Hosen, he demaunded of him what they cost, who answered thre shillings, wherat the king beyng somewhat moued, commaunded him to prepare him a paire of .xiiij. shillings

iiij. pence. Nowe if kinges were then thought to excede that bestowed a Marke vpon a paire of hosen, what is to be thought of many meane men which in our tyme bestow so much of one payze as that king did vpon twentie.

## Henrie the first.



Henrie the first of that name, and the fourth sonne of William Conquerour, which for his learnyng was surnamed Beaulercke, toke vpon him the first day of August the yere of our Lorde M. C. the gouernement of this Realme of England, and was crowned king thereof very shortly after at Westminster, of Thomas Archebishop of Yorke, or as Polydore and some other say, of Maurice Bishop of London.

1100  
1

Coronation of king Henrie the first

His elder brother Robert Duke of Normandie was at that season not yet returned from the warres of Siria, and therefore had he the better oportunitie to bring his purpose aboute. For manye there were both of the nobles and others which fauoured the sayde Duke, and woulde haue



haue done their endeuour to haue crowned him king if he had bene present: And for this cause he found the meanes, what by geuyng of great rewarde, and what by fayre wordes and large promises to preuent him: But no one thing moued the whole Realme moze to agree vpon him, then the faythfull promise he made to abholishe his fathers lawes, which were deemed of the people to be both against equitie and conscience. But first of all, so soone as he hearde of his brother Rufus death, he seized vpon his goods and moueables, whereby he became the stronger, and better able to go thozowe with this enterprife.

This king in his youth had so well applied his study, that he was well sene in the seuen liberall sciences. And he at his enterie reformed the ministers of the Church, and the dignitie of the same which had bene corrupted by his brother and he restored againe and vled saint Edwardes lawes with the amendment of them, besydes the reformation and amendment of sundry and diuerse other abuses in the common welth.

He banished out of his Court nicenesse and wantonnesse, and committed Reynulph Bishop of Duresme, a man hated of all men for oppression, bribery, and diuerse other notable crymes, and a chiefe Counsaylour and perswader also of the king his brother in all his lewde and vngodly attemptes to the tower of London, the which before as you haue heard was so great with his brother William: and he sent for Anselme that was Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which before was fled for the feare and wrath of William Rufus, and gaue the Bishoprike of Winchester then miserablye spoiled vnto Spfford, a right graue and learned man, and conferred also the rule and gouernement of such Abbeyes as had bene of long tyme vacant vnto Monkes. Furthermore he remitted all such taxes and paymentes as had bene by hys father and brother newly raysed vpon the people.

This king corrected and reformed the olde and vntreue measures that were vled in this Realme, and caused a yarde of the length of his awne arme to be made and vled (and the same thing at this day is most metest to be reformed, for now almost no countrie kepeth eyther weight or measure one with the other to the great hurt of the Realme) and lyke wise he reformed manye thinges that before his tyme had bene abused. Also he abhorred the excesse of meates and drinckes, and vled to fight moze with good counsaile than with the sworde.

In the second yere of his reigne, Robert his brother that by all this time had bene occupied in warres vpon Christes enemies, hauing worde of the death of his brother William, and howe his brother Henry had taken vpon him as king, returned into Normandy, and there made preparation for to come into England.

In this time also Reynulph Bishop of Duresme brake out of the tower of London, and went to Robert Duke of Normandy, who stirred and prickted forwarde the same Duke Robert in all that he might to warre vpon his brother Henry, so that he assembled a strong armye of knightes, and tooke shipping, and shortlye after landed at Portesmouth. But by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and that in such condicion, that he should haue perely three thousande Markes payed vnto him as a tribute, as before was promised hym by William Rufus his brother, with condicions of succession and

Reynulph bishop of Duresme. wantonnesse banished out of the kinges Court which betokened good gouernment.

Measures made and reformed by king Henry the first.

Henry the first a frugal man.

1101

2

Robert the eldest sonne of William Conquerour once againe claymeth the Crowne.

Reynulph bishop of Duresme a lewde bishop.

and other thinges the which for length I passe ouer.

Thus Robert beyng contented, contrary to the mindes of his Lordes, after a while that he had disported himselfe in England, he returned to Normandie, where of his Lordes he was for this and other vndiscrete dedes by him before done, as after shall be shewed, little, or lesse and lesse set by. For albeit by his fathers lyfe he had offended, and vtterly displeased him as before is touched, yet by his manhood and manfull dedes, he wanne the heartes of the people, specially for the worthie actes he did at the winnyng of the Citie of Alcon vpon the miscreantes and Turkes.

This Robert was wise in counsaile, strong in battaile, and also right liberall, and in hys returne from Hierusalem hee maryed the daughter of William, or as Polidore sayth, Roger de Auersana Lorde of Apulia, with whome he receyued great summes of money for his dower, the whiche by meane of his liberalitie was not long vspent. Then fortune began to frowne vpon him, and set his awne Lordes against him, who sent vnto king Henry of England, and moued him to come into Normandy against his brother, and they would deliuer vnto him the countrie and Duchie of Normandie, and take him for their chiefe Lorde and gouernour: wherevnto as sayth the English Chronicle, king Henry soone consented.

But or euer this warre began betweene them, this king Henry had maryed the foresayde Holde or Hawde the daughter of Malcolme or Malcolme king of Scotland, and of Margaret his wife daughter of Edward the outlaw as is expressed in the beginning of William Conquerour. Of the which Hawde, he receyued two sonnes, and two daughters, that is to say, William, and Richard, Hawde and Mary.

Polidore sayth, he begat of his first wyfe William, which was after drowned in the sea, and Hawde the Emperesse. And a concubine a daughter named Mary, & a sonne called Richard, the which were likewise drowned. And of a nother concubine Robert, whome he created Erle of Gloucester: But Hector Boethius wyrteth, howe there was issue betwixt them these folowynge, William, Richard, Enfemia, and Hawde.

About this tyme the Church and Hospitall of Saint Bartholomewe, in west Smithfielde of London was begon to be founded by one of the kinges Mistians named Kaye, and after performed by Rycharde Whytyngdon Cytizen & Alderman of London, a man of worthie fame. This place of Smithfield was at that tyme a laystow of all dong and filth, and the place where felons and other transgressors of the kinges lawes were put to execution.

After this Duke Robert of Normandy came into Englande to his brother, and he was here honourably entertayned, and in the ende at the request of his sister the wife of king Henry, or rather (as Polidore wyrteth) beyng ouercome with the fayre wordes of his sayde brother, he released vnto hym the aforesaid tribute of three thousand Markes: but by euill tales, and couetousnesse of seignorie, this brotherly loue lasted not long, but such a baryauce fell betweene them, that king Henry with a strong armie sayled into Normandie, and helde his brother with so sharpe warre, that he chased him from one country to another, and wanne from him the Citie of Roan, Cane, Valoys, and all the good townes of Normandy, and at the last constreyned him to seeke helpe of the french king, and after of the Erle of flauders, but

Robert duke of Normandy.

Fortune frowne methemes vpon Dauides.

The Hospitall of Saint Bartholomewe first founded.

1102

3

1103

4

Robert duke of Normandy landeth in England.

Clennature warre.



but he sayled of them both. Then sayth Holidore, when he considered with himselfe how unable he was to match with the king his brother, and saw also how he was distressed on euery side, by reason wherof diuerse of his Lordes and Subiectes forsooke him, and tooke parte with his sayd brother, and that his enemyes dayly encreased, and his power decreased, and waxed lesse and lesse, he determined with himselfe no longer to trye the matter by battayle and force of armes, but to repose all hope of pacification in brotherly charity. And because he thought it would little preuaile to send any Ambassadors for the matter, he beyng accompanied with a few persons went himselfe into England, the said king then lying at Northampton, where the Duke made humble sute vnto him, that he might be at peace with him, byng all the perswasions he could to induce him thereto, and submitted himselfe and his Dukedome and all that he had besydes, wholly to his order, grace, and mercy, with the which request and humble submission of his, the king was nothing at all moued, insomuch that he turned from him in a fume, muttering with himselfe certaine threating wordes against him. And this straunge countenance shewed he, eyther because of his brothers inconstancye, whereof he had had often experience, or else for that he was nowe fully bent and mynded to pursue him with most extreme crueltie, euen to death or bitter destruction. When Duke Robert saw this, he detesting the proud and stately behauiour of his brother, departed the Court and returned into Normandy with all conuenient speede, fully determining, rather than to suffer his honour thus to be desferued, to put him selfe in daunger either of death, or else of perpetuall seruitude. For he well perceyued, it booted not to put any longer hope or trust in brotherly loue. Therefore with such power as he could make, he gaue battaile vnto his brother Henry, who folowed him with a newe armie, in the which battaile he was taken prisoner and sent ouer into England, and put into the Castell of Cardiffe in Wales, where he remayned as prisoner so long as he liued, and when he was dead, he was buryed at Gloucester.

Robert duke  
of Normandy  
was taken  
prisoner.

Mathew of Westmynster wyrteth that at the first he was not streightly kept as a prisoner, but was permitted by the kinges licence to haue, hunt, and vse al other pastimes what he would for his disport & recreation, hauyng his keeper with him, and was also allowed such apparell & dyet as was conuenient for his estate, vntill at length he practised to haue conueyed himselfe away: And beyng taken againe (as sayth the aforesayde wyrteth) he by the kinges commaundement had both his eyes put out, but in such wyse that the balles of them were saued. Touchyng his death it is further reported of the same Authour, how king Henry hauyng on a time made a scarlet Robe with a hood (as the fashion then was) for himselfe, & puttyng it on to assay whether it was meete for him or no, and perceyuyng the sayd hood to be somewhat to little for his head, had the yoman of his Wardrop to sende it vnto his brother Robert, because (sayth he) his head is somewhat lesse then mine. And when the messenger that brought it was demaunded of Duke Robert whether any had euer worne it before or no, and the sayde messenger vnauidedly shewed him what the king had done and sayd: Then sayd Duke Robert, nowe may I well thinke that my most wretched lyfe hath bene ouerlong prolonged sith the iniurious king my brother hath so little regard of me, that he clotheth me with his cast apparell, and after that he would neuer eate nor drinke, but pyned

pyned away for hunger and sorow.

Nowe when king Henry had fynished his warres in Normandy he returned into England, and at that tyme Robert of Bolisne which was the eldest sonne of Hugh of mount Gomericke Erle of Shrewesbury arose against the king, and manned his Castelles of Shrewesbury, of Brugges, of Arondell, and of Tekynhill, and encouraged the Welshemen against the king. But the king pursued the sayd Robert so egerly, that within xl. dayes he wanne all those Castelles, and slue many of his men, and gate the fauour of the Welshemen by giftes and pleasant wordes, and also compelled the sayde Robert to forsake England: the which sayled into a corner of Normandy, and kept him there secretly, vntill such tyme as William Erle of Cornewall came thether vnto him, which William was also Erle of Mortom in Normandy. When these two Erles were met, they gathered to them a great strength of Normanes, and did great harme within the Prouince. Wherefore the king sailed thether and made sharpe warre vpon them, in the which he lost manye of his men: But in the ende hec put from them their strength, and tooke them both Prisoners, and so kept them duryng their lyues. And that done he set that Countrey in good rest and peace, and after returned into England. After which returne the king made sharpe lawes against theues and other that vsed vnlawfull doynges. In the which lawes was conteyned, losyng of lyfe, of eyes, of stones, and other members of man, as the fault and offence required.

And shortly after, Anselme Archebischop of Cauntozbury assembled a great counsaile at London of the Clergie of England: By auctorizy of which counsaile, diuerse Abbottes & other were put from their dignitie, for that they had taken before tyme their Abbeyes by vnlawful meanes. And among all other decrees one was, that priestes should forgo theyr wiues, as saith Fabian.

Then strife fell betwene the king and Anselme, for that that he would not sacre the priestes that had taken inuestiture of the kinges handes, which before was forbidden vpon paine of cursing. But Giralde Archebischop of Yorke for the pleasure of the king, sacred such Bischoppes: Wherefore Anselme beyng discontented, departed the land, and went to Rome to complaine of this and other thinges to the Bishop thereof, which then was named Pascall the second. And about this tyme Sir Robert le Fitzham Erle of Gloucester buyded the tobone of Tewkesburge, and there was buryed, and also buyded the Castell of Bristow.

In the sixt yere of the king, the Countrey of Flaunders was sore blemished and hurt by meane of the sea, so that the Fleminges were enforced to seeke for succour and place of dwelling, and required of the king to haue licence that they might inhabite in the East part of Tweede, the which to them was graunted. But after a certeyne of yeres they were remoued into west Wales, where they remayned a long while, but after they spred all England ouer.

In the vij. yere of his reigne, vpon a fryday at night in the first weeke of cleane Lent, was seene a straunge and wonderfull starre betwene the South and the West, the which nightly apered at an houre, and continued so by the space of xxx. dayes. And right against that, on the East part appered a great flamyng beame of great brightnesse, whiche stretched toward the

D. J.

sayde

Robert of  
Bolisne erle  
of Shrewes-  
bury rebelles

1104

5

Lawes made  
against rusti-  
ans and  
theues.

Anselme  
Archebischop  
of Cauntozbury  
Priestes put  
from their  
wiues by An-  
selme Bischop  
of Cauntozbury

Anselme go-  
eth to Rome  
to complaine  
of the king.

1105

6

Flaunders  
ouerflowen  
with the sea.

1106

7

Straunge  
wonderfull  
sight.



sayde starre. And upon Maundy thursday next following, were seene two Moones, the one in the East and the other in the West.

Anselme returned from Rome. A condonation at London.

1107  
8

This yere also Anselme by the kinges agreement returned from Rome, and shortly after called a conuocation at London, in the which by the Bishop of Romes auctoritie, it was newly enacted and confirmed, that no temporal man after that day should make any inuesture with Crosse and Kyng.

In the .viii. yere of his reigne, the fourth Henry Emperour of Albaine, the which was affianced to Holde the eldest daughter of this king Henry, when she was of the age of five yeres, emprisoned Pascall Bishop of Rome and dyuerse of the Caroinalles.

1108  
9

In the .ix. yere of his reigne, the Archebishop Anselme professed Gerard Archebishop of Yorke to the yoke of obedience, as he was before taught by Lanfranke his predecessor. And the .x. day of August following, he sacred five Bishoppes at one tyme, as of Winchester, of Sarisbury, of Exeter, of Herford, and Glamorgan. And king Henry ordeyned a bishops See at Ely, and to the Bishoppes See at Lyncolne he gaue his awne towne of Spaldyng, for he had minished that See by the erection of Ely.

Ely the Bishops See first instituted.

1109  
10

Anselme dyeth.

In the .x. yere dyed Anselme Archebishop of Cauntorbury, after whose death the See was boyde five yeres, and the goodes of the Church spent to the kinges vse. And when he was prayed to helpe the Church that was without an head and a pastour, he vsed to aunswere that his father and also his brother had accustomed to set there the best proued men that they coulde finde, and to the entent that he might do the same, he toke the more tyme and leysure. And with such mylde aunsweres he put off the tyme, and filled his Coffers with the great summes of the Benefice. And at this tyme, the king married his brother Roberts bastard sonne, to Habell daughter and heyre of Robert Fitzham, and made him the first Erle of Gloucester, who after buylded the strong Castell of Bristow.

1110  
11

About this tyme (as sayth the frenche Chronicle) a controuersie began betwixt the king, and Lewes king of Fraunce sonne vnto Philip the first. This Lewes was surnamed Lewes the great, eyther for the bygnesse of his person, or else for the greatnesse of his dedes. This Lewes sent vnto King Henry beyng in Normandy, and gaue vnto him monition to do his homage for the Duchy of Normandy, and also that he should restore vnto him, or else beate downe the Castell of Gysours, and also make recompence and restitution vnto him for the hurtes and harmes that his Normanes had done in those partes. But all this of king Henry was denied, and shortly after skirmishes and bickerings began betwene the sayde two Princes, king Henry then lying at the said Castell of Gysours, and Lewes at a place called mount Calue. But this encreased in such wise, that shortly after, eyther of the Princes sought for places of more robome, and their knightes met sundrie times. But of any notable battaile betwene them I find no remembrance although the same warres continued two yeres. In the ende of which two yeres William the eldest sonne of king Henry, beyng a childe and within age, contented so well the minde of Lewes, that he refrayned from his warre for that tyme.

1111  
12

In the .xiiij. yere of his reigne, at Shrewesbury, and at Notyngham was a great earthquake from the morning vnto night. The Riuer of Trent in the moneth of June flowed not for the space of a mile so as sayth Guydo, that

1112  
13

that men might there haue gone drie thod ouer it, as though the water had bene gone another way, and this continued the space of one whole day. And soone after appered a blasynge starre, whereupon folowed an hard Wynter, great death of the people, and scarcetie of victualles by the great Mozeyn of beastes that ensued. And in this yere also the king founded the Abbey of hide without the walles of Winchester, that of olde tyme was within the walles, and first founded by king Alphred called the new Abbey of Winchester. The Citie of Worcester was in this yere almost all consumed with fyre. And in this tyme began the Parliament in England first to be instituted and ordeyned for reformation and gouernement of this Realme. The maner whereof as I haue found it set forth in an olde Pamphlet, I entende at large to set forth in the reigne of king Edward the third, where and when Parliaments were yere and orderly kept.

Worcester burnt.

1113  
14

In the .xiiij. yere of his reigne he subdued the Welshmen (sayth Polydore) and that not without great slaughter of them, which before by often breakyng out into the frontiers and marches of Englande, wasted those Countreyes very sore.

Aboute this tyme also (sayth the same wyter) Henry the fourth of that name Emperour, vnto whom Habode the kinges daughter was fianced, sent vnto king Henry for his wife, beyng now able to company with a man, who to prepare a conuenient dowry for her, sealed a great payment vpon the people to be leuyed by the Acre, that is to say vpon euery Acre of land that any man helde a certaine porcion: By reason whereof he gathered a great masse of money, the which he sent with her to the aforesayd Emperour.

1114  
15

In the .xv. yere of his reigne, the king intended to haue promoted Fabricus, Abbot of Abyngdon vnto the See of Cauntorbury but in a synode or counsaile of Bishoppes kept at Winsore, the kinges minde was chaunged, and to y See was then admitted Raufe that was before bishop of Rochester

And the same yere one Thurston was chosen Archebishop of Yorke, the which denyed his profession of obedience, that he should owe vnto the See of Cauntorbury, wherefore at length he was depriued of his dignitie. But after by labour that he made to Pascall Bishop of Rome, the sayd Bishop of Rome wrote to the king that he should restore him againe to the sayd See: By the which meane he was restored, but yet disdeyned he to do his lawfull obedience vnto the sayde Raufe Archebishop of Cauntorbury. Then the strife was againe renewed which Lanfranke before had appeased, and at the length brought in argument before the Bishop of Rome. The which at the kinges request promised that he would nothing do, nor ordeine that should preiudice the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, or the dignitie of his Church. But in conclusion the sayd Bishop of Rome gaue such a defuse sentence in this matter, that he left the strife vndetermined. And when the kinges procurators and the Archbishops of Cauntorburies also were absent, were it for mede or for fauour, the Bishop of Rome was so bent, that he forsooke the olde rule vsed before his dayes, and sacred the sayd Thurston himselfe, and gaue him the Pall. For this dede the king was sore discontented with Thurston, and forbad him the entery of his land. Wherefore the Bishop of Rome wrote shortly after to the king, willing him to suffer Thurston to occupie the See peaceably, or he should be accursed, and suspended by the dignitie of the office

Thurston Archebishop of Yorke depriued obedience to the Archebishop of Cauntorbury.

Contention for the Prerogative.

Thurston made Archebishop of Cauntorbury.

D.ij. of



of Cauntozbury, and so Thurston quietly enioyed his See by that meanes.

1116  
17

warres a-  
gaine renewed  
with France

In the. xvij. yere of his reigne, the warre againe betweene him and Lewes the French king was renewed, and the occasioner thereof, as sayth the French Chronicle, was Thibauld Erle of Charters or Champaigne, which Thibauld was grieued by the French king, and for necessitie requyred ayde of the king of Englande, to whome the king as his kinsman sent ayde and succour. And afterward the king sayled ouer with a strong army, and sent a noble man named Stephen into the Lordship of Bze, to defend it against the French king. When Lewes vnderstoode that king Henry was landed in Normandy with so great a power, he in all the hast assembled a great and strong power, and came towarde him. But there were such strong Holdes so well manned with Normanes, and also so great and deepe riuers that the French king coude not come at king Henry. But at the last he wanne a towne named Lingues in Cause, in the which towne was a brydge to passe ouer the ryuer of Thee, and so into Normandy.

When a certeyne of the knightes of Lewes had thus wonne the towne afore sayde, the sayde Lewes with his people sped him thortly after and rescued his foresayde knightes, and then spoyled and robbed the towne which was riche, bicause it had beene in rest and quiet many yeres before. He also slue and tooke prisoners all the Normans there dwelling, and put in their steed Frenchmen. And that done, he sped him towarde king Henrie, the which was at a Castell called Male assise, & there made prouision for the defence of the Frenchmen. And when he had garnished and furnished it to hys pleasure and contentation, he then departed from thence. And thortly after the French king came thether with his whole army of Frenchmen, and after many soze and cruell assaultes, he wonne the sayde Castell, and bet it downe to the grounde. After which victorie, as sayth the French Chronicle, there chaunced to the French king manye misfortunes. For thortly after among manye other mischaunces, a Noble Capitaine of his named Angueran de Chamounte, the which had done much harme in Normandy to king Henry and had wonne there sundrie Castels and strong holdes, dyed sodenlye. And in thort time after Baldwin Erle of Flaunders, a man of great strength, and puyssaunce as he besieged a Castell was wounded in the face, and died within sixe dayes after. Then Fauques Erle of Angeros, in whome also thys Lewes assied muche and trusted, married his daughter vnto William the eldest sonne of king Henry, and refused the French kings parte, and ayded and assisted king Henry in all that he might, so that daylie the power of Henry encreased, and the French kings diminished. Finally, these two Princes met with both their armies in plaine field and fought a deadly and cruell battayle, where in the ende the French king was overcome, and lost marche of his people, & was compelled to flee vnto a place called Audeley for his safegarde. But this ouerthrowe of the Frenchmen is by them excused in the most fayrest maner, so that they (as Fabian sayeth) excuse themselves and saye, that king Henry set vpon Lewes when he was not ware, and hys knights at that tyme were all out of order & aray: and also that king Henry had a farre greater number then the French king had, with other wordes in the praise and commendation of themselves, which is to their rebuke.

But Reynulph of Chester sayth that king Henry overcame the French king

Male assise  
Castell.

1117  
18

A cruell  
battaille.

king in the playne field royally.

Now it followeth in the storie, when these two Princes were agreed, William the sonne of king Henry did homage vnto the French king for the landes of Normandy, by the agreement of his father: for the king thought himselfe to good to be vnder the obeysaunce of the French king. Then king Henry caused his free men of Englande and of Normandy, to doe homage lykewise vnto his sonne William.

1118  
19  
Homage.

And sone after Fauques before named, left his Erledome of Angers, in the guyding of king Henry, and went himselfe into the holye lande, and wyllid in his Testament, that if he returned not againe, that then the sayde Erledome should remayne vnto his sonne in lawe William, sonne of king Henry which had married his daughter.

About the twentieth yere of the reigne of king Henry, Queene Mholde or Malode his wyfe dyed in Normandy, the which in her youth, was set by her father the king of Scottes, into a Nonnery and there did weare and vse the hayle and habite of a Nonne. For the which cause when king Henry was agreeable to take her vnto his wife, this matter fell in great disputation, and Anselme then Archebishop of Cauntozburie was soze against that marriage for a tyme: But afterwarde it was sufficiently proued that shec was there wearyng the habite but neuer professed the order. And hir father had so deuised it to the entent to aduoyde vnworthy wooers.

1119  
20

When king Henry had continued in Normandy almost thre yeres, he tooke shipping at Harflete in Normandy, and sayled happely into England the same day, that is to say, the. xliij. day of Nouember. And thortly after William Duke of Normandy with Richard his brother, Mary his daughter, Richard Erle of Chester, with his wyfe the kinges nece, and the Arche-deacon of Herforde and other to the number of one hundred & thre score persones, tooke shipping at the same port, and were all drowned, a Boocher only excepted: which misfortune chaunced partly by the violent rage of tempest, and partly by the ouersight of the maister and other, which in the night had quarelled among themselves, by reason whereof they ranne vpon a rock as sayd the Boocher. From this daunger William Duke of Normandy escaped, and was in the Shipboate nere vnto the land: but when he heard the lamentable cry of his sister, he commaunded the Rowers to retorne and saue her, which done by what misfortune I can not tell, after she was receyued into the Boate, were it by tempest, or ouercharging of the Boate, or otherwise, they were all swallowed of the sea, so that none of them was after found, but part of their goodes.

A pitifull  
chaunce.

In the. xxi. yere of his reigne, king Henry made the Parke of Woodstock besyde Orenford, and walled it with stone, besydes other pleasures to the same belongyng. And about this time Fauques Erle of Angers returned out of the holy land, and married the sister of her that before he had married vnto William Duke of Normandy, vnto the sonne of Robert Curthose, and gaue with her the Erledome of Cenomanna. And strife began to kinde betweene king Henry and the said Fauques, for the withholding of the dower or ioynter of his first daughter married vnto William the kinges sonne, and for the cruell handlyng of Duke Robert of Normandy, whom the sayd Fauques loued intyrcly.

1120  
21  
Woodstock  
parke.  
Fauques  
Erle of  
Angers.  
Robert  
Curthose.



1122  
23

John a Cardinal of Rome, taken with incontinencie.

Priests wives and concubines.

A chaste Cardinal.

A simple excuse and answer.

1124  
25

Widwell.

1126  
27

Greg Friars when they came first into England.

1127  
28

Dane gelt released.

1129  
30

1131  
32

1134  
35

In the .xxij. yere of the king, Raufe Archebifhop of Cauntorbury died, and a Clerke named William was placed in the See after him. And the king in this yere began the foundation of the Abbey of Redyng. And John Crementis a priest, Cardinal of Rome was sent from Calixt the seconde of that name then Bishop of Rome, for certeyne matters concernyng the said bishop of Rome. In which tyme of his beyng here, he made sharpe proceffe against such priestes as had eyther wyues or else kept concubines, and rebuked them by open publication, and other wyse, so that he gat himselfe thereby small or little fauour. But this Cardinal was so feruent in the correction of other mennes vices, that he forgat to looke vpon his owne life. For in the night or euenyng of the same day that he had blowen his horne, and sayde, that it was a most detestable offence before God, to arylse from the syde of a strumpet, and then to sacre the body of Christ, he himselfe was taken with a strumpet to his open shame and rebuke, but he excused the matter (sayth Mathew of Westminster) sayng that he was no priest but a corrector of priestes.

In the .xxv. yere of his reigne was called a counsaill at London, where the spirituallie consented that the kinges officers should punish priestes that had Concubines. But the sayd officers tooke money and suffered the Priestes to liue at their pleasures. Which offence at this day is so clerely renounced of all Spirituall men, that there are no fynes at all taken now, neyther yet correction necessary done for the same, neyther duely punished any other where in England, except it be in one house called Widwell in London, where also (as some say) there is but to much fauour shewed, chiefly to such as can make any friendes.

In the .xxvij. yere of his reigne, the Gray Fryers came first into this Realme of England, and had their first house buylded at Cauntorbury. And about this tyme also dyed Henry the fourth Emperour of that name, which (as before is touched) maryed Holde the daughter of king Henry. After whose death the sayd Emperesse came vnto her father in Normandy. For when king Henry was asserteyned of the death of Henry the Emperour, for so much as he had none heyre male, he caused soone after the most part of all the Lordes spirituall and temporall in England, to swere in his presence that they should kepe the land of England to the vse of Hawde the Emperesse, if he dyed without issue male, and that she then suruyued.

In the .xxviii. yere of the king, Geostrey Plantagenet the sonne of Fouques Erle of Angeow, maryed Holde the Emperesse. Of the which two descended Henry the seconde, which after Stephen was king of England. And after the king was returned into England, he released vnto the Englishmen the Dane gelt, which was by his father and brother receyued and taken.

In the .xxx. yere of his reigne dyed the Erle of Flaunders, and as Raynolph sayth, king Henry was by the agreement of the frenche king made Erle, as next heyre and inheritor vnto the sayde Erledome.

In the .xxxij. yere of the king dyed Robert Curthose the kinges brother, the which he had kept as prisoner in the Castell of Cardiffe from the fourth yere of his reigne, whose dead carkasse was buryed at Gloucester.

In the .xxxv. yere of his reigne, was borne of Holde the Emperesse, Henry thortmantell, or Henry the seconde, and about thys tyme was by the king founded the Bishoprike of Carlill, and a great part of London byrened.

Now

1135  
36

Now for a finall ende of this story, king Henry in the beginning of the .xxxvj. yere of his reigne, he beyng in Normandy fell from or with his horse, whereof he tooke his death. But Raynolph sayth, that he tooke a surfet by eatyng of a Lamprey, and thereof dyed, when he had reyned full .xxxv. yeres and odde monethes, and was buryed at Redyng Abbey whereof he was the founder, as he was also of the Abbey of Ciceter the which Mathew of Westminster calleth Ciremeester.

# King Stephen.



Stephen Erle of Boloigne, sonne of the Erle of Bloys and Adela daughter to king William the Conquerour, and nephewe vnto king Henry the first, took on him the gouernaunce of this Realme of England, the second day of December .1135. through the counsaile and ayde of many Lordes of England, contrary to their othe made to Hawde the Emperesse.

This was a noble man and hardy. But yet contrary to his othe y he made to Holde or Hawde the Emperesse as aforesayde, hee tooke vpon him the Crowne of this Realme,

and was crowned on Saint Stephens day in Christmas weeke at Westminster of William Archebifhop of Cauntorbury, which Bishop in lyke manner had made the lyke othe vnto the sayde Emperesse, in the presence of the king her father as before is touched: In punishment of which periury as men suppose, the sayd Archebifhop dyed shortly after.

The Lordes also of the whole realme as abouesaid had made like othes, and committed the lyke periury, and therfore scaped not punishment. A great part of this periury (as sayth one aucthour) was this: One Hugh Bygot Steward sometye of king Henry the first, immediately after the decease of the sayde Henry came into England, and before the sayde Archebifhop and other Lordes of the land, he tooke wilfully an othe, and sware that he was present a little before the kinges death, when king Henry admitted and chose for his heyre to be king after him Stephen his nephew, because Holde his daughter had displeased him: wherevnto the Archebifhop & the other Lordes gaue to hasty credence. But the sayde Hugh escaped not unpunished, for he dyed miserably in a short tyme after.

When king Stephen was crowned he sware before the Lordes at Oxford that he would not holde in his hande the Bishoprikes and benefices that were boide, and that he would forgeue the Dane gelt as king Henry before him had done, with sundrie other thinges. And because this Stephen feared the commyng of Hawde the Emperesse, he therfore gaue licence vnto

1135  
8

King Steff crowned.

Periury.

wilfull periury punished

Dane gelt.

to



to his Lordes that euery of them might buylde a Castell or strong fortreffe bypon his adone ground. And soone after hee agreed with Dauid king of Scots who with Henry his sonne did homage vnto him for Scotland. The same tyme Stephen gaue also vnto Henry the sonne of the sayde Scottishe king, the Erledome of Huintyngdon and the towne of Bedford.

In the which tyme the king layed siege to the Castell of Bedford, the which was possessed and manned of the Scottishe king and wanne it. And that done he then made a boyage into Scotland, where he did not muche eyther to his pleasure or profite. But yet Polydore wyrteth, that whilest king Stephen made himselfe readie to set vpon the Scottishe armie, who were come to defende the borders of the Countrie: Dauid perceyuing himselfe to weake, and not able to withstand his power, sent his Ambassadors vnto him to entreate a peace, which at the length was graunted him vpon condition that he would be content to deliuer his sonne in hostage for the sure perormance and holding of the Articles and couenants concluded betwixt them, the which was done. Then in his returne homeward he toke Alexander Bishop of Lincolne & kept him in durance vntill he had giuen vnto him the Castell of Newwarke. And then he chased Wigellus Bishop of Ely. But sayth Polydore, after he had thus finished the matter with the Scottes, in hys returne againe into England he went to Wales and there besieged and wanne Ludlow the head towne of those partes, the which he founde possessed of his enemies, where Henrie prince of Scotland as he was in fight neere vnto the towne walles, was sodenly of the aduersaries that were within the towne plucked from his horse with a crooked engine of Iron, and therewith had bene taken vp into the towne, if God had not so prouyded that the King came forthwith and rescued him in that present daunger.

About this tyme also he tooke suche displeasure with his louing friend, Roger Bishop of Sarisbury, for that he suspected him as he did all those that had lately buylde any fort or Castell to fauor the Empreffe part, that he caik him into prison vntill the sayd Roger had rendred vnto him his two Castels: of Ufes and Sherborne the which himselfe had builded. For the which the sayde Roger in remembryng the great ingratitude of the king, tooke suche thought that he dyed shortly after, and left behinde him in readie coyne in his sayde Castels fourtie thousand Markes, which after his death came to the Kings Coffers, and with that treasure (sayth Reynulph) he found the meanes to marry his sonne Eustace to Lady Constance the French kinges sister.

About the fourth yere of his reigne, Dauid king of Scottes repenting him of his former agreement made with the king, entred of newe within the boundes of Northumberland about the ryuer of Thayfe towarde the Prouynce of Yorke, and bzent and slue the people, and spoyled the Countrie in most cruell wise, not sparing neyther man woman nor chyld. Against whom Thurston Archbishop of Yorke by the kings commaundement was sent, who with his power did acquite himselfe so valtauntly, that he ouerthrewe the hoite of the Scottes, and slue ten thousand of them, and in fine compelled them to withdrawe againe into Scotland. Reynulph.

In the first yere of his reigne, and in the Moneth of July, Matode the Empreffe with her brother Robert and other of her friends entred the lande at the hauen of Portesmouth, and from thence went to Arundell and tocke the

the Castell there. Then Robert Erle of Gloucester leauing her in the sayde Castell, hauing with him onely ten horsemen, with so many Archers on horsebacke, passed through his enemies Countries and sped him to Gloucester, as well to signifie vnto the people the landing of his sister the Empreffe, as to cause an armie to ayde hir. And though the same towne were at his coming manned with the kings power: Yet when the townesmen vnderstood that he was come, they of their owne accorde put the kings Garrisons out of the towne and receyued him, that done the sayde Erle not onely assembled an armie there, but found the meanes also that the places and Countrie adjoining, willingly submitted themselves vnto the Empreffe.

Now when king Stephen who then layde siege to Wallyngford Castell vnderstood that the Empreffe was landed, he incontinent brake by his siege, and with his whole power spedely addressed himselfe to the towne of Arundell and besieged the Castell. But when he had there continued his siege a certaine space, and nothing was yet done accordyng to his expectation, some of them which were secreete friendes and ayders of the Empreffe, ceased not to beate into his head that the same Castell was impregnable, and therefore his lying there was but in vaine, sayng further, that it were best for him to leaue his siege and suffer her to issue out, and to go to some other holde or place where he might more easily come by her, the which was done to this only ende, that she beyng now in the case that she was, not able to hold out any longer for lacke of victualles, might escape the present daunger she was in, and flie to some other place of more suretie, where shee might make her selfe more strong against her enemies. And so Stephen folowynge this deceyueable counsaile, departed incontinent with his armie so farre that the enemies should not feare to issue out whether they would. The which thing the sayd Empreffe perceyuing, departed thence in the dead of the night, and so kept on her iourney to Bristowe, whether there came to her shortly after her comynge great succours out of all partes of the Realme: The which when king Stephen was enformed of, he repented him (but to late) that he had folowed the former euill counsaile. Wherefore he hastened him towards Bristowe to the entent to lay siege to the towne, and there to enclose his enemye if he might by any meanes. But the Empreffe hearyng of his comynge, and vnderstanding his purpose, departed thence, and went first to Gloucester and then to Lyncolne, where she victualled the towne, and so fortified it with men and munition, that she might safely there tary till eyther she were rescued by the Erle her brother and others of her friendes, or else by the fauour and ayde of the Commons, be restored to her right without bloudshed & battayle, and king Stephen deposed. But he beyng aduertised what was there by her done, pursued after with all haste and besieged the same Citie.

After which season the Erle Robert, and Reynulph before named with a great power of Welchemen, and the power of the Empreffe, came agaynst the king intendyng to rayse the siege. Where when both armies were redye to ioyne. The Erle Reynulph of Chester spake to his knightes and sayde, I requyre you, that I that am cause of your perill, may be the first that shall enter into perill. Then answered Erle Robert and sayd, it is not vnworthe to thee that at least the first stroke and dignitie of this fight: for vnto thee it is sittynge, for noblenesse of blood and vertue of strength in the which thou passest

Strife who should fight first in battel.

the

1136

2

Homage of  
the Scottes.

1137

3

Alexander  
Bishop of  
Lincolne.

Roger bishop  
of Sarisbury

1138

4

Scottes  
rebell.

Thurston  
Archbishop  
of Yorke  
overthrewe  
the king of  
Scottes.

1139

5



lest other men: But the kinges false othe moueth men to warre and fight, wherein we must nowe eyther winne the maystry or be ouercome. And hee that hath none other succour, is constreyned to defende himselfe by knightly and strong dedes of armes and of manhood, and so shall we nowe ioyne with them that are blemished with guile & wickednesse, as Robert Erle of Melent, the Erle also of Albemarle, and Simon of Hampton, the which is a man of great boast and small might.

The oration  
of Erle  
Baldwin.

Three things  
are requyred  
to such as  
fight in bat-  
tyle.

Then king Stephen prepared to set forward his people, and Erle Baldwin had wordes of comfort to the kinges people, and sayde: Unto men that shall fight there are three speciall thinges to be considered. The first is the quarrell, least men fall into perill of the soule. The second is the number of men of armes, least men be ouerclayde and oppressed with to great a multitude. And the thirde is, the lustinesse, courage, and strength of knightes, that the matter quayle not for lacke of stoute, hardie courage, and assured fighting in the tyme of neede. As touchyng which thre poyntes, I trust we be well sped. And furthermoze if we note well what enemies we haue. First we haue against vs Robert Erle of Gloucester, who bleseth great threates, and performeth small dedes. In mouth and countenance lyke a Lyon, but in heart a very sheepe. He is glorious in speche, and darke in vnderstandyng. There is also Reynulph Erle of Chester, a man without reason, and full of foolishhardinesse, redy and prompt to all conspiracie, and vnstedfast in al his dedes and attempts: hastie and furious of heart, and vnware of perilles. He assayeth oft to atchieue great dedes, but he bringeth none to effect. And what he fiercely and freshly beginneth, he cowardly and fayntly forsaketh, as infortunate and vnhappy in all his dedes, and is ouercome in euery place, for he is a companion with banished men and sculkers, and the mo of them that are in a company, the sooner they be ouerthrowne: and feeble they be in fighting, for eyther of them putteth his trust in his felow, whyle he hymselfe is ouerthrowen.

A terrible  
battayle.

But, before he could finishe his wordes, the crie of the enemies with noyses of Trumpettes, and neeyng of horses were heard on euery syde, the battayles approched and ioyned together, and forth flew the arrowes, and a grisely and cruell fight was vpon both sydes so long as it endured. By reason of which fight and the slaughter thereof, the greene fielde was turned into a perfite red, so that many a pale and wanne visage was there sene yelding vpon of the ghost, with armes and legges disseuered and departed from the bodies. A long while this fight stood in doubt, whether partie should obtaine victoery. But in the ende king Stephens partie gaue backe and fled, but hee balauntly abode in the fielde with a fewe of his knightes and was taken, and so he was brought vnto the Emperesse: the which commaunded him to be conueyed vnder sure keepyng vnto Bristow, where he was kept as a prisoner, from Candelmas vnto holy Rood day then next ensuyng.

King Ste-  
phen taken  
prisoner.

When the Emperesse had wonne this victoery, and had committed the king to warde, as before ye haue heard, she was not therewith a little exalted, but thought in her mynde, that she was in a suretie of the possession of the whole Realme: But she was deceyued, for the Countie of Kent tooke partie with king Stephen. And after this victoery she departed thence, and toke the towne of Cicester, and afterwarde went vnto Winchester, where shee was solemnly

solemply receyued of the Bishop and the people with procession, and from thence came to Wilton, to Oxford, to Reding, and to Saint Albones, into the which Cities and townes she was ioyfully receyued withall honour, but especially was she welcomed of Theobaldus then Archebishop of Cantorbury, and many of the nobilitie besydes. Lastly, she came to London for to enter the state of the land, and while she remayned there, the Quene king Stephens wyfe made earnest labor for the deliuey of the king her husband, promising that he should surrender the land into her possession, and he to become a religious man, either else a pilgrim to his lyues ende. But all was in vaine, for she could purchase no grace as then vpon no maner of conditions.

The trium-  
phing of  
Mawde the  
Emperesse.

A large pro-  
mise which  
was neuer  
purposed to  
be performed.

The Citizens of London also made great labour that they might vse the lawes of king Edward the Confessor, as they were graunted by William the Conquerour, and not the lawes of her father, which were of moze strenghtnesse, whereof in no wyse they could get any graunt.

The Em-  
peresse was  
somewhat to  
strepht  
laced.

For this the Citizens were discontented, and knowyng that the Countrey of Kent which fauoured king Stephen would strength theyr party, purposed to haue taken her. But she beyng thereof warned, departed in haste, and left behinde her her stoze of household, and so fled vnto Drenford, where she abode, but her people was deuyded and scattered. And in this while she sent vnto David the king of Scottes and her vncler for to ayde her, who in all haste came vnto her, and so went to Winchester, where she layde siege to the Bishoppes Tower, the which, the Bishop beyng the kinges brother at that tyme helde with great strength.

The flying  
of the Em-  
peresse.

Then the Queene with the ayde of her friendes, that is to say, of Kentishe men and other, made a strong hoste, whereof was chiefe Capitayne a knight named Guillian Ppres. When the Emperesse heard of the great strength of the Queene, and sawe that her aloue dayly diminished rather than encreased, was in such feare that she caused her selfe to be caried in a horse Litter to Gloucester as though shee had bene dead. But Erle Robert her brother was taken soone after, and put in prison, and David king of Scots heeryng of this returned into Scotland.

A wise and  
courageous  
woman.

Then meanes was made vpon either side for the deliuey and exchange of prisoners, so that in the end it was agreed, that the king should be deliuered for Erle Robert. But before this agreement was fully concluded, great losse and mischief was done within this Realme euery way, for the Emperesse pilld and spoyled on her partie, and the Queene by manaces and promises borrowed and tooke vpon the othersyde, and the Souldiours stale, extorted, and spoyled vpon both parties, so that riche men were made needy, and the poore oppressed on euery side.

Prisoners  
exchanged.

Pilling and  
spoyling of  
the Realme.

In this meane while the Emperesse returned againe to Drenforde, and victualled it and manned it in her best maner. And lastly the king was deliuered vpon holy Rood day in Harvest, and soone after he compassed Drenford with a great armie, from the tyme of Michaelmasse vnto Christmasse next folowyng, at which tyme and season, the Emperesse bled a newe guile for constraint and necessitie of victuall.

The returne  
of the Em-  
peresse vnto  
Drenford.

In that tyme great plentye of snowe fell vpon the ground, and the frost was therewithall so great, that Thames with other great riuers were then frozen ouer, so that man and horse might passe vpon the Ice. The Emperesse then

A pretty in-  
vention.



Hard scape.

The maner of departure of the Empreſſe.

Parliament at Northampton.

1144  
10

Jewes crucified a child.

1146  
12

Robert Erle of Glouceſter well rewarded of the king.

then conſtreyned by neede (as aforeſayd) apparelled her and her company in white clothing, which a farre of ſemed like ſnow, and ſo vpon a plumbe going together as nere as they might, eſcaped the daunger of their enemyes, and ſo came firſt to the pyle or Caſtell of Shereborne, and then to Wallingford. And from thence in ſhort time, ſhe departed with a ſmall company into Northampton vnto her huſband.

So ſoone as the Empreſſe was thus departed from Drenford the tobone was yelded vnto the king, where the king had much of the Empreſſe ſuffe, aſwell harnelle as other ſuffe of houſhold. Then the king entended to haue purſued her, but tidyngeſ came vnto him that Reynulph Erle of Cheſter with an hoſte of Welſhemen was commynge towardeſ him: But by mediation of friendes this Reynulph in the ende was reconciled to the king, and was with him fully agreed. But ſhortly after ſayth Reynulph, in a Parliament holden at Northampton, he was taken of the king by a traine, and not deliuered againe before he had geuen by the Caſtell of Lincolne.

About this tyme as certeyne write, the Jewes then beyng in England crucified a childe named William in the Citie of Northwicke in deriſion of the Chriſtian religion. And in the time of Henry the ſecond, about the .viij. yere of his reigne (as ſayth Reynulph) they crucified another at Glouceſter.

In the .xii. yere of his reigne, king Stephen was againe crowned at Lincolne after the geuyng by of the ſayd Citie where neuer none of his predeceſſors had bene euer crowned before.

Robert Erle of Glouceſter made alſo new warre vpon the king, at Wilton, ſo that he was in great perill, and like to haue fallen into Roberts daunger, and eſcaped but verie narrowly. And there was taken a Barron of the kinges named Sir William Martell, for whoſe raunſome and deliury, the king gaue after to the ſayd Erle the Caſtell of Sherborne. And that done, the ſayd Erle Robert began to buyld a ſtrong Caſtell at Faringdon: Whereof the king beyng informed, aſſembled his knightes and ſped him thetherward, by meane whereof the worke was for that tyme impeached and let. Theſe thinges done (ſayth Polidore) the rage of warre ceaſed for a tyme. In the meane while, the king went vnto London, and there helde a Parliament, in the which he ſpake vnto his Nobles and Prelates as foloweth.

Where you haue hether to (my moſt deare and truſty Lords all) followed me as chiefe and head Capytaine in defending your libertie, I deſire you that you will not nowe forſake me but do the lyke hereafter, and continue as loyall and faythful vnto me your ſouereigne liege Lord, as you haue hether to bene: for as concerning me, though I haue not yet (I confeſſe) done my dunctie in the princely regiment committed vnto me, accordingly yet certes it hath not bene for want of good will, but for that time hath not ſerued thervnto, neyther can I now accompliſh the ſame without your ayde and aſſiſtance. And becauſe you ſhall not thinke that hether to little or nothing hath bene done of any importaunce: you ſhall vnderſtand that our enemyes are already ſo weakened by my meanes, that will they nill they, they muſt needes yeeld them ſhortly to our grace and mercie. There remaineth onely that you will for your partes helpe to maintaine thoſe warres which by oure conſent and counſayle were firſt begonne and taken in hande by mee; for the defence of the common wealth. And manye other wordes ſpake he vnto them of lyke ſentence,

ſentence, to the intent to moue them to contribute to the aforeſayde warres as the preſent neceſſitie ſhould require.

When he had thus ſpoken every man promiſed willingly to ayde him with that they might, aſwell for their owne ſafeſtie, as for the defence of the common libertie of the Realme. The Biſhops and Prelates alſo, becauſe it was not lawfull for them to fight, were contented yet to aſſiſt him with money: for the which thing, he being deſirous to gette the ſayd money, cauſed it to be ordeyned and enacted in the Parliament, that whomeſoever ſhould be forward layde violent handes vpon any that was with aſſiſtance, or did arreſt any ſuch; for what tyme ſoever it ſhould be, or take the ſayd prisoners without the ordinarie proceſſe and expreſſe commaundement, ſhould be accounted accuſed, and neuer to be aſſoyled againſt; but of the Biſhop of Rome.

In the .xv. yere of his reigne, the Ryuer of Champe was ſo ſtrongly durt froſen that Horſe and Carre paſſed ouer vpon the Ice.

It is alſo writen by Robert a Chronycle that king Stephen conceyving great diſpleaſure againſt the Citie of Northwicke, becauſe they receyued the Duke of Glouceſter and Hawde the Empreſſe, did therefore cauſe the ſame Citie to be ſet on fyre and brent to coles.

In the .xviij. yere, Reynulph Erle of Cheſter dyed, and was the ſoutherly Erle after the Conqueſt; and his ſonne Hugh was Carle after hym; which was a man of great ſtrength and power. And in the ſame yere (as ſayeth Gyudo and other) dyed Geoffrey Plantagenet huſband of Hawde the Empreſſe. After whoſe death, Henry ſon of Matell that was the ſonne of the ſayde Geoffrey and Hawde, was made Duke of Anjou and Normandy, who in fewe yeres after married Elianour the daughter of the Erle of Houtowe, the which Elianour was before married vnto Lewis king of France, and from him deuorced for neereſſe of blood, when he had receyued of her two daughters named Mary, and Alice, as ſayth the French Chronycle. And ſo this Henry was Erle of Anjou by his father, and Duke of Normandy by his mother, and Erle of Houtowe by his wyfe.

It was not long after, that Euface the ſonne of King Stephen, with aide of the French king, warred vpon Henry Duke of Normandy, the which (as ſome write) was practiſed by Stephen his father, to the intent to let or ſtop him that he ſhould not come into England to claime his inheritance. But Duke Henry defended himſelfe ſo knightly, that the ſaide Euface wan thereby litle honour and leſſe profite.

An olde Chronycle ſheweth that king Stephen entended to haue crowned the ſayd Euface his ſonne king of Englande by his dayes, but the Biſhoppes reſuſed that deede by the commaundement of the Biſhop of Rome.

In the .xxiiij. yere, the king layde ſiege vnto the Caſtelles of Newbury, of Walyngforde, and of Warwike & Warwell, the which had bene kept by the Empreſſe friendes, from the time of her departure vnto that day, and hoped of reſkues by Henry Duke of Normandy. But the king then wan the Caſtelles of Newbury and of Warwell, but Warwike and Walyngford defended themſelues vntill the commynge of Henry the Duke, the which in the ende of the ſayde yere with a great armye entred England, and firſt wanne the Caſtell of Walmesbury.

And thence he went to London, and wanne the Tower, aſmuch by pollecy

1149  
15

1151  
17

The death of Geoffrey Plantagenet.

1152  
18

The landing of Henry Duke of Normandy.



lecy and by fayre promifes, as by strength. And such stuffe of victuall and armour as he found therein, he sent to Walingford. And that done, he went to the towne of Walingford, and waanne suche holdes as were thereabout, and diuerse other townes and Castelles mo. Then king Stephen with his power drewe toward the Duke. And finally, by meane of mediators, as Thibalde Archbishop of Cantorbury and other, both Princes to common of peace, met nere vnto the water of Urne, or Arne. But as fast as some laboured for peace, so faste other laboured to haue warre, so that at that communication the peace was not concluded.

After the king and the Duke were departed, the king went toward Ipswich in Suffolke, and the Duke toke the way towarde Shrewesbury, where he waanne the Castell of the sayd towne. From thence he went to Notingham, and waan that towne, but would not meddle with the Castell, because he thought it to strong to be waane. Wherefore the Souldiours that held the said Castell, seeing that the towne toke partie with the Duke, brake out in the night, and set the towne on fyre, and brent a great part thereof.

In this meane tyme Eustace the sonne of king Stephen, was by misadventure drowned, and was butted at Feuerham in Kent, in the Abbey of his father, before had builded, howbeit for al this Thibald Archbishop of Cantorbury let not to labor & conclude the peace betwene the king & the Duke, and endenored himselfe therein so diligently, that with the assistance of other of the Nobles, in the yere folowing a peace was concluded at Walingford, vpon diuerse conditions: wherof one was that the king should continue as king during his life, and that immediately after the conclusion of this peace, the sayd Henry should be proclaymed in all the chiefe cities & townes of England for heire apparant, & be king after the death of the said Stephen, & that the king should take him for his sonne by adoption & rightfull heyre vnto the crowne. To the which coneuantes iustly to be holden, the king was first sworne, and then his base sonne William and after his Lordes spirituall and Temporall, and so went both vnto London, where they were royally receiued. And when the king had feasted the Duke, and geuen vnto him riche giftes, he toke his iourney toward Normandy. But the English Chronicle sayth that the accord was made vpon the deuision of the land betwene them, that is to say, that both should reigne together, and either of them to enioy halfe the lande. But how that deuision was made, or which part of the land eyther of them should holde, no mention thereof is made. And the former accorde should be concluded. viii. dayes folowng the Epiphany of our Lorde in the towne of Orford: and the king dyed in the moneth of October folowng, when he had reigned. xviii. yeres. x. monethes and. xiiii. dayes, leauyng no lawfull issue behynd him, and was buryed in the Abbey of Feuerham whereof he hymselfe was founder.

Of diuerse auctours, as Reynulph and other, it is recorded that this Stephen liued in great beration and trouble all the time of his reigne.

And as before ye haue heard in the latter ende of the story of king William the Conquerour, that king Henry the second, and king Stephen, came of two sisters, after the opinion of some wyrters which were the daughters of king Henry the first who had maryed Holde the daughter of Malcolme king of Scottes, whereof the elder was named Holde married to Geoffrey Plantagenet

Enface the sonne of king Stephen drowned.

Thibald Archbishop of Cantorbury

A peace concluded betwene king Stephen and Henry Duke of Normandy.

Henry Duke of Normandy proclaymed heyre apparant.

Duke Henry returned into Normandy.

1153

12

Plantagenet of whome he begat king Henry the second: And the other sister named Mary was the mother of king Stephen: So also is it to be vnderstand, that by king Henry the seconde returned the blood of the Saxons to the crowne of England, and so it did by Stephen, but yet more properly by king Henry the first, as by the discent of his mother expressed before in the ende of the story of William Conquerour may apere. By which reason it followeth, that the blood of William Conquerour reigned ouer England but lxxviii. yeres, one moneth and. xvi. dayes, if it be accounted from the first yere of king William Conquerour, vnto the last yere of king Henry the first: But if we reckon it to the ende of the reigne of king Stephen, then was it. lxxvii. yeres, and. xii. dayes.

By king Henry the second the blood of the Saxons was restored againe.

The blood of the Normans how long it reigned ouer vs.

# Henrie the seconde.



Henry the seconde of that name, sonne of Geoffrey Plantagenet Erle of Anceow, and of Holde or Madode the Emperesse daughter of king Henry the first, began his reigne ouer the Realme of England the xxv. day of October M. C. liii.

This king was some deale red of face, and broad breasted, short of body, and there with fat, the which to asswage he tooke the lesse of meates and drinckes, and much exercised himselfe in huntynge, hawkynge, and such lyke pastimes. He was harrish of voyce, but yet eloquent and well learned, and also noble and

The description of king Henry the second.

baliaunt in knyghthood, wise in counsaile, but bread ouermuche destinies. He was free and liberall to straungers, and heard and holdyng from his familiers and seruautes. And whome he loued or hated entirely, hard it was to turne him to the contrary. He loued rest and peace, to the ende he might the rather solow his pleasure, with no vices reherced by Gerald and others, the which for length I passe ouer.

Howbeit as Reynulph witneseth he was not barren of all vertues, for he was of so great a courage, that he would often say, that all the worlde sufficed not to a couragious heart. And he encreased his heritage so mightily, that he waanne Irelande, anone after his coronation by strength, and toke the king of Scottes prisoner, and ioyned that kingdome of Scotlande to hys awne. From the South Ocean, vnto the North Ilandes of Orcaides, he closed all the landes as it were vnder one dominion, and spred so largely his Empire, that we read not that any of his progenitors had so many Proutyces and Countreys vnder their gouernance and rule. For besyde the Realme of England and Scotland, he had in his rule Normandy, Gascoyne, and Guyan, Anceow and Poyters: and he made subiect to him Aluerne and other

Henry the second a couragious prince.

Irelande ioyned to the crowne of England.

Henry the second greatly enlarged his dominion.

C. ij. ther



ther landes. And by Elianoz his wyfe he obteyned as in her right, the Erle dome of Colous.

King Henry the seconde had by Elianoz his wyfe ix. children.

Of the which wife he receyued sixe sonnes, and thre daughters, the which five sonnes had to name, William, Henry, Richard, Godfrey, and John, but what the sixt was called is not remembred of wyrters. The eldest of the maydens was named Holde or Halode, and was maryed to the Duke of Saron, the second Elianoz, maryed to the king of Spaine, and the thirde named Jane, maryed to the king of Sicile.

Princes are subject to spile.

This Henry was prosperous in his begimnyng, and infortunate in the ende, and specially in the last five yerres of his reigne, for in the first of those five yerres, his strength began to minishe: The second yere he lost a boyage in Irelande: In the thirde, he lost Alluerne, warring agaynst the King of Fraunce: In the fourth yere he lost Briteyn, and in the fift the Citie of Cenomanna, and Turon, with many Holdes to them belongyng.

When tidynges was brought vnto this Henry of king Stephens drath, he fortunod to lye at the siege of a Castell which was withholden and kept from him by the frenche king. And beyng aduertised by his counsaile forthwith to breake bp his siege, and to hasten him into England to take possession of the Crowne, least happely any styre or busynesse might arise by protractyng of tyme: he vpon the affiance that he had in his rightfull cause answered againe, that no man durst be so hardie as to attempt any thing agaynst him. And so though he were dayly counsailed to the contrary, yet would he not depart before he had wonne the sayde Castell. That done, he sped him into England, and was crowned at Westminster of Theobald Archbishop of Cantorbury, not without great solemnitie and reioysing of the people, the Sondag before Christmas day. 1154. At the which coronation he made a very sweete and comfortable oration vnto the people, and so louyngly spake vnto them both generally and priuately, that euery man conceyued thereby great hope of his good gouernment to come, and that they should haue a very good and gracious Prince of him.

1154

The coronation of King Henry the second.

In the first yere of his reigne, after he had chosen certeyne graue, wise, discrete, and well learned men in the lawes of the Realme to be of his priuie counsaile, and had by their aduice reformed the sayd lawes, then because iustice and equitie should no lenger be oppressed by such malefactorz, as being called out of foreyn countreyes by king Stephen to serue him in his warres, were not afeard to commit all kinde of mischief, vnder pretence of a libertie permitted to Souldiours by the law of armes in warre tyme: he made proclamation, that all such straungers whatsoeuer they were, should aduoid the Realme by a day assigned, vnder a great paine: But especially the Flemings whereof at that tyme there was a great number come hether, whome he hated more then any other Nation. That done, he rased diuerse Castelles that before in the tyme of King Stephen were buylded, eyther for displeasure of the owners, or for that they stood not commodiously and for his purpose: Or else for feare least they should at any time be fortifyed of his enemyes agaynst him. Furthermore, he banished many of the Lordes and gentlemen that were highly in king Stephens fauour. And from such as by purchase, gift, or otherwise helde any landes, sometimes belongyng to the Crowne, he tooke the sayde landes and leased vpon them in whose handes soeuer they were.

Strangers aduoided out of the realme.

Castelles destroyed and rased to the ground.

Lordes and gentlemen are banished.

Landes that belonged to the crowne are taken in agayne.

were. By the which fact of his, a number (sayth Polidoze) were offended, gatheryng plainly thereof, that he would in tyme to come be nye himselfe, and regard his awne commoditie.

In the begimnyng of the seconde yere which was the yere of our Lorde M. C. lv. Queene Cleanoz his wyfe was brought a bed of a man childe whom he called Henry.

1155

The birth of Henry the first sonne of King Henry the seconde.

This yere he went downe into the North Countrie; and so to Yorke, where he sealed into his handes certeyne Castelles and Fortes which had bene a great while possessed of priuate personnes: But especially the strong Castell of Scarborough. After this he tooke from the Scottishe king the Countrie of Comberland, and then went he to Northumberlande, and recovered that Countrey wholly, notwithstanding that it was geuen vnto king Dauid of Scotland by Hawde the Emperesse his mother, because the sayde Dauid tooke part with her agaynst king Stephen, the which countreyes were at that season in the handes and possession of Malcolme who succeeded the said Dauid: But because he would not seme altogether vngratefull vnto him, that had so well deserued of his mother, he permitted the sayde Malcolme still to enioy and reteyne the Erledome of Huntingdon, the which, as is before sayde, king Stephen gaue vnto Henry the eldest sonne of Dauid: But yet on condicion that he should sweare to do homage and fealtie vnto him for the same Erledome.

In the thirde yere of his reigne, about the moneth of October were sene in the firmament wonderfull lightes, that is to say two Sunnes. And in the Moone was there sene also a red Crosse. Of this wonder sheweth the Authoz of Chronica Chronicarum, sayng that about this tyme in Italy there appeared thre Sunnes by the space of thre houres in the West. And in the yere folowyng appeared thre Moones whereof the middle Moone had a red crosse ouerthwart, which is there set out and noted for a prodigie and token of the Schisme that afterwardes fell amongst the Cardinales about the election of the Bishop of Rome Alexander the thirde, the which Schisme endured almost .xx. yerres.

1156

3 Strange & wonderfull lightes.

About this tyme Adrian the fourth of that name called Nicholas was Bishop of Rome, bozne at Saint Albons or nere there aboutes, and as Reynulph wyrteth was a bondman of the Abbey, who because he desired to be professed a monke in the sayde Monastery, and could not be receyued, went shortly after beyond the seas, where he profited so much in learning that the Bishop of Rome made him first Bishop of Alba, and afterwardes Cardinal, and at the last after the death of Anastasius Bishop of Rome, he was chosen Bishop of Rome. And beyng aduanced to the Papedome, he gaue many great priuileges to the sayd Abbey. At the length he dyed beyng choked with a flie in his drink; who a little before his death affirmed that there was no kinde of life more miserable than the Papacie, he that desireth to knowe more of this Bishop, may reade the seconde booke and sixt Chapter of William of Petwobroghe.

1157

4 Adrian the fourth an English man made Bishop of Rome, and his successour of the Papacy.

The same yere also Hugh Mortimer a very prowde and hauyde man fortified dyuers towne and holdes agaynst the king, as Gloucester, Worcester and the Castle of Bridgenorth. And when he sawe the kings powet bent agaynst him, he humbly submitted himselfe, and had his pardon.

Hugh Mortimer a rebel, submitted himselfe and is pardoned.

C. liij.

Richard,



1158

The birth of  
Richard af-  
ter called Ri-  
chard Cœur  
de Lion.

Richard, surnamed (for his manhood) Cœur de Lyon, in English, Lyons hart, was this yere borne at Oxford, in the kings Palace there, which as is before sayde was buylded by Henrie the first, and afterwards given by Richard Duke of Cornewall brother unto King Henrie the thirde, unto the order of the Carmelites then newly come into this Realme, to make them a house to inhabite in, which was called as it is yet at this day, the white Friars.

After this sayeth Polidore, the Realme of England was very quiet and King Henry at peace, as well with his aboue subiectes as with other forrein nations, untill worde was brought him that his brother Geoffrey made a great streere and businesse beyonde the sea, the originall cause wherof was this. Geoffrey Plantagenet his father lying on his death bed, left behinde him three sonnes, that is to say, Henry, Geoffrey and William, and ordered by his will and last testament that whensoever his eldest sonne Henry should chauce to be in full possession, as well of the Realme of England, as of the Dukedome of Normandy, that then and from thenceforth, his brother Geoffrey to haue and hold as in his aboue proper right and inheritance the whole Countie and Erledome of Anioye: And in the meane season, untill it fell vnto him, to haue the possession of these three Tobones following, that is to saye, Chinon, Lendum and Mirabellum, bicause that when God should call for his father he hauing the aide of the aforesayd three tobones might the easier come by his right, and not be lightly kept from the possession thereof. And fearing least his sonne Henry (who was then absent) would afterwarde breake this his will and testament; he compelled dyuers noble men and prelates that then were present to promise him vpon their othe that they would not suffer his body to be entered before they had receiued a corporall othe of his sonne Henry for the firme and inuolable performace thereof. The which othe Henry afterwarde tooke (though full sore against his will) more to auoyde the great infamy and dishonour that should haue else ensued vpon the deniall thereof, then otherwise. But not long after when by the death of King Stephen, he was crowned King of England, being inflamed with ambition, and following the nature of all couetous persons, who the more they haue, the more they desire, he so vsed the matter with Adrian the fourth then Bishop of Rome, that he was by him dispensed of his aforesayde othe. And being so dispensed withall, contrarie to all right, equitie, law and conscience, he then little regarding his fathers will, made warre vpon his sayde brother, and in short time subdued him: & so spoiling him of his rightfull inheritance seased the sayde Erledome into his owne handes. Howbeit, he gaue him afterwarde certaine other landes in recompence, bicause he should not lack lying to maintaine his estate. But the sayde Geoffrey being thus vnnaturally intreated of his brother lyued not long after. Polidore.

All this while there was priuie grudge and hart burnyng betwene King Henry of England and Lewes of Fraunce, neyther could the same be otherwise quenched, then by oft renuyng of amitie and frendship betwixt them, the which yet was euermore but coloured and dissembled on both parties for the tyme, insomuch that it would burst out againe vpon the least occasion that might be. The chiefe cause of this mutuall grudge was for that Henry married Aleanor, from whom the said Lewes as is before said, had bene before deuorced, after he had had two daughters by her. This Aleanor was nere and might

An oth taken  
by Henry the  
second for the  
performace  
of his fathers  
will.

The Pope  
dispenseth  
King Henry  
for his othe.

heire vnto William sometymes Duke of Aquitaine, and Erle of Tholose, who dyed in the holy land: Wherefore King Henry hauing now marryd the sayde Aleanor claped as in her right the Erledome of Tholose, which then was withholden from him by the Erle Raymond, who had married lady Constance the french kinges sister, wherevpon both the sayd kinges were in armes ready to assayle eche other with sharpe and cruell warre, had not the matter bene taken vpon by their frendes, and a peace concluded betwixt them. For confirmation wherof, it was agreed betwixt the sayd two Princes, that Henry the second sonne of King Henry, but the eldest then aliue, being a child of .viij. yeres of age, should marry the daughter of Lewes the .viij. named Margaret being then but three yeres olde. The which daughter the sayde Lewes receiued of his seconde wife Constance the daughter of the King of Spaine: and this conclusion of peace & marriage was (as both Polidore and William of Newbrough do affirme) the .viij. yere of the reigne of King Henry.

This yere also was the Citie of Cauntorbury almost all brent and consumed with fyre, although Fabian sayth that it was in the sixt yere.

The same yere also dyed Theobald Archebishop of Cauntorbury. This man was a great fauourer of good letters and learned men, but especially he loued (for what qualities I know not) Thomas Becket a Londoner borne, the sonne of one Gilbert Becket, & of a woman of Siria. Insomuch that he not onely made him Archebisson of Cauntorbury, but also was a meane vnto the king that he was made Lordechauncelour of England. Of the which Theobald it is also written, that immediately after his election to the Archebissonrick, he went to Rome, and there receiued his Pall of Innocent the second, and was made of him Legate. And hereof it came that al other Archebissopes that succeded him were euermore called Legati nati.

The same yere Queene Aleanor was brought a bed of a daughter named Hawode. And shortly after the death of the sayde Theobald, Thomas Becket aforesayd, was by the kinges procurement chosen and consecrated Archebisson of Cauntorbury, that is to say the .ix. yere of King Henry.

And this yere the Queene was brought a bed at Roan of a daughter which was called Aleanor, after her mothers name.

About this tyme King Henry caused all the States and Prelates of his Realme to swere fealite to his sonne Henry, a Prince of great towardnesse: And of all other, Thomas Lorde Chauncelour and Archebisson of Cauntorbury was the first that tooke the othe, with reseruacion of the fealite all ready made vnto the king his father so long as he lyued.

Not long after the sayd Archebisson resigned the office of the Chauncelourship, and gaue by the great Seale into the kinges handes, the which the king tooke in very euill part.

The yere following which was the yere of our Lord .M. C. liiij. and the .x. yere of the reigne of the king, there fell great variance betwene the king and the sayde Thomas Becket, insomuch that the kinges minde was nowe cleane alienated from him: The occasion and ground of which variance shall afterwarde be declared.

In the .xi. yere of his reigne the Welshmen rebelled againe, the which rebellion was by the king easely appeased without any great slaughter. For the chiefe doers and beginners hereof, he so punished, that it was thought that

Variance &  
disorde be-  
twene King  
Henry and  
the French  
king.

A peace made.  
A marriage  
concluded be-  
twene the son  
of King Hen-  
ry and the  
daughter of  
the French  
king.

1161

8

Cauntorbury  
brent.

Theobald  
Archebisson  
of Cauntorbury

Thomas  
Becket made  
Lorde  
Chauncelour

Archebissops  
of Cauntorbury  
are named by  
the Pope,  
Legati nati.

1162

9

Fealty sworn  
to the kinges  
sonne in the  
life of his  
father.

1163

10

The king is  
in displicature  
& Thomas  
Becket.

1164

11



that they would not effsoones rebell but of their abone accorde remaine true and faythfull Subiectes.

1165

William king of Scottes doth homage and fealtie to king Henry.

The. xij. yere of his reigne dyed Malcolme king of Scottes, next after whome succeeded his brother William, who as sone as he was crect ned went to London and there did homage and fealtie vnto king Henry, as Malcolme had done before. But Reynulph in his. vij. booke, and. xiiij. Chapter setteth forth the maner and doyng of this homage as foloweth. This yere (sayth he) the. xij. day befoze September, William king of Scotland by the assent of his Lordes and Barons came vnto Porke where then King Henry was with his Nobles, and there sware fealtie and made his homage vnto the sayd king Henry of England. And also the sayd king William did then and there confesse and acknowledge by his letters patentes that he and his successors, men of Scotland, should do homage, allegeance and fealtie to the kinges of England, as often as they shall be requyzed therevnto. And in token of this subiection, the sayde king of Scotland offered his Hat, and his Saddell vpon Saint Peters aulter in the Church of Porke, which are extant there to be seene at this day. And mozeouer the Lordes of Scotlande there present at that time, tooke their othe in solempne maner, that if the king of Scotlande would withdrawe him at any tyme from the sayd fayth and loyaltie, that then they would ryse against him, and so remaine his enemyes, vntill he would returne and reconcile himselfe.

Geoffrey the kinges sonne married to Constance the daughter of the Duke of Briteyn.

About this time dyed Conanus Duke of Briteyne without issue male, leauyng behinde him one onely daughter named Constance, which though she were then vnder age and not yet mariable, king Henry found the meanes to mary his sonne Geoffrey vnto, and so was his strength and dominion not a littell encreased thereby.

1166

13

Made married to Duke of Barony.

In the. xiiij. yere of his reigne dyed Hawde the Emperesse the kinges mother, a woman as well for her wisdome and pollecy in warres, as all other her notable qualities incomparable.

This tyme also the Kinge maryed his daughter Hawde vnto Henry Duke of Barony.

King Henry with his son, farther into Briteyne.

After this the king beyng at peace with all fozeine nations from the. xiiij. yere of his reigne the space of two yeres and moze, because he would not idely consume the tyme, neyther yet suffer his souldiours by feastyng, banquettyng, and other vsittying pastymes, which they are commonly wont to geue themselves vnto in peace tyme, which should withdrawe their myndes from martiall affayres, taking his sonne with him, made a boyage into Briteyne, where he spent a great part of his time in ridyng about and vietyng of the Countrie, and in fortifyng of towones and holdes, and finally in hauyng of famillier conference and friendly talke with the noble men there. Then departing from thence he went into Normandy, and there also tooke order with matters of that Countrie accordyngly. These thinges done, in the beginning of the next spring, he returned into England, but not without some misfortune vpon the sea: for one of his Shippes was drowned by tempest, wherein as it is reported were thye hundred persons which were all drowned. And after his returne he went to Windsor, where he made his abode and kept his Christmas, and the greatest part of all the Nobles of the realme were there with him. And thether came also king William of Scotlande with

A great misfortune vpon the Sea.

with his brother David to signifie vnto him how glad and ioyfull they were of hys prosperous successe in his late boyage, whom he right curteously embraced againe, geuyng them at theyr departure many riche and large giftes.

Now to returne vnto Thomas Becket: the cause of the aforesayd baryauce and discention betwixt the king and him was as it is written of diuers Authours of good credite, that certein wicked persons of the Clergie whose murders, robberyes, and grieuous transgressions against the lawes of the Realme, beyng declared to the king by his Judges: The king therewith was not a little agreeued, and for reformation therof, called a Parliament in the. ix. yere of his reigne at Northampton, requiryng to haue established by auctoritie thereof, that due punishment might be executed vpon such transgressors of the Clergie of this Realme accordyng to the auncient order of the lawes: notwithstanding the prerogative and priuelege which the ecclesiasticall persons claymed, sayng that they were exempt from all temporall iurisdiction. Thomas Becket then beyng Archebishop of Cauntorbury, vnderstandyng the king to go about to set lawes, preiudiciall to the priuelege of the Clergie, would not agree therevnto, desiryng the king that vnder Christ our newe king, and vnder the newe lawe of Christ he would not bring in anye newe proceedyngs agaynst the ordinaunces and decrees of the auncient holye fathers: And if he would, he sayde that he neither ought to sustaine it, nor would not. The king beyng moued therewith, allegeth againe and exacteth the olde lawes and customes of his Grandfather, obserued and agreed vpon by Archebishops, Bishoppes, Prelates, and other priueleged persons, requiryng likewise of him, whether he would agree to the same, or else now in his reigne condempne that, which in the reigne of his Grandfather was well alowed. And those constitutions are in number. xxviij. or. xxix. whereof certeine folowe.

1 Concerning the nomination and presentation into benefices, if any controuersie arise betweene the layetie and Clergie: or betweene one spirituall man with another, the matter to be brought into the kings temporall Court, and there to be decided.

Lawes and constitutions ordeyned by king Henry the first.

2 Churches, suche as be de feodo Regis, to be giuen at no time without the assent and permission of the king.

3 All spirituall and ecclesiasticall persons being accused of any crime, what soeuer it be, and summoned by the kings iustice to come and appeere in the kings court, there to make answer whether the matter appertain to the spiritual court or to the temporal: so that if the said persons be found guilty and conuicted of anye crime, the Church not to defende hym nor succour hym.

All ecclesiasticall persons are subiect in all criminall causes to the temporall law.

4 No Archebishop nor Bishop, nor person being of any Ecclesiasticall dignitie, to attempt to go ouer the Sea out of the Realme without the kings knowledge and permission, and in so doing, yet notwithstanding to be bound, taryng in any place to procure no damage eyther to the king or to the realme.

That no ecclesiasticall person depart this realme without the kings licence.

5 Such goodes or Cattels as be forefeyted to the king, neyther any sanctuary of Church, or Churchyard to deteyn them, contrary to the kings iustice for that they belong to the king, whether they be founde in the Church or Churchyarde.

No sanctuarie or church may deteyn goodes against the king.

6 No orders to be giuen to husbancde mennes children without the assent and testimoniall of them which be the Lordes of the Countrey, where they

That no orders be geuen



to husband  
menes chil-  
dren, without  
the assent of  
the Lordes  
of the Coule.

they were borne and brought bp.

¶ Besides these constitutions there were many other which I passe ouer, for that the afore rehearsed articles are the chiefe. And now let vs returne to the matter betwixt the king and Thomas Becket aforesayd.

The king as is aforesayde, conuentynge hys nobles and Clarkes together, required to haue the punishment of the aforesayde misdoers of the Clergie. But Thomas Becket would not consent therevnto. Wherefore the king demaunded of him whether he woulde consent with hys Clergie, that the customes then set forth in the realme (meaning the first parte of the aforesayde decrees) should be obserued. To the which the Archbishop consulting together with his brethren, giueth aunswere agayne, that he was contented the kings ordinances should be obserued, adding this withall Saluo ordine suo, that is, sauing his order. And so in lyke maner all the other Bishops after, being demaunded in order, answered with the same addition Saluo ordine suo. Onely Willarius Bishop of Chichester, perceyuing the king to be exasperate with that addition, in stead of Saluo ordine suo, was agreed to obserue them bona fide. The king hearing them not simplye to agree vnto him but with an exception, was greatly offended, who then turning to the Archbishop and the Prelates, sayde: that he was not well content with that clause of theirs Saluo ordine suo, which he sayde was captious and deceptfull, hauing some maner of benym lurking vnder it, and therefore required an absolute graunt of them, without any exception, to agree to the former ordynaunces. To thys the Archbishop replyeth that they had sworne vnto hym their fidelitie, both lyfe, body and earthly honour: Saluo ordine suo: and that in the same earthly honour, all those ordynaunces were comprehended. And to the obseruing of them they would bynde themselves after none other foyme, but as they had sworne before. The king with this was moued, and all his nobilitie, and that not a little. The day beyng well spent the king when he could get none other aunswere of them, departed in great anger, geuyng no worde of salutation vnto the Bishops. And likewise every one of the Bishops departed to his awne house. The bishop of Chichester among the rest was greatly rebuked of his felowes for chaungyng the exception contrary to the voice of all the other. The next day folowynge the king tooke from the Archebishop all suche honours and Lordshippes as he had geuen him before, in the tyme that he was Chauncelour, whereby appered the great displeasure that the king bare against him and the Clergie.

Not long after this, the king remouyng from London, vnknoyng to the Bishops, sayled ouer into Normandy, where the Bishop of London called Gilbert, not long after resorted to him to craue his fauour: and gaue him counsaile withall to ioyne some of the Bishops on his syde, least if all were against him, peraduenture he might the sooner be ouerthrowne. And thus the greatest number of the Bishops were by this meanes reconciled againe vnto the king, except the Archebishop and a fewe other Bishops. The king thinking to trie all maner of wayes, when he sawe neither feare, nor threates coulde turne them, he did then assay them with gentlenesse, but it would not serue. Many of the Nobles labouring betwixt them both, exhorted the Archebishop to relent vnto the king, but it would not be. Likewise the Archebishop of Pozke, with diuers other Bishops & Abbots especially the Bishop

Willarius  
Bishop of  
Chichester.

The king  
sheweth him-  
self displeas-  
ed with Tho-  
mas Becket.

Gilbert Bi-  
shop of Lon-  
don.

Bishop of Chester did the same: Besydes his awne household daily called vpon him, but no man could perswade him. At length he hauing vnderstandyng, partly by them that came to him: what daunger might happen not onely to himselfe, but to all the other of the Clergie, vpon the kings displeasure, and partly also consideryng the olde wyse and kindnesse of the king towards him in tymes past, was content to geue ouer to the kings request, and came to Drenford to the king, reconcilyng himselfe aboute the addicion which had displeasid the king so much. Whereupon the king beyng soone what unittigated, receyued him with a more cheerefull countenance (but yet not so familiarly as before) sayng that he woulde stur his ordinaunces and proceedinges after that forme confirmed in the publique audience: and open sight of his Bishops and all his Nobles. After this, the king beyng at Clarendon, there called his Nobilitie and Prelates before him, requiryng to haue that performed, which they had graunted in consenting to the obseruing of his Grandfathers ordinaunces and proceedinges. The Archebishop of Cantorbury suspectyng somewhat in the kings promise, went backward, and now would not, that before he would: And to perswade him to obedience: first came vnto him the Bishop of Sarisbury, and of Norwich, who for olde matters were in daunger to the king long before, weeping & lamenting to the Archebishop, desyryng him to haue some compassion on them, and to remit this pertinacye to the kyng, least if he so continued, through his stoutnesse to exasperate the kings displeasure, haply it might redound to no small daunger, not onely to them which were in icopardie all redy, but also to himselfe to be imprisoned, and the whole Clergie to be endaungered. Besydes these two Bishops, there went to him other two noble peeres of the Realme, labouryng with him to relent, & condiscend to the kings desyre. If not, they should be enforced to vse violence, as neyther would stand with the kings fauour, and much lesse with his quietnesse: But he would not geue ouer. After this came to him two Kulers of the Temple called Templars, one named Richard de hast: another called Constance de Hauerio with their company, lamenting and bewailynge the great perill, which they declared hure him to hang ouer his head, and yet neyther with their teares, nor with their kneelynges would he be remoued. At the length came the last message from the king, signifyng vnto him with expresse words, and also with teares what he should trust vnto, if he would not geue ouer vnto the kings request.

By reason of which message, he either terrefied or else perswaded, was content to submit himselfe: Whereupon the king incontinent assembling the States together, the Archebishop first before all other begynneth to promise to the king obedience, and submission vnto his customes, and that cum bona fide, leauing out his former addicion, Saluo ordine, mentioned before, in steede whereof, he promised in verbo veritatis, to obserue and keepe the kings customes, & swaure to the same. After him the other bishops likewise made the like othe. Whereupon the king commaunded certeine instrumentes obligatory to be drawen, of the which the king should haue one, the Archebishop of Cantorbury another, and the Archebishop of Pozke the thirde, requiryng also the sayd Archebishop to set to his hande and seale. To the which the Archebishop although not denyng but that he was willyng so to do, yet desired resppte in the matter while that he beyng come but newly to his Bishoprike might bet-  
ter

Thomas  
Becket per-  
sued the  
king.

Thomas  
Becket  
kept at Cla-  
rendon.

Thomas  
Becket drew  
ch backe  
from that he  
promised.

Great labour  
taken to re-  
duce Tho-  
mas Becket  
to his bon-  
den obedience

Thomas  
Becket  
swaure to keepe  
the kings  
ordinaunces.

Thomas  
Becket blest  
Clayton.



ter peruse with himselfe the aforesayde customes and ordinances of the king. This request as it seemed but reasonable, so it was lightly graunted, and so the day being farre spent, they departed for that season, and brake vp.

Thomas Becket repented and sought to the king.

Alas one of the foure wyrders of the lyfe of this Thomas Becket, recordeth that the Archbishop whis bolage toward Winchester began greatly to repent that he had done before partly through the instigation of certain about him, but this selfe of his grosse error, who going before the Archbishop did chauncely and earnestly rebuke him, for geuyng ouer to the kings request, agaynst the privilege and liberties of the Church, pollutyng not onely his fame & conscience, but also geuyng a pernicious example to them that should come after, with many like wordes.

Thomas Becket is absolved of the Pope for his offence.

To make the matter short, the Archbishop was so touched upon the same, with such repentance, that he purged himselfe from company, lamentyng with teares, with fasting, and with much penauice, tearyng and scourgyng his owne body, did also suspend himselfe from all deuynne seruite, and would not receyue comfort, before he had sent to the Pope, and had graunt that he should be absolved of him, wherunto he had to him againe letters by the same messenger that came from the sayde Archbishop. In which letters, he not onely absolved him of his trespass, but also with wordes of great consolation did courage him to be stout in the quarrell he took in hand. Upon these letters of the Pope, Becket was not a little comforted & encouraged. The king heering of Thomas Becket going backe, how he denied to set his seale to those sentences which he had subscribed vnto before, toke no little displeasure against him, insonmich as he threathyng to him banishment and death, began to call him to reconynges, and to burthen him with paymentes, that all men might vnderstand that the kings mynde was set agaynst him. The Archbishop hereupon, whether more for the loue of the Pope, or dread of his Prince, thought to make an escape out of the realme, and so crept out in the night with two or thre with him, steading from his household, & attempted to take the sea privately, but the weather not seruyng him, he was driven home againe. And shortly after that he was gone, his departure was knowen and noysed abroade: By reason of which noyes the kings officers came to Cauntorbury, and purposed to haue seased upon his goodes on the kings behalfe. But as it chaunced the night before their comyng, Becket returned and was founde at home, wherefore they did not proccede in their purpose. Nowe Becket well vnderstandyng the king to be sore bent against him, and perceuyng that the Seas would not serue him, made haste to the Court, the king lyng then at Woodstocke, where the king receyued him after a certeyne maner, but nothyng so familiarly as he was wont, taunting him iestingly and merily, as though one Realme were not able to holde them both. Becket, although he was permitted to go and come at his pleasure to the Court, yet he coulde not obtayne the fauour that he would, perceuyng both in himselfe, and confellyng no lesse vnto others howe the matter would fall out, so that eyther he should be constreynd to geue ouer with shame, or stoutelye he must stande to that which he had so boldly taken in hande. The Archebishop of Yorke in the meane time goyng betweene the king and Becket, laboured to make peace and loue betweene them: But the king in no case would be reconciled, onlesse the other would subscribe to his lawes. So that while the king would none otherwise

The kinges wrath increaseth agaynst Thomas Becket.

Thomas Becket purposed to make an escape.

Thomas Becket flyeth, but returneth againe.

Thomas Becket cometh againe to the Court, to the king.

otherwise agree, neither that Becket would in no wise subscribe, there was a foule discorde betwixt them. The king for his regall auctoritie thought it much that any subiect of his should stande against him. The Archbishop againe thinking himselfe to haue so good a quarrell as in the defendyng of the liberties of the Church, and also bearing himselfe bold vpon the letters of the Pope lately written vnto him, thought himselfe strong ynough against the king and all the realme besyde. Wherefore the Archebishop trustyng to these thinges, would geue no place, but by vertue of his Apostolike auctoritie gaue censure vpon these lawes and constitutions of the king, condemnynge some, and other some approuyng for good and Catholike. Besides this there came also to the king Rotrodus Archbishop of Roan sent from the Pope to make peace betweene the king and the Archebishop. To the which the king was well content to agree, so that the Pope would agree to ratifie his ordinances. But when that could in no wyse be obteyned at the Popes handes, then the king thus being stopped and frustrate of his purpose by reason of Beckets Apostolike Legacie, being Legatus a latere: thought good to send vnto the Pope: and so he did to obtayne of him, that the same auctoritie of the Apostolike Legacie might be conferred to another, after his apointment which was the Archbishop of Yorke: But that the Pope denied. Notwithstanding at the request of the kinges Clergie, the Pope was content that the king should be Legate himselfe, wherat the king tooke great indignation as (Houeden wyrteth) so that he sent the Pope his letters againe.

An arrogant subject to stand in such manner with his Prince.

Rotrodus Archebishop of Roan.

The king desired to be the Popes Legate.

And when the kings Ambassadors were returned with the aforesaid letters, & had declared the kings pleasure & request. The Pope at the last graunted, that the Legate should be remoued, & that the Archbishop of Yorke should be placed in that office after his owne request. And yet addeth this promise withall, that the sayd Becket should receyue no harme nor damage thereby.

Thomas Becket cited to appere at Northampton.

Alas as the king had receyued the Popes letters to authorize the Archbishop of Yorke in the Legacie, he then caused Becket to be cyted vnto appere by a certayne day at the towne of Northampton, there to make answer to suche things as should be layde to his charge. So when the daye was come, all the Deeres and Nobles with the Prelates of the realme by the kings proclamation being assembled in the Castell of Northampton great faulce was found with the Archebishop, for that he being cited personally came not himselfe, but sent another for him. The cause why he came not (Houeden sayth) was this, because the king had placed his horse and horsemen in the Archebishops lodging, which was a house there of Chanons, wherewith he being offended, sent worde agayne that he would not appere onlesse his lodgings were auoyded of the kings horsemen. Wherupon by publique sentence as well of the Nobles as of the Bishops, his moueables were adiudged to be confiscate for the king.

A iudgement geuen agaynst Thomas Becket.

The Archbishop againe for his parte against the order and forme of that iudgement complayned, alleging for himselfe, that seing he was the Primate & spirituall father, not only of all other in the realme, but also of the king himselfe, he thought it not couenient, & father so to be iudged of hys children, nor the pastor of the flock so to be codeimned. And this was the first daies action.

A route of Thomas Becket.

The next daye following the king layde an action against him, for one that was his Marshall called John, for certayne iniurie done to hym, and required of the sayde Archbishop the repaying againe of certayne money,

King Henry comended an action agaynst Thomas Becket.

f. s. which



which he as he sayde had lent vnto him in the tyme he was Chauncelour, the somme whereof was fyue hundred Markes. This money the Archebishop denyed not but that he had receyued it of the king, albeit by the waye and tytle of gift (as he tooke it) though he could bring no proote therect. Whereupon the king required hym to put in assurance for the payment thereof, wherewith the Archebishop making delays, not well contented at the matter, he was so called vpon, that eyther he should be comtable to the king for the money, or else he should incurre present daunger, the king being so bent against him. The Archebishop being brought to such a strayne, and destitute of his awne suffraganes, could not here by no meanes escape, had not fyue persons of their awne accord stepped in, being bound for him, every one in one hundred Markes, and this was vpon the second day concluded.

The morrow after which was the thirde daye of the Counsayle, as the Archebishop was sitting beneth in a conclaue with his fellow Bishops about him, consulting together, the sayde Bishops labored by sundry wayes and meanes, and with verie vehement perswasions and learned arguments to wyll him to obedience and to submit himselfe to the king, the which perswasions for the length of them I doe here omit: But to conclude, when they had long spent their labour, good wyll and wisdom, to haue reduced him to good order, he would not condissend vnto them, but sayde as follooweth.

I perceyue sayth he, and vnderstand that ye go aboute to maintaine and cherishe but your owne cowardnesse vnder the colourable shadewe of sufferance, and vnder the pretence of dissembling softnesse, to choke the libertie of Christes Church: who hath thus bewitched you, O vnfaciable Bishoppes? what meane ye? why do you so vnder the impudent title of forbearing, beare a double heart, and cloke your manifest iniquitie? What call ye this bearing with tyme, the detriment of the Church of Christ? Let termes serue the matter, why peruert you the matter that is good with vocables and termes vnto true? For that ye say we must beare with the malice of tyme, I graunt with you, but yet we must not heape sinne to sinne. Is not God able to helpe the state and condicion of his Church, but with the sinfull dissimulation of the teachers of the Church? Certes God is disposed to tempt you. And tell me I pray you, when should the governours of the Church put themselves to daungers for the Church, in tyme of tranquillitie or in tyme of distresse? Ye will be ashamed to denie the contrary, but in distresse. And now then the Church lying in so great distresse and beration, why should not the good pastour put himselfe in perill therfore? For neither do I thinke it a greater act or merite, for the auncient bishops of the olde tyme, to found the Church than with their blood, or then now for vs to shed our blood for the liberties of the same. And to tell you plaine, I thinke it not safe for you, to swarue from the forme and example which you haue receyued of your holy elders.

After these thinges were spoken, they sate all in silence a certaine space, being locked in together as aforesayde: But at the length to finde a chift to cause the doore to be opened, I wolde sayth the Archebishop speake both two Erles that are about the king, and named them who they were, which being called, opened the doore and came in with haste, thinkyng to heare some thing which shoulde appease the kinges minde, to whome the Archebishop spake in this maner. As touchyng and concernyng the matters betwene the king

A bolde and stout answer was made by Thomas Becket.

king and vs, we haue here conferred together. And forasmuch as we haue them not here present with vs now, which know better in the matter than we do, whose aduise we would also be glad to follow, therefore we craue so much respite as vntill to morow, and then we will be redy to geue by our answer vnto the king: with this message two bishops were sent vnto the king, which was the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Rochester.

London to helpe the matter, and to set quietnesse, addyng somethyng more to the message, sayde to the king, that the Archebishop craued a litle delay of tyme to prepare suche wytyngs and instrumentes, wherewith he should set forth and declare his mynd, in accomplishing the kinges desyre. &c. Wherefore two Barons were sent to him from the king to graunt him that respite or stay, so that he woulde ratifie that which the messengers had signified to the king. To the which the Archebishop answered that he sent no suche message as was intimate in his name: but onely that the next day he woulde come and geue answer to the king, in that which he had to say. And so the conuocation of the Bishops dissolved, and they were dismissed home. So that the most part of them that came with the Archebishop and accompanied him before, for feare of the kinges displeasure seuered themselves from him. The Archebishop thus forsaken and destitute (as the history of hym sayth) sent about for the poore, the lame, & the halt, to come in and furnish his house, sayyng, that by them he might sooner obtayne his victory, than by the other, which had so slypt from him.

On the next day folowynge, because it was Sunday nothing was done. So the day after, which was the second fery, the Archebishop was cited to appear: But the night before being taken with the disease of the Cholike, all that day he kept his bed, and not able as he sayd to aryse. Every man supposed it to be but a feyned sicknesse, certeyne of the chiefe Nobles were sent to trie out the matter, and to cite him to the Court, Robert Erle of Leicester, and Reginald Erle of Devonshire. To whom the Archebishop answered, that as that day he was so diseased that he coulde not come, and though he were brought in a horse Litter: so that day passed ouer.

The morrow after, certeyne that were aboute him, fearing no lesse but that some daunger would happen vnto him, gaue him counsaile in the morning to haue a Masse in the honour of the holy Martyr Saint Stephen, to kepe him from the handes of his enemies that day. When the morrow was come being Tuesday, there came to him the Bishops and Priates, counsailling and perswadyng him couertly by insinuation (for apertly they durst not) that he woulde submit himselfe aswell for all other his goodes, as also his Archebishoprike to the will of the king, if peradventure his indignation by that meanes might asswage. Addyng moreouer, that onlesse he would so do, perjury should be layd against him, for that he vnder the othe of fidelitic had promised to kepe the kinges lawes and ordinaunces, and now he would not obserue them. To this Becket answered againe: Brethren ye see and perceyue well howe the worlde is set against me, and how the enemy riseth and seketh my confusion. And although these be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieneth me most of all is this: the somes of myne awne mother be prikes and thornes against me. And albeit that I do holde my peace, yet the posteritie to come will knowe and report howe cowardlye you

Thomas Becket vseth many delays

Thomas Becket, is counsailed to haue a Masse of S. Stephen to defend him from his enemies.

Thomas Becket was charged with perjury.



haue turned your backes, and haue left me your Archebifhop and Metro- politane alone in this conflict, and how you haue fitten in iudgement againft me (although an vnworthie finner) nowe two dayes together, and not that onely in the Ciuile or Spirituall Court, but also in the temporall Court redy to do the fame. But in generall this I charge and commaunde you all, by the vertue of pure obedience, and in perill of your awne order, that ye be not pre- fent personally in iudgement againft me. And that ye fhall not fo do, I here appeale to our mother and refuge of all fuch as be oppreffed, the Church of Rome: and if any feculer man fhall lay handes vpon me (as it is rumored they will) I ftreightly enioyne & charge you in the fame vertue of obedience, that you exercise your censure Ecclefiasticall vpon them, as it becometh you to do for your father and Archebifhop. And this I do you to vnderftand, that though the world rage, and the enemy be fierce, and the body trembleth, for the flefh is weake, yet God fo fauouring me, I will neyther cowardlye fhynke, nor bilye forfake my flocke committed to my charge.

But the Bifhop of London contrary to this commaundement, did incon- tinent appeale from him. And thus the Bifhops departed from him to the Court, faue onely two, that was Henry Bifhop of Wincheftre, and Jofelyne of Sarifbury, who returned with him secretly to his Chamber and comforted him. This done, the Archebifhop the next day addreffed him to the Masse of S. Stephen with all folemnitie, as though it had bene an high feftiuall day, with his Metropolitane Pall, which was not vfed to be worne, but vpon the holy day. &c. The office of his Masse began Sederunt Principes & aduer- fum me loquebantur. &c. that is, Princes fate and fpake againft me. &c. (The kinges feruants beyng also there, and beholding the matter) for this Masse Gilbert Bifhop of London accused Becket afterwarde, both for that it was done per artem magicam, & in contemptum Regis, (as the wordes of Houeden purport) that is both by art magique, and in contempt of the king.

The Masse beyng ended, the Archebifhop puttyng off his Pall, his Mit- ter and other robes, procedeth to the kinges Court, and taketh also the Sa- crament priuily about him. And comyng towardes the kinges Chamber there to attend vpon y<sup>e</sup> king, as he was entering in at the doze, he taketh from Alexander his Crofyer, the Croffe with the Croffestaffe, in the fight of all that ftode by, and carryeth it in himfelfe, the other bifhops folowing hym, and faying he did otherwife then became him. Amongest other, Robert Bifhop of Hertford offered himfelfe to beare his croffe, rather than he fhould fo do, for that was not comely: but the Archebifhop would not fuffer him. Then fayde the Bifhop of London vnto him, if the king fhall fee you come armed into his Chamber, perchance he will drawe out his fwoorde againft you, which is ftronger than yours, and then what fhall this your armour profite you? The Archebifhop answereth againe: if the kinges fwoorde do cut carnally, yet my fwoorde cutteth fpirituallly, and ftriketh downe to hell: But you my Lorde, as ye haue played the foole in this matter, fo you will not leaue off your folly fo farre as I can fee, and fo he came into the chamber. The king heering of his comyng & the maner thereof, taried not long, but came where Becket was fet in a place by himfelfe with his other Bifhops about him. First the cryer calling all the Prelates and all the Lordes of the Temporallie together: that beyng done, and euery one placed in his feate, accordyng to his degree: The

king

king beginneth with a great complaint againft the Archebifhop, for his maner of entering into the court, not as into a kings court, but as a traytor, fhewing himfelfe fo like a traytor as hath not bene feene before in any chriftian kinges court: To this all there present gaue witnesse with the kings wordes. And fo altogether with one crye called him on euery fide Traytor. Wherevpon, great horroz and feare was what fhould befall on him. The Archebifhop of Yorke comyng downe to his men, fayd he could not abide to fee what the Arche- bifhop of Cantorbury was like to fuffer. Likewise, the Tipftaues and other ministers of the afsembly comyng downe with an outas agaynst him, crof- fed them to fee his hautie ftobernesse, & the bufinesse that there was towards him. Certeine there were of hys friendes one or two, fittying at his fecte, fome comfortyng him foftly, and bidding him to lay his curffe vpon them: Other contrary, bidding him not to curffe, but to pray and to forgiue them: and if he loft his life in the quarrell of the Church and the libertie thereof, he fhould be happy. Afterward one of them named Iohannes Stephani, wil- luyng to fpeake something in his eare, but could not be fuffered by the kinges Marshall, who forbade that any man fhould haue any talke with him. Then he, because that he could not otherwife fpeake vnto him, wrought by fignes, makyng a croffe and lokyng bp with his eyes, and waggyng his lippes mea- nyng that he fhould pray, & manfully ftande to the Croffe. In the meane time cometh to him Bartholomew Bifhop of Exeter, defiryng him to haue regard and copaffion vpon himfelfe, & also of them, or elfe they were all like to perifh for the hatred of him, for there cometh out, faith he, a precept from the king, that you fhall be taken, and fo fuffer for an open rebell, and who fo hereafter taketh your part fhall haue the like punifhment. It is fayd mozeouer, that Jofelinus Bifhop of Sarifbury, and William Bifhop of Norwiche are to be had to the place of execution for their refiftyng, and makyng interceffion for you. When he had thus fayd, the Archebifhop lokyng vpon the fayd bifhop of Exeter said: Aduoyde fayd he, hence from me, thou vnderftandest not, nei- ther doest thou fauour thofe thinges that be of God.

The Bifhops and Prelates then going afide by themfelues from the o- ther Nobles (the king fo permitting them to do) tooke counsaile together what was to be done. Here the matter ftode in a doubtfull perplexitie, for eyther must they incurre the daungorous indignation of the king: or elfe with the Nobles they must proceede in condemnatio againft the Archebifhop for refiftyng the kinges fancies, which they did not fauour themfelues. In this ftraite neceffitie, they denyng what way to take, at length agreed vpon this, that they with a common affent fhoulde appeale the Archebifhop to the See of Rome vpon perurie. And that they fhoulde oblige and binde them- felues to the king, with a fure promife to woork their diligence in depofing the Archebifhop vpon this condition, that the king fhould promife their fafety, and difcharge them from the perill of that iudgement which was towarde him. So all the Bifhops obligyng themfelues thus to the king, went feozth to the Archebifhop, of whome one fpeaking for the reast (which was Hlary Bifhop of Chichefter) had thefe wordes. Once you haue bere our Archbi- fhop, and fo long we were bounde to your obedience: but now for as much as you once fwearing your fidelitie to the king, doe refist hym, neglecting hys Injunctions and ordinaunces concerning and perteyning to his terrene ho-

f. iiij.

uoz

Thomas Becket ap- pealeth to Rome.

Thomas Becket a man of great courage.

Gilbert Bifhop of Lon- don appealed from Tho- mas Becket.

The Masse of S. Stephen.

Becket accus- ed to be a conurer.

Robert Bifhop of Hert- ford.

The king calleth Becket traytor.

Iohannes Stephani.

Bartholomew Bifhop of Exeter is reproued by Thomas Becket as Peter was of Chrift.

The bifhops agree to ap- peale Tho- mas Becket to Rome of perurie.

The bifhops refufe obedi- ence to Tho- mas Becket.



nor and dignitie, wherefore we here pronounce you perjured, neither be we bound to geue obedience to y Archbishop thus perjured. But putting out selues & al oures in the Popes protection do appeale you\* to his presence. And vpon the same assigned him his day & time to apere. The Archbishop answering again said, he heard him wel ynough, And vpon this sedeth vp to Rome in al hast to the Pope, signifying to him by letters the whole matter, how and wherefore & by whom he was appealed: After the Archbishop was thus appealed to Rome as before you haue heard, he then sitting w his crosse wayting in the Court, at the last the king sent by certain Erles and Barons commaundment to him (Robert the Erle of Leycester doing the message) that he should without delay come and render a full accompt of all things that he had receyued in fruits & reuenues of the realme, in the time he being his Chaunceloz, and especially for the 30000 Markes for the which he was accomptable to the king. To whom the Archbishop aunswereth, that the king knew how ofte he had made his reconning and accompt of those things which he nowe required. Further and besides, he sayde that Henry his sonne and heyre of the Realme, with all hys Barons and also Richarde Lucye his chiefe iustice tolde him that he was free and quit to God & holy Church from all receiptes and computations, and from all secular exactions on the kings behalfe. And so he taking this his discharge at their handes, entered into his office, and therefore other accompt besides he woulde make none. When this worde was brought to the king, he required his Barons to do the lawe vpon hym: who iudged him to be apprehended and layde in prison. This done the king sendeth vnto him Reginald Erle of Cornewall and of Deuonshire, and Robert Erle of Leycester, to declare to hym what was his iudgement. To whome the Archbishop aunswereth, heare my sonne and good Erle, what I say vnto you: how much more precious the soule is then the bodye, so muche more ought you to obey me in the Lord, rather than your terrene king: Neither doth any lawe or reason permit the children to iudge and condemne their father. Wherefore to aduoyde both the iudgement of the king and youres, and of all other, I put my selfe onelye to the Arbitrement of the Pope vnder God alone, to be iudged of him and of none other. To whose presence here before you all I do appeale, committing the orderng of the Church of Cantorbury my dignitie, with all other thinges apperteyning to the same, vnto the protection of God and his. And as for you my brethzen and felow bishops (which rather obey man than God) you also I call and clayme to the audience and iudgement of the Pope, and hence I depart from you as from the enemies of the Catholike Church, & of the auctority of the Apostolike See.

While the Barons returned with this aunswere to the king, the Archebishop passing through the throng, taketh to him his Palfrey, holdyng hys Crosse in the one hande, and the Bridle of his Palfrey in the other, the Courtiers folowyng after cryng Traytor, Traytor, tary & here thy iudgement: But he passed on vntill he came to the vttermost gate of the Court, which being fast locked, there he had bene stayed, had not one of his seruaunts called Peter, named Deunctorio, fyndyng there a bunch of keyes hangyng by, first proung one key, and then another, at the last chaunced vpon the right key, and so opened the gate and let him out. The Archebishop went streight way to the house of Chanons where he did lye, callyng in to him the poore where they

Thomas Becket once again charged to be in the kinges deyr.

Thomas Becket once again charged to be in the kinges deyr.

Thomas Becket iudged to be imprisoned.

A proud and presentious speech.

Thomas Becket appealeth from the king to the Pope.

Thomas Becket in a soule rage.

they could be found. When supper was done, making as though he would go to bed (which he caused to be made betwixt two Altars) he in the meane tyme prently, while the king was at Supper in the Euenyng, prepareth his iourney secretly to escape away, chaunging his garment and his name beyng calied Derman, first went to Lincolne, from thence to Sandwich, where he tooke Ship, and sayled into Flaunders, & from thence iourneyed to Fraunce as Houeden sayth. But Alanus differyng in the order of his flight, sayth that he did not flie that night, for at supper tyme there came vnto him the Bishops of London, and Chichester, declaryng to him that if he would surrender vnto the king his two maners of Otford and Wingham, there were hope to recouer the kinges fauour, and to haue all remitted: But when the Archebishop would not agree therewith, forasmuch as those Manours were belonging to the Church of Cantorbury: And the king heeryng thereof, was greatly offended. Insomuche that the next day, Becket was faine to sende to the king two Bishops and his Chapleyn to haue leaue to depart the realme. To the which message the king aunswered, that he would take a pause vntill the next day, and then he should haue aunswere. But Becket not taryng for his answer, the same day conueyed himselfe away secretly, as is aforesaid to Lodouicus the french king. But before he came to the french king, Gilbert the B. of London, & William Erle of Arondel, sent from the king of England to Fraunce, preuented him, requiryng of the sayd french king in the behalfe of the king of England that he would not receiue nor reteyne within his dominion the Archbishop of Cantorbury. Moreover, y at his instance he would be a meanes to the Pope, not to shew any familiaritie vnto him. But the king of England in this poynt seemed to haue more confidence in the french king, then knowledge of his disposition. For thinkyng that the french king would be as a good neighbour to him, in trustyng to him he was deceyued. Neither considered he with himselfe enough the maner and nature of the french men, at that tyme against the Realme of England, who then were glad to seke and take all maner of occasions to do some acte against England. And therefore Lodouike the french king vnderstandyng the matter, and thinkyng percase to haue some aduantage thereby agaynst the king and Realme of England by y occasion hereof: Contrary to the kings letters of request, not onely harboureth and cheriseth this Dereman, but also wytyng to the Pope by his Almoner and brother, entreateth him vpon all loues, as euer he would haue his fauour to tender the cause of the Archebishop Becket. Thus the kinges Ambassadors repulsed of the french king returned, at what tyme he sent another Ambassade vpon the lyke cause to Alexander the Pope, then beyng at Sene in Fraunce. The Ambassadors sent on this message were, Roger Archebishop of Yorke, Gilbert Bishop of London, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Hillary Bishop of Chichester, Bartholomew Bishop of Excester with other Doctors and Clerkes: Also William Erle of Arondell, with certeyne mo Lordes and Barons. Who comyng to the Popes Court, were friendly accepted of certaine of the Cardinalles, amongst the which Cardinalles, there arose also discention about the same cause, some iudgyng the Bishop of Cantorbury in the defence of the libertyes of the Church, as in a good case was to be mainteyned: Some thinking againe that he beyng a perturber of peace and bunitie, was rather to be brided for his presumption, then to be fostered

Thomas Becket chaungeth his name, and escapeth.

Lodouike of Lewes the french king.

1163  
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soffered and encouraged therein. But the Pope partly bearing with his cause, and partly incensed thereunto w<sup>th</sup> the letters of the French king, did wholly encline to Becket. Wherefore the Pope the next day solowyn<sup>g</sup> sitt<sup>ng</sup> in consistory with his Cardinalles, when the Ambassadors were called for, to the heeryng of Becket's matter, first begynneth the Bishop of London, next the Archebishop of Yorke, then Exeter, and thzough the Bishoppes every one in their order to speake. Whose Orations beyng not well accepted of the Pope, and some of them also disderneyd: The Erie of Arondell perceyving that, somewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the Popes eares began after this maner.

Oration of  
the Erie of  
Arondell  
which he  
made in  
French.

Although to me it is vnknowen (sayth he) which am both vnlettered and ignorant, what it is, that these Bishoppes here haue sayde, neyther am I in that tongue so able to expresse my minde as they haue done: yet beyng sent and charged thereunto of my Prince, neyther can, nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cause is of our sendyng hether, not to contende or strue with any person nor to offer any iniury or harime vnto any man, especially in this place, and in the presence here of such a one, vnto whose becke and auctoritie all the worlde doth stoupe and yeelde. But for this intent is our Legacie hether directed, to present here before you, and in the presence of the whole Church of Rome, the deuotion and lone of our king and maister, which euer he hath had, and yet hath still toward you. And that the same may the better appere to your excellencie, he hath assigned and appoynted to the furniture of this Legacie, not the least, but the greatest: not the worst, but the best and chiefest of all his subiectes, both Archebishops, Bishoppes, Erles, Barons, with other Potentates mo, of such worthinesse and parentage, that if he could haue found greater in all his Realme, he woulde haue sent them, both for the reuerence of your person, and of the holy Church of Rome.ouer and besydes this I might adde to more, which your holinesse hath sufficiently tryed and proued all ready, the true and heartie fidelitie of this our Soueraigne toward you: Who in his first entrance into his kingdome wholly submitted himselfe, with all that is his besydes, to your will and pleasure.

And truly to testifie of his maiestie howe he is disposed to the vnitie of the Catholique fayth, we beleue there is none more faythfull in Christ than he, nor more deuoute to God, nor yet more moderate in keepyng the vnitie of peace whereunto he is called. And as I may be bolde this to protest for our king and maister: so neyther do I deny touching the Archebishop of Cantorbury, a man also not destitute nor vnfurnished with giftes and ornaments in his kinde of calling, to be a man both sage and discrete, in such thinges as to him apperteyne, saue onely that he semeth to some, more quicke and sharpe than nedeth. This blot alone if it were not, and the breache betweene him and our king had not happened, both the regimentes together of the Temporallie and Spirituallie might quietly haue flourished, one with the other, in much peace and conorde, both vnder a Prince so worthie, and a Pastor so vertuous. Wherefore the case so standyng as it doth, our message hether and our supplication is to your vigilant prudence, that through your fauour and wisdom, the necke of this discention may be broken, and that reformation of vnitie and loue may by some good meanes be sought.

This Oration of his, although it was liked of them for the softnesse and moderation

moderation thereof: yet it could not so perswade the bishop of Rome to condescende to their sute and request, which was to haue two Legates or Arbitrers to be sent from him into England to examine and to take by the controuersie betweene the king and the Archebishop. But the Pope beyng encensed as is sayde before, would not graunt to their petition, forasmuch as it should be (sayth he) preiudiciall, tending to the oppression of the Archebishop to graunt vnto it, he beyng not present. And therefore willed them to tary hys comyng, or else, he beyng absent, he would not he sayde in any case proceede against him. But they allegyng againe, their tyme to be expyred appoynted them of the king, hauyng besydes other lettes & causes, as they alleaged, said, they could not there wayte for the comyng of Becket, and so returned backe their cause frustrated without the Popes blessing to the king. Within foure dayes after, Becket commeth to the Popes court, where he prostrating himselfe at his feete, brought out of his bosome a scroll conteynyng the customes and ordinaunces of the king afore mentioned. The Pope receiuyng the sayd scroll, and readyng it in the open heeryng of his Cardinalles, condemned and cursed the most part of those decrees of the king, which he called Consuetudines auitas, that is, his Grandfathers ordinaunces: Besides, the Pope moreouer blamed Becket, for that he so much yeldd vnto them at the beginning, as he did: Yet notwithstanding, because he was repentant for his vniadvised fact, he was content to assoyle him for the same, and that the rather because of his great troubles, which for the liberties of the holye Church he did sustaine, and so with great fauour for that day they dismissed him.

The next day, Alexander the Pope assemblyng his Cardinals together in his secret Chamber, appereth before them the Archebishop of Cantorbury, who made there a solempne Oration, and there and then resigned into the handes of the Pope the Archebishopsrike of Cantorbury, & his Oration beyng ended, he was bidden to stand apart. The Pope then coferring w<sup>th</sup> his Cardinalles, about the resignation of Becket, what was best to be done: Some thought it best to take the occasion offered, thinking thereby the kings wrath might easily be swaged, if the Church of Cantorbury were assigned to some other person, and yet the sayd Becket to be otherwise prouided for notwithstanding. Contrary, other again thought otherwys, whose reason was: For if he y<sup>d</sup> for the liberties of the Church had ventured not only his goodes, dignitie, & auctoritie, but also his life, should nowe at the kinges pleasure be depriued, like as it might be a president hereafter to others in resisting their king in like sort, if his cause were mainteyned: so contrary, if it were quayed, it should be an example to all other hereafter none to resist his Prince in the like case, & so might redound not only to the weakening of the state of the Catholike Church, but also to the derogation of the Popes auctoritie. Briefly this sentence at length preuayled, that Becket receyueh his pastoral office at the Popes hand againe, with commendation & much fauour. But forsomuch as he could not be well placed in England, in the meane while the Pope sendeth him with a Monkes habite into the Abbey of Pontiniack in France, where he remayned two yeres, & from thence he remoued to Senon where he remayned .v. yeres, and so the time of his exyle continued in all .vij. yeres.

Upon this, the king beyng certified by his Ambassadors of the Popes answer, holwe his fauour encilned more to Becket, than to him, he was moued

The sentence  
of the Pope  
and his Car-  
dinalles.



The king directed his Injunctions against the Pope.

1165

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A proclamation against Thomas Becket and his atuo. co.

moued with wrathfull displeasure. Who vpon the same directed out certaine Injunctions against the Pope & the Archbishop of Cantorbury, much like, & the same in effect that are before reherfed in the beginning of this Hystory.

And besides his Injunctions, the king also let forth his proclamation that all maacer of persons both men and women, who soeuer were founde of the kindred of Thomas Becket, should be banished without taking anye parte of their goodes with them, and sent to him where he was, which was no little veration to Becket to beholde them. Moreover, for so muche as he was then lying with Swaryn Abbot of Pontiniack, to whome the Pope as is aforesayde had commended him, therefore the king wryting to the same Abbot, required him not to retayne the Archbishop of Cauntorbury in his house, eyther else he would dzyre out of his realme all the Monkes of his order. Wherevpon Becket was inforced to remoue from thence, and went vnto Lewes the French king, by whome he was placed at Senon and there founde of him the space of fiue yeres, as is aboue mencioned.

After the aforesayde Injunctions and proclamation were thus set forth, which greued and troubled Becket not a little, then he for helpe resorted to the Pope, and obteyned of him letters to the king, and likewise the king agayne wrote to the Pope: And at the last the Archbishop in his owne name wrote to the king, and to sundrie of the Clergie, namely to certaine Bishops, who verie learnedly and plainly aunswered him, in suche maner as he had no hope of any good enterpiment in this realme. And in the ende he receyued a learned & worthy answere from the whole Clergie of England, (which for length I ouerpasse) so effectually & substantially written, as there could not be a better. But all this moued him nothing: And now that he saw himselfe to be of smal estimation among the Clergie of England, he therfore earnestly besought the Pope of aide & helpe against his aduersaries: and at the last he obteyned of him certaine curses & excommunications. And first he put his curse in execution vpon the Ministers of his church of Cantorbury, and then executed the same vpon certaine Bishops that had contempned hym, and lastly he procured two Legates to be sent from the Pope to the king to curse him and all the whole realme, if the king would not restore him againe to his pristinate state and dignitie.

Becket sateth to curse king.

Communication betwene the French king and the king of England, & Thomas Becket.

The king being thus vexed with the Archebishop, departed into Normandy, and shortly after into Fraunce to the French king, where then the Archbishop was present, and the French king perceyuing the king of England to be disquieted, and he desirous to procure peace, or at the leastwise pretending to set agreement betweene them, brought the matter to a communication among them. In the which communication the French king made himselfe as an Ampere betwene them. The king of Englande vnderstanding that the Archbishop would commit himselfe to his arbitrement, was the more wylling to admyt his presence. Wherevpon many being there present, the Archebishop (prostrating himselfe at the kings feete) declared vnto him kneeling vpon his knees that he would commit the whole cause, whereof the dissension arose betweene them, vnto his aboue arbitrement, adding thereto as he did before Saluo honore dei, that is, sauing the honour of God. The king then as is sayde before was greatly offended at this worde Saluo honore dei, and also hearyng and seing the stiffenesse of the man, sticking so muche

so muche to this worde Saluo honore.&c. was highly therewith displeased, rebuking him with many grienous wordes, as a man proude and stubborne, and he also charged him with sundry & great benefites bestowed vpon him, as a person vnkinde and forgettyng what he so gently had done and bestowed vpon him.

And speakyng to the French king then beyng present: See Sir if it please you (sayth the kyng of Englande) whatsoeuer displeaseth this man, that he sayth to be contrary to the honour of God. And so by this meanes he will bendicate and chalenge to himselfe both that is his and myne also. And yet notwithstanding, for that I will not seeme to do any thing contrary or prejudiciall to Gods honour, this I offer him: There haue bene kinges in England before me, both of greater and lesse puissaunce then I am: Lykewise, there haue bene Bishoppes of Cauntorbury many both great and holy men, what the greatest and most holyst of all his predecessors before him, haue done to the least of my progenitors & predecessors before me, let him do the same to me, and I am content. They that stood by, hecryng these wordes of the king cryed all with one voyce, the king hath debased himselfe ynough to the Bishop. The Archebishop stayng a little at this with silence, what sayth the French king to him, my Lorde Archebishop, will you be better then these holy men? will you be greater then Peter? what stande you doubting? heare, now haue you peace & quietnesse put into your aboue handes if ye will take it. To this the Archbishop answering againe: truth said he, my predecessors before me were much both better and greater than I, and of them, every one for his tyme, although he did not extirpe and cut off all, yet some thing they did plucke by and correct, which semed aduerse and repugnaunt agaynst Gods honour. For if they had taken altogether away, no such occasion then had bene left to any man, to rayse by this fyre of temptation agaynst vs as nowe is rayfed, to prooue vs withall, that we beyng so produced with them, might also be crowned with them, beyng likewise partakers of their prayse and rewarde, as we are of their labour and trauaile. And though some of them haue bene slacke or exceede in their duetie doyng, in that we are not bound to follow their exaruple.

Thomas Becket and were to the king of Englande.

Peter, when he denyed Christ, we therefore rebuke him: But when he resisted the rage of Nero, therein we commend him. And therefore, because he could not finde in his conscience to consent vnto him, he ought in no wyse to dissemble with him, neyther did, by reason whereof he lost his life. By such lyke oppressions the Church hath alwayes growen. Our forefathers and predecessors because they would not dissemble the name and honoz of Christ, therefore they suffered: And shall I to haue the fauour of one man suffer the honour of Christ to be suppressed. The Nobles standyng by hearyng him thus speake were greatly agreued with him, notyng in him arrogancy and wilfulnesse, in perturbying and refusyng such an honest order of agreement: But specially one among all the rest, who there openly protested, that seeyng the Archebishop so refused the counsayle and request of both the kinges, he was not worthy to haue the helpe of either other, whome as the kingdome of England had reiected, so the kingdome of Fraunce should not entertaine.

Allanis, Herbertus, and other of his Chapleynes that commytted to Rozy the doyngs of Becket, do recorde (whether truly or no I can not say) that



that after this, the French king sendyng for him, as one much sorowynge and lamentyng the wordes that he had spoken at the commyng of Becket, did prostrate himselfe at the feete of the Archebishop, confessyng his fault in geuyng that counsaile to him in such a cause, perteynyng to the honour of God, to relent therein, and to yelde to the pleasure of man: Wherefore declaryng his repentaunce, desyred to be assoyled thereof. So that after that the french king and Becket were great friendes together, insomuch that king Henry sendyng to the king, to entreate and desyre him, that he would not support nor maintaine his enemy within his Realme: The french king utterly denyed the kinges request, takyng part with the Archebishop rather than with him.

Besides these quarelles and grudges betwene the king and the Archebishop aboue mentioned, there folowed yet moreouer a nother, which was this. Shortly after this communication betwene the kynges and Becket, the king of England returning againe from Normandy into England, which was the yere of our Lord M. C. lxxij. and the. xiiij. yere of his reigne about Midsonnet kept his Court of Parliament at Westminster. In the which Parliament through the assent of the Clergie, and the Lordes Temporall, he caused his sonne Henry to be crowned king. Which coronation was done by the handes of Roger Archebishop of Yorke, with the assistance of other bishops ministring to the same, as Gilbert of London, Joselyn of Sarisbury, Hugh of Duresme, and Gualter of Wochefer. By reason whereof, Becket of Cauntorbury beyng there neyther mentioned nor called for, tooke no little displeasure. And so did Lodowick the french king, heeryng that Margaret his daughter was not crowned with her husbunde, whereupon gatheryng a great army, he marched toward Normandy. But that matter was sone composed by the king of England, who sendyng his sonne to him in Normandy, intreated there, and concluded peace with him, promisyng that his son should be crowned againe and his daughter also. But the Archebishop not ceasing his displeasure, sent againe vnto the Pope, complainyng vpon these foure Bishops, especially of the Archebishop of Yorke, who durst be so bolde in hys absence, and without his knowledge or his licence to entermeddle to crebene the king, beyng a matter proper and peculier to his iurisdiction. At the instance of whom, the Pope sent downe the sentence of excommunication against the Bishop of London. The other three Bishops with the Bishop of Yorke, he suspended, whose sentence and letters thereof, for the aduoyding of prolixitie I here omit. This beyng done, the Archebishop of Yorke with the foresayde Bishops resorted to the king with a greivous complaint, declaring how miserable their case stode, and what they had sufferyed for fulfillyng of his commaundement. The king heeryng this was highly moued.

And in the meane season, the french king for his part, and his Clergie, and Courtiers slackt none occasion to insite and sollicite Alexander the Pope, against the king of England, to excommunicate him also, sekynge thereby, and thinkyng to haue some bauntage agaynst the Realme: Neither was the king ignozant of this, which made him more ready to apply to some agreement of reconciliation. At length cometh downe from the Pope two Legates, the one the Archebishop of Roan, & the other, the Bishop of Auerne, with direction, and full commission either to driue the king to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the Popes censures out of the Church. The king vnderstanding himselfe

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Henry the thirde crowned in the life of his father Henry the second, and died before his father, & therefore he is not counted in the number of kings.

Becket complained againe vpon the Bishops to the Pope.

Thomas Becket procured a curse against the Bishops.

The bishops complained to the king of Becket.

The french king laboured to haue the king of England to be reconciled for Becket's cause.

King Henry driven to a great strait

selfe to be in greater streights than he could well aduoyde, at length through the mediation of the french king, and of other Prelates & great Princes, he was content to yelde to peace and reconciliation with the Archebishop whome he receyued both to his fauour, and also permitted and graunted him free returne to his Church againe. Albeit concerning his possessions and landes of the Church of Cantorbury, although Becket made great labour therfore, yet the king beyng then in Normandy, would not graunt him that, before he should repayre into England, to see how he would there agree with his subiectes. Thus peace after a sort beyng concluded betwene the king and him, the Archebishop returned into England, where he was right ioyfully receyued of the Church of Cauntorbury: Albeit of Henry the yong king he was not so greatly welcommed. Insomuch that he commyng by to London to the king, was returned and commaunded backe to Cauntorbury, and there bidden to kepe his house.

Roger Houeden maketh mention in his Chronicle, that the Archebishop vpon Christmas day did excommunicate Robert de Broock, for cuttyng off the tayle of one of his horses the day before.

In this meane tyme, the foure Bishops before mencioned whome the Archebishop did excommunicate, as is aforesayde, sent to him humbly, desyryng to be released of their censure. To whome when as the Archebishop would not graunt clerely and simply, without cautels and exceptions, they went ouer vnto the king, declaryng to him and complainyng of their miserable estate and incurteous handlyng of the Archebishop. Whereupon the king conceyued great displeasure in his minde toward the Archebishop. Insomuche that he lamented oft and sundry tymes to them about him, that among so manye as he had done for, there was none that would reuenge him of his enemye: By the occasion of which wordes, certaine that were about the king, to the number of foure, heeryng the king thus complain and lament, addressed themselves in great heate of haste to satisfie the agriued minde and quarell of their Prince: who within foure dayes after the aforesayde Christmas day, saylyng ouer into England, hauyng a forwarde and a prosperous wynde in their iourney, beyng in the deepe of winter, came to Cauntorbury where Becket was commaunded to kepe. Where after certeine aduiseement and consultation had among themselves, they pressed at length into the Bishops palace, where the Archebishop was sittynge with his company about him: And first they assayed him with gentle wordes to see whether he would relent to the kinges minde, and come to some conformitie, and said, that they had brought to him a commaundement from the king, which, whether he had rather openly there in presence, or secretly, to be declared vnto him, they bid him chose. Then the company beyng bidden to aduoyde, as he saie alone, they sayde: you are commaunded from the king beyond the Sea, to repayre to the king here his sonne, there to do your dutye to him, in swearyng to him your fidelitie for your baronage and other thinges, and to amend those thinges wherein yee haue offended against him. Whereupon the Archebishop denyng to sweare, and perceyuyng theyr entent, called in his company againe: and in multiplyng of wordes to and fro, at length they came to the Bishops which were excommunicate for the coronation of the king, whome they commaunded him in the kings name, that he should absolue and

Thomas Becket returned into England.

Whereof cometh & talke that certein men haue sayed.

1170  
17

The chief occasion that hastened the sodaine death of Thomas Becket.



set free againe. The Archebishop answered that he neyther suspended nor excommunicated them but the Pope, wherefore if that were the matter that greued them, they should resort to the Pope, he had nothing to do with the matter. Then sayde Reginald one of the foure. Although you in your awne person did not excommunicate them, yet thozow your instigatio it was done. To whom the Archebishop againe answered: and if the Pope sayde he, tending the iniuries done to me and to my Church, wrought this reuenge for me, I confesse it offendeth me nothing. Thus then sayde they, it appereth by your awne wordes that it pleaseth you right well, in contempt and contumely of the kings Maiestie, to sequester his Bishops from their ministrie, who at the commaundement of the king did seruire in the Coronation of his sonne. And seing ye haue presumed thus to stande against the exaltation of this oure soueraine oure newe king, it seemeth lykely that you will aspire to take his crowne from him, and to be exalted king your selfe. I aspire not sayde he to the crowne and name of the king, but rather if I had foure crownes to geue him more, I would set them all vpon him, such good wyll I doe beare him, that onely his father the king excepted, there is none whose honor I more tender and loue. And as concerning the sequestring of those Bishops, this I geue you to vnderstand, that there was nothing done in that behalfe without the knowlege and assent of the king himselfe, to whome when I had made my complaint at the feast of Mary Magdalene of the wrong and iniurie done to me and my Church therein, he gaue me his good leaue to obtaine at the Popes hand such remedie therein as I could, promising moreouer his helpe to me in the same. What is this quoth they that thou sayest? Makest thou the king a traitor & bewrayer of the king his awne son, that when he had commaunded the Bishops to crowne his sonne, he would geue thee leaue after to suspend them for so doing? Certes, it had bene better for thee not to haue accused the king of this prodicion. The Archebishop said to Reginald one of the foure, that he was there present himselfe at that time and heard it, but that he denyed and swore it was not so: and thinke you said they, that we the kings subiectes will or ought to suffer this? And so appoaching neerer vnto him sayde, he had spoken ynough against his awne head: whereupon followed great exclamacion and many threating wordes. Then the Archebishop sayde, I haue sithen my comming ouer, susteyned manye iniuries and rebukes, concerning both my selfe, my men, my cattell, my wyues & other goodes, notwithstanding the king writing ouer to his sonne, required him that I should lyue in safetie and peace, and nctwe besydes all other, you come hether to threaten mee. To this Reginald answered and sayde, if there be any that worketh you iniurie, otherwise then right is, the lawe is open, why doe you not complayne? To whom sayde Becket should I complayne? To the yong king sayde they. Then Becket sayde, I haue complayned ynough if that woulde helpe. I haue sought for remedie at the kings handes so long as I could be suffered to come vnto his speeche: but now seing I am stopped from that, neyther can finde redresse of so great vexations and iniuries as I haue and daylie doe susteyne, nor can haue the benefite of law or reason: such right and lawe as an Archebishop maye haue, that will I exercise and let for no man. At these wordes one of them burst out in exclamacion and cryed, he threatneth: he threatneth: what, wyll you also

also interdict the whole Realme and vs altogether? Nay, that shall he not sayth another, he hath interdicted to many already. And drawyng more nere vnto him, they protested and denounced him to haue spoken wordes to the icopardie of his awne head. And so departyng in great violence, and with many high wordes, rushed out of the doores: Who by the way returnyng to the Monkes, charged them in the kinges name to kepe him forthcomming that he should not escape away. What quoth the Archebishop, thinke ye that I will fle away? Nay, neyther for the king nor for anye man aline will I stirre one foote from you. So sayd they, thou shalt not aduorde though that thou wouldest. And so they departed in hie clamour of wordes. The Archebishop, foloweth them out of the Chamber doze, cryng after them, here, here, here shall you finde me, layng his hand on his crowne. The names of these foure men, were these, Reginald Bereson, Hugh Mozteuill, William Thzacy, and Richard Briton: But Fabian nameth them, William Briton, Hugh Mozuile, William Thzacy, and Reignold Fitzbrye, who goyng to harnessse themselues, returned the same day againe: But fyndyng the Hall doze of the Palace of Cauntorbury shut against them, they went to an inwarde backe doze, leadyng into an Orchard, and there brake by a Windowe and opened the doze, and so entered into the place. The Monkes (beyng about Euen-song tyme) had got the Archebishop into the Church, who beyng perswaded by them, caused his crosse to be bozne before him, and so thzough the Cloyster by a doze which was broken by for him, proceeded into the Quier. The harnesssed men folowed after, and at the last came to the Church doze, which doze the Monkes would haue shut against them, but (as their stozey sayth) the Archebishop would not suffer them. So they appoaching into the Church, and the Bishop meting them vpon the stapes, there he was slaine, euery one of them striking him with his sworde into the head. And after they had thus slaine him they fled into the North countrie, and at length with muche a do, obteynyng their pardon of the Pope, thzough the kinges procurement (as some stozey record) they were enioyned in penance to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. And thus an ende of the stozey of the life and death of Thomas Becket.

Richard Prioz of Douer succeeded Thomas Becket and was chosen Archebishop after him, a man of an yll lye and an inordinate waster of the goodes of the Church.

Now when Becket was thus murdered, the king fearyng the Popes wrath and curse to be layd vpon him (whereunto Lodouike or Lewis the French king also holpe what he could to set the matter forward) sent to Rome the Archebishop of Roan with certeine other bishops and Archdeacons vnto the Pope, with his excuse, which the Pope woulde in no wise heere. And after, he sent second messengers, which some of the Cardinales receyued, shewyng them that on good fryday (beyng then nie at hande) the Pope of custome was vsed to asloyle or to curse, and that it was noysed that the king of England with his Bishops should be cursed by name; and his lande enterdicted, and hereupon the kinges messengers were put in prison. Whereupon certeyne of the Cardinales shewed the Pope that the Messengers had power to swear to the Pope, that the king should obey to his punishment and penance. Which was taken both for the king and for the Archebishop of

G. ij.

Poike:

Thomas  
Becket slain.1171  
18

The king sendeth an Ambassador to Rome to purge him of the death of Thomas Becket.

The Pope sendeth to curse or asloyle on good Friday.



Porke: So that in the same day the Pope cursed the deede doers, with such as were of their consent, eyther that ayded or harboured them, with deede doers had after in penance to go in their Lynnen clothes barefote, in fastyng and prayer to Jerusalem, which by reason of this hard penance are sayde to die in fewe yerres after. And shortly after, as sayth Fabian, Cooper, and other, the Pope Canonized Thomas Becket for a Saint & holy Martyr.

The kinges Ambassadors lyng as is sayd in Rome, could find no grace or fauour a long tyme at the Popes hande. At the length with much a do, it was agreed that two Cardinalles should be sent downe, to enquire out the matter concernyng them that were consentyng to Becket's death. The king perceyving what was in preparing at Rome, neither beyng yet certeine, whereto the intent of the Pope and the commyng downe of the Cardinalles woulde tende, in the meane time addressed himselfe with a great power to enter into Irelande, geuing in charge and commaundement (as Houndeden wyrteth) that no bringer of any brieft or any letter should in his absence come ouer into England, or passe out of the Realme, of what degree or condicion so euer he were, without speciall licence and assurance, to bring nothing that should be preiudiciall to him, or to the realme.

The aforesaid order being set and ordeyned, the king with foure hundreth great ships taketh his iourney to Ireland in the aforesayd yere of his reigne where he subdued in short tyme the whole lande vnto him, which at that time was gouerned vnder diuerse kinges, to the number of fiue. Of whom foure submitted themselues vnto the sayd king Henry: Onely the fift who was the king of Conacta, denyed to be subdued, keepyng him in Woodes and Marishes. And hauyng subdued that countre, he by the helpe of the Archbishop of Armach, reformed their religion in thre speciall poyntes. First, he ordeyned that the deuine seruice should be sayde and song, and the Sacramentes ministred after the English maner: Secondly he tooke order for tythes and other duties to be payde vnto the Curates and Ministers by the lay people. Thirdly, he ordeyned that euery man should make his testament and last wil in the presence of his neighbours, or at the leastwise cause it to be read before them.

In the meane season while the king was thus occupied in Ireland, the two Cardinalles sent from the Pope, Theodimus, and Albertus, were come to Normandy: vnto whome the king the next yere folowynge resorted about the Moneth of October. But before, duryng the tyme of the kinges beyng in Ireland, the Bishop of London, and Joselyne Bishop of Sarisbury had sent to Rome, & procured their Absolution from the Pope. The king returning out of Ireland by Wales into England, & thence into Normandy, there made his purgation before the Popes Legates as touchyng the death of the aforesaid Becket, to the which he swore that he was neither ayding nor comfortyng, but onely spake rigorous wordes against him, for that his knightes would not auenge him against the sayde Becket. For the which cause this penance was enioyned vnto him vnder his othe.

1 First that he should sende so much money to the holye lande, as woulde finde two hundreth knightes or Souldiours for the defence of the lande by the space of thre yerres.

2 Also that from the terme of Christmasse day then next folowynge, he should

The king forbad that no bringer of any procelle should come into England without licence.

1172

19

The king sailed into Ireland with a great power.

1173

20

Penance enjoyned to king Henry the second for the death of Thomas Becket.

should set forth in his awne person to fight for the holy land the space of thre yerres together: onlesse he should be otherwise dispenced withall by the Pope.

3 Item, that if he would make his iourney into Spaine as the present necessitie did requyre, there to fight against the Saracens: as long tyme as he should there abide, so long space might he prolong his iourney to Jerusalem.

4 Item, that he should not hinder, nor cause to be hindered by hym any appellation made to the Pope of Rome.

5 Item, that neither he nor his sonne, should recede or disseuer from Pope Alexander, or from his Catholique successors, so long as they should recount him or his sonne for kinges Catholique.

6 Item, that the goodes and possessions taken from the Church of Cauntorbury, should be restored againe fully and amplye, as they stode the yere before Thomas Becket departed the Realme, and that free libertie should be graunted to all such as were outlawed for Becket's cause to returne againe.

7 Item, that the foresayd customes and decrees by him established against the Church, should be extinct and repealed, such onely except, that concerned his awne person, &c. besides other secret fasting & almose dedes enioined him.

All these former conditions the king with his sonne did both agree vnto, debasyng himselfe with great humilitie and submission before the sayde two Cardinalles: by the occasion whereof, the Cardinalles tooke no little pride, vlyng this verse of the Psalme, Qui respicit terram, & facit eam tremere, qui tangit montes & fumigant. That is, which looketh vpon the earth, and maketh it tremble, which toucheth the hilles and they smoke, &c. Moreover, it is mentioned in Histories of the sayd king that a little after, at what time William king of Scottes made a roade into the Realme, he returnyng out of Normandy into England, came first to Cauntorbury, and by the way so sore as he came within the sight of Becket's Church, lighting off his horse, and puttyng off his hosen and shoen, he went barefoote to his Tombe, whose steppes were found bloody through the roughnesse of the stones. And not onely that, but also receyued further penance by euery Monke of the Cloyster, that is to say a certeyne discipline of a Rod. The which by all likelihood was the secret penance that the Cardinalles enioyned him.

In the .xxi. yere of his reigne he caused a conuocation of Bishops to be holden at Westmynster by Richard Archebishop of Cauntorburie. In which conuenticle, then being present all the Bishoppes and Abbottes of the prouince of Cauntorburie, a great contention arose betwene the two Archebishops of Cauntorbury and Porke, as it had done a little before in king William the Conquerours time and. bii. yere of his reigne 1074. about the obedience that the Archbishop of Porke shoulde doe to Cauntorbury, that is, whether the Archebishop of Porke might beare his Crosse in the Diocesse of Cauntorbury, or no: Also aboute the Bishoprick of Lyncolne, of Chichester, of Worcester, of Hereford, whether these Churches were vnder the iurisdiction of the See of Porke, or not, &c. Upon these and such other like matters rose such controuersie betwene these two Sees, that the one appealed the other to the presence of the Bishop of Rome.

In this and suche cases lyke, howe muche better had it bene if the primacie had remainyd more nere in the kinges handes at home, wherby not onely much labour and trauaile had bene saued, but also the great and wast

G.iii. full

Secrete penance enioyned to the king.

William king of Scottes made a roade into England while the king was in Ireland.

The king scourged & rodde by the Monkes of Cauntorbury.

1174

21

A conuocation of Bishops.

Contention againe for the primacie of Porke and Cauntorbury.



full expences bestowed at Rome might with muche fruite and thanke haue bene conuerted to their cures and flockes committed vnto them, and also percase their cause no lesse indifferently heard, at the least moze spedely might haue bene decided: but to the purpose againe.

In this controuersy diuerse of the Bishop of Yorkes Clergie, suche as were of Gloucester, belongyng to the Church of Saint Oswalde, were excommunicate by the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, because they being summoned, refused to appere before him. At length, that is to say, the next yere folowynge, there was a Cardinall sent downe from Rome by the kinges procurement, who studied to set peace betwene the two Archbishops. So that the way of agreement was taken, by the meanes of the king at Winchester, that as touching the Church of Saint Oswalde in Gloucester, the Archebysshop of Cauntorbury should cease of his clayme thereof, molestynge the See of Yorke no moze therein. Also he should absolue againe the Clerkes thereof of whom he had excommunicated before. And as concernyng the bearyng of the Crosse and all other matters, it was referred to the Archebysshop of Roan and of other Bishops of Fraunce, so that for the space of fyue yeres an order was taken betwixt them, till they shoulde haue a full determination of their cause.

Shortly after this, the king purchased a dispensation of the Bishop of Rome for the voyage which he promised to make in proper person into the holy lande, to fight against the enemies of the Christian religion before two Cardinales as is aforesayde: The which dispensation was graunted vpon condition that he should builde three Abbayes in Englande. For the accomplishment whereof he put out of the house of Waltham secular Chanons, and placed in their steede reguler. And for the second he aduoyded the monks that were in the Abbey of Ambresburie, and set in their place Mynchions or Nonnes which he brought with him from beyond the Sea. And for the third he repayred after a homely sorte the Charterhouse of Wytham in the dioces of Bath and Welles.

Reynulph of Chester in his booke entiled Polichronicon, in his. vij. booke and. xxi. Chapter, sayth that thys king had long kept a bewtifull Ramosell for his Paramour, whome he called Rosamond, and that the sayde king had buylded for her at his place of Woodstock beside Oxforde a Boboze or chamber, which was so artificially wrought, and was such a laberinth and so full of turnings, dozes, and wayes most curiously deuyfed and made, that it was not possible without teaching to come to any that was therein, and that the same is called at this day Rosamonds Boboze: and he sayth that the cause of the making of the sayd Boboze, was for that the Queene could not abide the sayde damosell, and therefore would she haue done hir displeasure if she might haue come by her: and it is also written of some that at the last the Queene by a clewe or bothome of threed that was brought vnto hir, founde the way and came vnto hir, and that she lyued not long after, but dyed and was buried at Godestowe besyde Oxenford in the Chapterhouse there. And vpon hir Tombe was written this Epitaph.

Hic iacet in tumba, rosa mundi, non rosa munda

Non redolet, sed olet, que redolere solet,

Which is Englished by Fabian in meter as foloweth,

The

*The Rose of the worlde, but not the cleane flowre,  
Is here nowe grauen: to whom beautie was lent,  
In this graue full darke, now is her Bower,  
That by her life was sweete and redolent.  
But nowe that she is, from this life blent  
Though she were sweete, nowe fowly doth she stinke,  
A myrrour good for all that on her thinke.*

The sayde Authour sayth also that the aforesaide Rosamond had a little Coffer scarcely two foote long, merueylous artificially wrought, which is yet (sayth he) to be seene there, wherein Gyautes seeme to fight, beastes do startle and stirre, and fowles flyng in the ayre, and fishes swim in the water, without any mannes mouyng or helpe.

In the. xxi. yere of his reigne, he caused Henry his sonne to be the second tyme crowned king, with Margaret his wyfe the daughter of the frenche king, by Roger Archbishop of Roan, in a Parliament holden at Wyndchester, as he had promised to her father that he woulde do, as before ye haue heard.

And this yere the king deuided the realme into sixe partes, and ordeyned vpon euery part three Iustices of Assise yerely to passe through the Realme, which now are called the Assises. The circuite or limitation of which Iustices was thus disposed. The first company had Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, and Herfordshire.

The second company, had Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and Lecesterhire.

The thirde company, had Kent, Surrey, Southhamptonshire, Sussex, Barkeshire, Oxfordehire.

The fourth company, had Herfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcesterhire, and Shropshire.

The fift company, had Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornetwall.

The sixt companie, had Guertwikeshire, nowe called Yorkeshire, Richemondshire, Lancaster, Copeland, Westmerlād, Northūberland & Cōberlād.

But now these circuites are altered, & so are the number of the Iustices. In the. xxij. yere of his reigne, as saith Cooper, or as some other write in the. xxi. king Henry the sonne, by the exciting of the king of Fraunce, Alcanor his mother, and certeyne of the Nobles, as Robert Erle of Lecester, and other tooke armes, and arrered deadly warre against his naturall father. Diuerse strong battailes were foughten, aswell in England by the deputyes and friendes of both partes, as also in Normandy, Poytow, Guyan, and Briteyn, where they were corporally present: But the victory alway enclined to the father. There toke part against king Henry the father, Lewes king of Fraunce, William, king of Scotland, Henry, Geoffrey, and John his adone sonnes, Robert Erle of Lecester, Hugh of Chester, and other. But in the end, the sonnes with their allies were cōstrayned to bend to their fathers will, and

1174

21

Henry 3 son  
of king Henry  
the seconde  
againe crow-  
ned king of  
Englad with  
his wife  
Margaret 3  
daughter of  
the French  
king.

1175

22

An unnatur-  
all warre.



to desyre peace, which he gently graunted vnto them, and forgaue them their trespassse. But William king of Scottes forfeited and lost the Erledome of Huntingdon, for taking of king Henry the sonnes part against the father.

And besides that, beyng discomfited and taken Prisoner at the Castell of Alnewike in Northumberland, he was compelled to yelde for his ransome the Citie of Carlelyll, the Castell of Bambourgh and the newe Castell vpon Tyne, and swore for euer to be true vnto the king, and as well he as his successors to do their homage as often as it should be required. The cause of which warres was as some wyte, because the king had emprisoned Quene Meanoz his wife for the loue of the Lady Rosamond mentioned before in the last yere, a Damosell of incomparable beautie. But Fabian sayth, that after the taking of William king of Scottes, the sayde William by the assent of his Lordes spirituall and temporall did homage to king Henry at his Citie of Porke, where the sayde William graunted by his Letters patentes, that he and his successors kinges of Scotland, should make their homage and fidelitie vnto the king of England as often as they should be necessarily required. And in signe and token thereof, the king offered his Hat and his Saddell vpon the Altar of Saint Peter in the Church of Porke, which for a remembrance of that dede, the sayde Hat and Saddle were there kept many yeres after. And mozeouer, the Lordes of Scotland tooke a solenne othe that if their king at any time would withdraw him from his allegiance, they would all arise against him, and be to him as enemies, vntill he were returned vnto his sayth and keepyng of his promise. And for the better confirmation of the sayd composition, the king of Scottes beyng summoned, came afterwarde vnto the kinges Parliament holden at Northampton, and at another season into Normandie.

In the .xxiii. yere of his reigne, the king and his sonnes were made agreed, and a newe aliaunce by marriage was made with Lewes of Fraunce: For Adela his daughter was fianced to Richard king Henry his sonne.

In this kinges tyme there arose great discorde and variance at Rome for the election of the Bishop thereof. For some of the Cardinalles chose one Octavian: But other some, and the more part chose Alexander. At which time the Emperour, to whose iudgement it was referred, when that Alexander disceyned to abyde his iudgement, he confirmed Octavian. Then did Alexander flee into Fraunce, and there excommunicated out of the company of the faythfull, both Frederick the Emperour, and Octavian the Antipape: And in a counsaile at Claremount, disannulled the actes of the counsaile of Paue. This Schisme continued almost .xx. yeres: But shortly after Alexander Bishop of Rome returned out of Fraunce into Rome, and was receyued of the people contrary to the Emperours minde. Then folowed sundry and great warres betwene the aforesayde Alexander and Fredericke, and therein was great effusion of blood: But in the ende, Fredericke the Emperour was driuen to the worse. And at the last by perswasion and entreatie of sundrie noble personages, the Emperour submitted himselfe to Alexander Bishop of Rome, and came vnto him to Venice, where, of a long time the Pope would not speake with him, but caused him to attend: But at the last a tyme was appoynted him to come to the Popes presence, where he so behaued and humbled himselfe, that he suffered him to treade vpon him, and to set his fete

in

1176

33

1177

24

Contention for the electio of the Pope.

in his necke, and while he so did his Quier sang this verse of the Psalter, Super Aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem, that is: Thou shalt walke vpon the Adder and the Basilisae: and shalt treade downe the Lion and the Dragon. But Frederick seeyng the Pope so to vse him, sayd vnto him, I do not this obedience to thee but to Peter: and the Pope answered both to me and to Peter. Of this outrageous pride, let the Reader iudge. But this is to be noted as a truth, that the sayde Bishop of Rome, stirred and procured mortall and cruell warres, as before is sayde, without any iust cause, but onely for his priuate election, and would neyther obey to counsaile nor aucthoritie, nor yet condiscend to any atonement.

In the .xxiiiij. yere also of this king, there chaunced great tempestes of thunder and lightnyng in the middle of Winter: And in the next Sommer folowynge there fell hayle of such bignesse that it slue both man and beast. And in this tyme there arose great discorde and variance among the Nobilitie in Englande.

In the .xxv. yere of his reigne king Henrie gaue vnto his base sonne Geoffrey the Bishoprike of Lincolne in a Synode holden at Northampton, after it had bene vacant a long tyme, who wastfully consuming the reuenues thereof, not myndyng to enter into the ministerie, within short space after resigned it. But the same Geoffrey was afterwards preferred vnto the Archbishoprike of Porke.

About this tyme, the king restored Robert Erle of Leicester (who as is before sayd was taken prisoner in the battaile of Saint Edmondes bury) to his Erledome in a Parliament holden at Oxford, and made his youngest sonne John, Lorde of all Irelande. Margaret also the wife of king Henry his sonne was brought a bed of a daughter called Margaret, which liued not aboute thre dayes after her birthe.

About this tyme also there were a great multitude of Jewes in every quarter of the realme, and had but one place assigned them to bury in, which was London, whether all the Corpes and dead bodyes of their Nation were brought to be buryed, where so euer their chaunce was to die in the Realme. Therefore fynding it to be a great anoyance and discommoditie vnto them, they became suiters vnto the king that they might haue a place assigned them to bury in wheresoeuer they dwelt, the which was graunted vnto them.

In the .xxvi. yere of his reigne Lewes the French king came into England to visite the Church and Tombe of Thomas Becket, as he had bowed to do, whome assone as he was landed, kyng Henry with his Nobles met and receyued very honourably. The which done, they went both together to Cauntorbury, and there offered at the Tombe of the sayd Becket, (such was the blindnesse of that time.) And when he had perfourmed his bowe, and had adozned the said Tombe with many riche Jewels, he returned into Fraunce and died as it was sayd very shortly after, leauyng behinde him one onely sonne named Philip, who succeeded him, and as Polidore sayth was crowned king by his fathers life time.

In the .xxviiij. yere of his reigne, as sayth Fabian, Henry his eldest son, who in the life of his father as aforesaid, was crowned king, died very penitently.

In the .xxx. yere of his reigne: Heraclius the Patriarke of Jerusalem came into England to haue ayde agaynst the Saracens, who had wonne a great

1177

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great part of Christendome which they possessed in the holy lande, and also prayed ayde for the defence of the City of Jerusalem, which shortly after was wonne by Saladyne the Prince of Surrey. But by the report of Peter Dicroy a frenchman, the sayde Citie was wonne by Godfrey du Bulyon, in the yere of our Saviour Christ. M. xcix. and so continued vnder the rule of ir. Christian kinges, vntill the last king named Guy of Lesyngham, who lost it, in the yere of our Lord. M. C. lxxix. and the. xxxvj. yere of his reigne.

Then it foloweth in the story: This Heraclius made earnest request vnto the king for aide as is aforesayde, and profered him the kingdome thereof, and the keyes both of the Citie and of the Sepulchre of Christ, and deliuered him letters from Lucius the thirde of that name then Bishop of Rome, charging him that he should take vpon him that iourney, and to haue minde of the othe that he before tyme had made. The king deferred his aunswere: And Baldwyn then Archbishop preached, and exhorted men to take the Crosse, by whose meanes, many there were that aduowed that iourney. In the ende, the king gaue aunswere and sayd, that he might not leaue his land without keepyng, nor yet leaue it to the pray and robbery of the french men: But he would geue largely of his awne to such as would take vpon him that boiage. With this aunswere the Patriarch was discontent and sayd: We seke a man and not money, well nere every Christian Region sendeth vnto vs money, but no land sendeth to vs a Prince. Therefore we aske a Prince that nedeth money, and not money that needeth a Prince. But the king layd for himselfe such excuses, that the Patriarch departed from him discontented and comfortlesse. Whereof the King beyng aduertised, entending to recomfort him with some pleasant wordes, folowed him to the sea syde: But the more the king thought to satisfie him with his sayre speeche, the more the Patriarche was out of quiet: insomuch that at the last the sayd Patriarch sayd vnto him: Thou hast hether to reigned gloriouly, but hereafter thou shalt be forsaken of him that thou at this tyme forsakest. Thinke on him what he hath geuen to thee, and what thou hast yelden to him againe: holue first thou wast false to the king of fraunce, and after slue Thomas Becket, and lastly thou forsakest the protection of Christes sayth. The king was amoued with these wordes, and sayde vnto the Patriarch: Though all the men in the land were one body, and spake with one mouth, they durst not speake to me such words. No wonder sayde the Patriarche, for they loue thine and not thee: that is to say, they loue thy goodes temporall, and feare thee for losse of promotion, but they loue not thy soule. And when he had so sayde, he offered his heade to the king sayyng, do by me euen as thou diddest by Thomas Becket, for I had leuer to be slaine of thee, then of the Sarisyns, for thou art worse than any Sarasyn, and thy people foloweth pray and not a man. But the king kept his patience and sayde: I may not wende out of my lande, for mine awne sounes will rise against me, when I were absent. No wonder sayd the Patriarche, for of the deuill they came, and to the deuill they shall, and so departed from the king in great pye. Fabian.

And here the olde Historiographers finde a great fault with the king for his refusall of the office made by the Patriarch, declaring that to be the greatest cause of Gods plagues which after ensued vpon hym by his children, as the Patriarche prophesied vnto hym, which story is a good lesson to good Princes,

Heraclius a  
soure Pa-  
triarche of  
Jerusalem.

A note and  
proude Pa-  
triarche.

Princes, not to denie their necessarie helpe to their distressed neighbours, especially the cause pertayning to God.

The wisdom, discretion, manhoode and ryches of thys Prince was so sprede and renowned thorough all quarters that messages came to hym from Emanuell Emperour of Constantinople, Frederyck Emperour of Rome, and Wylliam Archebishop of Treuer in Almayn, and Duke of Saxony, and from the Erle of Flaundyng, and from the french king, vpon determination of great questions and strifes, to aske counsell and determination thereof of this king Henry, as of one most wise, and schoolemaister of all wisdom and iustice, to haue solution of their questions and doubtles. Moreover Alphonfus King of Castile, and Sauncius king of Nauerne, beyng in strife for certeine Castelles, and other possessions, submitted them of their fre accord, and by their othe to abyde the awarde of this king Henry, who made a warde and pleased both. Whereby it is not to be presupposed that this king, to whome other Princes did so resort, as to their Arbitrer and decisor, did attend to any slouth or vicious liuyng. Wherefore this Princes actes may be a myrrour vnto all Princes.

The. xxxiiij. yere of his reigne, Geoffrey Duke of Briteyn died at Paris, leauyng his wife Constance great with childe, which shortly after was deliuered of a sonne named Arthur.

Among many other things in this king memorabile, this is one to be noted (folow it who can) that he reignyng, xxxv. yeres, & hauyng so many warres with his enemies, yet he neuer put any tribute, impost, or tax vpon his subiectes, nor yet vpon the spiritualty, first frutes, or appropriation of benefices, belyke they were not then knowen, but sure it is, they were not vled. And yet his treasure after his death, being weyed by king Richard his sonne, amounted aboue nine hundred thousand pound, besyde Jewelles, precious stones, plate, and houtholde stuffe. Of the which substance, xi. thousand pound came to him by the death of Roger Archbishop of Yorke, who had procured a Bull of the Pope, that if any priest dyed in his prouynce without testament, then he should haue all his goodes.

But as there is no felicitie or wealth in this mortall worlde so perfite, which is not darkened with some clowde of combrance and aduersitie: So it happened to this king, that among his other princely succeses, this incommoditie folowed him withall that his sonnes rebelled and stode in armour against him, taking the parte of the french king against their naturall father. First Henry his sonne whome the father ioynd with him as king, at the coronation of which king, Henry his father tooke vpon him as Steward, or Sewer and set downe the first dishe of Sewer, renouncing the name of a king for that daye. At which tyme the aforesayde Archebishop of Yorke, sitting on the right hande of the yong king, sayd: Sir ye haue good cause this daye to ioye: For there is no Prince in the worlde that hath suche an officer this day. &c. And the yong king disdainyng his wordes, sayde: my father is not dishonoured in this doing, for I am a King and a Queenes sonne, and so is not he. And not onely this, but also afferwarde he persecuted his father, as ye before haue heard. Wherefore he escaped not Gods plague from his youth, after he had reigned a fewe yeres, he dyed as aforesayde, teaching vs what is the price and rewarde for the breaking of the iust commaunde-

King Henry  
the seconde  
was a fa-  
mous prince

1186  
33

A note wor-  
thy to be writ-  
ten in letters  
of golde.

A Prince of  
great riches.

Wolles are  
perillous  
beastes.

Rebellious &  
vnnaturall  
children.

The fatherly  
honor & loue  
of a king.

A proude  
Prince & an  
vnthankfull.

God his iust  
plague.



commaundements of God.

After him likewise, Richard his sonne (who for his courage was called Cuer de Lyon) rebelled against his father in the. xxxiii. yere of his reigne. And also John his yongest sonne did not much degenerate from his Brethrens steppes. In so much that the aforesayde Richarde, lyke an vnkinde childe, persecuting and taking part with the French king against his father, brought him to such distresse of body and minde, that for thought of heart he fell into an Ague, and within foure dayes dyed in Normandy when he had reigned. xxxiii. yeres. ii. Monethes and odde dayes, whose Corps, as it was caryed to be buried, at Founteueraud in Fraunce, Richarde his sonne coming by the way and meeting it, & beginning for compassion to weepe, the blood burst incontinent out of the nose of the dead king at the coming of his sonne, geuing thereby as a certaine monstracion, howe he was the Authoz of his death.

It is written of this King that he first ordeyned that Lyons shoulde be kept in the Tower of London.

Kinges it  
shoulde seme  
were not ce-  
red and closed  
in leade at  
those dayes.

## Richarde the first.



**R**ichard the first of that name, and eldest sonne lyuing of king Henry the second, for his valiaunt and lustie courage, surnamed Cuer de Lyon, that is the heart of a Lyon, began his reigne ouer thys realme of England the sixt day of July in the yere of our Lozde. 1189. and reigned. ix. yeres and. ix. monethes and odde dayes.

This king Richard prouyded diligently after the death of his father to set good rule in Normandy. For first of all he sommoned a Parliament in Normandy, and caused all the Nobles of that Countrie to sweare fealitie vn-

to him. After that beyng desyrous to know what treasure his father had left behynde him, and where it was, he commytted to warde Stephen Lieutenant of Amioy, and by that meanes compelled him to bring out all the treasure which he had long before layde vp in dyuerse Castels by the commaundement of king Henry his father.

And whyles he was thus occupied (sayth Polydore) his brother John came vnto him, whom he receyued very curteously, and aduanced him to many high dignities and preferments, as afterwarde shall be declared.

Then calling to remembraunce the captiuitie of Alianor his mother, which as yet was in durance in Englande, he streight wayes sent ouer hys letters and commaunded that she shoulde be forthwith set at libertie, committing the whole order and gouernement of the realme vnto her, who beyng set at libertie, roade throughout the Realme, and shewed great curtesy vnto the

1189

1

the people in all places: and as one that in her selfe had felt the grieuous miseries of captiuitie, pityng the case of all such as were pressed therewith, losed all captiues and prisoners wheresoeuer she came.

Then enterng into league with Philip the French king, he receyued againe all the holdes and peeces which his father had lost a little befoze, at what tyme, also he tooke vnto him Adela sister vnto the French king, which was promised vnto him in his fathers life tyme: But shortly after hauing a vehement presumption that she had bene carnally knowne of his sayd father, he sent her home againe vnto her brother, but not without an honourable dowrye, and manye riche and large giftes. And after this he sped him into England, and first of all went vnto Winchester, & then to Saresbury, where he founde no small treasure: For as the same went, there was found besides apparell, Jewelles, and plate, nine hundred thousande poundes in coyne. From thence returned he to London, and was the thirde day of the moneth of September folowng crowned at Westminster of Baldwyn Archbishop of Cantorbury. Upon the which day the Jewes that then dwelt in England, and namely in the Citie of London and suburbes of the same, beyng assembled together, a great number of them presumed farther then was lawfull for them to do. For which presumption, they were first rebuked, and after one of them was stricken by one of the kinges chiefe officers, which thing beyng scene of the common people, who supposed the same to be done by the kinges commaundement, did therefore in a fury (as persons asmuch hated of the people as the deuill himselfe, for their vsury and other their vnhappie condicions) fall vpon them, and chased them to their houses, and robbed and spoyled them without all pitie, and bent some of their houses, whereof the rumour came to Westminster to the kinges heeryng. Wherefore in all haste he sent downe, geuyng streyte commaundement that they shoulde ceasse off that ryot: But the people were in such yre and madnesse, that they refrayned not for all the kinges commaundement, buttill they had executed the full of their malice. And albeit, that this ryot was afterwarde grieuously declared against the Commons of the Citie, yet it passed vnpunished, for the great number of the transgressors. And the sayd day of Coronation, all prisoners that lay in any prison about London at the kinges sute, or for other small and trifyng actions, were freely discharged and deliuered.

Some after the king gaue many dignities, namely to his brother John he gaue the Proynyces of Nottingham, Devonshire, and Cornewall, and created him Erle of Lancaster. And then the king ordeyned the Citie of London to be ruled by two Bailifes, whose names and surnames, together with the names of all the Mayors and Shyifes of the Citie of London are registred in a Table in the ende of this booke, with the severall yeres that euery of them was in, aswell of the reignes of euery king, as also the yeres of our Lozde.

And here is a meete place to say somewhat of the gouernement of this noble Citie of London, for that in this first yere of the reigne of this famous Prince, the same was gouerned by two Baylifes, as may appere by Fabian. The which Fabian also sayth, that the same befoze tyme was gouerned by persones graue and wyse, and were named Portgreues, or rather Portgraves, the which is deriued of two Saxon wordes (as he sayth) that is to say,

H. J.

Port,

A riot made  
vpon Jewes

A charitable  
deede which  
is not of late  
used.

The names  
& surnames  
of Baylifes,  
Mayors, and  
Shyifes of  
London, are  
in a Table in  
the ende of  
this booke.



Port, and Graue, or rather Graue, for so are the rulers of the townes in Duchelande called at this day, that is to say, all such Rulers of townes or Countries as are nere the sea, are called Mergraue, as at this day in Andwarpe, the chiefe ruler is called Mergraue, that is to say, the Erle or Lorde of a towne or Countrie ioyning to the sea, and such rulers as are higher into the lande, and farther from the sea, are called Lantgraue, that is, the ruler or Erle of a Citie or Countrie within the lande so that these wordes Portgraue, which Fabian interpreteth, the ruler of a towne, I do accompt it not so nere the truth, as to enterpret it as it is at this day in London, we call the ruler thereof not onely Maioz, because he is the chiefe ruler of the Citie, but we adde for a moze dignitie vnto that state, and call him Lorde Maioz: So thinke I of Portgraues, for Port is a towne, and Graue is an Erle, and that they were then accompted as chiefe Lordes or Erles of the Citie, and were of no lesse estimation then the ruler is now, although peradventure not so glorious. And the name of the Shirifes of London at this day, which are vnder officers vnto the Maioz, are in all the Queenes writtes named Vice commiti, that is vnder Erles, or vnder Lordes, or vnder rulers.

It was not long after that the king had thus exalted his brother John (as aboue is shewed) but that he also preferred him to the maryage of the Erle of Gloucesters daughter, by reason whereof he was Lord of that Erledome. These great aduancementes made him after vnkinde to his brother and by pryde thereof to couet after the whole kingdome.

This yere also King Richard was assolyed, of the rebellion that he vsed against his father. In recompence whereof (sayth Guydo) he voluntarily tooke vpon him and promised to warre vpon Christes enemies, but to speake truly, it was at the request of the Pope.

And this yere, as sayth Fabian, King Richard gaue ouer the Castelles of Barwike, and Rokefborough to the Scottishe king, for the summe of ten thousand pound, for the exployte of his voyage to Jerusalem.

And about this tyme as sayth John Maioz, in his Chronicle of Scotland, there were many robbers and outlawes in England, among the which number, he specially noteth Robert Hood, whom we now call Robyn Hood, and little John, who were famous theues, they continued in woodes, mountaynes, and forestes, spoiling and robbing, namely such as were riche. Murderers commonly they did none, except it were by the prouocation of such as resisted them in their rifelynges and spoyles. And the sayde Maioz sayth, that the aforesaid Robyn Hood had at his rule and commaundement an hundreth tall yomen, which were mightie men and exceedyng good archers, and they were mainteyned by suche spoyles as came to their handes: And he sayth moreover, that those hundreth were such picked men, and of such force, that foure hundreth men who soeuer they were, durst neuer set vpon them. And one thing was much commended in him, that he would suffer no woman to be oppressed, biolated or otherwise abused. The poozer sort of people he fauoured, and would in no wise suffer their goodes to be touched or spoyled, but relieved and ayded them with suche goodes as hee gate from the riche, which he spared not, namely the riche priestes, fat Abbottes, and the houses of riche Carles. And although his theft and rapyne was to be contemned, yet the aforesaid Authour prayseth him and sayth, that among the number of theues,

Resolution.

Robert Hood otherwise called Robyn Hood.

Robin Hood had an hundred tall yomen waiting vpon him.

A worthy vertue in a theefe.

A gentle theefe.

theues, he was worthie the name of the most gentle theefe.

But in an olde and auncient Pamphlet I finde this written of the sayd Robert Hood. This man (sayth he) descended of a noble parentage: or rather beyng of a base stocke and linage, was for his manhoode and chivalry aduanced to the noble dignitie of an Erle, excellyng principally in Archery, or shootyng, his manly courage agreeyng therevnto: But afterwardes he so prodigally exceeded in charges and expences, that he fell into great debt, by reason whereof, so many actions and suites were commenced against him, wherevnto he answered not, that by order of lawe he was outlawed, and then for a lewde shift, as his last refuge, gathered together a compaigne of Rosters and Cutters, and practised robberyes and spoilyng of the kinges subiects, and occupied and frequented the forestes or wilde Countries. The which beyng certefyed to the King, and he beyng greatly offended therewith, caused his proclamation to be made that whoesoever would byng him quitte or dead, the king would geue him a great summe of money, as by the recordes in the Erchequer is to be seene: But of this promise, no man enioyed any benefite. For the sayd Robert Hood, beyng afterwardes troubled with sicknesse, came to a certein Honry in Yorkshire called Bircklies, where desiryng to be let blood, he was betrayed & bled to death. After whose death the Prioresse of the same place caused him to be buried by the high way side, where he had vsed to rob and spoyle those that passed that way. And vpon his graue the sayde Prioresse did lay a very fayre stone, wherein the names of Robert Hood, William of Goldesborough, and others were grauen. And the cause why she buried him there, was, for that the common passengers and traualers knowing and seeyng him there buried, might moze safely and without feare take their iorneyes that way, which they durst not do in the life of the sayd outlawes. And at eyther ende of the sayde Tombe was erected a crosse of stone, which is to be seene there at this present.

Gerardus Marcator in his Cosmographie and discription of England, sayth that in a towne or village called little Mozauie in Scotland, there are kept the bones of a great and mightie man, which was called little John, among the which bones, the huckle bone or hip bone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Boethus, that he thrust his arme through the whole thereof, and the same bone being conferred to the other partes of his body, did declare the man to be. xiiij. foote long.

But before the king tooke his iourney, great preparation was made for money. At that time it appereth that taxes, tolles, exactions, and subsidies, eyther were not knowen, or not so much then had in vse as of late tymes they haue bene: By reason whereof, this king was driuen to make other shift, by sellyng Lordships, Castels, Offices, Liberties, Priuileges, Bishoprikes, &c. And as he sayd himselfe, he would haue solde London also, if he coude haue found any able to buy it. Vpon this occasion it came that diuerse Bischoppes, namely such as were best monyed, purchased to their Bishoprikes dyuerse Lordshippes, as Godfrey Bishop of Winchester, purchased Wargraue, and Menes. And Hugh Bishop of Durham purchased the Lordship called Hadberge with all the appurtenances, for fine hundreth Markes, &c. And also he purchased the whole Province of Durham of the king to be his afore, and himselfe to be made Erle of the same, wher vpon the old wyrters as Pouedcn

Little John.

1190  
2  
Taxes, tolls, Subsidies.

Bishops became great purchasers.

The Bishop of Durham was made Erle of Durham.

H.ij.

Cestrensis



Cestrensis, and other, rebuke the sayde Bishop in their Chronicles, the king also testyng at the same, sayng, that of an olde Bishoppe, he had made a pong Erle.

Now when king Richard had appoynted all things for his journey, and the same beyng in a redynesse, he then commytted the custodie of his realme of England into the handes of foure men, that is to say, two Prelates, and two lay men, of whom the two Prelates, which were Hugh Bishop of Durisime, and William Bishop of Ely, were the chiefe and principall. These two falling at variance amongest themselves for superiortie, at length this order was taken by the king: That the Bishop of Durisime (who a little before had purchased of the king certeine free Lordshippes, and also to remaine as Justice without controlment or checke as aforesayd) should have vnder his custodie, from Humber to the Scottishe sea: The other Bishop, which was the Bishop of Ely, should have all the South partes besides: But the sayde Ely beyng more ambitious, so practised with the king, and by the kings Ambassadors sent his letters to the Pope, that at the last he obteyned the auctoritie Legantine ouer the whole realme of England.

And as soone as the king had thus set the realme of England in an order, he then sayled into Normandy, where he setting that country also vnder safe keeping, did shortly after mete with the French king called Philip the second, and after with Frederick the Emperour, & they together set forward on their journey vntil they came to Turon, and there they passed away the winter. In the which time eyther of them with other made assurance for the continuance of that great iourney. And at the spring time of the yere, these three great Princes set forward on their boiage toward the holy lande. That is to say, king Richard by the sea, and the Emperour and king Philip by land, and appoynted to meete together in the land of Scicill. But king Richard, as sayth an olde written Chronicle, before his departure called all his Lordes and knightes vnto him, and did swere them for euermore to be true vnto him, and to take his part. And in token thereof he gaue to euery of them a blew Lace or Ribband to be knowen by, and hereof (sayth that olde Chronicle) began the first occasion of the order of the Garter.

In this meane time in England, the Jewes in diuerse places of this realme, as Lincolne, Staunford, and Linne were robbed and spoyled: And at Poike to the number of foure hundred and mo, did cut their master baynes, and so bled to death, as sayth Fabian.

These two kings according to their appoyntment met in Scicill, where grudge began to kindle betwene them. And the cause thereof as Reynulph sayth, first began for that king Richard demped vnto king Philip the halfe of his winninges in Cyprus according to the couenant assured betwene them at Turon. But king Richard sayde that the conuention stretched no farther then to such goodes as should be wonne within the limmites and boundes of the holy lande. Another cause of grudge was, by reason that the French king ayded not the Erle of Campayne beyng in distresse and neede. Wherefore the sayd Erle beyng therewith discontent, sayd to the French king: Sir hether to I haue done according to my duetie: But hereafter I will doe as neede compelleth me. For your grace hath hether to cherished mee but for mine, but now I will go to him that is more redier to geue then to take, and

so

so departed vnto king Richard where he was right well enterteyned. And the third cause was, as sayth Reynulph, that king Richard at his first entring into Scicill maryed the sister of the king of Nauerne, where before he had promised the sayde French king to haue maryed his sister Adela. But the French Chronicle chargeth king Richard to be in great fault, namely that he was a breaker of promise in all that he couenaunted with king Philip, and also that he solde the Isle of Cyprus which he wan before he came vnto Syria vnto the Templers, for thirtie thousande Markes, and after tooke it from them againe by strength, and exchaunged it with Guy of Lesyngham that was the last christened king of Jerusalem, for the same kingdome, and therefore the kings of England were long time after called kings of Jerusalem. Also that he should take from a knight of the Duke of Ostrich & said Dukes Banner, beyng first set vpon the walles of Alcon at the skalyng thereof, and in despite of the sayde Duke, did treade it vnder his feete, and did vnto it all the despite that he might, and set his awne Banner in the same place. And also that where Conradus Marques of Tyre was trayterously slaine by two of his awne seruantes, king Richard should lay the charge of the fault thereof vnto the French king. And for these grudges and sicknesse, with also feare of treason (as sayth the French Chronicle) to be wrought betwene Saladin the Soudane and king Richard: king Philip returned first into Appulia, and then to Rome, whether he had bowed a pilgrimage, and from thence into France.

But howsoeuer the breach was betwene the foresayd two kinges, great pittie it was, for as long as they continued in amitie together, so long they did many valiaunt and famous actes, as in winnyng of Alcon, and diuerse other Cities, and many mo had like to haue bene done, if they had not differed themselves. And not long after the departure of the French king, king Richard at the next spring following returned also. Who in his returne, driven by distresse of weather about the partes of Austria, in a towne called Sinaca, was there taken by Leopold Duke of the same countrie, who solde him to the Emperour for three score thousand Markes (though all wyrters do not agree vpon the somme) and for no small ioy thereof, the sayd Emperour wyrteth to the French king these Letters folowynge.

Henry by the grace of God Emperour of the Romaynes euer most noble, to his welbeloued and especiall friend Philip the famous king of France sendeth gretyng, with further declaration of his sincere loue: Inasmuch as the Emperour doubteth not but that your kingly magnificence, is alwayes right ioyous to heere of any such thing with the which the Almightye power of our creator hath adorned and aduanced vs and our Romaine Emperour, we thought good by the tenor of these presentes to declare vnto your noblesse that the enemye of our Empire, and perturber of your Kingdome the king of Englande, as he was passyng the sea in his returne homewardes from the lande of promes, it chaunced (the ship in which he was, beyng wrecked) that he was dryuen by the winde into the coast of Istria, vnto a place which is betwene Aquileia and Venice, whether the sayde king by the sufferaunce of God after his Shiptwreck with a fewe other escaped. Where vpon our faythfull friend the Erle Maynard of Gooce, and the people of that countrey, hering that he was in their land, & diligently considering, what prodicion

H. iij. spoyle

1191  
3  
Contention  
for superio-  
ritie.

King Richard charged by the French men with many great offences.

1192  
+

Contention  
is the cause of  
losse and hur-  
terance.

1194  
6

King Richard taken prisoner in Austria.

Henry 6 first of that name Emperour, and tenor of Frederick.



spoyle and treason the sayde king had vsed in the lande of p̄zomes, did pursue him intending to take him captiue: And after they had put the king to flight, they tooke viij. of his knightes prisoners. And afterwardes the sayde king went forward to a Borough in the Archebishopske of Salburge named Frisors, where Fredericke of Wetsow, as the king was postyng toward Austria in the night season, tooke fire of his knightes prisoners. And our welbeloued cosyn Leopold Duke of Austria layng wayte by euery way did take the king captiue at Dena in a billage nere therevnto, in a simple house. Now therefore seeing he is in our possession, and hath bene alwayes the cause of molesting and troubling of you, we considering the p̄misses, thought good to signifie thus much vnto your noblenesse, assuring our selues that the same will be right pleasant and acceptable newes vnto you, and an occasion of ioy and gladnes. Seuen at Rithout, the fift Kalendas of January.

Richard  
Ceur de lion,  
why he was  
so called.

It is read of this Richarde that during the tyme of his imprisonment, he should slay a Lion, and teare the heart out of his body, and thereof it came that he was called Richard Ceur de Lyon, that is, the heart of a Lion. But of the learned it is thought that this is but a fable, but rather that he was so called for his invincible courage and strength. The time also of his imprisonment, his brother John by the setting on of the French king, made great war within the land, and tooke by strength the Castell of Windsoze, of Notyng-ham and others, and the French king made strong warre in Normandy.

Howbeit, as touching the returne of king Richard out of Syria, and his taking by Leopold Arche Duke of Austrich, the matter is farre otherwise reported by Polidore after this maner: When he had comforted the christian men in Syria, with such words as are before rehearsed, he then having prepared his shauie for that purpose, sent away before him his wyfe Berengaria with her sister Ione and a great part of his army into Sicill, which from thence sayled into Englande: And then he himselfe followed with the rest, which were but a fewe in number, minding to sayle into Thracia: But by tempest his chaunce was to be driuen into Dalmatia, where he arryued and changed his apparell, because he would not be acknowne, and determined with him selfe to go home into England through high Almayne, trauallyng at his ease, sometime on horseback, and sometime on foote. And when he was come to the Countrie of Austriche, he remembering the breche that was betweene him and the Duke of the same countrie for casting downe his banner from the walles of Acon at the boyning therof: And therefore mistrusting that the saide Duke would be reuenged on him for the sayde dishonour, and being also aduertised by his espialles, that the fame of his comming was now bruted abroade throughout all the Countrie, he beganne to feare himselfe, and therefore trauallyed very circumspectly, sending euer hys spialles before to search the wayes that he should passe by. But yet coude he by no meanes escape that which was by destiny appointed to happen vnto him. For as sone as he was entered into the Citie of Vienna, which is the chiefe Citie of that Countrie, he was by his tongue knowne to be an Englishman. And because he was more delicate and deyntie then became a person being so homely appareled, he was thereby suspected of manye to be the king himselfe, & the rather because it was a constant rumoz, that he was come into the Countrie. The Duke hearyng of this, beset the house by and by wherein he was

was lodged with men of armes, that none should escape out, and then sent he other into the house to view and see what maner of guesstes were within. When king Richard perceyued that the house was thus beset rounde about with harnessed men, in such wise that it was not possible for hym to flie, he caused himselfe to be apparellled lyke a king, and hauing the same constancie of minde which he euer vsed in all his martiall affaires, he trusted himselfe vnto the souldiours, now being entred the house, demaunding of them what the matter was, that they in such forcible wise came vnto him, who answered that they came to take him. To whome he answered againe, how it was not seemely for a king to yeelde himselfe prisoner vnto any but to the Duke himselfe, and therefore if the Duke himselfe would come, he would be content to yeelde himselfe vnto him. Then came the Duke, whome the king met and deliuered him his sword, and so yeelded himselfe vnto him, who being glad that he had gotten such a praye vnlooked for, had him home with hym to hys house, geuing him berie fayre wordes all the waye as he passed, and then deliuered him vnto certeyne noble men of his Countrie to be safely kept. &c.

In this meane time that the king was so occupied in the warres with the Saracens as is aforesayde, the Bishop of Ely of whome mention is made before, being first authorized by the king as gouernoz of this realme, & after made the Popes Legate, tooke then not a little state vpon him in the absence of the king, in such ambitious and proude sort that he made all the realme cry out vpon him. This Bishop whose name was William Longchampe a Norman borne, and commyng of a base stocke, after he had aspired to the Bishopricke of Ely, and then to be Chaunceloz of England, and after the Popes Legate, hauing now in the absence of the king the whole rule and gouernement of the Realme in his awne hande, grewe out of measure in suche pompe and pride, that he became intollerable both to the Clergie, and to the Laity. First he beginneth to assemble a generall counsaile together at London. The colour and pretence was for Religion, but in berye deede, as sayth the olde storyes, the cause was his awne pompe and ambition, with importunate oppression of the Clergie. And no lesse troublesome was he also vnto the Laity, wonderfully oppressing the Commons, abusyng the kinges authoritie, and aduansyng vaine glozy. His vse was to ride with a thousande horses continually, so that the noble mennes sonnes were glad to become his slaues. And with the best Barons, Erles, and Peeres of this realme, maryed he his Cosyns, Nieces and kinswomen (I will not say his daughters) and for all that, his Grandfather was but a poore Ploughman, and his father a Cobheard. And hauyng so tirannously abused his office, fearyng least he should haue bene called to his examination, he fled with a fewe of his trusty seruautes to Douer Castell, minding to haue stolen ouer the sea: And commyng in the night in a womans apparell, with a peece of cloth vnder his Arme, and a mat yard in his hande, vpon suspicion (as God would haue it) beyng knowen what he was, his kercheffe was pulled off his head, & his shauen crowne appeared on his head. And then was he drawen along the sea vpon the sandes, with a great wondering of the people: Some rated him, some reuiled him, some bespattered him, some drawyng him by the armes, some by the legges from place to place, his awne seruautes not beyng able to helpe him. And

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7

William Longchampe  
Bishop of Ely,  
a proude  
Bishop.

The proude  
Bishop of  
Ely glad to  
hide his head

Gods iust  
plague.



at the last they brought him into a seller, where they shut him fast in, and so covered him from the people with shame ynough, untill the counsaile of the realme sent for him, and after was brought to the Tower of London, and there imprisoned, examined, deprived, and banished the realme: And at the length restored againe by king Richard, and after beyng sent to Rome by the way there dyed. 1197.

But Polidoze sayth, that king Richarde beyng moued therevnto by the dayly complaints of his nobles, deprived him of the Governourship by hys letters, and placed in his steede William Archebishop of Roan, which was the cause that he would haue fled the realme, neither maketh he any mention that he was restored by the sayd king.

And after this, king Richard beyng prisoner, sent Hubert bishop of Sarisoury into England to haue the guydyng therof, and also to treat with the Lordes and Commons for the kinges deliery, and for his raunsome: But for the payment of the sayd raunsome all the Wolles of the white Monkes and Chanons in England were solde, and Ringes and Crosses of Prelates, with vesselles and Chalices of all Churches throughout the realme, and xvij Shrynes were scraped and spoyled of the golde and siluer, and rich and pooze payed dyuerse summes of money to their great losse.

Now to returne to king Richarde, at the length he was raunsomed for an hundreth thousande pounce, as Polichronicon, Fabian, and Cooper say, from the couetous captiuitie of the Emperour, and beyng deliuered, he returned againe into England, and landed at Sandwicke, and so came to London, where when he had arrested him a little while, he then roade with a certeine number of knightes to Nottingham, and wanne the Castell by force, and after that the Castell of Tykhill. And shortly after called a counsaile of his Lordes at Winchester, where by auctoritie of the sayd counsaile he deprived John his brother (then beyng in fraunce) of all honour, and tooke from him all such landes as he before had geuen vnto him, for that in his absence he ioyned with the frenche king agaynst him, and also sought to haue possessed the Crowne and realme of England into his awne possession.

And shortly after, that is to say, in the viij. yere of his reigne, he caused himselfe to be crowned againe at Winchester. After which coronation he called a Parliament, by auctoritie whereof, he resumed againe all patentes, and annuities, fees, and other grauntes before his voyage by him solde and graunted, and caused the parties to be contented with such reuenues and profits as they had receyued of the sayde offices or landes, in the tyme of his absence: And spared not for any sufficiencie of wytyng, that by him before was made.

When the king by these aforesayd meanes had gathered some money, he then in the moneth of July sayled into fraunce, and besieged a Castell called Arques, and sped there, as sayth Polichronica, dyuerfly, which worde diuerfly may well here be spoken. For who so readeth the frenche Chronicle, shall finde that the frenche king was victor, although the Englishe booke sayth otherwise, but who had the victory in dede is vnertaine. But the frenche Chronicle sayth, that king Richard so scarred the frenche kinges host, that he tooke the kinges Sumpter horse and parte of his treasure. And shortly after a peace was concluded.

Then

Then John which had turned to the french king against his naturall brother, seeing the fame and honour of his brother, and weaknesse and feblenesse of himselfe, made meanes vnto Alianoz his mother, by whose mediation he was reconciled againe vnto his brother the king, and after became his true knight.

When the king and his brother John were thus agreed, they roade ouer the land to visite the countries, and to see how they were guyded by the kings officers. Among other, two there were, which shewed that they would do many things to the kinges profite, the one was Abbot of Cadonence in Normandy, and the other was named William with the long bearde, as sayth Reynulph.

The Abbot warned the king of the fraude of his officers, whereby he thought by the punishment of his officers, he should winne great fauour of the people. Then this Abbot gate a warrant of the king, and went to London, and there called before him diuerse officers, and caused them to make there accomptes before him. But he dyed shortly, so that his purpose tooke small effect.

And William with the long bearde shewed vnto the king the outrage of the riche men, which (as he sayde) spared their awne, and pilled the pooze people. It is sayde that this William was bozne in London, and purchased that name by the vse of his beard. He was quicke of witte, and somethyng learned, bolde of speche, and graue of countenance, & toke vpon him greater matters then he could compasse, and some cruelnesse he vsed, as apered in the accusyng of his awne brother of treason, the which was a Citizen of London, and had shewed to him great loue and friendship, euen bringyng him by in his youth.

This William stirred and excited the common people to desyre and loue fredome and libertie, and blamed the excesse and outrage of riche men. By such meanes he drew to him many great companies, and with all his power defended the pooze mennes causes against the riche, and accused diuerse to the king, shewyng that by their meanes the king lost many forseytes and escheates. For this cause, gentlemen and men of honour hated him, but he had such comfort of the king, as he kept on his purpose. But afterward, the king heeryng of the congregations that this William made, commaunded him to ceasse off such doynges, that the people might exercise their artes and occupations: By reason whereof, it was left for a while, but it did not clearly ceasse. For within a while after, they folowed him more then they did before. And then he preached vnto them, the which Sermon is at length set out in Reynulph, the. viij. booke, and. xxx. Chapter, and likewise in Fabian. But after his Sermon, he was sent for to the Archebishop of Cauntourbury, but he came with such a multitude folowyng him, that the Lordes were contented to remit him at that tyme with faire and pleasant wordes, and secretly commaunded certeyne personnes to espie when he was boyde of company, and then to take him and put him in sure keypyng. The which accordyng to the commaundement at tyme conuenient (as they thought) set vpon him to haue taken him: But he with an Acre resisted them, and slue one of them, and after fled into Saint Mary Bow Church in Cheape, and tooke that for his sauegard, defending himselfe by strength.

But

John was againe reconciled to king Richard his brother.

Two preachers.

William with the long bearde.

Libertie.

In hypocrite.

Murderer.

King Richard was raunsomed for a hundred thousand pounce.

John brother of king Richard deprived of all honour for rebellion.

1196  
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Parliament wherein patentees & fees were reduced, which the king had made & granted before his going to Ierusalem.

Arques Castell.



But within a little while after, by meanes of the heades and rulers of the Citie, the people minished, so that ere it were long he was left with a few persones, and so was taken, but not without shedding of blood. After which taking, he was arreigned before the Judges, and there he and. ix. of his adherentes had iudgement to die, and were hanged the day folowynge. But yet the rumor ceased not, for the common people raysed a great cryme vpon the Archbishop of Cauntorbury and other, and sayd, that by their meanes, William that was an innocent of such crymes, as were objected and put against him, was a defender of the pooze people against extorcioners and wrong doers, and that hee was by them put wrongfullye to death, affirmynge him an holy man, and a martyre, in such wise as foloweth. They sayde that a man beyng sicke of a feuer, was cured by vertue of a cheyne which this William was bound withall durynge the tyme of his imprisonment, which by a Priest of the kindred of the sayd William was openly declared and preached. Whereby he brought the people into such an error that they gaue credence to his wordes, and secretly in the night conueyed away the Fetter that he was hanged vpon, and scraped away the blood of hun where he was headed and quartered, so that they made there a hollow place, by fetchynge away of that earth, and sayd that sicke men and sicke women were cured of diuerse sicknesses by vertue of that blood and earth. By these meanes, and spreadynge abroade the same therof, that place was the more visited by women and indiscrete persones, of the which some watched there all night in prayer: so that the longer this continued, the more outcry and slander ranne by on the Judges and Justices that put him to death.

Howbeit, at the last, when his dedes were declared, as the sleayng of a man with his awne hand, and vsynge of his Concubine within Saint Mary Church of Bobo, in the time of his there beyng, as he openly confessed at the houre of his death, with other detestable crymes, somewhat cooled the hastie flame of the hoate Pilgrimage: But not clearely vntill the Archbishop accursed the Priest that brought by the first tale, and also caused that place to be watched, that such Idolatrie should there no more be vsed.

Reynulph in his. vij. booke and. xxxi. Chapter maketh mencion that about this tyme a Prince of Wales, whome he called Rices or Rize dyed, in whose prayse this that followeth is writtten, by the sayde Authour.

O blisse of battalie, chyld of chivalrie, defence of Countrie, brose of armes, Arme of strength, hand of largenesse, eye of reason, brightnesse of honestie, bearing in brest, Hector's prowesse, Achilles sharpnesse, Nestors sobernesse, Tydeus hardinesse, Sampsons strength, Hector's worthynesse, Curialus swiftnesse, Ulixes fayre speech, Salomons wisdomme, Aiaz hardinesse. O clothing of naked, the hungries meate, fulfilling the request of all that desyred. O Eloquence, felow in seruice, honest of deede, and sober in worde. Glad of semblaunt and loue in face, goodly to euerye man, and rightfull to all, the noble Diademe and bewtie of Wales is now fallen, that is, Rize is dead. All Wales grometh, Rize is dead, the name is not lost, but deferred. The blisse of Wales passeth, Rize is dead. The enimie is here, for Rize is not here. Now Wales helpeth not it selfe, Rize is deade and taken away. But his noble fame is not deade, for it is alway newe in the worlde wyde. If a man aske what is the ende? It is ashes and dust: here is he hid, but

William with  
a long beard  
hanged.

Ignorance &  
moch. r and  
deceit of  
Superstition  
and error.

A whores  
monger.

Rices or Rize  
a Prince of  
Wales.

but he is unhilled, for fame dureth euermore, & suffreth not the noble Duke to be hid from speeche. His prowesse passed his maners. His wisdomme passed his prowesse, his Eloquence exceeded his wisdomme, and his good counsailes passed his Eloquence. Hetherto Reynulph.

In the Month of Aprill and in the. ix. yere of his reigne, when the king had prouyded to sende foorth twentie thousande pounde to the Emperour, for full payment of hys ransome, the pledges which had lyen for the same came sodainely into England, and shewed vnto the king, that after hys departing the Emperour sent them vnto the Duke of Ostrich, to remayne with him vntill the money were payde. And they sayde also that the Duke was accursed of Innocent the thirde, then Bishop of Rome, by reason of hys wrong done to king Richard, and that his Prouince was vexed with manye mischiefes. And as the Duke roade foorth on a day in his disport, being saint Stephens daye, he hurt his foote in such wise with a thorne, or other benym which rankled and grewe so soze, that lastly he must die or cut it of. But in hope of recouery, he continued vntill in the ende there was none other way but death. Then he sent for his Bishops, and desyred to be assoyled of the sentence of the Churche which he stood in. The which was denyed him, except he would sweare to stande and abyde the ordinance and iudgement of holy Church, touching the wrong that he had done to king Richard. The Duke swore and was assoyled: and shortly after, the two Bishops, pledges for the money, were set at their libertie.

Now king Richard calling to mind that his bittermost day of the truce taken betweene the frenche king and him drew nere at hande, he therefore made him readie and sayled into Normandy: where before his comming, the frenche king, by occasion of the Normans (as sayeth the frenche booke) was entered the Countrie of Burges, towarde whome king Richard sped him with all possible speede, so that both hostes laye parted wyth the ryuer of Osson or Olyne. Then to follow the frenche booke, for so much as the Englishe Chronicle speaketh little or nothing of this act, let wise men that reade thys Chronicle conster it after their discretions: for although the Frenchman wrote it to the honour of his countrie men, it will the rather redound to their dishonor. For thus sayth the sayd Chronicle, these two hostes thus as is abouesayde lying together without skirmishe or assault, king Richard contrary to the minde and opinion of his Lordes, with a few accompanied and unharnessed, came to the french kinges tent, and there in presence of his Lordes did homage to the french king for the Duchie of Normandie, and Counties of Angeow and of Poyters, and there swore to the king to kepe peace durynge his lyfe: And after. liij. dayes met againe and finished the sayde peace with an assured othe on either partie, and after departed as friendes, eyther resortynge into their awne country: but it semed a faynt peace, for within foure monethes next folowynge, king Richard with his hoste entered into the Prouynce of Berry, and layde siege to the Castell of Wypersone, and gate it by strength. And after went to the Castell of Royncourt, which was deliuered to him by appoyntment.

When the french king heard of the wyppynge and ouerthrow of the Castell of Wypersone, he in dammagynge of king Richard, layde siege to the Castell of Aubeuyle, and assayed it egerly: But it was so strong and so well defended

1197  
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King Richard sayleth  
into Normandy  
by against the  
kinge of  
France.

A tale tolde  
by a French  
Chronicker of  
king Richard

Wypersone  
Castell.



Royncourt  
Castell.

fended by the Normans, that the French king was holden off. When king Richard had garnished & fortified the Castell of Royncourt with all things necessary to the warre, he drue him toward Aubeuyle to remoue king Philip from that siege, and fell vpon the Frenchmen vnwarly. But the Frenchmen quit themselves so knightly, that they chased king Richard and his people, and tooke a Norman knight prisoner, named Guy de Thonars, a man of great hardinesse. And then king Philip returned to the towne and Castell of Aubeuyle, and assaulted it more sharpely, so that in the ende the Souldiours of the towne yelded it with the Castell for a summe of money. And when he had possession of the towne, he threwe downe the Castell plaine with the ground, and after strengthened the towne with Frenchmen, & then went to the Castell of Gysoz, and from thence to the Castell of Royncourt: And assailed it in so cruell maner, that shortly he wan it, & toke therein .xv. knights, and .viii. women with plentie of victuall and Armour.

Gysoz  
Castell.

In this tyme and season, king Richard gathered againe a new strength, and allyed himselfe with Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, and Reignold Erle of Dampnartyn and of Woleyn. By whose meanes (as sayth the French booke) king Richard wasted sore the Countrie of Fraunce, and bent therein some Townes and villages, and tooke therein many riche prayes. Fabian.

Castell of  
Gysoz as-  
saulted.

In the .x. yere of his reigne, and about the begynnyng of the moneth of October, king Richard entered into the country of Anequecyn with a strong host, and made there cruell warre in destroyng of the country, & assaulted the Castell of Gysoz, & threwe to the ground a strong hold called Courcellys, and bent thereabout many villages. Wherewith king Philip was so sore annoyed, that with a small number of knightes he pierced the hoste of Englishmen, and entred the Castell or towne of Gysoz. But of his men were taken a great number, chiefly such as were men of name, with the which prisoners and many riche prayes the king departed, leauyng the French king with- in Gysoz.

Anequecyn  
a countie in  
Fraunce.

The Bishop  
of Beuuaris  
take prisoner.

Castell of  
Chalons or  
therwise cal-  
led Gaillard,  
or Caule.

It was not long after that king Richard was thus departed, but king Philip calling to mynde the lesse and dishonour that he had receyued by that warre, assembled a great army, and entred the Duchie of Normandy, and wasted the country from Newelborough to Beawmont le Rogier. And that done, he returned into Fraunce, and lycenced his knightes eche man to go into his owne countie.

When the French king had thus taken his pleasure in the spoyle of a great peere of Normandy, then king Richard with his army entered the former countie of Anequecyn, and Beuogcyn, and there tooke as he before had done many rich prayes, and so came away, whome the Bishop of Beuuaris being a good knight and hardie of his handes, with a companye of knightes and other, folowed to haue reskewed the prisoners that king Richard had taken. But they themselves were discomfited, and a great many of them taken and slaine. At the same tyme the Erle of Flaunders with the helpe of the Englishmen, toke the towne of S. Omer from the French king.

Sone after Christmasse next folowyn, king Richard besieged a Castell nere vnto Lymogis. This Castell in the French tongue is called Chalons, & in the English boke it is named Gaillard. But Reynulph calleth it Caule.

The cause of this siege (as sayth most wyrters) was for certeine riche treasure

treasure that was founde within the Seigniozy of king Richard, the which one Wydomer bicount of Lemonke had founden, and withhelde the same from king Richard, and for his sauegarde fled into the afozenamed Castell, and defended it manfully from the first weeke of Lent, vntill the sixt day of Aprill. Upon the which day, king Richard walking vnwisely aboute the Castell, to espie the feblenesse thereof, one named Bertrand Guedon marked the king, and wounded him in the heade (or as some wyzte) in the arme, with a venemous quarrell. After which wounde receyued by the king, he commaunded sharpe assault to be made to the Castell, in the which assault the Castell was wonne.

King Ry-  
chard wound-  
ded to death.

Then the king caused inquirie to be made who it was that did hurt him, the which being founde, was brought vnto the kinges presence, and named himselfe as aforesayde, but after some wyrters, he was called Peter Basile. Then the king demaunded of him, why he did so lye in waite rather to hurte him, then any other of the company? And he answered, because thou slewest my father and my brethren (sayd he) and I intended to aduenge their death what soeuer became of me. Then the king forgaue him his offence, and suffered him to go at libertie. And all the other of the Souldiours that were taken in that Castell were forthwith hanged. But Reynulph sayth, that after king Richard was dead, the Duke of Flaunders which then was present, caused the sayd Bertrand to be slaine quicke, and after hanged.

The king  
forgaue his  
death but o-  
ther reuen-  
ged it.

Bertrand  
the king Ry-  
chard is put  
to death.

And within thre dayes after the king was hurt, he dyed that is to say, the ix day of Aprill, and was buryed as he himselfe willed at fount Ebrard or Euerard at the fecte of his father. Howbeit his hart was buryed at Roan, and his bowelles in Doyters, when he had reigned .ix. yeres, .ix. monethes and odde dayes, leauing after him none issue.

# King Iohn.



After the death of king Richard, reigned his brother Iohn Erle of Morton, yongest sonne of Henry the seconde, called Iohn without lande, who at the tyme of hys brothers death was in Normandy, where immediatly after the death of hys sayde brother he possessed his treasure, and was proclaymed king of England the .vi. day of Aprill 1199. & then sent Hubert Archbishop of Cantorbury into England to make prouision for his coronation. And vpon Easter day next folloving, he was gyrded with the sword of the Duke of Briteyn, and sone after came into Englande,

1199

where he was crowned king at Westmynster, vpon holye Thursdaye then next folloving of the afozenamed Hubert.

Coronation  
of king Iohn  
at Westmyn-  
ster.

J. i.

But



But in this meane time the French king helde a counsaile at Cenamanna in Turon, where (to the derogacon of king Iohn) Arthur the sonne of Seaffrey Plantagenet, and Nephew to the sayde Iohn, was made Duke of Briteyn: who incontinently after, with a great armie entered the Countrie of Angeou and tooke possession thereof. And king Philip with his people entred the Duchy of Normandy, and layed siege vnto the Citie of Eureux, and wanne it with all the strong holdes there aboutes, and stuffed them with victuall, and strengthened them with his aboue knights, and that done wasted and spoiled the Countrie, vntill he came to the Citie of Meur, where met with him the afozenamed Arthur, and did to him homage for the Countrie of Angiers. On the other side, the Britones which fauoured Arthur tooke and kept for his behoofe (as sayth Polidore) these townes, Gorneium, Buitauentu and Gensolium: and following also the good successe of victorie, recouered againe the Citie of Angiers, the which king Iohn had taken from Arthur the yere before.

In the Moneth of May following, Alianour sometime wyfe to king Henry the second, and mother to king Richard the first came into Fraunce, to the French king to Meur aforesaid, & made him homage for the Countrie of Poyters as her inheritance. And sone after the French king returned into Fraunce, & the Duke of Briteyn with hym, which as yet was within age.

King Iohn heyring of thys warre in Normandy, and losse of the Countries aboue named, was greatly moued, charging y French king with breche of truce, wherby he assembled a counsaile and asked ayde of his Lordes and commons, to wyne agayne the aforesayde landes, and there was graunted vnto him as some write thre shillings of euery plough land thorough England beside the subsidie of the spirituall lands. And when all things were in readinesse that was meete for that voyage he then on Saint Iohn Baptistes daye following sayled into Normandy, and came to Roan, where as he was royally receyued, & shortly after a truce was concluded betweene the French king and him for one yere following. And then there came vnto hym the Erle of Flaundrys, and all other the Lordes of Fraunce that were of king Richards bond and friendship, and were swozne vnto him.

Not long after, king Philip taking homage of Arthur for the Duchye of Normandie and all other the possessions of king Iohn beyond the sea, promised him helpe against king Iohn. After this king Iohn and the French king spake together about an houres space. And the French king asked so muche lande for himselfe, and Duke Arthur, that king Iohn would none graunt, and so departed in wrath.

The same yere a Legate came vnto king Iohn into England and commaunded him vnder paine of interdiction of his land, that he should deliuer the Archebishop which he kept in Prison. And the king deriyed so to do, vntill he had payed him sixe thousand Markes for his raunsome, because he was taken in harnesse in the fielde, and had before swozne that he would neuer weare harnesse agaynst any Christian man.

At this time a deuozement was made, betweene king Iohn and Auis his wife, daughter to the Erle of Gloucester, because they were in the thirde degre of kindred. And after by the Counsaile of the French king: King Iohn married Isabell daughter of the Erle of Angolisme, fianced before vnto Hugh Erle

Arthur the son of Seaffrey Plantagenet.

Alianor the mother to king Richard the first did homage to y French king for the countie of Poyters.

A subsidy of thre shillings of euery plough land.

King Iohn sayleth into Normandy with a great power.

Philip the French king apdeth Arthur against king Iohn.

This was y Archebishop of Beuon that was taken by king Richard the first in the last yere of his reigne.

Erle of March, and had by her two sonnes, Henry and Richard, and thre daughters, Isabell, Alianor, and Jane.

At this tyme fell strife betweene king Iohn, and Geoffrey Archebishop of Yorke for diuerse causes. First because he would not suffer and permit the Shirife of Yorke in such affayres as he had to do for the king, within his diocesse. Secondly, because he did also excommunicate the sayd Shirife. Thirdly because he would not saile with him into Normandy, to make the mariage betweene Lewes the French kinges sonne, and his neece. &c.

Polidore sayth, that the cause of this fallyng out of king Iohn with his base brother Geoffrey Archebishop of Yorke, was for that he had reprovued him for his great exactions and payments which he layde vpon his people without all measure, by reason whereof he was so much offended with him, that he spoiled him of all that he had, and then banished him out of the court: And such (sayth the aforesayd Authoz) was the kinges displeasure conceyued against him, that he could not by any meanes be pacified, neyther entreated to receyue him to grace againe, vntill it was a yere after: But here Polidores sayng is not to be hastily credited of the reader, for truly such was the blindness of the tyme, that Polidore had no good opinion of king Iohn, and therefore wyrteth very vehemently against him in his History, which vehemency or fonde malice I thought meete rather to suppress, then to make any mention thereof.

Also in this yere as sayth Reynulph, William king of Scottes did homage to king Iohn at Lincolne, or as some write at London, and sware in the presence of a Legate of Rome, and .xiiij. Bishops, to be true lige man to him, and to his heyres kinges. But Hector Boethus sayth, that this homage was done for the landes of Northumberland, Comberland, and Huntingdon, which the Scottishe king helde of the king of England, and not for the realme of Scotland, the which is not true.

At the same time king Iohn, earnestly requested the sayd Scottishe king to ayde him agaynst Philip of Fraunce, but he made many excuses that he could not so do, specially without the consent of his Peeres and Commons, that done he hastened himselfe home againe into Scotland.

This yere in the moneth of December were scene in the Clament about ten of the Clocke in the night time, in the Prouince of Yorke five Moones, one in the West, another in the East, the thirde in the South, the fourth in the North, and the fift in the midst of the Clament. The same tyme also in the spring season king Iohn sayled into Normandy, and shortly after went vnto Paris, where he was very honourably receyued of the French king, from whence after he had made a new league with him, he went vnto Chiuon, but the sayde league continued but a while. For it was not long after, but that the French king required of king Iohn that he should depart with all his landes in Normandy, and Dictaia, and else where within the dominion of Fraunce, vnto Arthur his nephew, and that incontinent, or else he would warre against him, and forthwith made great prouision for warre, and ioyning with him the sayd Arthur, with a great army and pryssance, set vpon certeyne of his townes and Castels in Normandy, and put him to much inquietnesse. When king Iohn heard of this, he forthwith assembled a counsaile, and prayed an ayde agaynst the French king, which was graunted vnto him.

J. ij. And

Marriage betweene king Iohn and Geoffrey Archebishop of Yorke.

Homage of William king of Scottes.

A strange sight.



King Iohn  
sapieth again  
into Fraunce  
with a power  
against the  
French king  
and Arthur  
duke of Briteyn,  
and  
had a great  
victory.

The pedegre  
of Arthur  
Duke of  
Briteyn.

Arthures  
most flowte  
sunswere.

Arthures  
death.

Consaite of  
the Citie.

1202

4  
King Iohn  
lost all that he  
had in Nor-  
mandy.  
Troubles &  
vexations en-  
crease upon  
king Iohn.

And with all speede possible prepared an army & sailed ouer, and gave an onfet o. i his enemies with such force (as by the prouision of almighty God the geuer of all victoꝝ) the French king and his complices had such a repulse at the English mennes handes, that they pursuing the French men, in their flight did so nerely folow them into their holde, and so enforced vpon them, that they not onely tooke the sayde Arthur prisoner, with manye other of the Frenche men, but also gaue such an ouerthrow to the rest, that none was there left to to beare tydynges home.

This Arthur was sonne to Geoffrey Duke of Briteyn, which was the elder brother of king Iohn, and so thys Arthur was king Iohns Nephew. And to make the matter moze euidēt, king Henry the second had eyght children, one Mylliam, which dyed in his childhood, the second Henry, which also dyed in his youth, after he was crowned king, hys father being alque, the thirde Geoffrey Duke of Briteyn, which also dyed in hys fathers life tyme, leauing behunde him two children, Arthur and Brecca, the fourth Richard the first, surnamed Cœur de Lyon, the fift Iohn who succeeded Richard hys brother, with thre other daughters named, Elianor married to the king of Spayne, Ione Countesse of Chouloise, and Maloude Duches of Saxon, that afterwards was Empreſse.

The sayde Arthur being thus taken in warre, was brought before the king at the Castle of Falaise in Normandy, who being exhorted with manye gentle wordes to leaue the French king, and to encline to his Uncle, answering agayne stoutly and with great indignation, required the kingdome of Englande with all there to belonging to be restored to him, as to the lawfull heire of the Crowne: by reason whereof, prouoking the kinges displeasure against him, he was sent to the Tower of Reane, where at the length, whether by leaping into the ditch, thinking to make his escape, or whether by some other priuie hande, or by what chance else it appereth not certaine by stories, he finished his life, by the occasion whereof, the sayd Iohn was had after in great suspicion, whether iustly or vniustly God knoweth.

Thys yere as sayeth Fabian there were chosen in London. xxxv. of the most substanciall and wisest Citizens, which were called the counsaile of the Citie, out of the which number perelye the Baylifes, and afterwarde the Maiors and Shirifes were chosen.

This yere as Historiographers write, king Iohn for lacke of good prouision to be made in tyme, lost all his holdes and possessions in Normandy, through the force and power of the French king.

And after these losses came other troubles vpon him as great or greater enemies, that was the Pope and his Cardinales, by occasion of chosynge the Archbishop of Cauntozbury which afterwarde shall be at large declared.

And thys yere also (as sayth Reynulph) happened many great and wonderful tempestes, with lightminges and thunder, and the same also was of long continuance, and in that tempest there fell hayle of the greatnesse of Venues egges, the which destroyed fruite, corne and cattell, besyde manye other hurtes that the same did. And the same time also there were seene spirites in the ayre (as the aforesayd aucthour sayth) fleyng lyke fowles bearing fyre in their billes, and did set diuerse houses on fyre.

And in the sayde yere in the moneth of July dyed Queene Alianor the kinges

kinges mother, and shortly after dyed also Hubert Archebishop of Cauntozbury: whose deccasse after it was knowen to the Monkes of Cauntozbury, before his body was yet comitted to the earth, the yonger sort of y Monkes there gathered themselues together at midnight, and elected their Subprior Reignold: without the kinges licence or yet his knowledge, and they proulye placed him in the Metropolitall seate, singyng Te deum at midnight. And because the King should not make their election voyde, they charged him forthwith to go to Rome to the Pope for his confirmation, and made him to sweare that he should kepe all thinges secreete by the way as he went, & not to make their doyngs knowen to any man before he came to the Pope. But he contrarye to his othe, as soone as he came into Flaunders, opened a broade all the matter and vttered their counsaile. Whereupon the Monkes beyng not a little agreed with him, sent to him proulye that without delay he should go forwarde of his iourney. And so soone as he was departed, the next day folowynge they sent to the king, desirynge of him his gracious licence Canonically to choose their Archbishop. The king most gently and fauorably granted their petition, requiring them instantly, and desirynge that for his sake they would shewe fauour to Iohn Gray then Bishop of Norwiche, and president of his counsaile as they did indeede, erecting him into that seate of high Primate.

Nowe when this their election was presented vnto the king, the king gaue vnto them his great and heartie thankes, and of his awne costes and charges he sent his messengers vnto Rome to the Pope to haue the same election ratified.

After the former elections made as aforesayde, the suffraganes of Cauntozburge beyng not a little offended at the sayde elections, sent speedilye to Rome, to haue them both staid, for that they were not called to neither of the elections: By reason whereof there grewe a great tumult.

This yere sayth Fabian by reason of fowle weatheryng, wheate was solde for. xv. shillings the quarter, which was then thought a great price, and euen so it was if ye consider the value of their money, which was then valued at. xx. pence the ounce of siluer, and now it is currant with vs at five shillings the ounce, and so after that rate, when they payed. xv. shillings for a quarter, the same was of our money. xv. shillings a quarter.

And in the Sommer next folowynge, king Iohn maryed his bastarde daughter vnto Leuolyn Prince of Wales, and gaue with her the Castell and Lordship of Elyngsmer, beyng in the Marches of Southwales.

This yere the Suffraganes of the Prouynce of Cauntozbury of the one side, and the Monkes of Cauntozbury on the other hyde, came before the Pope with their leuode elections. First the Monkes presentynge Reignold their Subprior, desired that their election might be confirmed. The Suffraganes likewise complayned that the Monkes woulde presume to choose the Archebishop without their consent, and therefore desired by diuers reasons the first election to be of none effect. The Pope decisyng the matter betwene them both, pronounced with the Monkes, chargynge the Suffraganes and Bishops to meddle no more with that election, but to let the Monkes alone.

The Monkes of Cauntozbury now hauynge the whole election in their awne handes, fell also at a square among themselues, the yonger sort with

J. iij.

the

Hubert Arch-  
bishop of Ca-  
untozbury de-  
ceased.

Arrogant  
and craftie  
Monkes.

1203  
5

1206  
8

The Suff-  
raganes dis-  
charged by  
the Pope,  
from the elec-  
tion of the  
Archbishop.



the elder. The yonger sort which had chosen Reignold their Subprioꝛ, would haue that election to stande. The olde sort of Monkes replied againe, sayng: that the first election was by stealth and by night, and by the yonger part also without the consent of the elder Monkes, and also done without the kinges licence or appoyntment, and without the due solemnitie thereunto belongyng. And as concernyng our election, say they, it was done in the cleare day light, by the which it had aucthoritie, and in the presence of oure liege Lorde the king, and his consent and counsaile, beyng to the same.

This Allegation thus proponed, the Subprioꝛs proctor, or man of law, stood foorth and proued the former election to be good, and this latter to be voyde and of no value, after this sort. Whether the first election (sayth he) were iust or vniust, ye ought first by the lawe to haue condemned it, befoze ye should haue presumed to the seconde: But this ye did not, therefore is this your latter doying no election at all, the first therefore is rather to be ratified than yours.

When they had thus multiplied talke vpon both sydes, with many frivulous allegations a long time, land could not agree vpon one person. Pope Innocent condemned both these elections, commaūding them to chose Stephen Langton, then Cardinall of Saint Chyrligone for the Archebischop of Cantorbury. The Monkes then answered, that they durst not so do, without the consent of their king, and also for that it was preiudiciall to their auncient liberties. The Pope by and by (sayth the story) as one in a fury, takyng their wordes out of their mouthes, sayd thus vnto them, we will you to knowe it, that we haue full power and aucthoritie ouer the Church of Cantorbury: neither are we wont to tary the consent of Princes, therefore we commaund you vpon paine of our great curse that ye chose him onely whom we haue appoynted you.

The Monkes at these wordes were abashed and terrefied (although they much murmured in their hearts) yet consented all in one, & ther vpon sang, Te Deum: only did Doctor Helias Brautfield withdrate himselfe from that election, whom the king had sent for the admission of the Bischop of Norwiche.

Thus was Stephen Langton in the high Church of Uiterby by Innocent the Popes awne mouth made Archebischop of Cantorbury. From thence foorth therefore (sayth Mathew of Paris) the Pope could do no lesse, but mightely defend him from all vexation and daunger, considering that he was of his awne preferment.

Vpon this occasion king Iohn conceyued an excedyng displeasur against the Monkes of Cantorbury (as he had good cause) they doying so many euils against his Princely prerogatiue: Without his licence they elected their Archebischop, and put by the Bischop of Norwiche whom he had appoynted: They wasted a great part of his treasure for the warres, and bitterly against the kings minde they made Stephen Langton their Metropolitane, whom he toke for a grieuous enemy vnto the whole realme, chiefly for that he was alwayes so familiar with the French king. Wherefoze in his anger he banished them out of his land to the number of. lxxij. for their contumacy and contempt of his regall power.

The Monkes of Cantorbury thus beyng banished, the king forthwith sendeth messengers to the Pope with his letters, wherein he doth sharply and

Stephen Langton named Archebischop by the Pope.

The Popes great curse is of great force foorth.

Mathew Paris.

1207

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King Iohn banished the Monkes of Cantorbury out of his realme.

King Iohns letters to the Pope.

and expressly quarell with the Pope: first, for that he so vncourteously did aduillat the election of the Bischop of Norwiche, & set by one Stephen Langton, a man vnkowne to him, and brought by amongst his enimies along wyme in the kingdome of Fraunce, consecrating him Archebischop of Cantorbury, and letting the other go. Also, which is moze, it redowneth, sayth he, to the subuersion and derogation of the liberties apperteyning to his crowne, that his consent being not asked befoze of the Monkes, which should haue bene done, they notwithstanding rashly presumed to promote and preferre the same election. Wherefoze he cannot maruaile he sayth, ynough, that neither the sayde Pope, nor the court of Rome doth consider, and reuolue with themselves, how necessary his loue and fauour hath bene alwayes hether to vnto the Sec of Rome: and that they fixe not the eye of reason vpon thys, what great fruite and reuenues hath proceeded hether to them oute of the realme of Englande, the lyke wher of hath not bene receyued out of any other Country besides, on this side the Alpes. He addeth moze ouer & sayth, that for his liberties, he will stand, if neede be, vnto death, neyther can he be so remoued and shaken off from the election of the bishop of Norwiche, which he seeth to be to him so commodious and profitable. Finally thus he concludeth, sayng: that in case in this his request he be not heard, he will so prouide by the seas, that there shall bee no such gadding nor coursing ouer any moze to Rome, suffering the ryches of the lande anye moze to be exported ouer, whereby he should himselfe be the lesse able to withstand his enimies. And seing he hath of his awne at home both Archebischops, Bischops, and other Prelates of the Church, both of Englishmen and of other, sufficiently prouided and instructed in all kinde of knowledge, therefore he shall not neede to seeke for iustice and iudgement any farther abroad. Now when these letters came to the Popes intelligence, he directeth letters to the king agayne in this forme.

Innocent Pope, seruaunt of the seruants of God, to oure welbeloued sonne in Christ, the king of England, health & Apostolicall blessing: where as we haue written to you heretofore exhortyng and entreating you after an humble, gentle, and diligent sorte, concerning the matter of the Church of Cantorbury, you haue written to vs agayne after a threating sort, and vbrayding manner, both spitefully, and also frowardly. And where as wee moze and aboue that our right and duetie required, haue borne and geuen to you: you agayne for your parte haue geuen to vs not so much as by right and duetie ye are bound to doe. And though your deuocion (as ye say) hath bene to vs very necessary, yet consider agayne, that oures also is not a little oportune and expedient for you. And where as we in suche lyke cases haue not shewed at any time the lyke honor to any Prince, as vnto you, you agayne haue so much derogated to our honour, as no Prince else hath presumed to doe, but you alone, pretending certaine frivulous causes and occasions I cannot tell what, why you would not condescend to the election of Stephen Langton Cardinall of Saint Chyrligono chosen by the Monkes of Cantorbury, for that the sayde Stephen, as you say, hath bene conuersant and brought by among your enimies, and his person to you vnkowne. But you know what is the Proverbe of Salomon: The net is cast: but in bayne in the eyes and sight of the flyng birdes, with much other matter moze in the same

1208  
10

The Popes letters written to king Iohn.



same epistle, wherin he falleth into commendation of Stephen Langton his Cardinall, declaring howe learned he was in the liberall artes, and in diuinitie, insomuch as he was prebentated at Paris, also come of an honest stock, and an English man borne, and not vnknownen to the king, seeyng the king had written thise to him befoze. &c. Moreouer, declaring in the sayde letter, howe the messengers of the king had sperefied to him another cause, which was, for that the Monkes of Cauntozbury which had to do in the election, came not to him befoze for his consent, declaring moreouer in the sayd letter, howe the sayde Messengers of the king intreated in the kinges behalfe, that forsomuch as the Popes letters wherein the king was commaunded to send his Proctours to Rome for the same matter, came not to the kinges hande, neither did y Monkes direct any such letters or message to the king to haue his consent, therefore, that the Pope considering the same, would graunt so much for the regard of the kinges honour, that the Monkes of Cauntozbury should procede, not without the kinges assent therein: And forasmuch as that hath not bene done as yet, therefore they desyred some delay therein to be geuen sufficient for the doying thereof. Wherevnto he sayde, that he had graunted and fulfilled his request, in sendyng his messengers and letters once or twise for the same purpose, although he sayd it was not the maner of the See Apostolike, who hath the fulnesse of power ouer the church of Cauntozbury, to wayte for Princes consentes in such elections, who then coulde not be suffered to do that which they came for. &c. Wherefoze in the knittynge vp of his letter, he concludeth in these woordes.

And therefore, seeyng the matter so standeth, we see no cause why we should require or tary for the kinges fauour or consent any more therein, but intend so to procede in this matter, neither enclynnyng on the right hande, neyther yet on the left, accordyng as the canonicall ordinaunces of the holy fathers shall direct vs: that is, that all impediments and delayes set asyde, so to prouide that the Church of Cauntozbury be no lenger destitute of her Pastour. Wherefoze, be it knowen to your discretion or kingly prudence, that forsomuch as this election of Stephen Langton, hath orderly and concordably thus proceded without fraude or deceite vpon a person meete for the same: therefore we will not for no mannes pleasure, neyther may we without daunger, of fame and of conscience, differre or protract any lenger the consummation of the sayde election. Wherefoze my welbeloued sonne, seeyng we haue had respect to your honour aboute that our right and duetic requireth, studeye to honour vs so muche as your dutie requireth againe, so that you may the more plentifully deserue fauour both at Goddes handes and oures, least that by the doying the contrary, you bring your selfe into such a pecke of troubles, as afterward ye shall scarce rid your selfe of againe. For this knowe for a certeine, in the ende it must needes fall out, that he shall haue the better, vnto whom euery knee heauenly, earthly, and infernall creatures do bowe, whose turne I serue in earth, though I be vnworthie. Therefore settle not your selfe to obey their perswasions whiche alwayes desyre your vnquietnesse, whereby they may the better fishe in the water when it is troubled, but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which vndoubtedly shall turne to your prayse, glory, and honour, for it should not be much for your safety in this cause to resist God and the Church, in whose quarrell that blessed Martyr and glorious

Thomas

Thomas hath of late shed his blood, especially seeyng your father and your brother of famous memozy then kings of England did geue ouer those three wicked customes into the handes of the Legates of the See Apostolique. But if you will yelde your selfe humbly into our handes, we will looke that you and yours shall be sufficiently prouided for, that no preiudice may aryse herebpon to you ward.

Geuen at Laterane the tenth yere of our popedome,

Not long after this letter was sent out, there folowed especiall charge and commaundement sent into England vnto certeine Bishops there, requyryng them by auctoritie Apostolicall, that if the sayd king would not receiue the afozenamed Prior of Catozbury and his Monkes, that then they should enterdict the king throughout all his realme. For the executing whereof, foure Bishops were appoynted by the auctoritie of the popes Bulles, that is to say, William Bishop of London, Eustace Bishop of Ely, Walter bishop of Winchester, and Giles Bishop of Herford. Which sayd foure Bishoppes went vnto the king, and shewed them their commission from the Pope (as is abouesayde) willyng him to consent thereto. &c.

But the king refused the same, and would by no meanes graunt they request: Wherebpon, they departyng from his grace, went the morow after the Annunciation of our Lady, and pronounced the sayde generall interdiction throughout the realme of England: so that the Church doores were shut vp with keyes and other fastenings, and with walles. &c.

Howe when the king heard of this, he began to be moued against them, and tooke all the possessions of the foure bishops into his handes, appoynting certeine men to kepe the liuyngs of the Clergie throughout the realme, that they should enioy no part thereof. Which thing when the Bishops vnderstoode, they cursed all them that kept or should meddle with Church goodes, against the will of them that ought them: and vnderstanding for all that, that the king nothing regarded their doynge, they went ouer the sea to the Archbishop of Cauntozbury and informed him what had happened. Who heeryng the same, willed them againe to returne to Cauntozbury, and he would come thether to them, or else sende certeine personnes thether in his steede, that should do as much as if he were there himselfe. Then when the Bishoppes heard this, they returned againe into Englande to Cauntozbury, which tydynges came shortly to the king, that they were come againe thether, and because he might not himselfe trauaile to them, he sent thether Bishops, Clerges, and Abbottes, to entreate them that the king might receyue the Archebishop Stephen, and the Prior and all the Monkes of Cauntozbury, promisyng in his behalfe, that he should neuer take any thing of the church goodes against the will of them that owe them, but would make amendes to them of whome he had taken any goodes, and the Church should haue all her fraunchesse in as ample maner as in Saint Edwardes time the Confessor.

When the foune of agreement was thus concluded, it was ingrossed in a payze of indentures, which the foresayde foure Bishops to the one part therof set to their seales, and the other part the sayd Clerges, Bishops, and Abbots, carped to the king. When the king saw the order therof, he lyked it well, sayyng he would not agree to make restitution of the Church goodes. So he sent to the foure Bishops againe, that they should put out that point of resti-

tution:

1209

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William bishop of London, Eustace Bishop of Ely, Walter bishop of Winchester, Giles bishop of Herford.

The bishops enterdicted the king and all the realme.

This king was in a great perplexitie.



Pledges sent for Stephen Langton.

A proclama- tion published by the king against the mind of Ste- phen Langton.

Dandolph & Durant the Popes Lega- tes.

1210  
12

tution: But they answered stoutly that they would not put out one worde. Then the king sent to the Archbishop, by the foure Bishoppes, that he should come to Cauntorbury to speake with him, and for his safe conduit to come and go againe at his will, he sent his Justices as pledges, that is to say, Gilbert Peltwyn, William de la Bereuer, & John Lefitz: which thing this done, the Archbishop Stephen came to Cauntorbury & the king heeryng therof came to Chilharn, from whence he sent his Treasurer bishop of Winchester to him, to haue him put out of the Indentures the clause of restitution aforesayde, who denyng to alter any worde of the same, moued the king in such sort, that immediately was proclaymed throughout England at the kings commaun- ment, that all those that had any Church liuing, & went ouer the sea, that they should come againe into England at a certein day, or else lose their liuyngs for euermore. And further in that Proclaymation, he charged all Shirifes with- in the realme to enquire if any Bishoppes, Abbottes, Priors, or any other Church men, from that day forward, receyued any commaundement that came from the Pope, that they should take his or theyr body, and byng it before him. And also that they should take into their handes for the kinges vie all the Church landes that were geuen to any man through the Bishop Stephen or by the Prior of Cauntorbury from the time of the election of the Archebishop. And further charged that all the woods that were the Archbi- shops, should be cut downe, and all solde.

When tidynges came to the Pope that the king had thus done, being mo- ued thereby with fiery wrath, he sent to the king two Legates, the one called Dandolph, and the other Durant, to warne him in the Popes name, that he should ceasse off his doynge to holy Church, and amend the wrong that hee had done to the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and to the Priors & Monkes of Cantorbury, and to all the Clergie of England. And further that he should restore againe the goodes that he had taken of them agaynst their will: or else they should curse the king by name: and to do this, the Pope tooke them his letters in Bulles patent.

These two Legates comyng into England, resorted to the the king to Northampton, where he helde his Parliament, and saluting him sayde: they came from the Pope of Rome, to reforme the peace of holy Church. And first they sayd, we admonithe you on the Popes behalfe that ye make full restitu- tion of the goodes that ye haue rauished of holy Church and of the land. And that ye receyue Stephen the Archbishop of Cauntorbury into his dignitie, and the Prior of Cauntorbury, and his Monkes. And that ye yelde againe vnto the Archebishop all his landes and rentes without any withholdyng. And sit yet moreouer, that ye shall make suche restitution to them as the Church shall thinke sufficient.

Then answered the king, as touching the Priour and hys Monkes of Cauntorbury: all that ye haue sayde I will gladly doe, and all thing else that ye would ordeyne: But as touching the Archebishop, I shall tell you as it lyeth in my hart. Let the Archebishop leaue hys Bishoprike, and if the Pope then shall intreate for him, peraduenture I may like to geue him some other Bishoprick in England: And vpon this condition I will receyue and admyt him.

Then sayde Dandolph vnto the king: holy Church was wont neuer to disgrace

disgrade an Archbishop without cause reasonable, but euer she was wont to correct Princes that were disobedient vnto her.

What, how now, quoth the king: threaten ye me? Nay sayd Dandolph, but ye haue openly tolde as it standeth in your hart: and now we will tell you what is the Popes will, and thus it standeth: that he hath wholly inter- dicted and accursed you, for the wrongs ye haue done to holy Church, and to the Clergy: and for as much as ye dwell in your awne malice and will come to none amendment: ye shall vnderstand that from this tyme forward, the sentences vpon you giuen haue force & strength. And all those that you haue commoned withall befoze this time, whether that they be Cleres, Barons or Knights, or any other whatsoever they be, we assoyle them safely vnto thys day. And from this time forward, of what condition soeuer they be, we ac- curse them openly and specially by this our sentence, that doe with you com- mon. And we assoyle moreouer Carles, Barons, Knightes, and all other maner of men of their homages, service and fealties that they should doe vn- to you. And thys thing to confirme, we geue playne powre to the Bishop of Winchester, & to the Bishop of Norwiche. And the same powre against Scot- land to the Bishop of Rochester and of Sarisburie. And in Wales, we geue the same power to the Bishop of Saint David and Landaff and of S. Asse.

And moreouer we send throughout all christendome, that all the Bishops beyonde the sea, shall accurse all those that helpe or counsell you in any ma- ner of neede, that ye haue to doe in any parte of the worlde. And that they also assoyle them against you, how many soeuer they be. And further we as- soyle them by the aucthoritie of the Pope, and also commaund them to warre with you, as with him that is enimie to the Church.

Then the king heeryng thys, answered, what may ye doe to me more? If I had knowne this to be the cause of your comyng, I would haue kept you back for one yere. Dandolphe the Cardinall answered: full well we thought at our first comyng, that ye would haue bene obedient to God and to holy Church, and to haue fulfilled the Popes commaundement, which we haue shewed and pronounced to you as we were charged therewith: But now if ye had wist the cause of our comyng, ye woulde haue made vs tarie one whole yere, which ye might as well haue sayde, that ye woulde haue a whole yeres respite by the Popes lycence. But for to suffer what death that you can ordeyne, we wyll not spare to tell you all the Popes message.

Vpon this occasion Pope Innocent yet once agayne commaunded vpon paine of his great curse, that no man should obey king Iohn, neyther yet keepe company with him, to common or counsaile with him, yea, his awne famillier household to doe him anye kinde of service, eyther at bed or at boord, in Church, Hall or stable: But what followed thereof? the greater parte of them which after such sort fled from him, by the ordinance of God, of dyuerse and sundrie diseases the same yere dyed. And betwene both nations English and French, fell that yere great amitie, but secret, subtile and false, to the bit- ter betrayng of England. Neither was the Pope content onely with this, but moreouer the sayd Pope Innocent gaue sentence definitive, by counsaile of his Cardinales, that king Iohn should be deposed and put from his seate Regall, and another put in his rowme. And to the speedy execution thereof, he appointed king Philip the French king, promising to geue him full remission

A stout spech of a Graunger to a king in his awne scalme.

The Legats curse the king.

The Pope gaue sentence against king Iohn that he should be deposed.

A large graunte & an vnnecessfull.

of



of all his finnes, and the cleare possession of all the realme of England to him and his heyres for euer, if he did eyther kill him or expell him.

Moreover, he wrote vnto other Nations that they should take on them the liuery or badge of the crosse, and be reuenged on him for the manifolde injuries done to the Church vniuersall, by that Turke and Pagan king Iohn, as he called him.

But for all that the Pope could do vnto him, he ceased not to be auenged on such Bishoppes and Priestes as trayterously had conspired against him, partly by puttyng them to exile, and partly by seasyng vpon their goodes and liuynges. And mistrustyng that his people would not now continue true vnto him, by reason he stood accursed, and also the land was interdicted for his sake, he caused the whole realme to be sworne vnto him againe. And then assembled he an armie intending to warre vpon Alexander the second king of Scottes, for that he receyued many of the Nobles of the Realme that dayly fled vnto him for succour, and by that meanes to be auenged vpon him, for breaking the league that was betwixt them.

And when he had thus prepared for warre, he hastened him shortly after to Northumberland, and marchyng forward from thence toward Scotland, he invaded the frontiers of his enemyes, and offered them battaile. But the Scottish king perceiuyng himselfe to weake to resist the power of England, and therefore thinking that it would be little for his profite, if he had then ioyned battaile with him, did by the aduice of his counsaile refuse to fight, and so dismissing his army, he sent vnto king Iohn, and made great sute to bee at peace with him, the which at the length he bought, though with much a do, and for a great summe of money: But to returne from whence we haue digressed.

The next yere after the aforesayde interdiction, the French king began his attempt in hope of the crowne of England, beyng well manned with the Bishoppes, Monkes, Prelates and Priestes, and their seruantes to mainteine the same, braggyng of the letters which they had receyued of the great men there. But beholde the worke of God: The Englishe nauie tooke three hundred of the French kinges Shippes, well loaden with wheate, wyne, meale, flesh, armor, and such other like, meete for the warre, and an hundred they brent within the haven of Damme, not farre off Bruges, takyng the spoyle with them.

In the meane while the Priestes within England had provided them a false and counterfeited prophet, called Peter Wakefelde, a Yorkshire man, who was an Hermite, an idle gadder about, and a pratlyng marchant. Now, to bring this Peter in credite, and the king out of all credite with his people, diuerse baine persons bruted dayly among the Commons of the realme, that Christ had twise apered vnto him in the shape of a childe betwene the priests handes, once at Yorke, another tyme at Womfret, and that he had breathed vpon him thise sayyng, peace, peace, peace, and teachyng many things, which he anon after declared to the bishops, and bid the people amend their naughty liuyng: Beyng rapt also in spirite, they sayde he behelde the ioyes of heauen, and sorowes of hell, for scant were there three in the Realme, sayde he, that liued christianly.

This counterfeited soothsayer prophesied of king Iohn that he should reigne

Christ tooke  
the crosse, to  
gaue all men  
life and not to  
slay any man.

Philip the  
French king  
began to at-  
tempt to ob-  
teyne the  
crowne of  
England.

Peter Wake-  
felde a false  
Prophet.

reigne no longer then the Ascension day next folowynge, which was in the yere of our Lord .1211. and was the .xiiij. yere from his coronation, & this he sayd he had by reuelation. Then it was of him demaunded, whether he should be slaine, or be deposed, or should voluntarily geue ouer the crowne? He answered that he could not tell: But of this he was sure (he sayd) that neither he nor any of his stocke or linage should reigne after that day.

The king heeryng of this, laughed much at it, and made but a scoffe therat: Tush sayth he, it is but an ideot knaue, and such a one as lacketh his right wittes. But when this foolish prophet had so escaped the daunger of the kinges displeasure, and that he made no more of it, he gate him abroade and prated thereof at large, as he was a very idle bagabond, and vsed to trattle and talke more than ynough, so that they which loued the king caused him anon after to be apprehended as a malefactor, and to be thowen in prison, the king not yet knowyng thereof.

Anon after, the fame of this phantasticall prophet went all the realme ouer, and his name was knowen euery where, as foolishnesse is much regarded of the people, where wisdom is not in place: specially, because then he was emprisoned for the matter, the rumour was the larger, their wonderinges were the wantoner, their practises the foolishher, their busye talkes and other idle doynge, the greater. Continually from thence, as the rude maner of people is, olde Gossypes tales went abroade, newe tales were inuented, fables were added to fables, and lyes grewe vpon lyes. So that euery day newe slaunders were layde on the king, and not one of them true, rumors arose, blasphemyes were spred, the enemyes reioysed, and treasons by the priestes were mainteyned, and what lyke wyse was surmyed, or other subtiltye practised, all was then fathered vpon this foolish prophet, as thus sayth Peter Wakefelde, thus hath he prophesied, and thus it shall come to passe, yea, many times when he thought nothing lesse. When the Ascension day was come, which was prophesied of before, king Iohn commaunded his regall tent to be spred in the open fielde, passing that day with his noble counsaile and men of honour, in the greatest solemnitie that euer he did before, solacyng himselfe with Musically instrumentes & songes, most in sight amongst his trustie friendes. When that day was past in all prosperitie and myrth, his enemies beyng confused, turned all vnto an allegoricall vnderstandyng to make the prophet good, and sayde, he is no longer kyng, for the Pope reig- neth and not he: yet reigned he styll, and his sonne after him to proue that prophet a lyer.

Then was the king by his counsaile perswaded, that this false prophet had troubled the realme, peruerted the heartes of the people, and raysed the commons against him, for his woordes went ouer the sea, by the helpe of his prelates, and came to the French kinges eare, and gaue to him a great encouragement to invade the lande: he had not else done it so sodeinly. But he was most folly deceyued, as all they are and shall be that put their trust in such darke drowsye dreames of hippocrites. The king therefore commaunded that he should be hanged by, and his sonne also with him, least any more false prophetes should aryse of that race.

The king thus compassed about on euery side with enemyes, and seeyng the great daunger that was like to folowe, and himselfe to be brought to such

K. J.

a streyght,

1211  
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King Iohn  
should appere  
to be swift  
and learned.

Ascension day  
which should  
be the last day  
of king  
Iohns reigne  
as Peter  
Wakefelde  
sayde.

Peter the  
prophet was  
hanged with  
his sonne.



King Iohn  
submittech  
himselfe to  
the Pope.

a streyght, that none other way could be found to auoyde the present destruc-  
tion both of his person and the realme also, but vtterly to be subuerted, and  
specially fearyng the French king, was enforced to submit himselfe vnto the  
Pope, conuerting his lande into the patrinomy of S. Peter, as many other  
had done before him, and so became a subiect to the See of Rome, thinkyng  
thereby to auoyde all daungers imminent: for of this he was sure (though  
not without shame) that beyng vnder his protection, no foreyne potentate  
throughout the whole Empire was able to subdue him. Wherefoze he thus  
submitting himselfe did enter into bonde to the Pope, the Coppe of which  
bonde foloweth.

The copie of  
the bonde  
which King  
Iohn entred  
into vnto the  
Pope.

To all Christen people throughout the worlde dwellyng. Iohn by the  
grace of God king of England, greting to your vniuersity, and knowledging  
that forasmuch as we haue grieued and offended God, and our mother the  
Church of Rome, and forasmuch as we haue nede of the mercie of our Lord  
Jesu Christ, and we may offer none so worthie satisfaction to God and to ho-  
ly Church, but if it were our awne bodye, as with our realmes of Englande  
and Irelande, than by the grace of the holy ghost, we desyre to meeke vs for  
loue of him, that ineked himselfe to the death of the crosse, through counsaile  
of the noble Erles and Barons, we offer and freely graunt to God, and to the  
Apostles S. Peter and Paule, and to our mother the Church of Rome, and  
to our holy father Pope Innocent the thirde, and to all the Popes that come  
after him, all the realmes, patronages of Churches of England and of Ire-  
land, with all the appurtenances for the remission of our sinnes, and helpe  
and health of our kinnes soules, and all christen soules, so that from this time  
afterward, we will receyue and holde of our mother Church of Rome, as for  
ferme doyng fealtie to our holy father the Pope, Innocent the thirde, and to  
all the Popes that come after him in the maner abouesayde, and in presence  
of the wise man Pandulph the Popes Subdeacon, we make liege homage,  
as it were in the Popes presence, and before him were, and should haue done  
all maner of thinges abouesayd, and thereto we bynde vs and all that come  
after vs, and our heyres for euermore, without any gainsaying to the Pope  
and eke the warde of the Church vacant, and in token of this thing euer for  
to last, we will, confirme, and ordeyne, that our speciall renter of our foresaid  
realmes, sayng Saint Peters pence in all thinges to the mother Church of  
Rome, paye by yere a thousand marke of siluer at two times of the yere, for  
all maner of customes, that we should do for the sayd realmes, that is to say,  
at Michaelmasse and Easter, that is to wete, seuen hundred Markes for  
England, and three hundred Markes for Ireland, sayng to vs and to our  
heyres, our Iustices, and our other franchyses, and other royalties that per-  
teyned to our crowne, and all these thinges that before bene sayde, we will  
that it be firme and stable without ende, and to that obligation we and all our  
successors, and our heyres in the maner aforesayde stande bound, that if we  
or any of our heyres through any presumption, fall in any poynt againe these  
thinges abouesayd, and he bene warned and will not right soone amend him,  
he shall then lease the aforesayde realmes for euermore, and this Charter of  
Obligation, and our warrant for euermore to be firme and stable withoute  
gainsaying, we shall from this day afterwarde be true to God and to the  
mother Church of Rome, and to Innocent the thirde, and to them that come  
after

Innocent the  
thirde bishop  
of Rome.

Peter pence.  
Englande  
shalde tribu-  
tary to Rome  
tribute.

after him, and the realmes of England and of Ireland we should mainteyne  
truelly in all maner of poyntes against all maner of men by our power, tho-  
row Goddes helpe.

But Sir Thomas Dooze knight wrytyng in a booke of his entituled,  
the supplication of soules, against the supplication of beggers, certainly affir-  
meth that there was neuer any such tribute graunted, eyther for England or  
Ireland. And he sayth further, that neither Rome can shew any such graunt,  
nor neuer could, & if they could it were right nought worth: for neuer could  
any king of England geue away the realme to the Pope, or make the lande  
tributary, though he would, and that no such money (sayth he) is there payd,  
nor neuer was. This sayng I leaue to your iudgemēt. But I maruaill much  
that maister Dooze beyng a great learned man, would not for the auouch-  
ment of his credite, and the truth of so great a matter, in reponing a thing so  
manifestly wrytten by a great number of Authours, as namely Reynulph of  
Chester, Polydore, and a great number of other, which affirme the aforesayd  
History to be true, that he doth not allege so much as the testimonie and auc-  
thoritie of some one aucthor, for the prouyng of his assertion: But as aforesaid  
I leaue this to the iudgement of the reader.

But before the releasement of the interdiction, the king was miserably  
compelled kneelyng on his knees to geue ouer both his crowne and scepter  
to the Pope of Rome, for the space of fīue dayes, and as his client, bassall, feo-  
dary, and tenant, to receyue it of him againe at the handes of another Cardi-  
nall. And to this was he bound obligatory, both for himselfe, and for them  
which should succede him, payng yerely for a knowledge thereof, a thousand  
Markes for England and Ireland as aforesayde. So was the interdiction  
discharged the second day of July after sixe yeres three monethes and .xviij.  
dayes from the first proclaymyng thereof.

The misera-  
ble estate of  
king Iohn.

The inter-  
diction of  
this realme  
releasid.

In this new rufflyng, the king easily graunted that Abbots, Deanes, &  
Curates should be elected freely euery where, so that the lawes of the realme  
were truelly obserued. But against that were the Bishops, alleagyng theyr  
Canonical decrees, & rules synodall, determinyng the king therein to haue no-  
thing a do, but onely to geue his consent after they had once elected. But a-  
mong that company, there were some that consented not to that error: A sozt  
also there were of prelates that time which were not pleased that the landes  
interdiction should cease, till the king had payde all which their Clergie in  
all quarters of the realme had demaunded without reason: yea euery lawcy  
Sir Iohn for his part, euen to the very breakyng of their hedges, the stea-  
lyng of their Apples, and their other occasionall dammages, demaunded al-  
lowance which grewo to an incredible summe and impossible to be answered.

Notwithstanding that which is vttered before, concerning the bitter  
malice of the clergie against the king, yet did the Popes Legate and Car-  
dinal Nicholas Tusculanus muche fauour the king hys doinges and allowe  
his proceedings, wherefoze certaine of the Clergie reported of hym that he  
was exceeding parciall, and regarded not their matters ecclesiasticall as he  
should haue done, for leauing the accompt of their restitutions, he went with  
the kings officers as the kings pleasure was to the Cathedrall Ministers,  
Abbeyes, Bishops, Deancies and great Churches vacant. And there for  
the next incumbent alwayes he appoynted two, one for the king, another for  
the

R.ij.

the



the parties. But vpon him onely whome the king nominated, he compelled most commonly the election to passe, which bered them wonderfully: Upon this therefore they rayfed a new conspiracie against the kings person, and we behelde (sayth Houeden) about the same time manye noble houses and assemblies deuoyded in many places: the fathers and the aged men stode vpon the kinges parte, but the yonger sort contrarye. And some there were that for loue of their kindred, and in other sundrie respects, forsoke the king againe: yea, and the same went that time (sayth he) that they were confederated with Alexander the Scottish king and Leoline Prince of Wales to worke him an vtter mischiefe. A counsell at Oxford the Archbishop called, where as some would not tarry, considering the confusion thereof: the other sorte hauing verie obstinate hearts, reuyled the king most spitefully behinde hys back, and sayde, that from thenceforth, he ought to be taken for no Gouvernour of theirs. Their outragious and frantick clamours so much preuayled in those dayes, that it grewe to a greuous tumult and a most perillous commotion.

Alexander  
the Scottish  
king.

A presumptuous  
clerge.

1212

14

Counsaile of  
Lateranc.

In the yere of our Lord 1212 as witnesseth Paulus Emilius and other Histories, Pope Innocent the third held a generall counsaile at Rome called the counsell of Laterane. The chiefe causes of that counsell were these. In the dayes of this Innocent, heresie (as he calleth it) beganne to rise vp very high, and to spreade forth his braunches abroade. By reason whereof many Princes were excommunicate: as Dtho the Emperour, Iohn the king of Englaunde, Peter king of Aragon, Raymond the Erle of Cholorse and a great sort more. And many landes were interdicted, as England, Irelande, Pro-uance, Colouise, Aquitaine, Sataloni, and such other lyke as is aforesayde. So that it could be none otherwise (sayth Houeden) but with the sharpe Axe of the Gospell (for so the Pope called excommunications) they ought of necessity to haue bene cut of from the church. Therefore was thys counsell prouyded and proclaymed, and Prelates from all Nations thereunto called. And to colour those mischiefes which he then went about, he caused it by his Legates and Cardinales to be nosped abroade that hys intent was therein onely to haue the Church vniuersally reformed, and the holy lande from the Turkes handes recovered. But all this was but craft and falshood as the sequelle thereof hath manifestly declared. For hys purpose thereby was to subdue all Princes, and to make himselfe riche and wealthy. For there he made this Act, and established it by publique decree, that the Pope shoulde haue from thence forth the correction of all Christian Princes, and that no Emperour shoulde be admitted, except he were sworn before, and were also crowned of him. He ordeyned moreouer that whatsoeuer he were the which shoulde speake euill of the Pope, he shoulde be punished in hell with eternall damnation, Conradus Vspersensis, Hieronimus Marius. He also ordeyned a ricular confession. Also in this counsaile was first inuented and brought in transubstanciation.

The Pope to  
haue the cor-  
rection of all  
Christian  
Princes.

Stephen  
Langton ex-  
communicated.

But nowe let vs retorne to king Iohn againe, and marke howe the priestes and their adherentes were plagued for their homely handling of his Maiestie. In the aforesayd counsaile of Laterane, and the same yere, was Stephen Langton the Archebishop of Cauntorburye excommunicated of Pope Innocent, with all those Bishops, prelates, priestes, Barons and Commons which had bene of counsaile with him in the former rebellion. And

when

when the sayd Archbishop had made instant sute to the Pope to be assolued, anone he made him this aunswere with great indignation: Brother mine, I swore by Saint Peter, thou shalt not so soone at my hande obteyne the benefite of absolution, for why, thou hast not onely done harme to the king of England, but also thou hast in a great many of thinges iniured the Church of Rome here: and therefore thou shalt tary my leysure. The Archbishop was also at that tyme suspended out of the Church, and commaunded to say no Masse at all, neither yet to exercise any other ecclesiasticall office, because he would not at tyme conuenient execute the Popes curse vpon the rebellious Barons: With them the sayd Pope had bene so depely offended and angered a little before, that the great Charter of the liberties of England, with great indignation and countenance most terrible, he rent and destroyed by sentence diffinitive condemnynge it for ever. And by and by, therevpon cursed all the other rebelles with Bell and Candell. The greater Capteines of them which were the Citizens of London for that assay, were pronounced excommunicate by name, and remayned still in that state: wherfore they appealed to the generall counsaile.

Also in the sayde yere, those great men were likewise sommoned to appere at Rome in the generall Synode, which neuer consented to the kinges depolyng: though they were called (they sayd) thereunto by the Archebishop of Cauntorburye and others, and required by other to subscribe to the same, yet could they not of conscience do it, because he had humbled himselfe, and also granted to kepe peace with all men. Thus was the whole realme miserably then deuoyded into two factions, through the malice of the Clergie, & so strifes increased in the land euery where. Yet were there of the Lordes and Gentlemen a great number at that tyme that folowed the king, and allowed his doyngs. But they which were on the other syde, not a little suspectyng the state that they were in, fled spedely to the frenche king Philip, desirynge him that he would graunt vnto them his eldest sonne Ludouicke, and they would elect him to be their king, and that without much tariance. They besought him moreouer, that he would sende with him a strong and mightye power, as were able to subdue him vtterly, that they might (they sayd) be deliuered of such a wicked Tyrant. Such was the report that these wicked men gaue of their Christian gouernour appoynted to them of God, whom they ought to haue obeyed though he had bene euill, euen for very conscience sake. And as certeyne of the Lordes and Barons, were in doyng to chose the sayde Ludouick for their king, the Pope sent thither one Gualo, the Cardinall of S. Martyn, to stop those rashe and cruell attemptes, chargynge the frenche king vpon his alleageance, that he with all power possible, shoulde fauor, mainteine, and defende king Iohn of England, feodarie and tenant to the sea of Rome. The frenche king thereto made aunswere, as one not contented with that arrogant precept. The realme of England, sayd he, was neuer yet any part of Saint Peters patrimonie, neither is it nowe, nor yet at any time shall be hereafter. This spake he, for that he was in hope to obteyne it for hys sonne, by treason of the Barons.

The Barons  
of England  
sought to  
haue Lewis  
the frenche  
kings sonne  
to be king of  
England.

No prince or Potentate (sayde Philip the frenche king) may pledge or gene away the kingdome (which is besydes the landes) the gouernement of his realmes and whole common wealth, without the lawfull consent of hys

The frenche  
king and his  
sonne, reason-  
ing about  
England.

l.iiij.

Barons,



Barons, which are bound to defende the same. If the Pope shall introduce or set by such a president in the Christianitie, he shall at his pleasure bring all Christen kinges and their kingdomes to naught. I like not this example in these dayes begonne. I cannot therefore allowe this fact of king Iohn of England, though he be mine bitter aduersary, but I much lament that he hath so endamaged his realme, and hath brought the noble ground & Queene of Prorynces vnder miserable tribute. The chiefe Lordes and men of his nobilitie standyng by when he vttered these wordes, beyng as it were in a fury cryed with one voyce. By the blood of God, in whome we trust to be saued, we will stick in this article to the losyng of our heades (let the king of England do therein what him liketh) that no king may put his land vnder tribute, and so make his nobilitie captiue seruauntes. With that came in Ludouicke the kinges eldest sonne, and sayd vnto them all there present, I beseeche you let not my purposed sourney: the Barons of England haue elected me for their Lorde and king, and I will not surely lose my right: But I will fight for it euen to the death, yea so long as heart shall styrre within my breast, and I doubt not but that I shall well obteyne it, for I haue friends among them. His father the king stood still as he had bene in a dooyme, and answered neuer a worde, but fared as though he had dissembled the matter.

Ludouicke  
of Lewes the  
kinges eldest  
sonne.

King Iohn  
in great per-  
plexitie.

About the same tyme, were such treasons and conspiracies wrought by the Bishops, Priestes, and Monkes throughout all the realme, that the king wist not where to become to finde trusty friendes. He was then compelled by the vncertainty of his subiectes to trauaile from place to place, but not without a great army of men, loking euery day when his Barons and their confederates would cruelly set vpon him. At the last he came to Dover, and there looked for aide from other quarters, which loued him better then did his aboue people. And thether to him resorted from Flaunders, Brabant and Holland, on the one syde, and from Guyan, Gascoyn, and Poyters on the other syde, and from other countries more, a wonderfull number of men. The report went then that the Pope had written to those countries, mightily to assist him for dyuerse considerations. One was, for that he had both submitted himselfe and his dominion to his protection. Another was, because he had taken on him a little before, the Iuery of the crosse to winne againe Jerusalem. The thirde was, for that he had gotten by him the dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to lose both, if he should chaunce to decay. Also in this tyme king Iohn sailyng to the Isle of Wight abode there the space of thre Monethes, and remained of purpose for the quieting of him selfe from tumultes, and led there a solitary life, among ryuers and watermen: where as he accounted rather to die then to liue, beyng so trayterously handeled of his Bishops and Barons, and not knowyng iustly howe to be aduenged on them. Upon the Purification of our Lady therefore, he tooke vpon him the crosse or voyage against the Turkes for the recouery of Jerusalem, moued therevnto rather for the doubtles he had in his people, then for any other deuotion else. And thus he sayde to his familer seruauntes: since I submitted my selfe and my landes, England and Ireland to the Church of Rome (so soe come to it) neuer thing prospered with me, but it hath gone against me.

1213  
15

In the next yere after, Symon Langton was chosen Archebishop of York, but that election was anon after dissolved, for information was geuen to

to the Pope, that the sayde Sutton was brother to Stephen the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which had bene the occasion geuer of all the tumults which were at that tyme in England. And the Pope had the more hate vnto him, for that he had brought him by of naught, and did finde him at that tyme so subbozne: wherfore he placed in his roome Walter Gray bishop of Winchester.

In the same yere, Gualo the Popes Legate renewed his great curse vpon Lewes the french kings sonne, for vsurping vpon king Iohn. Likewise vpon Symon Langton and Geruys Hobruge, for prouoking him to the same, and that with a wonderfull solempnitie. For in that doing, he made all the Belles to be tong, the Candels to be light, the doores to be opened and the booke of excommunications and interdictions publiquely to be reade, committing them wholly to the Deuill for their contumacie and contempt. He also commaunded the Bishops and Curates to publishe it abroad euer all the whole realme, to the terroze of all subiects. The sayde Symon and Geruys laughed him to scozne, and derided much his doings in that behalfe, sayng: that for the iust title of Ludowike or Lewes, they had appealed to the generall counsell at Rome.

Gualo the  
Popes Legate, curseth  
Lewes the  
frenche  
kings sonne.  
The solemp-  
nitie of curs-  
ing.

The Magistrates of London and Citizens of the same did likewise blypnd and disdeynously mocke all that the Pope had there commaunded and done: And in spite both of him and his Legate, they kept company with them that were excommunicate, both at Table and at church, shewing themselves thereby as open contemners both of him and his lawes. Lewes being at London, and taking himselfe for king, constituted Symon Langton for hys high Chauncelor, and Geruys Hobruge for his chiefe preacher. By whose daylie preachings, as well the Barons as the Citizens themselves, being both excommunicate, caused all the Church doores to be opened, and the seruiue to be song, and the sayde Lewes was in all pointes fit for their hands.

Lewes the  
frenche  
kings sonne  
came to Lon-  
don and was  
receyued as  
king.

About thys tyme was Handulph the Cardinall collecting the Peter pence, taking great paines therein. And for his great labours in those affayres for holy Church, and for other good matters, he was made Bishop of Norwiche to the augmenting of his dignitie and expences.

Handulph  
the Popes  
Legate made  
Bishop of  
Norwiche.

It chaunced about this time, that the Vicount of Melun, a very noble man of the realme of Fraunce, which came hether with Ludowike to fall deadly sicke at London, and also moued in conscience to call certayne of the Englishe Barons vnto him, suche as were there appointed to the custody of that Citie, and thus he sayde vnto them. I lament your sorowfull case, and pittie with my hart the destruction that is comyng towards you and your Countrie. The daungerous snares which are prepared for your bitter confusion, are hidden from you, you doe not beholde them, but take you heede of them in tyme. Prince Ludowike hath sworne a great othe, and .xvi. of his Erles and noble men are of counsell with hym, that if he obteyne the Crowne of England, he will banishe all them then of seruiue and depriue them of landes & goodes, as many as he findeth now to go against their liege king, and are traytours to his noble person: And because you shall not take this tale for a fable, I assure you on my sayth lyng now at the mercy of God on my death bed, that I was one of them, which was sworne to the same. I haue great conscience thereof, and therefore I geue you thys warning, I pittie pooze Englande, which hath bene so noble a Region, that nowe it is come

The Vicount  
of Melun.

A good war-  
ning.



come to extreme miserie. And when he with teares had lamented it a space, he turned againe vnto them and sayde: my friends, I counsaile you earnestly to looke to your selues, and to prouide remedie in tyme, least it come vpon you vnbwares. Your king for a season hath kept you vnder: But if Lewes preuaile, he will put you from all. Of two extreme euilles, choose the more easie, and kepe that secreete which I haue tolde you of good will. With that he gaue ouer and departed this lyfe.

When this was once noysed among the Barons, they were in great heauinesse, for they sawe themselves betrapped euery way, and to be in exceeding great daunger. And this dayly augmented that feare which then came vpon the Barons: They were extremely hated of the Pope and his Legates, euery weeke came vpon them newe excommunications. Dayly detriments they had besydes in theyr possessions and goodes, in their landes and houses, corne and cattell, wines and children, so that some of them were driuen to such nede that they were enforced to seeke prayes and bootyes for susteynyng their miserable lyues. For looke what Prince Ludouicke obteyned by his warres, either territories or Castelles, he gaue them all to the French men in spight of their heades, and sayd, that they were but Traytours, lyke as they had warnyng before, which grieued them worst of all. At the last they perceyuyng that in seekyng to aduoyde one mischiefe, they were ready to fall into another much worse: They began to cast their wittes together, consentyng to submit themselves wholly and humbly to their late soueraigne Lorde king Iohn. And for that they were somewhat in doubt of their lyues, for the treason before committed, many of the friendes of them, which were of most credite with him, made sute for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after instant and great sute made for them.

And here I thinke mete to put in remembraunce such certeine severall matters as happened to be done in this Realme, in all the tyme and processe of the former history, which of purpose I deferred, because I thought best and most comodious for the reader to haue the whole story of this king Iohn or rather his tragedy together and in one place, then in several yeres to haue set out the same in sundry partes as they chaunced. And therefore now I will returne to the order that I kept from the first yere of this king vnto the fift yere of his reigne, where I began with the story aforesayde, in the yere of our Lorde a thousand two hundreth and thre.

In the .vi. yere of his reigne (as sayth Fabian) at Drenford in Suffolke was taken in the sea a monstrous fishe, which was in the forme and shape of a man, and was kept sixe monethes alme vpon the land, and fed with rawe fleche and fishe. And because they could haue no speach of it, they cast it into the sea againe.

And in this yere both the Welsh men, and Irishe men rebelled, for that as some write that the king would haue set taskes vpon them to haue ayded him against the French king. And after he had pacified the Welsh men, he was compelled to demaund an ayde and taske of all England for the quieting of Irelande. And besyde that taske he demaunded of the white Monkes of England sixe thousande Markes, the which they denyed, makyng their excuse by their generall head, wherewith the king was sore displeased, and at his returne out of Irelande, he sore troubled and vexed them, and tooke of them

A greete plague came vpon the Barons of this realme.

1204  
6

1205  
7

them much more then he required first, and caused many of the Monkes to forsake both their houses and the realme. And after that he had prepared his armie and all thinges that belonged to the same, he with a great number of shippes sayled into Ireland and shortly subdued them, and setting all thinges in good order, he returned againe into England.

In the .viii. yere of his reigne, and the first day of the moneth of October his first sonne Henry by name was bozne by Isabell his seconde wife at Winchester.

In the .ix. yere of his reigne, he graunted to the city of London, that where before tyme the same Citie was ruled by two Baylifes, that now they should elect among themselves a Maior and two Shirifes, which should haue the rule and gouernaunce of the sayd Citie, and from thence forth the name of Baylifes should cease.

Some write that the cause of this alteration of Officers was, because the purueyers for the kinges houholde, beyng then a great dearth of corne, would haue taken bp of the prouision of the Citie to serue the king withall: The which thing Roger Winchester and Edmond Hardell then Baylifes, would in no wise suffer them to do: Wherevpon the king taking great displeasure with them, depriued them of their offices, and after wardes committed them to warde: But yet beyng at the length pacified againe, in the steele of two Baylifes, he gaue the Citizens aucthoritie perely to choose amongst themselves a Maior and two Shirifes, which should haue the gouernment of the Citie: The first Maior was Henry Fitz aleyne, and the first Shirifes, Peter Duke, and Thomas Feele.

And in the .x. yere, London bridge which before was made of Timber and repayred by a Colledge of Priestes, was nowe begonne to be builded of stone.

Nowe to conclude, in the .xviij. and last yere of his reigne, the Barons submitted themselves vnto him as is abouesayde in the ende of the story, and then kinge Iohn with a great armie went into Suffolke and Norfolke, and there hee afflicted suche as had swozne to his enemies, with great and grienous mischiefe. After that, he destroyed the two Abbeyes of Peterborough, and Crowland, for the great treasons which they also had wrought against him, and so he departed from thence to Lincolneshire. And in this yere the .xviij. day of July dyed Pope Innocent the thirde, and was buryed in a Citie called Perusim, in Italy, where as he had trauallyed to make a peace betwene the Genouayes, and the Dyces, for his alone commoditie and aduantage. After him succeeded one Cintius, otherwise called Honozius the thirde, a man of very great age, yet liued he in the Papacie ten yeres and a halfe and more. When this was once knowen in Englande, a great reioyce had all they which were king Iohns enemyes, speciallye the priestes: yet had they small cause as will appere hereafter. They noysed it all the realme ouer, that this newe Pope would set a newe order, and not rule thinges as the other Pope did: thinking thereby, that he would haue done all thinges to their commoditie, but they founde it otherwise, for he made all them which were excommunicate to pay double and treble, before they could be restored againe to their former lyuinges.

And in the same selfe yere, king Iohn came to Swinestedes Abbey, not

1207  
8

1208  
9

1209  
10

Innocent the thirde dyed.



Simon  
Swinthede  
a Monke  
poysoned  
king Iohn.

not farre from Lyncolne, he rested there two dayes, where as certeyne wy-  
ters report that he was most trayterously poysoned, by a Monke of the same  
Abbey, beyng of the order of Saint Barnard, called Simon Swynthede,  
and as Carton sayth in his booke called fructus temporum, and Polichronicon  
also sayth the same, the aforesayde Monke named Simon, hearyng the king  
vpon an occasion to talke of breade, should say that if he liued a yere lenger,  
he would make that lose of breade beyng then of the value of one haltepeny,  
woorth twelue pence, meanyng that he woulde so persecute his rebellious  
people, that he would not leaue one of them to be the owner of a plough. The  
Monke hearyng the king thus speake, conceived of the king a very euill o-  
pinion, insomuch that forthwith the Monke went to his Abbot the wyng him  
the whole matter, and what he was mynded to do. He alleged for himselfe  
the prophetic of Cayphas, sayng: it is better that one man dye, then all the  
people should perishe. I am well content, sayth he, to die & to become a mar-  
tyr, so that I may bitterly destroy this Tyrant. With that the Abbot wept for  
gladnesse, and much commended his feruent zeale as he toke it. The Monke  
then beyng absolued of his Abbot for doynge of this act afozchande, went se-  
cretly into a Gardeyne vpon the backeside, and findyng there a most bene-  
mous toade, he so pricked him, and pressed him with his penne knife, that he  
made him vomit all the poyson that was within him. This done, he conueyed  
it into a cup of wine, and with a smilyng and flatterynge countenance he sayd  
thus to the king, if it shall lyke your Princely Maiestie, here is such a Cup  
of wine as ye neuer dranke before in all your life tyme, I trust this wassall  
shall make all England glad. And with that he dranke a great draught, the  
king pledging him. The Monke anone after went to the Farmoz, and there  
dyled, his guttes gulching out of his belly, and had continually from thence  
forth three Monkes to sing Masses for his soule, confirmed by their general  
Chapter. The king within thorte space after, feelyng great griele in hys  
body, asked for Simon the Monke, and aunswere was made that he was  
departed this lyfe: Then God haue mercy vpon me (sayde the king) I suspec-  
ted as much. With that he commaunded his Chariot to be brought, for he  
was not able to ryde. So went he from thence to Slaford Castell, and from  
thence to Newarke vpon Trent, and there within lesse then three dayes he  
dyled, when he had reigned. xvii. yeres. vi. monethes and odde dayes, and was  
honourably buryed at Worcester, with all his armed men attendyng vpon  
the buryall.

The death of  
king Iohn.

The descrip-  
tion of king  
Iohn.

King Iohn thus departing as is abovesaid, left behind him foure sones,  
and three daughters. First Henry who succeeded him in the same kingdome,  
the second, Richard king of Almaine, & third, William of Valentia, the fourth  
Guydo Dismay. He had also another sonne, who after was made Bishop. Of  
his daughters, first was Isabell married to Frederick the Emperoz, the secd  
married to Willia Marshall erle of Worcester, the third to & erle of Leicester.

Roger Houeden sayth, that this king Iohn was a mightie and valiaunt  
prince, but not fortunate as many were. Not altogether vnlike to Marius &  
noble Romain, he tasted fortune both wayes, but much in mercy. In warres  
sometime he won, & sometime againe he lost: He was also very bounteous &  
liberal vnto straungers, but to his owne people, for their daily treasons sake,  
he was a great oppressor, for he trusted moze to fozeynes then to them.

Henric



Soone as king Iohn was dead  
and buryed, as is sayde befoze, the Princes,  
Lordes and Barons, so many as were of his  
part, aswell of Strangers as of them that  
were bozne here, by counsaile of the Legate  
Gualo, gathered themselues together, and all  
with one consent proclaymed Henry his sonne  
beyng then of the age of .ix. yeres, for king of  
this realme of England. And for that onely  
cause was king Iohn buryed at Worcester,  
and not by testament, for that onely place of  
the realme in those dayes appered most sure  
and safe, where they which were friendes to

the Crowne, might best deliberate with them selues in that matter, what  
was best to be done. So went they from thence to the towne of Gloucester,  
with William Marshall Erle of the same, and there was this yong king an-  
noynted and crowned king by the Legate Gualo, assisted by Peter Bishop of  
Winchester, and Joseline the Bishop of Bath, with other which then were  
in the realme, and called Henry the thirde, and this was done in the feastfull  
day of the Apostles Simon and Jude. 1216. After the which coronation he  
was committed to the tuition of Henry Bishop of Winchester afozsayd, or as  
Polidore writeth, to William Erle of Gloucester.

1216

The Court of Rome at that tyme, not beyng slacke in their affayres, sent  
heether with all spede, and commaunded that they should manfully stande by  
the yong king, and to defende England with armour and his excommunica-  
tions against Lewes the French kinges sonne, and his complices. And then  
Honorius the Pope not onely confirmed his Legate Gualo, or Swalo, but  
also committed to his discretion, all that apperteyned to that office of his, no  
appellations to the contrary admitted. Upon this auctoritie, the Legate  
beyng bolde, compelled the Prelates of Englande to be sworne true to the  
yong king: and those that refused to take that othe, he punished very sore.  
And Henry or after some writers Peter, Bishop of Winchester, was not all  
behinde in that commission for his parte, who put a grieuous tare vpon the  
beneficed men and Priestes of his diocesse, to helpe the king in his warres  
against Lewes, which was not all amisse. Such as were great beneficed  
men, and might well pay, those Gualo reserued to his owne auctoritie, and  
in the ende for great summes of money dispensed with them. Some that  
were obstinate and frowarde, he disgraded: some he excommunicated, and  
sent to Rome for their absolutions, not leauing one Priest unpunished that  
had taken part with Lewes, hauing euery where his searchers and spyes to  
finde them out.

And in this time, diuers of the chiefe of the Barons forooke Lewes  
the French kinges sonne, namely the Erles of Deuonpore, and of Chester,  
with all their retinue, and submitted themselues to the yong king.

Sone



Some after the coronation of the king, certaine commissions were sent out into all places of England to gather strength of men to withstand the aforesayde Lewes, and to put him and his frenchmen with other Alyaunts out of the land, which then had vnder their rule and custody, the Castelles of Berkhamsted, of Hartford and dyuers other. And for that Lewes would not cease of his warre and retorne into Fraunce, therefore theaforesayde Legate Gualo, accursed him first by name, and after al such as him maintained or fauoured in this warre against king Henry. Then theaforesayde Erles accompanied with Wylliam Erle Marshall of Englande, Wylliam le Bruize Erle of Ferreys with many other went to Lyncoln, and wanne the Cobone vpon the straungers, where was slaine a frenchman called Erle of Berches with many other Souldiours. And there was taken of Englishmen, Serle Erle of Winchester, and Homfrey de Bohan Erle of Hartforde with dyuers other men of name.

Gualo of Swalo as some called him, & Popes Legate cursed Lewes the French kings sonne.

Lewlyn prince of Wales.

And in this while Lewlyn or Luellen Prince of Wales, for that he ayded the parte of Lewes was accursed and his lande enterdicted.

After the Cobone of Lyncolne was thus wonne from the frenchmen, Lewes with the other parte of his Souldiours, drewe towarde London: for so much as worde was brought to him that his father had sent him a new company of Souldiours the which should land in England shortly. Truth it was that such an ayde of Souldiours was made by the french king, and committed to a Capitaine called Eustace the Monke, the which was encountered vpon the Sea, with a capitaine or Master of the five Portes called Hubert at Burgh, and gaue to him battayle, and discomfited hym at length, and sent the head of the sayde Eustace vnto the king.

Eustace a Monk made capitaine of an army.

When Lewes heard of these tydings, and considered howe daylie hys strength minished, he was more inclinable vnto peace: so that in conclusion, he toke money sayth Reynulph and peelded by hys Castelles and strengthes which he helde, and after was assoyled, and so returned into Fraunce: But of this money that Lewes receyued there are dyuers opinions. The Englishe booke named it a thousand Marke, and the frenche booke sayth. xv. thousand Marke.

1217

2

Now, after that the straungers were auoided, then inquisition was made to knowe what persons had fauoured the partie of Lewes against the king, and there was founde a great multitude, of the which the king pardoned a great number of the laye fee: But the spirituall were put to such fines, that they were compelled to lay that they had to pledge to please the king, and besides that, to sue to Rome to be assoyled.

Reynulph Erle of Chester took his iourney to Jerusalem.

And this yere Reynulph Erle of Chester, for considerations him mouing, toke his iourney into the holy land. But one writer sayth, that he tooke that iourney vpon him, because he had contrary to his allegeance made homage vnto Lewes aboue named, and for malice which he bare vnto king John, entended at the time of that homage doyng, to haue made the sayde Lewes king of Englande.

1218

3

And at this time was a Parliament holden at London, wherein was graunted two Shyllyngs of euery Plough lande, through Englande, which was for the charge that he before had with Lewes at warre. And this Parliament king Edwards labors were again restozed, & Magna carta confirmed.

This

This yere also king Henry began to build the new worke of the Church of Westminster, which was that part where now all the kings are buried in.

1219

4

This yere Alexander king of Scottes maryed dame Jane the sister of king Henry. And this yere was great harme done in England by violence of a whirle winde, and fiery dragons were scene flying in the ayre.

Shortly after Proclamations were made in London, and throughout all England, that all straungers should aduoyde by Michaellmasse next following, except such as came with Marchandise, and to make sale of their wares vnder the kinges safeconduyt. Which Proclamation was chiefly made to aduoyde foulkes de Brent and his complices, which kept the Castell of Bedford against the kinges will and pleasure.

Of this foulkes it is written by Polidore and others, howe that about this season, he assemblyng together a great rowte of Ruffians and Robbers issued out of the Castell of Bedford which he then helde, and wasted and destroyed all the Countrey, with the townes and villages thereabout, but specially the towne and Abbey of Saint Albon.

This yere also king Henry was the seconde tyme crowned at Westminster the. xvij. day of May. And the sayd yere Reynulph Erle of Chester returned out of the holy lande, and began to buyde the Castelles of Chartley and Beston.

King Henry crowned againe the second tyme

1220

5

At this tyme also was holden a generall counsaile of the Bishops, and Clergie of the Realme at Oxford. In the tyme of which counsaile, a man was taken, which shewed himselfe to be Christ, and hee reprooued manye abuses, which the Clerkes at those dayes vsed, as sayth Iabian. And to approue that he was Jesus the sonne of God, and that he was come to reforme those abuses, he shewed the Caretes and woundes in his bodye, handes and feete, lyke vnto Jesus that was nayled on the Crosse. Then was he examined, and found a false dissembler: Wherefore by the iudgement and auctoritie of that counsaile, he was iudged to be nayled vnto the Crosse, and so deliuered to the executioners, the which at a place called Adurbury, or Alburbury, nayled him vnto a Crosse vntill he was dead.

A collected letter of Jesus Christ.

1221

6

This yere the men of Caithnes in Scotland burned their bishop, because he cursed them for not payng of their Tithes. For which cause the king of Scottes did hang foure hundreth of the cheefe doers, gelded their children, and dishonored the Erle of that Countrey. Cooper.

And in this tyme there was a great conspiracie in London against king Henry, made by one Constantyne the sonne of Arnulph, with the which conspiracie the king was so offended that he had thought to haue ouerthrowne the walles of the Citie of London: But shortly after, the sayde Constantine was taken and condemned, and was hanged drawen and quartered: This Constantine was borne in the Citie of London, & taken by Hubert Brough, who offered the same Brough at the tyme of his taking, to haue let him scape xv. thousand markes: But Brough refused it.

This yere John king of Jerusalem came into Englande, and required an ayde of king Henry to recouer againe Jerusalem, which the Turkes had wonne from him: But shortly he returned without any great comfort.

1222

7

This yere the king began the foundation of Sarisbury Minster, and laide the first stone of the Church.

A. I.

And



And this yere the king layd siege vnto the Castell of Bedford that Foulkes de Brent had so long holden by strength : This siege began vpon the Euen of the Assention of our Lorde, and so continued vntill the day of the Assumption of our Lady next folowynge. In the which tyme many strong assaults were made, and great losse of men on both parties. But finally, about the aforesayde day of Assumption, it was taken by fierce assault: Where in was taken Foulkes de Brent, and about the number of. lxxx. Souldiours, whereof the moze part were put to death, and the sayde Foulkes after he had lyeu a certaine of tyme in prison, was for his finance deliuered, and banished the land. And in this time came the Gray Friers first into England.

1223  
8

About this time a Parliament was holden, in the which was graunted to the king and his heyres kinges of this realme by the Barony of England, the warde and mariage of their heyres.

This law for wardes was first made by king Edgar, in the yere of our Lorde. 962. But the mariages of them was added by king Edward the Confessor in the yere of our Lorde. 1056. And here is to be much lamented that Wardes are bought and solde as commonly as are Beastes, and mariages are made with them that are many tymes very vngodly, for dyuerse of them beyng of yong and tender yeres, are forced to iudge by another mannes affection, to see with another mannes eye, and say yea with another mannes tongue, and finally consent with another mannes hart. For some of these fences be perfited to the parties in that minoritie, and so the elder beyng vnfree, and the yeres vnripe, eche of them almost of necessitie must hate the other, whome yet they haue had no iudgement to loue. And certainly the common bergaynyng and selling of them is to be abhorred, beside the shamefull polling that many vse, which if they consent not to suche as are their sellers, they shall be handeled as the common sayng is, lyke Wardes, and stripped almost out of al they haue, when the same should do them most good. God graunt the Maiestates maye take some good order therein, for surely it is nedefull, for many do so vse them, as the same is not sufferable in a Christian realme. For who seeth not daylye, what innumerable inconueniences, deuorces, yea and some murders haue of suche mariages (or rather no mariages at all) proceded, the present tyme sheweth to many examples, which minister sufficient cause for vs to bewayle the same: But the greatest iniury is to God who hath made that free, namely matrimony, which the lawe of the realme maketh bonde, the redresse whereof belongeth onely to the Prince, in whome like as the same God hath caused mo vertues to meete than in any other creature of her callyng, so we doubt not, but that his Godhead will when his good pleasure shall be, houchsafe not onely to preserue her highnes with the encrease of vertue and wisdom, but also to moue her heart to the Godly redresse of these and many other enormities and abuses, to the great comfort of all her graces louyng and obedient subiectes.

1224  
9

This yere Richarde the brother of king Henrie, did very baliuantly in Fraunce, and ouerthrew great numbers of frenche men, and recouered Poyters, and kept the Gascoynes in due obedience.

1225  
10

In the .x. yere of the reigne of this king, the Plees of the Crowne were pleded in the Tower of London. And at this tyme the souldiours that kept dyuerse Castelles and holdes in Poyters in Fraunce, were compelled to

yelde

yelde and geue by the same into the hands of Lewes the French king, which of long tyme befoze belonged vnto the kinges of England.

The king at this time bearing great fauour to the Citie and Citizens of London, graunted vnto them the Shyrualtie of London and Middlesex in free farme for thzee hundred pounce by the yere. And he graunted also that all the weares in the Thames should be plucked by and destroyed for euer. And also by his Charter ensealed, he graunted that the Citizens of London should passe tolle free throughout Englande. And that if any Citizen were constreyned in any Citie, Borough or Towne in Englande to pay any tolle, that then the Shryfes of London to attache any man comming to London of the sayde Citie Borough or Towne where such tolle was payde, and hym and his goodes to with holde and keepe vntill the Citizens of London were restored of all suche money as they payde for the sayde tolle, with all costes and dammages susteyned for the same. And the same yere also he graunted to the sayde Citizens of London free wareyn, that is to say, that the Citizens haue free libertie of hunting a certeyne circuite aboute London.

1226  
11

The Shyrualtie of London & Middlesex graunted to the Citie in free farme. Citizens of London are toll free throughout Englande.

Free wareyn graunted to the Citie of London.

This yere the king confirmed the Charter and liberties of the Citie of London, & also certain liberties and priuileges he graunted to the Shryfes of London, as hauing of Clercks and other.

1227  
12

Also about this time a Parliament was holden at London, in the which it was ordered that the English Grote should be coyned of a certaine weight and of the one side the kings picture, and one the other side a crosse as large fully as the Grote, to aduoyd clipping. And at thys tyme was vsed to be coyned that standard and finenesse that was called sterling money, which befoze as ye maye reade was first coyned in the Towne of Sterlyng in Scotland, and therefore it taketh the name of Sterlyng.

This yere the Towne of Lymolyn with diuers holdes in Pierregot and Aluerne in the Countrie of Guyan, were geuen by to the afozenamed Lewes the french king. Wherefoze the king sent ouer his brother Richarde Erle of Cornwal shortly after, and landed at Burdeaux with foure hundred Shippes. But some other wyters saye, that the king himselte sayled with an armie into Briteyne against Lewes the french king, where after spoyling the Countrie, a peace was concluded betweene the sayde two kinges.

1228  
13

And in this yere dyed Stephen Langton Archebishop of Cauntorburie, and the great Deane of Paulles, Maister Richard Wethirshed was his successor. And the kings Maiestie still continuing his fauour to the Citie of London did graunt that the Citizens should vse one common seale.

Stephen Langton died.

At this time there was an order taken in the Citie of London that no Shryfe should continue in the Shyrualtie lenger then one yere, the cause was, that they were had in suspicion to be great Bybers and takers of rewardes.

1229  
14

This yere was graunted to the king a fiftene of the tempoaltie, and a disme and a halfe of the spiritualtie to recouer his landes lost in Normandie, Guyan and Poyteu. And about this time also Hubert of Burgh being then chiefe Justice of England had displeased the king in such wise, that he was compelled to flee the kings sight. And after by the labour of Bishop Edmond of Dounthey he was againe restored to the kings fauour. And at this time in London, was great hurt done by fyze.

1230  
15

Hubert of Burgh chiefe Justice of England fled Englande.

L. ij.

Upon



1231  
16

William de Bruce haged

John Scot.

Upon complaint brought before the king by the friendes of Lewlyn or Luellen Prince of Wales, that William le Bruce should conspire against the king, or as some say, for that he kept unlawfully the wyfe of the afozenamed Lewlyn, or Luellen: he was after long imprisonment hanged. Also at this tyme dyed Reynulph Erle of Chester, Lyncolne and Huntynghdon. And his sisters sonne named John, sonne unto the Erle of Anguise who was his heyre, and helde that Lordship after him. This John of most wyrters is called John Scot, for so much as his father was a Scot. This foresayde Reynulph had no childe, albeit he had foure sisters. The eldest was named Hawde, and was married to David Erle of Anguise, and was mother to the aforesayde John Scot. The seconde was named Hawes, and was married unto the Erle of Arundell, the thirde Agnes, which was married to the Erle of Darby. And the fourth named Mabely, which was married unto the Erle of Winchester called Quinacie. This Reynulph dyed at Wallingforde, and was buried in the Chapter house of the Monkes of Chester, and ordeyned the afozenamed Scot to be his heyre, for that he would not haue so noble a Lordship run, or be deuided among so many distaues. And this yere dyed Maister Wethershed Archebishop of Cauntorbury, whose successour was Edmond of Mountney.

And at this time beganne great variaunce betwene the king and his Lordes, because he put out of his seruice certeyne Englishe men and trusted straungers aswell in his counsaile, as in other offices.

About this time the king began the foundation of the Hospitall of Saint John without the East gate of Oxforde.

This yere the king put from him the straungers, and restored the Englisshmen to their offices: and the same yere also the Jewes dwellyng in Norwiche were accused for steling of a child whom they purposed to haue crucified

And this yere Frederick the second of that name Emperour of Almain, married the sister of king Henry named Isabell. In the which yere also fell wonderfull fore weather, with such thunder and lightnyng as the like had not bene sene. And there folowed an earthquake to the great feare of the inhabitantes of Huntynghdon.

This yere the king married Alianor the daughter of Raymond Erle of Prouince, and the bishop of Cantorbury married them in his Church of Cantorbury. And shortly after she was crowned at Westminster as Queene of England, where in the fielde of Westminster now called Tothyll lyng at the west ende of the Church, were royall pastymes, and goodly Justice kept by the space of. iiii. dayes.

And this yere at a Parliament was made the statute of Herton, in the which yere also were seene as it were hostes of men fighting in the ayre.

About this time dyed John Scot before named Erle of Chester without Issue: wherefore the king consideryng the great prerogatiue belonging to that Erledome, gaue unto the sisters of Reynulph other possessions, and tooke the Erledome into his awne handes.

This yere also Queene Elianor founded the hospitall of Saint Katheryns besydes the tower, for the reliefe bot. of men and women.

Shortly after a Legate named Octobone came into England to refoyme the Clergie, but the youth of the Clergie lyked him not, and it chaunced him that

1232  
17

1233  
18

1234  
19

1235  
20

The foundation of Saint Katheryns Hospitall.

1236  
21

that as he passed through Oxforde, the schollers picked a quartell vnto his seruantes, and fought with them, and slue one of them, and put the Legate in such feare, that for his sauegard he tooke the Belfrey of Osney, and there held him vntill the kings ministers came from Abingdon, who with strength mixed with fayre wordes deliuered him, and conueyed him after with a convenient companie to Wallingforde, where he accursed the misdoers, and punished them in such wise, that the Regentes and maisters of that Uniuersity, were compelled in the ende, to go barefooted, through Chepe to Paules at London, and there to aske of him forgeueneffe, and had that trespassse wyth great difficultie so forgeuen.

And about this tyme, Sir Simond Mountford maryed the kinges sister, named Alianor countesse of Pembroke, and he gaue wither to the sayde Sir Simond in the name of a dowry the Erledome of Leicester.

The yere folowynge a Clercke of Oxforde that feyned himselfe mad, and before tyme had espied certeyne secret places of the kinges Court, came by a window toward the kinges Chamber, at his manor of Woodstocke, entending to haue slaine the king in his bed. But he was espied by a woman and taken and conueyed to Couentry, and there arreyned of that dede: where after lawfull profes of his malicious entent made, he for the same, was there hanged, and drawen. Solidoze wyrteth that the king as hap was had chaunged his bed that night, and so escaped the daunger of the treason.

This yere on Candlemasse day the king created Sir Simond Mountford Erle of Leicester.

And this yere also the .xxviij. day of June was bozne at Westminster, Edward that was after surnamed Longshanks, who after his father was king.

In the .xxv. yere of the reigne of this king, a Citizen of London whose name was Gerard Bat, which had bene chosen Maior of London, was chosen againe. And after his election, was presented vnto the king: But the king hauyng some information of his euill dealyng the yere before, sayde that he would not admitte him to that office, vntill suche tyme as he came to Westminster, with which answer the sayde Gerard and his companye returned to London. It was not long after or the king came to Westminster, where accordyng to their duetie, they waped to knowe his pleasure. Then the king called vnto him the sayd Maior, and after certeyne questions to him ministred, he caused him to be sworne in his presence. After which othe, the king charged him by the vertue of the same, that he should not take of the bakers, Brewers, and other victuallers of the City fortie pound, which other of his predecessors, and he himselfe the last yere had done. And also that he incontinently after his comyng to London should restore vnto the sayd victuallers and other Citizens, al such money as he had with wrong in the former yere taken of the Commonaltie of the Citie. But because the sayde Gerard alleged for him certeyne considerations, besechyng the king to pardon him of that restitution: The king in displeasure swore a great othe that he should not that yere be Maior, nor at any tyme after. And so the Commons certified of the kinges pleasure, chose in his place or heede Reyner de Buringay. And afterward the king went into Wales, whereof David Prince of Wales herpyng, met him at Ruthland, and submitted himselfe vnto the kinges grace. After this he sayled into Normandy with a goodly army to recouer Guyan,

L.iiij.

and

Octobone a Legate from Rome, called of the youth of the Uniuersitie of Oxforde.

1237  
22

1238  
23

Edward called Longshank named Edward the first bozne at Westminster.

1240  
25

David prince of wales submitted himselfe to the king.



Aldermen  
first appointed  
in London.

and other Countries, but returned without any good successe. And the same yere were first chosen within the Citie of London Aldermen, which then had the rule of the same, and of the severall wardes thereof, and were then yere-ly chaunged, as nowe the Shirifes of London are chaunged.

The king this yere prepared a goodly armye, and sayled into Fraunce, and warred vpon the Frenche king. The cause of this warre (as sayth the French Chronicle) was made by the styring of a Frenche man, named the Erle of Marche, because he refused to doe homage to Alphons, brother of Lewes the tenth of that name, and surnamed, S. Lewes, then king of Fraunce.

This Lewes the yere befoze had married his brother Alphons vnto the daughter of the Erle of Colouse, and had geuen to his sayd brother the Erledome of Poyters, with all the landes of Aluerne. By reason whereof, he would haue caused the sayde Erle of Marche to haue done homage vnto the said Alphons for such landes as the sayd Erle helde of the Erledome of Poyters. But for that the sayd Erle knew well that the right of Guyan belonged to the king of England, he therfore, and for other aliaunces made betwene king Henry and him, refused the doyng of that homage, and after came to king Henry, and moued him to make warre vpon the French king. By reason whereof the king sayled ouer as aforesayde, and landed with a strong power at Burdeaur. And as the French Chronicle affirmeth, this Erle of Marche married the mother of this king Henry.

In this time the French king warred vpon the landes of the Erle of Marche, and had wonne two Castelles of his, named Founteynes, and Williers, with diuerse other which I here omit. And when he had beaten downe some of them, and had manned some with newe Souldiours: he then went vnto a Castell named Habcome, or Habcoune, and brake a Bridge after him, because he was enformed that the king of England was nere vnto him. At the sayd bridge was a small skirmishe, and little harme done. Then the French king tooke the way ouer the riuer of Charent, toward Caiborough, wasting and destroying the Countrey as he went, and so forth towarde the towne called Sainces. Nowe king Henry with his power made towarde him in all that he might. In keepyng this course the hauntgarde encountred with the Erle of Woleyn, which was vpon the Frenche kinges partie, and that time the Erle of Sainces, bare the banner of the Erle of Marches, beyng the hauntgard of the king. But betweene these two Erles was a sore fight, so that many vpon both parties were slaine, among the which the sayd Erle of Sainces was slaine. Then came on both strengthes on eyther syde, so that both the kinges fought in that battaile, and a great slaughter of men vpon both sydes: But in the ende the Frenche men were victors, and tooke prisoners. xx. men of name, as knightes and men of higher degree, and three Clerkes of great fame and riches, besyde other to the number of fife hundredeth meane people (as sayth the French booke.) But of these men of name, nor yet of the thye Clerkes, no mention is made what they payed for theyr ransomes.

Then the Erle of Marche, by meane of his sonne, was reconciled to the French king, and restored to his landes, except thye Castelles, which were named Mespyr, Cretaine, and Easterday, the which the French king retyened

ned in his possession. And sone after came vnto the French king the Lordes of the Castelles of Mirable, and of Mortaygne, submittyng themselves also vnto the kinges grace, besechyng him of pardon, that they had so to his high displeasure fauoured his enemye the king of Englande. And after came in diuerse other Lordes and Capitaines, that he was in possession of all the Countrey of Guyan and Poyters, vnto the riuer of Gerond.

I haue rehearsed the more of this Chronicle of Fraunce, to the entent that the readers may the better perceiue the pride and boldnes of the French men, for in all their wytyng, when they come to any matter that soundeth any thing to theyr honour, it is wyrtten at the length, and in most thewyng maner, to their honour and worship: But if it found any thing to their dishonour, then shall it be abreniated and hid, that the truth shall not be knowen, for they euer delight to tell of winnyng, but neuer of losyng. Now after this euill fortune, king Henry returned againe into England.

Griffith the sonne of Lewlyn Prince of Wales being prisoner in the Tower of London, purposyng to breake prison and so to escape, fell ouer the wall of the inner ward, and there brake his neck. And this yere the Plees of the Crowne were pleaded in the Tower of London. Thys yere a Maior of London and a Shrieue were both deposed from their romes, because they were both proued perjured, and other were chosen in their places.

And this yere also Robert Grosted Bishop of Lyncoln complayned to the king of the waste of the goodes and patrimony of the Church within this Realme of Englande, which daylie were consumed by alyen Bishops and Clerkes of thys lande, which shortly after were auoyded.

Thys yere a Jewe digging in the grounde to enlarge his Vineyarde founde vnder a stone a Booke, wherein was wyrtten in thye languages, Greeke, Hebrew and Latyne of thye wordes that should be, of the which he appointed Christ to be the beginning of the thirde worlde, which was expressed in this maner. In the beginning of the thirde worlde, Gods sonne shall be borne of a mayde. &c. by the occasion whereof, the sayde Jewe was conuerted to the fayth of Christ.

At thys tyme dyed Frederyck the second of that name Emperour, who afore as ye haue heard married Isabell syster vnto the king. Of the which Frederyck mencio is made befoze in the. xxiii. yere of king Henry the second. After whose death much strife ensued about the election of the Emperour, some chose the Duke of Thoyngne, some the Erle of Holland, and some chose the kinges brother Richard Erle of Cornewall: which caused strife that endured long after, so that the onely Emperour of Almayn was not of all men allowed, vntyll Radulphus Duke or Erle of Habspurge in Almayn, was chosen by one assent vnto that dignitie, and there vnto admytted by Gregorie the. ix. of that name in the yere of our Lorde. 1273. And so that variance continued. xxvii. yeres, to the great empouering of Italy, and the landes of the Empire.

In Englande thys yere happened so mightie an earthquake, that the lyke hath not beene heard of. And thys yere the king sealed the fraunchise and liberties of the Citie of London vpon the Euen of S. Bartholome to the Apostle for a iudgement that was geuen by the Maior & Aldermen agaynst a Wydow named Margaret Wiel, and the rule of the Citie was committed

The liberties  
of London  
are sealed.

1243  
28

1244  
29

1245  
31



unto William Haverell and Edward of Westmynster, till our Lady daye next following. At the which time the Maior and the Shyriefes were againe restored to their offices.

1247  
32

Queene by the  
taken of the  
king in farme

1248  
33

In the xxxij. yere of thys kings reigne the wharfe of London called Queene hithe was taken to farme by the commonaltie of the Citie of London to pay yerely therfore fittie pound, the which then was committed to the Shyriefes charge, and so it remaineth to this tyme.

At thys tyme dyed Robert Grosstred Bishop of Lyncoln who was a wise and a learned man. Innocent the Pope at that tyme grieved greatly the Church of England with soze and weighty taskes and payments, whome this Grosstred did sharply rebuke by an Epistle for hys doings. And amongst many other his abuses this was one, he gaue unto a childe a nephew of his, a Prebend which fell in the Church of Lyncoln, & sent the child unto the bishop, charging him to admit the same childe, and to see him estalled. But this Bishop boldly denyed his admision, and wrote unto Innocent the Pope againe, that he could not, nor woulde receyue any suche bnto cure of soule, that could not rule himselfe. Therefore this Robert was summoned to apere before the Pope, and therupon accursed. Then he appealed from Innocents Court, to Christes abone throne.

1249  
34

This yere the Maior and Aldermen, and Citizens of London, who in tymes past were wont to ryde by lande the morowe after the day of Simon and Jude to present their Maior at Westmynster where he tooke his othe, did nowe take Barges, euery company a severall Barge decked with Banners, Streamers, and flagges very richly, and so rowed by water to Westmynster, and vse the same still to this day.

This yere also the king summoned a Parliament at London, in the which it was enacted that a coyne of a certeine weight of siluer called a grote should be stamped, and that it should haue on the one syde the picture of the kinges face, and on the other a crosse extended in length to the extreme partes therof, to the entet there should be no deceyt vsed by diminishing or clipping y same.

1250  
35

King Henry  
marryed his  
daughter  
Mary to the  
king of scots,  
who did ho-  
mage unto  
him for all  
Scotland.

Shortly after the king gaue in mariage his daughter Mary, but some called her Margaret, unto Alexander the king of Scottes, at the Citie of Yorke, and there did receyue of him homage for the kingdome of Scotland, in like maner as many of his progenitors had done dyuerse and many tymes before, as in this worke hath and shall appere.

This yere was a great wynde upon the day of Simon and Jude, which did much harme in many places of England.

1252  
37

And in this yere the king graunted unto the Shyriefes of London that they should yerely be allowed seuen pound for certeyne priuileges or ground belongyng to Paules Church, the which at this day is allowed by the Barons of the kinges Eschequer, unto euery Shyriife, when they make theyr account in the office of the Pipe.

The king also graunted to the Citizens for their moze ease, that where before time they vsed yerely to present their Maior unto the kinges presence, in any such place as he should be in then in Englande: that nowe from this time forward, they should for lacke of the kinges presence beyng at Westmynster, present their Maior so chosen to the Barons of his Eschequer, and there to be swozne and admitted, as he before times was before the king.

The Maior  
of London to  
be presented  
to the Barons  
of the  
Eschequer.

And

And at this tyme, the water of the Thames sprang so high that it drowned many houses about the water syde, by meane whereof much marchandise was perished and lost. And this yere also the king graunted unto the Citizens, that hereafter, they should paye no skauage or tolle for Beastes by them bought, as they had vsed before tyme.

Citizens of  
London are  
free of toll &  
skauage for  
beastes.

1253  
38

And nowe sayth Fabian, by the procurement of Sir Richarde Erle of Cornewall, for displeasure which he bare towarde the Citie, for exchaunge of certeine ground to the same belongyng. The king vnder colour that the Maior had not done due execution vpon the Bakers for lackyng of theyr lyses, seized the liberties of the Citie. That is to say, that where the Maior and Commualtie of the Citie had by the kinges graunt the Citie to ferme, with dyuerse customes and offices for a stynted and an asserteyned summe of money: nowe the king placed officers in them at his will and pleasure, the which were accomptable unto him for all reuenues and profites that grewe within the sayd Citie. But within foure dayes folowynge, the Citizens agreed with the sayd Erle, for sixe hundzeth marke. After which agreement with him concluded, they were againe restored to their liberties.

The liberties  
of London  
seized.

Money sat-  
ureth many  
forces.

In this tyme and yere was Sir Edward the kinges sonne and heyre marryed unto Alianor the kinges suster of Spaine, or as some other write, to the daughter of Alphons king of Castile. To whom the king his father gaue the Principalltie of Wales, with the gouernance of Guyan and Irelande, whereof beganne that the kinges of Englande ordeyned their eldest sonnes Princes of Wales. And in the same yere the king and Queene landed at Douer, and so came to London, and were lodged at the Tower, where he sent for the Maior and Shyriefes of London, with whome he reasoned greuouly for the escape of one called John Gate: This John had murdered a Priour allyed to the king. The Maior excused himselfe, and burdened the Shyriefes therewith, sayng that vnto them belonged the keeping of all the Prisonnes and prisoners that were within the Citie of London. And so the Maior returned home: But the Shyriefes remayned there as prisoners by the space of a moneth after or moze. And in their places, and for them were chosen Stephen Dyster gate, and Henry Walmode. But howe the olde Shyriefes passed out of the kinges daunger, I know not.

Edward the  
kinges eldest  
sonne marryed  
to Alianor y  
kinges suster  
of Spaine.

This yere the Ladie Alianor wife vnto Prince Edward came through London, where she was honourably receyued of the Citizens, and the Citie hanged with riche clothes of Silke and Golde. And there was present the Prince her husband, who conueyed her through London vnto Saint Johns without Smithfielde, and there was lodged for a whyle, and after remoued to the Sauoye.

1254  
39

And not long after, the king seized the liberties of London for certeyne money which the Queene claymed for her right of the Citizens, so that in the ende they payed vnto her foure hundzeth Markes and had theyr libertyes againe restored.

Liberties of  
London a-  
gaine seized.  
Money ma-  
keth al whole

And about this time were brought vnto Westmynster an hundzeth and two Jewes from Lincolne, the which were also accused of the crucifyng of a childe at Lincolne in despite of Christes religion, which Jewes were after sent vnto the Tower of London. Of the which afterward, xviij. were conuict and hanged, and the other remayned long in prison.

Jewes con-  
demned for  
crucifyng of  
a childe.

And



And this yere the king of Scottes and the Queene his wife came into England to the king to his Manor of Woodstocke, where he disported hym for a season, and then returned againe home, leauyng his wife with her mother untill she were brought a bed and lighted of her childe. And shortly after the king and the Queene, and the Queene of Scottes, came to London, where they were honourably receyued, and so conueyed to Westminster.

Queene of Scott & brought a bed in England.

This yere certeyne Lordes that came out of Germany made their homage vnto Sir Richarde Erie of Cornewall and brother vnto the king, the which as then stode king of Almaine, and of Romaines. And shortly after he departed from the kinges Court, and sped him with his wife, and Sir Henry his sonne vnto the sea syde, and after tooke shipping in Farnesey, and landed at Dordrite in Holland. And soone after, he was crowned king of the Romaynes in the Citie of Aquis Granum.

Richard erle of Cornewall made king of Romaines.

And now the kyng of England set forward toward Wales for to subdue Lewlyn or Luellen the sonne of Griffyth the which with his Welsh men rebelled against the king, because Sir Edward his sonne, to whome he had a little before geuen the Erledome of Chester, would haue chaunged some of their skittishe conditions. And for to bring his purpose the better about, he sent for an army of Souldiours into Ireland, and tarped for their comyng at his Castell of Brecknocke. But the yere passed so farre on, that he could do no good that yere, and therefore returned to London.

Lewlyn the son of Griffyth Prince of Wales rebelled.

And this present yere, where there had bene a great and long sute betwene the Abbot of Waltham, and the Citizens of London, about certein toll to be payde at the sayze there holden: It was agreed that from thence forth the Citizens of London should come and go toll free, and that the distrelles taken for the same should be restored, and if any were perished by keeping, then the Abbot to make them good,

The Abbot of Waltham & the Citizens are made friends.

Nowe approached great vexation and trouble to the Citie and Citizens of London, as after shall appere. It so chaunced by the meanes of some euil member, that bare no good will to the Citizens of London, that a certeine greiuous Bill of complaint was made and written in a great roll of Parchment, and the same Parchment was enclosed in greene ware, and was cast or left in the kings Wardrobe at the Castell of Windsor, into the which Wardrobe, the kinges grace did often vse to come, & in this roll was written certeine most heynous articles and complaints against the Maior and rulers of the Citie, for the misgouernement of the same. And this Bill the king found, and after he had read and perused the contentes thereof he grewe into great displeasure therewith. And thereupon he sent Mancell one of his Justices to London, and there commaunded hym the next holyday folowynge, that by the kings auctoritie he should call a folkmote at Paules crosse, where then was present Sir Richard de Clare Erie of Gloucester, and diuerse other of the kinges counsaile. In which place the sayde John Mancell caused the sayde roll to be read to the people that were there assembled, and after the reading thereof, he stode by and shewed the people the kinges pleasure and minde was that they should be ruled with iustice, and that the liberties of the Citie should be mainteyned in euery poynt. And if the king might know those persones that had wronged the Commonaltie of the Citie, they should be greiuously punished to the example of other. And then the sayd John Mancell

1256  
41

Clarence be- twene the king and the Citiz- ens of Lon- don by reason of a Gaun- rous Bill.

A folkmote was an as- sembly of peo- ple to say yea or nay so that which should be declared vnto them.

cell charged openly the Maior, to commaund that euery Alderman in hys warde should the morrow following, assemble his Wardmote. And that all those Wardmotes should assemble in one place, and chose of themselves without any counsell or aduise of any of their Aldermen, xxxvj. persons, and them to present before the Lordes and him, at the same houre the next day in the Bishops Pallace at Paules. Then vpon the morrow all thing was done accordyng to his commaundment. And when the sayde xxxvj. persons were presented before the saide John Mancell, Henry Baa and other Justices: the sayde Mancell sayde vnto them that they vpon their othe should certefie all such persons as they knewe guiltie in the Articles before shewed vnto the commonaltie, wherevnto the sayde xxxvj. Citizens answered, that it was contrarie to their libertie to be sworne so many for any matter of trespassse betweene the king and any of the Citizens, wherefore they required a sparyng. With which answer the sayde John Mancell being discontented, warned them to appere before the kings Counsaile at the Guildhall vpon the morrow following, where they kept their day, and thether came the sayde Justices, John Mancell and Henry Baa, Sir Henry Wengham Chancelour of England, Philip Louell vnder treasurer, and dyuers other of the kings counsaile.

A wardmote is a assembly of the people of the warde for like purpose as is said before of a folkmote.

Then the sayde John Mancell, exhorted the sayde persons to be sworne, and bled vnto them many perswasions, but all was in vayne, for they excused themselves still, that it was contrarie to their othe, and against the libertie of the Citie. Wherefore the kings counsell departed from the hall somewhat discontented, & shewed vnto the king the demeanour of the said Citizens.

The king commaunded the Maior out of his sight.

Vpon Candelmas euen, the Maior being warned that the king should come to Westminster, he with the more parte of the Aldermen came vnto knights Bridge, and houed there to salute the king, and to know his further pleasure. But when the king came neere that place, and heard of their being there, he sent vnto them a Squire of household, and charged them that they shoulde not presume to come in his sight: wyth which message, they beyng greatly discomfited, returned home to the Citie.

Shortly after, Mighell Tony and Adam Basyng returned from the Courte, whome the Maior before had sent thether, that by such friendes as they could make to vnderstande the cause of the kings wrath and displeasure. They brought worde, that the king was well minded vnto the Citie, but he was in full purpose to haue such persons chastised, that had oppressed the commonaltie of the same.

The next day following came vnto the Guildhall, John Mancell with other of the kings counsell, the which to the people there assembled, uttered manye sayze and pleasaunt wordes: among the which he declared that the kings minde and will was, to correct all suche persons as had oppressed the commonaltie of this his deereff beloued Citie: and asked of the commons whether they woulde be agreeable to the same: who incontinently beyng a multitude whereof many were without discretion, and knew full little what that question meant, cryed, yee, yee, yee. And after that graunt thus had of the Commons, the sayde John Mancell discharged the Maior, Shirifes, and Chamberleyn of their offices and deliuered the custody thereof, vnto the Constable of the Towre, & put in the some of the Shirifes, Michaell Tony and

The answers of a folkmote.

The liberties of the Citie againe seized.



and John Adrian. And mozeouer all rolles and tolles and tallages before made, were deliuered vnto the sayde John Hancell, the which he there sealed and deliuered them vnto the Chamberleyne. Now when the Commons had well marked and considered whereaboutes he went, they returned home to their houses altogether confounded and amazed.

Then the sayd John Hancell with diuerse of the kinges counsaile, kept their dayly courtes, and called before them .xij. wardes of the Citie. Of euery of the which .xij. wardes was taken thre men, so that of those .xij. wards there were .xxxvi. men empaneled and swozne for to enquire of the aforesayd articles, and what persones in the Citie had offended them. This Court thus kept and holden at the Gyldehall, no man was called to aunswere, nor no question put vnto any person by the sayd enquest, or by any other. And soone after, that is to say vpon the first Sunday in Lent, the Maior, Aldermen and Shirifes, with the sayd enquest, and foure men of euery ward were charged to appere at Westminster, before the king: at which apperance they were countermaunded vntill the next day folowynge. At which season they comynge into the kings Exchequer found sittynge there, the Erles of Gloucester and of Warwick, John Hancell, Henry Baa Justices, the Constable of the tower, then Custos of the Citie, & diuerse other of the kings counsaile. Then was called Raufe Hardell that yere Maior, Nicholas Bat, Nicholas Fitz Josue, Mathewe Bokerell, John Tolesham and John le Minour, Aldermen. Then sayd John Hancell, that the king by his lawes and inquisition of the Citizens of the Citie, had found them culpable, that they had wronged and hurt the communalte of his Citie by diuerse meanes, as by the sayde inquisition apered, and forthwith caused it to be read before them. And when the more part thereof was read, he sayd vnto them, thus may you see that the communalte of the Citie hath bene by you most grievously oppressed, and by your meanes and counsaile the common weale of the same destroyed as by altering of the tolles and other good auncient customes, turnynge them to your singuler aduantage and lucre. All which matters the sayde Raufe and his company denyed, and that the commons was not by any such meanes by them nor none of them grieved or hurt, and that they offered to be iustified and iudged by the law and customes of the Citie.

Then Henry Baa Justice asked them whether they would holde the aduerture of the enquirie that they had heard read before, or else stande vpon the sayng of the other wardes, that had not yet bene swozne, but they kept them to their first aunswere. Then John Hancell demaunded of the Maior what was their law and custome. The Maior aunswered and sayd, that for trespassse of a Citizen done against the king, he should defende him by .xij. of the sayd Citizens, and for murder and sleayng of a man by .xxx. Citizens, and for trespassse against a straunger by the othe of sire and himselfe. Then after many reasons made by the sayde John Hancell, and also by the Maior and Aldermen, day was geuen them againe to appere the next day folowynge before the king and his counsaile.

Vpon the day folowynge, the king with many of his Lordes sittynge in the said Exchequer, the aforesaid inquisition was read. And that done the Maior and Aldermen were called by name, and two Aldermen moze, which the day before were not called, that is to say, Arnold Chedmare, & Henry Walmode.

When

When Raufe Hardell had heard the king speake in the matter, he tooke such feare, that he and Nicholas Bat without any farther answere, put them in the kinges grace, sayng to them their liberties and Fraunchises of the Citie. But the other six besought the king of his rightwisenesse, that they might then be demed after the lawes and customes of the Citie. Then was layde to their charge, that besyde many wronges by them done to the king, and to the communalte of the Citie: they had altered the kinges Beame, and ordered it to the aduantage of themselues, and of the riche men of the Citie. Wherevnto the parties aunswered and said, that the alteration of the Beame was not done by them onely, but by the aduice and consent of fiue hundreth of the best of the Citie. For where before the Weyer vled to leane his draught toward the Marchandice, so that the buyer had by that meane .x. or .xij. pound in a draught to his aduantage, and the seller so much disaduantage, nowe for indifferencye and equalitie of both persons or Marchauntes, was ordeyned that the Beame should stande vpright in the cleft thereof, enclinyng to neyther partie, as it doth in weiyng of Golde and Silver, and the buyer to haue of the seller allowed vnto him for all thinges \* foure ponde of the hundreth.

After these reasons and sundrie other by them made, the king commaunded that in the morning next folowynge, a folkemote should be called at Paules Crosse, and so that court was dissolved, and the Maior and the other returned to London.

The next day the folkemote beyng assembled at Paules crosse, these six Aldermen heeryng the murmuracion of the common people, and knowynge that neither the Aldermen, nor the worshipfull of the Citie, should haue any sayng in the matter, fearing their cause, wet into a Canons house of Paules, where at that time the sayd John Hancell and other sent from the king taried the assembling of the people, and shewed vnto them that they entended not to pleade any lenger with the king, but were contented to put themselves fully in the kinges grace and mercye, sayng alway to them and all other Citizens their liberties and Fraunchise of the Citie.

After the which agreement the sayd John Hancell with other came vnto the Court of Folkemote, where was rehearsed vnto the People a faire and pleasant tale, promisyng to them their liberties should be wholly & inuio-lately preserued by the king, with many other thinges to the great comfort of them. And lastly it was demaunded of them, whether the law and custome was such as was the day before rehearsed or no? Wherevnto like vndiscrete and vnlearned men, they cryed and aunswered rudely, nay, nay, nay, notwithstanding the sayde lawe and custome had before this time bene vled tyme out of mynde. But to this, neither Maior, nor Alderman, nor other of the chiefe of the Citie that might replie nor impugne or make any reason for the defence of their auncient lawes and customes.

It was not much to be marueyled that the king was thus offended against the Citie, for by suche euill disposed people as he had about him, the land was euill ruled, and much mischief was vled: whereof ensued much sorow after, as appereth in the sequele of this historie, as sayth Fabian.

Then John Hancell called the Maior and Aldermen before him and charged them to be at Westminster the next day folowynge to geue attendance

M. j.

vpon

Howe the  
Maior and  
Citizens ap-  
pered in the  
Exchequer.

\* This is that  
allowance  
Grocers call  
Cloffe.

¶ folkemote  
againe called.

¶ rude and  
ruffe people.



Judgement  
geuen agaynst  
the Maior &  
Citizens in  
the Chequer  
Chamber in  
the presence  
of the king.

upon the kinges grace. The next day the Maior and Aldermen satieng the kinges comming in the great Hall at Westminster, lastly the king came into Saint Stephens Chappell, where a while he had communication with his Lordes, and after went into the Chequer Chamber, and there sate him downe and his Lordes about him. Anon after the Maior and Aldermen were called into the sayde Chamber, and shortly after called by name, and commaunded to stande nere to the barre. Then Henry Baa Justice sayde vnto the Maior and the seven Aldermen, that forsomuche as by forme of the kings lawes they were found culpable in diuerse articles touching transgression agaynst the king, therefore the Court awarded that they should make fine and ransome, after the discretion of the sayde Court: But for that they had put them in the kinges grace and mercy, the king hath commaunded the fine to be put in respyte, y<sup>e</sup> be not pained so grieuouly as ye haue deserued.

After which iudgement geuen, they kneled dobone, and then the Maior with weping teares, thanked the king of his bountie and goodnesse, and besought him to be good and gracious Lorde vnto the Citie and to them as his faythfull subiectes. Wherevnto the king made no aunswere, but rose streight by, and went his way, leauyng them there. And assoone as the king was departed, they were all arested and kept there till they had found surety, and euery Alderman of them discharged of his ward and office that they had within the Citie, but shortly after they put in sureties, and so returned heauily to London.

Anon after that, was William Fitz Richard by the kinges commaundement made Maior, and Thomas Fitz Thomas, and William Crappisgate Shirifes.

After this, day by day, the Chamberleyn was called to an accompt before the sayde John Hancell of all such tolles as was gathered in the tyme of the Mayraltie of John Colyham, and of Raufe Hardel, and there were present to here the sayd accompt diuerse of the Communalty of the Citie, but none of the heades: By the which accompt no fault could be found agaynst any of the Personnes that were conuict before the king. By reason whereof, diuerse of them were shortly after admitted againe to the kinges fauour, and restored to their offices, but not without payment of money, whereof the certeintie is not knowen.

And in this yere wheate was so scant, that it was solde at London for xxiii. shillinges a quarter, and scarnter shoulde haue beene, if plentie had not come out of Almaine: For in fraunce and Normandie it sayled likewise. By meane of this dearth and scarfitie, much pooze people dyed for hunger, and many of diuerse countries of England, came vnto the Citie, and nere thereabout for comfort of victuall: For it was then better chepe in London then in many shires of England there aboutes. And shortly after was the sayde John Hancell made knight and chiefe Justice of England.

Also this yere the king helde a Parliament at Orenford, which was called in Latinum Parliamentum, that is to say, the mad Parliament. For in this Parliament were made many actes agaynst the kings prerogatiue and pleasure, for the reformation of the state of the lande, which after turned to the confusion and hurt of the land, and the death and destruction of many noble men, so that by occasion thereof began that hatefull strife, called at this day the

England in  
the tyme of  
scarfitie is  
beholdyng to  
straungers.

In this Par-  
liament, or  
mad Par-  
liament.

the Barons warre, whereof ensued much trouble and mischiefe, as after shall appere.

Barons  
warre.

Then as is aforesayde, to aduoyde the enozmitie, and to refozme the euill rule that was then vsed in the lande, by such euill persons as daylie were about the king, manye and diuers ordinaunces were made: wherevnto the king (somewhat agaynst hys wyll) and Sir Edward his sonnes and others agreed. And for that these actes should be holden firme and stable, there were at this Parliament chosen. xij. Peeres, which were named Douze perys, to whome authoritie was given by vertue of this Parliament to correct all such as offended in breaking of these ordinaunces, and such other, as by the sayde xij. peres, shoulde afterward be deuysed and ordered touching and concerning the same matter and purpose. Of which. xij. Peeres the names ensue.

The twelve  
Peeres com-  
monly called  
le Douze  
Peeres.

The Archebishop of Cantorbury, the Bishop of Worcester, Sir Roger Wygot then Erle of Norfolk and Marshall of Englande, Sir Symon de Mountford Erle of Leycester, Sir Richard Clare Erle of Gloucestre, Sir Humfrey Botham Erle of Herfford of Warwike and of Arondell, Sir John Hancell chiefe Justice of Englande, Sir Roger Mortimer, Sir Hugh Wygraue, Sir Peter de Sauoy, Sir James Audely, and Sir Peter de Mountford. And for that the kings brother on the mothers syde, that is to saye Sir Eym Erle of Wynchester, Sir William de balaunce, Sir Godfrey de Lyndsey and Sir Guy de Lyndsey, woulde not assent to the aforesayde ordinaunces, they withdrew them towarde the Sea side with such staffe as they had, and would haue departed the land, if they might then haue had shipping: for lack whereof they were fayne to retorne, and so went to Wynchester. But it was not long after, that they were lycenced to depart the lande, with a certaine companie, and a certaine summe of money to paye for their costes, and their day set by Bartholomewtyde to aduoyde vpon payne of imprisonment, which day by them was kept.

It was not long after the finishing of thys Parliament but that strife and variaunce beganne to kinde betweene the king and the Erles of Leycester and Gloucestre, by meane of such officers as the sayde Erles had removed, and put other in their romes. Among the which John Hancell was discharged of hys office, and Sir Hugh Wygot then admitted for him. And because the aforesayde peres heard of the murmure of the Courte, fearing that the king should be aduertised shortly to alter from his promise, therefore they entending to make their partie the stronger, the next day following, the king being at Westminster, the Erle Marshall, the Erle of Leycester, with dyuers other came vnto the Guildhall at London, where the Maior, Aldermen and commonaltie of the Citie were assembled, where the sayde Lordes shewed an instrument, or wytyng, at the which hanged many labelles with Seales, as the kings seale, Sir Edward his sonnes, with manye other of the nobles of the lande, the which was the content of the Articles which were made and ordeyned at Orenford, wylling the Maior and Aldermen (considering the saide actes were made vnto the honour of God, fidelitie vnto the king, and profite of the realme, that they would also in vpholding of the same, set to also their common Seale of the Citie. After which request thus to the Citizens made, and after aduise and counsell among themselves taken, they despyed a spaving of the Lordes, till they might speake with the

M.ij.

king



king, and know his pleasure in that behalfe. But finally no scarryng at that tyme might be graunted, so that in the ende, by the labour that the Lordes made, with helpe of such solicitors as they had within the Citie, the common Seale was put to, and the Mayor and diuerse of the Citie swozne to main- teyne the same, their allegeance saued to the king, with preservation of the li- berties and fraunchises of the Citie and so departed.

Then day by day, the sayd Douze Peeres assembled at the newe Temple, where they kept their counsailes and Courtes for the reformation of the olde griefes, and remoued from the king diuers of his Whenyall seruautes, and set in their places and office such as pleased them.

And vpon the. ix. day of August, proclamation was made in diuerse ac- customed places of the sayd Citie, that none of the kinges takers should take any thing within the liberties of London, without the will of the owner, ex- cept two Tenne of Wine, which the king accustomedly had of euery ship co- myng from Burdeaur, payng but fortie Shillynges for a Tonne. By meane of which Proclamation, nothing was taken by the kinges officers, but it were streight payed for within the Citie & libertie of the same, which vltance continued but a while.

In the. xliij. yere, the king helde a Parliament at Westminster, and ano- ther (or else proroged the same) to Winchester. And in this yere, Sir Hugh Bygot Justice, with Roger Tuckley, and other, kept his Court at Saint Sauours, and there held their Plees called Itinerarii. The which is to meane the traueylng or the way Plees. For ye shall vnderstand, that at those daies they were kept in diuerse places in Englande, which now beene holden at Westminster, and Judges ordeyned to kepe a circuite, as now they kepe the Sizes in time of vacation. At this sayd Court, these Judges punished fore- Baylifes and other officers, that before them were conuict for diuerse tres- passes, & specially for takyng of amerciamentes otherwise then the law per- mitted them to do. For the which the sayde chiefe Justice emprisoned them, and after seassed them at greivous fines. Also he sommoned the Citizens of London to come to the same Court, for Tolles that they had taken vpon the further syde of the water. But it was answered that the tolles that they there toke, were taken lawfully as they were redy to proue in places & Court con- uenient to the same, which was within the precinct of their libertie. But not- withstanding that aunswere, the saide Sir Hugh charged them vpon a quest of. xij. knightes of Surrey to enquire of that matter and other, the which acquitted the sayde Citizens, and shewed that the sayd Toll belonged to them of ryght.

After this, the sayde Sir Hugh with other, came vnto the Gyldehall, and kept his Court and Plees there, without all order of lawe, and contrary to the libertyes of the Citie, and there punished the Bakers for lack of Size, by the Tomberell, where befozetymes, they were punished by the Pil- loyre, and ordered many other thinges at his will, more then by anye good order of lawe.

This yere came vnto London from beyonde the Sea Richard king of Almaine, and Erle of Cornewall, with his wife and children, which had bene there and taken possession of that kingdome, as befoze is shewed. Against whose comyng the Citie of London was richely hanged, with clothes of Silke

This is cal- led the Sut- telage.

1257  
+ 2

Tomberell was a kinde of Pillory made foure square that turned round about.

Silke and Arras, and ioyfully he was receyued of the Citizens.

And in the. xliij. yere of his reigne in the Parliament holden at West- minster was reade in the presence of all the Lordes and commonalty at sun- drie times, all the actes and ordinaunces befoze made in the Parliament hol- den at Orenford, with certeyne other articles by the aforesayde. xij. Pieres therevnto added. After the readyng of which articles, there beyng requested the Archbishop of Cauntorbury with other, to the number of. ix. Bishops be- syde Abbots and other, denounced all them accursed that attempted in woꝛde or deed to breake the sayde Statutes or any of them.

In this Parliament also was graunted a taske called the Scutage, that is to say. xl. shillinges of euery knightes fee through the realme of England, the which extended to a great summe of money. For after dyuerse wyters, there be (saith Fabian) in England in the possession of the Spirituality and of the Temporality, or at those dayes were, ouer & aboue. xl. thousand knightes fees, which after that rate should extende to fourescore thousand pound.

The sixt day of Nouember folowynge, the king came to Baules, where by his comaundement was assembled the Court of folkemote, where the king fearing rebellion of his nobles, did according to the former ordinaunces made, aske licence of the Commonalty of the Citie, for to passe the sea, and promi- sed there in the presence of a great multitude of people, that he would be good and gracious Lorde vnto the Citie by the mouth of Sir Hugh Bigot his chiefe Justice, and to mainteine their liberties vnhurt: for the which the people for ioy made an exceedyng shout.

Vpon the. viij. day of Nouember the king roade through the Citie to- warde the sea syde. And vpon the day of Saint Brice, or the. xiiij. day of No- uember, he tooke his ship, and so sayled vnto Burdeaur, where when he had tarped a season, he roade vnto the French king, then beyng king Lewes vnto Paris. Of whom he was honourably receyued, and was logged in his aboue- Palace, by the space of a whole weke, makyng to him great feastes, and ge- uing to him and his, many costly and riche giftes. And from thence king Hen- ry roade vnto Saint Denice, where of the Abbot and Couent he was recei- ued with procession, & tarped there by the space of a moneth. In which season a maryage was concluded, betwene John Duke of Briteyne, and one of the kinges daughters. And at his departing, he gaue to the Abbot a Cuppe of Golde, and a Bason with an Ewer of Siluer. And for his more consolation certeyne Lordes and other Noble men of Fraunce gaue attendaunce vpon him, to conuey him, and shewe him a part of Fraunce, with all disport of hun- tyng and hawkynge, and other many pleasures of the Countre.

And in this time, the French king assembled his Parliament at Paris, where he shewed vnto his Lordes, that his conscience grudged with the withholdyng of all such landes as Phillip the second wanne from king John in Normandy, vpon the which he desyred their saythfull and fruitefull coun- saile, where after many reasons and argumentes made, it was concluded for a finall concorde to be had betwene king Henry and him, that if king Henrie with the agreement of his Lordes would resigne into the French Kinges handes, all such title and right as he had in the whole Duchie of Normandy, Angeow, Poyteau, and Mayne, for him and for his heyres for euer, that then the French king of his great bountie and grace, should geue vnto the

M. iiij.

king

1258  
43

A taske cal- led Scutage.

A folkemote.



king of England, and to his heyres kinges, the Lordship of Guyan, Angeou, and Mayne, and by rightfull title, euer after to be called the Duke of Guyan, and besydes that, he shoulde bee admitted for a Peere of fraunce: To all which condicions, as appereth by the french Chronicle, king Henrie at his retourne from his dispozt was agreable, and with consent of his Baronne, and in their presence, with also the Barony of France, did his homage vnto the sayde Lewes for the Duchie of Guyan, and after made his othe accozding to the same. And after great giftes receyued on eyther syde, king Henry returned vnto Burdeaux.

Of this peace speaketh Guido, and sayth, that king Henry sayled into fraunce, and asked restitution of the french king, of such landes as Philip the second his ayle had with extort power taken from king John his father. But because he found the french king straunge in his answer, and also had little trust in his Lordes to haue their ayde, he fell to agreement with the french king, and solde him his title that he had in Normandy, Gascoyne and Guyan, the which extended vnto the yerely value of twentie thousand pound, taking for the same title thre hundred thousand of small Turon money, whereof a pound is in value after sterlyng money but two shillings and thre pence, or there about, so that he should after that rate haue for his sayde title, after the value of sterlyng money. xxxiiij. thousand. vij. C. fiftie pound.

A variaunce betwene Sir Edward the Prince and the Erle of Gloucester.

While king Henry was thus occupied in fraunce, dissention fell in England, betweene Sir Edward the kinges sonne, and Sir Richard Erle of Gloucester. For the appeasing whereof, a Parliament, that is to saye, a counsaile of his Lordes was called at Westminster, which continued by the space of thre weekes and moze. To the which counsaile the Lordes came with great companies, and specially the sayde Sir Edward, and the Erle of Gloucester, the which entended to haue lodged within the Citie. Wherefore the Maioz went vnto the Bishop of Worcester, and Sir Hugh Bigot, and Sir Philip Basset, to whome the king with the Archbishop of Cantorbury had taken the rule of the lande in his absence, the which went vnto the king of Almaine to haue his aduise in that matter: where it was concluded, that neyther the sayd Sir Edward, nor the Erle, should come within the Citie there to be lodged, nor none that helde vpon eyther of the parties. And further it was prouided, that all such as were within the Citie, and was of the age of. xij. yeres and aboue, should be in harnesse to watch and kepe the City both day and night and that the gates should be shut vpon the day, & certaine men in harnesse to kepe every gate of the City. And sone after, for y<sup>e</sup> safegard of the Citie, and sure keeping of the peace within the same, the king of Romanes, with the sayd Sir Hugh came into the Citie, and there were lodged with their companies, and suche other as they would assigne to strength the Citie if neede required.

Shortly after the king came to London from beyond the sea, and was lodged at the Bishop of Londons Palace. After whose comyng, by his assignement, the Erle of Gloucester was lodged within the Citie, and Sir Edward his sonne was lodged in his awne Palace at Westminster. And sone after the king commaunded him to be lodged at S. Johns without Smithfield Barres in the Suburbes of London, and al the other Lordes were lodged in other places without the Citie. And the king of Romaines removed againe

againe to Westminster.

In the which tyme an order was taken betweene the sayde partyes, and a new assembly or Parliament was appoynted in the Quindena of Saint John Baptist. And from that tyme to the entent that all thinges might be set in an order, it was prouided vnto the feast of Saint Edward, at which tyme all thinges were in quiet, and so continued a tyme.

And here Fabian telleth a tale of a Jewe, sayng that at Tewkesbury there fell a Jewe into a Jakes or Gonge vpon a Saturday, which was his Sabboth day, and would not for reuerence of his Sabboth day be plucked out, whereof heeryng the Erle of Gloucester that the Jewe did so great reuerence to his Sabboth day, thought he would do as much to his holy day, which was Sunday, and so commaunded him to be kept there vntill Monday at which tyme he was found dead.

A Jewe drowned in a Genge.

This yere the king kept a great feast at Westminster and there made diuers knights. Among the which John Duke of Briteyn which had married one of the kings daughters was there made knight. And soone after was Sir Hugh Spencer made chiefe Justice.

1259  
44

And sone after this he commaunded a folkemote to be called at Paules Crosse, where he in proper person with the king of Almayne, the Archebishop of Cauntorby, and many other nobles came: where the king commaunded the Maioz that every striplyng of the age of. xij. yeres and aboue should the next day be swozne before hys Alderman, to be true to the king and to his heyres kinges of England, and that the gates of the Citie should be kept with harnessed men, as before by the king of Romanes was deuysed.

A folkemote.

About this time also, at a fayze kept at Northampton variaunce fell betweene the Londoners and the men of the Towne, so that betweene the Citizens of London and them continued long sute and plee, and it was for a man of Northampton that then was slaine, to the great beration and trouble of both partes: But in the ende the Citie of London had the better.

The Barons also at this tyme with the consent of the peres discharged Sir Hugh Spencer, and admitted for him Sir Phillip Basset to be chiefe Justice, vntwitting to the king. By reason whereof, another grudge and displeasure began to kindle betweene the king and his Lordes, and encreased moze and moze. But by the pollecie of the king of Almayn, and some prelates of the lande, it was set in quiet for a while, but it continued scantly to the ende of the yere.

And this yere the Barons admitted and made the Shirifes of diuers Shires of England, and discharged such as before the king had admittted, and named them Gardians and keepers of the Counties and Shires. And besydes that, the sayde Barons would not suffer the Justice, that the king had admitted to kepe the Plees and lawes called Itinerarii, but such as were of their admysion. Wherewith the king was greuouly discontented, in so much that after that time, he labored that he might make frustrate and vterly boyde the aforesayde statutes and ordynances: In so much, that vpon the second Sunday in Lent next following, the king commaunded to be read at Paules crosse a Bull of the graunt of Urban, Bishop of Rome and the third of that name, as a confirmation of another Bull before purchased of hys predecessour Alexander the thirde, for to asloyle the king and all other that be- fore

1260  
45  
Gardians and keepers of Counties and Shires.



fore had sworne to the maintenance of the aforesayde Articles made at Dren-  
forde. And after caused the absolution to be shewed throughtout the realme  
of Englande, Wales and Ireland, geving strayte charge to all his subiects,  
that none to be so hardie to disobey the sayde absolution. And if anye person  
were founden disobedient to his commaundement that he were streight way  
committed to prison, and not to be raunsomed noz delyuered untill the kinges  
pleasure were further knowne.

In the Month of June next following, the king of Almain tooke ship-  
ping and sayled into Almayn. And king Henry at a folkemote holden on  
S. Peters daye in the Month of July following had lycence to sayle into  
Fraunce. And the next day he departed from London towarde the sea syde,  
with the Queene and other Lordes, his two sonnes Sir Edward and Sir  
Edmond being then in Guyan. When the king had bene a while in Fraunce,  
he returned vnto Burdeaur, where he fell sicke, by occasion whereof, he tar-  
ried in those parties untill December next folowynge. And in this meane time  
dyled Richard Clare Duke of Gloucester, and Sir Gilbert de Clare his son  
was Erle after him. To whom the father gaue great charge that he should  
bpholde the former ordinaunces.

And it happened soone after, that a Jew fell at bariance with a Christi-  
an man at Cole Church in London besyde the great Conduit in Chepe, and  
wounded the Christian man within the same Church. Wherefore the people  
of the Citie in a fury, pursued the sayd Jewe to his house, and there slue him,  
and after fell vpon the other Jewes, and slue and robbed many of them.

And shortly after the king landed at Douer, and came to London in the  
beginnyng of January folowynge. And this yere about the .vi. of December  
began a great frost, and continued the space of one moneth and moze, in such  
wise that the Thames was so frozen that men passed ouer on horseback. And  
in the same Winter the kings Palace at Westminster perished by fyre, name-  
ly a great part thereof, which happened by negligence.

About this time also a displeasure and bariance began to growe betwene  
the Constable of the Tower, and the Citizens of London, for that the Con-  
stable contrary to the liberties of the Citie, tooke certeine shippes passyng by  
the tower with wheat and other victuall, and caryed the same into the tower,  
makyng the price thereof at his awne will and pleasure. Wherebpon great  
harne had ensued, had not bene the policie of wyse men: Which thing was  
shewed vnto the kinges counsaile, by whose direction, the matter was com-  
mitted vnto Sir Philip Basset then chiefe Justice, and other, to set an order  
and rule betwene the sayd parties. Then before them were brought all evi-  
dences and priuileges for the aduantage of both parties: Where finally af-  
ter long plee and argument, it was firmly demed and iudged, that if the  
Constable or any other officer of the Tower, would at any tyme take wheate  
or other victuall to the vse of the king, or of the Tower, that he should come  
vnto the market holden within the Citie, and there to haue it two pence in a  
quarter within the Maiors price, and other victualles after the same rate:  
And if he, or any of his officers would do contrary to that ordinaunce, that  
then the Shyrcifes should make report vnto the kinges counsaile, and to with-  
stande him in all that they might, so that the kinges peace were kept.

At this tyme was spreadd many tales, and there arose among the people

1261  
+6

Murder by-  
on murder.

Bariances be-  
twene the  
Constable of  
the Tower  
and the Ci-  
zens of  
London.

An order  
made be-  
twene the  
Constable of  
the Tower  
and the Ci-  
zens of  
London.

a mutterynge and murmurynge, that shortly there would be warres betwene  
the Lordes and the king, for the Bull of dispensation befoze mencioned. But  
by the helpe and mediation of good wise men, these murmours and grudges  
were so appeased, that the king agreed againe to the maintenance of those  
statutes, and sent his writtes whercin the sayd articles were comprised, into  
all the Shires of England, geving straight commaundement to all men to  
obserue and kepe the same, and such other as were to them adioyned by the  
discretion of the Erle Marshall, the Erle of Leycester, Sir Philip Basset,  
Sir Hugh Bigot and others, the which shortly after was reuoked and deni-  
ed. Wherebpon the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, fearyng what after might  
ensue, made him an errand to Rome, and so by lycence of the king and of the  
Lordes he departed the land, and by that meanes kept him out of the realme  
untill the trouble was appeased and ceased.

Then vpon a midlent Sunday the Maior and the commons beynge pre-  
sent at a folkemote holden at Paules Crosse befoze Sir Philip Basset, and  
other of the kinges Counsaile, the Maior was sworne to be true vnto the  
king, and to his heyres kinges. And the next day after at the Cuyldhall, eue-  
ry Alderman in the presence of the Mayor tooke the same othe. And vpon  
the Sunday folowynge, euery strippling of the age of .xij. yeres and aboue,  
befoze his Alderman in his warde was newly charged with the same othe.

Then the displeasure betwene the king and the Barons began to breake  
forth, which by a long tyme had bene couered and hidden, insomuch as diuerse  
of the Barons assembled themselues in the marches of Wales, and gathered  
vnto them strong power, and sent a letter vnto the king, vnder the Seale of  
Sir Roger Clifford, besechyng him to haue in remembraunce, the othe and  
manifolde promises that he had made for the obseruing of the statutes made  
at his towne of Drenforde, with other ordinaunces made to the honour of  
God, for sayth and allegeance to his person, and for the weale and profite of  
his realme: Willyng him further, to withstand and despye all such persons, as  
will be against the sayd actes, sayyng the Queene and her children.

After the which letter thus sent, and receauyng of it no answere, the said  
Barons, with Baner displayed went agaynst suche as they knewe that helde  
against the sayde actes. And first at Hertford they tooke the Bishop of that  
see, and as many of his Chanons as were aliauntes bozne, and tooke suche  
treasure and Cattaille as they there found, and bare it with them. And after  
went and sent vnto such manours as the sayd Bishop and Chanons had, and  
robbed and spoyled them, and some of them, they threwe to the grounde and  
consumed with fire, and put the sayd Bishop and Chanons in safe and sure  
keping, and set others in their places: and after went into other partes of the  
realme, where they supposed to finde any of their enemies, keping still theyr  
course towarde London, bearing befoze them a Baner of the kings armes,  
and goyng on theyr iourney, much people drewe vnto them. And in their pas-  
sage, euer as they found any that they knewe to be against the maintenance  
of the sayde actes, those they imprisoned and spoyled their places and houses,  
were they spirituall or temporall men, and in dyuerse of the kinges Castels  
they set in such men as they lyked, and put out such as the king had placed  
there befoze, and gaue vnto them an othe, that they should be true and sayth-  
full to the king, & kepe those Castels to his vse & to the weale of the realme.

About

folkemote.

Barons be-  
gin to surr.



About Midsummer folowing, they drewe nere to London, and sent a letter to the Maior and Aldermen vnder the seale of Sir Simon Mountford, requiring to knowe of them, whether they would obserue and mainteine the actes and statutes made at Orenford or not, or else they would aide and assist such personnes as entended the breche of the same, and sent vnto them a copie of the same actes with a prouiso, that if there were any of them that should seeme to be hurtfull to the realme or common weale of the same, that they then by discrete persons of the land should be altered and amended. The which Copie the Maior bare vnto the king beyng then at the Tower, accompanied with the Queene and the king of Allmaine, which lately was returned from beyond the sea, and Sir Edward his sonne and other of hys Counsaile.

Then the king entending to knowe the minde of the Citie asked the Maior what he thought of those ordinaunces and actes, knowyng well that before his commyng thether, he had counsayled with the Aldermen, and some of the Commons of the Citie.

The Maior then abashed with that question, besought the king that he might common with his brethren the Aldermen, and then he would declare vnto him both his and their opinions. But the king sayd, he would here his aduice without more counsell. Then the Maior boldly sayde, that before tymes, he with his brethren and commonaltie of the Citie, by his commaundement were sworne to mainteyne all actes made to the honour of God, to the fayth of the king, and profite of the realme, which othe by his lycence and most gracious fauour they entended to obserue and kepe. And mozeouer to aduoyde all occasion that might growe of grudge or barypance betweene his grace and his Barons within the Citie, they would aduoyde all aliauntes and straungers out thereof, if his grace were so contented. With the which answer, the king seemed to be pleased, so that the Maior with his fauour departed, and sent answer to the Barons, accordyng to the sayd communication, their libertie alwayes bpholden and saued.

Then shortly after, forsomuch as dyuerse noble men of the land, which helde against those statutes, were ridden toward Dorset, and there entended to haue taken shipping for feare of the Barons, the king sent after them diuerse persons of his household, and of the Citizens of London to refozine and endure them to retorne and tary with the king.

And in this tyme all aliauntes and straungers, the which were taken suspect of any fauour borne to the one part or to the other, were aduoyded the Citie. But it was not long after that Sir Edward the kings sonne, set them or many of them in offices within the Castell of Windsor, Then watch was kept dayly within the Citie, and in the nightes a certeine were appointed to ryde about the Citie, with a certeyne number of footemen to attend vpon them to seatche all the Citie ouer, but of that ensued harme: for while the ridyng watch was in one part of the Citie, some euill disposed personnes vnder the colour of watchmen, and to search for straungers, robbed and spoiled many houses within the Citie. For remedie wherof, a standyng watche was appointed in euery warde: But now the king hearing that the Barons approached nere the Citie, he shortly after departed thence.

Then the Barons entered the Citie in the moneth of July. And shortly after

after, the king returned to Westmyster, with the Queene and other of hys counsaile. And sone after by the consent of the king and the Barons, Sir Hugh le Spencer was made chiefe Justice and keeper of the Tower.

The next day after Mary Magdaleyn daye, a writ was directed vnto the Maior and Aldermen, charging them that the kings peace were firmly kept within the Citie. And in the same writ it was also expessed, that the king and his Barons were louingly agreed. Furthermore it was by the same writ commaunded that if within the precinct of their fraunches, were any person or persons knowne, that would withstande the aforesayde ordynances and statutes, that all such should be attached and put in prison, & their goodes attached for the king, vntill they knewe his further pleasure.

Ye shall vnderstande, that while the Lordes laye thus in the Citie, dyuers couenticles and gatherings were made of the Citizens and other, that robbed in the Citie and did much harme. The which was finally corrected, they were so borne out and mainteyned by their maysters. And lyke wise the Commons of the Citie were farre out of rule by the insensyng of ryotous persons, that in assemblies and courts, that then were kept at the Gyldhall or other places, simple and vndiscrete persons should haue the voyce, and the worshipfull men little or nothing regarded, wherof ensued daylie much unhappinesse and sorrow, as after shall appere.

The Barons then, to obteyne the moze fauour of the Citie willed them to shewe if they had any parte of their libertie withdrawn that they might againe to them be restored, and also to deuise some newe to their weale and profite, and they would labour to the king that they might haue them graunted. For the which comfote of the Lordes, the Maior called the commons vnto the Gyldhall, and shewed to them the beneuolence of the sayd Lords, and willed them that euerie officer for hys offyce, to deuise such things as might be beneficiall for the Citie.

Wherbyon they counsayled together and made a note in a paper, of dyuers statutes, prouisions and ordynances to be graunted, which might (sayth Fabian) moze properly be named abhominations, for they were deuised to their singular profite, and to the great hurte of all other Marchauntes comming to the Citie, and to all other Fayres and Markettes of England, and also Preiudiciall to the vniuersall weale of the Realme.

The which when they were perused and ouersene by the heades of the Citie, it was shewed vnto the sayde Commons, that their ordynances were not lawfull nor charitable considered, and therefore they knewe well they should not be admytted, wyllyng them to deuise other, but all was in vayne. By meane wherof, both those and other that were right necessarie for the common weale of the Citie were reiected and put of.

The Barons departed from London the morowe after Saint James day, and went toward Windsor, to see the guyding of the Castell: where at their comming they put out the sayde aliantes before set in, by Sir Edward the kings sonne, who being accompanied with other went to Fulham to the king and shewed him that the Barons had spoiled them of such goods as they had, and that without cause. But the king put them of for that season and warned them to sue to him about Michelmass, when moze of hys counsaile was with him, and then they shoulde haue iustice.

The



The. xliij. day of September, the King, the Queene with his somes and other nobles of this land tooke shipping and sayled into Fraunce, to be present at the French kinges Parliament then holden at Bonony, and shortly after he returned againe and the. viij. day of October next folowynge, landed at Douer, and the Friday folowynge came to London.

The. xv. day of October there were a Jury of. xij. knightes of Middlesex, sworne betwene the Abbot of Westminster and the Citie of London, for certaine priueleges that the Citie claymed within Westminster. Where, by the said Jury it was founden before Gilbert of Preston then chiefe Baron of the kinges Exchequer, that the Shirifes of London at those dayes might lawfully enter into the towne of Westminster, and all other Tenementes, that the Abbot had within Middlesex, and vnto the gate of the sayde Abbey, and there to make sommons and distreynne for lacke of appearaunce, all and euery Tenant of the sayd Abbot.

And soone after Michelmasse, the former complaint of the alyens or straungers, was shewed before the king and the Lordes in the Parliament, or rather counsaile holden at Westminster, where at the last, sentence was geuen, that the Barons should restore all such goodes as they and their company had taken from such persons before that day, as well to aliauntes as other, spirituall or temporall persons: And also that such meniall seruauntes as should be dayly in the kinges house, and about his person, should be such as the king would chose and admit himselfe, the which two articles, the Barons utterly denied. Wherefore olde rancoure tooke place, and dissention kindled his fyre of malice againe betwene the king and his Lordes feruently.

And in the yere folowynge, the Commons of the Citie of London chose vnto their Maior for that yere Thomas fitz Thomas, and without counsell of the Aldermen sware him at the Guildhal vpon the day of Simon & Jude, and made no presentment of him vpon the next day folowynge, neyther to the king, nor yet to the Barons of the Exchequer, as they of right ought to haue done: For the which presumption the king was grievously discontented against the Citie. And sone after he being aduertised that the Citizens would take part with the Barons, caused Sir Edward his sonne to take the Castell of Windsor by a traine. Whereof, when he knewe that he was in possession, the king early in a morning a little before Christmasse, departed from Westminster, and road to the sayd Castell, whether shortly after came many of the Lordes vpon the kinges partie. And as fast the Lordes and knightes which helde with the Erle of Leycester, drewe them toward London, so that on eyther partie great numbers of people were assembled. And in this tyme some well disposed persons laboured to haue peace and concorde betwene the king and his Lordes: By whose meanes at the last, it was agreed, that all matters concernynge the aforesayde articles or statutes made at Drenford, and after by the. xij. Piers, should be demed and iudged by the French king, so that he should allow or disallow those that should be kept or broken, and as he iudged, so both parties to be contented to stand vnto & abide firmly & surely. Upon which agreement, copies were made of the sayde statutes, and with letters (shewynge the effect of the former agreement) sent vnto Lewes the French King as aforesayde. And at Christmalle next after, the King tooke shipping, with Sir Edward his sonne, and other of the Counsaile, and

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The king  
sich for feare  
of the Barons  
to the Castell  
of Windsor.

The contro-  
uerse be-  
twene the King  
& his Lordes  
was commit-  
ted to the  
iudgement  
and order of  
the French  
king.

and sayled into Fraunce for the aforesayde cause. And for the partie of the sayde Barons, was sent ouer Sir Peter de Mountford and other. Then before Lewes king of Fraunce those statutes were sore argued.

In the ende, the French king hauynge before him both the parties, the. xxiiij. day of January, sytting in iudgement gaue expresse sentence, that all and euery of those statutes and ordinaunces should be from that day forward utterly fordone and set at naught, and all such bandes and promises that the king or any other had made for the maintenance of the same, should be admitted and canceled, and the king and all other, for any matter concernynge those statutes set at libertie.

After which sentence thus geuen, the king returned into Englande, so that he came vnto London the. xv. day of February. But the Barons beyng sore amoued with this sentence, and notynge great parcialitie in the French king, departed from London westward, and so into the marches of Wales, where they drewe to them great power, and warred vpon the landes and Castelles of Sir Roger Mortimer, & threw some of them vnto the ground, and spoyled of his what they might finde, and ouer that, burnt of his manours and houses. In whose ayde, Sir Edward the kinges sonne commynge, hys people were distressed, and he almost taken.

For reformation of which matter a newe Parliament or counsaile was called and appointed to beholden & kept. xv. dayes after Easter at Drenford, but it neuer toke effect. Howbeit another Chronicle sayth, & from this Parliament then holden at Drenford, the king and his Lordes parted in displeasure.

Then the Barons drewe toward London, and the king remayned at Woodstocke. And then newe assurance by wytyng indented was made betwene the commonaltie of the Citie, and the Barons, without consent of many of the rulers of the sayde Citie. Wherefore the Commons, as men in a rage and furye, made of them selues two Capitaines, whiche they named Constables of the Citie, that is to say, Thomas Bitwelsdon, and Stephen Bukerel. At whose commaundement, by tollynge of the great Bell of Paules all the Citie should be readye shortly in harnesse, to geue attendaunce vpon their said Capitaynes,

About the beginnyng of Lent, the Constable of the Tower, Sir Hugh le Spencer, came with a fayre company of men of armes before him into the Citie, and desyred assistance of the afozenamed Constables. The which commaunded the sayde Bell to be tolled: By meane whereof, the people shut in their shops, and came out in harnesse in great multitudes. The which after proclamation made, that they should follow their Capitaines, without knowledge what to do, or whether to go, folowed their sayde Capitaynes, and so went to Chiffleworth. viij. miles beyond Westminster, and there spoyled the Manor of the king of Romaynes, and set it after vpon a fyre. And that done, his water Milles and other commodities that he there had, put them vnto utter ruyne, and after with great noyse and cry returned to London.

This dede as saith Iabian, was the cause of the moztall warre folowynge. For where before time the said king of Romaynes had gone about for the alliaunce that was betwene him and the Erle of Gloucester, a treatie of peare, to be had betwene the king and his Barons: after that dede done, he was enemye vnto them to the vttermost of his power.

The French  
king iudged  
against the  
Barons of  
England.

A newe Par-  
liament hol-  
den at Dren-  
ford, but it  
tooke none  
effect.

The Citi-  
zens of Lon-  
don chose the  
two newe  
Capitaynes.

The Citi-  
zens of Lon-  
don burnt at  
Chiffle-  
worth the  
Manor of  
Richard the  
king of Ro-  
maynes.

A. i.

The



The king heryng of this ryot, gathered vnto him a great power. And for that he heard that Sir Peter de Mountfort was at Northampton gathering of people to strength the Barons partie, he sped him thether, and wan the towne vpon him by force, and slue many of his men, and in the ende toke him and Sir Simond the sonne of the Erle of Leycester, with diuerse other on liue, the which, with many Burgesles of that towne, that had taken their partes, the king sent vnto diuerse prisonnes, and some he closed within the Castell of the same towne.

A ryot made vpon the Jewes.

And aboute this tyme, that is to saye, the weeke befoze Easter, all the Jewes in London were spoyled and robbed, and the number of fife hundzeth of them were slaine, and diuerse of their houses bzent and destroyed, and such of them as were saued, were conueyed for great neede vnto the Tower, and there kept from the fury of the Commons. And the occasion of this riot was, for that one Jewe woulde haue forced a Christian man to haue geuen vnto him more then two pence for the bsury of twenty shillynges for a weeke lentyng. For ye shall vnderstande that in those dayes by licence graunted vnto the Jewes of the king, they might take by bsury of euery man that of them would borow money, two pence of a pound for a weekes lentyng, and so of greater and of smaller summes after the rate.

A bsury allowed among the Jewes & suffered in England.

And soone after the Jewes were thus punished, many houses of religion within the Citie, and nere there about, were searched for goodes of aliauntes, and muche founde. Whereof a part was brought vnto the Barons, but the more part was stolne and bzibed.

In this season the king passed by dyuerse Countries, and lastly came into Suffer, with a strong power. Whereof heryng the Lordes, they made preparation to go against him. In all which tyme the Wardens of the fife Portes kept the sea with shippes that no straungers should enter the land to ayde the king against the Barons.

In the ende of Aprill, the Barons with a multitude of the Citie, which they put in the balwarde, departed from London, takyng their iourney towarde the king. And when they were well onwarde vpon their way, worde was brought vnto them, that the king with an howge power was at Lewes. Wherefore they by an whole assent, deuysed a letter, and sent it in the name of all the Barons vnto the king, whose names herebnder folow, but not all.

The names of the Barons of England.

Sir Simond de Mountfort Erle of Leycester, and high stewarde of Englande. Sir Gilbert de Clare, Erle of Gloucester, Sir Robert Ferrers, Erle of Derby, Sir William de Mounthdesey, Sir Hugh le Spenser, chiefe Justice, and Sir Henry Mountfort, sonne to the Erle of Leycester, Sir Richard Gray, Sir Henry Hastyns, Sir John fitz John, Sir Robert Deuenpount, Sir John Gyulle, Sir Robert Roos, Sir William Marmon, Baldwyn Wake, Sir Gilbert Gifford, Sir Nicholas Deme-graue, and Sir Godfrey de Lucye, with many other.

Which letter sealed with the seales of the sayde Erle of Leycester, and of Gloucester, conteyned as foloweth.

A letter writ ten by the Barons vnto the king.

To the most excellent Lord, king Henry, by the grace of God king of Eng- lande, Lorde of Irelande, and Duke of Guyan, the Barons and other faythfull your seruauntes, their fidelitie and othe to God and to you coueting to kepe, send to you due salutypng with all reuerence and honoure, vnder due obeyssaunce.

obeyssaunce. Lyketh it your highnesse to vnderstand, that many beyng aboute you, haue befoze tymes shewed vnto your Lordship of vs many euill and vntrue reportes, and haue found suggestions, not al onely of vs, but also of your selfe, to bring this your realme vnto subuersion. Know your excellency, that we entend nothing but health and surety to your person, to the vttermost of our powers: and not alonely to our enemies, but also yours, and of all thys your realme, we entend vtter greuaunce and correction. Besechyng your grace, hereafter to geue to them little credence, for ye shall finde vs your true and faythfull subiectes to the vttermost of our powers. And we Erle of Leycester, and Erle of Gloucester, at the request of other, & for our selues, haue put to our seales, the .x. day of the moneth of May.

The aunsvvere vnto the aforesayde letter.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England, Lord of Ireland, & Duke of Guyan: To Simond de Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and their complices. Whereas by warre and generall perturbauce in this our realme, by you begon and continued, with also brennynges and other hurtes, and enoynties, that evidently it appereth that your fidelitie to vs due, ye haue not kept, nor the suretie of our person ye haue little regarded, for so much as our Lordes and other trustie friendes which dayly abyde with vs, ye vere and greue, and them pursue to the vttermost of your powers, and yet dayly entend as ye by report of your letters haue vs asserteyned: We the grieffe of them admit and take to be our alone, specially when they for their fidelitie, which they to vs dayly impend, stand & abyde by vs, to oppresse your infidelitie and vntruth. Wherefore of your fauour and assurance we set little store, but you as our enemies we vtterly desye. Witnesse our selfe at our towne of Lewes, the .xij. day of this moneth of May.

The kinges aunsvvere to the Barons letter.

And besydes this, the king of Romaynes, Sir Edvard the kinges sonne, and other Lordes beyng then vvith the king, sent vnto them another letter vwhereof the tenor ensueth.

Richard by the grace of God king of Romaynes, alwayes Augustus and Edward the Noble first begotten sonne of the king of Englande, all other Barons firmly standing and abyding with our souereigne Lorde the king, to Symond de Mountfort, Gilbert de Clare, and all other their false fellowes: By the Letters which ye sent vnto the king our most souereigne Lorde, we vnderstanding that we are desyed of you. Acuerthelesse, thys worde of defiance appered vnto vs sufficiently befoze, by the deprivation and brenning of our manors, and caryng awaye of oure goodes. Wherefore we wyll that ye vnderstande, that we desye you as our mortall and publike enemies. And whensoever we maye come to the reuengement of the iniuries that ye to vs haue done, we shall acquite it to the vttermost of oure powers. And where ye put vpon vs that we are neyther true nor good to oure Souereigne Lorde the king. We geue you to vnderstand that ye therein say, falsely and vntruely of vs. And if that sayng ye Sir Symond de Mountfort and Sir Gilbert de Clare wyll testifie in the Court of our souereigne Lord the king: we are readie to purchace to you suretie and safe comming, that there we maye proue our true and faythfull innocencie, and your false and trayterous lyng. Witnesse with the Seales of Rycharde king of the Romaynes and sir Edward afozenamed. Geuen at Lewes the .xij. day of May.

Another letter sent to the Barons.

R. ij.

When



A terrible battail called the battail of Lewes in Suffex betwene the king and his Barons.

The king & his brother & some taken.

The king grauntech to the Barons, all theyr requestes.

When the Barons had receyued these Letters from the king and hys Lordes, they perceyued well that there was none other meane, but to defend their cause by dent of sword, wherfore, they putting their trust in God, sped them forth toward the king. And vpon Wednesday being the .xxiiiij. day of May, early in the morning bothe the hostes met: where after the Londoners had geuen the first assault, they were beaten back, so that they began to drawe from the sharp shot and strokes, to the discomfort of the Barons hoste. But the Barons encouraged and comforted there men in suche wise, that not all onely the freshe and lustie knightes fought egerly, but also suche as before were discomfited, gathered a newe courage vnto them, and fought witho it feare, insomuch that the kings Ward lost their places. Then was the felde couered with dead bodys, and gasping and groning was heard on euery side, for eyther of them was desyrous to bring others out of lyfe. And the father spared not the sonne, neyther yet the sonne spared the father. Alliance at that time was turned to defiaunce, & christian bloud that day was shed without pittie. Thus durynge the fyght by the more parte of the daye, lastly the victorie fell to the Barons, so that there were taken the king, and the king of Romaynes, Sir Edward the kings sonne, with many other noble men, to the the number of .xxv. Barons and Banarets, and of the common people there were slaine aboue twentie thousand as saith Fabian & Cooper.

When the Barons had thus obtayned the victoerye, prouision was made for the safe keepynge of the prisoners, so that all were sente vnto diuerse Castells and Prysons, except the king and hys brother the king of Almayne, and Sir Edwarde his Sonne, the which the Barons helde with them vntill they came to London. Then a newe graunt was made by the king, that the aforesayde statutes should stand in strength. And if anye were thought vnreasonable, they to be corrected and amended by foure noble men of the realme, that is to saye, two of the spiritualtie, and two of the temporaltie. And if those foure could not agree, then the Erle of Angeou and Duke of Burgoyne to be iudges of the matter. And this to be firmlye holden and obeyed by the king and his brother: The kinges graunted that their sonnes and heyres should remaine with the Barons as prisoners vntill all thinges were finished, according to the former agreement. And vpon this was a Parliament appoynted to be holden at London the Whitsontyde following, but that came neuer to passe. Then the Tuesday before the Ascension day, a peace was proclaymed in London betwene the king and the Barons.

The next day the king and the Barons came to London with the king of Romaynes, and Sir Edward the kinges sonne. Then Sir Edwarde as pledge for the king, and Sir Henry sonne to the king of Almaine, were sent vnto the Tower, and there lodged, and from thence to Douer Castell. And the king was lodged in the Bishops Palace beside Paules, and the king of Almaine and diuerse other within the tower. Then it was agreed by the king, that for his more suretie, and for the weale of the lande that the Erle of Leycester should be resiaunt in the kinges Court. Vpon which agreement and other, many of the Prisoners were set at large.

In this meane while, before the Battaille of Lewes, the Queene and the king of Romaynes had sent ouer the sea for Souldiours, to ayde the king agaynst the Barons, which nowe were come in great number vnto Douer, and

Kynges by power are forced to do an other wil, and not as they list.

Here is the first mention made of a Parliament holden by the thre estates.

The king swozne but shortly brake his othe.

and there hoied on the Sea to haue landed. Whereof heeryng the Barons, they sent the king of Romaynes as prisoner to Barkhamstede, vntill the sayd Alliautes were returned: and caused king Henry with a great power to ryde thether, and to force the sayde hoste of straungers to retorne vnto their Countreyes from whence they came.

And when the king had returned the sayde straungers, he shortly after with the agreement of the Barons, sayled ouer into fraunce, and returned againe within short tyme.

And shortly after the Lordes of the Marches of Wales assembled themselves together, and did much harme vpon the Lordshippes and Shanoys of the Erles of Leycester and Gloucester. Wherefore the king so soone as he returned out of fraunce, forthwith roade to Gloucester, and called there a Counsaile of his Lordes, by the aucthoritie of which counsaile, it was enacted that as many of the sayd Lordes as came not in by the Octaues of Saint Hillary next folowynge, & yelded them vnto the kings grace, should be exiled. And in the sayd Counsaile it was also agreed, that in the sayd Octaues there should be a Parliament holden at Westminster. At the which tyme the king with his Lordes spirituall and temporall, and commons of his lande, began his foresayd Parliament. And in the same it was there moued (the king himselfe beyng present) that neither he the king, nor yet Sir Edward his sonne, nor none of them should after that day greue or cause to be greued the Erles of Leycester and of Gloucester, the Baronnes, Banerettes, or knightes, the Citizens of London, and Barons of the five Portes, nor none other person or persons of high or low degree, that was vpon the partie of the sayd Erles, for any matter of displeasure done against the king, and the sayde Sir Edward his sonne, at any tyme before that day. And that to do and vpholde, the king before his Lordes was swozne.

After this there was read a Charter or Pardon, concernynge the cause and matter of offence aforesayde. And afterwarde also was concluded a confirmation of the statutes of the Focest, with many other actes and statutes before graunted of the king, as Magna Carta, and other.

The .xij. day of March next folowynge Sir Edwarde the kinges sonne that before was also swozne to performe suche promises as the king had made before in the Parliament, was deliuered and set at libertie, and lykewise was Sir Henry the kinges sonne of Almaine, the which had bene kept as pledges (as before you haue heard) about the space of .ix. monethes & odde dayes vpon assurance made, that the sayd Sir Edward should dwell and abyde in the kinges Court, and not to depart from thence without licence of the king, and of a certeine of the Barons.

Then were many Instrumentes and Bondes made by the king and Sir Edward his sonne for the performance of diuerse and sundry couenants made betwene the king & his Barons, which shortly after tooke small effect.

Now shortly after, that is to say, betwene Easter and Whitsontide, for the ordering and maner of executynge of the aforesayde statutes made at Dr-enforde, fell great dissention betwene the Erles of Leycester and Gloucester, so that wordes of displeasure were vttered betwene them, the king and they also beyng then at Gloucester. Then the king and his Barons had much to do to set them at quiet and rest. And the same season, the Barons of the five

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Dissention among the Lordes.



Portes with their ships were vpon the sea, and robbed and spoyled all that they might take, for all was fish that came to the net, sparing neither English Merchantes nor other. And the Bootie that they gate was no small thing. Of whiche as the common fame went, some of the Barons had no small share.

The Whitsonde folowynge, the king with the Erle of Leycester, and Sir Edward his sonne, with many other his Lordes beyng at Hereford in the Edge of Wales: the sayd Sir Edward secretly and without licence, departed from the Court, and went vnto Chester, where he called vnto him the Erle of Gloucester, and the Lordes of the marches, the Erle of Maren, Sir Roger Mortimer, and other, and they fallynge into felowship, and ioyning in a confederacie, went from thence vnto Gloucester breaking the bridges as they went, to the entent that he were not folowed vntill he had assembled his power.

When knowledge of this came to the Erle of Leycester, he in all haste sent vnto Sir Symond his sonne that he should gather his knightes vnto him. The which accordyng to that commaundement, assembled vnto him with much people, and with them dreyw toward Winchester, so that he came before the Citie the. xiiij. day of the Moneth of July, where he was shut out, for so much as the Citizens knewe not whether he came as the kinges friend or not. And also a little before, they had receyued a letter from Sir Edward, willyng them to kepe them out of the Citie, and to suffer them by no meanes to enter. For these causes the Citizens closed their Gates against the sayde Sir Symond and his company. But it was not long before the Citie yelded and gaue vp. Then they spoyled the towne, and slue the greatest part of the Jewes that were therein. And that done, they layde siege vnto the Castell, and assaulted it: But sodeynly a feyned newes was brought vnto them, sayng that Sir Edward and his power was commyng euen at hande, wherefore they departed shortly thence, and went to Kenelworth.

And the last day of July Sir Edward and his hoste came vnto Kenelworth aforesayde, and fell sodeynly vpon the hoste of the afozenamed Sir Symond, and with sheddyng of little blood tooke there prisoners, the Erle of Orenford, William de Mount Canise, Adam de Newmarket, Sir Baldwin Wake, and Hugh Neuile, with dyuerse other, and Sir Symond fled into the Castell and so escaped. Then the afozenamed Prisoners were sent to Gloucester, and there put in safe keepyng.

In this meane tyme Sir Symond Erle of Leycester tooke his leaue of the king, which then from Hereforde passed the Ryuer of Seuerne, and so went vnto Worcester, and the Erle with great paine passed the Bridges before broken by Sir Edward, and so coasted the countries in gathering of the people as he went: so that at the length he had with him a strong power. And when Sir Edward heard therof, he made towards him so fast as he might. And the first day of August they met at Eusham in Worcestershire, where betwene them was foughten a cruell and bloody battayle, in the which was slaine the sayd Sir Symond the Erle, and Sir Henry his sonne and heyre, Sir Hugh le Spencer, Sir Peter de Mountford, and many other noble men that helde vpon the Barons partie. After which discomfiture, some malicious persons in despite of the Erle cut off his head and his prey members,

and

Barons of  
Eusham.

The 23 rds  
discomfited  
and slaine.

and fastened them vpon either syde of his nose, and after made a present thereof vnto the wyfe of Sir Roger Mortimer: his fecte also and his handes were cut of from the body and sent to sundrie places, and the truncke of hys bodie buried within the Church of Eusham.

Some after this victorie thus obtayned by Sir Edward, the king and he met with no small ioy and comforte to them both. And then by the auctoritie of the king all the prisoners that before had bene taken, and imprisoned were deliuered and set at libertie, and manye other daylie accused and set in for them. And about the. viij. daye of September next following a Parliament or counsell was holden at Winchester, where by the auctoritie of the same, all statutes and ordynances before made, by the Barons at Orenford in the. xli. yere of the king, were vtterly fordone and set at naught. And all bondes and wytyngs made by the king, or any other for the obseruing of the same, were cancelled and broken. Also at thys counsell was ordeyned, that all suche as had fauoured the Barons, being then in prison, or at large, should be disherited and then the king resumed into his handes all grauntes before made and geuen to any person. And for Sir Symond Mountfort the sonne of the Erle that was slaine could not agree with the king at the Parliament, he was restored againe to the Castell of Kenelworth as he before was assured, the which he with Sir Henry de Hastynge and other, kept and defended against the kings power, a long time after.

After the Parliament ended the king came to Windsor wyth a great power, entending, as the fame went, to destroye the Citie of London, for the great wrath and displeasure that he had conceyued for the ayding of the Barons against hym. Of the which when the Mayor and Aldermen were enformed, they were stricken into a wonderfull feare: Although manye of the rude and rashe commoners were in full purpose to haue defended the Citie against the king: and thus among them were dyuerse and sundrie opinions, and no great maruaile, for at those dayes the Citie was inhabited with sundrie nations and people.

At the last the sad and graue Citizens being called together by the Mayor and his brethren to the Guildhall, it was among them agreed & thought meete, to make a most humble supplication vnto the king, and to sende it by some religious person. Of the which they made diuers, and sent them by sundrie persons, but all auayled nothing. For the king was most greuously incensed against the Citizens by some of hys Counsaile, so that he woulde not looke vpon, nor hearken vnto any of their supplications. And if it fortunied any to moue the kings fauour towards the Citizens, he would so storme and geue vnto them such vnpleasent and wrathfull lookes, that no man durst once open his mouth vnto him for them.

Then the Citizens were counsailed by their friends that they shoulde make a wytyng, and seale it with the common seale, and in the same they shoulde offer themselves, and put them wholly in the kings grace and mercy, touching their liues and goodes. And at the last accordyng to this counsaile, they deuised a wytyng, and sealed it with their common seale, and that done chose. viij. persons of the Citie, suche as had friendes in the Courte, and the. vij. day of October sent them toward Wyndsoze, and as they passed thorough Colbrook they met a knight of the kings, called Sir Roger Leyborne, the

A Parlia-  
ment at Win-  
chester.  
The Statutes  
of Orenford  
againe con-  
demned.

A strange  
allegation.

The king  
was greatly  
displeasid  
with the citie  
of London.

Sir Roger  
Leyborne  
knight.

which



which caused the sayde. viij. persons to turne againe vnto the Citie, and he accompanied them vntill he came almost at the Citie, and there departed from them, and roade vpon the backeside of the towne vnto the tower. But at his departing he willed them to warne the Maior with certeine of the Citie to meete with him vpon the morow at Barkyng Church. And on the morow, when the Maior and the sayd Sir Roger met, the same Sir Roger after a long processe made, shewed and declared the kinges most grieuous displeasure agaynst the Citie, and also tolde them what meanes their friendes and louers had made to obteyne the kinges graces fauour for the Citie: But in the ende he concluded that there was no grace to be obteyned for them, except they would by their common seale, bynde themselues fully and wholly to stande at the kinges grace, and to put into his mercy their lyues and goodes: The which when the Maior and his brethren conferrynge with sundrye other of the Citizens had well weyed and considered, and also beyng greatly afearde of the kinges wrath agaynst the Citie, for it was bruted that he woulde vtterlye destroy the same by fyre: wherefore in the ende they graunted to all that Sir Roger had moued, and deliuered the aforesayde wrytyng vnto the aforesayde Roger, praiyng him to be a good meane and intercessor for them vnto the king. And the next day the sayd Sir Roger went vnto the Court, and returned againe the sixt day after, and willed the Maior and Aldermen to mete with him again at the foresaid Church. Where he shewed to them, that the king by great instance of their friendes, had receyued their wrytyng, and woulde first for the beginnyng and contentation of his mynde, that all the Chaynes that was in euery streete, and stode at euerye Lanes ende, shoulde be losed from their Postes, and the Post also drawen out of the earth, and all they to be brought vnto the Tower of London: And that done, that the Maior with a certeine of Citizens, to the number of. xl. persons should the day folowynge be at Windsor to confirme the graunt of their wrytyng. And that they should go and come in safe and sure wise, he deliuered vnto them the kinges letter and seale, for the terme of foure dayes, which all was done accordyng to the former deuise, and the Maior with the aforesayde persons were ready on the morow which was Sunday, at Windsor by one of the clocke, and there taried vntill foure of the same day: At which tyme the king commynge from his disport, entered the Castell without countenance or castyng of his eyen vpon the Londoners. And when the king and his people were entered the Castell, the Londoners woulde haue folowed, but they were warned to abide without.

And immediately the king caused a Proclamation to be made, that no man of high or lowe degree, should by worde or deede shewe any displeasure vnto the Londoners. And in the euenyng came vnto them, the aforesayde sir Roger and sir Robert Waleys knightes, and brought them into the Castell, and said that the kings pleasure was not to speake with them that night. And afterwarde the sayde knightes deliuered them vnto the Constable of the Castell, which closed them all in a large Tower, where that night they had small cheere and worste lodgyng.

The next day beyng Monday, towardes night they were taken out of that tower, and deliuered to the Bayly of the sayde Castell, and lodged by his assignement, except .v. persons, that is to say, Thomas fitz Thomas Maior, Highell

The Maior and Aldermen locked by in a tower in the Castell of Windsor.

Highell Tony, Stephen Bukerell, Thomas Pitwellisdon, and John de fleete. The which fine persons the king had geuen to Sir Edward his sonne, at whose commaundement they remayned still in the sayde Tower long after, notwithstanding the kinges safe conduite to them made as befoze is sayde. When tidinges hereof came to the Citie of London, albeit, that for feare many were befoze aduoyded, yet then a great manye mo gate them thence with spede into diuerse countries of England, and very many of them neuer returned.

The first day of Nouember folowynge, the king came to Westminster. And shortly after he gaue vnto diuerse of his household seruautes, more than lx. householdes and houses within the Citie of London, so that the owners were compelled to agree and redeme their houses and householdes, with all goodes that in them were, or else to aduoyde and suffer such persons to enter as the sayde houses were geuen vnto, and not alonely that, but also such lands and Tenements, goodes and Cattelles, as the sayd Citizens had in any other places of England. And at that tyme the king made Custos and Gardian of the Citie, Sir Othon Constable of the Tower of London, which sir Othon chose to be Baylifes vnder him, and to be to him accomptable to the vse of the king, John Adrian, and Walter Henry Citizens of the same Citie.

And after this, the king tooke pledges of the best mennes sonnes of the Citie, that his peace should be surely kept within the same. The which pledges were kept in the Tower of London, and there found at the cost of theyr parentes. And shortly after by great labour and sute made, all the aforesayde persones which were in the keepyng of the Baylyfe of Windsor Castell, foure onely except, that is to say, Richard Bonaventure, Simon de Hardistocke, William de Bent, & William de Gloucester, all the other Londoners. xxxiiij. in number were deliuered and came to London the. xxi. of Nouember folowynge, and the other. ix. were kept still in the Tower of Windsor.

Nowe was dayly sute and labour made vnto the king to haue his gracious fauour, and to know his pleasure what fine he would haue of the Citie for their transgressions. For the which the king demaunded. xl. thousande pounde, and firmly helde him at fiftie thousand markes. But the Citizens alledged for them, that the poze Commoners (wherof many were aduoyded) were the trespassours, and besydes that, the best men of the Citie were spoyled by those riotous persons, and by the Rowers also of the sea, as the Wardynes of the fiue Portes, and other, so that in this troublesome tyme they lost the greatest part of their substaunce. For the which considerations, and many other, that were here to tedious to wyte, the Citizens besought the king of his most gracious clemency and fauour, and to take of them that they might beare.

This matter thus hangyng, the king vpon the sixt day of December departed from Westminster towardes Northampton. And a little befoze his departure, he ordeyned Sir John Linde knight, and maister John Waldren Clerke, to be Gardians of the Citie and Tower of London, the which were named in the kinges wrytyng Seneschalles, or stewardes of the City.

The next day after that the king was ridden as aforesayde, the aforesaymed two Stewardes, sent for. xxxiiij. of the most notable men of the Citie, and warned them to apere the next day folowynge befoze the Counsaile at Westminster:

The Maior of London & foure Aldermen geuen by the king to Prince Edward his sonne.

1264

49 Householdes and houses geuen away in the Citie of London by the king to his seruants.

Sir Othon Constable of the Tower was made Custos of the Citie of London.

Stewardes or Seneschalles appointed to haue the rule of the Citie.



minister : Where at the tyme of their appearance was shewed vnto them by Sir Roger Leyborne that the kinges minde was, that they should haue the rule of the Citie in his absence, vnder the aforesayde Stewardes : and for to see good rule to be kept within the Citie they should be swozne there, before his counsaile. And there they were swozne, and so commaunded to returne againe into the Citie. But yet ceased not meanes to be made, and continuall labour to the king for his gracious fauour in the leuiyng of a mercifull fine, such as the pooze Citizens might be able to beare. And in Christmasse weeke at the last, the king at the prayer of suche friendes as the Citie made vnto him, graunted the Citie to be released for all maner of transgressions, and to haue their whole liberties restored vnto them againe for .xx. thousand marke, those persons only except which the king had geuen to Sir Edward his sonne, beyng, as is aforesayde, at Wyndsoze. For the payment of which somme at the dayes agreed vpon, Sir Roger Leyborne, and mayster Robert Darien Clerke, were assigned to take sureties for the same. After which assurance by them receyued, and sent vnto the king at Northampton, the king sent immediately after vnto the Citizens a Charter vnder his broade seal, the tenor whereof ensueth.

The liberties of the Citie againe restored for the famine of .xx. thousande marke.

A Pardon graunted to the Citizens of London by the king.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Guyan : To all men health. Know ye that for the fine of .xx. thousande marke, the which our Citizens of London to vs made, for the redemption of the transgressions and trespasses to vs, to our Queene, to our noble brother Richard king of Allmaine, and to Edward our first begotten sonne done, we remit and pardon for vs and our heires, to the said Citizens and their heires, as much as in vs is, so that they haue and enjoy all theyr former grauntes and liberties, rentes and profites from the feast of Christmasse last past : And also that the sayde Citizens haue to them, all forfeites of all malefactorz of the Citie, which in the perturbance before made, were endited, or for the same be yet to be endited : Except the goodes and Cattalles of them, of the which we haue geuen the bodie vnto our foresayd sonne Edward, and except the rents and tenementes of all those Citizens, which now be and shall be our eschete, by reason of the aforesaide transgressions. And that all prisoners, which now remaine in prison, be frely deliuered, except those personnes, whose bodyes we haue geuen to Edward our sonne. And that the sayd Citizens be as free, as they were before the sayde transgressions in all partes and coastes of this our landes. In witnesse whereof, we haue made these letters patentes. Witnesse my selfe at Northampton the tenth day of January, the .xliv. yere of our reigne.

¶ After the Citizens had receyued this pardon, then were all the pledges for them, which were in the tower of London deliuered, and also foure of them that were in the Castell of Wyndsoze. Then also were discharged the aforesaid Stewardes, and the Citizens of themselves chose for Mayor, William Fitz Richard, and for Shiriffes, Thomas Delaforde, and Gregory de Rokelley. Then for the leuiyng of this fine, were taxed, aswell couenant seruaunts as also householders, and many refused the liberties of the Citie, to be acquitted of this charge.

While the king lay thus at Northampton, Sir Simond de Mountfozte referred the iudgement of his cause vnto Octobonus the Legate, that before

before was come into thys lande to refozme things in the Church of Englande, and also to set vnitie and rest betweene the king and his Lordes. To whose order and iudgement and to the king of Romaines the sayde Sir Symond did bynde himselfe to stande. Upon which promise and band, he was set at libertie, and was at large in the kings court, and did there awhile continue, but at the last, when the king was come to London, he departed suddenly out of the courte, and roade to Winchelsey where he accompanied with the Rowers of the Sea, and (after some prizes taken) departed from them and so sayled into Fraunce, and put himselfe in seruice with Lewes the French king.

And shortly after, the king, besieged the Castell of Kenelwozth with a great power. But Sir Henry Hastings with such as were within it, defended it so strongly, that the king and all his power might not winne it, of a long time, as after shall appere.

Kenelwozth Castell.

It was before declared that the Queene to helpe her Lorde the king against the Barons, before the battaile at Lewes, had caused an host of straungers to be prepared to come into Englande. And the same time also she purchased a curse of the Pope, to accurse the Barons, and all their ayders and helpers, and had commissions directed to certaine Bishops of England to execute the same, as London, Winchester, and Chichester, the which for feare of the Barons denyed the doing thereof. Wherefore the Queene made new labour to the Pope, then Urban the thirde, and had it graunted, that the sayde Bishops for their disobedience should be corrected. And for thys the aforesayde Legate Octobone, this yere at a counsell holden by him at Paules Church in London, suspended the sayde Bishops, and sent them to Rome to be alloyled of Clement the thirde.

And now was the Castell of Kenelwozth yelded by appoyntment, which had bene besieged from the .xxiiij. day of June, vnto the .xx. day of December folowyng, vpon condicion that Sir Henry Hastings and all other that were with him in the sayde Castelle, should haue life and limme, and horse and harnesse, with all thinges within the Castell to them belongyng, and a certeine of leysure to cary away the same.

1265  
50

Kenelwozth Castell yelded

About this time also, the Wardynes of the five portes were reconciled to the king, by fauour and helpe of Sir Edward the kinges sonne. And notwithstanding the great harme that they had done by roauyng vpon the sea, as well to Englishe merchauntes, as to other, they had to them confirmed all their former priuileges. And mozeouer there was grauted to them, that if any man English or other, would sue for restitution of goodes, by them before taken, or for the death of any of their friendes before slaine : that all such complaintes should be sued and shewed in their Courtes, and there to haue theyr matters determined, and not else where. But what the cause was of this end thus made betweene the king and them, it is not shewed : But the common fame at that day ranne, that the sayde Wardynes of the five Portes, had at this day the dominion of the Sea : wherefore the king was faine to folowe their pleasures.

The Wardens of the .v. portes are reconciled to the King.

In the former yere also, in the begynnyng of the moneth of May, the king helde his Parliament at Northampton : In the which Parliament was confirmed vnto the Citie of London the olde fraunchises and liberties by

Parliament at Northampton.



The libertie  
of London  
newly con-  
firmed.

A new re-  
bellion.

Trouble a-  
bout the elec-  
tion of the  
Mayor of  
London.

The Citie of  
Norwich  
spoiled.

Octobone  
the Popes  
Legate.

by the kinges progenitors graunted to the sayde Citie, with a newe graunt also for the shire of Middlesex. And in this Parliament were manye noble men disenherited, that before tooke part with the Barons. For the which cause they assembled together and robbed in diuerse coastes of the land, and tooke the towne of Lincolne and spoiled it, and after raunfomed many of the riche Burgeses of the towne, and tooke the Isle of Ely, and strengthened it in such wyse, as they helde it a great while after.

This yere fell a great controuersie betweene the rulers of the Citie of London, and the commons of the same, about the chosynge of the Maior. The Rulers named Alyn Souch: But the Commons (specially such as were of the meaner sort) cryed vpon Thomas fitz Thomas, who was then prisoner in the Castell of Windsor. Wherefore the Aldermen were compelled to call for the helpe of sir Roger Leyborne and other, who came to the Gnyld hall, beyng harnessed vnder their gownes, and at the last were enforced to carpe certeyne of the rascalles to the Counters and other Prisons, and then quietly they went to the election of the sayd Alyn Souche.

The Gentlemen of whom ye heard before, that kept the Isle of Ely, did now breake out sundry tymes, and did much hurt in Norffolke and Suffolke and Cambridge shire, and toke the citie of Norwich, and after the spoylyng and sackynge thereof, carped away with them many of the Citizens beyng riche, and raunfomed them at great sommes of money, and lyued there in that Isle lyke vnto Outlawes. By these and other many hurtes in diuerse places of the land were done, and namely by Theues and persons of euill disposition: but what wickednesse so euer was done, the blame thereof was laid to the charge of these gentlemen. And at this time Octobone the Legate laboured vnto the king that the sayd disenherited gentlemen might purchase theyr landes againe of him by fine and raunfome. By whose labour, the king, at the last agreed that they should haue their landes againe by fynes of fyue yere value of their landes. As he that might dispende. xx. pound by the yere should pay an hundred pound in fyue yeres, and of other after that rate, except sir Robert Ferrers Erle of Darby, Sir John de la Ware, and hym that stroke of the fist of the kinges pursuyant, and some other persons that were of small countenance, should be fined by discretion of the kinges counsaile, but this tooke none effect.

About this tyme was made the statute of weightes and measures, that is to say, that a sterlyng penny should weye. xxxij. graynes of wheate drie and round, and taken in the middes of the eare, and. xx. of those pence shoulde make an ounce, and. xij. ounces make a pound Troy: And. viij. pound Troy weight make a gallon of Wine, and. viij. wyne galons to make a London bushell, which is the. viij. part of a quarter. Also thre barley Cornes drye and round should make an ynch, &. xij. ynches a foote, & thre foote a yarde, and fyue yards, halfe a perch, or poll, &. xl. pol in length & thre in bredth an acre of land.

And these standerdes of weight and measures were confirmed in the xv. yere of king Edward the thirde, and also in the tyme of Henry the sixt and of Edward the fourth, and lastly confirmed in the last yere of Henry the seventh. But in the tyme of king Henry the sixt it was ordeyned that the same ounce should be devided into. xxx. pence, and in the tyme of king Edward the fourth, into. xl. pence, and in the tyme of king Henry the eight into. xliij. pence:

pence: But the weight of the ounce Troy, and the measure of the foote continued alwayes one.

And about this tyme, of what occasion I knowe not, Sir Gilbert de Clare Erle of Gloucester gathered out of the Marches of Wales a great and strong power against the king, and with hym also ioynd Sir John Ciuile, and other of the disenherited company, and shortly after Christmasse came with a great host nere vnto London, Octobone the Popes Legate lying then in the Tower of London.

Alsoone as the Maior and Aldermen of the Citie of London had knowledge of the Erles comynge, and that with a great power, and they themselues not knowynge whether he came as the kinges friend or no: they shut the Gates agaynst the foeryders: and at that tyme neyther was the king nor any of his counsaile in the Citie, nor nere thereunto. Wherefore the Maior and Aldermen went to the Legate, and required his counsaile whether they should suffer the Erle to enter the Citie or not? And the Legate answered that he thought they might let him come in, for he knewe well that he was the kinges true subiect and friend.

And immediately after this talke, a messenger came from the Erle to the Maior, willyng to haue licence to passe through the Citie into Southwarke, where he entended to lodge him and his people, which was graunted vnto him: and so the Erle passed through the Citie, and was lodged in Southwarke. To whome came shortly after by Southwarke syde sir John Ciuile with a great companie.

The Maior at that tyme caused the Gate of the brydge to be shut, and caused a certein number of armed men to watch it, as wel by day as by night, and so did he all the Citie through. And sodeinly the Legate and the Erle agreed so well together, that the Erle by his aduice was suffered, with a certeine of his people to be lodged within the Citie of London. By reason whereof he dayly drew more and more of his people into the Citie, so that at the last many thinges were ordered by him, and many of the Commons tooke hys part agaynst the Maior and Aldermen.

And shortly after he gathered vnto him such a courage and auctoritie, that he tooke the keyes of the brydge, and of the Gates, from the officers of the Citie, and deliuered them to such as pleased him, and receyued into the Citie many of the disenherited persons, and gaue to them free libertie to passe the brydge by all houres of the day and night.

The Maior of this sent worde to the king, who then was gatherynge of his power in Norffolke, and made hastie speede towardes London. And in the meane while the Erle with his companie made Bulwarkes and Barbicanes betwene the Tower and the Citie, and cast ditches and trenches in some places of the Citie, and fortifyed it wonderfully.

Then a great number of the sober and graue Citizens feared a newe Insurrection, and therefore aduoyded the Citie as secretly as they might, whose goodes the Erle seized to his owne vse, or suffered his men to spoyle them at their awne pleasure. And now the rude Commons had quite forgotten theyr great and late affliction and punishment: and as men desperate and without the feare of God, or obedience to their Prince, nor yet respectynge nor regardynge any thing: at all their awne weales and states, neyther the weales of

D. j.

their

1267

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A new rebel-  
lion made by  
Gilbert de  
Clare Erle  
of Gloucester

London a-  
gaine vexed  
and in much  
trouble.



Citizens of London spoyle Citizens.

A shamefull rof.

their householdes, as their wiues, children, or friendes, toke certeyne of the Aldermen and cast them in prison, and sequestred their goodes, and spoyle a great part thereof. And in this their rage and fury, they ran to the Guildhall, and there did chose for their Maior or Custos of the Citie, Sir Richard Culworth knight, and for Bailifes, Robert Lynnton, and Roger Marshall, and discharged the olde Maior and Shirifes. And after this, then went they vnto Newgate, Ludgate, and Creplegate, and all other prisons within the Citie, where they discharged and set at libertie all that were emprisoned for any matter touchyng the Barons warre before passed.

Nowe, the Legate beholdyng all this businesse, and well consideryng this rebellion and discorde, repented him of his former counsaile geuen to the Maior: and for that he sawe that he could not reforme the Erle of his error, he threathned him with the censures of the Church, and to accurse him as the disenherited were. And forthwith he commaunded the deuine seruice, to be sayde without note, and the Church dozes to be shut in the tyme of the seruice doyng, and that no Bell were rong vnto the sayde seruice: And all because that the disenherited which stood accursed shoulde not enter into the Churches to here the deuine seruice.

And shortly after Easter the king came to him, thre miles from London, and he himselfe was lodged in the Abbey of White Monkes in Stratford: and sone after the Legate came thether vnto him, and was lodged also in the same Abbey, where for streightnesse of lodging, his horse & Mules were set in the Cloyster of the same Abbey. Then the kinges hostes made dayly assaultes, and Gunnes and other ordinaunce were shot into the Citie, which did little or no hurte at all, the towne was so strongly fortifyed.

And in this tyme the Legate on the one part, and the king of Romaynes on the other part, for alliaunce that was betwene him and the Erle of Gloucester, and chiefly for the aduoyding of spillyng and sheddyng of blood, laboured so to the king, that a reformation of peace was spoken of. And during the tyme of the entreatie, the Souldiours that lay in Southwarke, committed many robberyes in Southcrey, and many other places, and roued ouer vnto Westminster, and spoyled there the kinges Palace, and deuoured hys Wine, and brake the Glasse of the Windows, and made a common spoyle of all that belonged to the sayde Palatce, and they did the like also in sundrie places of London. And of that company of Rouers there were foure taken that had the cognisaunce of the Erle of Darby, whose handes the Erle caused to be cut off, and legges to be bound, and them to be put into a sacke, and then to be cast into the Thames and drowned. And about the .xj. day of June next folowynge, a peace betwene the King and the Erle of Gloucester was concluded.

And so soone as the former peace was concluded, the Erle remoued out the Citie, and was lodged againe in Southwarke: and the king entered the Citie the Sondag before Midsummer day. And forthwith the kinges Proclamation was made through the Citie of the peace betwene the king and the Erle. And afterwarde was graunted to the disenherited persons that they shoulde haue .xj. dayes after to shift for themselves, that is to say, eyther to aduoyde vnto such places, where they might be in some suretie, or else to agree to the former composition made by the Legate, and to pay the fift part

I doe not thinke that these were such Gunnes as we nowe vse, but rather some pot Gunne, or some such other inuention, for the Erle and his King of Romaynes was not then inuented nor many yeres after.

A lust punishment for Rebels.

of the stint of their landes, certeyne persons excepted, as before is reherced. And as touchyng the Erle, and such other as before were not disherited, and also the Citizens of London to be clerely pardoned and forgiven. And forthwith were restored to their offices Alleyn Sowche for Maior, and Thomas Balyng, and Robert de Cornhill for Shyriefes, and the Aldermen that before were deposed, were agayne restored to their wardes and offices.

And on the Wednesday nexte folowynge, the Legate enterdicted all the City of London: which endured from .viij. of the clock in the morning vntill thre of the clock the next day at after none, and then he discharged it, vpon the othe of two commoners which were sworn in the name of all the Citie, that the Citie shoulde stande to the ordynance and iudgement of holy church. But another Chronycle sayth, that this interdiction shoulde haue continued longer, if the stoutnesse of the Londoners had not beene, who helde the Legate so streyte, that they inforced him to withdrawe that sentence vpon the aforesayde condition.

Sone after, were all the Bullwarkes, Rampires and Barbicans that the Erle had made in and aboute the Citie pulled by, and the ditches filled, that no parte of them was sene. Now were the Citizens enforced agayne to sue for a newe pardon, and aunswere was made vnto them, that as yet they had not recompenced the king of Romaynes for the subuersion of his manor of Chisleworth which they bzent, and for the same he demaunded .viij. thousand markes: So that at the last, with great labour and friendship, they agreed to geue vnto hym for amendes a thousande Markes to bee payde in two yeres.

And not long after the king receyued into his fauour Sir John Ciuple, Sir Nicholas de Segraue, Sir William Hermon, Sir Richard Gray, Sir John Fitz John, and Sir Gilbert de Lucye with other. And agreement was also made betwene sir Edward the kings sonne and the aforesayde Erle of Gloucester. And then also were all the fortresses and other defences which were made in Southwarke during the tyme of the lying of the Erle of Gloucesters armie there, and all other places adioyning to the same, pulled downe & destroyed, and the Erle and al other souldiours cleane aduoyded. And after all things were set in order and rest, except such as yet kept the Isle of Ely: the king roade to Shrewesbury where he taried a season, for to comon of matters betwene hym and Lewelyn or Llewellen Prince of Wales.

The king thus being at Shrewesbury, a writ was directed to Sir Alleyn Souche Maior of London, eyght dayes before Michelmas from the king, charging him that the Citizens shoulde not proceede to the election of newe Shyriefes vntill his comyng to London, but to suffer the oide to remaine and stande still in office.

This yere there happened a bariance betwene the companies of Goldsmithes and Taylors of London, which grewe to making of partes. So that with the Goldsmithes the felowship of the Taylers tooke parte, and with the Steyners. And by this occasion much people mightily gathered in the streetes in harnesse. And at length the sayde parties met to the number of fyue hundred, and they ranne together with suche violence,

London enterdicted.

A pardon againe receyued with more money.

1263

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A bariance betwene the companies of Goldsmithes and Taylers.



lence, that diuers were slaine, and many wounded, whereupon an outcrie was made, so that the Shrieues with the helpe of other Citizens came vnto the ende of the fray, and tooke diuers of them, and sent them to sundrie prisons: and the morowe after such inquisition and searche was made, that the greatest part of the principalles and causers of this fray were taken, and put in ward. Then shortly after, Sessions were kept at Newgate by the Maior and Laurence de Broke Justice, and other, where at that tyme was arreigned of felony. xxx. of the sayde persons, whereof. xiiij. were condemned and hanged. And for that one Godfray of Beuerley did helpe to arme one of the sayde persons, he was also cast among the other.

Execution.

The Lent next folowynge, the king beyng at Westminster, commaunded the Maior of London to present vnto him sixe persons, such as were able to be Shirifes. Of the which sixe so presented, the king chose two to be Shirifes, that is to say, William de Durham, and Walter Henry, and then caused them to be swozne, that they should gather the profites of the Citie, and to geue a true accompt for the same befoze the Barons of the Exchequer.

The king chooseth the Shirifes of London.

And the. xxviij. day of July, the king discharged Sir Aleyn Solweche of the Mayraltie, and made Stephen Edworth Constable of the Tower, and Custos of the Citie of London. Of these rulers of the Citie, after the yere that Thomas Fitz Thomas was Maior, are diuerse opinions. For after some writers, from that yere, which was the. xlvij. yere of the reigne of king Henry, vntill the. lviij. yere of his reigne, in the which yere John Adrian Draper was Maior, were all Custos and Gardians of the Citie of London.

And at this time, by the mediation of Sir Edward the kinges sonne all suche disinheritid personnes as kept the Isle of Ely, were reconciled to the king, and all fortresses and defences by them there made, were plucked vp and destroyed.

And in the latter ende of this moneth of July, Octobone the Legate, after he had made many rules in the Church, not without great charge of diuines leuyed of the same, tooke his leaue of the king and roade toward the sea syde, with great treasure, and so returned in processe of tyme to Rome. Where after Innocent the fift, in the yere of our Lorde a thousand two hundredeth seuentie sixe, he was chosen and created Pope of Rome, and then named Adrian the fift, and dyed within fiftie dayes after his election.

At this tyme also, because many of the Citizens of London (for the great imposition and charge that they were set at, toward the fine of. xx. thousand marke afozenamed, with other charges) boyded the Citie, with their householdes and goodes, and inhabited themselues in diuerse places of the realme, thinkyng thereby to be acquitted of the sayd cessyng or charge: The other of the sayde Citie which remayned, made instant sute and labour to the King, that all such as had for the sayd cause boyded their goodes out of the Citie, should be distreyned by the Shirife of that Shire where they then dwelled, and forced to paye all suche summes of money, as they befoze were sessed at, which sute they obteyned of the king.

Citizens forced to see the Citie.

The fine Citizens that befoze were imprisoned in Windsoze, were nowe againe deliuered.

And in the Moneth of September folowynge, the afozenamed fine Citizens, which had remayned prisoners in the Tower of Windsoze, as befoze is mentioned in the. xlviii. yere, made at this tyme their ende with Sir Edward the kinges sonne for great summes of money, and so were deliuered.

In

In this season was a great and an extreme frost, and began at S. Andrewes day, and continued vntill Candlemas folowing, & the Thames was so frozen, that men, horse, and cart went safely ouer betwene London and Westminster. But a little after the breakyng bp of the sayd frost, there fell such an abundance of raine, that the Thames rose so high, that the like thereof had not bene seene by any man then luyng. Whereof ensued much harme about London, for the Sellers by the Water syde were all drowned, and in their great plentie of Marchandise perished and was lost.

1269  
54

A great frost.

And this yere the king gaue to Sir Edward his sonne the rule of the Citie of London, with all reuenues and profites to the same in any wise being longyng. After which gift, the sayd Sir Edward made Sir Hugh the sonne of Othon Constable of the Tower, and Custos of the Citie.

The Citie of London gaue to prince Edward the kinges eldest sonne.

And the. ix. day of Aprill folowynge, Sir Edmond the kinges other sonne (surnamed Crouchbacke) maryed at Westminster the daughter of the Erle of Aumarle: For solemnitie whereof, the king kept in the great Hall there an honourable feast the Sondag folowynge.

Edmonde Crouchbacke the kinges second sonne.

The last day of Aprill folowynge, Sir Edward the kinges sonne, commaunded the Citizens of London to present vnto him sixe persons able to be Shirifes of London. Of the which he admitted to that office, William de Hadistoke, and Anketyll de Aluerne, and swore them to be accomptantes as their predecessors were.

At these dayes a newe custome or toll was vsed to be payed by the Citizens of London vnto the king: which toll Sir Edward had then letten to ferme to a Marchant straunger for. xx. marke a yere. Wherefore the Citizens not willyng to be vnder the rule of a straunger, made great sute vnto the sayd Sir Edward, and lastly agreed with him to buy the same toll fee, for the summe of two hundredeth marke.

A newe toll taxed vpon the Citizens.

And in the ende of this yere, the king had graunted vnto him toward his boyage purposed into the holy land, the twentieth penny of every mannes substance moueable throughtout his land of the lay see: And of the spiritualty thre dimes to be leuyed in thre yeres.

A great sum of money graunted to the king for his boyage toward Ierusalem.

And this yere the king of Romaines concluded a couenaunt with Sir Gilbert de Clare, Erle of Gloucester, for a boyage to be taken into the holpe lande, by the sayde Erle for the king. For the which boyage, the sayde Erle should haue of the king toward his charges, viij. thousand markes, and at the takyng of his shippyng other foure thousand markes, and to be ready by the first day of May next folowing: And if the Erle were not ready at the sea syde at that day with his company to take shippyng, he should then forfeite to the king two thousand markes. For suretie whereof, the sayde Erle should deliuer into the kinges possession his Castell of Henleger standyng vpon the Marches of Wales: But this came after to no purpose, but the cause why is not shewed. But that Journey was afterward performed by Sir Edward the kinges sonne, as after shall appere.

In this meane while, the Citizens of London so well pleased and contented Sir Edward the kinges sonnes minde, that he so laboured vnto the kinges grace for them, that he obteyned of the king their Charter in suche wise newly to be confirmed vnto them, that they should after their auncient liberties chose of themselues a Maior, and two Shirifes, and the sayde

1270  
55

The charter and liberties of London againe newly graunted.

D. iij.

Shirifes



Shirifes to haue the offices thereunto belongyng to farme. After which confirmation thus graunted and passed by the kinges broade seale: The Citizens vpon the. xiiij. day of July next folowynge, assembled themselues at the Guildhall, and there did choose for their Maior John Adrian Draper, and for their Shirifes, Walter Potter, and John Caylor. And within two daies next folowynge Sir Edward beyng present, they presented them to the king at Westminster, where they were admitted and swoyne, and then was Sir Hugh of Othon discharged of the rule of the Citie.

Then the Citizens of their free will gaue vnto the king an hundredth marke, and to Sir Edward five hundredth marke, which gift the king well accepted. And sone after they receyued their Charter of confirmation bearyng date the. xxj. day of July and the. lb. yere of the reigne of the king.

And by reason the former couenant and agreement that was made betwene the king and the Erle of Gloucester tooke none effect, therefore Sir Edward tooke vpon him the kings Crosse: To whom the king gaue all the money that was graunted of the lay fee, as before is shewed, and then he tooke shipping at Douer the. xx. day of August, and so sayled to Burdeaur, with his wife accompanied with many noble personages.

And because Leuois king of Fraunce was gone before Sir Edward came, therefore he taried but a little while at Burdeaur, and after went with his foresayde companie toward the Citie of Thunys, where the French king was. But before he could come thether, the French king was deade, and a peace concluded betwene Philip his sonne, and the king of Thunys. Wherefore Sir Edward entending to greue the enemyes of God, accompanied with some knightes of Fraunce that entended the same, tooke their leaue of the French kyng, and of Sir Charles his hncle then kyng of Sicile, and sayled further into the holy land, and arriued at a Porte of Acrie or Acon. For at that daye there was no mo Cities of the holy lande in the possession of the Christians but the cities of Acon and Tyre, with certeine Castels wherunto the Christians fled often for succour against the Sarazens.

When Sir Edward was come to Acon, the Christian knyghtes receyued him with great honour and gladnesse, & lodged him in theyr best maner: Where he taried by the space of a yere after, as saith the French Chronicle. And it was not long after that he came thether, but that the Souldane of Surrey came thether also (the which had wonne all the Countreies there aboutes) with a great power of Sarazens, and assaulted the Citie strongly and fiercely: But Sir Edward with the ayde of Christen men, bare him so knightly and valyantly, that he defended both the Cities and the Castelles to the same belongyng, and the territories of the same, so that the Souldane for all his great multitude and power gate there little honour: Notwithstanding, he had in his host, as sayth the French Chronicle, aboue an hundredth thousand Sarazens. And the sayd Chronicle affirmeth mozeouer, that Sir Edward in his pollicies, and manfull actes so honourably behaued himselfe, that he neuer did the like act all his lyfe folowynge, although he did afterward many honourable deedes, but yet none comparable to those that he did there: By reason whereof, his name among the Infidelles was had in memozy many yeres after.

Of the honour of this martiall and valiaunt knight, I haue made the

Prince Edward taketh his boyage into the holy land for his father.

lenger reherfall, because I finde the same wytnessed of the Frenchmen, the which I knowe well, there must be some great and notable matter that moueth them when they write any thing in the fauour and commendation of any English Prince, or of any thing done by the nation.

Then this noble Prince being thus in Acon, and daylie putting the Souldane and the Sarazens to shame and great dammages, they seyng that they might not preuaile against hym by strength of battaile, cast howe they might destroy him by treason, and sent vnto him a Sarazen in the name of a Messenger, the which in tellyng of his feyned message, wounded him with a knife enuened, of the which wound he laye long before he were thereof cured and healed. But after confession made by the Sarazens of all hys compassed treason, he was put vnto most cruell death.

About this time, the Steeple of S. Mary Bow Church in Cheape in London fell doونه and slue both men, women, and childzen.

This yere the king helde his Parliament in Nouember at Westminster, in the which the Marchauntes of London and of other partes of the Realme, exhibited a Byll of complaint agaynst the Countesse of Flaundrys, for that shee had taken from them certayne goodes amountyng to a great summe. Upon which complaynt, the king sent vnto her to make restitution: But because she made none, the king therefore commaunded, that all men which were bozne in those parts and now being resident in England, should be arrested, and they and their goodes to be put vnder sure and safe keeping. By occasion whereof she at the length sent ouer Ambassadors, and besought the king that his Merchants might vse their entercourse into Flaundrys, as they before tyme had done, and all suche losses as before tyme they had susteyned, should be recompensed. And shortly after an amitie and friendship betwene the king and hir was concluded.

In the later ende of thys yere dyed Richard king of Almayne and Erle of Cornewall, brother to the king, and was buried at Hailes, an Abbey of white Monkes in Gloucestershire, which before he had builded.

And in thys yere the Monasterie of the Trinitie in the City of Norwiche, was consumed with fyre, by reason of a fray made betwecne the seruantes of the Abbey, and certayne Citizens of the Cytie, which grew to a great skirmish: For the Priour of the same, and others Monkes prouyded souldiours, and helde the Belfraye and the Church by force of armes, & threwe out stones and dartes, and shot many arrowes, by reason whereof, manye of the Cobone were both wounded and slayne: which brought the commons and yong men into such a furie and madnesse, that they fyled the Gates, and after forced the fyre with Reede and drie Wood, that the Church wyth the Bookes and all other ornaments of the same, and all houses of office belonging to the same Abbey, were cleane brent and threbone doونه, so that nothing was preserued, except it were a little Chapell.

When tydings of thys riot came to the kings knowledge, he was therewith greatly displeased and offended, so that he rood thether in hast, and there commaunded questes to be charged, both of knightes and Squires that dwelled in the Countreie aboute, and to endite all such persons as were the occasioners and doers of that deede. By reason of which enquirie, there were condemned and iudged. xxx. yong men of the Towne, the which were after drawne

Prince Edward wounded by a Sarazene.

Sow church steeple fallen downe.

1271  
56

Parliament.

Richard king of Almayne dyed.

Trinitie Abbey in Norwiche brent.

Execution.



drawne to the place of execution, and there hanged and brent, to the great discomfiture of the Citizens. For they thought that the Prior of the place was the occasioner of all that mischief, which was bozne out and defended by the Bishop of Norwich, then named Roger.

1272  
57

King Henry the third died

Nowe approached the ende, that all flethe is bozne vnto, which is death, of the which nothing is more certeyne to all persons, though the day and houre is most vncerteine. At this tyme the king sickened, and forced to kepe his bed at Westminster, called before him Sir Gilbert Clare Erle of Gloucester: and caused him to be newly sworne to kepe the peace of the lande, to the behoofe of Edward his sonne, and then dyed the .xxij. day of November, when he had reigned. lvi. yeres, and .xxvij. dayes, leauyng after him Sir Edward before named for his heyre, and Edmond Crouchbacke his sonnes, and is burped at Westminster.

Edwarde the first.

King Edward the first.

1272  
1



**E**dward the first of that name, and sonne of king Henry the third, surnamed Longshanke, beyng of the age of .xxxv. yeres, began his reigne ouer Englande the .xxij. day of the moneth of Nouember, and in the yere of oure Lozde. M. CC. lxxij.

This Edward as before is shewed in the lb. yere of his fathers reigne, was in the holpe land when his father dyed, and there did manye notable feates of warre as is aforesayd. And while he was so exercised, tidynge was brought vnto him that his father was dead: wherefore

in all hast, he sped him into England, and came to London the seconde day of August, and was crooned at Westminster, with Alianor his wife sister vnto the king of Spaigne, the .xiiij. day of December folowynge of Robert Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which was in the beginnyng of the second yere of his reigne. At his Coronation were present the king of Scottes, and John Erle of Briten, with theyr wyues the kinges sisters which liued short while after. Mathew of Westminster.

The next day after his Coronation, the Scottishe king aforesayde dyd homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland.

In the beginnyng of the reigne of this king Edward the first, the busie Citizens of London attempted to haue made a Maior as they woulde, but they were by the discreter number preuented: Notwithstandyng in the yere folowynge their purpose tooke more effect.

As before is sayde in the moneth of August, the King came to London, where he was ioyfully receyued of the Citizens, and with all honour conueyed

1273  
2

Busie heades beget trouble

Llewellyn Prince of Wales rebelled.

Llewellyn subdued.

New laws.

ueyed to Westminster, where he kept great obseruaunces for his father a certeyne of tyme after.

Nowe the lewde purpose which the yere passed was in the light Citizens, began to breake forth: For where Phillip le Taylor who before had bene chosen Maior of London, shoulde vpon the day of Simon and Jude haue bene placed in the Chayze of the Gyldhall as the maner is, dyuerse of the Citizens put him besyde the Chayze, and put therein Walter Heruy, that was Maior the yere before. By reason whereof, great rumor and grudge arose among the Citizens: the matter whereof was after brought before the king, who heeryng the reasons of both partes, forsomuche as he could not agree them, he put both the sayd Sir Walter, and the sayd Phillip asyde, and did choose Henry Frowike for Custos of the Citie, and so continued vntill Candelmasse next after. At which time by discrete & wise peaceable meanes, the afozenamed Sir Walter Haruie was set in aucthoritie as Maior, and so continued the whole yere.

At this time Lewlyn, or Lluellen Prince of Wales rebelled, and king Edward after the solempnitie of his Coronation gathered a great power together, and went toward Wales, and subdued the sayd Lewlyn.

The cause of this rebellion (saith Polidore) was for that the same Llewelyn being desyrous to make a styre and businesse in England, and ioyning in amitie with the french king, sent messengers to king Phillip of fraunce to desyre his good will that he might mary Ladie Alianor the daughter of Simon Mountfort Erle of Leycester, which then was a banished woman in fraunce, as was her mother also, and Henry her brother. The which request of his the king graunted, and so sent the Damosell vnto him by her sayd brother Henry. The which Alianor with her brother were both taken by the English fleete, when they were approached nere vnto Wales about Bristow, and were brought vnto king Edward. Nowe when Prince Lluellen vnderstood this, he was so moued with the fact, that he streight wayes armed himselfe, and so makyng a roade into the marches of Englande, wasted and destroyed the Countrie as he went, and slue all that he met with. For repression of the which his outrage and fury, and to relieue his distressed subiects there, the king reysed a puyssaunt armie, and at the length, when the Prince sawe what daunger he was in, and how lyke he was to be discomfited, he submitted and yelded himselfe to his mercy, who vpon the sayd submission pardoned him, and with much ado deliuered him the sayd Ladie that was sent him (her birginitie remaynyng vnsported) whome he shortly after maryed. But Mathew of Westminster sayth, that he gaue the king afoze hand in the name of a fine for his transgression fiftie thousande markes, and bound himselfe to pay yerely in the kinges Exchequer, a thousand markes moze. And sone after he returned and ordeyned certeyne newe lawes for the wealth of the Realme, which are to long here to reherse. Among the which one was that Bakers makyng bread lackyng the weight assigned, after the price of corne, shoulde first be punished by losse of bread, and the second tyme by emprisonment, and lastly by the correction of the Dilloze: And Milners for stealyng of corne, to be punished by the Comberell: And for the execution hereof, he gaue aucthoritie, to all Maiors, Bailiffes, and other officers through England, but specially to the Maior of London. He made a law also the same time against the



the excessive taking of Usurie by the Jewes, and that they should weare a certeine cognisaunce vpon their vppermost garment, whereby they should be knowne from Christians.

1274  
3

Parliament.

Lewlyn Prince of Wales again rebelled and was subdued

And this yere the king confirmed the liberties of the Citie of London, and graunted them some newe.

And at this time he helde his great Court of Parliament at Westminster, and summoned Lewlyn Prince of Wales to come to the same, the which presumptuously he denied. Wherefore then shortly after he entered againe into Wales, and so warred vpon the sayd Lewlyn, that he was constrained to submit himselfe to the kinges graces mercie, and obteyned it with great difficultie, as is beforesayd.

After this king Edward builded the Castell of flint, and strengthened the Castell of Rutland and other, with Englishe men, to kepe the Welshmen in due obedience, and so returned to London.

Walter Haruy chosen Mayor.

Wolkemote.

Walter Haruy deposed.

The afozenamed Walter Haruy who after long controuersie and strife by him made and continued against the Aldermen of London, and in the first yere of the king was at a folkemote holden at Paules crosse chosen Mayor of London, and continued out that whole yere to the great trouble and hurt of the Citie, and he was this yere accused of dyuerse perurges, and dedes done contrary to his othe. For the which, and for making of assemblies of the Commons that faouered him in his euill dedes, he was deposed of his Aldermanship and counsaile of the Citie for euer, and found suretie of xij. honest persons that he should be of good abearyng for keeping of the kinges peace within the Citie, for terme of his life.

1275  
4

Statute of Northmain.

1276  
5

David brother of Lewlyn Prince of Wales a spie.

And this yere was the statute of Northmain first enacted, which is that no man should geue vnto the Church any landes or rentes, without a special licence first obteyned of the king: which acte sithen that tyme is set out more largely, and diuers things added therevnto.

In this tyme the king had in his court one David brother vnto Lewlyn Prince of Wales, which David did vnto the king suche pleasaunt seruice that the king bare him such loue and fauour that he gaue him the Lordship of Froddesham in Cheshire, but afterwarde, it did right well appere, that he was but a Trayterous spie to geue his brother Lewlyn warning and knowledge, of all the kings will and minde.

1277  
6

And thys yere Michelmass Terme was kept at Shrovesburie, but at Hillarie Terme following, it was agayne remoued to Westminster. In the which by reason of carpyge and of great raynes that then did fall, the records were soze blemished and defaced.

1278  
7

The coyne soze clipped.

And in thys tyme a Parliament was holden at London, chiefly for the reformation of the kings coyne which then was soze clipped, by reason wherof, the same was much diminished and empayred.

And in the time of thys Parliament, manye of the Jewes in London, and other places of the Realme were taken and put in prison for clipping of Money, and in December following, dyuers enquestes were charged in London to enquire of the sayde Jewes and other that had so blemished the kings coyne. By the which enquestes the Jewes of the Citie, with dyuers Goldsmithes that kept exchange of Siluer were endicted. And shortly after Candlemas, the Mayor and Iustices of the lande, sat at London, where befoze

foze them was cast CCxxxvij. persons. Of the which were but three Englishe men, and all the rest were Jewes, and suche as came of Jewes borne in this Realme or else where, who were all at sundrie places & tymes put to execution.

A great execution of Jewes.

And this yere beganne the foundation of the black fryers beside Ludgate and of Baynardes Castell. And the same yere also was the Towne of Boston in Lincolneshire, greatly blemished with fyze.

Boston burnt

And at thys tyme the king caused the half peny and farthing to be coyned of Siluer: where befoze, other coyne of mettall went among the people, to their great noyaunce. But the lack of the afozesayde coyne in these oure dayes are a great losse and hinderaunce to the pouertie of thys Realme. And in the winter of thys yere, there fell so great snow, that thereof ensued much harne.

1279  
8  
Halfe peny & farthings lack in Englands.

At thys tyme David the brother of Lewlyn Prince of Wales (of whom befoze you haue heard) which dwelled in the kings court, to know the kings Counsaile, and thereof to informe hys brother: when he had that he wanted for, he secretly gate him into Wales to his brother, & prouoked him against the king in all that he might: and caused hym to victuall and man certaine Castelles within Wales, and specially the Castell of Swandon, wherein he much trusted, and gathered vnto him the Welshmen, by giftes and other meanes, so that he was verie strong.

1280  
9  
David brother of Lewlyn fled into Wales.

Whereof, when the king was informed, he woulde therevnto geue no credite, vntill he had sent thether, and receyued from thence the certaintie. But for so much as winter was then toward, he might not as then go thether with any power, and therefore he prouyded to sende men and victualles to strengthen the Castels of Flynt and Rutlande, and other holdes which he there had, and made prouision to warre vpon them in the beginning of the next spring.

But the king yet hearing more and more of the vnkedfastnesse of the welshmen, and to keepe them from the anoyeng of his holdes, sent thether the Erles of Northumberlande and Surrey with a lustie Crewe of souldiours, and with them went Sir Roger Clifford, Sir Wylliam Lyndsey, Sir Richard Tanny, and many other knightes and Esquires. The which with great courage entered Wales, and made with the Welshmen manye skirmishes vntill at the last vpon Palme Sunday, David with a great power of Welshmen, met with the sayde Lordes and knightes at a place neere to a Towne called Hauerden, where betwene them was a soze fight, but in the end the losse fell to the Englishe men, for there were slaine Sir Wylliam Lyndsey, Sir Richard Tanny with manye other, and Sir Roger Clifford was taken.

1281  
10  
The king sendeth a power into Wales to tame the Welshmen.

After the which ouerthrowe of the Englishe men, the sayd David layde siege vnto the Castelles of flint and Rutland. And his brother in that tyme warred and occupped the landes of Sir Edmond Mortimer, and wan the towne called Llanmawer, and threwe the Welshes thereof downe to the ground. This towne also is called Abilwith, or rather Oswitrey. It was not long after or the brute of the ouerthrowe of the Englishe men came vnto the towne, wherefoze he sped him the faster thetherward.

The Englishe men ouerthrowe.

Howe, while king Edward was busyed in the rescuyng of his men that were

1282  
11



Sir Roger Clifford  
drowned

were besieged of David, Sir Roger Clifford with other, which entended to rayse men to set vpon the Welshemen, was drowned by follie vpon a bridge made of Barges & Plankes to haue passed a water betwene Snowdon and Anglesey. And the thirde day of December next folowynge, was Lewlyn Prince of Wales slaine by sir Edmond Mortimer and his companie, and his head was sent vnto the king then being at Rutland: The which he sent vnto London, charging that it should be set vpon the Tower of London.

Lewlyn  
prince of wa-  
les slaine.

About this tyme was Marton College in Orford founded by Water Marton Bishop of Rochester, and Lord Chancelor of England, who was drowned passynge ouer the water of Rochester, hauing at that tyme no bridge for people to passe ouer as it nowe hath.

1283  
12

The king continuynge still in Wales, prosecuted David the brother of Lewlyn from towne to towne, so that at the last he was taken and brought to the king, about Michsommer, and there kept in ward, vntill the king had sped his businesse. And then had the king the whole countrie at his will, and gaue vnto Englishe Lordes, Townes in the middle of Wales, and deuyded the Countrie into shires, and ordeined there Shirifes & other officers in like maner as then was vsed in England, and as it is there now at this day. At Aberconow he made a strong Castell, where before there was a house of white Monkes: The which he remoued from thence, & prouided for them in another place called afterwarde Vale Royall. He also made then the Castell of Carnaruan, fast by Snowdon hill, and repayred againe the towne Alan Hatreuer aforesayd, which Lewlyn had beaten downe. Also he garnished the Castelles and holdes standynge vpon the sea syde with Englishe men, and made the Englischemen Lordes of the groundes belongynge to the same. And when the king had put the Countrie in good order, and all thinges were quieted, then about Michaelmasse he returned to Shrewesbury, where he helde a Parliament. In the tyme whereof the aforesayde Dauyd, as chiefe styrer & beginner of all this warre, was there demed to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, and so he was shortly after at the sayde towne of Shrewesbury, and his head sent to London, and set by the heade of his brother Lewlyn, or Lluelien.

Wales deuided  
into shires.

A parliament  
at Shrewes-  
bury.

David the  
brother of  
Lewlyn han-  
ged, drawn  
& quartered.

Edward of  
Carnaruan  
the kinges  
first sonne.

Lawrence  
Doket han-  
ged in Bowe  
Church.

Execution.

And this yere the king had his first sonne borne at the Castell of Carnaruan, while he was in Wales, and he was named Edward of Carnaruan, and was borne vpon the .xxv. day of Aprill, and was king after him.

In this yere also, there was found one Lawrence Docket a Citizen of London, deade and hanged in Saint Mary Boto Church in Chepe. For the which, enquities were made, and in the ende for that dede were attainted these .vij. persons folowynge, that is to say: Reignold of Lancaster, Robert Pynnot, Paule of Stepinhithe, Thomas Cordwayner, John Talanson, Thomas Russell, & Robert Scot, the which were all for that dede drawne & hanged. And a woman also for the same dede was brent. And Raufe Creppyn, Jourdan Goodchepe, Gilbert Clerke, and Geoffrey Clerke, were also attainted for the same cause: But they were repayed & sent vnto the Tower of London, where they remayned long after, but at the last were deliuered.

Lawrence be-  
twene y king  
and the Erle  
of Lecester.

And in this yere the great Conduit in London, standing against the church called Arres in Chepe was first begon to be made. And in this yere began a strife or vnkindnes to kindle betwene the king, & the Erle of Lecester, or as some

some wyte of Gloucester, which after turned to the great trouble of manye townes in Englande, but specially to the Citie of London, as after shall be shewed.

This yere the king seized the liberties of the Citie, and discharged the Maior that then was, who was named Gregoey Rokelley, and appoynted Stephen Sandwich to be Custos and Gardian of the Citie of London, and the same Sandwich continued in the office vntill Candlemas next folowynge, and then was he discharged, and Sir John Breton knight charged for the rest of the yere.

1284

13

Liberties of  
London a-  
gaine seized.

The cause of the displeasure that the king had against the Citie, as appereth by John Rastell, was that the sayd Gregoey Rokelley tooke certaine bribes of the Bakers, and suffered them to sell bread that lacked sixe or seven ounces in a penny loafe. But this appereth not to be a sufficient cause, for the offence of the Maior beyng but one man, to take away the liberties of the whole Citie who offended not: Wherefore I thinke there was some greater cause.

And in this yere was full finished and ended the newe woerke of the Church of Westminster, to the ende of the Quire, begon as before is shewed in the thirde yere of the thirde Henry: By which accompt, it should appere that the sayd Church was .lxxj. yeres in buildynge. But of the buildynge of this Church are sundrie opinions, as ye may se more at large in Fabian.

This yere the king helde his Parliament at Westminster, wherin were made the statutes called Additamenta Glocestrie, that is to say, additions of statutes ioyned to them which before were made at Gloucester.

1285

14

Additamenta  
Glocestrie.

Also it happened aboute this tyme that a Citizen of London named Thomas Biwelsdon, which in the tyme of the Barons warre before mentioned, had bene a great styrer by of the Commons of the Citie for to main- teine the Barons part against the king, was nowe newly accused, that he with other of euill disposition should make conuenticles and assemblies to the newe grieffe and disturbaunce of the Citie. Whereof report was made vnto the king, who remitted the inquirie thereof vnto Sir Raufe Sandwich then Custos of the Citie.

Then the sayd Thomas with other were put in sure and safe keeping vntill the matter were duely enquired of. After whiche inquisition made and found, report thereof was made vnto the king. Then the king sent downe a writ, and commaunded it to be proclaymed shortly after within the boundes of the Citie, whereof the effect was thus: That the sayde Thomas Biwelsdon, William de Heywood, Richard de Coundrys, Richard le Cofferre, Robert de Darby, Albyn de Darby, William Mayo Mercer, and John Ling Draper, with dyuerse other to the number of fiftie persons, should be banished out of the Citie for ever. And if any of the sayde fiftie persons were at that tyme of the Proclamation boyded the Citie for feare or otherwise, that they should remain & not retorne vnto the Citie vpon paine of losynge his life.

Citizens ban-  
nished for  
euill.

And in this tyme also, where of long tyme before the Marchant straungers comming with their Marchaundise were lodged within Citizens of the Citie of London, and solde all their wares by the procurement of hys hoste, for the which his sayde hoste had a certaine of every pounce. But now the sayde Marchauntes had so brought it to passe, that they might hier for themselves,

D.j.

themselves,



themselves, houses to dwell in, and sellers for stowage of their wares, so that no Citizen had to doe with them: By meane wherof, they used many deceits, both in utteraunce of false wares, and also in weightes which they used in their awne houses, to the great hurte of the whole Realme of Englande. Wherefore, sodainely search was made, and their weightes founde and proved false. And besides that, all suche wares as they shoulde have weyed at the kings Beame, they weighed much thereof at their awne houses, to the hinderaunce of the kinges Custome, for which offences against them proved, to the number of twentieth of the sayde straungers were arrested, and sent to the Tower of London, and their weightes burnt and consumed in West Cheape of London. But in the ende the sayde Marchauntes were delivered by making of fine to the king of a thousande pounde, when of a long season they had suffered harde and vyle imprisonment.

Straungers punished for hauing of false weightes

1286

Great summes of money was offered to the king to banish all the Jewes out of England.

King Edward did homage for the Duchie of Guyan.

Thys yere the commons of Englande offered vnto the king the fift part of their moiteables to haue the Jewes cleerly banished the realme of Englande: But the Jewes perceauing the intent of the commons, dyd present them, and gaue to the king great summes of money, but within fewe yeres after they were all exyled.

And in this yere about the beginning of May, the king sayled into France where he was most honorably receyued of Philip the French king, where king Edward did to him homage for the Duchye of Guyan. And after king Edward had remayned there awhile, he returned vnto Burdeaux, whither came vnto him certaine Ambassadors from the king of Spaine, with the which he helde long dalpaunce. Wherefore, of the French king he was suspected that he shoulde alpe himselfe with the king of Spayne agaynst the French king.

And this yere (sayeth Fabian) the Sommer was so hote that men dyed with very heat. And yet Come this yere was so plenteous that wheate was solde for thre shyllings and foure pence a quarter. But sayeth Baskell in hys Chronicle, the next yere followyng, by reason of vnseasonable and intemperate weather, there was a marvellous great dearth of Corne, for (sayth he) wheate was then worth. xvij. pence the Bushell, and after ward yere by yere it increased vntill it came to. xl. shyllings a quarter, which was a great price, because as he sayth, at that time. xx. pence of siluer weighed a full ounce, and it so continued vntill the reigne of king Henry the first, and then. xxx. pence made an ounce of Siluer. And in the tyme of king Edward the fourth. xl. pence made an ounce of siluer, and in the tyme of king Henry the. viij. three shyllinges and eight pence made an ounce of siluer, and now at this tyme being in the tenth yere of the reigne of our souereigne Lady Quene Elizabeth, fyve shyllinges maketh an ounce of siluer, but the standard of the ounce was euer at one stynt, although the baluation of coynes altered, as more plainly may appere in the statute made in the. li. yere of king Henry the thirde.

Corn plente

This was a great dearth, if ye confere the value of chey money vnto our money that we now present by haue. The after the rate of. xl. s a quarter, they of our money payd. vi. p. and that is. xv. s. for a bushell, & the no market though & yore cried out

1287

16

1288

17

About this time fell a great variaunce betwene Sir Paine Tiptoft Wardein of certein Castelles in Wales, and a Welthe knight called Sir Rice ap Mordock, or Meridock, so that sundrie skirmishes were foughten betwene them, and men slaine on both sydes, to the great disturbance of all the Countrie.

But in the yere folowing the sayde Rice to be reuenged of the aboue named

med Tiptoft, reysed a great multitude of Welshemen, and burnt and wasted diuerse townes in Wales, so that the king then being in Normandie sent vnto the Erie of Cornewall, then being the kings Lieutenant in England, that he should send thither an armie of knightes and good Souldiours to withstand the malice of the Welthe men. The which prepared shortly an armie, and went with them into the Borders of Northwales: where he with hys companie bare him so nobly and knightly, that in the ende the said Sir Rice was taken, and brought vnto Poerke, where he was after drowne, hanged, and quartered.

Rice ap Meridock taken, drowne, hanged and quartered.

1289

18

This yere and in the moneth of August, king Edward returned out of France, and came to the Citie of London, where he was honourably receyued by the Citizens, and conueyed to Westminster, where shortly after were brought vnto him many grieuous complaintes of diuerse of his Justices, as Sir Thomas Weyland, Adam Stretton, and other, whome the king caused to be strictly examined, and in the end they were found guilty of such trespasses and causes as they were accused of. Wherefore some of them were outlawed, and lost such goodes as they had, and the other punished by long imprisonment, and at the last deliuered by payng of great fines.

And in the ende of this yere, Alexander king of Scottes, as he was runnyng his horse, fell horse and man to the grounde and brake his necke, and died immediatly, by reason whereof there ensued great warre and trouble for the enheritance of that land. And at the last by the consent of king Edward, the crowne was geuen to John Bailioll, who after ward to gratifie the English nation, buylded a Colledge in Oxford nowe called Bailioll Colledge. But of this Bailioll, ye shall reade more in the. xxiii. yere of thys kinges reigne.

Alexander king of Scottes brake his neck.

Bailioll colledge in Oxford.

1290

19

And in the. xix. yere of this king, the staple of woolles was kept at Sandwicke, which afterwarde was kept at Coleys as long as it was English, but now it is holden at Bridges in Flaunders.

And this yere also, all the Jewes were banished this land, for the which the Commons gaue to the king a fiftene.

The Jewes banished.

Also at this time, Sir Gilbert de Clare Erie of Gloucester married dame Johan daughter of king Edward. This was called Johan of Acres or Alcon, for she was borne at Acres or Alcon a Citie in Jewry when king Edward was there, vpon his great iourney. And shortly after, the Duke of Brabandes sonne, maryed Margaret the Sister of the sayde Johan.

Gilbert de Clare Erie of Gloucester

This yere dyed Quene Alianor the kinges wife, & was buried at Westminster. This Gentelwoman as before is touched in the. xxxv. yere of king Henry the third, was sister vnto the king of Spaine: by whom king Edward had foure sonnes, that is to say, John, Henry, Alphons, and Edward, which Edward succeeded his father, for that the other thre dyed before their father. Also he had by her fyve daughters. The first Alianor, who was maryed vnto William Barre. The seconde Johan of Acres, or of Alcon, maryed vnto the Erie of Gloucester, the thirde Margaret, maryed to the Duke of Brabandes sonne, the fourth Mary, who was made a Nonne at Ambresbury, and the fift named Elizabeth, who was maryed vnto the Erie of Holland, and after his death she was maryed vnto Humfrey Boherum Erie of Herfort. And this yere also dyed olde Queene Alianor wife vnto king Henry the thirde, and

1291

20

Quene Alianor the kinges wife deceased.

Quene Alianor wife to king Henry the third deceased.

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mother



mother vnto this king Edward, whose heart was buried at the Gray Fryers Church in London, which now is called Chyrlies parische Church, and her bodie at Ambrisbury in the house of Nonnes.

Waldore sayth that the king hauing continuall warres as well in France as also in Wales & Scotland had greatly consumed his treasure, & one Lord Mylliam Marchian, being then highe treasurer of Englande perceyving the great rythes that then were in churches & religious houses, so put the same into the kings head, & they were all brought into the kings treasury: but not without the great grudge and grieffe of the people who thought much that the king would meddle with those holy things as they then called them. Howbeit the king being in neede, dissembled the matter, & yet not so content, did shortly after as shal appere obteyne of the spiritualtie the moytie of one yeres of their spirituall promotions and lyuings. Notwithstanding afterward the king considering their great burdens and entending somewhat to gratefie them againe, promised to graunt them something for to pleasure them if they would aske it at his hands. The bishops after consultation thereof had, did desyre to haue the law set at libertie, touching landes geuen in Normain to religious houses. But the king not minded that way, gaue them aunswere that it lay not in him to breake the lawe without the consent of the bodye of the realme by whome it was made, and so with fayre wordes put them off for that tyme.

And now againe the king helde his high Court of Parliament at London, vnto the which came the king of Scottes and dyuers Lordes of that Prouynce. And after he had remayned there a certayne tyme, he was then conueyed by dyuers Lordes of thys Realme, a great way vpon his iourney toward his awne Countrie.

And here by the way for a note, it happened one called Richarde Bagle an officer of London to arrest a man, and leadyng hys prisoner to the Compter, there came thre men and rescued the sayde prisoner, and tooke him from the officer: The which were pursued and taken, and by iudgement & laboe then vsed, they were brought into west Cheape in London, and there had their right handes stricken of by the wrestles.

About the midst of September following the Erle of Barre a Frenchman married Alianour the kinges daughter in the Towne of Wiltowe.

Now agayne the welshemen begaune to stirre, by the prouocation of one Madock: wherof when the king was informed, he in all haste sped him vnto Westchester, and about the sixt day of December wanne from the sayde Madock the Isle called Anglesey, and buylded netwe the Castle and Citie of Bewmarise, and brought the bustedfast welshmen to a better order and stay: and then he caused the woodes of the Countrie to be helwen downe, wherein before tyme they vsed to hyde them, as a Cony doth in his hole: and he so repayred the Castels and strong holdes, and buylded some netwe, in such wise that he caused the welshmen to be quiet and to go about their awne thrist, against their willes, for by the strength of those Castelles, they were kept from their olde accustomed rauynes and stealings, and put so to execution by the Capitaines of the saide Castels that they fell vnto occupation, and to brenge and sellyng, and gathered treasure together, and began to lyue after the manner of Englishmen, so that moze and moze that Countrey grewe vnto restfulnesse and peace.

And

And this yere the frenchmen with a certaine of Shippes landed at Douer, and spoiled that Towne, and bzent a parte of it. In which skirmishe was slaine one Thomas of Douer.

Douer bzent by 2 frenchmen.

This yere also as sayeth the french Chronicle, Charles de baloys brother vnto king Philip of Fraunce, was sent by his sayde brother into Gascoyne, with a great hoste. The which Charles layde his siege vnto the Castell of Ryon, wherein were at that tyme, Sir John Seynt John, and John of Briteyn, the which manfully and balauntly defended the aforesayde Castell against the frenchmen all that yere and moze.

Ryon Castell besieged.

Now in the. xiiij. yere of his reigne, for that he had great warres, as well with the french king as else where, he commaunded a newe subtedy to be leuyed vpon all Serplers of wolle goyng out of Englande, with all felles and Hydes in lyke maner. And besides this he required also of the Clergie all the money which they had graunted towarde the defence of the holpe lande, and the rather for that he hearde from the Court of Rome of the Popes maners, and therefore commaunded it to be brought into his treasure. And mozeouer, by a conuocation of the sayde Clergie, he had graunted vnto him towardes his warres, halfe of their spirituall and tempozall lands, beginning at twentie Marke benefice, and so ascending vppward, the which was not payde in one yere but by deuided porcions, it was payde in thre yeres next ensuyng. And of the lay fee or Tempozaltie of Englande, he had graunted vnto him the tenth penny of their moueables, the which was payde in two yeres next ensuyng.

1295  
24

A subtedy leuyed vpon Serplers of Wolle.

A great subtedy graunted of the Clergie.

This yere also was hanged drabone and quartered in London for treason done in Fraunce a knight called Sir Thomas Turbeuple.

Sir Thomas Turbeuple executed

Also about the time of Easter, when Charles de baloys as ye before haue heard, had lye long at the Castell of Ryon, and had no hope to wyne anye thing vpon the Englishmen but that daylie he lost the best of his knightes, he sent then for moze ayde and succour. At which tyme came vnto hym Sir Raufe dele Constable of Fraunce with a freshe company, and then assaulted it a newe. But when they had lye there a season, and sawe they preyayled nothing against their enemies, they went vnto a holde thereby named Boudency, and assaulted it, because the greatest parte of the souldiours there were Normans: and after viij. dayes, by appointment or otherwise, they gate the sayde holde, so that all the Englishmen had their libertie and goodes, and the Normanes were taken as prisoners, the which they brought after vnto the Castell of Ryon, and there in sight of the Souldiours, hanged all or thomozre parte of the sayde Normans. When the Gascoynes being within the Towne and Castell of Ryons, sawe their cosyns and Countreyemen hanged before their eyen, they cast in their minde, that it was done by treason of Englishmen, and that they woulde at length deale with them in lyke maner. By reason whereof, strife and barpaunce arose, betweene the Englishmen and the Gascoynes, so that eyther of them feared the treason of the other. For the which cause, Sir John Seynt John, and John of Briteyne, Sir Robert Cypstoft, Sir Raufe Canny, Sir Hugh Bardolph, and Sir Adam Cretyng, with dyuers other fled by Sea, & in that maner saved themselves: and soone after the sayde Towne and Castell of Ryons was wonne by the frenchmen, and the inhabitants of the same swozne vnto the french king.

Ryon Castell newly assaulted.

Boudency taken.

Ryon Castell is wonne.

P.iiij.

But

1292  
21

Richarde Bagle an officer of London.

A rescue vnto the d.

1293  
22

1294  
23

Rebellion in Wales.

The welshmen tamed & reformed.



Briefe collection of the homages done by the Scottishe Kinges vnto the Kinges of England.

The subiection and homage of the Kinge of Scottes.

Constantine Kinge of Scottes.

Alphunius Kinge of Scottes.

Malcolme Kinge of Scottes.

Dauid King of Scottes.

William King of Scottes.

Alexander Kinge of Scottes.

But here a little to returne back, ye haue befoze in the .xxiij. yere of thys king heard, that after the death of Alexander king of Scottes, many questions fell among the same Scottes, who by right of inheritaunce shoulde be king of that lande, considering that the sayde Alexander, had left after hym three daughters the which in the lyfe of their father were married. The first to Sir John Bapliol, the second to Robert le Bruze, and the thirde to one named Hastings. Many of the Lordes of Scotland woulde haue crowned Sir John Bapliol, by reason that he married the eldest daughter: But the friendes of Robert le Bruze withstoode it with all their power: And other there were, that helde with Hastings, so that after long strife and great variance the matter was brought befoze king Edwarde, as chiefe Lorde and Soueraigne of that lande, and all those that made clayme to the Crowne of Scotlande promised to abyde and stande vnto suche determination & iudgement, as king Edward should set therein. Then king Edwarde, to the ende that the Scottes should knowe perfetely, that the king of Englande ought of right to be their chiefe head and soueraigne, shewed vnto them suche olde wytyngs, as he a little befoze had caused to be searched & founde out, in the which it was conteyned by the authoritie of olde Chronickers and wyters, as Marianus the Scot, Wylliam of Walmesburie, Roger of Hunteyngdon and other, that in the yere of our Lorde nine hundred and twentie, king Edward the elder made subiect vnto hym the kings of Combrys and of Scottes. And in the nine hundred .xxi. yere the aforesayde Scottes and Combrys, chose the sayde Edwarde the elder to be their chiefe Lorde and patrone. And in the yere of our Lorde nine hundred. .xxvi. Athelstane then king of England subdued Constantine then king of Scottes with the Northumbres, and receyued of them againe othe and homage. And it is further founde in the sayde Chronicles, that Edgar ouercame Alphunius the sonne of Kyndus king of Scottes, and receyued of hym fealtie and homage, and helde him vnder his oberfaunce, as he had done his father Kyndus befoze tyme. Moreover it is there further witnessed, that Canutus in the .xvi. yere of his reigne subdued Malcolyn then king of Scottes, and receaued of him fealtie and homage. Furthermore, Wylliam Conquerour in the .vi. yere of his reigne subdued Malcolyne king of Scotlande, the which befoze tyme had receyued the sayde kingdome of the gift of Edward king and confessor. And Wylliam Rufus or Wylliam the Red, did in likewise to the sayde Malcolyn, and vnto his two sonnes that reigned in Scotlande the one after the other. And also Dauid king of Scottes did homage vnto Stephen then king of England. And Wylliam king of Scottes did homage vnto Henry the thirde at the time of his coronation, and after came vnto hys father Henry the seconde, when the aforesayde Henry was dead in Normandy and made his homage to him againe. This Henry that was sonne vnto Henry the second, is of many wyters named Henry the thirde, because he was the thirde king that was crowned of that name: But because he dyed befoze his father, his deedes be little spoken of, so that of some wyters he is nothing minded. And it followeth in the storie, how that Alexander king of Scots in the .xxxv. yere of Henry the thirde or sonne of king John, maryed at Porke Margaret the daughter of the sayde Henry, and did vnto him homage for the Realme of Scotlande, and bounde him and hys heyres kings of Scotland by his letters patents to

be

be true vnto the sayde Henry, and vnto his heyres kinges of Englande lyke as befoze Wylliam king of Scottes had bounde himselfe vnto the seconde Henry, as befoze in the .xxi. yere of his reigne is moze manifestly shewed. And moze, there was shewed vnto them the Popes Bulles, the which were sent befoze time into Scotlande, by auctoritie whereof, the kinges of Scotlande were accursed because they woulde not be obedient to their Lordes kinges of Englande.

¶ When all these presentes were scene by the Scottes, a day was assigned of meetyng at Nozham in the marches betwene England and Scotland, whether vnto the king came, & al the nobles and chiefe rulers of Scotland. And there and then also the king helde his high Court of Parliament, where openly in the presence of all the nobilitie of Scotland who were called specially thether, the king himselfe in the Churche of Nozham declared that the right of the Dominion and superioritie of the realme of Scotlande doth iustly apperteigne and belong vnto the Crowne of England, and therefore required of them to acknowledge and confesse the same, protestyng and making his bowe that he would defende the same his right with the aduenture of the losse of his life, and further he required of them that they would enter into bond, not onely to acknowledge him their chiefe and supreme Lorde, but also to abyde his sentence, order and iudgement, in appoyntyng and playng such a person to reigne ouer them, as their king, as should by his iudgement be thought to haue most right therevnto: But the Scottes not willyng to be bound, vnto many excuses, but at the last they consented: Where vpon all the Nobilitie of Scotland, and namely all those that made claime to the crowne, entered into bond, the tenor whereof foloweth, beyng made letters patentes, wherevnto were fixed their severall seales.

¶ All men that shall eyther see or heere these presentes, Florence Erle of Holland, Robert Bruze Lorde of Walley Androw, John Baplioll Lorde of Galloway, John Hastings Lorde of Aberganenny, John Comynes Lorde of Badenagh, Patrike of Dunbarre Erle of March, John Welly deputie for his father, Nicholas of Sules, William of Roos, sendeth gretyng in the Lord: Where as we beleue and thinke that we haue a right and title to the kingdome of Scotland, and our entent and meanyng is to declare, chalenge, and trie the same right and title befoze him which hath the superiour power, iurisdiction and auctoritie to debate and examine the same: And the noble prince Lord Edward by the grace of God king of England hath informed us by good and sufficient reasons, that the same belögeth to him, & that he ought to haue the superiour dominion of the kingdome of Scotlande, and the auctoritie to here, examine, and decyde our right and title. We of our awone proper accorde, not beyng compelled or enforced therevnto, will, and graunt to receyue our ryght and title befoze him as superiour Lorde of the land. Moreover we will and promise to obserue and holde his deede firme and stable: And that he shall haue and enioy the kingdome, to whome the better ryght and title shall befoze him be tryed and iudged. In witness whereof, we vnto these wytynges haue put our Seales, dated at Nozham the thirde day after the Ascension of our Lorde. 1291.

¶ Now after the Lordes of Scotland had acknowledged the superiority of Dominion of Scotland to apperteyne to the king of Englande, and had

sub-

Parliament holden at Nozham.

The confession of the Noblemen of Scotland, and their bond made to the king of Englande.



submitted themselves to receive and abide his determination and judgement: Then the king demanded of them the possession of their Castles, and of the whole realme of Scotland, that he might be peaceably sealed in his right of superiority and dominion mentioned in their former letters, to the intent the same might clerely appere vnto the worlde. And forthwith, they graunted vnto the kunges petition, and therevpon made their letters in French, and signed and sealed the same in maner and forme folowynge.

The letters of seysyn made by the Lordes of Scotlande vnto King Edward.

All men that shall see or heere these presents, Florence Erle of Holland, Robert Bruce Lorde of Wally Androw, John Bailioll Lorde of Gallo-way, John Hastings Lorde of Aberganenny, John Comyns Lorde of Badenagh, Patrike of Dunbarre Erle of March, John Welsy Deputie for his father, Nicholas Sules, and William of Roos sende gretyng in our Lorde: Forasmuch as we of our good will and common assent, without all compulsion haue yeldd and graunted vnto the noble Prince Lorde Edward, by the grace of God king of England, that he as the superior Lorde of the land of Scotlande hath power to heere, examine, and decyde our chalenges and lites which we entende to declare and proue for the receyving of our ryght and title before him as the superior Lord of the land: promisyng moreouer that we will obserue firme and stable whatsoeuer he iudgeth or determineth, and that he shall obteyne the kingdome of Scotland, whose title shall before him be proued and iudged to be most lawfull: But forasmuch as the said king can neyther make nor accomplishe his examination without iudgement, neyther ought iudgement to be without execution, nor can he duely make execution without the possession and seysyn of the sayde lande and Castles of the same: We therefore will, permit, and graunt, that he as the superior Lorde shall haue for the accomplishyng and perfourmance of the premisses, the seysyn of the whole land of Scotlande, and Castles of the same, vntill suche tyme as the matter be determined betwene them, who make claime and challenge the right to be king of Scotland: But yet vpon this condicion, that before the sayde king Edward haue the seysyn, he make good and sufficient assurance vnto the sutors, wardynes and communalte of the kingdome of Scotland, for the restitution and redeliuerie to them of the kingdome, with all the royaltie, dignitie, and dominion, liberties, customes, rightes, lawes, bles, possessions, and all what soeuer therevnto apperteyne, in the same state wherein they were at the tyme of seysyn deliuered to hym: And he shall deliuer it vnto him to whome by right it shall be due, according to his royall iudgement: Sauyng vnto the king of England the homage of him that shall be king. And this restitution shall be made within two monethes after the tyme that this title shall be discussed, ratified and established: The reuenues of the aforesayd land in the meane tyme shall be receyued and layd bp in safe custodie, and shall be well kept by the handes of the treasurer of Scotlande that now is, and his whom herevnto the king of England shall assigne, & this to be done vnder their scales, sauynge a reasonable sustentation of the lande, Castles, and ministers of the kingdome. In witnesse of all the premisses, we haue vnto these writynges put our scales, dated at Porham the Wednesday next ensuyng the Ascension of our Lorde. 1291.

These two aforesaid letters, the king caused sundry copies of them to be made, & sent the same vnder his priuy seale to diuerse Abbeyes in the realme,

of

of England in the .xv. yere of his reigne, that they might there be recorded for perpetuall memory, & to be published by the Monkes in their Chronicles. And forthwith, by the common assent of the nobilitie of Scotlande, the king had the seison and possession of the whole realme of Scotland, and helde the same vntill suche time as he had determined who of right was the next heire to the sayde kingdome.

King Edward is seised of all Scotland

The same yere the king of Englande, after the feast of the natiuitie of Saint John Baptist went into Scotland, and there receiued the allegations of those that made claime to the kingdome of Scotlande, according to the auctorizy to him committed, and did cause to be elected and chosen. xl. persons that is to say, xx. of England, and xx. of Scotland, which with good aduise-ment should consider vpon their allegations, and to make report vnto him of their sentence and iudgement, before the feast of Saint Michell then next folowynge. And when the sayde feast came, after great and long debatynge, by the consent of them all, king Edward adiudged the kingdome of Scotland of right to apperteyne to John Bailioll, which came of the eldest daughter of Dauid king of Scottes. Robert de Bruce, betwene whome and the aforesayde John the strife did chiefly consist, although he had some colour of title, yet he descended of the second daughter of Dauid, and so his claime tooke no place: Wherefore the aforesayde John Bailioll at the feast of Saint Andrew next folowynge, was with much honour brought vnto the Regall seate, and in the same was placed, and afterward crowned with great solemnitie in a Church of a house of Chanons in Scotland.

King Edward iudged the kingdome of Scotland to John Bailioll.

After his coronation he came vnto the king of England, who then kept his feast of Christmasse at Newe Castell vpon Tyne, and there made his homage with these wordes.

John Bailioll doth homage to King Edward for the kingdome of Scotland.

I John Bailioll king of Scottes do knowlege me to be your liege man for all the kingdome of Scotland, and of all those thinges that in any wyse belong to the same, and that I holde the same kingdome, and of right I ought and claime to holde the same of you, and of your heyres kinges of England with the aduenture of my lyfe and members, and of all earthly honour against all men that can liue and die.

And the kyng receyued his homage in forme aforesayde, addyng a sauynge for his owne and others rightes. And a litle as the king had receyued this homage of John Bailioll aforesayd, he without any delay restored to the said John the whole kingdome of Scotland with all the appurtenances, &c.

And this yere was taken the aforesayde Madock or Meridock, which as ye heard before in the .xxiii. yere of the reigne of this king caused y welsh men to rebell, and he was drawen and hanged at London.

Madock or Meridock taken and hanged.

The king shortly after caused a great quantitie of wheate to be gathered and taken vp in England to the number (as some write) of an hundred thousand quarters, and sent the same into Gascoyne and Guyan. And shortly after he sent thether Sir Edmond hys brother Erle of Lancaster, Sir Henry Lacye Erle of Lyncoln and Sir William Weyseye Baron, with dyuers other Lordes and knightes, to strength such people as he there had ready while he prepared another armie against the Scottes.

1296

25

Edmond erle of Lancaster.

Ye haue heard in the former yere howe Sir John Bayliell king of Scottes made othe and homage vnto king Edward for the kingdome of Scotlande.



Scotlande . Of the which he repented him shortly after by reason of the counsell of the Abbot of Menros, as sayeth Reynulph, although it shoulde seeme to be as well by the counsell of the French king, as maye appere by wordes that are written in the French Chronicle . But howsoever it was, full vntrely he forsooke his former othe and promise, and repyled warre against the king. Wherfore king Edward sped him thether with a great host, minding to haue made a generall spoyle and destruction of that nation, but that he was partly perswaded and steyed by some that made excuses for Bai-lioll, but chiefly for the people. Notwithstanding the king proceeding forth on his purposed iourney came to Newe Castle vppon Tyne, at the which place he caused John king of Scottes to be sommoned by a publique Edict that he should appeere and answer vnto such things as should be objected against him at a daye and place prefixed: But Bai-lioll appered not nor none for him, and therefore the king determyned to proceede in his pretended purpose, and wyth good speede he passed to Berwick and layde siege vnto the Towne: But the Scottes defended it manfully, and bet the Englishmen backe, and bzent some of the English Shippes. With the which victoery, they were so inflamed with pride, that in derision of the king, they made certaine peeuishe and mocking tymes which I passe ouer.

When king Edward heard of the pride of the Scottes and vnderstoode of their foolishe tymes, he was somewhat moued, and therfore so encouraged his knightes, that they gaue a newe onset on Barwick, and wanne the Dicke of the towne, and after in processe with great labor & daunger wanne the Bulwarkes, so that they came vnto the Gates and made there so strong an assault that in the ende they wanne the towne, and slue of the Scottes (as sayth dyuers writers) aboute the number of. xxv. thousande, and as Hector Boethus the Scot wyrteth in his Chronicle in the. xiiij. Booke and seconde Chapter, the slaughter of people was so great that a Myll might haue bene well dryuen by the space of two dayes, with the streames of bloud that at that tyme ranne of the ground. If you thinke not this to be truth, I will not enforce you, but remember it is the tale of a Scot, who as he is to be suspected in this, so is the truth of his storie to be doubted of in a great number of places mo. And there were taken prisoners Sir Mylliam Douglas, Sir Symon de Frisell, the Erle Patrike and Sir Robert Bruze with diuers other. And in short time after, the wardeyn of the Castell of Berwike, perceyuing that to him was sent no succour, yeelded by the sayde Castell by apointment. And when the king had possessio of the Castell & Towne of Berwike he then strengthened them with Englishmen. And afterwarde wanne the holdes of Tyndall, of Echam, of Myerbyrd and of Lamerstock, with diuers other.

And while that king Edward was thus busied about the wynnning of the aforesayde holdes, he sent Sir Hugh Spencer with Sir Hugh Percere and other noble men, with a parte of his hoste to laye siege vnto the Castell of Patrick of Dunbarre. Where when they had lyen a certaine tyme, an armie of the Scottes came thether to remoue the siege, with whome the Englishmen had a fierce and a cruell battayle, but in the ende, by the help of God, the Englishmen had the victorie, and slue of the Scottes aboute the number of twentie thousande, and lost of the English company a very small number, which as sayeth Carton, Cowper and other, were but. xvij. persons.

And

The Scots  
rebell.

A great  
slaughter of  
Scottes.

Hector Boe-  
thius a great  
lyer.

Prisoners.

Dunbarre  
wonne.

Dunbarre  
besieged.

Victory had  
the Scottes.

And after this victorie the towne and Castell of Dunbarre was wonne, in the which were taken prisoners thre Erles, seauen Barons and. xxvij. knightes with diuers men of the clergie. Then the king went to Edenborough, and shortly after wanne the Towne and Castell: In which were founde the Regalyes of Scotland, that is to saye, the crowne with the scepter and the cloth of estate, the which after, were offered by king Edward at the Shrine of S. Edward in westmyenster the xvij. day of June in the yere next following.

And at this time the king being at Berwike and fortifying the same, the king of Scotlande wyrteth a letter vnto him and in the same resigneth hys homage and fealtie, the Copie of which letter followeth.

The renowned prince and Lozde, Edward by the grace of God king of England: John by the same grace king of Scotland sendeth greeting: where as you and they of your realme by violent power haue openly and very often inferred and done to vs and to the inhabitants of oure realme. greuous, yea rather intollerable iniuries, contemptes, annoyances, and also innumerable losses and dammages, contrarie vnto the liberties of oure realme, and also against God and all iustice, whereof you are not, nor ought not to be ignorant by cityng and sommonyng vs to appere out of our realme, and vnlawfully vering vs, for euery small and light morion of your minde and pleasure, by entring vpon the Castelles, lands and possessions of vs and our subiects which are within our realme, without our demerites or deserts interceptyng our Marchaunts as well by Sea as by lande, by sleying and murthering other the inhabitants of our realme, by violent takyng and carryng our people out of our dominion, and there with you deteyning and imprisonyng of them. For reformation whereof, we haue often times sent our Ambassadors: But they as yet not onely remaine vncorrected, but also from daye to daye more greuous iniuries are by you and on your subiects behalfe exaggerated and heaped by. For you now in cruell maner haue entered our marches with an innumerable multitude of armed men, hauyng gathered together a generall hoste to the entent to disbenefite vs and the inhabitants of our realme, and thenceforth proceeding into our kingdome, haue both by Sea and also by lande committed dyuers tymes murtheres and brenned our Townes, and also haue made assaultes and violent inuasions: We not being able any lenger to susteyne the sayde iniuries, contemptes, griefes, dammages and fierce assaultes, (by reason of our fealtie and homage to you done) to the doyng whereof we were enforced by violence and threatenings) we can neyther defende our selues nor oure kingdome, for the defence whereof we are bounde by othe: we therefore in our owne name, and in the names of all and singular the inhabitants within our kingdome, doe by these presentes yeelde agayne vnto you and resygne all that our fealtie and homage, as well of our selfe as of all other that inhabite within our kingdome, which are bounde to you eyther by force of their awone fealtie done for suche landes as they holde within our kingdome, or else generaly for the homage which we haue done.

The king when he had read thys letter did admit the resignation of the homage, and commaunded hys Chauncelour that the same should be enrolled and recorded for perpetuall memorie, and then passed on his iourney

and

Dunbarre  
wonne.

Edenbo-  
rough wonne

The Rega-  
lies of Scot-  
land taken.

A letter sent  
from y king  
of Scottes  
to the king  
of England,  
wherein the  
sayde king  
of Scottes  
resigneth his  
homage and  
fealtie.

The resigna-  
tion of homage  
and fealtie.

King Ed-  
ward admit-  
teth the re-  
signation of  
Scottishe  
kings ho-  
mage.



and tooke and ouerthrewe dyuerse townes and Castels, and at the last passed the Scottish Sea, and came to a towne in Scotland called saint Johns by-  
on the day and feast of Saint John the Baptist, where he solemnly kept the same feast certaine dayes.

And while these things were in doyng, John Bailloll king of Scot-  
lande sawe that he was forsaken of all men, and that he had no power hable to resist or withstande the power of the king of Englande: wherefore he sent his Ambassadors vnto him praiyng for peace and desiryng mercy. To whom the king being mooued with pittie sent a countermaund that the sayde king John wyth his Nobles should come with his messenger vnto hys Castell of Buthyn within .xx. dayes next following, and there to treat. And the king of England sent at that tyme as his Ambassador, Anthony Bishop of Duresme with a full power & auctoritie, vnto the which place the king of Scots with his Nobles came at the day prefixed, who after much controuersie and debating of sundrie cases, did at the last simply and playnly submit himselfe vnto king Edward, and resigned vnto hym the kingdome of Scotlande to be ordered and gouerned according to his will and pleasure. And for the perfor-  
mance of the sayd submission, the king of Scottes deliuered his sonne in ho-  
stage, and caused his letters of submission to be made in frenche in forme following.

Iohn by the grace of God king of Scotlande, to all whosoever shall see or  
I here these present letters: knowe ye that for as much as we by euill & false counsaile, and by our foolish simplicitie haue most greenously offended and prouoked our Lorde Edward by the grace of God king of Englande, Lorde of Irelande and Duke of Aquitayn in many things, that is to saye, that in the time that we remayned in his fealtie and homage, we ioyned our selues vnto the french king, who was then his enemy and yet is, onely for the conclusion of a mariage to haue bene procured betwene the daughter of the sayde french king and our sonne. And for the further grieue and offence made vnto our sayde Lorde the king, we ioyned with the sayde french king in armor against the sayde king of Englande to the vttermost of oure power by order of warre and all other wayes of enemie. And furthermore by our peruerse counsaile we defyed our sayd Lorde the king of England, and put our selves out of his fealtie and homage, and sent our men of warre into his lande of Englande burnyng and spoilyng the same, & caryeng from thence sundrie prayes, and committed sundrie murthers and other dammages. And the lande of Scotlande which is of his fee, we mainteyned against him, plantyng and platyng men of warre in sundrie Castels and Townes for the defence of the sayde land against him, purposing to haue remoued him from his sayde fee, for the which trespasse our sayd Lorde the king of England entred into Scotlande with his power, and the same conquered and possessed, notwithstanding any thing that we were hable to doe against hym, as it was right lawfull for him to doe as the Lorde of the fee, because we did resigne vnto hym our homage and rebelled agaynst him: we therefore being agayne restored to our full power, of our free wyll redelyuer vnto him the realme of Scotlande and all the people of the same with all the homages. And in wytnesse hereof, these our letters we haue made patentes, dated at Buthyn the .x. day of Julij in the fourth yere of our reigne.

¶ Shortly

The Scot-  
tish king  
prayeth for  
peace and  
mercy.

The submit-  
tion of the  
king of Scots  
to  
the king of  
England.

The king of  
Scottes re-  
signeth the  
croune and  
kingdome of  
Scotland to  
king Ed-  
ward.

¶ Shortly after this, king Edward called his Parliament at Berwick and thether came all the nobilitie of Scotlande, and there did vnto him fealtie and homage. And for a perpetuall remembrance thereof, they caused the same to be made by their letters patents sealed with their seuerall seales, the tenour whereof ensueth.

¶ All that shall here or see these letters, John Compnes Lorde of Bar-  
denagh and so of every one of the nobles and Lordes, greetyng: for as much as we are come to the fidelitie & pleasure of the most renowned Prince and our dere Lorde Edward by the grace of God king of Englande, Lorde of Irelande and Duke of Aquyteyn, we doe promise for vs and our heyres, vnder paine of our bodie, Castels and all things which we may haue, that we will serue him well and truly against all people which may lyue and dye, and at all tymes when we shall be required and forewarned by our aforesayd Lorde the king of Englande or his heyres: And that we shall not knowe anye damage or harme vnto them, but that we shall withstande the same with our whole might and force, and geue knowledge therof vnto them: And for the performance hereof, we bynde vs and our heyres and all oure goodes. Furthermore, we haue both sworne vpon the holy Euangelistes, and also afterwarde we all and euery of vs by himselfe haue made homage vnto our sayde Lorde the king of Englande in these wordes.

I become your liege man of lyfe and members & earthly honor against  
all men that may lyue and dye. And the sayde Lorde our king receyued this homage in these wordes.

We receyue the same for the landes of which you are now seased, sauyng  
our title or the title of other, and exceptyng the landes which John Bailloll in tymes past king of Scotland gaue vnto vs after that we had deliuered to him the kingdome of Scotlande, if peradventure he hath geuen any.

Moreover, we all and euerye of vs by himselfe hath made fealtie and  
loyaltie vnto our Lorde the king aforesayde in these wordes.

I will be faithfull and loyall, and will obserue my fealtie and loyaltie to  
Edward king of Englande and his heyres, of lyfe and members and earth-  
ly honour against all men which may liue and die, and neuer for any will I beare armour nor be in counsaile or ayde agaynst hym or his heyres in anye thing that may happen, but will faythfully acknowledge and doe those ser-  
uices which doe apperteyne vnto the tenement that I clayme of hym, so God helpe me. &c. In witness of these things, the letters patents are made and sealed with our Seales, dated at Berwick the .xxv. yere of the reigne of our Lorde king Edward of England. &c.

And at this time the king made John Warreyn Erle of Surreyn and  
Suffex keeper of the Realme of Scotlande, and Sir Hugh Cressyngham  
high treasurer of the same Realme. And he made William Ermesby chiefe  
Justice of the same and commaunded him to call befoze him all such as helde  
landes of him, and to take of them homage and fealtie.

And these things done, he sent John Bailloll king of Scotlande to the  
Tower of London, and assigned vnto him a conuenient samely, and graun-  
ted him liberty to go. &c. While about in compasse. And shortly after he trans-  
lated John Comines Erle of Bardenagh, & Mein of Lawghan out of Scot-  
lande and sent them into England beyond Trent, commaundyng them vpon  
paine

¶

A parliament  
holden at  
Berwick.

The king of  
England re-  
ceyued the  
homages of  
the Scottes.

Homage.

Fealtie.

King Ed-  
ward appoin-  
teth a keeper  
of the realme  
of Scotland.

The king of  
Scottes is  
sent to the  
Tower of  
London.



paine of their hedgs not to retorne again into Scotland so long as he had waite with fraunce. And sone after he returned into Englad with many prisoners.

But while these traunples were taken in hande in Scotland, the Engliche men susteyned many harde and sharpe showres in Gascoygne and Guyan. Among the which, one is remembred in the french Chronicle, sayng, that Edmond Duke of Lancaster dyed at Bayon, after whose death, while the towne and other strong holdes prepared them to withstand the french men, Robert Erle of Arthoys, which a little before had encountered with sir John Saint John, and had bene of him ouerset, reassembled his companie, and made him another skirmishe. In which he slue vpon an hundreth Engliche men and Gascoynes, and tooke prisoners the afozenamed Sir John Saint John, Sir William Mortimer, and other to the number of. lxx. the which were sent into fraunce into diuerse prisons.

And soone after the king with a puissaunt army, sayled into Flaundrys in the moneth of August, to ayde and helpe Guye then Erle of Flaundrys against the french king, the which at that tyme was sore vexed by the french king, for he had wonne from him the towne of Marquet, and the Countrie thereabout. And for the more trouble and vexation of the sayde Guye, the french king caused Robert Erle of Arthoys to invade the Countrie of Flaundrys towarde Picardie, and encountered with the same Guye nere vnto a towne called Furnes. Where betwene the sayde two Erles was foughten a sharpe battaile, so that many men were slaine vpon both partes. After which fight the Erle of Flaundrys sped him toward Gaunt, where king Edward at that tyme was, and the Erle of Arthoys drewe him toward the french king, the which shortly after was receyued into the towne of Bruges. In the which tyme and season, while the sayde two kinges lay thus at eyther towne, a meane of peace was treated of, and finally a peace was concluded betwene the two kinges, and betweene the french king and Guye Erle of Flaundrys, butill the feast of all Saintes then next ensuyng. And continued from that day vnto the feast of all Saintes then two yeres folowng. After which peace so stablished, king Edward departed from the towne of Gaunt and went vnto Burdeaur: And the french king returned into fraunce, and prisoners were deliuered on both parties.

Now while king Edward was thus occupped in Flaundrys, the Scots by the entremment of the french king, to the extent to make king Edward to kepe home, and that he should not ayde the Erle of Flaundrys, began to make warre vpon the kinges souldiours, which the king had left there in diuerse holdes. And also vpon the borders of Northumberland, and made sharpe warre vpon the inhabitants of that Countrie. And for that Sir John Baplioll their king, was at that tyme prisoner in the Tower of London: Therefore the sayde Scottes made them a Capitaine, whome they named William Walys, a man of vnknown or low birth, to whom they obeyed as vnto their king. Anon as the king heard of the rebellion of the Scots, which to him was no great wonder, considering their great vnstedfastnesse, he wrote his letters vnto sir Henry Percy Erle of Northumberland, to sir William Latimer, and to sir Hugh Cressyngnam then treasurer of England, and to other, that they in all goodly haste should make provision to withstand the Scottes. The which persons after the receipt of the kings letters, sped them all

Edmond Duke of Lancaster dead.

1297

26

The king sayled into Flaundrys.

The battaile of Furnes in Flaundrys.

A peace concluded.

1298

27

The Scots againe rebell.

William Walys made Capitaine of Scotland.

all in speedy maner, so that they entered Scotland shortly after, and compelled the Scottes to retorne backe vnto a towne named Streuclyn, where in a skirmishe foughten betwene the Engliche men and the Scottes, sir Hugh Cressyngnam afozenamed and dyuerse other Engliche men were slaine. But yet the Scottes were holden so streight of the Engliche hoste, that after that skirmishe, they would not of a certeine time come in plaine fielde againe, but kept them within their Castelles and strong holdes.

And about this tyme certeine of London brake by the Tonne in Cornehyll in London, and tooke out certeine prisoners from thence which sir John Briteyn as custos of the Citie had committed thether. By the which it maye appere, that there hath bene a prison in the streete of Cornehyll before tyme, which then was called the Tonne, as nowe we call them the Coumpters. For the which ryot, the sayd persons, that is to say Thomas Romaine, and viij. other, were afterwarde grievously punished, as first by imprisonment, and after by fynes.

This yere king Edward in the moneth of October returned into England, and so to Winchester, where the Citizens of London made such labour vnto his grace, that shortly after they obtained graunt of their liberties, which had bene kept from them by the space of. xij. yeres and more, so that on saint Edwardes day next folowng they chose them a Maior, where by all the tyme aforesayd their Custos or Gardian was put in by the king, or by such as the king would assigne: But it is to be thought that this was not redemed without summes of money, for as some write it cost the Citie thre thousande markes.

This yere also king Edward put out of his protection certeine Aliens that were richly benefited in Englande: The cause was for that the sayde Aliens would not ayde the king with their goodes, as the other of his lande did, but purchased an inhibition of Boniface the. viij. that they & their goodes should be free from all the kinges disnes and takkes. Therefore the king seised the temporalties, and suffered them with their spiritualties, butill they had agreed with the king.

And about this tyme there were a certeine number of persons that fell to diggyng in London in the Church called saint Martynes le graund, for certeine treasure that should be there hidden. But they laboured in vaine, for there was nothing found.

And this yere the king prepared a strong power against Scotland, and went himsele thether. And first appoynted his Lordes with thre companies to mete with him at Forke, whether came a great hoste, the which he himsele led into Scotlande, and brent and spoyled the Countrie as he went, and taried a while at Berwike. And from thence he sped him in winnyng of Castels and townes as he went, vntill he came to a towne called Fankirke, or Fankirke, where the. xxij. day of July met him the power of Scotland, and gaue vnto him a sore battaile: But in the ende the victorie fell vnto the Engliche men, so that of the Scottes were slaine in the fielde as witnesseth sundrye Authours. xxxij. thousand, and of Engliche men but barely. xxvij. persons. After which discomfiture, the Scottes yelded vnto the king the greatest part of their strong holdes and Castelles, that they before had holden against him, and made vnto him a newe othe and promise, and yelded themselves vnto his

D.ij.

grace

Battell of Streuclyn.

The Scots put the Engliche men to the worse.

This prison was kept in the place that nowe the conduit in Cornehyll stande by, for that was called the Tonne.

The liberties of London againe recoverd.

Certain Aliens that were benefited are put out of the kinges protection.

King Edward yet againe made cruell warre vpon the Scottes.

The battaile of Fankirke.

A great slaughter of Scottes.

The Scots once againe make their homage.



grace and mercy.

And when the king had set that Countre in an order, he then returned into England, and so to London: where by the aduice of certeine of his counsaile, he sodeinly condemned certein coynes of money called Dollards, Crocardes, and Rosaryes, and caused them to be brought to netwe coynage, to his great aduauntage.

The latter ende of this yere there were certeine Ambassadors sent from the Pope to the king of England, earnestly entreatyng the king for the deliuerie out of prison of John Baylioll late Scottishe king, which now was in the Tower of London, and they promised the king in the Popes name, that he should be safe from troubleng eyther of the king or of his realme, and that no perill should come by his deliuerance. And after that the king had conferred with his counsaile, and considered of this the Popes request, he considered there vnto, and made deliuerie of the sayd John Baylioll vnto the Popes messengers, and they conueyed him into Fraunce to his awne landes called Bayliolles landes, and there left him in safe keepyng, vnder the order and gouernement of certeine Prelates.

And yet againe the king heryng that the Scottes were not in quiet, but were as brag and as busie as before they had bene, therefore he made nowe his thirde boyage into Scotland, and did so Princely, and valiauntly, that within short time after his comyng thether, he subdued the greater part of the land. And forward he went to the Castell of Estrinelyn, wherein were many of the great Lordes of Scotland, and he compassed the Castell with a strong siege, but he lay there somewhat long without any great aduauntage or hurt done vnto the Scottes: wherefore, of pollicie he caused to be made two payre of Gallowes in the sight of the Castell, and afterward commaunded proclamation to be made, that if the Scots by a certeine day would yelde that Castell vnto the king, they should haue lyfe and limme: and if not, but that he wanne it by strength, as many as were within the sayd Castell should be hanged vpon those Galowes, no estate nor person to be excepted.

Nowe when the Scottes had aduised themselves well vpon this Proclamation, and considered the strength of their enemies & their awne weaknesse and feblenesse, and lack of succour, they assented to yelde them and their Castell vnto the king, which shortly they did: whereof when king Edward was possessed, he stuffed the same with Englishe knightes, and after tooke a newe othe of the Lordes and Capitaynes, the which he found closed within that Castell, of true and faythfull alleageance, and then suffered them to go where they lyked.

And when William Walys, which as before is sayde pretended the rule and gouernaunce of Scotland, heard tell that the strong Castell of Estrinelyn was yeldd vnto king Edward, and that the Lordes and knightes therein founden (in whome he much trusted) were swozne to the kinges alleageance, he feared sore least the sayde company would betray him, and bring him vnto the king: wherefore he with his adherentes, withdrew them into the Marches, and other such places, where they thought them selues safe from pursuyng of the kinges host.

Then the pooze Commons of the lande presented them selues by great companies, and put them wholly in the kinges grace and mercye, so that the king

Coynes of money condemned.

Ambassadors sent from the Pope to king Edward for the deliuerie of John Baylioll late King of Scottes.

1299

28

The Scots againe rebell and are subdued.

Estrinelyn besieged.

Estrinelyn Castell is yeldd to the king.

William Walys flyeth from king Edward.

The Scots submit themselves vnto the kinges mercy.

king then thought that he was in peaceable possession, or at the least in a great suretie of the land. Wherefore, after he had caused to be swozne vnto him the rulers of dyuers Borowghes, Cities and towne, with other officers of the lande, he returned vnto Barwike, and so into Englande, and lastly to Westminster.

And while the king was thus occupied in Scotland, the Queene before mencioned, that is to say, the Lady Margaret sister to the French king, was conueyed from Cauntobury to London, and by the way there met her five hundred Citizens in one Lyuery of red and white, with the cognisaunce of dyuerse misteries brodered vpon their sleues, and receyued hir foure miles without the Citie, and so conueyed her through the Citie, which then was richely hanged, vnto Westminster, and there she lodged.

When the king was returned out of Scotlande, he caused shortly after an inquisition to be made through his lande, which afterwarde was called Troplebalstone. This was made vpon all officers, as Maiors, Shirifes, Baylifes, Archeters, and other officers that misbehaued themselves in their offices, or had vsed any extortion or euill dealing with the kinges people, otherwise then they might lawfully do by vertue of their offices. By reason of which inquisition, many were accused, and redeemed their offices by grievous fynes to the kinges great profite and aduauntage. Other offences and forfeitures were sought out also, as forfeitures agaynst the Crowne, the which brought great summes of money into the kinges Coffers, toward the great charges of his warres that he susteyned in Wales, Fraunce, and Scotland, as before is shewed.

And as sayth Polydore, when king Edward returned out of Scotland into England, because he would not leaue any monument or remembraunce of the former estate of their Kinges, he caused therefore to be brought from thence a stone Chayre, in the which their kinges were wont to be crowned, and the same nowe remaineth in Westminster Church.

And the sayde tyme also the Lorde Chaunceloz and Judges came from Porke, where they had remayned and kept their termes by the space of seven yeres, and now came to London by the kinges commaundement.

It chaunced at this tyme that maister Langton then Bishop of Chester, made a grievous complaint to the king of Sir Edward his eldest sonne, for that he with Piers of Gauestone and other wanton and wilde persons, had broken the Parke of the sayde bishop, and riotously destroyed the game within it. With the which complaint the king was sore agreued against his sonne, and commaunded him to Prison and the other his complices. And afterward when the king was fully and truly informed of the lewde and wanton dispositions of the sayd Piers Gauestone, he therefore banished the sayde Piers out of England for euer. But after the death of king Edward, this banishment continued not, for he was againe restored by his sonne, whereof ensued much harme and trouble, aswell to the king, as also to the Nobles and whole Realme.

And thys yere dyed Edmond Erle of Cornewall the forme of Richarde sometime Erle of that Countre and king of Allmayn without Issue, wherefore that Erldome returned againe to the crowne of Englande.

And also about thys tyme the king gaue vnto Sir Edward his sonne the

The coming of Queene Margaret into Englad.

A strange iurie.

Tropleball.

Langton bishop of Chester, complained to the king vpon Piers & his warde.

The king commaunded his eldest son to prison for offending of a subiect.

1300

39



the principality of Wales, & ioyned therunto the said Erledome of Cornwal.

The writer of the Scottishe Chronicle, namely Hector Boethus setteth forth a great ouerthrowe that the Scottes gaue vnto the Englishmen in this yere, at Rossyng, where sayth he, there was not one Englishe man that escaped alyue, and he sayeth further, that the Englishmen came vpon them with the number of. xxx. thousand men deuyded into thre seuerall battailes, and that the Scottes were in number but eyght thousand men, and yet they gaue the ouerthrow to all the three battailes, beginning with the first whom they banquished, and then came the seconde and set freshe vpon them, whom also they ouerthrowe, and lastly came the thirde battayle lyke wise freshe vpon them, and although the Scottes beyng so small a number, and were sore boeried with the fight and ouerthrow of the two former armies, yet espyeng the thirde to approche, they tooke their stomakes so couragiously vnto them and gaue them so fierce and sharpe an onset, that they ouerthrow them man and mothers sonne. But as sayeth the aforesayde Scot, this victorie lasted not long, for after king Edward heard of thys losse, he returned to Scotland and went thorough the land brennyng and spolyng the same from the North to the South, and compelled all to sweare to him homage and fealtie and herein ye may beleue the Scot as ye thinke good. But this conquest seemeth to be the same that we spake of in the. xxvij. yere of thys kinges reigne. And thys yere the king helde his Parliament at Cauntozbury.

In the. xxxij. yere of his reigne Wylliam Walys was taken in Scotlande at the Towne of S. Dominick, and sent vnto London, and there araigned and the. xxiiij. of August he was drawen, hanged, hedded and quartered, and his hed set vpon London bridge, and his foure quarters sent into Scotland, and there hanged vpon the gates of certayne towne of the land.

And within. xiiij. dayes after, a peace was taken betweene Scotlande and Englande vnto the conclusion whereof, at Whelmas next followyng, the king then holdyng hys Parliament at Westmynster, thether came out of Scotlande, the Bishop of S. Andrewes Robert Bruze, Sir Symond de Frysell Erle of Dunbarre, Sir John of Cambrees Erle of Atleys, and Sir John Comyn with other, the which voluntarily were sworne, in the presence of the king and his Lordes, that they should be true vnto the king of Englande, and keepe the lande of Scotlande to hys vse, agaynst all other persons. And if any rebell or other malicious person disturbed the lande, or brake the kinges peace, they should cause him to be taken and sent vnto the king, with sundy other articles of their allegeaunce which they falsely brake and conspired to the contrarie and that forthwith.

Robert le Bruze aboue mencioned returning into Scotlande, did contrary to his othe assemble the Lordes of that realme, and by the counsell of the Abbot of Stone and other that fauored his vntruth, he sent vnto Clement the fift then Bishop of Rome for a dispensation of hys othe before made vnto king Edward, and surmised to him that king Edward bered and greued the Realme of Scotlande wrongfully: wherevpon the Pope wrote vnto king Edward his Letter, the summe and effect whereof ensueth.

That Pope Boniface being informed and procured by the Scottes, sent his letters vnto the king of England, & therein did first alledge that the kingdome of Scotlande did belong vnto the right of the Church of Rome: And that

1301  
30  
The Scottishe historie in defacing of Englishmen and aduancing themselves.

The Scottishe report of the losse that Englishmen had in Scotlande.

The parliament holden at Cauntozbury.

1304  
33

Wylliam walys hanged drawen & quartered.

The Scottes againe swere allegeaunce to king Edward.

1305  
34

The Scottes againe rebell.

The Popes Letter written to king Edward.

that the king of Englande did chalenge the subiection thereof against God and right, and to the preiudice and harme of the Sea apostolike, & for prooffe thereof, he allegeth these reasons following.

1 First, that whereas Henry the father of the king that now is, obeyned of Alexander king of Scots an ayde and assistance in his warre against Symon Mountfort. To the entent that the same ayde should not be thought to be required or geuen by the right of any subiection or duetie: the same Henry by his letters patents did confesse and acknowledge that he receyued it not of duetie, but of speciall fauour.

2 Also where as he being called vnto the coronation of the king that now is, by his letters that he as his friend might in so great solemnities exhibite and geue vnto him his friendly presence. And so he came not of duetie, but of speciall fauour.

3 Furthermoze, where as the king of Scotlande came personally vnto the king of Englande to make fealtie vnto him for the landes of Cindale and Pembreth lying within the realme of Englande, he made that fealtie onely for those landes which lye in Englande, and not as king of Scottes, nor for the kingdome of Scotland: for he openly protested in the presence of all the people that he ought not to make any fealtie vnto the king of England for the kingdome of Scotland.

4 Also that the aforesayde king Alexander left behinde him a young mayde his heire called Margaret nece vnto the king of England, the supreme dominion of which kingdome came not vnto her, but vnto certayne peeres of the kingdome of Scotlande elected therfore, and therfore she ought not to doe homage vnto him.

5 Also the Pope reprooued the king, for as much as he after the deceasse of the sayde king Alexander subdued vnto him by force, the Scottes being then without a gouernour, and not hauing the helpe of any guyde to the preiudice and no small greouance of the Church of Rome.

6 Also he affirmed that when the sea of Rome doth commit the office of a Legate to anye man to be executed within the Realme of Englande for the payment of Tithes or for any other lawfull cause, and this Legary doth not by speciall letters and priuileges of the sea apostolike extend vnto the kingdome of Scotlande, that they should resist and withstande the same, as it chaunced evidently in the time of Adrian: for the Legate was not by anye meanes admitted vnto the sayde king of Scotlande, vntill the office of a Legate there was by speciall letters apostolike committed vnto him.

7 Also that the same realme of Scotlande was conuerted vnto the brittle of the Catholique fayth, by the reuerend reliques of Saint Peter the Apostle not without the giftes of heauenly grace.

8 Also that in auncient tyme the Archebishop of Yorke, when a question was moued concerning the right of the Metropolitane against the prelates of Scotlande, coulde not obteyne sentence with him.

These things thus alleged, the Pope admonished the king by his letters to permit and suffer the Bishops, Abbots, Clerkes and all other of the kingdome of Scotlande which he deteyned prisoners, freely to departe, and that he should call home out of the sayde kingdome of Scotlande his officers which he had appointed and set to the preiudice, iniurie and greuous offence of



of the faythfull people and for the oppression of the iust, whereby he should be the more acceptable and beloued with God, and the better obteyne the fauour of the sea apostolike. And if the king of Englande woulde allege that he had right or title to the kingdome of Scotland or to anye parte thereof, that then he should sende his procuratores vnto the sea apostolique and Ambassadors specially appointed with the right lawes and miniments concerning that businesse, and there he should receyue a full perfoymaunce of Justice.

¶ parliament  
holden at  
Lyncolne.

When the king had read and well considered the aforesayde letter, he then called together his parliament at Lyncolne, and shewed the same letter vnto his Lordes, and after long conference had with them, it was agreed that the king should write againe to the Pope in his awne name, concerning the right of his superioritie of Scotlande: But for the latter parte of the same letter, that where the Pope would that the matter should be brought in iudgment before him, that they despyed that they might answer by their letter in their owne names: And soone after the king wrote his letter vnto the Pope as followeth.

¶ The kinges  
Letter to the  
Pope.

The most highe God knoweth it to be registred in oure records, the style wherof may neuer be blotted out, that our predecessours and progenitors being kings of Englande haue reigned ouer the kingdome of Scotlande and all the kinges therof, and ouer their temporalties and other things therevnto annexed of long and auncient tyme heretofore, by the title of the superioritie and direct dominion, of the same: And haue receyued of the same kinges for the kingdome of Scotlande and of other the Nobles of whome them pleased loyall homage, and due othes of fidelitie. We continuing the possession of our sayde title and dominion, haue likewise taken the same, as well of the king of Scotlande as of the Nobles of the same Realme. And oure progenitors haue had suche prerogatiue of right and dominion ouer the realme of Scotlande and the kinges of the same, that they bestowed the same vpon their faythfull subiectes, remouing thence for iust causes suche as were their kinges. And so ordeyned and set in their place others to reigne: which things are without doubt to be well knowne and apparaunt to all. Althoughe peradventure it hath by false insinuation otherwise bene certified thorough the children of rebellion and enuious of peace vnto your eares, from whose craftie and imagined saynings, that your holynesse would turne your eares we humbly doe beseeche and craue with deuout affectiō your fatherly clemencie and excellencie. And for breuities sake, passing ouer actes done in former tyme, that we may touche some for example. In the time of Hely the high Priest and of Samuell the prophet, there was a certaine noble man named Brute of the Troyan stocke, who possessed thys whole Realme, and named it after his awne name Briteyne, wherein were conteyned that parte which now is called Scotland and one other part that was called Camber, but now it is called Wales. &c. he proceded in his sayde letter and proueth that England and Scotland is but one Monarchy, and so distendeth in hys proues from Prince to Prince vntill he come to king Edward named the elder, who was the sonne of king Alured and so successively vnto Edward the confessor and William the conquerour, and last vnto king Henry the thirde this kings father. And at the length hauing declared that the title of the superior dominion of Scotland was due vnto his father king

Henry

Henry the thirde & so consequently to hym, he concludeth thus, sayeng. Where therfore we doe know our selues in full possession of the same Realme by the title of a full dominion, we neyther can nor ought but repress the insolencie of our subiectes and rebels, and if we finde any, and that in such maner as it shall seeme good by our kingly preheminance. And because by the premisses and other it doth evidently appere and is manifestly knowne, that the sayde kingdome of Scotland, as well by reason of possession as of proprietie doth appertaine vnto vs by full right, nor that we haue done nor prouyded anye thing by worde or deede (as we could not) by which anye thing ought to be withdrawne of the same right and possession aforesayde: we humbly beseech your holynesse, the premisses being with good meditation considered, that you wyll vouchsafe to withdrawe your motion of minde, and not to geue credite in thys behalfe vnto the euill wyllers of the contrarie side, but also that you would if it please you with meere affection comend and set forth oure state together with our kingly rightes aforesayde, and thus. &c.

And immediately the Lordes also did vwrite theyr letter vnto the Pope, the tenor vvhich ensueth.

Our holy mother the Church of Rome, by whose ministerie the Catholike fayth doth with such perfection in her actes procede (as we do firmly beleue and holde) that she will be prejudiciall to none: But will mainteyne and preserue the right and title of euery man inuiolate. In a generall Parliament sommoned at Lincolne by our most excellent and soueraigne Lorde Edward, by the grace of God king of England, he our sayd soueraigne Lorde caused certeine letters Apostolike to be brought forth, and seriously to be expounded to vs, which he had receyued from your fatherhood concernyng certein businesse and affayres touchyng the state & condicion of thys our realme. The which letters beyng heard, and diligently considered, we perceiued therein to be conteyned thinges both merueylous and straunge vnto vs, which before this time was neuer heard of. For we are certeine (most holy father) and in our parties it is well knowen, as also to many others it remaineth not obscure, that euer sithence the first institution of the kingdome of England, the kinges thereof, as well in the tyme of Britons, as of the English men, haue had in their possession the right, title, and dominion of Scotland, or else haue bene the chiefe Lordes in the superioritie both of the right and direct dominion of the sayde kingdome of Scotland at all tymes continually, and that the sayd kingdome in temporal matters hath not at any time perteyned, or by any right now doth apperteyne vnto the Church abovesayde. And moreouer the same kingdome of Scotland hath vnto the progenitors of our sayde king beyng kynnes of Englande, and vnto him also of auncient tyme remayned feodarie: Neither hath the king of Scottes and kingdome of Scotlande bene subiect to any other then to the kinges of England. Neyther haue the kinges of England concernyng the right and title to the kingdome aforesayd, or other the percelles thereof, answered, or were bound to answer before any iudge spirituall or temporall by reason of the preheminance of their estate or kingly dignitie at all times imiolately serued and kept. Wherefore hauing treated and diligently deliberated vpon the contents of your letters, the vniuersal assent and consent of all and euery of vs, hath bene, is, and Godwillyng hereafter most firmly shall be, that our fore said soueraigne Lorde the King shall

¶ The letters  
of the nobles  
of England  
written to  
the Pope.



in no wise answer in iudgement befoze you, concernyng the right and title to the Kingdome of Scotland or other the percellis thereof, nor shall by any meanes submit himselfe to iudgement, nor shall bring his foresayde right and title in doubt, neither shall he send any procuratozs or Ambassadors vnto your presence in this behalfe, especially forasmuch as the premisses would manifestly tend vnto the disherison of the title & right of the crowne of this realme of Englande, and kingly dignity, and to the notozious subuersion of the state therof, and also to the preiudice of the liberties, customes & lawes of our forefathers: vnto the obseruation and defence wherof, we are obliged and bound by our othe, the which also we will defende and mainteyne with our whole might and power, God Willyng. Neither do we permit, or in any wise will permit (as neyther we may nor ought) our foresayde soueraigne Lorde the King, yea, although he were willyng to do, or by any meanes to attempt the premisses, beyng thinges vnaccustomed, vnlawfull, preiudiciall and at no tyme befoze euer heard of. Wherefoze we do reuerently and humbly beseech your holinesse, that you will more benignly suffer and permit our foresayde soueraigne Lord the king (who among other princes of the worlde doth the we himselfe most Catholyke and deuoute vnto the Church of Rome) quietly to enioy and possesse his aforesayde right, title, liberties, customes and lawes inuolably without diminucion or disquiet. And vnto this letter, were fixed of the Nobles and Lordes of the Realme (as sayth my recozde) more than an hundreth of the severall seales of their armes.

¶ And in the ende of this yere, the king keepyng his feast of Christmasse in the North partes, did so sone as the feast was ended prepare an armie against the Scottes: and his sone Edward Prince of Wales likewise folowynge him with a great host of warlike men, and entered Scotland, and passed through a great part of the same, but found not one Scot that resisted.

At this tyme also the French king, whose sister beyng called the Ladie Margaret, which the king of England did shortly after mary as shal appere, sent the Abbot of Compeyn and certeine other Ambassadors vnto the king of England, desyryng him to haue peace with the Scottes callyng them hys friendes, which notwithstanding receyued a short aunswere and so returned in bayne.

King Edward callyng to his remembraunce that the tyme of the truce lately taken betwene him and the French king was almost expired, called his preynt Counsaile vnto him at Westminster sone after the feast of Christmasse, and agreed and sent very noble and honorable Ambassadors vnto the French king, prayng him to declare and shewe his minde whether he had aduisedly determined to haue, truce, warre, or peace: To the which the French King answered, that without the presence of the. xij. peeres he could not deale in so weightie a matter, and also that the same Peeres were then occupied in the prouision of newe warre: But he sayd that within. xij. dayes he looked for their commyng. Which tyme beyng come, and they meetyng together, sayde that they would not meddle in the matter without the aduice of the Scottes. And so soone as the Englyshe Ambassadors heard this, they returned into England.

¶ And shortly after king Edward called his Parliament at Westminster, and there declared the delays and craftie dealyngs of the French king: But

in

King Edward againe entred into Scotland with a great armie.

Parliament holden at Westminster.

in the meane tyme the French king sent his Ambassadors to the king of England. And after a litle conference, it was agreed that both the kinges should mete together in a place conuenient betweene Flaundyze and Picardie, and that then they would intreat and conclude of a friendly and continuall peace: Which meetyng was done with speede, and the sayde peace concluded vpon sondrie conditions, and among other this was one, that king Edward should take vnto wife Margaret, the sister of Philip le Beawe the French king, and with her was deliuered in peaceable maner the Countie of Gascoyne with all rightes and liberties, in as large maner as the king helde the same in the begynnyng of his warres: The which Margaret while the king was in Scotland was brought vnto Douer, and so vnto Cauntorbury, where the king married her in the Month of September, & had by her in proces of tyme two sones, named Thomas and Edmond, and a daughter named Margaret. The first of the sones was named Thomas of Brotherton, and the second Edmond of Woodstocke.

A peace concluded with the French king.

¶ And in the meane while that this matter was thus complayned vnto the Pope, the sayd Robert le Bruce made all the labor he might vnto the Lordes of Scotland to be admitted for king of that Region, so vpon the. viij. day of December, a great assembly of the Lords was made at the Abbey of Stone. And the next day folowynge, by the meanes of the Abbot of that place, many of the sayde Lords assented vnto the will of the sayde Robert, except Sir John Comyn onely. The which in defence of his truth and othe befoze sworne vnto king Edward made many reasons and excuses, but finally sayde that he would not falsifie his othe for no man. And for this cause Robert le Bruce bare vnto Sir John Comyn a great stomacke, and so did many other of the Nobles. But he helde his opinion so firmly and stoutly, that other began to take his part, so that in the counsaile arose such varietie of opinions, that the sayd counsaile was dissolued, and anewe assembled at the Gray friers of Dunfrise, at Candlemasse next folowynge. At which day of assembly, when the cause of their meetyng was by Robert Bruce published and declared, and many of the great Lordes had graunted vnto him their ayde and assistance: But the afozenamed Sir John Comyn and other sate still and sayd nothing. Which Robert le Bruce marked well, and to him sayde: And you Sir John I trust for the defence and weale of this realme, will not be behinde. Wherevnto he answered: Sir I would that you and all my Lordes here present knewe well, that for the weale, defence, and in the right of this land, I will stand with it to the vttermost of my power: But for that I see, ye rather entend the subuersion then the weale thereof, I geue you therefore knowledge I will neyther ayde you with counsaile, nor yet with strength: And some other also were present which allowed very well the graue sayng and aunswere of Sir John Comyn. But Robert le Bruce was so amoued therewithall, that when Sir John Comyn, and Sir Roger his brother was departed from the counsaile, and was come into the Church of the friers, Robert le Bruce folowed him, and wounded him to death with his sword, and when his brother would haue defended him, he slue him also. After which murder little or no resistance was made against the vntreue meanyng and dedes of the sayde Robert le Bruce, so that he at Saint Johns towne was crowned king shortly after.

Robert le Bruce laboureth & lordes to make him King of Scotland.

Sir John Comyn a worthy knight.

Sir John Comyn is murdered.

Robert le Bruce crowned king of Scotland.

Moone



King Ed-  
warde once  
agayne goeth  
with a great  
power to sub-  
due the Scottes.

Assoone as king Edward was admonished of the murther of sir John Comyn, and that he had also well considered the continuall vntrowth of the Scottes, he forthwith made prouision and gathered a great power together to enter into Scotland. And hauyng, and holdyng at that time beyng whith-  
sontide a great feast of his Baronnie at Westminster, and duryng the time of the same feast, he made aboue two hundreth knightes. And assoone as his feast was ended, he sent with a goodly company of knightes and furniture of warlike men, Sir Aymer de balauice Erle of Pembroke and Sir Henry Percy Erle of Northumberland into Scotland, and shortly after the king himselte folowed with his host.

Battayle of  
Methen.

And it was not long after that the Erle of Pembroke was arryued with his power in Scotlande, but that Robert le Bruce with a great power of the Scottes were gathered together in a place called Methen, euerye of them hauing vpon his harness a whyte chyrte, and there they bade the Erle battayle. And the Erle with his power set manfully and courageously vpon them, so that there perished with the sworde that daye a great number of the Scottes that came with the false king. And the sayde false king was that day thre times beaten downe, but was euer releued by Sir Symon Frisell that valyaunt warryour, and by the craft and help of his whyte chyrte, he fled and escaped out of the battayle. The names of the chiefe prisoners that were taken at this skirmish of the Scottes were these, Thomas the sonne of Raimulph, David of Inkmartyn, John of Someruille knightes, Nicholas Buttynges Marshall, and Hugh the false kinges Chapleyn who that daye was standard bearer and many other whose names were here to long to reherse. And the aforesayd Hugh the priest with dyuers other were shortly after condemned, but the priest was first hanged because he had sayd, that I the priest will beare your banner and lead you this iourney.

Robert le  
Bruce apeth.

King Ed-  
warde ente-  
rech Scot-  
lande with a  
great power.

Some after the flyeng of Robert Bruce, the king of Englande with his sonne the prince of Wales, being then about the .x. daye of August entered Scotlande being accompanied wyth a great number of the Nobles of the realme and a puppsaunt armie. And of manye of the Scottes the king was honorably receyued, and many fled from him and hid themselves in woodes and marishes. The king going forth in Scotland with his armie, raunged ouer all the lande and tooke many of the fugitive Scottes, and many he put to death, and also manye he pardoned. But among other that were taken, there were two Bishops and an Abbot which crowned Robert le Bruce the false king, the which were hardly and streightly kept in strong prison so long as the king lyued. There was also taken the aforesayd Symon Frisell in whome rested all the Scottes hope and trust. And there was taken Herebert of Northham, a man of excellent beuotie and stature, farre exceeding all the other Scottes. The aforesayd Symon was shortly after hanged: But Herebert with his Squyre Thomas de boys were behedded. And the head of Symon Frisell for the manifold treasons by him committed was set vpon London bridge nexte vnto the head of William Wallleys who was placed there before.

Symon Fri-  
sell taken.

King Ed-  
warde cau-  
seth an inquit-  
tion to be

And shortly after the king of Englande caused an Inquirie to be made thorough the realme of Scotland by the othes of honest and good men, who and how many they were that murdered and consented to the murther of the noble

noble man John Comyn before named, and also to the coronation of the aforesayde Robert Bruce. And in a maner he tooke them all and put them to death. And suche as submitted themselves vnto the kings will and pleasure, he kept in streight and hard prison. And John Seyton and Christofer hys brother which were the Esquiers of Robert Bruce, and consented vnto the shamefull murder of the sayde worthy and noble John Comyn were also taken. Of the which John Seyton at New Castell vpon Tyne, and Christopher at Donfrise were hanged, drawen, and quartered.

made in  
Scotlande  
for the mur-  
der of Sir  
John Co-  
myn.

And during the time that this iustice was executed vpon the wicked and wretched Scottes, the lewde and vnworthye crowned king Robert Bruce fled into the Mountaynes, hyding hymselfe in suche places as he might best lurck in. And lykewise Sir John of Cambres Erle of Athles practised to flye and escape, but by the prouydence of God he was taken: which tohen the king heard, although he was then troubled with greuous sicknesse, yet he bare the same the better, as one much comforted with these newes.

Robert le  
Bruce esca-  
ped by flyeng.

The aforesayd Sir John of Cambres, Erle of Athles, as I finde in an auncient recorde, after he was apprehended, and among other prisoners committed to warde: There were certaine that resorted vnto the king, and shewed him that this Erle was of the blood royall, and therfore they thought it vnseemely that he should be committed among the other comon offenders. To whome the king not respecting his blood and progeny sayde: The higher that he is of degree, the more greuous is his fall: if he among the other murderers did exel in blood, then is it meete that he for his mischiefe should hang higher then any of the other: Take him, saith he, and carie him to London and there let him haue iustice. And shortly after, that is to say the .vij. day of November, next followyng he was arreigned in Westminster Hall and found giltye of treason, and of the murder of Sir John Comyn, and had iudgement of death. And because he came of the blood royall as aforesayde, he was not drawne, but was set vpon an horse, and so brought to the place of execution, and there hanged vpon a payre of Galowes that were fiftie foote high, hauing before his eyes a great fyre burnyng, and before he was halfe dead, he was cut downe and behedded, and his bodye cast into the burnyng fyre, where it consumed vnto Ashes, & his head was set vpon London bridge among the other Traytours and murderers heads, but a great deale higher then the other.

About the ende of februarie a certaine Scot of Galoway named Don-  
galdus came with thre hundreth men and withstood a great Hauie of Pi-  
rates replenished with .vij. C. men of warre that woulde haue landed vpon his ground: But he set so fiercely vpon them, that what with the fight and by drowning in the Sea and haue, and followyng such as had recouered land and fled, they in a maner all perished. And among the principall of these theeces that were slaine in thys skirmish, the sayde Dongallus brought vnto the king of England the head of Malcolyn the Lorde of Kentyr, and two heads of two rulers of Irelande. And he brought with him as prisoners Thomas Bruce knight, and Alexander his brother Dean of Glaskoboe, both brethren Germaines of Robert Bruce the false king of Scotland. And also they presented Keynold of Craunford knight which was soze wounded, and halfe dead. Of which number Thomas Bruce knight was drawen, hanged



and heded. And the rest were onely hanged and headed at Carlisle. And the aforesayde yere there came from the Pope vnto the king of Englande a Cardinall and Mayster Peter a Spanyard as Ambassadors, to conclud a mariage betwene Edward the king of Englands sonne Prince of Wales, and the Lady Isabell the daughter of the French king, the which in the yere followyng was fully fynished.

Robert le Bruze escaped by flying.

Robert le Bruze, after this discomfiture and losse of his chiefe friends, and fearing least the Scottes with suche Englishmen as king Edward left there, would arise against hym: did therefore all comfortlesse flie vnto the king of Norwaye, and there abode during the lyfe of king Edward.

When this noble and valiaunt Prince had thus subdued the Scottes, he yeilded thanks vnto almighty God for this victorie. And when he was truly assured of the flying and departing of Robert le Bruze, and also that he had set the lande in a good and quiet order, he returned into England.

The Scottish Lordes beheaded.

And in this meane while, the aforesayde Lordes of Scotland were arreigned at London, and there condemned and put to death, and their heads set vpon London brydge. And shortly after was John Waleys brother to Wylliam Waleys (which for lyke treason was put to death the yere nexte before) taken, hanged and quartered, and some of the Scottes that were taken as prisoners, remayned there a long time before they were hable to pay their fines.

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35

And shortly after the king for diuers causes returned againe into Scotlande, but some say he remayned at Barwike and kept hys Christmas and Easter there, and did not returne to London vntill the Sommer follovyng. And that then in the time of his returne, a sicknesse tooke hym so feruently, that he knewe well he should die. Wherefore he being at Bourgh vpon the sandes beyond Carlisle, called to him Sir Hymer de Walaunce Erle of Denbrooke, Sir Henry Percy Erle of Northumberlande, Sir Henry Lacy Erle of Lyncoln, and Sir Robert Clyfford Baron, and caused them to be sworn before him, that they should crowne Edward his sonne in as conuenient time after his death as they might, and to keepe the lande to his vse vntill he were crowned.

King Edward taken with a greuous disease.

And after his Barons had taken the sayde othe, he then called vnto him his sonne Edward, and charged him with dyuers pointes vpon his blessing: among the which one especiall was, that he should neuer after that daye suffer Diers of Gaueston to returne into Englande, and so shortly after ended his lyfe vpon the vij. daye of Julie, when he had reigned. xxxiii. yeres. vij. Moneths and odde dayes. And after with great solempnity was coneyghed vnto Westmyster, and there buried in the Chapell of S. Edward vpon the south side, in a plaine Tombe of Marble at the head of his father. This noble prince had two wyfes, and had issue by them as may appere before in the twentie yere, and in the. xxvij. yere of this kings reigne, where it is at large set out.

King Edward given a great charge to his sonne.

The issue of this King is set out in the xx. and. xxvij. yere of his reigne.

The description of King Edward the first.

This king was of stature talle, somewhat swarte or black of colour; strong of body, and nothing fat, for by much exercise he did eschewe fatnesse: he was amiable of countenance, hauing black eyes, which when he waxed angry, would seeme to be fyrie: his heare was black and curled, he was very healthy and of a stout courage, that neuer fayled in any daunger, or aduersitie, he

He was verie pregnant and had an excellent boye, and commonly attributed any enterpryse he tooke in hande. He was a great louer and fauourer of religion, but yet a great enemye to the pride and insolencie of Priestes which in his dayes exceeded, and he iudged the same onely to spring of their wealth and riches. And therefore to bridle their wantonnesse he established the lawe for graunting landes in Normayn. Of friendship he was constant, and not easie to be reconciled where he conceived a displeasure. And in vacant times he gaue himself much to huntynge. Thus much Holioore.

# Edwarde the seconde.



Edwarde the seconde of that name, and sonne of Edward the first, borne at Carnaruan beyng a towne of Wales, began his reigne ouer this realme of England the viij. daye of Julie in the yere of our Lord. 1307. and was crowned king at Westminster the. xxiiij. daye of February in the yere aforesayd.

King Edward the seconde.

This king was fayre of body, but bstedfast of maners and disposed to lightnesse. He refused the company of his Lordes and men of honoꝝ, and haunted among villeynges and vile personages. He gaue himselfe also to overmuche drinking, and lightly he would disclose things of great counsaile: and besides that, he was geuen to these vices by nature, he was made much worse by the counsaile and familiaritie of certein euill disposed persons, as Diers of Gaueston, Hugh Spencer the father, and the sonne, and other, whose wanton company and counsaile prouoked him to the appetyte and pleasure of the bodie, nothyng orderyng hys common weale by sadnesse, discretion and iustice, which thing caused great variance betwene him and his Lords, so that shortly he became to them hatefull, and in the ende was deprived of his kingdom.

The description of King Edward the second.

Diers of Gaueston.

But Holioore sayth, that immediatly after the death of his father he being then in Scotland at Dunfrieze, calling his counsaile together, did first of all cause the Lordes and rulers of Scotland to sweare vnto him homage and fealtie, the which euery one, except certein that leaned to the part of Robert le Bruze did willyngly offer. And then leauyng sufficient furniture for defence in Scotland, he returned into England, and so to London.

So soone as his father was buryed, and the Exequies scantly finished, he forgettyng the high and chargeable commaundement of his sayde father, sent in all hast for his olde compire Diers Gaueston, the which he receyued with all ioy and gladnesse, and aduanced him to much honour.

And shortly after, that is to say in December next follovyng, he sayled into

R. ij.

1307  
1



King Edward married to Isabel the French Kinges daughter.

Piers of Gaueston advanced to the Erlidome of Cornewall.

1308

Langton Bishop of Chester commaunded to the tower.

Piers Gaueston banished the land.

1309

The Isle of the Rhodes first recouered by christian men.

1310

A Table of treselles of gold take out of the Kinges Jewell house by Piers of Gaueston. Gaueston againe banished.

to Fraunce, and the .xv. day of January solotoyng, he maryed at Boleyn Isabel the daughter of Philip the French king, which, as saith Froisart was one of the goodlyest Ladyes in the worlde. And shortly after he returned wyth her vnto London, where they were honourably receyued of the Citizens, and so conueyed to Westmynstre where as it is before reherfed they were both solemnly crowned the .xxiii. day of February. At the which coronation was such ptease that a knight called Sir John Bakewell was thrested to death.

And shortly after, the king gaue vnto Piers of Gaueston the Erlidome of Cornewall, & the Lordship of Walyngford, and was ruled all by his wanton counsaile, and folowed the appetyte and pleasure of his body, to the great offence of the nobilitie, and no lesse perill of his awne destruction.

Nowe shortly after, the king calling to hys remembraunce the great displeasure done vnto him and to his familier Piers of Gaueston by the Bishop of Chester, mencioned before in the .xxviii. yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, commaunded him vnto the Tower of London, where he was streightly kept many dayes after.

Then the Lordes of the land, and specially Sir Henry Lacy, Sir Guy and Sir Pymer de Walance Erle of Lyncolne of Warwike & of Penbrooke, to whom the noble Prince Edward the first, had geuen so great charge, that Piers Gaueston should no more come into Englande, sawe the rule of the lande, and howe that the kings tresorie by meane of the sayde Piers was wasted, assembled them in counsell & of one assent, wyth ayde of other Lordes of the realme, so spake to the king, that contrarie to his pleasure, he was aduoyded the land, and banished into Ireland for that yere. But the king sent vnto him often tymes diuerse secreete messengers, and comforted him wyth many rich giftes, and made him his chiefe ruler of that countrie.

And afterward, diuerse and sondry grudges happened betwene the king and his Lordes for the banishment of the sayd Piers Gaueston: wherefore to continue amitie betwene him and them, the sayd Piers was fet home againe, and so continued to the more vnquietnes and mischiefe of the realme.

About this tyme (as sayth the Authoz of Chronica chronicarum and other) the knightes of the order of saint John Baptist, called Saint Johns of Ierusalem, by knightly Manhoode, put out of the Isle of Rhodes the Turkes and infidels which to that day had kept and occupied the same Isle: and after that they wanne dayly and verely vpon the sayd Turkes, so that they had in their possession much of the landes of the Turkes. This Religion of Saint Johns, was greatly preferred, by the fall and suppression of the Templers, whose possessions, landes and goodes were geuen to them.

The aforesayde Piers of Gaueston, more and more encreasynge in the kinges fauour, had at the last the gudyng of all the kinges Jewelles and treasure. And at a certeyne tyme he went to Westmynstre, and there out of the kinges Jewell house he tooke a Table and a payre of Treselles of gold, and conueied them wyth other Jewelles out of the land, to the great empoueryng of the same. And moreouer, he brought the king by meane of hys wanton condicions to manifold vices, as adulterie, and other. Wherefore the aforesayd Lordes, seyng the mischiefe that dayly encreased by occasion of this unhappie man, tooke their counsaile together at Lincolne, and there concluded to aduoyde him againe out of Englande: so that shortly after he was exiled

led in to Flaunders, to the kinges great displeasure.

This yere dyed Philip le Beau French king, commonly called Philip the fayre.

In this yere was borne at Windsor the kinges eldest sonne named Edward, which after the death of his father was king of this realme, by the name of king Edward the third, & he was borne the .xiiij. day of Nouember.

And this yere also was the aforesayd Gaueston called home againe out of Flaunders, which after his returne, did worffe then euer he did before: In so much that he disdeyned the Lordes of England, flouted, scorned, and rudely taunted them. Wherefore the Lordes assented and agreed to put him to death: And soone after assembling theyr powers, they besieged him in the Castell of Scarborough, and in short tyme wanne the Castell, and tooke him and brought him vnto Gauesede besyde Warwike, and there the .xix. daye of June smote off his heade. But when the king was informed thereof, he thewed hymselfe to be most greiuously displeased wyth the sayd Lordes, and made a solenne vowe that his death should be reuenged, as afterwarde it was, as shall appere.

Nowe by this occasion, the rancour and Malice that before was kindled betwene the king and his Lordes, was againe so encreased and inflamed, that it burst out to the vnderstanding of the whole realme: For after this day the king neither studied nor endeouored hymselfe to any thing so much, as to seeke some cause agaynst his Lordes, that by some one meane or other, hee might attaine to an occasion of reuengement, for the death of the afozenamed Gaueston. In this meane tyme dyed Sir Henry Lacy Erle of Lincolne, the which lyng vpon his death bed charged Sir Thomas Erle of Lancaster that had maryed his daughter, that he should stand with the other Lordes in the defence for the weale of England, the which request the said Erle graunted, and so did firmly obserue and kepe it, which was the occasion of the losse both of his awne life, and of many others also, as after shall appere.

At this tyme the king helde his high Court of Parliament at London, where by the aduice of his Lordes, he made many good ordinaunces and statutes for the suppression of riots and other mischiefes that then reigned: And in the ende, the king was sworne to keepe them, and so were all his Lordes.

And shortly after, worde was brought vnto the king that Robert le Bruce was returned into Scotlande, and had caused the Scottes to rebell of newe. Before in the .xxviii. yeere of king Edward the first ye haue heard how the sayde Edward chased the afozenamed Robert le Bruce out of Scotland into Normandy. But as it may be well coniectured, nowe when he vnderstoode of the misgouernance of the realme of Englande, and specially of the deuision betwene the king and his Lordes, he was encouraged wyth a small ayde of the Normans to returne againe into Scotland, where he behaued hymselfe in such wise to the Lordes of Scotland, that soone after they agayne made him king of the Realme, and then warred he soze vpon England, and wanne many Castels and strong holdes, and did to the Englishmen great harme and dammage, and (as sayth Sir John Froisart) the Scottes came brennyng and scoolyng this Realme, so farre, that they were foure or five dayes iourney within the Realme of Englande.

Nowe when the king was truly certeyned of thys great rage of the Scottes,

1311

The birth of Edward the third the eldest sonne, which after was king Edward the thirde.

Gaueston beheaded by the Lordes.

The king greatly offended with the death of Gaueston.

1312

The returne of Robert le Bruce.

1313

R. iii. Scottes,



Scottes, he with all conuenient speede made prouision to resist them, and gathering together a great power did passe by water and entred into Scotland and bzent and destroyed suche Villages and Townes as lay in his way without all mercye. Whereof, when Robert le Bruce had knowledge, he with the whole power of Scotland coasted toward the Englishmen, and by on Mydsomer day, mette with king Edward and his hoast at a place called Streuelyn, neere vnto a freshe ryuer that then was called Bannokelborne, where betweene the Englishmen and the Scottes was that daye foughten a most terrible and bloudie battayle: But the victorie fell to the Scottes, and the Englishmen speng, were chased of the Scottes so egerly, that many of them were drowned in the afozenamed ryuer, and many a noble man of Englande was that day slayne in that battayle, as Sir Gilbert de Clare Erie of Gloucester, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Edmond of Hauile the kinges Steward, with other Lozdes and Barons to the number (as sayth Guido de Columna) of .xliij. and of knightes and Baronets to the number of .lxxij. beside .xxij. men of name, which that day of the Scottes were taken prisoners. And the king himselfe scaped with great daunger from that battayle, and both a fewe horse and small company came to Berwik, where he rested for a time. But Hector Boethus the Scot, whose nature is so shamefully and monstrously to lye, (that all the worlde may perceiue it) wyrteth that at this battayle were slaine fiftie thousand Englishmen with the Duke of Gloucester and two hundreth knightes. But belene him as it pleaseth you. And after the Scottes had obteyned this victorie, they being enflamed with pride, published in the derision and mockage of Englishmen manye fond and foolish rymes, the which I thinke meete to omit.

And after that king Edward had set the Towne of Barwik in as good order and suretie as he then might, he returned into England, and with small honour and lesse courage came to Westminster the .xix. day of August.

And not long after a Wileyne called John Doydras a tanners sonne of Ercester went about in diuers places of Englande and named himselfe to be the sonne of king Edward the first: a sayde that by meane of a false Nozice, he was stollen out of his Cradell, and Edward which was a Carters sonne was layde in the same Cradell in his place, and he himselfe was afterwarde hardely fostered and brought bp in the North parte of Wales. But when this Wileyn was layde for to be taken, for feare he fled to the Church of the whyte fryers in Oxford: where he thinking to haue beene safe and sure, because king Edward the first was founder of that Church, and there he rehearsed agayne the former sayeng, addyng moze therevnto, that it appeared well that the king was a Carters sonne, for hys conditions were accordyng to the same, as hys maners daylie bled did manifestly expresse and shew.

When thys Wileyn had thus continued a whyle, not without some rumour in the lande, lastly he was taken out of that place and carped as a felon vnto Northampton, and there was arreigned and iudged for his falsenesse, and so drawen and hanged. The which at the houre of his death confessed that he had a fende in his house in the similitude of a Cat, the which among other promyses to him made, he assured him that he should be king of Englande. And Fabian sayth that he confessed that he had serued the sayde fende thre yeres before, to bying his purpose about.

Thus

Thus king Edward beset with manye aduersities kept a counsaile at Porke sayth Holidore, for preparation of warre with Scotlande, and other things meete to be done for the weale of the realme of England. And shortly after Sir Peter Spaldyng knight was sent to Barwik with a crewe of Souldiours to fortifie that Towne, because the king had a certaine vnderstanding, that Robert le Bruce intended hastily to lay siege to that Towne.

And not long after the sayde Castell and Towne of Barwik was yeelded or lost, by treason of the atoresayde Sir Peter Spaldyng (as the common fame went) vnto Robert le Bruce king of Scottes. Also in this tyme was great misery in England by dearth of Corne, scarcetie of victualles and Moxeyn and death of Cattell. Moreover, in this time was sent into Englande two Cardinalles from Clement the fift Bishop of Rome to set an vniuersal peace betweene the Kinges of England and Scotland, and as they were rydyng into Scotland they were met withall vpon the Moore of Wiggildon in Yorkshire, and there robbed of suche stuffe and treasure as they brought with them. After which robbery, great inquirie was made, and at the last two knightes named Sir Gilbert Wyddleton and Sir Walter Selby with .vij. hundred men were accused to be the doers of the same, and were committed to prison for that felony, and after were at London condemned, drawen and hanged for the same, and their heades set vpon London Bridge: But the Cardynalles receyued of the king double the value of their harnes.

About this time also, Sir Goslyn Depnuile and his brother (as sayth John Hardyng) hauyng in his companye two hundreth persons clothed in fryers woedes, passed thorough the Countries as Outlawes and banished men, and robbed and spoyled all that they coulde meete with, and namely, they robbed and spoyled the Byshop of Durhams house and left nothing therein but bare walles, but at the last they were taken and hanged at Porke.

And in the ende of this yere fell suche aboundaunce of rayne and vnseasonable weather, that they could not carie in that little corne that they had on the grounde, by reason whereof followed great scarcetie, dearth, pestilence and death both of men and beastes.

Now againe the Scottes entred into Northumberland, and robbed and bzent the Countrie most cruelly, and spared neither man, woman, nor childe, and did so great harme, that the Countrie was thereby greatly impouerished. To this mischiefe also was ioyned another misery: for as it is rehearsed before, victuall by reason of the Moxeyn was waxed so scant and dere, that people were forced to eate Dogges, and other vnleane and filthie beastes, as Fabian and other do recite. And the dearth of graine was so great this yere that wheat was solde for foure marke a quarter, which if you conferre with the value of an ounce of siluer then currant, as is before expressed in the .xv. yere of king Edward the first, which was .xx. pence, with y time now which is the tenth yere of the reigne of our soueraigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth in the which an ounce of siluer is currant for fife shillinges, then after that rate, foure marke a quarter of that money, is of the money that is now currant with .viii. pound, and that is .xx. shillinges a bushell, which may well be called both a great price, and a great dearth: and by reason of this dearth of graine, and scarcetie of victuall, and of the warres with the Scottes, the people dyed and perished both by hunger and pestilence, so that the land was greatly

The battaile of Streuelyn

The Englishmen distressed of the Scottes.

Hector Boethus is a shamelesse lye.

King Edward returned into England.

1314

8

A Counterfeit that named himselfe King Edward the second.

John Doydras a Traytour hanged drawen and quartered.

A counsaile kept at York.

Sir Peter Spaldyng knight.

1315

9

The Castell of Barwik was yeilded to the king of Scottes.

Two Cardinalles were robbed.

Gilbert Wyddleton and Walter Selby knightes condemned and hanged.

1316

10

A great scarcetie.

A great dearth.

A great plague.



greatly wasted and almost desolate of people, for the people living were scant to many in number as were able to bury the dead.

Yet the king assembled againe as great a power as he could get in thys realme of England, and went into Northumberland to resist the malice of the Scottes, which dayly made assautes vpon the Borders, and entered far within the realme of England, robbing, breunnyng and spoylyng the same. Wherefore, for great lacke and distresse of men, the king had manye people out of the South and East partes of England. And among other, the Citie of London, contrary to their liberties, were constreyned to find at their costes and charges two hundred men, and so sent them to Yorke.

When the king then beyng at Yorke had receyued his people from sundry Countreies and good townes of England, he with a conuenient number road toward Barwicke, and so sped his iourney, that at the length he came nere vnto Barwicke, and layde his siege about the same.

But while the king was busied in the assault of the towne, the Scottes brake ouer the water of Swale in great number, and leauing the coast where the kinges people lay, in secret wise came downe into the marches of Yorke-shire, and there slue the people and robbed them in most cruell wise. Wherefore the Archebishop of Yorke constreyned of pure necessitie to defende that Countreie, gathered vnto him an hundred and dispurueyed host for the warre, as Priors, Clerkes, Chanons, and other ministers of the Church, with husband men and other bmmete people: and so with a great number of men, and fewe warlye or discrete Capitaines, he went against the Scottes, and encountered them at a place called Whetton vpon Swale, the .xij. day of the moneth of October: But for lacke of wise and warly prouision, the Englishe men were beset of their enemies vpon euery syde, so that of them were slaine a great multitude, and the remnant put to shameful flight, by the which flight the sayde Archebishop, with the Abbot of Selby and other were preserued. And because in this Battayle there were slaine so many spirituall men, therefore it was after called of many wyrters the white battaile.

When the king was informed of this ouerthrow of the Northren men, and also that it drew so nere wynter, he therefore brake vp his siege and returned vnto Yorke, and shortly after went further into England.

At this tyme there was nothing done that concerned the order and gouernment of the realme, without the aduice and counsailes of Sir Hugh the Spencers, the father and the sonne, by whose procurement many thinges were done in England to the great grudge, as well of the noble men of the realme, as of the commons of the same, so that they were had in as great hatred and indignation, as before tymes was Piers Gauestone. And many euill reportes and great exorcions were tolde of them, as commonly it happeneth to all thale that are out of fauour with the common people.

This yere the king helde his counsaile or Parliament at Yorke, where contrary to the munde of the Lordes Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne was made high Chamberlaine of England: By reason whereof he waxed so haughty and proude, that no Lorde of this land durst displease him at any tyme, whereof grewe the occasion of the Barons warre, as after shall appere.

Before ye heard of two Cardinalles that came to trauaile to make a peace betwene the two kinges, but it would not be, wherefore the king purchased

The Scots cometh in to Yorkshire, and cruelly burneth and spoylth.

The Englishmen were againe discomfited of the Scots.

The king againe returneth with great losse.

Sir Hugh Spencer the father, and Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne ruled all England.

1313

12

Parliament at Yorke.

chased a curse of John the .xxij. Bishop of Rome, to accusse the Scottishe king and all that helde with him, or mainteyned him. But it auayled nothing, but put the king to great costes and charges, for the Scottes ceased not for all their cursynges, and the pooze commons were so vexed and that with so many troubles, as losse of their moueable goodes, of their possessions, and of all that euer they had, not onely by the foreyne enemye, but euen here among our awne people, by reason of the misgouernance of the king, as also by the trouble and variaunce that was betwene him and his Lordes: so that many were bitterly vndone, & a fewe singuler disordered persons aduanced.

Now when the greatest part of the Barony of England behelde this miserie of the people, how they were punished by the hand of God, and also by the ignorance of the king, they in secret maner assembled themselues together at a towne called Sherborne, and there concluded a reformation for this mischiese, which was, to remoue from the king the sayd Spencers, both the father and the sonne. And that this might take effect, Sir Thomas Erle of Lancaster, Sir Humfrey Bohun Erle of Hereford, Sir John Mowbray Baron, Sir Roger Clifford Baron, Sir Goslyn Daniell Baron, Sir Roger Toket, Roger Benefield, Sir Roger Mortimer, Sir William Suland, Sir William Elmbridge, Sir John Gifford, and Sir John Cyers, Barons and knightes with diuers other, swaere eche of them to stand by other vntill they had amended the state of the realme.

And shortly after, by their aduice and agreement, Sir John Mowbray, Sir Roger Clifford, and Sir Goslyne Danyell, with a strong company entered vpon the Manours, and Castelles of the sayde Spencers, standyng in the Marches of Wales, and spoyled and destroyed them. Of the which ryot the Spencers complayned to the king. And for an order of due punishment for these to be taken, the king called vnto him dyuers of his counsell at Wyndesore, and there it was determined that the sayde Sir John Mowbray, Sir Roger Clifford and Sir Goslyne Danyell should appere before the kinges counsell shortly after, and there to make answer vpon that ryot. And if they refused that to doe, that then they should aduoyde the lande shortly after as banished men. But no day of apparaunce was kept by them. Wherefore proclamations was made in dyuers places of the realme and at London the .xviij. day of Marche, that the sayde Sir John Mowbray, Sir Roger Clifford and Sir Goslyne Daniell, should aduoyde the lande within .x. dayes following vpon paine of death. Whereof heiring the Lords and Barons before named, reassembled them a more strong power, and vpon that sent a messenger vnto the king, beseeching hym humbly, to exclude and remoue from him the counsell of the Spencers, which daylie did vnto him great dishonour, and to the common weale of the realme great hinderance. The king heering this humble request, was with it nothing content, but yet fearyng greatly the destruction of his awne person, assembled his counsaile for the reformation of thys matter: where it was concluded, that the king shoulde call a Parliament at London. And forthwith the king wrote his letters and sent the same vnto the sayde Barons, commaundyng them at a daye prefixed to bee at the sayde Parliament, who at the day appointed, made their apperaunce at London, bringyng with them a great hoste of men of armes in a sute of Jarquets or Cotes parted, yelow and greene, with a band of white cast

The Barons assembled in a counsaile at Sherborne.

A ryot begon by the Barons against the Spencers.

A message sent to the king from the Barons that he should remoue the Spencers.

The Parliament of white Wanders.



cast overthwart. And for this cause, that Parliament long after was of the common people called the Parliament of whyte bandes.

At this tyme the Maiour of the Citie of London for the preservation of the sayd Citie, & for the fire keeping of the kings peace, caused daylie a thousand men being weil armed, to warde the Gates and water sydes of the sayd Citie, and the same warders or watchemen to begimne their watche at foure of the clock in the morning, and so continued vntill .vij. of the clock at night. At which tyme, as manye were ordeyned for to take the charge of the night watch, and so to continue vntill the houre of fyve of the clock in the morning. And because the night watch should be the moze duely kept, therefore there was assigned nightly two Aldermen to ryde about the Citie with certayne officers of the Towne to see the watchmen weil and discretely ordred and guided. And the gates were shut at .ix. of the clock, and opened againe at .vij. in the morning, and euery Citizen was warned to haue his harnes by him, that he might be readie with short warnyng whensoever he were called.

Thus durynge the tyme of the Parliament which was holden at Westminster, the watch, as aforesayde, was holden and kept in London. And among other things it was ordeyned in that Parliament for the weale of the lande that Sir Hugh Spencer the father, and Sir Hugh the sonne, should be banished out of the realme of Englande for terme of lite. And shortly after that banishment was put in execution, so that they both were brought vnto Douer, there to take shyping. Where Hugh the father made great mone when he should take his shyp, and cursed his sonne in the heryng of those that had the guyding of them, sayeng: that by his meanes he was banished from the flowre of all the landes christened.

Then the king dissolued the Parliament, and euerye man returned to his abone. But it was not long after but that worde was brought to the king, that Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne houed vpon the coaste of England, and tooke prayes of all Marchaunts that passed by his course: But the king made as though he vnderstood no suche thing, and suffred that and many moe euill deedes to go unpunished, the which at length he repented full soze, and toke therof great remorse of conscience as appereth in the ende of his reigne.

The king being bewitched with the loue of the aforesayde Spencers did now agayne reuoke the actes and ordynances made in the last Parliament, and called agayne into Englande the aforesayde Spencers to theirs and his callinge awaye, as after it shall appeere, and set them agayne in auctoritie as high as euer they were, malogre the heart and minde of all his Barons, and to the great vniquietnesse of all the realme. And shortly after beganne quarell piking, and the king beganne claympng a title by the Queene of the Castell of Ledes in Kent, which belonged to sir Barthen Bladefmore knight then being on the Barons party, and the king besieged the sayde Castell, and by the helpe of the Citizens of London did at the last by strength wyne the same, and spoyled the moueables thereof, which were of a great value.

Nowe when the king had thus called home the Spencers, and things were ruled and gouerned after their sensuall appetites and pleasures, without having any respect or regard to the common weale of the realme of England. The Barons also well pondering and considering among themselves that this lewde kinde of gouernment vsed by the Spencers must of necessity at

The Citie of London was garded with a watch both day & night.

The Spencers both father and son banished.

1319

13

The Spencers are called home againe by the king.

at the last bring the lande to great ruyne, and the king to great dishonour: they entending to preuent the mischiefe that might ensue thereof, gathered vnto them a great power. And in the meane tyme that Sir Thomas Erle of Lancaster was gathering of his people, the two Mortymers, that is to say, Sir Roger Mortymer of warke, and Sir Roger of Wypgmoze with other, went vnto the Marches of Wales, and tooke by strength certayne Cities and Townes belongyng to the Spencers, and pursued also some of the kinges seruantes. Wherefore the king heyring of the rebellion of hys Lords, made hastie speede, and with a great hoste came about by Shrewesbury, and was neere vnto them befoze they were ware of hym, so that for feare, the sayde Mortymers yelded themselves vnto the kings grace and mercy, the which forthwith were conueyed as prisoners vnto the Tower of London.

When the king had set all thinges in order about the marches of Wales, he then gathered moze strength about him, and therefore about the begynnyng of March, he set forward and came to Glocester, where the Spencers with all their people met with him. And from thence they went to Lichefield, at which tyme the Erles of Lancaster and of Herefford with their host were at Burton vpon Trent, and forstefied the bridge, that the king might not come ouer the sayde Riuer. Then the king was brought vnto a foorde, and began to set ouer his knightes, whereof heeryng the sayde Erles, they forsooke the towne and fled. But befoze they could passe farre vpon their iourney, they were encountered of Sir Aymer de Walaunce Erle of Pembrooke, with the Spencers and other of the kinges host vpon the .xij. of March, and them did ouerset, and caused them to fle, who at the last came to Dornfret. In thys meane tyme, the Erle Thomas had sent a knight of his named Robert Holland, into Lancashire for to arrere his tenantes. But when the sayde Sir Robert heard of the sayde skirmishe, and howe his maister was fled, he then drewe to the king, and presented him with such company as he then brought. And thus the kinges power daylye encreased, and the Barons discreased. Then the Barons heeryng of the goyng of Sir Robert Holland vnto the kinges partie, were therewithall astoned, and tooke their counsaile in the Priours of Dornfret, where after sondrie reasons and argumentes, they concluded that they would go vnto the Castell of Dunstanborough, and there to remaine vntill such tyme as they might purchase the kinges mercie. And as they set forward vpon their purposed iourney, takyng with them such people as they had, at the last they came to a towne called Burghbridge, where they were encountered of Sir Andrew of Harkley knight, with other that were come out of the North with a strong company: Who gaue there an onset vpon the Barons, and in the ende discomfited them, and chased their people. In the which fight was slaine the Erle of Herefford, sir Roger Benefielde, and sir William Sulland, and other: and there was taken the Erle of Lancaster, sir Roger Clifford, sir John Mowbray, sir Roger Tuckettes, sir William Fitz William, with dyuerse other, and they were led to Poike. And this fielde was faughten the .xv. day of March. 1320.

It was not long after that Sir Hugh Daniell, and Sir Barthelw de Bladifmore were taken. And sir Thomas Erle of Lancaster was brought againe to his abone towne of Dornfret, where he was brought in iudgement befoze sir Aymer de Walaunce Erle of Pembrooke, sir John Briteyn Erle of Richmond,

The Barons assemble their powers against the Spencers.

The Mortymers taken and committed to the Tower.

1320

14

The Barons fle and are taken.

Thomas erle of Lancaster and diuers other of the Barons taken, and committed to dyuerse prisons & after were beheaded to the number of .xxij. noble men.



Richmond, sir Edmond of Woodstock Erle of Kent, sir Hugh Spencer the father, and sir Robert of Walmestrope Justice with other, and finally he was by them condemned and iudged to haue his head stricken off, which was done the. xii. day of Aprill next folowynge.

Thomas Erle of Lancaster beheaded.

From this tyme forward for the space of foure yeres, the Spencers encreased meruellously in fauour and aucthoritie with the king, and as fast decayed the fauour of the king towards the Queene, vntill such tyme as shee was relieved by her brother the french king, as after shall be shewed.

But nowe to retorne wher we left. The same same day that the aforesayde Erle of Lancaster was put in execution, Sir Roger Tuckettes, Sir William Fitz William, sir Waren of Isele or Iell, sir Henry of Bradborne, and sir William Chepny Barons and knightes, were also drawen and hanged, and their heades smitten off and sent to London, which were all put to death at Pomfret aforesayde, with an Esquier called John Page. And at Porke soone after was drawne and headed Sir Roger Clifford, Sir John Howbray, and sir Goselyn Daniell, Barons. And at Bristow, sir Henry Womington, and sir Henry Mountford Banerettes: And at Gloucester sir John Gifford, and sir William Clunbridge knightes: And at London sir John Cyers Baron: And at Wyndchelsey, sir Thomas Culpeper knight, and at Windsoze, sir fraunces Waldenham Baron, and at Cauntorbury, sir Bathew Gladysinoore, and sir Bartholl de Alborneham Barons, and at Cardiffe in Wales, sir William Flemynge knight.

A parliament at yorke.

After that the king had thus executed and subdued his Barons, he sommoned a Parliament at Porke about whitfontide next folowing, in the which Parliament Edward the kinges sonne was first made Prince of Wales and Duke of Aquitaine, Sir Hugh Spencer the father was made Erle of Winchester, and sir Andrew of Harkelay, Erle of Carleyle, and in the same were disherited all suche as befoze tooke partes, or had holden with the Erles of Lancaster, and Herford, except sir Hugh Daniell and fewe other, the which sir Hugh was receyued to grace, because he had maryed a kinneswoman of the kinges.

Sir Hugh Spencer the father made Erle of Winchester.

Shortly after Maister Robert Baldock, a man of euill fame and name, was by the king made Chauncelour of England. And he helped forward that good store of forfeites and fines were gathered into the kinges treasury, without sparyng of privileged places or other: so that whatsoeuer could be found, the same was seased for the king: By reason whereof, much treasure was brought vnto the kinges Coffers, besides great thinges that were byrbed and spoyled by the Officers of diuers shires.

Robert Baldock an euill man made Chauncelour of England.

This yere sayth Fabian, the king gathered the sixt penny of all tempo- rall mennes goodes within England, Ireland, & Wales, which was graun- ted vnto him in the aforesayd Parliament for the defence of Scotland: which money was not payed without great murmure and grudge, considering the manifold miseries that the common people at those dayes were wrapped in. And this yere also (as Fabian sayth) the Sunne appered to mannes sight as red as blood, and so continued by the space of sixe houres, and it was vpon the last day of October.

1321  
15  
A great taxe.

The sonne appered as red as blood.

About this tyme the Scottes entending to do a feate in Ireland, and to subdue that countrie to their obeyssaunce, entered it with a strong host vnder their

their Capitaine, Edward le Bruce, brother to the Scottish king. But the Irish men bare them so manfully, that they banquished the Scottes, and chased them out of that countrie. In which chase and fight the sayd Edward le Bruce and many other noble men of Scotland were slaine.

Edward le Bruce the brother of the king of Scots slaine.

Nowe againe the king made great prouision for to haue entred vpon Scotland, so that he was entring the lande about the beginning of August. But the Scottes hauyng knowledge of the greatnesse and strength of hys armie, withdrew themselves into Mountaynes, Marishes and other suche places, as the English army could not come at them: And this was done by the Scottes of purpose to werye and tyer the English army. And shortly after among the hoste entered sundrie diseases and sickneses, so that many of them dyed, and were cast away in that iourney, aswell for lack of victuall, as by other infirmities, so that the king for these causes & other, was constrained to retorne againe into England without doyng any notable act: Wherof when the Scottes were informed, sir John Douglas, and other Capiteines folowed and costed the king in such wise, that they had almost taken the king at dinner, at an Abbey called Bellaunde. Then the king of pure constraint defended himselfe, and withstood the Scottes so well as he might. But after a small and weake fight, the king was compelled to fle, and by that meane to saue him selfe.

1322  
16

The king againe entred Scotland but returneth home without any victory.

In the aforesayde skirmishe was taken Sir John Britayne Erle of Richemonde, and the kinges treasour was there spoyled and caried awaye, and the ordynaunce belongyng to the hoste, a great parte of it, was by the Scottes carped into Scotlande.

Then the Scottes in their retorne homeward, wanne the Castell of Roxham, and robbed the Towne of Northallerton, and other. For this losse and harmes Sir Andrew of Harkelay Erle of Carleyle was much blamed and charged by misleadynge of the kinges hoste.

This yere it was ordeyned, that when anye theese or other trespasser should be hanged, that from thenceforth, the same should forthwith be cut downe and buried, where befoze they were wont to hang still vntill they were consumed.

These being dead was appoynted to be buried.

The king now being informed that the great dishonour and losse befoze mentioned by the Scottes, happened by the vnturth, and treason of the aforesayde Sir Andrew of Harkelay Erle of Carleyle, caused a knight named Sir Anthony Lucy to arest the sayde Sir Andrew Erle of Carleyle, and to bring him safely vnto hys presence. And the sayde Sir Anthony made suche speede herein that the second day of Marche followyng the sayde Erle was taken, & so kept in prison vntill October next followyng, at which tyme the sayde Sir Andrew was arreigned and condemned for that he had taken money of the Scottes to betray the king his naturall Lozde. For the which treason he was at Westchester or at Shrewesbury drawen and hanged, and his head sent after to London, and set vpon the Bridge.

1323  
17

Sir Andrew Erle of Carleyle, hanged drawen and quartered for treason.

At this time also, the warre began to quicken in Guyan betweene the Englishmen and Frenchmen, whereof the occasion was (sayth the french Chronicle) for a Bastile or Fortresse buylded by the Lozde Mount Desart, a Lozde of Gascoyne, vpon the french kinges ground, as the Frenchmen sayde: But the Gascoynes and Englishmen iustified it to be within the terri-

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toꝝ of Guyan. For this, first began great words, and after many threates, but in the ende, mortall warre. So that the Gascoynes, with the ayde of the kings Steward of Englande slue many of the Frenchemen that came to ouerthrowe the sayde Bastle.

When Charles the French king heard of the ouerthrow of the Frenchmen, and howe the Gascoynes fortified the sayde Bastle within his sayde Seignory as he was informed, he sent with all speede his Uncle Charles de Valoys with a great hoste, who made sharpe and cruell warre agaynst the Gascoynes, and wanne from them the Towne of Angeob and Amyas with dyuers other, and at the last came vnto the Townes or Citie of Ryoll, and layed siege vnto the same: But the Englishmen with the Gascoynes issued out of the towne and gaue battaile vnto the Frenchemen, and put them to the worse, and slue. xiiij. C. of them. Among the which a Lorde, called the Lord of Saint Florentine, with other noble men of Fraunce were slayne, and the other enforced to lye further from the Towne. Howbeit in the ende, the sayd Towne by appoyntment was yelden to the Frenchmen vpon condition, that all suche Englishmen as were within the Towne should go freely with their goodes to Burdeaux, or if they would remaine there still, then to be swoꝛne vnto the French king, and to remaine there as Frenchmen.

After which Towne yeelded as aforesayde, Sir Edmond of Woodstock the kinges brother, then beyng at Burdeaux as the kinges Deputie, made suche resistance agaynst the sayde Charles de Valoys, that a truce was taken for that yere.

And about Mydent next folowynge, the king hauing knowledge of this warre in Guyan, and howe the French king extended to seale all Gascoyne and Guyan, for breaking of couenantes betweene them made, and not by king Edward perfoꝛmed, sent ouer the Queene his wife the French kinges sister to entreate an agreement and peace betweene them, as sayth Fabian. But Sir John froissart in his historie, sheweth the cause of her goynge to be otherwise, and wyrteth as followeth.

When the Queene (sayth he) perceyued the pride of the Spencers and howe they preuayled with the king, and had caused him to put to death the greatest parte of the nobles of his realme of Englande, and also that they bare towarde hir a sower countenance, and she fearing least they should haue put something into the kinges head, that might haue bene to the perill of her lyfe, was therefore desyꝛous to be out of this feare, and pityng also the miserable gouernement daylie practised and vsed agaynst the whole state and communalte of the Realme in all kinde of tyrannies and cruelties, by the aforesayde Spencers. The Queene therefore purposed nowe to fflye the Realme and to go into Fraunce, and therefore did feyne her selfe that shee would go on pilgrimage to Saint Thomas of Cauntorbury, from whence shee tooke hir way to Winchelsey, and in the night entred into a ship which before was prepared for her, and had with her, her eldest sonne Edward, and the Erle of Cane, and Sir Roger Mortymer, who a little before brake out of the Tower of London, as after shall be shewed. And in another Ship they had placed their necessarie provision and furnytur & then hauynge wind at will, they arriued shortly at the haven of Boleyn in Fraunce, where shee was most ioyfully receyued of the Capiteyne of the Towne, and also of the

The City of Ryoll besieged by the Frenchmen. The French men discomfited.

The cause of the Queenes goynge into Fraunce.

The Queene landeth at Boleyn in Fraunce.

Abbot

Abbot there, who conueyed her and all her company into the Abbey, where they were feasted and cheered. And after the Queene had remainyd there two dayes, she then daylie iourneyed so farre, that at the last shee came to Paris. But the French king her brother, hauing before knowledge of her comming, had sent to meete her dyuers of the greatest Lordes of his realme, as the Lorde, sir Robert de Artoys, the Lorde of Cracy, the Lord of Sully, the Lorde of Roy and dyuers other, who honorably did receaue her and brought her into the Citie of Paris, vnto the king hir brother. And when the king sawe his sister, whome he had not sene long before: as she should haue entred into his Chamber he met her, and tooke her in his armes and kissed her and sayd: ye be welcome sayre sister, with my sayre Nephew your sonne and tooke them by the handes and led them forth. The Queene who had no great ioye at her heart, but that she was so neere to the king her brother, she would haue kneeled downe two or thre times at the feete of the king: But the king would not suffer her, but helde her still by the right hande, demaundayng right gently of her estate and businesse. And she answered him right sagely, and recounted to him all the vilanyes and iniuries done to her by Sir Hugh Spencer, and prayed of him his ayde and comfort.

When the Noble king Charles of Fraunce had heard his sisters lamentation, who with teares had expressed her heauie case, he most comfortably spake vnto her and sayd: sayre sister quiet your selfe, for by the sayth I owe to God and Saint Denise, I shall right well prouyde for you some remedy. The Queene then kneeled downe whether the king would or not, and sayd: My right deere Lord and sayre brother, I pray God rewarde you. The king then tooke hir by in his armes, and led hir into another chamber, the which was appareled for hir, and for the yong Prince Edward her sonne, and so for that time departed from her, and caused all thinges that was behouefull and meete for her and her sonne to be deliuered vnto them at hys costes and charges.

And not long after, the sayde Charles, French king, for thys cause chiefly assembled together a great number of the greatest Lordes and Barons of his realme, to haue their counsaile and good aduise, howe he might best prouyde to remedy and help the distresse of his sister the Queene of Englande. And it was thought best to them, that the French king should suffer hys sister to make the best friendes shee could, in Fraunce or any other where and that the king should not take anye knowledge thereof: for sayde they, the king to minister an occasion of warre with Englande, and so bring hys aboue realme in trouble, is neyther honorable for hymselfe nor profitable for his realme. And they concluded, & the king might conueniently ayde her with Golde and Syluer, which is the Metall that purchaseth both the loue of the Gentleman and also of the souldyours. And to thys counsell and aduyce the king agreed: and caused thys determination to be shewed to the Queene priuely by Sir Robert de Artoys, who at that time was one of the greatest Lordes in all Fraunce.

Howe the Barons of Englande that were leftte, considering that the Spencers had so drawne the king to doe and consent to whatsoeuer they required: and considering also howe they had not onely made awaye the greatest parte of the Barony of Englande, but also kept those that remainyd in

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such

The Queene was honorably receaued in Fraunce.

The French king consulteth with his Lordes how to ayde his sister the Queene of Englande.

The Barons of Englande write to the Queene ouer into Fraunce.



such feare and awe that they could beare no rule, nor be heard with the King by reason of their auzhoritie. Therefore the sayde Barons which were left, assembled themselves together, and with one accord, wroze ouer into France to the Queene of England, certefying her that if she could finde the meanes to haue any company of men of armes (if it were but to þ number of a thousand) and to bring hir sonne and heyre with her into England: that then they would all draue to her, and obey vnto her and her sonne Edward, and ayde them with all their power, as they were bounde to doe of duetie.

The aforesayde letters beyng secretly sent vnto her out of Englande, she shewed them vnto king Charles her brother: who answered her and sayd, Good sister, if God be your ayde, your businesse shall preuail the better. Take of my men and subiectes, to the number of that your friendes haue written vnto you for, and I consent well to this boyage: I will cause to be deliuered vnto you, golde, and siluer so muche as shall suffice you. And herein the Queene had so traueyled, what with her prayer, gistes and promises, that many great Lordes and pong knightes agreed to bring her againe into England. Then the Queene as secretly as she coude, prepared for her boyage, and made her prouision: But she could not do it so secretly, but that sir Hugh Spencer had knowledge thereof. Wherefore he thought to get the good will of the French king her brother from her, by gistes: And secretly he sent messengers into France, with great plentie of golde, syluer and riche Jewels, and specially to the king, and to his prync counsaile: The which gistes tooke such effect, that in a short space, the French king and all his prync counsaile were as colde and as straunge to helpe the Queene forwarde in her boyage as though they had neuer talked of the matter. And the French king brake that boyage, and made proclamation, commaundryng all his subiectes vpon paine of banishment, that none should be so hardie, as to go with the Queene to bring her againe into England. And besides this, the sayd sir Hugh Spencer practised more malice, and compassed and deuised with himselfe a further mischief, which was, howe he might bring to passe to get againe the Queene into England, to be vnder the kinges daunger and his. And to bring this about, the sayde sir Hugh caused the king to wyte vnto the Pope, effectually despyng him that he would sende and wyte to the French king, that he should send the Queene his wyfe againe into England. For he tooke God to record that it was not through his faulte or occasion that she departed from him, for he entended nothing towardes her, but loue and good fayth, as belongeth vnto matrimonye. And he caused also like letters to be made to diuerse of the Cardinales, wherin were practised many subtile deuises, which were to long here to be reherced. And to suche as were most neresst and about the Pope, he sent great plentie of golde and siluer: insonuch, that they so traueyled and preynted with the Pope, that they caused him to write vnto the French king, that vpon payne of curslyng, he should send his sister Isabel into England to the king her husband. These letters were brought vnto the French king by the Byshop of Kayntes, whome the Pope had sent in that legation. And when the king had red the letters, he caused them to be shewed to the Queene his sister, whome he had not seene of a long space before, and now he comaunded her forthwith to aduouide his realme, or else he would cause her to aduouide with shame.

The French king geuech good wordes to the Queene his sister.

Gistes com- supt þ wife.

The practise of Sir Hugh Spencer.

Money is of so great a vertue that it corrupteth Popes.

The French king geuech frd his word and is in displeasure with the Queene his sister.

When

When this tidings was brought to the Queene, she was at her wiffes ende, and knewe not what to do, or what aduise to take, for as then, all the Barons of France had forsaken her by the commaundement of the French king, and so she was left all comfortlesse, sayng that her dere Cosyn the Erle of Arthoys did secretly counsaile and comfort her as muche as he might, for otherwise he durst not, because the king had forbidden him: But he was fully perswaded that the Queene was wrongfully bered and troubled. Thus was sir Robert of Arthoys at the Queenes commaundement, but he durst not speake nor be acknowen thereof. For he heard the king say and swear, that whosoener spake to him for the Queene his sister, should lose his landes and be banished the realme. And he knewe secretly howe the king was in minde and will, to cause his sister to be taken, and Edward her sonne, and the Erle of Cane, and sir Roger Mortimer, and to put them al in the handes of the king, and of sir Hugh Spencer. Wherefore he came on a night and declared all this to the Queene, and aduised her of the perill that she was in. Then the Queene was greatly abashed, and besought him with weeping eyes to geue her his best counsaile. Then he sayd, Madame I counsaile you that you departe and go into the Empire, where as there bee manye great Lordes, who may right well ayde you, and specially the Erle Guillam of Henault, and sir John of Henault his brother. These two are great Lordes and wise men, true, dread, and redoubted of their enemies. Then the Queene caused to be made redy all her prouision, and payde for euerything as secretly as she might, and so she and her sonne, and the Erle of Cane, and all her company departed from Paris and rode towarde Henault, and so long they roade vntill at the last she came to Cambresey. And when she knewe that she was in the Empire, then she thought her selfe in some better assurance than she was in before: And so passed through Cambresey, & entered into Ostrenant in Henault, and lodged at Ambreticourt in a knightes house, who was called sir Dambrecourt, who receyued her right ioyously in the best maner to his power. In so much that afterward the Queene of England and her sonne had the same knight and his wife and children with them into Englande and aduanced them in diuerse maners.

And in this meane tyme (sayth Polydore) Water Stapleton Bishop of Exeter, which hether to had bene with the Queene and was of her counsaile in France, did priuely flie from her into England vnto the king, and reueled vnto him all Queene Isabels counsailes and ententes, the which his doings was the begynnyng of his mischief, as shall be shewed.

Some after the comynng of the Queene of England and her sonne into Henault, the same was well knownen in the house of the good Erle of Henault, who then was at Valenciens. And sir John of Henault was certified of the tyme when the Queene came to the house of sir Dambrecourt, the which sayde John was brother to the sayde Erle Guylam. And the sayd sir John as one all pong and lustie and despyous of honoz, mounted on his horse backe and departed with a small companie from Valenciens, and came the same night to Ambreticourt, and did to the Queene all the honour and reuerence that he could deuise.

The Queene, who was right sorowfull, declared (complaynyng most piteously) vnto him with weeping eyes her miserable case, whereof the sayde

A friend in neede, is a friend in dede

Sir Robert de Arthoys a true & faythfull friend to the Queene.

The Queene flyeth out of France.

The comynng of the Queene into Henault

S. liij.

liij



The great friendship and gentleness of the good knight Sir John of Henault.

Sir John had great pittie, so that the water ran out of his eyes, and sayd, sayre Lady, beholde me here your abone knight, who will not sayle to dye for you in the quarrell, I will do the best of my power to conduct you and my Lorde your sonne, and helpe to bring you into your estates in England by the grace of God, and with the helpe of your friendes in those parties. And I and such other as I can desyre, will put our liues and goodes in aduenture for your sake, and we will get men of warre sufficient (if God be pleased) without the daunger of the french king your brother.

Then the Queene would haue kneeled doctone for great ioy that shee had, and to haue yelded thankes for the good will that he had offred vnto her: But this noble knight tooke her by quickly in his armes, and sayde: By the grace of God, the noble Queene of Englande shall not kneele to me. But Madaine, recomfort your selfe and all your companie, for I will keepe you faythfull promise, and ye shall go see the Erle my brother, and the Countesse his wife, and all their fayre children, who will receyue you with great ioy, for so I hearde them say they would do.

The Queene is greatly comforted by Sir John Henault.

Then the Queene sayde, sir I finde in you more loue and comfort then in all the worlde. And for this that you haue sayde and affirmed vnto me, I thanke you a thousand times: and if you will do this that you haue promised, in all curtesie and honour I and my sonne shall be to you for euer bound, and the whole realme of Englande shall consider your great curtesie and gentleness, and it is right that it should so be.

And after these wordes, when they were thus agreed, sir John of Henault took his leaue of the Queene for that night, and went to Douaingue, and lay in the Abbey. And in the morning he tooke his horse, and came againe vnto the Queene, who receiued him with great ioy: And before he came, the Queene had dyed, and was ready to mount on her horse, and to go wpyth him: And forthwith the Queene departed from the Castell of Dambrecourt, taking her leaue of the knight, and of the Lady, and thanked them for their gentle enterpymment, and sayde, that shee trusted once that she or her sonne should remember well their curtesie.

The Queene bled to death of her weightie affayres.

Thus departed the Queene in the company of Sir John Henault, Lorde Beaumont: who right ioyously did conduct her to Valenciens: and to salute and welcome her, there came many of the Burgesses of the Towne, and receiued hir right honorably. And so was shee brought before the Erle Guyllam of Henault, who receiued her with great ioye, and in like maner did the Countesse his wyfe, and feasted her right nobly. And at the same tyme the sayde Erle had foure fayre daughters, Margaret, Philip, Jane, and Isabell. Among whome the young Prince Edward set most his loue, and had to his company Philip, and also that young Lady was in all honor more conuersant with hym, then was any of his sisters. Thus the Queene of England aboade at Valenciens by the space of. viij. dayes wpyth the good Erle, and wpyth the Countesse his wyfe, whose name was Jane de Walops.

The Queene is right honorably receiued by the Erle of Henault.

In the meane season, the Queene prepared and called on for the setting forward of her businesse: and the aforesayde Sir John wrote letters betwix effectuously vnto knightes, and suche companions as he trusted best in all Henault, in Brabant, and in Behaigne, and prayed them of all loues and friendships that was betwene them, that they would go with him in this enterpryce

The Queene appeereth her businesse.

terpryce into Englande, and there came great numbers, what of one Countrie and other, that were content to go with him for his loue. But this sayde Sir John Henault was greatly discouraged, and counsayled to the contrary both of the Erle hys brother, and of the chiefe of the counsell of the countrie, because it seemed to them that the enterpryce was right highe and perillous, considering the great disorde and hatredes that then were in Englande amongst the Barons themselues. And also considering that the Englishmen most commonly haue enuye at straungers. Therefore they doubted that the sayde Sir John of Henault, and his company should not returne agayne with honour. But howsoeuer they blamed or counsayled him, the gentle knight would neuer chaunge his purpose, but sayd that he had but one death to dye, the which should be when and howe as God would, and sayde mozeouer, that all knightes ought to ayde, to their powers, all Ladyes and damoselles, chased out of their awne Countries, being bothe without counsayle and comfort.

Sir John of Henault is aduised not to take this enterpryce in hand, but his courage would forward, who euer said nay.

Now thys courageous and lusty knight assembled his people, and appointed at a daye, the Henaultes to be readie at Hale, the Brabanders at Bredas, and the Hollanders at Durdright. Then the Queene of Englande tooke her leaue of the Erle of Henault, and of the Countesse, and thanked them greatly for their honorable feasting and great cheere that they had made her, and kissed them at her departure. Thus the Queene with her sonne and all the rest of her company came forward with Sir John of Henault, who with muche adoe gate leaue to depart from his brother the Erle, sayeng vnto him: my Lorde and brother, I am young, and I thinke that God hath prouyded for me this enterpryce for mine aduancement. I beleue verily that wrongfully and synfully this Lady hath bene chased out of England, and also her sonne. It is almoste and glorie to God, and to the worlde to comforte and helpe them that are comfortlesse, and specially so highe and noble a Lady as thys is, who is daughter to a king, and descended of a royall king: we be of her bloud, and she is of oures. I had rather renounce and forsake all that euer I haue, & go serue God ouer the sea, and neuer to returne into this countrey, rather then thys good Lady should haue departed from vs without our comfort and helpe. Therefore deere brother, suffer me to go with your good will, wherein ye shall doe nobly, and I will geue you most humble thankes for the same, and my boyage shall be the moze prosperous. And when the good Erle of Henault had well heard his brother, and perceiued the great desyre he had to this enterpryce, and sawe well it might turne hym and hys heyres to great honour hereafter, sayde to him. My dere brother, God forbid that your good purpose should bee broken or let: therefore in the name of God I geue you leaue, and kyssed hym, streynyng hym by the hande, in token of great loue.

The Queene departeth frō the Erle of Henault yelding great thankes for her honorable entertainment.

Howe Sir John of Henault receiued his leaue of his brother the Erle

Thus he departed, and roade the same night to Mounce in Henault with the Queene of England. What should I make long processe, they made so speedie iourneys, that shortly they came to Durdright in Holland, where they made their speciall assembly. And there they prouyded for shippes great and small, such as they could get, and shipped their horses and harneys and other prouision, and committed themselues into the handes and defence of almighty God, and so tooke shyping, and set forward on their passage by Sea.



The names of the Lordes and knights that accompanied Sir John of Helyn.

Sir John Helyn and the Queene with their company is embarked toward England.

Gods secret and will wonderful works.

Queene Isobel the wife of King Edward the second and her sonne Prince Edward landed beside Harwich.

How the Lordes came to the aide of the Queene.

Sea. In thys company there were of knightes and Lordes : first, Sir John Helynault Lozde Beamond, Sir Henry Dautonig, Sir Mighell de Wyne, the Lozde of Gomegnes, Sir Perciuall de Semeries, Sir Robert de Bailleull, Sir Sampes de Boslopt, the Lozde of Vertoigne, the Lozde of Bocelles, the Lozde Willers, the Lozde of Heyn, the Lozde of Sars, the Lozde of Boylers, the Lozde of Dambreticourt, the Lozde of Sarmuell, and Sir Sulpharte of Guffell, and dyuers other knightes and esquyers, all in great desyre to serue their mayster. And when they were all departed from the haven of Durdright, they were for their quantitie a very fayre fleete and well ordered, and the weather was fayre, cleere and temperate, and at their departing with the first flood they came befoze the dignesse of Holland. And the next daye, they hoysed by their sayles and tooke their waye in coasting Feland, & their entents were to haue taken land at Dongport, but they could not, for a tempest toke them in the sea, that put them so farre out of their course, & they wist not of two dayes where they were, wherin God wrought mercifully for them, for if they had landed where they purposed to haue laded, they had bene all lost, for they had fallen into the handes of their enemies, who knew wel of their coming, & abode them there to haue put them al to death.

And it came so to passe that by the ende of two dayes, the tempest ceased, and the maryners discried lande in England, and thereunto drewe right ioyfully, & there landed on the sandes without any haven or port, nere unto Harwich in Suffolk, as the English chronicle sayth, the .xxiiij. day of September 1327. and so taried on the sands thre daies with smal prouision of victual, in which time they vnshipped their horse & harneys, not knowing in what part of England they were, whether among their friends, or in the daunger of their enemies. The fourth day they set forwarde in this aduenture, desyryng God to be their guyde, and as people that had suffred cold and tempests, with hunger also and feare went weakely outward as well as they might. And thus they kept their course by hilles and dales on the one side & on the other, untill at the last, they found Villages, & a great Abbay of black Monkes, the which was called S. Hamon, where as they thre dayes refreshed themselves wel. And then newes was spread abroad thorough the realme, of the landyng of the Queene and of her sonne, so that at the last it came to the knowledg of the Barons, by whom the Queene was called again into England, and they appareled themselves in all haste to come to Edward her sonne, whome they would haue to their souereigne Lord. And the first that came and gaue them most comfort was Henry Erle of Lancaster with this wyre neck, called Cort coll, who was brother to Thomas Erle of Lancaster & was beheaded, as ye haue heard befoze, who was a right vertuous & good knight as after ye shal here.

This Erle Henry came vnto the Queene with a great company of men of warre. And after him came from one part & other, Erles, Barons, knightes, and Esquyers, with so many people that they thought themselves out of all perilles, and their power still encreased as they went.

So sone as king Edward had knowledg of the landyng of the Queene his wife, and of his sonne Prince Edward, and heeryng also howe the Barons and Nobles of the realme resorted vnto her with great powers from all partes : The king beyng then at London, left the sayde Citie vnder the gouernment and order of Maister Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, who was

was nowe high treasurer of England, and the king himselfe accompanied with the Spencers, and a few other, taketh his way into Wales : But when he came to Bristowe, he caused that towne to be fortesfyed, and committed the charge and custodie thereof vnto sir Hugh Spencer the elder, and the Erle of Arondell: and he himselfe with sir Hugh Spencer the yonger, entered into the Castell, and fortesfyed the same.

The Queene heeryng of the kinges departyng from London, did forthwith send her letter to the Maioz and comunaltie of the sayde Citie requyryng of them aide to subdue the oppressors of the comon wealthe of the realme, and that they would see that the Citie of London & the Tower might be kept to the vse of the Prince her sonne : and sondrie other thinges were conteyned in the sayd letter, but for that the Copie that came to my hande seemed to conteyne diuerse repugnances, I haue therefore omitted the reherfall thereof. After the receipt of this letter, Fabian sayth, that Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Excester, to whome the custodie and gouernement of the Citie was committed, as aforesaide, sent to the Maioz of London to haue the keyes of the Gates of the Citie by vertue of his commission, which the Maioz, whose name was Hamond Chickwell, denyed. But the Bishop bled suche stoute woordes in the kings name, to the Maioz and Citizens, who had an euill opinion of him, for bearyng with the Spencers, whom the people hated as euill as the Deuill, and also for betrayng of the Queene and Prince as is aforesayde, that the sayde Citizens in a rage and fury tooke the sayde Bishop the .xiiij. day of October, and him with two of his household seruantes beheaded at the Standard in Chepe in London, of the which two one was his brother, as appereth by a monument in the Cathedral Church of Excester. And the same day, sayth Fabian, was taken for a spie a Citezen called John Marshall, which fauored the Spencers partie and was beheaded in the same place. And the dead corps of the said Bishop and his two seruants, & of Marshall were haryed vnto the Chamys syde, where the sayd bishop had begon to buylde a tower, and there in the rubbish or sand of the same, they buryed the foure bodies aforesaide. And Polidore sayth that after the Citizens had thys done with the Bishop, that then they went vnto the Tower and possessed the same, and there killed and spoyled all the kinges officers, and put in new officers geuyng them charge to keepe the same for the Queene and her sonne the Princes vse. And when these thinges were done, the Maioz sente vnto the Queene and her sonne thre graue personages, and certefied them of all that the Citezens had done, with promise that they would obey whatsoever shoulde please the Queene and her sonne to commaund them, and that the Citie was quiet and at their commaundement : The which message the Queene and her sonne accepted very thankfully, and suffered not the Messengers to depart unrewarded.

The Queene and her Lordes beyng thus assembled, as aforesayd, consulted and agreed among themselves to go the streight way to Bristowe, where as the king was, who had with him the Spencers. The which was a good towne and a strong, and well closed, standyng on a good port of the sea, and a strong Castell, the sea beatyng round about it. And therein was the king, and sir Hugh Spencer the elder, who was aboue ninetie yeres of age, and sir Hugh Spencer his sonne, who was the chiefe gouernour of the king, and

The king & Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger glad to take the Castell at Bristow.



and coufayled him in all his euill dedes. Also there was the Erle of Arondell, who had maryed the daughter of sir Hugh Spencer, & diuers other knightes and Esquiers attendyng and waytyng on the kinges Court.

Then the Queene and all her companie, the Lordes of Helynault Erles and Barons, and all other Englishe men, tooke the right way to the towne of Bristowe, and in euery towne where they entered, they were receyued with great feast and honour, and alwayes their people encreased, and so long they roade by their iourneyes, that at the last they came to Bristow, and besieged the towne round about as nere as they might. But the king and Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger helde them in the Castell, and the olde sir Hugh, and the Erle of Arondell abode in the towne.

And when the people of the towne sawe and considered what a powert the Queene had, (for the greatest part of the wholde power of England came with her,) and also perceued what perill and daunger they themselues were presently in: They tooke counsaile among themselues, and determined to yelde by the towne to the Queene, so that their hyes and goodes might be saued. And forthwith they sent to treat with the Queene and her counsaile in this matter: But the Queene nor her Counsaile would not agree thereunto, without she might do with sir Hugh Spencer, and with the Erle of Arondell, what her pleasure was.

When the people of the towne sawe they could haue no peace otherwise, neyther saue the towne, their goodes, nor their hyes, beyng in that distresse they agreed to the Queene, and opened the Gates, so that sir John of Helynault, and all her Barons, knightes, and Esquiers, entered into the towne, and tooke their lodgyngs within as many as might, and the rest without.

Then sir Hugh Spencer, and the Erle of Arondell were taken, and brought before the Queene, to do her pleasure with them. Then also was brought to the Queene her awne children, John her sonne, & her two daughters, which had beene in the keepyng of the sayd Sir Hugh Spencer: At the sight of whome the Queene much ioyed, because she had not seene them long before. And at this tyme, it may well be coniectured, that the king and Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger, had great sorow and care, to see that they themselues were fast enclosed, and that the greatest part of the realme turned to the ayde and succour of the Queene, and to Edward her eldest sonne.

Nowe when the Queene and her Barons, and all the companie that came with her, were lodged at their ease, then they besieged the Castell as nere as they might. And the Queene caused sir Hugh Spencer the elder, & the Erle of Arondell to be brought forth before her, and her sonne, & before all the Barons that were present: and sayd, that she and her sonne would take right and lawe vpon them accordyng to their desertes. Then sir Hugh Spencer said, Madame, God be to you a good iudge, and graunt vnto you good iudgement: and if we cannot haue it in this worlde, I pray God we may haue it in another. Then stood forth a good knight called sir Thomas Mace which was Marshall of the Queenes hoste, and there openly he red and reherfed their dedes in wyptyng: and turned him vnto another auncient knight, that he should proue him guiltie, and to shewe his opinion what was to be done with those persons, and what iudgement they should haue for such offences. Then the sayd knight counsayled with others, that is to say, with the Barons

The Queene besieged the cite of Bristow wherem the king was

Sir Hugh Spencer the elder and the Erle of Arondell are taken and brought before the Queene.

The heavy & dangerous estate of King Edward the second and the yong sir Hugh Spencer stood in.

The arraignment of Sir Hugh Spencer and of the Erle of Arondell.

rons and Erles, and knightes there present, and then he reported their opinions and iudgements. The which was, that they had well deserued death for their diuerse and horrible dedes that they had committed, and so haue iudgement thre maner of wayes. First to be drawne, and after to be headed, and then their bodyes to be hanged on a Gibbet. And as this iudgement was geuen, so was it executed before the Castell gate of Bristow, in the sight of the king, and of sir Hugh Spencer the yonger. 1325.

And after thys execution, the king and the yong Spencer seyng themselves thus trapped and besieged, and beyng wythout hope of any comfort: In a moornyng betymes, they two with a small companie entred into a little Wessell behinde the Castell, thinking to haue fled into the Countrie of Wales. And they were .xj. dayes in the ship, and enforced it to sayle as much as they might: But whatsoeuer they did, the winde was so contrary vnto them (for it seemed that God would so haue it) that euery daye once or twise they were brought againe within a quarter of a myle of the sayde Castell. At the last it happened Sir Henry Beaumont, some to the Vicount Beaumont in England (espyng the sayd small Wessell so often to come before the Castell) to enter into a Barge and certaine companie with hym, and rowed after this Wessell so long, that the ship wherin the king was, could not make any great way before them, but at the last they were ouer taken, & so brought agayne to the Towne of Bristowe, and delyuered to the Queene and her sonne as prisoners.

Thus it befell of this high and hardy enterpryce of syr John of Helynault and his company. For when they came out of their countrie and entred into their shippes at Durdright, they were but thre hundred men of armes. And thus by their helpe and the Lordes of England, Queene Isabell conquered agayne all her estate and dignitie, and put vnto execution her great enemies, to the great comfort and reioysing of the greatest parte of the realme.

And when the king and Sir Hugh Spencer were brought to Bristow by the aforesayde Sir Henry Beaumont. Then the king by the counsaile of all the Barons and knightes was sent vnto the strong Castell of Barkeley, and put in good and honest keeping. for there were ordeyned people of estate about him and such as knewe right well what they ought to doe: But they were streightly commaunded, that they should in no wise suffer him to passe out of the Castell. Then Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne was delyuered to Sir Thomas Mace Marshall of the hoste.

These things done, the Queene set forward towards London, the chiefe Citie in Englande, and her grace and her sonne with all her hoste and company, tooke so their iourneyes, that at the last they came to the City of Harfford. And in all the waye, Sir Thomas Mace had caused syr Hugh Spencer to be bounde and to be set vpon a lewde Jade, and was lead after the Queene, and he had put vpon him a Tabarte, such as Traytors & theenes were wont to weare, & thus he passed thorough the townes with Trumpe & Pipes of Keeedes blowne before him, to do him the more scorne & despight.

And when the Queene was come to Herfford, the Citizens receaued her very honorably with great solempnitie. And there she and all her company remayned & kept the feast of all Saintes very royally, and the more bountifullly and honorably it was done, because of her sonne and the straungers that were

The iudgement geuen against Sir Hugh Spencer the elder and the Erle of Arondell.

1325  
19

The king and Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger fled, but fortune fauored them not.

The king and Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger taken.

A great enterpryse of Sir John of Helynault a courageous and faithfull knight.

The king committed to the Castell of Barkeley.

Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger lead about so wonderfullly like a beaſt.



were present.

Nowe when this feast was done: then Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne who was nothing beloued, was brought forth before the Queene and all the Lordes and knightes. And before him in wytyng was reherled all hys deedes, vnto the which he would make no maner of aunswere. And so was he then iudged by playne sentence. First, to be drawen on a hardell wyth Trompes and Trumpettes throughout all the Citie of Herfford, and after to be brought into the market place, where as all the people were assembled, and there to be tyed vpon an high ladder that euery man might see hym: & in the same place a great fyre to be made, and there hys priuie members to be cut from hym, and to be bzent in the fyre before his face. And then his harte to be drawen out of his body and cast into the fyre because he had conspired treason and was a false traytour in his heart, and that by his Trayterous counsell and extorcion the king had shamed his realme and brought the people thereof to a great michiefe, for he had caused to be behedded the greatest Lordes of his realme, by whome this Realme ought to haue bene gouerned and defended. And he had so enduced the king, that he would not see the Queene his wyfe, nor Edward his eldest sonne, and caused hym to chafe them out of the realme for feare of their lyues. And then his head was stryken off and sent to London, and so according to his iudgement he was executed.

After this execution the Queene and all her Lordes tooke their waye to London, wherof the Citizens both she and her sonne, were very honorably and ioyfully receaued. Now after the straungers had bene there feasted. xv. dayes, they, namely Sir John of Helynault and all his company, had great desyre to returne agayne into their awne countries, for they thought they had well done their deuoyze and atcheued great honor: and therefore tooke their leaue of the Queene and of the Lordes of the realme. But the Queene and the Lordes entreated them earnestly to tary lenger, and chiefly that they shoulde see what should be done with the king before they went. But the straungers had such minde home, that they would not be entreated to tarye any lenger. And when the Queene and her counsaile sawe that, then yet she intreated Sir John of Helynault to tarye vntill it was past Christmas, and to reteinne with him such of his company as pleased him best. And he lyke a gentle knight would not leaue to performe his service, but curteously graunted the Queene to tarye as long as it should please her, and he caused of hys company such to tarye as he could entreat, which was but a fewe, for the rest would needes awaye, with the which he was displeasid.

When the Queene and her counsaile sawe that no intreatie could cause them to tarye any lenger: Then she made vnto them great chere and feastes. And the Queene caused to be geuen vnto them plentie of Golde and Syluer for their costes and seruices, and also rewarded euerye of them wyth riche and goodly Jewelles, according to their estates and degrees, so as they all helde themselves right well pleased and contented. And besides this, they had money for their horses, such as they would leaue behinde them at their awne price, without any grudging.

And thus Sir John of Helynault abode still in Englande wyth a small company, but he was so beloued, chered, and feasted of the Englishe men

(who

The arraignment & iudgement of Sir Hugh Spencer & poynter.

Sir John of Helynault desired licence to depart to his countrye.

The straungers depart, but Sir John of Helynault taryeth.

(who honored him in the best maner that they could imagyne) and recreated him with sundrie disportes and pastymes; that the time seemed the lesse vnto him. And in lyke maner he was welcomed to the Ladies and Damofels: for at that tyme there was with the Queene many Ladies and Countesses, which came specially to accompany the Queene.

Nowe after that the most part of the companie of Helynault were departed, and Sir John of Helynault Lorde of Beaumont taryed: The Queene discharged her armie, and gaue them leaue to returne home euery man to his Countrie and place, sayng certeine noble men, which she still kept about her and her sonne as their counsaillers, and all the other knightes and gentlemen she commaunded to returne agayne at Christmasse, at which tyme she promised to keepe open household, and so she did. And immediately after the dispatche of these people, the Queene with her sonne, by the aduice of her counsaile sommoned her high Court of Parliament at Westminster, which began the xviij. day of January. And in this assembly it was declared that this Realme could not continue without a heade and gouernour: And therefore first they agreed to drawe into articles the misgouernement of the king that was in prison, and all his euill doynges, which he had done by euill and naughtie counsaile: And when the sayd articles were read and made knowen to all the Lordes, Nobles, and Commons of the realme, then they consulted howe the realme should be gouerned thenceforth: and after good deliberation and consideration of the aforesaid articles of the kinges euill gouernement, they concluded, that such a man was not worthe to be a king, nor to weare a crowne royall. And therefore they all agreed that Edward his eldest sonne, who was there present, and was rightfull heire, should be crowned king in steed of his father, so that he would take about him, sage, true, and good counsaile, and that from thenceforth the Realme might be better gouerned, then before it had bene. And it was also agreed, that the olde king his father should be well and honestly kept as long as he lyued, according to his estate.

And so sone as all things were concluded, as aforesayd, it was then further ordered & agreed, that during the Parliament time, a solemne message should be sent vnto the king to Kenelworth Castell, to declare vnto him not onely the determination of the thre estates concerning his depoying from the Kingdome, but also to resigne vnto him in the name of the whole realme, all theyr homages that before tyme they had done vnto him. And to do this message there was assigned thre Bishops, thre Cleres, two Abbots, two Barons, and two Iustices, with the speaker of the Parliament, whose name was Sir William Trussell. And when these Messengers were come into the kinges presence at Kenelworth aforesayde, the aforesaid Sir William Trussell the xviij. day of January by the auctoritie of his office in the heering of the aforesaid Lordes, vsed vnto the king these wordes folowynge.

I William Trussell in the name of all men of this land of England, and speaker of the Parliament, resigne to thee Edward, the homage that sometime was made vnto thee, and from this time forth deprive thee of all kingly power, and I shall neuer be attendant vnto thee as king, after this time.

Nowe Sir John of Helynault, who had remayned with the Queene all the Christmasse, and perceyving king Edwarde deposed, who had reigned king of this realme fully. xviii. yeres. vij. monethes, and odde dayes, de-

C. J.

sted

The parliament at Westminster.

Kenelworth Castell.

The depoytion of King Edward the seconde.



Rewardeg  
geuen to sir  
John of Be-  
nault.

sired licence of the Queene, and would needes depart, and could by no mea-  
nes be entreated to sary any lenger: wherefore the Queene by the assent of  
her sonne and counsaile gaue vnto him foure hundreth markes sterlyng, of  
rent, heritable to holde of the king in fee, to be payde euery yere in the towne  
of Bridges. This gift after the rate that money was then valued, which was  
at .xx. pence the ounce, and our money is now valued at fiue shyllynges the  
ounce, was after that rate of our money now currant .viiij. hundreth pound  
perely. And likewise the Queene rewarded Philip of Chasteaux his chiefe  
Esquier and Counsaillour, with one hundreth markes of yerely rent, to be  
payde at the aforesayde place. And also she deliuered vnto them great sum-  
mes of money to pay for their costes and charges, when they were ouer the  
sea, besyde many riche and massy Cheynes, and costly Jewelles, that she re-  
warded all the Gentlemen withall that came with him. And when this noble  
knight was readie to depart, the Queene caused him to be conducted wyth  
many noble knightes and Gentlemen to Douer, and there deliuered him and  
all his passage free. And to the Ladyes that were come into England wyth  
the Queene, and namely to the Countesse of Garennes, who was sister to  
the Erle of Barre, and to dyuerse other Ladyes and Damosells, there were  
geuen many riche and fayre Jewelles at their departure.

King Ed-  
ward kept in  
the Castell of  
Kemelworth.

And here to ende and finishe this history of king Edward the seconde, ye  
haue heard howe he was deposed, and remayned in the Castell of Kenel-  
worth vnder the custody and keepyng of Sir Henry Erle of Lancaster, which  
was brother vnto Erle Thomas of Lancaster, that was behedded at Pom-  
fret. And Robert Baldocke, who was the kinges Chauncelour be-  
yng a man of very euill name and fame, was committed to  
the prison of Newegate in London, where shortly  
after he dyed miserably. And the Erle John of  
Arondell was put to death at Herforde  
within foure dayes after sir Hugh  
Spencer the sonne.

# Edwarde the thirde.



After the depoficion of king Edward  
the seconde, as before ye haue heard, then Ed-  
ward hys sonne, begotten of Isabell the onely  
daughter and child of Philip le Beate y French  
king, was proclaymed king of Englande by the  
name of king Edward the thirde (hys father yet  
lyuyng) the .xxviij. day of Januarij, 1326. and  
was crobored at Westminster vpon Candlemas  
daye then next follovyng, beyng then of the age  
of .xv. yeres.

In his begynnyng, sayth Fabian, chaunced  
many good haps, for the earth became plente-  
ous, the ayre temperate, and the Sea had quietnesse, and to the Church  
grewe

1326

Every Al-  
derman that  
hath bene  
Mayor, is a  
Justice in  
London and  
Middlesex,  
and euery o-  
ther Alder-  
man to be a  
Justice of  
peace in  
his awne  
warde.

grewe peace.

And first he confirmed the liberties and fraunchises of the Citie of Lon-  
don, and ordeyned that the Maioz for the tyme beyng should sit in all places  
of iudgement within the liberties of the same for chiefe Justice, the kinges  
person onely except. And that euery Alderman that had bene Maioz, should  
be Justice in all London, and Middlesex, and euery Alderman that had not  
bene Maioz, should be Justice of peace within his awne warde. And also he  
graunted to the Citezens, the fee farme of London for thre hundred pound  
by the yere, & that they should not be cōstreynd to go out of the Citie to fight  
or defend the land for any neede. Also that after y day, the fraunchises of the  
Citie should not be seased into the kings hands, but onely for treason & rebel-  
lion done by the whole Citie. And at that time also Southwarke was admit-  
ted to be vnder the gouernement and rule of the Citie, and the Maioz of  
London to be Bailife of Southwarke, and the Maioz to chose vnder hym  
suche a Bailife of that Borough as him lyketh, the which ordynance endu-  
reth to this day.

About the Moneth of Aprill, many great and sundrie sutes were made  
for the releasynge of king Edward that was in prison. But among all other,  
the freer preachers, commonly called the Black Fryers, laboured most ear-  
nestly for him, and practised sundry deuises both by night and day which way  
to get him out of prison. And among the companye that the Fryers had pri-  
uely procured & brought, there was one Fryer called Dunhed, which should  
haue bene the chiefe Capitaine and woorker of their enterprize, but he was be-  
trayed and taken, and then put into the Castell of Pomfret, and there he  
dyed in prison.

Shortly after, sir Henry Erle of Lancaster that had Edward the kinges  
father in keepyng, did by the commaundment of the king deliuer the sayde  
Edward by Indenture to Sir Horice of Barkeley. And then Sir John  
Matreuers and the sayde Sir Horice led him to the Castell of Barkeley,  
and kept him there safely. And often tymes while the king was there unpri-  
soned, he would say vnto his keepers. What haue I trespassed Isabell my  
my wife or Edward my sonne which nowe is made king, that none of them  
will come and visit me? And then his keepers answered, my worthy Lorde  
be not offended that I tell you a truth: the cause is, for that they are certefi-  
ed, in thys wise, that if the Quene your wyfe came any thing nere you, that  
ye would strangle and kyl her. And that ye would doe lyke wise to the king  
your sonne. Then answered he with heauie chere: alas, alas, am not I here  
in prison, & at your awne will? and God I take to witnesse I neuer thought  
it: But I would to God I were deade, for then were I past all my trouble.

The olde  
king is re-  
moued to  
Barkeley  
Castell.

And shortly after, the king thorough the counsell of Sir Roger Morty-  
mer, as sayth Carton in his Chronicle (which he calleth the Frute of Tyne)  
graunted the keepyng and garde of Sir Edward his father vnto Sir Tho-  
mas Courley, and to the aforesayde Sir John Matreuers by his letter  
sealed, and cleerly discharged the aforesayde Sir Horice of the keepyng  
of him. And then they toke and led the king vnto the Castell of Corfe, the  
which Castell the king hated to the death: But other writers saye, that  
he was brought to the Castell of Barkeley, but what Castell soener it was,  
there, sayth mine Authour, they kept him vntill September next follo-  
wyng.

The olde  
king is re-  
moued to  
Corfe Castell.

C.ij.

wyng.



Sir Roger Mortimer deuided the maner how King Edward should be put to death.

The maner how King Edward was murdered.

1327

Byng. And then the aforesayde Sir Roger sent a letter vnto them, signifying howe and in what wise he should be put to death. And anone after that the aforesayde Thomas and John had receyued the letter, and considered the contents therof, they made the king good cheere and good countenaunce at his supper, when he thought least of the purposed treason. And when bed tyme came, the king went to his bed and laye and slept soundely. And he being in his sound sleepe, these traytours and false forsworne persons agaynst their homage and fealtie, came priuely into his Chamber, and their company with them, and layde a great Table vpon his belly, and with strength of men at all the foure corners pressed it downe vpon his body, wherewith the king awooke and being sore afrayde of death, turned hys bodye, so that then he laye grouelyng. Then these murderers tooke a horne and thrust it vp into his fundement as farre as they might, and then tooke a hote burnyng Spit, and put it thozough the horne into his body, and in the ende kylled and vilye murdered him: but yet in suche wise, that after his death it could not be perceyued howe he came by his death, but being dead he was after buryed at Gloucester.

Now, sayth Froissart, after the departure of Sir John of Heynault, the yong king of England, and the Queene his mother gouerned the realme by the counsaile of the Erle of Kent Uncle vnto the king, and by the counsaile of Sir Roger Mortimer, of whome mencion is made before in the. xviij. yere of King Edward the second, the which Mortimer was taken when the Barons and Lords were taken, as aforesayd, and he was no smal doer among them, and therefore was committed to the tower of London, where in the begynnyng of August next folowynge, by the meane of a sleapyng popson or drinke that he gaue to his keepers (as the common fame went) he escaped, and went with the Queene into Fraunce, and returned againe with her, as before you haue heard. And besydes these counsaylors, the king vsed much counsaile of Sir Thomas Wage, who was accomted for a very sage and graue counsaylour, but these counsaylours were not without some enemies, as fewe counsaylours are (as sayth Froissart) the which commonly happeneth, not onely in England, but also in all other countries.

About this tyme, Robert le Bruze King of Scottes, who had bene hardie and suffered much trauaile against Englishe men, and oftentimes in the life of King Edward the first, Graundfather to this yong King Edward the thirde, he had bene chased and discomfited, and was now become very aged, and sicke (as it was sayde) of the great euill and maladie: He now heeryng of the troubles of late happened in England, and of the deposyng of the olde King, and also of the puttyng to death of certeine of his counsaylors (as before you haue heard) thought a meete tyme for him to enter this realme, and to inuade the same, and the rather because King Edward the thirde was yong. And therefore about Easter in the yere of our Lozde. 1327. he sent his letters of defiance vnto the aforesayd yong King, sendyng him worde how that he would enter into the realme of England, and byenne before him as he had done before tyme, at suche season as the discomfiture was at the Castell of Estrenelyn, where the Englishe men receyued great damage.

When the King of England and his counsaile perceyued that they were defied, they caused it to be knowen ouer all the realme, and commaunded that the

Robert le Bruze King of Scottes, sendeth letters of defiance to King Edward.

Sir Thomas Wage a graue counsaylour.

the Nobles, and all the other should be in a redinesse, euery man after his estate by Ascencion day next after, at the Citie of Porke. The King sent much people before to kepe the frontiers against Scotland, and with much speede he sent a great Ambassade to Sir John of Heynault, praying him right effectuously that he would ayde him, and accompanie him in this voyage agaynst the Scottes, and that he would be with him at Porke the day before appoynted, with such companie as he might get of men of warre in those partes.

When Sir John of Heynault Lord of Beaumont hearde the Kinges desire, he sent streight his letters, and his messengers into euery place where as he thought to recouer or attayne any company of men of warre. And shortly to tell, the sayde Sir John Heynault made such speede that he landed at Dover, accompanied with a great number of baliuant knightes, to the number of fife hundred men of armes, whose names for tediousnesse I ouerpasse, and within thre dayes of Whitsunday, he with all his Lordes and knightes came to Porke, where the King and his mother then were, being accompanied with all their Nobles, and a great hoste tariyng the compyng of Sir John of Heynault: But the King had sente many of his Lordes and men of armes and conunon people before, and lodged them fife or sixe mile before him. And when Sir John of Heynault was come to the King and Queene, he and hys Lordes and knightes were most ioyously receyued, and heartely welcomed. And such as came with Sir John of Heynault, were lodged in the Suburbes of the Citie of Porke, and Sir John Heynault himselfe was lodged in an Abbey of white Monkes, where he and his household remayned.

And the King of England the better to feast and enterteyne the straunge Lordes and knightes, helde a great feast on Trinitie Sunday in the friers, where he and the Queene his mother were lodged, keepyng their house eche of them apart. At this feast the King had there besyde his Nobles, fife hundred knightes that gaue their attendaunce vpon the straungers, and lyke wise had the Queene aboute. It. Ladyes and Damoselles, and all to chere Sir John Heynault and the straungers.

There might haue bene scene much noblenesse: And there were Ladies and Damosels freshly apparelled ready to haue daunced if they might haue had leaue. But such was the vnhappy chaunce, & incontinent after diner there began a great fray betwene some of the gromes and pages of the straungers, and of the Archers of England, which were lodged among them in the sayd suburbes: And anone all the Archers assembled them together with their Bowes, and droue the straungers home to their lodgings. And the most parte of the knights and Masters of them were as then in the Kings Court: But allone as they heard tydings of the fray, eche of them drew to their lodgyngs in great haste, so many as might enter, & such as could not get in, were in great perill. For the Archers who were to the number of thre thousand shot fiercely, sparyng neyther masters nor barlets. And it was thought and supposed that this fray was begonne by some of the friendes of the Spencers and of the Erle of Arondels, who were put to death before by the ayde and counsaile of Sir John of Heynault, as is aforesayde, and as then thought to be somewhat reuenged by setting of discord in the hoste. And the Englishe men that were Hosts to these straungers, shut fast their doores & Wyndowes, and would not suffer them to enter into their lodgings: Howbeit some gate

Sir John of Heynault sent for to ayde King Edward.

Sir John of Heynault and his company are heartely welcommed to the King and Queene.

The King feasterh the straungers.

Alcobe and vnhappy fray.



in on the backside and quicklie armed themselves, but they durst not issue out into the streete for feare of arrowes: Then the straungers breakyng out on the backsydes, brake downe pales and hedges of Gardyns and drew them into a certaine playne place, and there taried for their company, till at the last they were an hundreth men of armes and mo, and as manye mo unharnessed, which could not get into their lodgings. And when they were assembled together, they made speede to succour and releue their companions who defended their lodgings in the great strete. And as they went forth, they passed by the lodging of the Lorde of Bengehven, where as there was greates gates both befoze and behynde opening into the streete, and the Archers of Englande shot fiercely at that house, and there were many of the Henardes hurt. But finally the Archers that were at that fray were discomfited and put to chase, and there were of them dead in that place about the number of three hundred, & as the report was, they were all Lincolnshiremen. But continually after thys fray the straungers were in great feare. And the king was greatly offended therewith, but the numbers were so great, and the tales so diverse of the begynnynge of this fray, that no certaintie was had, neyther might the king as then go about the examination thereof. And after thys fray they sojourned and remayned in the same place the space of thre weekes, but the straungers beyng afraid of the Englishmen, did in the meane time make many good deuises and ordynaunces for their awne sauegarde. And at the ende of thre weekes, knowledge came from the king to the Marshalls of the hoste, that the next weeke every man should prouyde for Cartes and Charriots with Centes and Pavillions to lye in the field, & for all other necessities thereunto belonging, to the entent to draw into Scotland. And when the time came, the king of England and his hoste heard of the fyres that the Scottes made daylie in England, for the Scottes unbeknowne to the kings armie were gotten ouer the ryuer of Tyne and were entred into Englande: But the king with all his power in all possible hast folowed them, and hunted them from towne to towne, and from mountayne to mountayne, and from place to place, from day to day, and weeke to weeke, by the space of 6. weekes and when the king thought himselfe most sure of them and had hedged them in, they escaped at Mydnight and were gone where the king could not folloze them, for his people, were tyred, and the wayes were ouer such mountaynes and thorough marshes and such comberfome places that he lost both manye of his people and also of hys carryages. And so this puyssaunt armye, which was deuided into thre battalles, wherein were .xxx. thousand armed men, and .cciii. thousand Archers, beside two wynges, wherein were five hundred goodmen of armes, returned home agayne with euill luck, and did nothing at all worthy the wyting. But surely it was a very chargeable armye vnto the king and the realme, for besides the prouision of all the Englishmen and their munition, the very charges of Sir John Henault and the straungers that came with him were so great, that the king lacked money presentlye to pay them, and Sir John of Henault tooke vpon hym to promise the payment therof, which, as Froissart sayth, was payd within one yere following, every man accordyng to his awne askyng. But the euill hap of this iourney, was imputed to Sir Roger Mortimer who afterwarde was charged therewith as ye shall here.

The straungers were in great feare of the Englishmen.

The king with his armye went forward into Scotland.

The Scottes came ouer the ryuer of Tyne, and so entred into England, and our armye followed them.

The king of England returned without doing any thing in Scotland.

The greatnesse and strength of the armie of Englande.

Now

Now after the returne of the king out of Scotland, and breakyng by of the sayd warre, the gentle knight Sir John of Henault tooke his leaue of the king and Queene, and departed with all his men of armes into their coutric. And shortly after, the king and the Queene his mother, the Erle of Kent his Uncle, the Erle of Lancaster, and Sir Roger Mortimer, who then bare the chiefe rule of this realme vnder the king, and all the Barons of England with the aduice and consent of the kinges Counsaile, sent a Bishop and two knyghtes Banerettes, with two notable Clerkes, to Sir John of Henault, prayng him to be a meane that theyr Lorde the yong king of England might haue in mariage the yongest daughter of the Erle of Henault his brother, named Philip: for the king and all the Nobles of the Realme desyred rather to haue her then any other Ladye, chiefly for the loue they bare vnto the said Sir John of Henault. And when the Ambassadors were come to Sir John of Henault (who right gently and honourably enterteyned them) and that they had shewed their message and ambassade vnto him. He then (after that he had feasted them and made vnto them great cheere) brought them to Valenciens to the Erle his brother, who also right honourably receyued them, and made vnto them merueylous great and costly cheere, which were to long here to reherse. But when they had exprest and shewed the content of the message or ambassade vnto the Erle. The Erle sayd, Sirs I thanke greatly and most hartely the king your Prince, and the Queene his mother, and all the Lordes of England, for that they haue sent such sufficient persons as you be, to do me suche honour as to treat for the mariage, to the which request I do right well agree, if our holy father the Pope will consent therevnto. With the which aunswere the Ambassadors were right well content, and forthwith they sent two knyghtes, and two Clerkes to the Pope to Auignion to purchase a dispensation for this mariage. For without licence they might not mary, because they were of kinne in the thirde degree, for their two mothers were cosyn Germaynes, and issued of two brethren. And to be short, the licence was graunted, and the Messengers returned and brought the same from the Pope, vnto Valenciens, and then was this mariage concluded on both partes. And the mariage was forthwith made, and solemnized by procuracion from the king of England. And after the solemnitie thereof, and the feastes ended: this yong Queene came onward of her iourney, and tooke shippyng at Wisant, and safely arriued with all her companie at Douer. And Sir John of Henault her Uncle did conduct her to the Citie of London, where she was most honourably and triumphantly receyued, Froissart. But Fabian sayth, this maryage was solemnized in Porke.

Sir John of Henault took his leaue of the king.

An Ambassade sent vnto Sir John Henault for a marriage to be concluded for King Edward with his brother the Erle of Henaults daughter named Philip.

Nowe when all thinges were finished that belonged to the receyuyng of the yong Quene, then Sir John of Henault Uncle to the Queene, tooke hys leaue of the king and the yong Queene, and also of the olde Queene, and of all the Lordes and Barons of England, and so departed towarde his coutric, beyng conducted to the See with the companie of diuers and sundrye Lordes.

Soone after his departure, the king at whitfontide solobyng called his high Court of Parliament at Northampton. At the which Parliament (as sayth Fabian) by the euill counsaile of Sir Roger Mortimer, & the old Quene, (as the common fame and report was) the king made with the Scottes an vnprofitable

Parliament at Northampton.

vnprofitable



A dishonourable peace made with the Scottes.

Ragman.

Unprofitable and a dishonourable peace, to endure thre yeres. For first, he released vnto them their fealtie and homage, and he deliuered vnto them the olde and auncient writyngs, sealed with the Seales of the kinges of Scots, and of diuerse Lordes of the land, both spirituall & tempozal, with many other Charters and Patentes, namely one called Ragman, by the which the King of Scottes bound himselfe and them to be feodaries to the Crowne of England. At the which tyme also were delyuered certeine Jewelles, which befoze tymes had bene wonne from the Scottes by kinges of England, and among other, the blacke crosse of Scotland is chiefly named. And not onely the king by thys doying lost the right and title that he had to the realme of Scotland, so farre as he could passe from it, but also all the Lordes and Barons, and all other men of Englande that had any landes or rentes within Scotland, lost their right in lyke maner, except they would dwell vpon the sayde landes, and become the king of Scottes liege men. And shortly after was concluded a marriage, betwene Dauid le Bruze, sonne of Robert le Bruze, and Jane the kinges sister, which of diuers writers is surnamed Johan of Cowres.

Shortly after, there was another Parliament holden at Salisbury, or rather Sarisoury, at the which Parliament sir Roger Mortimer was made Erle of Marche against the minde and will of all the Barons, and sir John of Eltham the kinges brother, was made Erle of Cornewall: To the which Parliament, Henry Erle of Lancaster would not come. Wherefore the king was brought in beliefe, that he ment euill towardes him, and that he purposed the destruction of his person. For the which, the king by the meane of sir Roger Mortimer, caused to be assembled a great hoite, and made towardes Bedford, where Erle Henry lay with his company. Then the Erle Marshal, and the Erle of Kent, made a peace betwene the king and the Erle of Lancaster: on whose part was sir Henry Lord Beaumont, sir Fouke Fitzwayn, sir Thomas Rocelyn, sir William Trussell, sir Thomas Wyther, and about an hundred knights, who all were exiled and banished Englande, by the counsaile of Quene Isabell, and the Erle Mortimer. For the sayd Mortimer was couetous, and thought to haue obteyned all their landes.

This yere Robert le Bruze the false king of Scottes dyed of a leprozy, leauyng behinde him his sonne Dauid of the age of. viij. yeres, whome the Scottes receyued willyngly for their king.

Also about this tyme (as sayth Fabian) sir Edmond of Woodstock Erle of Kent, supposyng that his brother king Edward the second had beene aliue, (for so he was informed,) and myndyng a reformation of the misorder of the realme, wrote certeine letters vnto him, conteynyng deuyces for his deliuey, and sent them vnto him: Of the which doying he was shortly after accused, by the procurement of sir Roger Mortimer, who ought him malice. And by authoritie of parliament holden at Winchester, about Whitson tide folowynge, he for that dede was adiudged to haue his heade smitten off, which execution was done in the sayd Citie of Winchester the. xij. day of May folowynge.

But Froissart sayth, he was beheaded the. x. daye of October. And not long after sayth he (it was openly reported) that Isabell the kinges mother was with childe by Mortimer: and howe that the sayde Mortimer had caused the king to put to death his Uncle without reasonable or iust cause, for all the realme accompted him for a noble and good man,

The

The. xij. daye of June was borne the kinges first sonne at Woodstock, and was named Edward, which in processe of tyme did grow to a noble and famous man, and was in his dayes accompted the flower of all Chyualrye throughout all the worlde, and also some writers name him the blacke prince.

In this tyme the king helde his high Court of Parliament at London (as sayth Fabian) durynge which tyme the king caused Sir Roger Mortimer Erle of Marche to be apprehended at Nottyngham, and brought to London. And befoze the Lordes and nobles were expressed and declared in writyng, the wickednesse and offences of the sayde Mortimer. Then the king demaunded of his counsaile what should be done with him: And all the Lords by one assent gaue iudgement and sayd, he hath deserued to die the same death that Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne dyed. And after thys iudgement there was no sparyng, respite or delaye could be graunted: but incontinent, he was drawn on a hardell thorough London, and then set on a Ladder, and hys members cut from him, and cast into the fyre, and hys heart also, because he had conspired treason, and then quartered, and his quarters sent to foure of the best Citie of the realme, and his head set vpon London Bridge. Thus farre Froissart.

But Fabian sayth, he was charged and condemned for sundry articles, whereof he maketh mencion of fyue especiall, which follow.

1 First, that Sir Edward of Carnaruan, which was King Edward the second, was by his meanes, by most tyrannous death murdered in the Castell of Barkeley.

2 The second, that to the kings great dishonour and dammage, the Scots by his meanes and treason, escaped from the king at the Parke on Stanhope, which then should haue fallen in the kings daunger, if the sayd Roger had not fauoured them.

3 The thirde, that he for the execution of the sayde Treason, receaued of the Capitaine of the sayde Scottes, named Sir James Douglas, great summes of money: but another writer sayth, he receaued. xx. thousand pound and also that he had for lyke meede, to the great dishonour of the king, and hurt of this realme, concluded a peace betwene the king and the Scottes, and caused to be delyuered vnto them, the Chartre or Indenture called Ragman, with many other things, to the Scottes great advantage, and to the great dishonour of the imperiall state of this realme of England.

4 The fourth, he was charged, that by sinister and vnlawfull meanes, contrary to the kings pleasure and will, or assent of the Lordes of the kings counsaile, he had gotten into his possession much of the kings treasure, and that he had prodigally and vnskillfully wasted and spent the same. By reason wherof, the king was in necessity and driuen perforce to assay his friends.

5 The fift, that he had impropered vnto him diuers wards, belonging vnto the king, to his great gayne, and the kinges great hurte: and that he was more secret with Quene Isabell the kings mother, then was to Gods pleasure or the kings honour.

Some after this, the king by the aduise of his counsell, commaunded that the Quene his mother should be kept close in a Castell, and to haue appointed to attende vpon her certeine Ladies and damozelles, and knightes and Esquires according to her estate, and certeine landes were assigned wherewith

1329

4

The like iudgement that Mortimer procured for Spencer the yonger he tasted now of himselfe.

Articles alleged against sir Roger Mortimer.

1328

3

Parliament at Sarisoury

Sir Edmond of Woodstock Erle of Kent apprehended.

The Quene committed to prison.



with to maintayne her noble estate during her lyfe : But speciall comission was given, that she should not departe out of the Castell, onlesse it were to see such sportes as sometime were shewed befoze the Castell gate for her recreation. Thus this Lady led there her lyfe meekely, and once or twice a yere the king her sonne came to visite and see her.

In this yere, sayth Polidore, John Archbishop of Cauntozbury assembled hys clergie together at a Synode holden at London, in the which utter dyuers abuses remoued, and other good things restored in their places, he then and there among other things, by the consent of the saide Synode, excommunicated all those, whatsoeuer they were, generally, that were guiltie of the death of Walter Stapleton Bishop of Excester, or did procure or consent to the same, or layde any handes vpon him. The which maner of doyng seemeth somewhat straunge to mee, for the sayde Stapleton as befoze ye haue heard was put to death by the Citezens as an enimie to the Quene, and was also the same yere and in the first Parliament that king Edwarde the thirde helde, attaynted of high treason by name, with the two Spencers afore mentioned, but I leaue this to the consideration and iudgement of the reader.

And Polidore sayth mozeouer, that the sayde Stapleton Bishop of Excester paradventure did foresee that he could not long continue in the seruice of princes with the sauetie of his lyfe, and therefore (when he had time) he builded at Oxford two notable houses, that should endure many hundreds of yeres, whereof the one to this day is called Excester Colledge, and the other is called Hartes hall, in the which he placed a number of scholers, with right worthy and good maintenance.

Now after that the king had caused to be done the aforesayd executions, he chose vnto hym newe counsaillours of the noblest and sagest persons of his realme. And towarde the ende of thys yere Philip Valoys, beyng newly crowned king of fraunce, all the Barons of hys realme came to him to doe their homage and fealtie, and likewise did all other noble personages that helde of him, except the king of England, who had not done his homage for the Duchy of Guyan, neyther was he summoned thereunto. Wherefoze, the french king by the aduise of his counsaile, sent as an Ambassade into Englande, the Lorde Auprenes, the Lorde Beaufalt, and two noble Clarkes Maysters of the Parliament of Paris, whose names were, Mayster Peter of Orlyuance and Mayster Peter of Masiers. These foure departed from Paris, and came into Englande to the king then beyng at Wyndsoze. The king of Englande for the honour of the french king his Cosyn, caused them to come into his presence, and receaued them honorably, and then they published their message vnto the king. And the king answered that as then the nobles of his realme was not about him, neyther was his counsell then present, wherfoze he prayed them to resort to the Citie of London, and there to stay awhile, and they should haue answer to their contentation. And so they dynd in the kinges Chamber, and after departed, and laye the same night at Colbroke, and the next day at London.

And shortly after, the king came to his palace at Westminster where he assembled all his counsaile: And thether came the french Ambassadors, and there agayne declared the occasion of their comming, and deliuered their letters. Then the king and his counsell went aside into the counsell Chamber, and

Excester Colledge. Hartes hall.

1330

Ambassadors sent from the french king to king Edward to demaunde homage for the Duchie of Guyan.

and counsailed what was to be done. And they agreed that the Ambassadors should be answered by the ordynance and stile of his predecessors, by the Bishop of London. Then were the frenchmen called into the counsaile Chamber.

The Bishop of London then sayde, ye Lordes that are here assembled for the king of fraunce. The kings grace my soueraigne Lorde hath heard your wordes and read the tenour of your letters. And for answer, we say vnto you, that we will counsell the king our soueraigne Lorde here present, that he go into fraunce to see your master his deare Cosyn, who right longingly hath sent for him. And as touching his faith and homage, he will doe his deuoyze in euery thing that of right he ought to doe. And ye may shewe vnto the king your master, that wthin short space that the king of England our master will arryue in fraunce, and there to doe all that reason shall require.

Then these Messengers, after they had bene feasted, and that the king had rewarded them with great giftes, and riche Jewelles, they tooke theyr leaue, and at the last came to Parys to king Philip, to whome they declared their answer and message: Whereof the french king was right glad and ioyfull, when he vnderstood of the kinges comming, for he was very desyrous to see him, because he neuer sawe him, and yet was hys nere Cosyn and kinsman. Then the french king caused this to be spread abroad throughout all fraunce. Then Dukes, Erles, and other Lordes apparelled and appoynted themselves in their best maner. And the french king wrote his letters to king Charles of Behaigne his Cosyn, and to the king of Nauerre, certefiing them of the day and time when the king of England would be in fraunce, desyryng them to be with him at the same day and tyme, and so they came with a great aray. Then was it counsailed the french king, that he should receyue the king of England at the Citie of Amys, and there to make prouision for his comming: There were Halles, Chambers, Hosteries, and lodgynges made redy, and apparelled to receaue them all and their companie. And also for the Duke of Burgoyne, the Duke of Burbon, the Duke of Loreyn, and Sir John of Arthoys. There was prouision made for a thousand horse, and for sixe hundred horse that should come wyth the king of England.

The yong king forgate not his boyage into fraunce, and beyng furnished of all thing mete for him and his trayne, he departed out of England, accompanied with thre Bishoppes, foure Erles whose names were, Henry Erle of Darby, the Erle of Salisbury, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Herford, and sixe Barons, the Lorde Reignold Cobham, the Lorde Thomas Wage Marshall of England, the Lorde Bercey, the Lorde Manney, and the Lorde Mowbray, and mo then xl. knightes, so that the king and hys companie were aboue a thousand horse, and the king was two dayes in passing betwoene Douer and Wyfant.

Then the king and his company roade to Boleyn, and there tarped one day, and this was about the middelt of August. And anone tidynges came to king Philip of fraunce, howe the king of England was at Boleyn. Then the french king sent his Constable with a great number of knightes to mete the king of Englande, who then was come to Mowntrell, and there were great embracynges and shewynges of frendship on both sydes, from thence

An answer made to the Ambassadors by the Bishop of London.

King Edward goeth into fraunce.



the king of England, now being accompanied with the Constable of France and other French Lordes, and his awne Lordes, road forwarde so long vntill they came to the Citie of Amyns, where the French king, and the king of Bohaingne, the king of Mailozgues, and the king of Nauerre, being well appoynted, were ready to receyue him, with many other Dukes, Erles, and Barons. For there were all the .xij. Peeres of Fraunce, ready to feast, and to cheere the king of England and his Nobles, and also to be there in peaceable maner to beare witness of the king of Englandes homage.

And thus the king of England being nobly and honourably receyued, tarped and was feasted with these kinges, and other Princes in Amyns. .xv. dayes. And in that meane tyme, there were sondrie wayes deuysed howe the king should do his homage, but so farre (sayth Froissart) as I could learne, the king of England made his homage vnto the French king, onely by word and not by puttyng of his handes betwene the French kinges handes, nor none other Prince nor Prelate limited nor appoynted to do it for him, neyther would the king of England do his homage any otherwise, but was determined rather to returne againe into England. And there was red openly the priuileges that of auncient tyme were graunted, the which declared howe and in what maner the king should do his homage to the French king, and what seruice he should do him. Then sayd the French king: Colyn, we will not at this tyme any further trouble you, for that ye haue nowe done, contenteth vs well, vntill ye be returned home againe into your realme, and that ye haue soene vnder the scales of your predecessors, howe and in what wise ye should do your homage.

And shortly after, the king of England toke his leaue of the French king, and of all the other Princes that were there, and departed very louingly, the one embracyng the other. Then the King made hast homeward, and both good speede returned into England, and so to Windsor, where of the Quene he was receyued right ioyfully. Then she demaunded howe her Uncle the French King did, and her kinsfolkes that were about him. The King answered her all that he knew, and of the great cheere & honor that he had there, and sayde that in hys opinion, there was no Realme to be compared to the Realme of France.

It was not long after, but that the French King sent a newe Ambassade to the King of Englande, who were certeine of his prouie counsaile, as the Bishop of Charters, the Bishop of Beauuoy, the Lorde Lewes of Cleremount, the Duke of Burbon, the Erle of Herculourt, and the Erle of Tankerville, with diuerse other Knightes and Clerkes, who, as aforesayd, were sent to the King, and to the Counsaile of England, which was then holden and kept at London, about the performance of the kinges homage, whereof ye heard before.

Now when the King of England and his counsaile had well considered the maner of his predecessors in doyng their homage for the Duchie of Aquitaine (although there were many in England that murmured and sayde, that the King theyr Lorde was nerer by succession vnto the crowne of France, then Philip of Valoys that was nowe French King) yet the King nor hys counsaile would not knowe it at this time, nor speake a worde thereof, but the counsaile and assembly aforesaid had much ado about this homage. And they were

The King Edward did homage to the French king for the Duchie of Guyan,

The King receiued a great commendation to France.

A new Ambassade sent out of France to King Edward for the doying of his homage for the Duchy of Guyan and Aquitaine.

were so long in the matter, that the Ambassadors were enforced to tary here all the Winter vntill May folowynge, before they had any aunswere definitive. But finally the King with the aduice of his counsaile, vpon the sight of former presidentes, to the which they gaue great credite, did determine to write letters in the maner of patentes, sealed with his great seale, knowledgyng therein the homage that he ought to do to the French king, as in Froissard ye may read moze at large.

The King of Englande was now enforced that King Dauid of Scotlande, who had married his sister, was seased of the towne of Barwikke, the which ought to apperteine to the realme of Englande, for King Edward the first, his Grandfather, had it in his peaceable possession. Also the King was enforced that the realme of Scotland should holde in chiefe of the Crowne of England: and howe the young king of Scottes had not as then done his homage. Wherefore the King of England sent his Ambassade to the King of Scottes, desyryng him to make deliuerance of the towne of Barwikke, for it perteyned to his heritage. And also that they should sommon the sayd King of Scottes to come vnto the King of Englande, and to do his homage for the realme of Scotland.

Then the King of Scottes tooke counsaile howe to aunswere this matter. And at the last, he aunswered the Ambassadors and sayd, sirs, both I and all the Nobles of my realme meruayle greatly of that ye haue required vs to do, for we finde no auncient recorde that the realme of Scotlande should be subiect to the realme of England, neyther by homage, nor other wayes: neyther did the noble King our father any homage vnto the Kinges of England, for any warre that was made vnto him by anye of them, and no moze doe I purpose to do. And as for the towne of Barwikke, our father conquered it by force of armes against King Edward your Kinges father, and by right helde it all the dayes of his life, as his good heritage, and we purpose to the best of our power to do lykewise. Notwithstanding, we require you Lordes to be meanes to the King your Maister, whose sister we haue maryed, that he will suffer vs peaceably to enioy our franchises and rightes, as his auncetours haue done here before.

Then the Ambassadors aunswered and sayde, sir we haue well vnderstand your aunswere, and we will declare it vnto the King our Lorde. And so tooke their leaue and returned into England to the King, and declared their aunswere, wherewithall the King was nothing contented.

Then the King sommoned a Parliament to be holden at Westmynster, where all the nobles and wise men of this realme were assembled, to determine what was meetest to be done in this matter. And they concluded, that it was not for the kinges honour to beare those iniuries and wronges that the Scottes did daylie vnto him, and they besought him to prouyde his force and strength of men of warre, to attayne thereby the Towne of Barwikke, and to enter into the realme of Scotland with such force, that he should constrain the king of Scottes to be glad to come and doe his homage. And all the nobles and commons of the Realme of England sayd, they would gladly and wyllingly go with him in that iourney. And for their good willes the King thanked them and prayed them to be in a readynesse, & at a day assigned to be together at New Castell vpon Tyne. And then euery man went home

The King of Scottes is sommoned to come and do his homage to the King of England for the Kingdome of Scotland.

The answers of the King of Scottes.

A parliament holden at Westmynster.

A great preparation against Scotland.



and prepared for that iourney.

Then the king sent other Ambassadors to the king of Scottes sufficiently to summon him: and that if he would not be otherwise advised, then the king gaue them full aucthoritie to desye him.

Some after the day of the assembly of the kinges hoste drew on, at the which day the king with all his armie arriued at New Castell vpon Tyne, and there taried three dayes for some of the armie that were not come. And the fourth day he departed with all hys power toward Scotland, and passed thorough the landes of the Lorde Percy, and of the Lorde Neuell, who marched on the Scottes, and so did the Lorde Rosse, and the Lorde Ligye, and the Lord Howbray.

Then the king with his armie drew nere to Barwike, for the king of Scots made none other answer then he did at the first, wherfore they summoned him, & then openly desyed him. And so the king of England taried not at Barwike, but went forward into Scotlande and burned the Countrey as he went. In the which iourney he wasted & destroyed all the plaine countrey of Scotland, & bent and destroyed many townes and billages & toke the strong Castell of Eynborough and set therein a garison. And then he passed ouer the second ryuer in Scotland, & ran ouer all the countrey thereabout to Scone, and destroyed the good towne of Donfremlyn, Wond, & Dombilayne, and many other, for there were no Scottes that would appere before the Englishmen, for they were fled into the forest of Eedwooth with all their goodes and they cared not much for that they left behinde. And it was no great marvel though they were thus driven, for the king of Scottes was but. xv. yeres of age, and the Erle of Morrey was but yong, and the Nephewe of William Dowglas, that was slaine in Spayne, was also of the same age. So as at that time the realme of Scotland was vnyrounded of Capitaines.

Now when the king had runne ouer all the playne Countrey of Scotlande, and had taried there the space of. vij. Moneths, and sawe that none would appere against him: Then he strengthened and furnished certayne Castels that he had wonne, thinking by them to make warre to all the other. And afterwarde he withdrew himselfe saye and easily toward Barwike, where the king layed his siege round about, and sayde he would neuer departe thence until he had wonne it. But after manye assautes and sharpe skirmishes had with the Scottes for suche as kept the Towne defended the same manfully, yet at the last they yeelded the Towne to the king conditionally that they might haue their lyues and goodes saued, and that the soldiours might departe into their Countrey without any damage. And then the king entred into the Towne with great solemnitie, and taried there. iij. dayes, & made Capitain there Syr Edward Bailliol, whom also he made king of the Scots, and betooke the gouernement of the whole realme vnto him.

And when the king had thus set all thinges in good order, he returned to London, where he was right ioyfully receaued and saluted of all hys people. And thus at thys tyme the king wanne the greatest parte of Scotlande, as sayth Froysart.

In the meane while that the king prepared the aforesayde boyage and army into Scotland, it chanced Sir Robert de Arthoys, who was one of the noblest men in Fraunce, vpon displeasure had betwene him and the French king

A defiance made to the Scottish king.

The king entred into Scotlande & a great power Eynborough Castell taken.

Edwourth Forest.

Barwike yelded to the king.

1331

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king, to fle out of Fraunce and came into England to the king disguised in a Marchants apparell. This Sir Robert was he, of whom before ye haue heard, that in the great distresse of the Quene and her sonne, beyng in France with her brother the French king, he found him an especiall friend and helper vnto her, and it was his counsell that she passed into Henault, where shee was releued and by the good helpe of the gentle knight Sir John of Henault was restored to the quiet state and possession of the crowne of England. And at the coming of the sayde Sir Robert, the king receyued him right ioyfully, and retained him as one of his counsell and to him assigned the Erledome of Richemond. This knight hauyng a sentence passed agaynst him of the Erledome of Artoys, and the same given from him to Jone Countesse of Artoys by the French king and his nobles, was with that sentence so sore displeased, that he sayde openly against the French king: By me he was made a king and by me he shal be dismissed againe. For the which words when they came to the kinges vnderstanding, he caused the sayde Sir Robert to be proclaymed an enimie vnto the Crowne of Fraunce, whereupon he fled, as is aforesayde.

Duryng the time of the aforesayde boyage into Scotlande, and the king hauyng with him the aforesayde Sir Robert, who went with him all that iourney, the sayde Sir Robert was often tymes in hande with the king (espying the Countrey of Scotland to be bareyne and beggerly) to leaue his warres in that countrey, and to clayme his right and lawfull inheritaunce of the crowne of Fraunce, and the whole realme of the same, which iustly and rightly did belong and apperteigne vnto hym, but the king gaue no eare therevnto.

The king this yere in Wynter, in the month of Nouember went againe toward Scotlande, and kept his Christmas at Yorke. And after that feast, he went into Scotlande, where he layde siege to the Castell of Kylbrydge, and at the last wanne it by strength and then he set the countrey in some quietness, and after he returned to New Castell vpon Tyne, and taried there a certaine of time, and kept there his whitsontyde with great royaltie. And within short space after, thether came Sir Edward Bailliol king of Scots, and the. xii. day of June made his homage vnto king Edward for the kingdom of Scotland, in the presence of many of the nobles of both the realmes, and swore vnto him fealty and fidelity. And that being done, he returned into Scotland, and king Edward went vnto Yorke and so to Wynter. Then were all suche Lordes of Englande as before tyme in King Edward the secondes dayes, diseased of suche landes as they held in Scotland, restored agayne to their possessions, and for them made their homage vnto y king of Scots, sayyng their allegeaunce vnto their soueraigne Lorde. Fabian.

Now shortly after, certaine Ambassadors were sent from the French king, as the Byschop of Chiroyne and the Lorde of Ferrey, and Bernguy for to conclude certaine articles of variaunce, betwene their Lorde and the king of England. But this purpose toke none effect, sayyng that the king granted to send vnto the French king shortly after, certayne of hys Lords to haue further communication with him touching the sayde articles.

And this yere the king kept his Christmas in the Castell of Rokeborough in Scotlande, which Castell he caused to be newly repayped. And

W. ij.

when

Sir Robert Erle of Arthoys fled out of France to the king of England for succour.

Sir Robert of Arthoys made Erle of Richemond.

The cause why Sir Robert fled out of France.

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Kilbrydge Castell besieged.

Edward Bailliol king of Scotces doth his homage to king Edward for the kingdom of Scotland.

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9



Ambassadors  
sent unto the  
French king  
for the con-  
clusion of a  
peace, but it  
take no effect.

When he had set suche things in order as befoze he purposed: Then he retur-  
ned agayne into England. And sone after he sent the Archbyschop of Cauntoz-  
bury, Sir Philip de Mountague & Sir Geoffrey Scrope, into þe realme of  
Fraunce, to the entent to haue concluded an amity betwene him & the French  
king, which befoze in the last yere was moued by the French Ambassadors.  
But when these sayde Lordes were landed in Fraunce, they were long de-  
layed befoze they could come to the kinges presence, in somuch that they sayde  
playnely vnto such Lordes of Fraunce as were by the French king assigned  
to passe the time with them, that they suppsed that it was not the kings plea-  
sure to speake with them.

By meane of which wordes, they were shortly after brought vnto the  
kinges presence, of whome they were receyued with ioyous countenance,  
and so continued a certeine tyme in furtheryng of their Ambassade, so that  
at the last, a conclusion of peace betwene England and Fraunce was agreed  
vpon, so farre foorth as the same should haue bene published the next day in  
Parrys by proclamation. But howe the French kinges minde altered, the  
Englishe Ambassadors were scantly returned vnto their lodgynges, but they  
were sent for agayne, and further enformed, that the French kinges pleasure  
and minde was, to haue Dauid late king of Scottes to be included within  
the same peace, and that he should agayne be restored vnto his Kingdome.  
Whereto it was answered by the Englishe Ambassadors, that their com-  
mission stretched not so farre, neyther that their Prince had geuen them any  
such auctoritie. Wherfore all the former communication was reuoked and  
adnulled, and they returned into England without making any conclusion.

I finde written in an olde Englishe Chronicle, which beareth the name  
of one Robert of Auesbury, that this King Edward the thirde, did aboute  
this tyme chaunge and aduance his coyne, that is to say, from .xx. pence the  
ounce sterlyng, vnto .xxv. pence the ounce, which maketh of currant money  
the pound weight of siluer .xxv. shillynges, and befoze it was currant for .xx.  
shillynges.

Nowe for somuch as no conclusion of peace might be had betweene the  
French king and the king of Englande, warre was proclaymed vpon both  
partes, the which warre was greatly procured by sir Robert of Arthoys, for  
as saith Froissart, he was euer nere about king Edward, and alwayes coun-  
saillyng him to defie the French king, who kept his heritage from him wrog-  
fully. Of the which matter the king oftentimes conferred with his priue  
counsaile, for gladly he desired to haue obteyned his right, but the meane to  
come by it was very difficult and chargeable. And he also considered wyth  
himselife, that to make a clayme to the Crowne of Fraunce, and not to go  
through with his claime, it should be better for him to say little, and to be still,  
rather then to make a great sturre, and then nothyng should followe nor  
come of it that should be to any purpose: And therefore after certaine mee-  
tyngs and conference vpon this matter, his counsailours answered him say-  
yng: Sir the matter is so weightie, and of so highe an enterprize, that we  
dare not speake therein, neyther to geue you any counsaile. But sir, if it may  
please you, we thinke it were meete that you sent sufficient Messengers well  
enformed of your meanyng to the Erle of Henault (whose daughter ye haue  
marryed) and to sir John of Henault his brother, who hath balliantly serued  
you

you at all tymes: And to desyre them in the way of amitie and friendship, to  
geue you their counsaile in this matter, for they knowe better what is meete  
for such an enterprize than we do: And sir, if they agree to your entent, then  
will they counsaile you what way you shall worke, and what friendes you  
were best to make.

The king when he had heard the aduise of his counsailours, and had  
well considered the same, he thought well of it, and iudged it to be a good way  
of entraunce vnto his enterprize: and forthwith the king appoynted the Bi-  
shop of Lincolne, and with him two Banerettes, and two Doctozs to do this  
message. And they made them readie and tooke shippyng, and arryued at  
Dunkerke, and roade through Flaunders, vntill they came to Valenciens,  
where they found the Erle lyng in his bed sicke of the Goute, and with him  
sir John his brother. And after the Erle vnderstoode their message, he an-  
swered and sayde. As helpe me God, if the king might attaine his desire, I  
would be right glad thereof, for I had rather the welth of him that hath mar-  
ryed my daughter, then of him that neuer did any thing for me: Though I  
haue marryed his sister. And to say truth, I haue no cause to do for him, for he  
letted the maryage of the yong Duke of Brabant, which should haue married  
one of my daughters, wherfore I will not faile to ayde my dere and welbe-  
loued sonne the King of England, and counsaile him to the best of my power,  
and so shall John my brother do, who hath serued him or this. Hobobit, he  
must haue moze helpe then ours. For Henault is but a small cuntrye in re-  
spect of the realme of Fraunce, and England is farre off to ayde vs.

Then sayd the Bishop, we thanke you on our maysters behalfe, for the  
comfort that ye haue geuen vs: Nowe we hartely desyre you to geue our  
maister counsaile what friendes he were best to labour vnto for his ayde.  
Surely sayde the Erle, I cannot deuise a moze puyssaunt Prince to assist him  
then the Duke of Brabant, who is his Colin Germaine: and the Bishop of  
Liege, the Duke of Guerles, who hath married his sister. The Archebishop  
of Coleyn: the Marques of Juliers, Sir Arnolde de Baquehen, and the  
Lorde of Falkemount. These Lordes are they that may make most men of  
warre, in thortest space of any that I know: they are good men of warre and  
they may well make ten thousand men, so that they haue wages thereafter.

After that the Erle had thus declared his mind of the best wayes to enter  
into the sayd enterprize, the aforesayd Ambassadors returned into England,  
and so to the king, and shewed him all that the Erle had sayd, & counsayled.  
At the which message the king did greatly reioyce, and tooke much comfort.  
And shortly after, the king appoynted ten Banerettes, and .xl. other knigh-  
tes, and sent them in Ambassade to Valenciens, and with them went the bi-  
shop of Lincolne to treat with the Lordes of the Empire, such as the Erle  
of Henault had named. And when these Ambassadors were come to Valen-  
ciens, eche of them kept a great estate and port, and spared no cost, no moze  
then if the king of England had bene there in proper person, wherby they  
did get great renobone and prayse.

Now while these thinges were thus in compassyng at Valenciens: The  
French king sent a crewe of Souldiours into Scotland to ayde the Scottes  
against the Englishe men: By reason wherof the Scottes made warpe  
warre vpon the king of Englandes subiectes and friendes, and put the lande

Ambassa-  
dors sent to  
the Erle of  
Henault.

The Erle of  
Henault ge-  
ueth coun-  
saile to king  
Edward.

A great Am-  
bassade sent  
to the Erle of  
Henault.

The French  
king sendeth  
a crewe of  
Souldiours  
to ayde the  
Scottes a-  
gainst king  
Edward.

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The coyne  
aduanced.

warre pro-  
claymed be-  
twene  
Fraunce and  
England.



to great beration and trouble, inſomuch that the king was inforced to aſſemble his power, and to ſpede him againe thether.

About Wydsomer the king entred Scotland by Sea and warred vpon the Scottes and French men, at which tyme the king ſubdued his enimies and had the victozy and tooke dyuers prifoners. Among the which one called the Erle of Hozet a Frenchman, was chiefe, which afterwarde was deliuered in exchaunge for the Erle of Hamur, another French Lord.

When King Edward had now againe pacified the Scottes, and had taken homage of ſuch as befoze rebelled, he then ſtabliſhed agayne the aforenamed Edward Baylioll as king of Scottes, and committed the rule of the lande vnto him as befoze times he had done. Then the King of Scottes and the nobles for the great kindneſſe they had founde in the King, and partly in recompence of the great charges which he fundrie times had beene at, in the defending and order yng of that realme, graunted and bound themſelues vnto him and to his heyres, kings of England, that they would ayde and aſſiſt him agaynſt all princes. And whenſoever he or any king of Englande had warre, eyther within his awne lande or with any other prince: The Scots of their proper expences and charges ſhould finde him three hundred horſemen well armed, and a thouſande footemen well and ſubſtancially furniſhed for the warre, the which. xiiij. hundred men the Scottes ſhould wage for a whole yere. And if the king of Englande ended not his warre within the yere, then he to hyze and wage the ſayde Scottes as he did his other ſouldyours. And ſone after that theſe grauntes and agreements were made, the king returned into England.

About thys tyme the French king, hauing purpoſed a iourney into the holy lande againſt the Turck, and for the furniture of that iourney hauing made ſuch prouiſion as neuer chriſtian prince had done the lyke befoze, and vnto the ſame iourney requeſting the company and ayde of the king of Englande, who, as aforeſayd, was otherwiſe minded and occupied: and hauing alſo prepared for his ſayde bo yage at ſundry portes, as Marſeille, Aquis Moztuis, Narbone and Mountpillier ſuche a number of Veſſels, Ships, Carrikes and Galeys, as were ſufficient to paſſe ouer three hundred thouſand men of armes, which ſhips alſo were moſt plentifully furniſhed with Biſket, Wyne, freſhe Water, ſalt fiſhe and all other victualles neceſſary for the aforeſayde number of men of warre for the ſpace of three yeres. And moreover, hauyng obtained by his Ambaſſadors of the king of Hungary (who not a little reioyced at that meſſage) that he would be in a readynelle, and open the paſſages and ſtreytes of his Countrey, that the kinges ſouldyours and armie (whom he called the Pilgrimes of God) might quietly paſſe through. And in lyke maner ſendyng to the King of Cypres, to the King of Sicille, to the Venecians, to the Genowayes and to all the Cities that were ſituate vpon the ryuer of Geane, and hauing aunſwere of them all, that they were readie to obey. And the ſayde French King being aunſwered by the great Priour of Fraunce, whom he had ſent to the Ile of Rhodes, and alſo to the Venecians to prouide in the Ile of Crete which was vnder their ſeigniozy, for the recepying of him, his aſſociates and armie, that all things were prepared and in a readynelle.

About this tyme, I ſay, newes came vnto him of all the King of Englands

lands entent and purpoſe agaynſt the realme of Fraunce, and of the aſſembly of king Edwardes Ambaſſadors, who at that tyme were with the Erle of Henault, and of all their counſailles and deuifes. Wherevpon this bo yage to the Turkes was vtterly daſhed and all the former trauailes and prouiſions came to nothing, neyther coulde he abide to here of them, but bent himſelfe wholly to make defence againſt the King of Englande, who purpoſed the inuaſion of his realme, and to make clayme ther vnto as right inheritor to the ſame, as after moze at large ſhall appere.

In this meane time the Kinges Ambaſſadors which were ſent into Henault as aforeſayd, ſo applyed their Ambaſſade, y they had obteyned the good will and fauour of all, or the greateſt parte of thoſe perſons whom the Erle of Henault thought meete to be labored vnto for the ayde of the king in thys enterpriſe. And to bring the ſame to a full concludion and effect, King Edward himſelfe went ouer into Flaundyrs and there allyed himſelfe with Jacques Dartuell gouernour of all Flaundyrs, and then came to Andwarp in Brabant, where he kept a moſt honozable eſtate and royall houſhold, and thether came vnto him people from all partes, to ſee him and to beholde the great eſtate that he kept. And dur yng the tyme of his abode there, he ſent for his Coſyn the Duke of Brabant, and the Duke of Guerles, the Marques of Fullers, the Lorde John of Henault, and all ſuche as he truſted to haue any comfort of, and they all came vnto him betwene Whitſontyde and Wydsomer. And when the king had well-feaſted them, he deſyred to knowe their good willes towardes him, and when they would be in a readynelle: for ſaide he, I am vpon the promiſe of your good willes come hether my ſelfe, & not only remaine here at great expences, but alſo the ſeaſon and conuenient tyme of the yere paſſeth away, therefore I pray you to let me knowe your mindes. They altogether aunſwered, that they were at that time come onely to ſee his grace, and not to determine any thing: but they would returne home and ſpeake with their ſeueral counſayles, and within three weekes next followyng to make direct aunſwer what and when they would attend vpon his enterpriſe. And about the tyme of their appoyntment, they ſent aunſwere vnto the King that they and all their men which they had promiſed were in a readynelle, ſo that the Duke of Brabant would be ready for his parte: So that the King was enforced once againe to talke with the Duke of Brabant, who for that he had befoze made promiſe to the French king, that though the king of Englande were in his Countrey, whome he might not denie, becauſe he was his Coſyn Germaine, yet he would in no wiſe conclud any amitie or friendſhip with him agaynſt the ſayd French King, with much ado at the laſt agreed to ayde the king of England, but firſt he deſyred that he might once again ſpeake with the aforeſayd Lordes: and he ſent for them & after long communication, they agreed and made vnto the King of England this aunſwere: we haue (ſayde they) aſſembled and conferred together, and we cannot conſyder any lawfull cauſe that we maye deſyre the French King: But if your grace can obtaine the fauour and good will of the Emperour, who may commaunde vs, then we wyll be readie: And the Emperour can no leſſe do, conſydering how that many yeres paſt, there was a couenaunt ſwozne and ſealed, that it ſhould not be lawfull for the French King to make warre, or by any meanes to apprehend or take into his poſſeſſion any thing appertayning

King Edward went ouer into Flaundyrs to allye himſelfe with as many friends as he could make.

King Edward kept an honozable eſtate in Andwarp in Brabant.

The Erle of Hozet a French Lord taken priſoner.

The Scots againe did homage vnto King Edward.

The Scots make a larger offer vnto King Edward, then euer they propoſed to perſons.

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The French King purpoſed a iourney into the holy land.



to the Empire : and it is euidently sene and knowone that Philip now French king hath taken the Castell of Creueure in Cambrey, and the Castell of Alues in Wallicull, & also the Citie of Cambrey, and therfore the Emperour hath good cause to defie hym, and then will we be readie. The king then considering with himselfe how farre he had enterprised, and seing now his purpose would come to none effect, onelesse he followed the determination and deuyses of the sayde Lordes, did therfore with all speede send his Ambassadors vnto the Emperour, with whome the sayde Lordes, for that they did beare vnto the king right true and hartly good wyll, sent also Ambassadors of their owne, the which might more certainly declare their good meanings towards the king of England, if it might please the Emperours Maiestie to licence them therevnto, and so much was done therein, and chiefly by the labour of the Lady Margaret of Henault, whom Sir Lewes of Bauger beyng Emperour had then marped, that the Emperour graunted a commission vnto foure right honorable personages, and vnto two Doctors which were of his prerie counsaile, to auctorise and make king Edward of Englande his Vicare generall throughout all the Empire, and of the same the Lordes abouenamed had instrumentes and Seales sufficiently authorised by the Emperour.

King Edward was made Vicare generall of all the Empire.

In this meane while, king Edwarde considering his great charge of warres that he had continually with Scotland: But chiefly and most specially for seeing the great and inestimable charges that must folowe of this his enterprize in Fraunce, did gather in England by diuers and sundrie meanes great and inestimable summes of money, so that for lacke of money in this realme of England (as sayth Fabian) victuall came to such reasonable cheapnesse and price, that at London a quarter of wheate was solde for two shillinges, and a fat Dre for .viij. penne, a fat sheepe for .viij. penne, and .viij. Pigeons for a pennie, a fat Goose for two pence, a fat Pigge for a pennie, and so all other victuall after the same rate.

Lacke of money caused plenty & good cheape of victuall.

And in this .vij. yere of his reigne, he helde his Parliament in England at Westminster, wherein great summes of money were graunted vnto him for the maintenance of his warres. And so soone as the same Parliament was finished, and that he had put the realme of Englande in good order, he then returned againe into Flaundrys, and at the last stayed at Louayne Castell in Brabant, where he attended his aunswere from the Emperour, and also expected the commyng of the former Lordes. And king Edward beyng in the Castell aforesayde, kept there an honourable and Princely house, and sent into England for the Queene, for that he purposed not to returne into England buttill he had done some notable acte in Fraunce.

And in the aforesayd Parliament there was made an acte for the reformation of apparell, and good cause there was that it should so be, for the people did excede merrellously, not so much in costly and chargeable apparell, as in fond and foolish apparrell, for, as sayth Carton in his Chronicle, called the fruite of tyme, The Engliche men (sayth he) so much folowed and counterfeited the madnesse and the folly of the straungers, that from the first commyng in of the Henaultes, they dayly chaunged their apparel, sometime long and wide, and at another tyme, cutted, short and streight, and altogether vnseemely and vn honest. And the apparel of the women was more fond then the men.

Reformation of fond apparel.

men. For their clothes were made so streyt to their bodies, that they were faine to sowe fore tayles vnder their clothes, for to set forth and hyde their buttockes, the which foolish pride the Scottes derided, and made foolish rimes and iastes of them.

In the moneth of Nouember next folowng, the king sent first to the Duke of Brabant, and then to all the other Lordes that were allied vnto him, desyng to know of them where their place of meeting and Parliament should be kept and holden: And the Duke of Brabant aunswere, it was best to kepe it at Arques in the Countie of Loz. And then the king sent thether, and caused the great hall of the towne to be apparelled and appoynted in as rich maner as if it had bene the Kinges Chamber. And there the king late crowned with a crowne of Golde, five foote higher then any other, and there was read openly the letters of the Emperour, by the which the king was made Vicare generall, & Lieutenant for the Emperour, and had power geuen him to make lawes, and to minister iustice to euery person in the Emperours name, and to coyne money of Golde and Siluer. And it was further ordered and commaunded by the Emperour, that all persons of his Empire, and all other his subiectes should obey to the King of England his Vicare, as to himselfe, and to do him homage. And forthwith there was claime and aunswere made betweene parties as before the Emperour, and order and iudgement geuen. And when all these thinges were done, the Lordes tooke a day that they all would appere at Cambray (which towne was then french) three weekes after Midsummer next folowng, and then euery man departed to his abone. King Edward as Vicare of the Empire, went then to the Castell of Louayne to the Queene his wyfe, who was newly come thether out of England with great noblenesse, and well accompanied with beutifull Ladyes, and goodly Damozelles of England. And there the king and the Queene kept their house right honourably all that winter, and caused great sommes of money, both of Golde and Syluer to be coynd at Andwarpe.

Letters patents graunted by the Emperour vnto king Edward the thirde openly read to the Lordes of the Empire.

The frenche king beyng nowe credibly informed that king Edward would enter the realme of Fraunce to make warre vpon the same, did therfore make great prouision to resist him: For the common fame was then in Fraunce, that king Edward entended not onely to claime Gascoyn and Guien, but also all Fraunce as his proper and rightfull inheritance, as in the right of his mother. Wherefore the french king assembled an hounge hoste, and committed the gouernement thereof vnto the king of Nauerne, and to the Erle of Alanson, brother vnto the sayde french king: The which sayde Capitaynes with their people awayed dayly the king of Englandes commyng, who disappoynted them for that yere.

King Edward coynd both Golde and Siluer at Andwarpe.

And this yere it is noted that the king graunted, that the Officers of the Maior and Shirifes of London, should from that tyme forth vse Waxes of Siluer and percell gilt.

Waxes of siluer and gilt.

Now when the winter was passed, and the Sommer come, Midsummer which was the tyme appoynted drew nere. And the Lordes of Almain that were allyed with king Edward, began to set forth themselves to accomplish their promise. And in like maner the french king, who vnderstood most of king Edwardes doynges, made maruylous great prouision to meet him, and

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King Edward  
sent out of  
Englande  
c. 1000  
to the sea.

and to withstand him. But King Edward caused first his provision for men of warre that came out of England to passe by Sea, and they were with him anone after Midsummer, and he himselfe lodged at Willenort, and there caused as many of his people as he might, to be lodged in the towne, and the rest lay along on the ryuer syde in Tentes and Pauillions, and there he tarped from the middelt of July vntill the. viij. day of September, euer lookyng for the Lordes of the Empire, specially for the Duke of Brabant, on whose comyng all the other wayted. And when the King of England sawe that they came not, he sent great and honourable Messengers to every of them, somonyng them to come as they before had promised, & to meete him at Machlyn at a day appoynted, and then to shewe him for what occasion they tarped so long. Thus king Edward lay at Willenort, and kept dayly at his cost and charge, viij. hundred men of armes, and. x. thousand Archers that came ouer the Sea, besyde all other provisions, and beside the great rewardes that he had geuen to the Lordes, and besyde the great Armyes that he had vppon the Sea.

The french king on his part, had set Scots, Genowayes, Normanes, Britons, Picardes, and Spanyardes to be ready on the Sea, to enter into England as soone as the warre was opened.

In the ende, the aforesayd Lordes at the sommons of the king of England came vnto him to Machlyn, as he had appoynted them, but not without much busynesse: But at the last they agreed, that the king of England might well set forward within. xv. dayes next after. And to the entent their warre should be the more laudable, they agreed to sende every of their defiaunces to the french king: that is to say. first the king of England, then the Duke of Guerles, the Marques of Jullers, Sir Robert de Arthoys, Sir John of Heynault, the Marques of Hulle, the Marques of Blanquebource, the Lord of Falquemount, Sir Arnolde of Waquehen, the Archebishop of Colyn, Sir Galeas his brother, and all other Lordes of the Empire. These defiaunces were written and sealed by all the Lordes (except the Duke of Brabant) who sayde he would do his dede himselfe at tyme conuenient. To carie these defiaunces into fraunce, was appoynted the Bishop of Lincolne, who caried them to Paris, and there did his message in such sort, that he was much commended, and had his safe conduit to returne safely vnto the king of England to Machlyn.

In this meane tyme Queene Philip the wife of king Edward, lying at Andwarpe, was brought a bed and deliuered of a man childe, which afterward was named Lionell.

Immediately after the defiaunces were made and sent, as aforesayde, the french king sturred not a little, but gathered vnto him an innumerable number of people, and tarped with them at Amias, from the ende of August vnto the beginning of October. And when he sawe that king Edward came not, he deuided his great hoste, and sent many of them home to their abone houses, and the other he placed in diuers Castels, and Fortes thereaboutes, to let the passage of king Edward into fraunce. And in this tyme also the french king had sent diuers Ships vnto the Sea with men of warre for to take the English Marchauntes, and other that came in their course. And it so chaunced, that they encountered with two great Shippes of England called

Speciall defiaunces sent to the french king.

Lionell the kinges third sonne borne in Andwarpe.

led the Edward and the Christopher, the which (as sayth the french Chronicle) were freight with great richesse, and also well manned. Allone as eyther of them was ware of the other, Connes went off, and Bowes and Arblasters shot, so that betwene them was a mortall and cruell fight, but not egall. For of the frenchmen were. xiiij. sayles great & small, and of the English men but fiue, that is to say, these two great shippes, two Barkes and a Caruell, and the thre small shippes escaped by swiftnesse of saylyng, but the two great abode, and fought more then. ix. houres, insomuch as there were slaine vpon both partes aboue. vij. hundred men: But in the ende the sayde two shippes were taken, and brought into the french kinges streames, and many of the English men that were wounded, were cast into the Sea. And soe after the sayde french nauie landed at Southhamton, and bent and spoiled the towne, and so departed.

Allone as king Edward had brought all things into a readynesse, he set forward towarde his purposed iourney into fraunce, and first passed from Archon vnto Bruxelles, and all his people passed by the Towne, and thence came to king Edward. xv. thousand Almaynes. And then the king sent our agayne to the Duke of Brabant, to know whether he mynded to go to Cambrey, or whether he thought it good to leaue it. And the Duke answered, it was best to go to Cambrey, and that allone as he heard that he had besieged the Towne, he would come thether with twelue hundred speares of good men of warre. Then the king passed forward, and the first night came to Nyuell, and there laye one night, and the next daye remoued to Ghons in Henault, and there he found the pong Erle of Heynault, who receaued him right ioyfully, and remayned with him two dayes, and from thence remoued to Valenianes, and he and only. xij. with him entered the Towne, and no moe persons, and thether was come the Erle of Henault and Sir John of Heynault his Uncle, and the Lorde of Fagynelles, the Lorde of Verchen, the Lorde of Haurerth, and diuers other who were about the Erle their Lorde. And the king and the Erle went hand in hand to the great Hall of the Towne, which was appointed and appareled meete for them. And as they went vp the steyres of the Hall: The Bishop of Lyncolne who was there present, spake out a lowde and sayde: Wylliam Bishop of Cambrey, I admonish you as procurer to the king of England, Vicare of the Empire of Rome, that ye open the gates of the Citie of Cambrey, and if ye doe not, then shall ye forsayt your lands, and we will enter by force. There was none that answered to that matter, for the Bishop was not there present. Then the Bishop of Lyncolne sayde agayne, Erle of Heynault, we admonish you in the name of the Emperour, that ye come and serue the king of Englande hys Vicare before the Citie of Cambrey, with suche number as ye ought to doe. The Erle who was there present, sayde, with a right good will I am ready. And then they entered into the Hall, and the Erle brought the king into his Chamber, and anone Supper was readie. The next day the king departed and went to Asper and there taried two dayes, and suffered all hys people to passe forward. And then they came to Cambrey and lodged at Wyses, and besieged the Citie of Cambrey rounde about, and daylie hys power encreased. Thetger came the young Erle of Henault in great aray, and Sir John hys Uncle, and they lodged nere to the king, and so did the Duke of Guerles and his

King Edward lost two of his great shippes.

Southampton bent.

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Sommons.



his company the Marques of Hulle, the Erle of Houns, the Erle of Saunnes, the Lorde of Falquemount, Sir Arnold of Bouquehen, with all the other Lordes of the Empire, suche as were alyed with the king of England. And within. vij. dayes next after the siege was layed to the Citie of Cambrey, the Duke of Brabant came thether with. ix. C. speares, beside other souldyours. And as sone as he was come, he sent to defy the french king, who was then at Compeigne. The siege aforesayde thus continuyng, darlie assaultes and skirmishes were made, and many good feates of armes done: But in the ende the souldyours of Cambrey so valiantly defended the Citie that it was thought but time lost to continue the siege any lenger, & namely they perceaued wynter to approche, and that as yet they had done nothing, but had lyen at great expences and charges, wherefore the king determined to breake by the siege, and to enter into Fraunce, and so caused the Lordes to dislodge and trusse by their Tents and Hauillions, and all maner of armor, and so departed toward Mount S. Martyn, the which was at the entrie of Fraunce, and thus they roade foorth in good order, and passed the ryuer of Lescault at their ease. And when the Erle of Hynault had accompanied the king vnto the departyng out of the Empire, and that he should passe the river and enter into the realme of Fraunce: Then he tooke his leave of the king and sayde he would ryde no farther with him at that tyme, because king Philip the french king was his Uncle, and that he would not have his euill wil, and therefore he did say that he would now go and serue the french king in Fraunce, as he before had serued the king of England in the Empire: And thus the Erle of Hynault and the Erle of Namure forsooke the king and departed from him and all their people with them, ready to serue the french king, as aforesayde, agaynst king Edward.

But king Edward with those that remayned with him passed forward into Fraunce, wastyng, spoylyng and brennyng the Countrie as they went, and at the last came so nere the french armie, that they were within two leagues the one armie of the other. And the french king hauing. lx. thousand men and mo in his armie, and comyng to a place called Wyronfelle (and knowyng the king of England to be at hande as aforesayde) sayde that he would not go thence vntill he had fought with the king of England and with his alyes. The king of England vnderstanding the minde of the french king, demaunded of his Lords what he should doe, (his honour saved): for he sayde that he minded to geue the french king battayle. Then the Lordes beheld eche other, and they desyred the Duke of Brabant to saye first his minde. The Duke sayde that he was of that minde to geue battayle, for else sayde he, they coulde not saue their honours: And therefore he counsayled that Herauldes should be sent to the french king to demaunde a daye of battayle. The which request the french king graunted and named the daye, which was within two dayes after. And when knowledge thereof came to the Lordes of both the hostes, they much reioyced, and the next day folowyng they prepared all thing in readinesse. And when the day came, both the hostes appareled and appointed themselues to fight, in order folowyng: And first we will speake of the Englishmen, they drew them into the field, and made three battayles on foote, and did put all their horses and baggages into a litle wood behinde them, and fortified it. The first battayle was led by the

The Duke of Brabant sendeth his defiance vnto the french king.

Wyronfelle.

Eng- out

Duke

Duke of Guerles, the Marques of Hulle, the Marques of Blanquebource, Sir John of Hynault, the Erle of Houns, the Erle of Saunnes, the Lorde of Falquemount, Sir Guillam du fort, Sir Arnold of Waquehen and the Almaynes, and among them was. xxij. Banners and. lx. Pennons, and in the whole. viij. thousand men.

The second battayle had the Duke of Brabant, and the Lordes and knightes of his countrey. First the Lorde Hulle, the Lorde Bergues, the Lorde of Bredangh, the Lorde of Rodes, the Lorde of Waurelare, the Lord of Borguynall, the Lorde of Stone. port, the Lorde of Wyten, the Lorde of Elka, the Lorde of Cassebegne, the Lorde of Duffle, Sir Thyrre of Walcourte, Sir Raufe of the Grees, Sir John of Cassebegne, Sir John Filite, Sir Giles of Cotereby, Sir Water of Hotebergue, the three brethren of Harleberque, Sir Henry of Flaundyrs, and diuers other Barons & knightes of Flaundyrs, who were all vnder the Duke of Brabants Baner, as the Lorde of Hallen, the Lorde of Gypen, Sir Hector Willaynes, Sir John of Rodes, Sir Walfart of Gypstell, Sir Wylliam of Strates, Sir Gofwyn de la Hule and many other. The Duke of Brabant had. xxiiij. Banners and. lxxx. Pennons, and in all. vij. thousand men.

The third battaile, and the greatest had king Edward, & with him his cōsyn the Erle of Darby, the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Durham, the Erle of Salisbury, the Erle of Northampton, & of Gloucester the Erle of Suffolke, sir Robert de Arthoys who was then Erle of Richemond, the Lorde Reynold Cobham, the Lord Percey, the Lord Roose, the Lord Howbray, sir Lewes, and sir John Beauchamp, the Lord Delaware, the Lord of Laucome, the Lord Wasset, the Lord Fitzwater, sir Water Manny, Sir Hugh Hastynges, sir John Lille, and diuers other that I can not name, and among other was sir John Chandos, of whome much honour was spoken. The king had with him. xxviiij. Banners, and. xc. Pennons, and in his battaile. vij. thousand men of armes, and. vij. thousand Archers. And he had set another battaile as in a wyng, wherof the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Pembroke, the Lorde Berkeley, the Lorde Hulton, and diuers other were chiefe, and they were on horsebacke. Thus when euery Lorde was vnder his Baner as it was commaunded by the Marshalles: The king of England mounted on a Halkrey, beyng accompanied onely with sir Robert de Arthoys, sir Reynold Cobham, and sir Water of Manny, roade along before all the battailes, and right gently and earnestly desyred all his Lordes and others, that they would that day defend his honour, and the honour of England, and they all willyngly promised him so to do. Then he returned vnto his awne battaile, and set euery thing in good order, and commaunded that none should go before the Marshals Banners. Now let vs speake of the Lordes of Fraunce, what they did.

In the armie of the french king, were. CCx. Banners, foure kings, five Dukes, xxvij. Erles, and mo then foure thousand knightes, and of the Commons of Fraunce, mo then. lx. thousand. The Kinges that were there with the french king, were the king of Behayne, the king of Nauarre, and the king of Scotland. The Duke of Normandie, the Duke of Britayne, the Duke of Burbone, the Duke of Loreyne, and the Duke of Athenes. Of Erles, the Erle of Alanton brother to the french king, the Erle of Flaun-

The second battaile.

The third battaile.

The kinges battaile at Wyronfelle.

The french kinges armie at Wyronfelle.

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dyrs,



duys, the Erle of Henault, the Erle of Bloys, the Erle of Barre, the Erle of Forestes, the Erle of Foy, the Erle of Armanack, the Erle Dolphyn of Auvergne, the Erle of Longuile, the Erle of Stampes, the Erle of Wandosme, the Erle of Harecourt, the Erle of Saint Paule, y Erle of Guines, the Erle of Bouloigne, the Erle of Kouffy, the Erle of Dampmartyn, the Erle of Valentynops, the Erle of Aucer, the Erle of Saucer, the Erle of Genie, the Erle of Dreux, and of Gascoigne, and of Languedocke, and so many other Erles and Vicountes, as were to long to rehearse. It was a beautifull sight to beholde the Banners and Standerds wauyng in the winde, and horses richely barded, and knightes and Esquiers richely armed. The frenche men ordeyned thre battayles, and in euery Battaile. xv. thousand men of armes, and. xx. thousand footmen.

Francis of great power.

Now when both the armies aforesayd were thus in a redinesse to geue battaile, and eche of them within sight of other, it was meruelous straunge that they both departed without any stroke striken. But the frenche men were not all of one mynde. Some sayde it were a great shame if they fought not. Feynng their enemies were so nere them in their awne Countrie, & raunged in field: And some other sayd, it should be a great folly to fight, for it was heard to knowe euery mannes minde and ieopardie of treason, for they sayd, if fortune were contrary to their King, as to leese the field, he then should put all his whole realme in a ieopardie to be lost. And though he did discomfite his enemies, yet for al that, he should be neuer the nere of the realme of England, nor of the landes apperteynyng to any of the Lordes that were alyed with him. Thus contendyng among themselves, the day passed untill noone, and then sodainely they started a Hare in the frenche armie, and such as saw her, made a great shoute and crie, by reason whereof, they that were behind, thought that they that were before were a fightyng, and therefore put on their Helmettes, and tooke their speares in hand: And forthwith were made diuerse newe knightes, and specially the Erle of Henault made. xiiij. who were euer after called knightes of the Hare. And thus the battaile stood still all that day, and at night, the frenche King dislodged his armie, and departed into Fraunce. And in like maner king Edward brake by his armie, and departed into Brabant, and so this iourney ended.

Many heads many wittes

Knightes of the Hare.

It costly for new to small effect.

Now when king Edward was returned into Brabant, he went streight vnto Brusselles, where the Duke of Guerles, the Duke of Fulers, the Marques of Blaquebourte, the Erle of Houns, Sir John of Henault, the Lorde of Falquemount, and all the Lordes of the Empire, suche as had bene in the former iourney, did there take aduice and counsaile what should be more done in the matter that they had begon. And for the more expedition to be had in the cause, they ordeyned a Parliament to be holden at Brussels, and to come thether was desyred Jaques Dartuell of Gaunt, who came thether with a great company, and all the Counsailes of the good townes of Flaundyrs. In the which Parliament king Edward was greatly entreated and desyred of all his alyes of the Empire, that he would require them of Flaundyrs, to ayde and mainteyne his warre, and to defie the frenche king, and to go with him where as he would haue them: and in their so doynge, he to promise them to recouer the Isle Doway, and Bethayne. This request was well heard of the Flemynge, and therevpon they desyred to take counsaile

A parliament holden at Brussels.

saile among themselves, and so they did, and then after said to king Edward. Sir where ye haue made a request vnto vs to ayde you, truly it we might do it sauyng your honour and our selues, we would gladly do it: But Sir, we are bound by fayth and othe, and in the summe of two Myllyons of Floreins in the Popes Chamber, that we may make nor moue no warre against the king of fraunce, who soeuer it be, vpon payne to forfeit and lose the sayd summe, and besydes that, to incurre the sentence of cursyng. But sir, if you will take on you the armes of fraunce, and quarter them with the armes of Englarde, and call your selfe king of fraunce, as of right ye ought to doe: Then we will take you for rightfull king of fraunce, and demaund of you quittance of our bandes, and so you to geue vs pardon thereof as King of fraunce, and by this meanes we shall be assured and dispenced withall, and then will we go with you whether soeuer you will haue vs.

The first occasion of the quartering of the armes of France with the armes of England.

Then king Edward tooke counsaile, for he thought that it was a sore matter to take on him the armes of fraunce and the name, and as then had conquered no peece thereof, neyther could tell what might come of that enterprize: And on the other syde he was very loth to refuse the offer of the aide made vnto him by the Flemynge, who might ayde him more then any of the other. After that the king had taken counsaile of the Lordes of the Empire, and of the Lorde Robert de Arthoys, and other of his speciall friendes: He then aunswered the Flemynge, that if they would sweare, and seale to this accorde and promise to mainteyne his warre, he would with a good will do all that they requyred, and promised also to get them againe, Leye, Doway, and Bethayne: And all they with one voyce aunswered that they were content. Then there was a day assigned to meete at Gaunt, at which day the king was there and the most part of the aforesayd Lordes, and all the Counsailes generally in Flaundyrs, where all the aforesayd matters were rehearsed, sworn and sealed. And then the king quartered the armes of fraunce with the armes of England: And from thenceforth tooke on him the name of the king of fraunce, and so continued still untill he left it by composition, as after shall be shewed.

A daye of meeting at Gaunt.

The armes of England quartered with the armes of France.

And at this counsell they determyned agaynst the next sommer folowynge to prouide to make great warre vpon fraunce, promysing to besiege the Citie of Corney, whereof the Flemynge were ioyfull, for they thought themselves strong inough to get it. And thus the parliament ended, and euery man departed home: The king of England went to Andwarp, and the Queene abode still at Gaunt, and was oftentimes visited by Jaques Dartuell, and by other Lordes, Ladyes, and Damofelles of Gaunt. And when the kinges Shippes were readie, he tooke the See, and then sayled into England, and so came to London, where he was honorably receaued. And shortly after he had many complaintes made vnto him, howe the frenchemen had brent and destroyed the Towne of Southampton, and had done sundrie other hurtes in England, namely vpon the Sea coastes. And the king aunswered that he trusted before it were a yere lenger, it should be well reuenged.

Southampton brent.

And soone after the returne of the king into Englarde, he called hys high Court of Parliament at Westmynster, in the which was graunted vnto him toward the recouery of his right in fraunce the. v. parte of the mouenable goodes of euery inhabitant within the Realme, and the Custome of

A parliament holden at Westmynster. A soze and greuous subside.



Subsidies of their own nature, procure the hatred of the people towards the prince.

Wolles payde two yeres before hande, and the ix. sheafe of every mames coine: But before the same were all gathered and payde, the prayer of the people turned into cursyng, and their loue turned into hatred. And for that the king was forced to occupie money before these payments could be made, he was therefore compelled to borow of sundrie persons great somes of money, namely of the Citie of London, of whome he borowed twentie thousande Marke, which was leuyed upon sundrie wardes in London, as appeareth in Fabian.

The first Coyne of Gold wherin the French armes were mixed.

Also in this yere the king caused a new coine of Gold to be coined, called the Noble, of the value of vii. shillings. viii. pence or. ix. pence. &c. Wherewith was mixed and quartered the armes of Fraunce and England, and also the wytyng and inscription of the same was, Edward by the grace of God king of Englande and of Fraunce. &c.

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When king Edward had set all his lande in good order, and when also he had prepared all things in a readynesse for the warres of Fraunce, he toke Shypping and sayled toward Flaundyrs, and had with him two hundred sayle of good Shyppes well furnished with men of warre, and the king kept his course to Sluce, and betweene Sluce and Blanqueberque on the See, there was Sir Hugh Kyryell, Sir Peter Bahuchet and Barbanoyr and above. Cxx. great Vessels beside other, and in them were of Normans, Genowes and Picardes above the number of. xl. thousande. And there they were purposely layde to resist and withstande the landyng of king Edward when he should come to Sluce. And when the king drew somewhat neere them and espied such a number of shippes, whose Mastes a farre off seemed as it had bene a great forest or Wood: The king demaunded of the Master of his Ship what people he thought they were. And he answered: I thinke they be Normans, layde here by the french king to let your passage, and I thinke they be even the same that burned Southampton, and that tooke your great Ship called the Christopher. A quoth the king, I have long desired to fight with the french men, and now by the grace of God I shall meete wyth some of them, for they have done me many displeasures. Then the king caused all his shippes to be set in order, the greatest before, well furnished wyth Archers, and ever betweene two shippes of Archers he placed one ship wyth men of armes: And then he made another battaile to lye aloofe, with Archers to comfort them that were most wearie if neede were. And in the sayde ships were a great number of Countesses, Ladyes, knightes wyves and other Damofelles that were goyng to see the Quene at Gaunt: These Ladyes the king caused to be well kept with thre hundred men of armes, and syue hundred Archers.

A great flect of French Shippes.

The battell at Sluce upon the sea.

Alsoone as the king and his Marchalles had ordered hys battaile, he drew by the sayles and came with a quarter winde to have the bauntage of the sonne. And so at the last they turned a little, to have the winde at wyll. But when the Normans sawe them recule back, they had marvell why they did so. And some sayde they are afrayde to medle wyth vs, and therefore they go backe.

Then the french men beganne to set themselves in order. for they were good men of warre on the Sea, and they did set the Christopher, which before they had won, as aforesayde, for most furnished with many Trumpets & Instruments

Instruments and to gaue the onset upon their enimies. And then began a fore battaile upon both partes: Archers and Crosbowes beganne to shoote, and men of armes approched and fought hande to hande: and the better to come together, they had great hookes and grappelers of Iron to cast out of one Ship into another, and so tyed them fast together. There were manye worthy deedes of armes done in taking and rescuyng againe. And at the last the great Christopher was first wonne by the Englishmen, and all that were within it drowned or slaine. Then was there great crye and pitifull noyse, and the Englishmen fortified the Christopher with archers, and caused him to passe before to meete with the Genowayes. This battaile was right fierce and terrible, for the battayles on the Sea are more fierce and more dangerous, then are the battayles by lande. For on the Sea there is no reculyng or flyeng, there is no remedy but to fight and to abide fortune, and every man to shew his prowesse.

And in this fight Sir Hugh Kyryell and Syr Bahuchet and Barbenoyr which were the Admirals to the french flete, shewed themselves to be right good and expert men of warre. This battaile continued from the morning untill it was noone, & the Englishmen (sayth Froysart) endured great paine, for their enimies were foure agaynst one, and all good men on the sea.

And in this fight the king of Englande shewed himselfe a noble and valyaunt Prince of his awne handes, for he was then in the chiefe flowres of his youth. And in lyke maner did the Erle of Darby, Pembroke, Herford, Hentyngdon, Northampton and Gloucester: Sir Raynold Cobham, Sir Richard Stafford, the Lorde Percy, Sir Walter of Manny, Sir Henry of Flaundyrs, Sir John Beauchamp, the Lord Felton, the Lord Brasseletton, Sir Chandos, the Lord Delaware, the Lord of Hulton, Sir Robert de Artoys called the Erle of Richmond, and dyuers other Lords & knightes, who shewed themselves so valyauntly that they obtayned the victorie: So that the frenchmen, Normans and other were discomfited, slayne and drowned, and there was not one that escaped.

A great victorie that King Edward had of the french men.

After this victorie thus atcheued, the king all that night abode in hys ship before Sluce with great noyse of Trompets and other Instruments. And thether came to see the king dyuers of Flaundyrs, suche as had heard of the kinges coming: and then the king demaunded of the Burgeses of Bridges how Jaques Darnell did: and they answered that he was gone to the Erle of Henault against the Duke of Normandy with thre score thousande Flemynge.

And on the next day after this battaile, which was Midsummer day, the King and all his tooke land, and the king went in Pilgrimage a foote to the Lady of Ardenborough, now called Odenborough, and there dynd, and then tooke his horse and roade to Gaunt, where the Quene receyued him wyth great ioy, and all his cariage came after him by little and little.

Shortly after, the king wrote to the Erle Henault, and to them that were within the Castell of Chyne, certefiying them of his arriual and victorie. And alsoone as the Erle knewe thereof, and that he had discomfited the french armie upon the Sea, he dislodged, and gaue leaue to all the Soldiours to depart, and tooke with him all the great Lordes to Valenciens, and there feasted them honourably, and specially the Duke of Brabant, and

F.iii.

Jaques



Jaques  
Dartucll.

Jaques Dartucll. And there Jaques Dartucll openly in the Market place in the presence of all the Lordes, and of all such as would here him, declared what right the king of Englande had to the Crowne of Fraunce: And also what puyssaunce the thre Countries were of, Flaundyrs, Heynault, and Brabant, and howe they were surely ioyned in one allyaunce. And he did utter it so grauely, and so eloquently, that all the people that heard him, prayesed him much, and sayd he had nobly spoken, and as a man of great experience. And then the Lordes departed, and promised within. viij. dayes to meete at Gaunt to visite the King of Englande, and so they did, and the king feasted them right honorably, and so did the Queene who then was newly churched of a sonne called John of Gaunt, who was after Duke of Lancaster by hys wife, which was daughter to Henry Duke of Lancaster. And shortly after king Edward held a counsaile at Willenort, at a day limited.

John of  
Gaunt Duke  
of Lancaster.

When the French king heard howe his armie on the sea was discomfited, he dislodged and drewe to Arras, and gaue leaue to his men to depart vntill he heard other tydynges. And he sent Sir Godmer du foye to Courney, to see that there lacked nothyng, for he feared more the Flemynge then any other. And he sent the Lorde of Beauieuwe to Mortayne, to kepe the frontiers agaynst Heynault: And he sent also many men to Saint Omers, to Arre and to Saint Venaunt, and prouided sufficiently for all the fortresses frontying on Flaundyrs.

Robert king  
of Cicille.

In this season there reigned a king in Cicille called Robert, who was reported to be a great Astronomer, and he alwayes fauourpung and loupung the French king, did counsaile and warne him in no wise to deale, nor haue to do with the king of England, for sayd he, it is geuen to the king of England to be right luckie and fortunate in all his enterprices. This king Robert would gladly haue set these two Kinges at a good accorde, for he bare suche loue and affection vnto the crowne of Fraunce, that he was right soyr to see or thinke of the desolation thereof. And in lyke wise the sayd King Robert labored to the Pope to be a meane to appease these two Kinges, but all theyr labor tooke none effect.

Ye haue heard a little befoze, that a day of counsaile was appoynted to be holden at Willenort, which day was now come. And at this counsaile were present, the King of England, the Duke of Brabant, the Erle of Heynault, Sir John his Uncle, the Duke of Guerles, the Erle of Fulers, the Marques of Falquebource, the Marques of Hulle, the Erle of Houns, Sir Robert de Arthoys, the Lorde of Falquemount, Sir William du Nozt, the Erle of Namure, Jaques Dartucll and many other great Lordes, and of euery good towne of Flaundyrs thre or foure personages, as counsaillors.

A counsaile  
holden at  
Willenort.

And in this counsaile was made a league betwene the thre countries, namely, Flaundyrs, Brabant, and Heynault, that from thence forth eche of them should ayde and comfort other in all cases. And further they concluded, that if any of them had to do with any countrie, the other two should geue them ayde. And also that if hereafter it should fortune any of them to be at discorde one with another, that then the thirde should set an agreement betwene them. And if he were not able so to do, that then they should abyde the order of the king of England, vnto whose handes they did willyngly commit the same, and tooke their othes to stand, abyde, and obey his iudgement. And

for

for further and better confirmation of this loue and amitie, they ordeined this agreement to be made a lawe, and to be published thozroughout those thre countries, and the same afterward was called the lawe of the Companions or Allyes. And in the same counsaile it was also determined that the king of England should in the moneth of July next folowpung, beyng accompanied with the ayde of the aforesaid Lordes, and the powers of all the good townes lay siege to Courney. And so the Counsaile brake vp, and euery man departed home to make prouision agaynst the tyme appoynted.

The French king after the departure of these Lordes from the aforesayde counsaile, was informed of the most part of theyr determination, and therefore forthwith sent to Courney the chiefe men of warre that he had in all fraunce, as the Erle of Ewe, the yong Erle of Guynes his sonne, Constable of Fraunce, the Erle of Foyz and his brethren, the Erle Amery of Harbon, Sir Tymor of Boyters, Sir Geoffrey of Charney, Sir Garard of Mountaicon, the two Marthalles, Sir Robert Bertrand, and Sir Mathewe de Troy, the Lord of Cayeur, the Seneschall of Poiteau, the Lord of Chastelayne, and Sir John of Landas, and these also had with them many other valiaunt knightes, and Esquiers, and came to Courney, and founde there Sir Godmer du foy, who was placed there, as befoze you haue heard. And so soone as they were come thether, they diligently considered the state of the towne, first for furniture of all necessary victualles, and after for men, munition, and armoz.

And nowe approached the time that king Edward and his Allyes should mete befoze Courney, for then the Corne began to rype, which was the. xxiiij. day of July, and the king departed from Gaunt, accompanied with. liij. Erles of England. viij. Bishoppes, xxiiij. Baronettes. CC. knightes, foure thousand men of armes, and. ix. thousand Archers, besyde men of foote, and all out of Englande: And all his hoste passed thozrough the Towne of Andwarpe, and so passed the ruer of Lescault, & lodged befoze Courney, at the gate of Saint Martyn, which was the way toward Lille and Doway. And shortly after came the Duke of Brabant, with mo then. xx. thousand men, knightes, Esquiers, and Commons, and he lodged at the bridge of Arres, by the riner of Lescault, betwene the Abbey of Saint Nicholas, and the gate of Walentenoy. And not long after, came the Erle of Heynault with a goodly company of his Countrie, with many of Holland, and Feland, and he was lodged betwene the King, and the Duke of Brabant. Then came Jaques Dartucll with mo then. l. thousand Flemynge, besyde them of Ipze, Poppinguy, Castell, and Bergues, and they were sent to the other syde. The sayde Jaques Dartucll lodged at the gate called Saint fountayne. And the Duke of Guerles, the Erle of Fulers, the Marques of Blanquebource, the Marques of Hulle, the Erle of Houns, the Erle of Sauiues, the Lord of Faulquemount, Sir Arnold of Baquehen, and all the Almaynes were lodged on the other syde toward Heynault. And thus the Citie of Courney was enuyroned round about, and euery host might resozt eche to other, so that none could issue out without espiyng.

Durpung the tyme of the siege, although they were so great a number, yet were they well prouyded and furnished of freshe victualles, and at reasonable price, for the people came from all partes to victual them. And while this

The French  
king so: testi-  
feth the towne  
of Courney.The siege of  
Courney.



this siege continued, there were daylie outrodes, and dyuers prayes and booties taken, and many Villages bzent, and the Countries thereabouts greatly annoyed and hurt. And many and sundrie times there were sundrie skirmishes and many feates of armes done. But this siege continued long, for that the Souldyours of Cozney defended the same very balauntly, yet at the last, victualles within the Cobone warpyng very scant, they were forced to put out all their needie and pooze people, which passed thorough the Duke of Brabant's hoste, who caused them to be conducted to the french kinges Campe, who lay then at Arras, accompanied with a great & honge hoste, to whome the pooze people made a most lamentable and pittifull repozte of the state of Cozney.

All the time that this siege continued, which was by the space of ten weekes and more, the Lady Jane of Valoys, sister to the french king, and mother to the Queene of England, and to the Erle of Heynault, traupled greatly, as well on the one parte as on the other to haue a truce and a respite betweene the french king and the king of England and his Allyes for a season, that they might depart without battayle. And dyuers times she kneeled at the feete of the french king in that behalfe. And in lyke maner made great labour to the Lordes of the Empire, and specially to the Duke of Brabant and to the Duke of Fullers, who had her daughter in mariage, and also to Sir John of Heynault. Insomuch that the good Lady procured, with the ayde and counsaile of Lewes Daugymount, who was welbeloued with both parties, that at the last it was graunted that ech partie should send foure sufficient persons to treat by the space of thre dayes of some good wayes for the agreement of a truce. The persons that should be appointed shoulde meete in a little Chapell standyng in the fieldes called Esplotyn. And at the daye appointed these persons met, and the good Ladye with them. Of the frenche parte, there was Charles king of Behayne, Charles Erle of Da-lanlon brother to the french king, the Bishop of Liege, the Erle of Flaun-dyrs, and the Erle of Armanack. Of the Englishe parte there was the Duke of Brabant, the Bishop of Lyncolne, the Duke of Guerles, the Duke of Fullers, and Sir John of Heynault.

And when they were all met, they made eche vnto other louyng saluta-tions and great cheere, and then entred into their treatie, and all that daye they comuned of dyuers wayes of accorde: And alwayes the good Lady of Valoys was among them, effecteously entreatyng them on both sydes that they would doe their endeuour to make a peace: howbeit that daye passed without anye thing done, and so they returned and agreed to meete there a-gayne the next day, the which day they met, and streight waye entered to the matter of their treatie: and at the last agreed vpon certaine pointes: but it was then so late that they coulde not finishe in good order, that which they had agreed vpon. The thirde day they met agayne, and finally agreed on a truce to remayne for one yere next to come betweene all parties and all their men, and also betweene them that were in Scotlande, and all suche as made warre in Gascoyn, Boyteau, and Samton, and the same truce to beginne .xl. dayes next ensuyng: and within that space euery person to geue knowledge vnto his men without male engyne: and if suche companies will not keepe the peace, let them be at their choise. But as for ffrance, Picardy, Burgoin, Britayne

Embassadors appointed to conuene and determine a peace betwene the King of England & the frenche King.

A truce agreed and concluded betwene the King of England and the frenche King for one yere.

Britayne and Normandy to be bounde to this peace without any exception: and this peace to beginne incontinent betwene the hostes of the two kinges, namely of England and of ffrance. And it was further determyned that eyther of the sayde kinges should send foure or fiue personages as their Am-bassadors, and to meete at Arras: and the Pope in lyke maner to send the-ther foure, and there to make a full confirmation without any meane. Also by this truce it was ordered, that euery partie should enioye and possesse eue-rie thing that they were then in possession of. This truce was forthwith proclaymed in both the hostes: whereof the Brabanters were right glad, for they were sore weryed with the lyeng so long at the siege, so that the nexte day, as sone as it was daye light, ye should haue sene such pulling downe of Centes and Paullions, such charging and lading of Waggones, such casting and throwing of their armour, such shooting off of ordynance, both great and small, and the people remouing so thicke, that to such as sawe it, it might haue appered to haue bene a new worlde.

Thus the king of Englande departed from Cozney, sore against hys minde, if he could haue done otherwise, but he was fayne to yeelde to the other Lordes, and to folow their counsailes, and then he came to Gaunt to the Queene his wife, and shortly after returned into Englande with all his people, except such as were left behind to attend vpon the assembly at Arras, as afore sayde, and vnto this assembly or counsaile of Arras, there came first from the Pope as Legates, the Cardinall of Naples, the Cardinall of Cleremount, who first came to Paris where the french king receaued them with great honor and after conueyed them to Arras. For the french king thether came, the Erle of Alanson the brother of the french king, the Duke of Bourbon, the Erle of Flaundyrs, the Erle of Bloys, the Archebithop of Senes, the Bishop of Beawayes, and the Bishop of Aucerre. For the king of Englande, came the Bishop of Lyncolne, the Bishop of Durham, the Erle of Warwike, Sir Robert de Arthoys which was Erle of Richemond, Sir John of Heynault, and Sir Henry of Flaundyrs. In the which treaty many matters were comuned of, and they continued .xv. dayes, but agreed to no one point of effect, for euer the Englishmen demaunded, and the french men would nothing graunt, but onely to render the Countie of Boyteau, the which was geuen to Quene Isabel in mariage with king Edward the secod. So this assembly brake vp, and nothing done, but that the truce was yet pro-longed two yeres more, & that was al that the Cardinals could get graunted vnto them. And thus euery man departed, & the two Cardynals went thro-rough Henault at the desire of the Erle, who feasted them right nobly. Froissart.

After king Edward was returned out of ffrance into England, in the which voyage and passage of the Sea, he had an exceeding and most horri-ble tempest, and escaped with great daunger, which tempest after the opynion of sundrie wyrters was rered and sturred by by the Necromancers of the french king to the intent to haue destroyed the king, or else to haue abated his courage for attemptyng the Sea any more.

In the time that the king lay at the siege of Cozney, as afore sayde, the Scottes had agayne recovered the greatest parte of their lande, & all their fortes except thre, wherefore the king was now counsayled to make a voy-age into Scotland and so he did, and roade thetherward betweene Nighel-mas

A meetyng at Arras.

The truce continued for two yeres longer.

A tempest on the Sea.

1347  
16



The King  
South Sea  
four goeth  
into  
Scotland.

The Castell  
of Breuelin  
relayed by  
the Scottes.

A great  
army.

A truce con-  
cluded with  
the Scottes  
for foure  
monethes.

mas and Galontyde, commaundyng certaine Capteynes to gather their men together and to folow him to Warwike, & so euery man began to styre, and came thither as they were commaunded. The king at the last came to Porke and there tarped for his people. The Lordes of Scotland were enformed of the comming of the king of Englande, wherefore they gaue most soze and fierce assaultes to the Castell of Estreuelne, which befoze they had long be- sieged, and so constrayned those that kept it, with engynes and Canons, that they were fayne to yeelde by the Castell, sauynge their lyues and mem- bers: but nothing should they carie awaye.

These tydings came to the King of Englande where as he was, and then he departed and drewe towarde Estreuelyn, and came to New Castell vpon Tyne, where he taried more then a Moneth, abyding prouision for hys armie, the which was shipped to come by sea, betwene Alhalontyde and the last of Nouember, but many of the shippes were cast awaye vpon the Sea, so that it was a small prouision of victuall that came thether. And some of the shippes were driuen into Holland and into Friseland, by reason whereof the English armie had great lack of victualles, and euery thing waxed vnreaso- nably deare, and Winter was at hand, so that they knewe not where to haue forage, and in Scotland the Scottes had put all their goods into fortresses, and the king of England had there mo then. vij. thousand horsemen and. xl. thousand footemen.

The Lordes of Scotland after theyr winnyng of Estreuelne, drewe themselves into the Forrestes of Gedeours, and they vnderstood well howe that the king of England lay at newe Castell with a great number to brenne and spoyle Scotland. Then they tooke counsaile what they should do, they thought themselves to weake and to small a company to maintein the warre, and the rather for that they had continued the warres almost seuen yeres without head or Capitaine, neyther as then they could not perceyue any suc- cour to come from their awne king, and therefore they determined to send to the King of England, a Bishop and an Abbot to desyre a truce. The which Messengers departed from Scotland and came to Newcastell, where they found the king.

These Messengers shewed to the King and his counsaile the cause of their comming: and at the last a truce was concluded for foure monethes, on this condicion, that they of Scotland should sende sufficient Ambassadors into Fraunce to king Dauid, sayng, that if he came not befoze the ende of the moneth of May nexte folowynge with puyssaunce and force sufficient to de- fende his realme, that then they would yelde themselves to the king of Eng- land, and neuer after to take Dauid for their king. So thus these two pre- lates returned againe into Scotland, and incontinent they ordeyned to send into Fraunce, Sir Robert Uersay, and Sir Robert Percy, and Sir Si- mon Frysell and two other knightes to shew to the king their appoyntment.

The king of England agreed the sooner to this truce, because his hoste lacked victuall, and so he came backe againe, and sent euery man home. The Scottishe Messengers went toward Fraunce, and toke shipping at Douer.

Nowe King Dauid of Scotland, who had beene. vij. yere in Fraunce, and knewe well that his realme was soze distressed, tooke his leaue of the French king, to the entent to come home to comfort his awne people: and so he

The returne  
of Dauid  
king of Scot-  
tes out of  
Fraunce.

A great ar-  
my of the  
Scottes.

The Scots  
besiege newe  
Castell vpon  
Tyne.

A skirmishe  
made by the  
Englishmen  
vpon the Scots  
wherein the  
Erle of Mores  
ret was takē.

he tooke shipping with his wyfe and such small company as he had, and put himselfe vnder the guidyng of a Mariner called Richard Flamont, and so ar- rived in Scotlande at a port called Moroyse, or euer that any in Scotlande knewe thereof: Neyther knewe he any thing of the Messengers that were gone into Fraunce to speake with him, nor they knewe not of his retur- nyng home.

So sone as the commyng of king Dauid was knowen to the Scottes, they came about him with great ioy, and solempnitie, and brought him to the towne of Saint Johns, and thether came to him people from all partes of his countrey, greatly complaynyng and cryng out of the damnages and great hurtes that they had susteyned in his absence by the Englishmen: To whom he answered that he trusted right shortly to be reuenged vpon them, or else it should cost him both his life and his realme.

Then he sent Messengers to all partes of his Countrie, both farre and nere, requyryng euery of them to helpe him forwarde in his enterprize. And shortly after came vnto him the Erle of Orkeney, a great Prince and a puyssant, he had maryed the kinges syster, and with him came a great num- ber of men of warre, and diuers other Lordes and knightes of Souegne, of Arbegne, and of Denmarch, some for loue and some for wages, so that when they were all together, they were. lx. thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen armed after their maner: and when they were all ready, they remoued setting forward toward England, and to do therein as much hurt as they might, for the truce was as then expired, or else to fight with the king of England, who had so much greued and annoyed them.

Thus the Scots departed from S. Johns towne, & went to Donfreme- lyn, & the next day there they passed a little arme of the Sea: Then they went with great diligence, and passed by Edenbourgh, & after by Rousbourgh, the which was as then English, but they made there no tariance, for they purpo- sed to do a great feat, befoze they returned againe into Scotland. And so they passed forward and went not farre from Warwike, and passyng it also with- out any assault geuyng, they entered into the Countrie of Northumberland, and came to the ryuer of Tyne, brennyng all the countrie round about them, and at the last came to New Castell vpon Tyne, and there the king of Scots and all his people lay about that towne all night.

In the mornyng a certeine number of Gentlemen that were within the towne issued out to the number of two hundreth Speares, to make a skyre in the Scottes hoste. They dashed in so sodeynely vpon the Scottes, and namely vpon the Erle of Mores tentes, who bare in his armor Syluer, thre Dreylls Goules, and there they toke him in his bed, and slue many, be- fore the host was moued, and wanne great pillage.

Then they returned into the Towne ballauntly, and with great ioye, and delyuered the Erle Mores as prisoner to the Capitaine of the Castell, which then was the Lorde John Renell.

When the Scottes were by, they armed them, and ranne lyke mad men to the Barrers of the towne, and gaue a great assault ther vnto, the which endured long, but little it auayled them, and the Scots lost there many men, for there were very many good men of warre within the towne, the which defended the same so manfully and wisely, that the Scots to their great losse were



were fayne and glad to withdraue their siege.

Now when the Scottishe king sawe that their tariyng at New Castell was daingerous, and that he had there neyther hope of gayne nor honour, then he departed and entred the Countrey of the Bishoprick of Durham, and there bzent and wasted all that was befoze him, and at the last came to the Citie of Durham, and besieged it rounde about, and made many terrible and desperate assaultes lyke mad men, because they had lost the Erle of Moxet, and also they knewe well that there was much ryches in that towne, for all the countrey there about was fled thether.

The Scots made Engines and Instruments to come to the walles to make the fiercer assault. But when the Scots were gone from New Castell as you heard befoze, then syr John Neuell Captaine there, mounted on a good horse, and tooke away farre of from the Scottes, and made such good speede that within fyve dayes he came to Chyrtsey, where as king Edward lay then, and there declared vnto him the doyngs and enterpryses of the Scots.

Then king Edward sent forth Messengers into euerye parte of his realme, commaundyng euery man betwene the age of .xv. and .lx. all excuses set aparte, to drawe Northward, and to meete him in that Countrey, for the ayde and defence of England, which the Scottes attempted to destroy, and forthwith the king departed and taried for no man, and suffred euery man to come after as well as they might.

Then the Lordes, knightes, Esquiers, and gentlemen drew together, euery one bringing with them as many men as they coulde make, and drew toward the North, folowyng the king.

In this meane tyme the Scottes gaue a most cruell assault vnto the towne of Durham, and folowed the same so fiercely with Engines and Instruments, that they that were within were not hable to make any lenger defence, but that the Scottes entered the towne by force, and robbed and spoyled the same, and then set it on fyre, and destroyed all the people that were therein, men, women, children, Monke, Fryer, Nonne, Chanon, and suffred not one person to escape on lyue, and then set a fyre the Churches, Chapels and all that euer was there, sparyng nothing that myght be spoyled or bzent.

And when the Scottishe king had finished this hys tyranny vpon the towne of Durham, he was then aduised to drawe back agayne along the ryuer of Tyne, and to come to Carleyle, and as he and his armie passed that way, he lodged beside a Castell of the Erle of Salisburies, the which was well furnished and kept with men of warre, and syr William Mountageu sonne to the Erle of Salisburies sister was Captaine thereof. The next day the Scottes dislodged and went toward Carleyle (they had much carpage with them of suche pillage as they had at Durham) and when Sir William Mountageu sawe howe the Scottes passed by without resting, then he with .xl. with him mounted on horseback, and issued out of the Castell, and folowed couertly the hinder trayne of the Scottes, who had horses so charged with baggage, that they might scant go any great pace. And he overtoke them at the entring into a wood, and set vpon them, and there slue and hurt of the Scottes mo then .ccc. and tooke mo then .cxx. horses laden with pillage, and so ledde them towarde the Castell, the crye and brute of the flight came to the hearing of syr William Drogglas who had the charge of the reeward,

The Scots besieged Durham.

King Edwards goerth into Scotlande.

The Scots burne the towne of Durham.

Sir William Mountageu a hardy knight.

ward, and as then he was past the wood. when he sawe the Scottes came flyeng ouer the dales and mountaines, he had great maruell, and then he and all his company ranne forth and rested not vntill they came to the foote of the Castell, and mounted the hill in hast. But or he came to the Bayles the Englishmen were entred, and had closed the Barrers, and put the pray in safetie. Then the Scottes beganne to assaile fiercely, and they within defended manfully. There these two Wylliams did what they might eche to greue other. This assault dured so long, that at the last the king and all the hoste came back agayne and layde siege to the Castle.

When the Scottishe King and his counsaile sawe howe his men were slaine, lying in the field, and the Assaylautes sore hurt, without winnyng of any thing, then he commaunded to ceasse the assault and to lodge. Then euery man began to seeke for his lodgyng, and to gather together the dead men, and to dresse them that were hurt. The next day the king commaunded that euery man should be ready to assaile, and they within were as redy to defend. There was a sore assault and a perillous: But there might haue bene seene that day many a noble feate and deede of armes. There was within the Castell, the noble Countesse of Salisbury, who was as then reputed and taken for the sagest and fayrest Lady that was in all England, whose husband was taken prisoner with the Erle of Suffolke befoze Lille in flaundrys. The King of England gaue the sayde Castell to the sayde Erle, when he maryed first the sayd Lady, for the prowes and good seruire that he had done befoze, when he was called but sir William Mountageu. This noble Lady comforted them greatly which were within, for by her sweete countenaunce and gentle speche, she made euery man worth twaine. This assault dured long, and the Scottes lost many of their men, for they aduentured themselues beery hardly, and caried wood and tymber to haue filled the ditches, to the entent to bring their engines to the walles, but they within defended them so valiantly, that the assaylautes were faine to drawe back. Then the king of Scottes commaunded the Engines to be well kept that night, and the next day to enforce the assault, and then euery man drewe backe to his lodgyng. Some wept and bewailed their friendes that were slaine, another sort comforted them that were hurt: and they of the Castell sawe well that if king Dauid continued his siege, that they should haue much ado to defende their Castell, and therefore they tooke counsaile among themselues to sende to King Edward, who then lay at Porke, as it was shewed them by such prisoners as they had taken of the Scottes. Then one of them behelde another, as who should say, who is he that dare go forth to cary this message, and not one of them would offer him selfe, which thing sir William Mountageu perceyuyng, stepped forth and sayd, sirs I will put my body in aduenture to do this message, for I haue such trust in you, that you will right well defende thys Castell vntill my returne: and on the other side I haue such trust in the king, that I shall shortly bring you succours, which will cause you to be ioyful, and I trust the king will so reward you, that ye shall be content: And when night came, the sayde sir William made him readie as priuely as he myght, and it happened well for him, for it rayned all night, so that the Scottes kept still within their lodgynges. At midnyght sir William passed through the hoste of the Scottes, and was not seene, and so roade forth vntill it was day, and

A sore and cruell assault.

The Countesse of Salisbury a sage and discrette Lady.

A worthy and courageous knight.



then he met with two Scots a mile from the hoste, driving befoze them two Oxen, and a Cowe towarde the hoste. Sir William knewe well that they were Scottes, and therefore set vpon them, and wounded them both, and slue the Cattaille, to the entent that they of the host should take no profite by them, and then sayde vnto the two hurt Scottes, go your wayes, and say to your king, that William of Mountagew hath thus passed through his hoste, and is goyng to fetch ayde of the king of England, and so departed.

In the mornynge the king of Scottes made a fierse assault, but yet he preuayled nothing, and dayly they assaulted it, but all in vaine. Then the king of Scottes and his counsaile, considerynge that there they did but lose theyr men, and that the king of England might wel come thether befoze the Castell were wonne, and therefore by one assent they sayd vnto the king, that theyr abydyng there, was neyther for his profite, nor yet for his honour. And further they sayd, Sir ye haue right honourably atchieued your enterprize, and haue done great despyte to the Englishe men, in that you haue bene nowe in this Countrey of England. xij. dayes, and taken and destroyed the Citie of Durham. Wherefoze sir all thinges considered, it were good now that you returned, and to take with you the pillage that ye haue wonne, and another time ye may retorne againe when it pleaseth you. The king who would not do against the opinions of all his counsaile, agreed to them soze against hys minde, and the next mornynge he dislodged, and tooke the way streight to the great Forrest of Cedours, there to tary at their ease, and to vnderstand what the king of England purposed further to do, eyther to go backe againe, or else to go further into Scotland.

The same day that the Scots departed from the sayd Castell, King Edward came thether with all his hoste aboute Noone, and came to the same place where as the Scottes had lodged, and he was soze displeased that he found not the Scottes there, for he came thether in such haste, that hys horse and men were soze traueyled. Then he commaunded to lodge there all that night, and sayd that he would go see the Castell and the noble Lady therein, for he had not sene her sith she was maryed befoze, then euery man tooke his lodgyng as he lust.

And assoone as the King was bwarmed, he tooke .x. or .xij. Knightes with him, and went by to the Castell to salute the Countesse of Sarisbury, and to see the maner of the assaultes of the Scottes, and the defence that was made against them. Assoone as the Lady knewe of the Kinges commynge, she set open the Gates, and came out so richely besene, that euery man marvelled at her beutie, and could not ceasse to regarde her noblenesse, and the pleasant wordes and gracious countenance that she had. And when she came to the King, she kneeled downe on the earth, thanking him of his succours, and so led him into the Castell, where she made him honourable chere, as she was one that could right well do it. The King beyng in the Castell went into a window, and leaned on his elbow as one beyng in a great studie: The Ladie went about to make cheere to the Lordes and knightes that were there, and commaunded the Hall to be dressed for dinner. And when she had made all thinges in a readinesse, then she came to the King with a mery cheere, who was in a great studie, and she sayde: dere Sir, what meaneth your grace so to studie without cause, it doth not apperteyne vnto you

The Scottes  
sith the King  
with feare  
of King Ed-  
ward.

you sit so to do, but rather ye should make good chere and be ioyfull, chieflie for that you haue chased away your enemies, who durst not abyde your commynge, and let other men studie for the remnaunt. Then the king sayd, Al dere Lady, know for a truth, that sith my entrance into this Castell, there is such a matter entered into my minde, that I can not choose but muse, neyther can I tell what may fall thereof, for put it out of my heart I cannot. Sir quoth the Lady, ye ought alwayes to make good cheere to comfort therewith your people, and chieflie ye haue cause to reioyre in God, for that he hath ayded and supported you in all your great affayres and enterprises, and hath made you the most renoumed and famous Prince in all Christendome: And if the Scottishe king haue done you any dispite or damage, ye may well reuenge it when it shall please you. Wherefoze sir, I pray you leaue your musyng, and come into the Hall (if it please you) for your dinner is all ready. A fayre Lady quoth the king, other thinges lie in my heart that ye know not off, but surely the swete and gentle behauiour of you, the great wisdom, noblenesse, and excellent beautie which I beholde in you, hath sofoze surprized my heart, that I can not but loue you, and without your loue I am but dead. Then answered the Lady sayng: A right noble Prince, for Goddes sake mocke not, nor tempt me not, I can not beleue that it is true that ye say, neyther that so noble a Prince as ye are, could haue so euill a thought, as to disonour me and my Lord my husband, who is so valiant a knight, and hath done your grace such good seruire, and as yet remayneth prisoner in France for your cause and quarell: Certainly sir, ye should in this case haue but a final praise, and nothing the better thereby: I geue almighty God thanks, that hether to I had neuer such a thought in my heart, nor I trust in God shall haue at the request or perswasion of any man: And if I had any such lewde intencion, your grace ought not onely to blame me, but also to punish my bodie, and by true iustice to be dismembred: and therewith the Ladie sodenly departed from the King, and went into the Hall to hast forward the dinner, and then she came againe and brought some of his knightes with her, and sayd: sir, if it please you to come into the Hall, your knightes abide th for you to washe, ye haue bene to long fastyng. Then the King went into the Hall and walked, and late downe among his Lordes and knightes, and the Lady also. The King did eate very little, but late still musyng, and euer as he durst, he cast his eyne vpon the Lady. Of his sadnesse the knightes had much maruell, for he was not accustomed so to be: Some thought it was because the Scottes were escaped from him. But to be short, although the King fared right honourably, yet could he not by any meanes be made mery, so that after dinner done, yet remayned he there all that day. And beyng wrapt in the snares and bondes of loue, he had sundrie imaginations: Sometime he imagined that honour and truth forbade him to set his heart in such a case, to disonour such a Lady, and so true a knight as her husband was, who had alwayes serued him so truely and balauntly: On the other part, loue so constrained him, that the power thereof, surmounted both honour and truth: And thus was the King troubled in himselfe all that day and night. In the mornynge the King arose and dislodged all his hoste, and drewe after the Scottes to chase them out of his realme. And at his departure he tooke his leaue of the Lady, and sayd, my dere Lady, to God I commend you vntill I retorne againe, requi-

An amorous  
Prince.

The answers  
and spech of  
a vertuous  
and wise  
Lady.

The depart-  
ure of the  
king from the  
Lady and  
her Castell.



ring you to aduise you otherwise then you haue sayde to me. Noble Prince quoth the Lady, God the father most glorious be your guide and conduct, and remoue from you all vilcyne thoughts: & sir, I am and euer shall be redy to do your grace such seruice, as may be to your honour and mine, & therewith the King departed, altogether abashed.

Then the king folowed the Scottes vntill he came to Berwick, & went still forward, vntill he came within foure leagues of the Forest of Sedours, where as king Dauid and all his company was entred, in trust of the great wildernesse. The king of Englande tarped there thre dayes, to see if the Scottes would issue out to fight with him, in the which tyme there were sundrie skirmishes on both partes, and dyuers of the Scottes taken, slayne and sore hurt. Sir William Dowglas was he that did most hurt to the Englishmen, he bare Azure a Comble siluer, and thre starres Goules.

In this tyme that king Edward laye there, there were certayne noble men vpon both partes that treated for a peace to be had betweene these two kinges: And the same treatie tooke suche effect, that a truce was agreed to endure for two yere, if the french king would thereto agree. For the king of Scottes was so allyed to the french king, that he might take no peace with the king of Englande without the consent of the french king. And therfore it was then agreed, that if the french king would not agree to the peace, then the truce to endure vntill the first day of May next folowynge. And it was also agreed that the Erle of Hozer which was prisoner in Newcastel, should be deliuered of his imprisonment, if the king of Scottes could doe so muche with the french king as to purchace that the Erle of Salzburie might lykewise be quyte out of prison in Fraunce, and the same to be done before the feast of saint John Baptist next after.

King Edward agreed the rather to this truce, for that at this instant he had warre in Fraunce, in Gascoyn, in Poiteau, in Fynton, in Britayne and almost in euerye place he had men in wages to hys maruellous great costes and charges: And when all thinges were concluded, as aforesayde, then the king returned into Englande.

And sone after, the king of Scottes sent great messengers to the french king to agree vnto this truce: The french king was content at the desyre of the king of Scottes, and then was the Erle of Salzburie, who had bene long prisoner in Fraunce, sent home into Englande. And the king of Englande sent incontynent the Erle Hozer into Scotland.

And in the ende of this yere the Ducene was deliuered of a man childe at the Towne of Langley, the which after was named Edmond, and surnamed Edmond of Langley.

A little before ye haue heard how the king was stricken in loue with the Countesse of Salzbury. And now it happered, that for the loue of the sayde Lady, who yet was not out of his minde, he caused a great feast to be published abroad, and a Justes to be holden in the Citie of London (in the place now called west Smithfield) in the middes of August next folowynge, the which was also proclaymed in Flaundyrs, in Henault, in Brabant, and in Fraunce, graunting to all commers out of euery Countrie safe conduyte to come and go. And also he gaue speciall commaundement thorough his awne Realme, that all Lords, Knights, Esquyers, Ladyes and Damosels should be

A truce take with the Scottes for two yeres, if the french king would agree thereto.

The Erle of Salzbury, husband to the Ladye a little before spoke of was exchanged for another prisoner in Fraunce, and sent home to his wyfe.

1342  
17

be there without any excuse, and commaunded expressly the Erle of Salzbury, that the Lady his wyfe should be there, and to bring with her all the Ladyes and Damoselles of that Countrie. The Erle graunted the king, as he that thought none euill. The good Ladye durst not saye nay, although shee knewe right well what was ment thereby: But yet shee durst not discover the matter to her husband, notwithstanding she thought both in her selfe that she would order the matter well ynough.

This was a royall feast, and at the same was the Erle William of Herynault, and syr John of Herynault his Uncle, and a great number of Lordes and knightes of high lynage. There was great triumphynge and iustynge the space of .xv. dayes. And running at the same iustes was slaine the Lorde John, eldest sonne to the Wycount of Beaumont of England. And at this triumph all the Ladyes and Damoselles of England were freshly trimmed and attyzed, according to their degrees, except the Lady Alice Countesse of Salzbury, for she went as simply as she might, to thentent that the king should not phansie her, for she was fully determyned that she would doe nothing that should dishonour her husband and her selfe. At this feast were syr Henry with the wyre neck Erle of Lancaster, and syr Henry his sonne Erle of Darby, syr Robert de Artoys Erle of Richemond, the Erles of Northampton, of Gloucester, of Warwike, of Salzburie, of Pembroke, of Hereford, of Arondell, of Cornewall, of Orenford, and of Suffolke, and the Baron of Staunforde and dyuers other Lordes and knightes of England.

And before this great triumph was altogether ended, and the noble men departed, king Edward receaued sundrie and dyuers Letters out of sundrie Countries, as Gascoyn, Bayon, Flaundyrs from Jaques Dartuell, and out of Scotland from the Lorde Rose, and the Lorde Percy, and from syr Edward Baileoll Captaine of Warwike, who certefied the king, that the Scottes held but simply the truce concluded the last yere, for they newly assembled together much people, but for what entent they could not tell. Also the Capitaines in Poiteau, Fanton, Rochell and Burdeloys, wrote to the king how the frenchmen made great preparations for the warre, because the peace that was made at Arras was almost expired, which caused the king to haiten the ende of his feasting. And so sone as the straungers were departed: The king by the aduise of his counsaile did answer the former letters.

After the former feast ended, the king called his Court of Parliament, who assembled together at Westmynster shortly after Easter, then next folowynge. And in the time of the sayde Parliament, the king created Edward his first begotten sonne (who was borne in the thirde yere of his reigne) Prince of Wales, and he pzooued the most royall Prince in Chivalrie that was in all Chyristendome. And in the sayde Parliament was graunted vnto the king toward the finishynge and ending of his warres with Fraunce of the commons and of the Tobones and Cities of the Realme of Englande, foure fiftenes to be paid in two yeres next folowynge. And likewise the Clergy graunted vnto him thre fiftenes to be payde in thre yeres, but both the commons and the clergie had graunted vnto them by the king suche liberties as ye may read in the statute made in the sayd. xviii. yere, as counterueyled their gift. And these fiftenes were also graunted with these condicions, that all such somes of money as should be leuied of the aforesayde grauntes, should be onely and

A great feast and royall iustes.

1343  
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A parliament holden at Westmynster. Edward the Kinges first sonne created Prince of Wales.

The Clergy are politique.



It shoulde  
seme that the  
king was  
here partle  
out of credite  
with y com-  
mons because  
he had confu-  
med so great  
summes of  
money in his  
warres as  
befoze had  
bene leued  
of his sub-  
iectes, & the  
same came to  
final purpose.

A new coyne  
called the  
Flozeyn.

The death of  
Sir Robert  
de Arthoys  
Erle of  
Richmond.

King Ed-  
ward with a  
great power  
landeth in  
Briteyn.

A peace  
made with  
the French  
king for thre  
yere.

1344

19

Windsore ca-  
stell first buil-  
ded by king  
Arthure.

wholy employed upon the exployte and expedition of the full fynishing and ending of the warres with Fraunce, and the same to be disposed by the aduice of certayne Lordes and other great men that were specialle nominated and appointed therunto by the Parliament house. And also, that the king should not for any friend, letter or letters, entreatie or entreaties, nor for any fayre promises, withdraw his enterprize in the expence of this money in his warres of Fraunce until he had fully ended and fynished the same eyther by conquest, or else by the conclusion of a finall peace. And hereupon the Lordes of the realme graunted to go with the king, and to aduenture their lyues with him in the same.

And at this time also the king made a newe coyne of Golde and named it the Flozeyn, that is to saye, the penny of the value of. vii. Shyllings. iiij. pence, the halfe penny of the value of thre Shyllings, foure pence, and the farthing of the value of twentie pence, the which Coyne was specialle ordeyned for his warres in Fraunce: For the Golde thereof was not so fyne as was the Noble, which as befoze in the. xiiij. yere of hys reigne he caused to be coynd.

Nowe after the aforesayde Parliament ended, king Edward woulde needes ayde the Countesse of Mountforde agaynst the Lorde Charles of Bloys. And for her reliefe he sent Sir Robert de Arthoys, Erle of Richemond accompanied with a certayne number of good men of warre, and Archers, the which Sir Robert by reason of tempestes on the Sea, was long befoze he came thether: But for the time he remayned there, he did very valiantly, notwithstanding at the last he was sore wounded, and returned into England and dyed in London and was buried in the Quiere, or upper parte of Paules Church, whome king Edward caused to be buried with as solemne an obsequy, and as nobly was it done, as if it had bene for his abone Cosyn Germaine the Erle of Darby.

King Edward being greatly offended with the death of Sir Robert de Arthoys, sware a great othe that he would neuer rest till he woulde reuenge his death, wherefore incontinently he sent out letters thorough out all the Realme, commaunding every noble man and other to attend upon hym within one Moneth next after. And in the meane tyme he prepared a great number of shippes, and at the ende of the Moneth he tooke the Seas and landed in Britayne not farre from Vannes, where Sir Robert de Arthoys arrayed befoze: he was thre dayes in landyng of all his prouision, and the fourth day he went toward Vannes. And all this meane tyme the Erle of Salbury and the Erle of Pembroke lay at the siege of Renes. And shortly after, the king besieged Vannes, and did many noble feates of warre, and at the last the Duke of Normandy came with a mightye power to breake by the siege: But in the ende, by the meanes and labour of two Cardynalles, a truce for thre yeres was agreed upon, and so the warres brake by, and the king returned againe into England about Christmas.

After the king was thus returned, he went to his Castell of Windsore, the which was first builded by king Arthure (as sayth sir John Froissard) and nowe newly reedified by king Edward, wherein he tooke great pleasure. And the sayde sir John Froissard sayth, that in this Castell king Arthure did first begin the order of the round table, whereby sprang the fame of

to

so many noble knightes throughout all the worlde, But other write that the same was ordeyned first at Winchester, for there is yet the table that is called king Arthures round table. And nowe king Edward purposyng a lyke encouragement of noble and worthie knightes, beyng at Windsore as aforesayde, did ordeyne and establishe in the same Castell the most honourable order of knighthood of the blewe Garter, and a solemne feast to be kept for the same yere upon Saint Georges day. And to begin this noble order, the king caused to be assembled together all the Erles, Lordes, and knightes of his realme, and expressed unto them his purposed deuice, wherein they toke great pleasure, because they sawe it was that which tended to great honour, and that by the same, great amitie, friendship, & loue might growe among the nobles of this realme. And then were there chosen out a certeine number of the most valiauntest men in y realme, and they right gladly swoze and were content to seale, to mainteine those ordinaunces that then were deuised for the sayde order.

The order of  
the Garter.

And then also the King builded a Chappell of Saint George within the sayde Castell of Windsore, and stablished therein certein Chanons, and other Ministers for the sayng of deuine and dayly seruiue, and endued them with right good liuynges and possessions.

The Chappell  
within  
the Castell of  
Windsore  
builded by  
King Ed-  
ward the thirde.

Then the King sent to publish this his royall feast by his Heraults, into Fraunce, Scotland, Burgoyne, Henault, Flaundyngs, Brabant, and into the Empire of Almaine, geuyng and promisyng euery knight and Esquier that would come to the sayd feast. xv. dayes of safe conduit, befoze the feast, and xv. dayes after the feast, the same feast to begyn on the day of Saint George next folowyng, which was in the yere of our Lorde. 1344. and the Queene to be there, accompanied with thre hundred Ladyes and Damoselles, all of noble linage, and apparelled accordyngly.

When the day of this royall feast drew nere, thether came a noble company of Erles, Barons, Ladyes and Damoselles, knightes and Esquiers. And also diuerse Lordes and knightes of straunge Countries came thether out of diuerse places, as out of Flaundyngs, Henault, and Brabant, but out of Fraunce came none.

A royall feast.

Duryng the time of this feast, newes came to the king out of diuerse Countries: Thether came knightes out of Gascoyne, as the Lorde of Lespape, the Lorde of Chawmount, the Lord of Muisident, who were sent from the other Lordes of the Countrie, such as were Englishe: as the Lorde de Labreth, the Lord of Duniers, the Lord of Moutteraunt, y Lord of Duras, the Lorde of Carton, the Lorde of Grayly, and diuers other. And in like manner came sundrie Messengers from sundrie other places, and all aduised the king to send unto them succours in due season, for they were in great feare of their enemy the French King, who made great prouision to annoy them.

These troubleous newes caused the king the soner to shorten his feast and triumph. And when the same was ended, and all the straungers departed, and the Ladyes and Damoselles, then the king went to counsaile with his Lordes what was best to be done. And shortly they agreed that it were meete some chiefe Capitaine and succours were sent unto Burdeaux, for the defence thereof, and for the rest of Gascoyne. Then the king agreed to sende ouer the Erle of Darby his Cosyn Germaine as Cheuetaine, who with all possible



possible speede prepared himselfe, and he was accompanied with the Erle of Pembrooke, the Erle of Norfolke, the Baron of Stafford, Sir Gualtier of Manny, Sir Richard Haydon, the Lorde Franque de la hall, the Lieure de Brabant, Sir Hugh Hastinges, Sir Stephen de Combey, the Lorde of Manny, the Lord Poymant of Synetroyde, Sir Robert of Lerne, Sir John Norwich, Sir Richard Rockclese, Sir Robert of Quenton, and diuers other, to the number of .v. C. Knightes and Esquiers, and two thousand Archers. And the King sayd to his Colyn the Erle of Darby, take with you Gold and Siluer ynough, ye shall not lacke, and depart largely thereof vnto your men of warre, whereby ye shall get their loue and fauor, and thus the Erle of Darby departed vnto Burdeaux, who after his comming thether did many noble and valiaunt deedes of armes, aswell in assaultyng of diuerse towne, as also in conquering & recovering from y French men many rich Cities & townes.

In this time (as before you haue heard) reigned in Flaundyys in great prosperitie and puyssaunce, Jaques Dartuell of Gaunt, who was a speciall friend and louer of King Edward. And the same Jaques had promised the King that he would make him Lorde and inheritour of Flaundyys, and to endue his sonne the Prince of Wales therewith. For the which cause, aboute the feast of Saint John Baptist, King Edward went ouer vnto Sluce with many of his Lordes and knightes, and brought thether with him the young Prince his sonne, vpon the worde and promise of Jaques Dartuell. The King with all his nauie laye in the Hauen of Sluce, and there he kept hys house, and thether came to visite him his friendes of Flaundyys. There were great counsailes betwene the King and Jaques Dartuell on the one parte, and the Counsailes of the good townes of the other part. So that they of the Countrie were not of the agreement with the King, neyther with Jaques Dartuell, who went aboute to perswade them to disinherit the Erle Loys their awne naturall Lorde, and also his yong sonne Loys, and to inherit the sonne of the King of Englande, to the which they sayde they would neuer agree vnto. And so the last day of their Counsaile, which was kept in the Hauen at Sluce in the Kinges great ship called the Katheryn: They with one minde and voyce gaue a determinate aunswere and sayd: Sir, ye haue desired vs to a thing that is great and weightie, the which hereafter may sore touche the Countrie of Flaundyys and our heyres: Cruely we knowe none at thys day whose preferment and honour we would be more glad to aduance then yours: But Sir, this thing we can not do alone, we must haue herevnto the whole commonaltie of Flaundyys. Therefore for this present we will go home, and every man to speake with his friendes generally within every towne, and as we finde the most part to agree, so will we be right well content: and within a moneth we will be here againe with you, and geue you such aunswere as we trust ye will be content. The King neyther Jaques Dartuell could haue none other aunswere at that time: Howbeit they requirred a shorter day, but that would not be.

So thus departed that Counsaile, and every man went home to theyr awne townes: But Jaques Dartuell tarped a little with the King, and still he promised the King that he would bring them vnto his entent, but he was foule decepued as after will appere.

Jaques Dartuell tooke his leaue of the King and went first to Bruges and

The Erle of Derby sent to Burdeau with a goodly company to withstand the malice of the French King.

Jaques Dartuell of Gaunt a great lover & friend to King Edward.

and perswaded with the Lords there, and lykewise with the rulers of Fyze, and in the ende they graunted vnto him, so that Jaques made a full accompt that he had obteyned and ended this matter, for he assured himselfe of the towne of Gaunt, whom as he thought he might rule as he lust, but he found it otherwise. When he had ended at Bruges he returned to Gaunt, not suspecting any thing, but that they were his berie friends: and before he came to the towne, it was tolde to the inhabitants that Jaques Dartuell went about to disinherit the right Erle of Flaundyys and his sonne, and to geue the inheritauce vnto the sonne of King Edward of England, a straunger, at the hering wherof they assembled themselves in the Market place, and were in a great furie agaynst Jaques Dartuell, but at the last they departed from the Market place, and every man went home to his awne house. Shortly after about noone, came Jaques Dartuell into Gaunt, not knowyng anye thing of the former doing of the men of the towne, but they knewe well of his comming, and therefore walked in the streetes in heapes, euen where he should passe. And when they sawe him, they begonne to murmur, and began to whisper together and to fall to secret talke, and at the last they spake out aloude one to another and sayde. Beholde, yonder cometh the great master that will rule all Flaundyys as he lust, and geue the inheritauce therof where he thinketh meete. Also there was a brute blouen abroad among the inhabitants of the Towne, that Jaques Dartuell for the space of .ii. yeres past had in his handes all the reuenues of Flaundyys, and neuer did accompt for the same. And farther, that he had sent great ryches and treasure vnto the King of England: These tales set them of Gaunt on a fyze. And as Jaques Dartuell roade through the streete, he perceaued that there was some matter in framing agaynst him, for he saw, as he came by, such as were wont to doe reuerence vnto him, turne their faces from him, and went into their houses. Then he began to doubt, and as sone as he was alighted in his lodging, he closed fast his gates, doores and wyndowes. This was scant done, but all the streete was full of men, and specially of them of meanest occupations, then they beset his house both behinde and before and round about, and began to breake by the house: But he and his defended themselves within the house along space, and slue and hurt many without. But finally he could not endure, for thre partes of the men of that towne were at that assault. When Jaques sawe that he was so sore oppressed, he came to a wyndow with great humilitie bareheded and spake in gentle maner and sayde: Good people, what ayleth you, why are you so sore offended at me? Wherein haue I displeased you, let me vnderstande it, and I will gladly make suche amends as I trust shall content you. Then such as heard him, answered all with one voyce, we will haue accompt made of the great treasure of Flaundyys, that you haue sent out of the waye without any title or reason. Then Jaques meekely answered and sayde: Certainly Sirs, of the treasure of Flaundyys I neuer tooke any thing. I pray you withdraw your selues patiently into your houses, and come againe to morow in the morning, and I will make you so good an accompt, that ye shall be well pleased and contented withall. Then they all cryed and sayde, nay, we will haue an accompt incontynent, thou shalt not scape oure handes so: we knowe for truth that thou hast sent great riches into England without our knowledg, and therefore thou

Jaques Dartuell was greatly deceaued.

The behauiour of the people of Gaunt at the entering of Jaques Dartuell into their towne.

The goodnes and of least discretion are euer commended by the most busie.

The wise and myde speech of Jaques Dartuell to the common people.



A hard mat-  
ter to litle  
rise and dis-  
corderly per-  
sons.

thou shalt die. When Jaques heard that worde, he ioyned his handes toge-  
ther and soze weeping sayde: Sirs, such as I am ye haue made me: and ye  
haue swozne to me oz this to defende me agaynst all persons. And will you  
now slay me agaynst all reason, and no cause heard nor examined? ye maye  
doe it if ye will, for I am but one man amongst you all, but yet for Gods  
sake take better aduise, and remember the tyme past, and consyder the great  
graces and friendship that I haue shewed and done vnto you: and then I  
truit ye will not so bngently reward me, and chiefly for the great goodnesse  
that I haue shewed vnto your towne. Ye know right well that the trade of  
marchaundise was cleerely decayed in this towne, and countrey, and by my  
meanes ye haue recouered it. Also I haue gouerned you in great peace and  
rest, for in the tyme of my gouernement ye haue had all things as your hartes  
desyred, come and all other marchaundise.

Then the people cryed all with one voyce, come dovne to vs & preach  
not so high, and geue vs accompt of the great treasure of Flaundyrs which  
ye haue gouerned so long without compt making, which becommeth no of-  
ficer so to doe, to receaue the goodes of hys Lozde, oz of hys Countrie, and  
make none accompt.

When Jaques sawe that he could not appease them: he drewe in his  
head and closed in his wyndow, and thought to haue stollen out on the back-  
side into the Church that ioyned to his house: But his house was so broken  
that foure hundred persons were entred into it, and finally, there he was ta-  
ken and slaine without any pitie oz mercie, and one Thomas Wenyre gaue  
him his deathes stroke. And thus ended Jaques Dartuell.

When king Edward, who lay all this while at Sluce, abyding the aun-  
swere of the flemynge, heard how they of Gaunt had slaine Jaques Dar-  
tuell his great friend, he was soze displeased. Wherefore incontinent he de-  
parted from Sluce, and entred into the Sea, soze threating the fleminges  
and the countrie of flaundyrs, and sayde, how his death should be reuenged.

Then the Counsaillours of the good townes of Flaundyrs thought no  
lesse but that the king of England would take the death of Jaques Dartuell  
greuously, wherefore they determined to go to the king and excuse them-  
selues, and specially they of Bruges, Courtray, Iper, Andwarp & Franke:  
They sent into Englande to the king for a safe conduyt that they might come  
to their excuse. The king then being somewhat cooled of his great furie,  
graunted their desire. And then there came into England men of estate out  
of the good Townes of Flaundyrs, except out of Gaunt there came none.  
This was aboute Michelmass, and the same tyme the King laye at West-  
minster besides London.

When they were come vnto the kinges presence, they in most loboly ma-  
ner humbled themselues before the king, and clerely excused themselues of  
the death of Jaques Dartuell, and sware solemply that they knewe nothing  
thereof untill it was done. And if they had, he was the man that they would  
haue defended to the best of their powers, and sayde that they were ryght so-  
rie of his death, for he had gouerned the Countrie right politikely and wise-  
ly. And also they sayde, that though they of Gaunt had done that dede, yet  
should they make a sufficient amendes. And further they sayd vnto the king  
and his counsaile, that though he be deede, yet the king of England was ne-  
uer

Jaques  
Dartuell ta-  
ken & slaine  
without all  
mercy and  
pitie.

King Ed-  
ward hearing  
of the death  
of Jaques  
Dartuell re-  
turneth into  
England.

The rulers  
of 9 townes  
in Flaundyrs  
come to king  
Edward to  
make their  
excuse for the  
death of  
Jaques  
Dartuell.

uer the further off from the loue & fauour of them in Flaundyrs in all things,  
except the enheritance of Flaundyrs, which by no meane nor way they will  
put from the right heyses. And sayng also further vnto the king: Sir you  
haue a yong daughter, and we haue a yong Lozde, who is the enheritour of  
Flaundyrs, we haue him in our keepng, may it please you to consent to a ma-  
ryage to be made betweene them two, and by that meanes the Countie of  
Flaundyrs may for euer be in the issue of your Childe. These wordes and  
many such like did greatly pacifie the king, and finally the king was content  
with the flemynge, and they with him, and so by little and little the death of  
Jaques Dartuell was quite forgotten.

And shortly after the death of Jaques Dartuell, dyed also William Erle  
of Henault, the kinges great louer and friend, and not long after sir John of  
Heynault the kinges most chiefe and speciall friende (who from the first be-  
gynnyng and entraunce of the king into the Realme and Kingdome of Eng-  
land, assisted and defended him) did now refuse the king of England and be-  
came french, because as some write, that the king of Englande, refused to  
pay him his pencion that he graunted vnto him. And thus was king Ed-  
ward destitute of a great many of his chiefe and speciall friendes, euen vpon  
a sodeyne.

About this tyme the King heard howe his men were in soze distresse at  
the siege of the Castell of Aguilon in Gascoyne, and therefore prepared him  
selfe with a great and puissaunt army to go ouer for their reskue. And in this  
meane tyme, the Lord Godfrey of Harecourt, beyng banished out of fraunce  
came into England, and was well receyued with the king, and he retayned  
him to remaine and continue about him, and assigned him landes in England  
to mainteine his degree.

Then the king caused a great nauy of shippes to be readie in the Hauen  
of Southhampton, and caused all maner of men of warre to be there at the  
feast of Saint John Baptist. 1345. And at that tyme the king departed from  
the Queene, and left her in the guiding of the Erle of Cane his Cosyn. And  
he ordeyned and appoynted the Lozde Percey, and the Lozde Deuell to be  
Wardynes of his realme, with the Archbishop of Yorke, the Bishop of Lin-  
colne, and the Bishop of Durham: For the king at no tyme departed out of  
this realme, but that he left sufficient behind him to defend the realme if nede  
were. Then the king roade to Hampton, and taried there for winde: And  
at the last he entered into Ship, and the Prince of Wales with him, and the  
Lozde Godfray of Harecourt, and all other Erles, Barons, Lozdes, and  
Knights, with all their companies. They were in number foure thousand  
men of armes, and ten thousand Archers, beside Irishemen and Welshmen  
that folowed the host on foote, and xij. C. sayle of shippes, as some write.

And here I thinke it not amisse to name vnto you all the Lozdes that  
went in this iourney with the king. First Edward his eldest sonne Prince of  
Wales, who as then was of the age of xviij. yeres, oz there aboutes, the Erles  
of Hereford, Northampton, Arondell, Cornewall, Warwike, Huntingdon,  
Suffolke, and Drenford. And of Barons, the Lozde Mortimer, who was  
after Erle of Marche, the Lozdes, John, Lewes, and Roger of Beau-  
champ, and the Lozde Reynold Cobham. Of Lozdes, the Lord of How-  
bray, Rose, Lucy, Felton, Bzastone, Wyllon, Labey, Maule, Ballet, Bar-  
let,

A new offer  
of amitie  
made by the  
Fleminges  
to king Ed-  
ward.

The death of  
Wyllia Erle  
of Henault  
the louer and  
great friend  
of king Ed-  
ward.

1345  
20

The Lord  
Godfrey of  
Harecourt  
being bani-  
shed out of  
France was  
loyfully re-  
ceaued in  
England by  
king Ed-  
ward.

A popell na-  
up and aring  
that sayled  
with the king  
into France.



let, & Willoughby, and diuers other Lordes. And of Bachelers, there were John Chandoy, Fitzwaren, Peter and James Audeley, Roger of Wertuall, Bartholomew of Byres, Richard of Pembryges, with diuers other that I can not name.

Thus they sayled forth that day in the name of God, and they were well onward on their way toward Gascoyn: But on the thirde day, there arose a contrary wynde, and draue them on the Marches of Cornewall, and there they lay at anker. vij. dayes. In that space the king had other Counsaile by the meanes of Sir Godfrey Harecourt: he counsailed the king not to go into Gascoyn, but rather to set a land in Normandie, and he sayde to the king, Sir the Countrie of Normandie is one of the most plenteous Countries of the Worlde. And Sir, on ieopardie on my head, if ye will land there, there is none that will resist you: The people of Normandie haue not bene bled to warre, and all the knightes and Esquiers of the Countrie are now at the siege before Aguilon with the Duke. And Sir, there ye shall finde great Townes that be not walled, whereby your men shall haue such wynnynge that they shall be the better therby. xx. yere after: & ye may follow with your armie untill ye come to Cane in Normandy. And Sir, I pray you beleue me, and take this boyage. The king who was as then but in the flower of hys youth, for he passed not. xxxv. yerres of age, and desirynge nothing so much as to haue deedes of Armes, enclined greatly to the sayng of the Lorde Harecourt, whome he called Cousin. Then the king commaunded the Mariners to set their course to Normandie: And he tooke into his ship the Baner or Badge of the Admirall the Erle of Warwike, and sayde howe he would be Admirall in that boyage, and so sayled on before, as governour of the nauie. And they had wind at wil: Then the king arriued in the Isle of Constantine, at a port called Hoggue Saint Waste.

Cydings anone spreade abroad, howe the Englishmen were landed: The townes of Constantyne sent dobone woord to Darys to king Philip. And he had heard before how that king Edward was on the sea with a great armie, but he vnderstood not what waye he would take, whether into Normandy, Gascoyne, or Briteyn.

Alloone as he knewe that the king of Englande was landed in Normandy, he sent his Conestable the Erle of Guynes, and the Erle of Tankerville, who were but newly come to him from his sonne from the siege of Aguilon, to the towne of Cane, commaunding them to keepe that towne agaynst the Englishmen: They sayde they would doe their best, and so departed from Darys with a good number of men of warre, and daylie there came mo vnto them by the waye. And so at the last came to the towne of Cane, where the men and people of that towne receyued them with great ioy. And alloone as these Lordes were come, they busily prouyded for the good defence of the sayde Towne, and set all things in good order.

The king of England, as aforesayd, was arriued at the Porte Hoggue Saint Waste, neere to Saint Sauour the vicount, which was the right heritage to the Lord Godfray of Harecourt, who as then was there with the king of England. Alloone as the king was arriued in the aforesayde porte, as he lept out of his ship, the first foote that he stepped on the grounde he fell so vntowardly, that the blood brast out of his nose. The knightes that were

The counsaile of Sir Godfray Harecourt to King Edward, which counsaile was good as it after proued.

King Edward tooke vpon him to be Admirall to the whole nauie.

The king arriued at Constantine in Normandy.

about him, tooke him by and sayde, sye for Gods sake enter againe into your Ship, and come not a lande this daye, for this is but an euill signe for vs. Then the king answered quickly and sayd, wherfore? this is a good token for mee, for the lande desyret to haue mee. Of the which answers all his men were ioyfull: So that day and night the king lodged on the sandes. And in the meane time discharged the ships of their horses and other baggages. There the king made two Marchalles of his hoste, the one, Lorde Godfray of Harecourt, and the other the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Arondell Constable. And he ordeyned that the Erle of Huntingdon should keepe the flete of shippes with an hundreth men of armes and foure hundred Archers. And also he ordeyned thre battayles, one to go on his right hande close to the sea side, and the other on his left hande, and the king himselfe in the middes, and every night to lodge all in one field.

Thus they set forth as they were ordeyned, and they that went by the Sea tooke all the shippes that came in their wayes, and so long they went forth what by sea, and what by lande, that at the last they came to a good porte, & to a good towne called Harflew, the which incontinent was wonne: For they within gaue by for feare of death. And albeit the sayde towne was robbed and spoyled, and much Golde, Siluer, and riche Jewels taken out of the same, yet there remayned so much riches that the boyes and villaynes of the hoste set nothing by good furred Bownes. And before they entred into the rifelyng of the towne, they caused all the inhabitants of the towne to come forth and go into their shippes, because they would not suffer them to be behinde them for feare of rebelyng againe. And thus was the towne of Harflew taken and spoyled without brenning.

Then the armie spreade abroad in the Countrie, and did what they lust, for there was none to resist them. And at the last they came to a great and riche towne called Chierbourgh. The towne they wanne and spoyled and brent parte of it: But into the Castell they coulde not come, it was so strong and well furnished with men of warre. Then they passed forth & came to Mountbourgh, and tooke and spoyled it and brent it cleane. In thys manner they spoyled and brent many other townes in that countrey, and wanne so much ryches that it was incredible. Then they came to a great towne called Quarentyne, where there was also a strong Castell, and many souldyours within to keepe it. Then the Lordes came out of their shippes and made a fierce assault: The Burgesses of the towne were in great feare of their lyues, wyues and children. And they gladly suffered the Englishmen to enter into the towne against the minde and will of all the souldyours there: They put all their goodes vnto the Englishmens pleasures, because they thought they should so the better obtaine their fauour, and mitigate their rygour. When the French souldyours sawe the Englishmen enter into the towne, then they fled, and went into the Castell. And the Englishmen kept the towne two dayes, and therein made soze assaults vnto the Castell, and at the last the Frenchmen seing no remedy, did geue it ouer. And thus were the Englishmen possessed both of that good towne and Castell. And when they sawe they might not maintaine nor keepe it, they set it on fyre, and brent both towne and Castell. And while they were thus spoiling of the towne, they made all the Burgesses and people of the towne to go into their shippes as

The Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt & the Erle of Warwike made Marchalles of the kings armie.

Harflew wonne.

Chierbourgh taken and spoyled.

Mountbourgh taken and spoyled.

Quarentyne a good towne taken & spoyled and brent.

And so.

before



before they had done with them of Harflew, Chierbourgh & Mountbourgh and other townes that they had wonne on the Sea side. All this was done by the battayle that went on the Sea side, and by them on the sea together.

Now let vs speake of the kinges battayle, when he had sent his first battaile along by the sea side, as ye haue heard before, whereof the Erle of Warwyke was Capitaine and the Lorde Cobham with him. Then he made his other Marshall to leade his hoste on the left hande, for he knewe the issues and entres of Normandy better then any other did. The Lorde Godfray as Marshall roade forth with five hundred men of armes, and roade of from the kings battayle sixe or seauen leagues, in brennyng and spoylyng the Countrey, the which Countrey was plentiful in euery thing. The Granges were full of Corne, the houses full of all ryches, riche Burgesses and Citezens, Horse, Swine, Sheepe and other beastes and Cattell great plenty: They tooke what pleased them, and brought into the kinges hoste. But the souldyours made none accompt to the king nor to none other of his officers of the Golde, Siluer, and Jewels that they did get, for that they kept to themselves.

Thus Sir Godfray of Harecourt road euery day from the kings host, and yet for the most parte euery night he resorted into the kings fielde.

The king tooke his way to Saint Clowe in Constantine, but before he came there, he lodged by a ryuer, abyding for his men that went along the Sea side. And when they were come, they set forth their cariage: And the Erle of Warwyke and the Erle of Suffolke, Syr Thomas Holland and Syr Raynold Cobham, and their company road out on the one side & wasted and spoyled the countrey as the Lorde of Harecourt had done. And the king euer roade betwene these battayles, and euery night they lodged together.

In this meane time the French king sent for Sir John of Heynault, who came to him with a great number of men. And in like maner the sayde king sent for other men of armes, Dukes, Erles, Barons, Knightes, and Esquiers, and assembled together such a great number of people as had not bene sene in an hundreth yeres before. He sent also for men into so farre Countries, that it was long before they came, so that the king of Englande did what him lyst in the meane season. The French king knew well ynough what he did, and swore that he shoulde neuer returne out of his Realme but fought withall, and that such hurtes and dammages as they had done, should be deereley reuenged.

King Edward hauing in his battaile three thousand men of armes, and vij. thousand Archers, and ten thousand footemen, besydes them that roade with the Marshals, left the Citie of Constance, and went to the great towne called Saint Clowe, which was a rich towne of Drapery, and many riche Burgesses therein. When the king came thether, he tooke his lodging without the towne, for he would neuer lodge within any towne for feare of fire: But he sent his men before, and the towne was immediately taken and spoyled. The ryches of that towne was very great, namely in Canuas. Then the king went towarde Cane, the which was a greater towne, and full of Drapery of Lymen and Wollen cloth, and other riche Marchandise, and the inhabitautes of the towne were very riche men, noble Ladies, beutifull Damoselles, goodly and riche Churches, and two great riche Abbeyes, one of

The French king gathereth together a great power.

The towne of S. Clowe taken and spoyled.

of the Trinitie, another of Saint Stephen. And on the one syde of the towne one of the fayrest Castels in all Normandy, of the which sir Robert of Blarginy was Capitaine, with three hundreth Genowayes, and in the Towne was the Erle of Ewe, and of Guynes Constable of Fraunce, and the Erle of Tankerulle with a good number of men of warre.

The king of England roade all that day in good order, and lodged all his battayles together that night, about two leagues from Cane, in a towne with a little haven called Hautreham: and thether came also all his nauie of ships with the Erle of Huintyngdon, who was gouernour of them.

The Constable and other Lordes of Fraunce that night watched well the towne of Cane, and in the moornyng armed themselves, and all the fighting people in the Towne. And then the Constable tooke order that none should issue out of the Towne, but kepe their defences on the Walles, Gate, Bridge, and Riuer, and left the suburbes voyde, because they were not closed: for they thought they should haue ynough to do to defende the towne, because it was not closed, but with the riuer. But they of the towne sayd they would issue out, for they were strong ynough to fight with the king of England. When the Constable sawe them so bent, he sayde, in the name of God be it, ye shall not fight without me. Then they issued out in good order, and made good face and shewe to fight with the Englishe men, and to put theyr liues in aduenture.

The Englishe men roase earely in the moornyng, and made themselves ready to go to Cane. The king heard noyse before the sonne rising, & therefore he and the Prince his sonne tooke their horse, and sir Godfrey of Harecourt, Marshall and leader of the host, whose counsaile the king much followed. And the kinges army went forward in good array, and approached nere to the good towne of Cane.

When they of the Towne, who then were ready in the field, sawe these thre battayles comming in good array, with their Banners and Standards wauiyng with the winde, and the Archers which they had not bene accustomed to see: they were so sore afrayde that they fled towarde the towne, without any order or good array, and the Constable could not stay them: But the Englishe men pursued them egerly.

When the Constable and the Erle of Tankeruyll sawe that, they tooke a Gate at the entrie and saued themselves and certeine with them, for the English men were entred into the towne as sone as they. And suche of the French as knewe the way to the Castell, went thether, and the Capitaine thereof receyued them all, for the Castell was large. The Englishe men in the chace slue many, for they tooke none to mercy.

Then the Constable and the Erle of Tankeruyll beyng in the little towne at the Bridge foote, looked along the strete, and sawe their men slaine without mercy, they doubted to fall in their handes. At the last they sawe an English knight with one eye called Sir Thomas Holland, and five or sixe other knightes with him, they knewe them, for they had sene them before in Duice, in Granada, and in other voyages. Then they called to sir Thomas and sayde, howe they would yelde themselves prisoners. Then sir Thomas came thether with his companie, and went by into the Gate, and there found the sayd Lordes, and, xxb. knightes with them, who yelded them all unto sir

Cane besieged taken and spoyled.

Th. ij.

Thomas,



Thomas, and he tooke them for his prisoners, and left companie to keepe them. And then he tooke his horse againe and roade into the stretes, and saved the lynes of many Ladies and Damoselles, and Cloysterers from despoiling, for the Souldiours were without all compassion and mercie. And it chanced so happely the same time for the Englishmen, that the river which was well able to beate shippes, at that tyme was so lowe, that men went in and out beside the bridge. And such of the towne as were entred into their houses, cast downe into the streete, stones, timber, and yron, and slue a hurt mo then five hundred English men, with the which doing the King was sore displeased. And at night when he heard thereof, he commaunded that the next day that all should be put to the sword, and the towne to be bzent. But then sir Godfray of Harecourt sayd: dere sir, for Goddes sake asswage somewhat your courage, and let it suffice you that ye haue done, ye haue a great exploit to do before ye come to Calice, whether ye purpose to go: And Sir, in thys towne there are much people that will defende their houses, and it will cost many of your mennes liues, before that ye haue all your will, and by that meane ye may fortune to be disapoynted of your boyage to Calice, the which would turne to your great griefe: Wherefore sir, saue your people, for ye may chauce to haue nede of them before this moneth passe, for I thinke verely that your aduersarie King Phillip will meete with you to fight, and ye shall find many streight passages and reencountries. Wherefore your men, and ye had mo shall stande you in good steepe, and Sir without any further sleayng, ye shall be Lorde of this towne, men and women will put themselves and all that euer they haue vnto your pleasure.

Then the King sayd, Sir Godfray, you are our Marshall, order euery thing as best shall seeme vnto you. Then sir Godfray with his Banner roade from streete to streete, and commaunded in the kinges name, none to be so hardy as to put fire in any house, to sleay any person, or to violate any woman.

When they of the towne heard that crie, they receyued the Englishmen into their houses, and made them good cheere. And some opened their Coffers, and bad them take what they would, so that they might be assured of their lynes: Howbeit at that time there were many murders, robberyes and euill deedes done in that towne.

Thus the Englishmen were Lordes of the towne of Cane three dayes, & hadde great ryches, the which they sent awaye by Barkes and Barges by the ryuer of Austrechen vnto their Hauie with two hundred men of Armes and foure hundred Archers, and so the Hauie departed into Englande wyth great riches and many riche prisoners. And the king bought of syr Thomas Holland two of his prisoners, which was the Constable of Fraunce, and the Erle of Tankeruyll, & gaue him for them ten thousand Marks in old nobles.

Then the king departed from Cane, and roade in the order that he did before, brennyng and spoylyng the Countrie, and tooke the way to Couzeng, and so past by it. And from thence they road to a great towne called Louyers, it was the chiefe towne of all Normandy of Drapery, ryche and full of all Marchandise: The Englishmen soone entred into it, for as then it was not closed, and it was ouer runne, ransacked and spoyled without all mercie, and there was wonne great rycheffe.

Then they entered into the Countrie of Curcur, and bzent and spoyled the

Cane taken and sacked by the Englishmen.

Louyers taken & spoiled.

the Countrie, except the walled townes and Castells, to the which the king made none assaillt for sparyng of his people and his artillery.

On the ryuer of Seyn nere vnto Roane, there was the Erle of Harecourt brother to Sir Godfray of Harecourt, but he was on the french partie, and the Erle of Dreux with him, with a good number of men of warre. But the Englishmen left Roane and went to Gysours, where was a strong Castell, they bzent the towne, and after bzent Vernon and all the Countrie about Roan and Mount de Larche, and came to Hautes and to Heulenc: and wasted all the Countrie about, and passed by the strong Castell of Kobboys, and in euery place along the ryuer of Seyne they founde the bridges broken. At the last they came to Doylley and found the bridge broken, but the Arches and Joystes laye in the ryuer. The king laye there five dayes, and in the meane time the bridge was made to passe the hoste without perill. The Englishe Marshalles ranne abroade euen iust to Parys, and bzent Saint Germain in Lay, and Mountioye and S. Clowde, and pety Boleyn by Parys, and the Quenes Bourgh. They of Parys were not well assured of themselves, for it was not as then walled nor closed.

Erles, Erle non, & Douts larche bzent and spoyled.

Saint Germain, Mountioye, Saint Clowde, Pety Boleyn, & destroyed.

The french king vnderstanding the king of Englande to be so nere, remoued from Paris to Saint Dionys which is nere vnto Paris: and before he went, he caused all the Penthehouses of the Towne of Parys to be pulled downe. And vnto Saint Denys there were al ready come to the aide of the french king, the king of Behayne, the Lorde John of Hesnault, the Duke of Loreyne, the Erle of Flaundyrs, the Erle of Bloys and many other great Lordes and knightes.

When the people of Paris saw their king depart, they came to him and kneeled downe and sayde: Al syr, and right Noble king, what will you doe? will ye nowe departe and leaue both vs and this noble Citie as a spoyle to your enimies? The king answered them and sayde, be not afrayde good people, for the Englishmen will come no nere you then they are. Why so syr quoth they, for they be within these two leagues: And allone as they knowe of your departure they will come and assaile vs, and we be not able to defende them, wherefore good syr, for Gods sake tarie here still and helpe to defende your noble Citie of Paris. Speake no more to me quoth the king, for I will go to Saint Dionys to my men of warre, and I will encounter the Englishmen and fight with them, whatsoeuer fall therof.

At this time the king of Englande being at Doylly, lay at the Monery there, and kept there the feast of our Ladye the Assumption, and sate in his robes of Scarlet furred with Ermins, and that feast being ended, he then went forth in the same order that he did before.

The Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt road out on the syde with .v. C. men of Armes and .xiiij. C. Archers: And by aduenture he encountred a great number of the Burgeses of Ampens on horseback, who were ryding by the kinges commaundement to Paris. The Englishmen quickly gaue them the onfet, and they valiantly defended themselves, for they were a great number and well armed, and had to their Capitaines foure knights of Ampens. This skirmish dured long, at the first meeting many were ouerthobone of both partes: But finally the Burgeses were taken and almost all slaine, and the Englishmen tooke all their caryages and harnesse: Of this number

A skirmish wherein were slaine .xx. C. Burgeses of Ampens.

Al.iiij.

there



there were slaine. xij. hundred that lay in the field.

Then the king of England entred into Beauuosyn brennyng and spoyling the plaine countrie, and lodged at a fayre Abbey and a riche, called saint Messene, nere to Beaways, and there the king taried one night, and in the morning departed. And when he was on his way, he looked back and saw the Abbey on fyre, and he caused incontinent. xx. of them to be hanged that set it on fyre, for he had commaunded befoze vpon paine of death none to spoyle any Church, nor to brenne any Abbey or Monastery.

Then the king passed by the Citie of Beaways wythout any assault geuing, because he would not trouble his people nor wast his artillery. And so that daye he tooke his lodging betimes in a little towne called Hully. The two Marshalles came so nere to Beaways, that they made a skirmishe at the Barryers in thre places, the which assault dured a long space: But the Towne within was so well defended by the meane of the Bysshop, who at that tyme was within the towne, that finally the Englishmen departed and bzent cleane heard to the gates all the suburbes of the same. And at night they came into the kinges field.

The next day the king departed, brennyng and spoyling all befoze him, and at night lodged in a good village called Gracuelure. And the next daye the king passed by Argies, and there was none to defend the Castell, wherefoze it was soone taken and bzent. Then they went forth, destroyeng the Countrie all about, and so came to the Castell of Boys, where there was a good towne and two Castels. There was no body in them, but two fayre Damoselles daughters to the Lorde of Boys, and they were soone taken, and had bene violated if two Englishe knightes had not beene, Syr John Chandos and Sir Basset: They defended them and brought them to the king, who for his honour made them good cheere, and demaunded of them whether they woulde faynest go, and they sayde to Corbe, and the king caused them to be brought thether without any perill. That night the king lodged in the Towne of Boys. And they of the towne and of the Castels spake that night with the two Marshalls of the host, to saue them and their towne from brennyng, and they to paye a certaine some of Floreyngs, and the same was graunted vnto them. The next daye the king departed in the morning with all his hoste, except certayne that were left there to receaue the money which the towne had promised to paye. When they of the towne sawe the hoste departed and gone, and that there were few left behinde: then they sayde, that they would pay neuer a penny, and so ranne vpon the Englishmen, who defended themselves as well as they might, and sent after the host for succour.

When Sir Thomas Holland, and Sir Reignold Cobham, who had the rule of the reregarde, heard therof, they returned & cried treason, treason and so came againe to Boys ward, & found their Companions fighting syll with them of the towne. Then amone they of the towne were nighe all slaine, and the towne bzent, and the two Castelles beaten dozne. Then they returned to the kinges Hoste, who was as then at Araynes, and there lodged, and commaunded all maner of men vpon paine of death to do no hurt to no towne of Arsyn, for there the king was minded to lie a day or two to take aduise howe he might passe the riuer of Some: For it was necessary for him to passe the riuer, as after ye shall here.

Boys bzent  
& destroyed.

The

The frenche king was nowe in great readinesse to folowe the king of England, and was so farre forward, that he with a merueylous great armie of the number of a hundreth thousande men and mo., were come as farre as Araynes, and thought to haue enclosed the king of England with the water of Some, for he had caused all the Bridges to be broken, and those that remayned to be so garded and kept, that there was no way left for the King of England to escape.

The king of England beyng thus enclosed, first caused his two Marshalles with a thousand men of armes and two thousand archers to go along the ryuer to seeke out some passage. And as they went, they entered into a towne called Founteynes, that standeth on the riuer of Some, and by reason it was not closed, they soone conquered, spoyled, and bzent it. And from thence they went to sundrie passages, but all were so well defended, that there was no way for the king of England to passe the riuer of Some.

Founteynes  
spoyled and  
bzent.

The king of England beyng verye pensife, did the next morning rise verye earlye and dislodged, and euery man folowed the Marshalls Bannerz, and so roade into the Countrie of Vimeu, approchyng to the good towne of Abbeuile, and found a towne thereby whereunto was come many people of the Countrie, in trust of a little defence that was ther: But the English men shortly wanne it, and all that were within were slaine, and many taken of the towne and of the Countrie. The king tooke his lodgyng in a great Hospitall that was there. And the same day that the king departed from Araynes, the frenche king the next day came thether with all his armie into the same lodgyng where the king was, and found there a great deale of the prouision of the king of England, which for hast he was faine to leaue behinde him.

Vimeu won

That night the king of Englande was lodged at a towne called Dysement, And at night when his two Marshalles were returned, who had that day ouerrunne the Countrie to the Gates of Abbeuile, and to Saint Valery, where they had made a great skirmishe, who brought him worde that they could find no passage: wherefoze the king caused to be called befoze him all the prisoners that he had taken in the Countries of Ponthieu, and Vimeu, and gently demaunded of them, that if there were any among them that knewe any passage bench Abbeuile, that he and his host might passe the ryuer of Some, if any of them would shewe him thereof, he should be acquitted of his ransome, and twentie of his companie for his loue. There was at that time among the Prisoners, a berlet called Gobyn a Grace, who hering the kinges request, stepped forth and sayd to the king. Sir, I promise you on the teopardie of my head, that I will bring you to such a place, where as you and all your host shall passe the ryuer of Some without perill. There are certeyne places in the passage that ye shall passe. xij. men on front two times in a day and night, & that ye shall not go in the water aboue the knees: but when the flood commeth, then the riuer encreaseith so great, that no man can passe, but when the flood is gone, it is so low, y it may be passed without all danger, both on horsebacke and on foote, and the passage is hard in the bottome, so that all your caryage may go safely through, and therefore the passage is called Blanchtaque, and if you make readie to depart betymes, ye may be there befoze the sonne risynge or soone after. The king beyng somewhat comforted with this tale, answered and sayde: if this be true that thou

Dysement.

Gobyns  
Grace.

Blanche  
taque.

hast



hast sayde, I will quite the thy raunsome and all thy company, and mozeouer I will geue thee an hundreth nobles in thy purse. Then the king commaunded euery man to be readie at the sound of the Trompet, and to depart.

At the breaking of the day, the king with all his hoste departed from Oylement, and roade after the guidyng of Gobyn of Grace, so that they came by the some rishyng to Blanche taque: but as then the flood was by, so that they might not passe, wherefore the king taried the ebbe.

The frenche king had his currours in the Countrie, who brought him worde of the demeanoz of the Englishe men, then he thought verily to haue closed the king of England in betweene Abuille and the riuer of Some, and then to haue fought with him at his pleasure. And while the frenche king was at Amieuce, he appoynted a great Baron of Normandy, called Sir Godmar du Foy, to go and keepe the passage of Blanche taque, where the Englishe men must passe, or else in none other place: he had with him a thousand men of armes, and sixe thousand a foote with the Genowayes. And also he had with him a great number of the men of that Countrey, and also a great number of them of Nutterell, so that they were a. xij. thousande men one and other.

When the Englishe hoste was come thether, Sir Godmar du Foy arraigned all his companie to defende the passage. The king of Englande stayed not for all that, but when the Tyde serued, entered into the water, & so did they on the other syde, and many a man drowned. There were some of the frenche men of Arthoys in Picardie, that were as glad to iust on the water as on the drie land. The frenche men defended so well the passage at the issuing out of the water, that the Englishe men had much ado to recover the land, the Genowayes did them great trouble with their Crosbowes: And on the other syde the Archers of England shot so wholly together, that the frenche men were faine to geue place to the Englishe men. There was a fore Battaille, and many a noble feate of armes done on both sides: finally, the Englishe men passed ouer, and assembled themselves together in the field, and the king and the Prince passed, and all the Lordes, and then the frenche men kept none aray. When Sir Godmar saw this discourfiture, he fled and saued himselfe. Some fled to Abuille, and some to Saint Reiguyer: but those frenche men that were there on foote could not flee, so that there were slaine a great number of them, & the chase endured moze then a great league. And as yet all the Englishe men were not passed the riuer, and certeine currours of the king of Behayne, and of Sir John of Heynaultes, came vpon them that were behinde, and tooke hozles and cariages, and slue dyuerse befoze they could take passage.

The frenche king the same morning was departed from Arcines, trusting to haue found the Englishe men betwene him and the riuer of Some: But when he heard how that Sir Godmar du Foy and his company were discourfited, he taried in the field, & demaunded of his Marshals what was best to do: and they sayde, Sir ye can not passe the ryuer but at the Bridge of Abuille, for the flood is come in at Blanche taque, wherefore he returned and lodged at Abbeuyle.

The King of England, when he was past the riuer, thanked God, and so roade foorth in like maner as he did befoze. Then the king called vnto him

A great skirmish with the French men at the passage of Blanche taque.

him Gobyn a Grace, and did quite him his raunsome, and all his companie, and gaue him an hundreth nobles, and a good hozse. And so the king roade foorth fayre and easily, and thought to haue lodged in a great towne called Nozell: But when he knewe that the towne did apperteyne to the Countesse of Danmerle, sister to the Lorde Robert of Arthoys, the king assured the towne and Countrie, as much as apperteyned to her, and so went foorth, and his Marshalles roade to Crotoy on the See syde, and brent the towne, and found in the Hauen many Shippes laden with wyne of Ponthieu belonging to the Marchauntes of Faynton, and of Rochell: They brought the best thereof to the kinges hoste.

Crotoy bren.

Then one of the Marshalles road to the gates of Abbeuyle, and from thence to Saint Reiguyer, and after to the towne of Rue Saint Espirite. And this was on a Friday, and both the Marshalles battayles returned to the kinges hoste about noone, and so lodged all together neere vnto Cressy in Ponthieu.

The king of Englande was well inforuned howe the frenche king followed after him to fight. And therefore he sayde vnto his company, let vs take here some place of grounde, for we will go no farther vntill we haue seene our enimies: I haue good cause here to abyde them, for I am on the right heritage of the Quene my mother, the which land was geuen her at her marriage: I will challenge it of mine aduersarie Philip of Waloys. And because he had not the eight man that the frenche king had, therfore he commaunded his Marshalles to chole out a plot of ground, somewhat for his aduantage, and so they did, and thether the king and his hoste went. And then he sent his Currours vnto Abbeuyle to see if the frenche king drew that daye into the field or not. They went foorth and returned agayne, and sayde they sawe none apparence of his comming. Then euery man tooke their lodging for that day, and to be readie in the Morning at the sounde of the Trompet in the same place.

Thus all the Fridaye the frenche king taried still in Abbeuyle, abiding for his company, and sent his two Marshalles to ryde out to see the dealing of the Englishe men: And at night they returned and sayde, howe that the Englishe men were lodged in the fieldes.

And that night the frenche king made a Supper to all the chiefe Lords that were there with him, and after Supper, the king despyred them to be friends eche with other: The frenche king looked for the Erle of Sauoye who promised to haue come vnto him with a thousand Speares, for he had receaued wages for three Monethes of them at Troy in Champaigne.

The. xxvi. of August in the morning very early, being Saturday, the king of Englande arose and set forward his armie, commaunding euery man to draue to the field to the same place befoze appointed. And then the king caused a Parke to be made by the Wood syde behynde his hoste: and there was set all Cartes and cariages: and within the Parke were all their hozles, for euery man was on foote. And into this Parke there was but one entrie. And then he ordeyned three battailles.

In the first was the pong Prince of Wales, with him the Erle of Marwike and Canford, the Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt, Sir Reignald Cobham, Sir Thomas Holland, the Lorde Stafford, the Lorde Manny, the Lorde

The order of King Edwards battayles.



Lozde de la ware, Sir John Chandos, Sir Bartholomew de Bories, Sir Robert Neuyll, the Lozde Thomas Clyfford, the Lozde Bourchier, the Lozde de la Tumer and dyuers other knightes and squires that I cannot name: They were eight hundred men of armes and two thousand Archers, and a thousand of other with the Welshmen, every Lozde dytwe to the field appointed, vnder his awne pence and Banner.

In the second battayle was the Erle of Northampton, the Erle of Arondell, the Lozde Rosse, the Lozde Lygo, The Lozde Willoughby, the Lozde Bassett, the Lozde of Saint Aubrue, Sir Lewes Cueton, the Lozde of Myleton, the Lozde de la Sell and dyuers other, they had eyght hundred men of armes and. xij. hundred Archers.

The thirde battayle had the king: he had. vij. hundred men of armes and two thousand Archers, beside Lords and knights that I cannot name. When all these battayles were set in an order, then the king lept on a Hobby with a whyte rodde in his hande, one of his Marchalles on the one hande, and another on the other hande, and he roade from ranke to ranke, desyring every man to take heed that day to his right and honour. And he spake it so gently and with so good a countenance, that all suche as heard him tooke great courage and comfort by him.

And when he had thus ordered and visited all his battailes, it was then ix. of the clock in the forenoone. And then he caused every man to eate and drinke a little, and so they did at their leasure. And afterward they ordered againe their battayles, and then every man layde him downe on the grounde and his Salet and Bowe by hym, to be the more freshe when the enemies shoulde come.

This Saturday also early in the morning the French king came forward, and when he was come about two leagues from Abbeuyle, some of his Lordes sayd vnto him: Sir, it were good that ye ordered your battailes, and let your footemen passe on somewhat before, that they be not troubled with the horsemen. Then the king sent foure knightes, the Horne Bastell, the Lozde of Moyers, the Lozde of Beauieue and the Lozde Rambegny to ryde to vewe the Englishe hoste: And they crade so nere, that they might well see parte of their dealing. For the Englichmen sawe them well, and knewe that they were come thether to betwe them, and they let them alone, and made no countenance toward them, but suffered them to go as they came. And when the French king sawe these foure knightes returne, he faried vntill they came vnto him, and sayde, Sirs what tydings? These foure knightes eche of them looked on other, for there was none that offered to speake: finally, the king sayde to Horne which belonged to the king of Behayn, and had done in his dayes suche good seruice, that he was reputed one of the balvauntest knightes in the woerde. And the French king vade hym speake. And he sayde, Sir we haue ridden and scene the behauing of your enemies, and knowe ye for a truth that they are rested in three battailes abiding for you. Sir, I would counsaile you for my part, sauing your displeasure, that you and all your company woulde rest here and lodge this night. For or they that be behinde of your company come hether, and or your battayles can be set in good order, it will be very late, and your people be werie and out of aray, and ye shall finde your enemies freshe and readie to receaue you:

you: Carely in the morning ye may order your battayles at more leasure, and aduise vpon your enemies with better deliberation, and to consider well what waye ye will assaile them: for Sir surly, they will abide you. Then the king commaunded it should be so done. Then his two Marchalles, one roade before and another behinde, sayeng to every Banner: farie and abide here in the name of God and Saint Dionyce. They that were foremost stayed a little, but they that were behinde, would not stave vntill they were come as farre as the foremost. And when they before sawe them come on behinde, then they roade forward agayne, so that the king nor his Marchalles could not rule them: And so they roade without order or good array, vntill they came within the sight of their enemies. And aslone as the foremost sawe them, then they reculed back without all order: whereof they that were behinde had great maruaile and were amased at the matter, and thought that the foremost company had bene fighting, and that then they might haue had leasure to haue gone forward if that they would. Some went forth and some aboade still. The common people, of whome all the high wayes betweene Abbeuile and Cressy, stood full. When they sawe that they were nere to their enemies, they drew out their swordes and cryed out, downe with them, let vs slay them all. There was no man though he were present at this battayle that was hable to imagine or declare the euill order that was among the French partie, and yet they were a maruellous great number: That I write in this thing (sayth Sir John Froissart) I learned it specially of the Englichmen, who well behelde their dealing, and also of certaine knightes of Syr John of Heynaultes, who was alwayes about king Philip, and they shewed me as they knewe.

The Englichmen lyeng on the ground to rest them, aslone as they sawe the Frenchmen approche, they roase sayre and easely, and stood vpon their feete and aranged in their battayles. The first which was the Princes battaile, the Archers therein stood in maner of a herse and the men of armes in the bottome of the battayle. The Erle of Northampton and the Erle of Arondell, with the second battayle were on a wyng in very good order, ready to comfort the Princes battayle if neede were.

The Lordes and knightes of Fraunce came not to the assemble in good order, for some came before, & some came after, in such hast that one of them troubled another. When the French king sawe the Englichmen, his countenance chaunged, and he sayde to his Marchalles, make the Genowayes go on before and begin the battaile in the name of God and saint Dionice. There were of the Genowayes Crosbowes about. xv. thousand: But they were so wery in goyng on foote that day a sixe leagues armed with their Crosbowes, that they sayde to their Constables, we be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in case to do any deedes of armes, we haue more neede of rest. These wordes came to the Erle of Allanson, who sayde, a man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of Kascalles to be faint and faile nowe at most neede. And the same season there fell a great raine and a cliffe, with a terrible thunder: and before the raine there came fleyng ouer both the battayles a great number of Crows, for feare of the tempest commyng. Then anone the ayre began to waxe cleare, and the sonne to shine sayre and bright, the which was right in the French mennes eyes. When the Genowayes

The battaile  
of Cressy.

wayes



wayes were set in order and began to appoche they made a great leape and crie to haue abashed the English men: but they stood still and stirred not one foote. Then the Genowayes againe the seconde time made another leape and a foule crie, and stepped forwarde a little, and the English men remo-ued not one foote: Thirdeley, againe they lept and cryed vnrasonably, and so went forth vntill they came within shot, and then shot off fiercely with their Crosbowes. Then the English Archers stepped forwarde, and let flie their arrowes, so wholly and so thicke, that it seemed Snowe. When the Genowayes felt the Arrowes pearcyng thozough their heades, armes & bzeastes, many of them cast downe their Crosbowes, and cut their stringes, and returned discomfited. When the french king sawe them flie away, he sayd, slay these Raskalles, for they will let and trouble vs without all reason. Then ye should haue scene the men of armes haue dashed in among them, and killed a great number of them. And euer still the English men shot where as they sawe thickest pzeasse: The sharpe arrowes pearced the men of armes and their horkes, and many fell horse and men among the Genowayes, and when they were dobone, they could not releue againe, the pzeasse was so thicke that one overthrew another. And also among the English men there were certaine Raskalles that went a foote with great knives, and they went in among the men of armes and slue and murdered many of them as they lay on the ground, both Erles, Barons, knightes and Esquiers, wherewith the king of England was afterward soze displeased, for he had rather they had bene taken prisoners.

The valiant king of Behaine, called Charles Luzenbourgh, somme to the noble Emperoz Henry of Luzenbourgh, for al that he was nere blind. When he vnderstood the order of the battaile, he sayde to them about him, where is the Lorde Charles my sonne? And his men aunswered, sir we can not tell, we thinke he be fightyng. Then he sayd, sirs ye are my men, my companions and my friendes in this iourney. I require you bring me so farre forwarde, that I may strike one stroke with my sworde, they sayde they would do his commaundement. And to the entent y they should not leese him in the pzeasse, they tyed all the reynes of their Bridels eche to other, and set the king before to accomplishe his desyre, and so they went on their enemyes. The Lorde Charles of Behayne his sonne, who wrote himselfe king of Behayne and bare the Armes, he came in good order to the battaile: But when he sawe the matter went awrye on their partie, he departed, I can not tell you which way. The king his father was so farre forwarde, that he strake a stroke with his sworde, ye and more then foure, and fought valiauntly.

The french king would faine haue come thether when he sawe their Banners, but there was a great hedge of Archers before him. The same day the french king had geuen a great blacke Courser to Sir John of Heynault, and he made the Lorde John of Fusselles to ryde on him, and to beare his Banner. The same horse tooke the Bydle in the teeth, and brought him through all the Curroues of the English men: and as he would haue returned againe, he fell into a great ditch and was soze hurt, and there had dyed if his Page had not bene.

This Battaille betweene Broye and Cressye was right cruell and soze foughten, and many a feate of armes there done that came not to my knowledge.

ledge. And when night came, diuers knightes and Esquiers lost their masters, and sometime or they knew, they came vpon the English men, who receyued them in such wise that they were slaine downe right, for there was no taking to mercie nor raunsome, for so the English men were determined in the moornyng. At one tyme duryng this battaile, it chaunced certeine french men and Almaynes to geue such a charge and onfet of the English hoste, that perforce they opened the Archers of the Princes battaile, and came & fought hand to hand with the men of armes. Then the second battaile of the English men came to succour the Princes battaile, the which was tyme: For they had as then much ado. And they that were with the Prince, sent a Messenger to the king, who was on a little windemill hill heard by, and sayde vnto him, Sir, the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Camfort, and sir Reignold Cobham, and other such as are aboute the Prince your sonne, are now fiercely fought withall, and are soze handeled: Wherefore they desyre that you and your battaile will come and ayde them. Then the king sayde, is my sonne dead or hurt, or felled to the ground? No Sir quoth the knight, but he is hardly matched, and therefore hath neede of your ayde. Well sayd the King returne againe to him and them that sent you hether, and bid them that they send no moze to me for any aduenture that falleth, as long as my sonne is a-liue: and say also to them that they suffer him this day to winne his spurres: For if God be pleased I will this iourney to be his, and the honour thereof, and to them that are about him.

Then the knight returned againe, and shewed the kinges wordes, the which greatly encouraged them, and then they repented that they did send to the king as they did.

Sir Godfrey of Harecourt, would gladly that the Erle of Harecourt his brother might haue bene saued, for he heard say by them that sawe his Banner, how that he was there in the fielde on the french partie: But syz Godfrey could not come to him betimes, for he was slaine before he coude come at him, and so was also the Erle of Aumerle his Nephew. In another place the Erle of Alanson and the Erle of Flaundyrs fought valiauntly, euery Lorde vnder his awne Banner, but finally they could not resist against the puzsaunce of the Englishmen, and so there they were also slaine and dyers other knightes and squires. Also the Erle Lewes of Bloys Nephewe vnto the french king, and the Duke of Loreyn fought vnder their Banners, but at the last they were closed in with Englishmen and Welshmen, and there were slaine for all their pzewes. Also there was slaine the Erle of Auster, the Erle of S. Paule and many other. And in the euening the french king, who had as then left about him a. lx. persons one and other, whereof Sir John of Heynault was one, who had remounted once agayne, for his horse was slaine with an arrow. Then he sayde to the king, Sir departe hence, for it is time, leese not your selfe wilfully, if ye haue losse at this time, ye shall recouer it agayne at another season. And so he tooke the kinges horse by the bridle, and led him away, in maner perforce. Then the king roade, vntill he came to the Castell of Broy, the gate was closed, because it was at that time darke. Then the king called the Capitaine, who came to the walles & sayde: who is it that calleth there at this time of night? Then the king sayde, open your gate quickly, for thys is the fortune of



France. The Capitaine knewe then that it was the king, and opened the gate and let downe the bridge, and then the king entred in, and had with him but five Barones, Sir John of Heynault, Sir Charles of Homozency, the Lorde of Beancieuwe, the Lorde Dabegny and the Lorde of Mountford. The king woulde not tarie there, but dranke and departed thence about Midnight and so roade to Ampence and there rested. And the Englishmen kept the fielde all this Saturday at night.

The victory  
of the Eng-  
lish men at  
the battaile of  
Cressie.

And as soon as night was come, and the Englishmen perceauing that no more Frenchmen approached, then they accompted among themselves that the victorie was theirs, for the Frenchmen were discomfited, slayne or runne away. Then they made great fyres and lighted by Torches and Caudels, for it was very darke. Then the king came downe from the little hill where as he had stande all the day long, and his Helmet neuer came of his head.

Then he went with all his battaile to his sonne the Prince, and embraced him in his armes and kissed him and sayde, good sonne, God geue you good perseuerance, you are my good sonne, and you haue done very nobly, ye are worthie to keepe a realme. The Prince bowed himselfe to the earth honouring the king his father. This night they thanked God for their good aduenture, and did neither craike nor boast therof, but wholly gaue the prayse and thankes vnto almighty God the geuer of victorie.

The next daye in the morning, which was Sunday there was suche a Mist, that a man coulde not see the bread, of an Acre of lande from him. And then the king commaunded his Marshalles to go abread, and to vie whether any Frenchmen gathered agayne together in any place, and they had with them five hundred Speares and to thousande Archers. And the same morning out of Abbeuile and Saint Reignyer in Ponthew, the commons of Roane and of Beauuoy fled out of their towne, not knowing of the discomfiture the day before; and sodainely met with the English Marshalles, wenyng to them they had bene Frenchmen.

And when the Englishmen sawe them, they set on them freshly: and there was a sore fight, but at the last the Frenchmen brake their aray and fled, and there were slayne in the wayes, and in the hedges and bushes more then vij. thousand. And if the day had bene clere, there had not escaped a man.

And anon after, another compaignie of Frenchmen were met by the Englishmen. The Archbishop of Roane, and the great Priour of France, who also knewe nothing of the discomfiture the day before, for they were enformed that the French king should haue fought the same Sunday, and they were going thitherwarde. But when they met with the Englishmen there was a great battaile, for they were a great number, but they coulde not endure against the Englishmen, for they were nigh all slayne, few escaped, the two Lordes were slayne. And this morning also the Englishmen met with diuers companies that had lost their way on the Saturday, and had ben all night in the fieldes, and wist not where the king was, nor their Captaines: and the Englishmen slue them all as many as they met. And it was shewed me (sayth Froyssart) that of the commons and men on foote of the Citie and good Townes of France, there were slayne foure times as many on the Sunday, as there were slain on the Saturday at the great battaile. And after these sundrie great and wonderfull victories, the Mar-

A great  
laughter.

shalles

shalles of the Englishmen with their men returned to the kinges battaile, and sayde vnto the king, Sir, we thinke surely that there is now no more apparence of your enemies.

And then the king commaunded Sir Reignold Cobham and syr Richard Stafford with thre Heraldes, to serche the field and countrie for the number of them that were slayne, and they roade in the fieldes all that daye, and made a diligent beue, and returned agayne about Supper time, and made reporte to the king and sayde, howe there were in the field dead. xi. great Princes. lxxx. Banners, twelue hundred knightes and more then. xxx. thousand other. The Englishmen kept still their fielde all that night, and on the Monday in the morning the king prepared to departe. But before hys departure he caused proclamation in the Countrie to be made, and graunted a truce for thre dayes to the entent they should come and bury the dead. And all the great Lordes he caused to be brought with him and caryed them to Mouterell, and there were buried, and his Marshalles went toward Hedyn, and hent Wambam and Seram, but they did nothing to the Castell, it was so strong and so well kept. They lodged that night on the riuer of Hedyn towardes Blangye. The next day, they roade towardes Boleyn, and came to the towne of Unfame: There the king and the Prince lodged and taried a daye to refrefhe his men. And on the Wednesday, the king came before the strong towne of Calice.

A notable  
victory at the  
battaile of  
Cressie.

Wambam  
and Seram  
hent.

At the same time in the towne of Calice was a knight called Sir John Vien chiefe Capitaine thereof, and with him also was syr Andrew Danzehen, syr John de Sury, syr Barton de Belborne, syr Godfrey de lament, syr Depyn de Wmew, and diuers other knightes and squiers.

When king Edward was come before Calice, he layde his siege there vnto, the thirde day of September, and ordeyned Bastides betwene the towne and the hauen. And he caused Carpenters to make houses and lodgynges of great timber, and set the houses like streetes, and couered them with Keede and Broome: so that it was like a little towne, & there was euery thing to sell, and a Market place, and Market kept euery Tuesday, and euery Saturday, for fleshe and fishe, for Mercery ware, houses for cloth both linnen and wollen: Also there was bread, wine, and all other necessary thinges, which came out of England, and out of Flaundyys, and there they might buy what they lust.

Calice be-  
sieged.

The king would not assaile the towne of Calice, for he thought it but a lost labour, and therefore he spared his people and artillarie, and sayde he would famiche them within the towne with long siege, without the French king came to rayse his siege perforce.

When the Capitaine of Calice sawe the maner and order of the Englishmen, then he constreyned all meane and poore people to issue out of the towne. And on a Wednesday there issued out of the towne, of men, women, and children, more than. xviij. hundred. And as they passed through the hoste, they were demaunded why they departed, and they answered and sayde, because they had nothing to liue vpon. Then the king of his mere pity and mercye suffered them to passe through his hoste without daunger, and gaue them meate and drinke to dyner, and vnto euery person two pence sterlyng in alms, for the which diuerse of them prayed for the kinges prosperitie.

Wb. ij.

In



The Scots  
rteLL

In this meane while that the King lay at the siege of Calice, David king of Scotland by the styrzng of the French king, made his sommons to his people to mete him at Saint Johns Towne, vpon the riuer of Tape in Scotland. Thether came Erles, Barons, and Prelates of Scotland, and there agreed that in all haste possible they should enter into England, and to ayde them in that iourney, John of the Isles, who ruled the wilde Scottes should go with them. The same John came with a thzee thousand of the most outrageous people in the wohole worlde. When all the Scottes were assembled, they were one and other fittie thousand fightyng men.

A great army  
of the Scotts.

The Scots could not make their assembly so secret, but that the Quene had knowledge thereof, beyng at that tyme at Porke. Then she sent all about for men, and then with as much speede as might be, the people came to the Queene from all places. But the Scottes were fully perswaded that there were no men left in England, for they were epyther with the king at the siege of Calice, or else in Gascoyne and Breteyne defendyng of the French king.

In this meane time the king of Scottes departed from Saint Johns towne, and went to Domesfrentlyne the first day, and the next day they passed a little arme of the Sea, and so came to Estreuelyne, & then to Edenbourgh. And there they numbred their people, and they were a thzee thousand men of armes, knightes and Esquiers, and a. xxx. thousand of other vpon small Paquencyes, besyde foote men. Then they came to Rousbourgh the first fortreffe Englishe on that part, whereof Sir William Mountagebo was Capitaine. The Scottes passed by without offeryng of any assault, and so went forth brennyng and destroyng the Countrie of Northumberland, and their Currours ran to Porke, and bzent as much as was without the walles, and returned againe vnto their host, which then was within a myle of newe Castell vpon Tyne.

The Queene of England who desyred to defend her Countrie, came to newe Castell vpon Tyne, and there taried for her men, who came dayly from all the partes of the Realme.

The Quene  
of England  
gathered a  
great power  
agaynst the  
Scottes, and  
gaue them  
bataille.

When the Scottes knewe that the Englishmen were assembled at newe Castell, they drewe thetherward, and their Currours came rummyng before the towne: and at their returnyng they bzent certeine small Hamlets thereabouts, so that the smoke therof came into the towne of newe Castell. Some of the Englishe men would haue issued out, to haue fought with them that made the fyre: But the Capitaynes would not suffer them to go out.

The next day, the King of Scottes with .xl. thousand men one and other came and lodged within thzee English myles of the towne of newe Castell, in the land of the Lorde Neuyl: and the king sent to them within the towne, that if they would issue out into the fielde, he would fight with them gladly, and they had answere, that they would come out & fight with him in the field. Then the Lordes and Prelates of England sayde vnto the Queene, we are content to aduenture our lynes with the right and heritage of the king of England our Maister. And then they all issued out of the Towne, and were in number. xij. hundzeth men of armes, thzee thousande Archers, and. vij. thousand of other with the Welshemen.

Then the Scottes came and lodged agaynst them nere together: and every man was set in order of battaile. And then the Queene came among her

her men, and her battayles were thus ordered.

There was ordeyned foure battayles, one to ayde another. The first was in the gouernaunce of the Bishop of Durham, and the Lorde Percy: The seconde, the Archebishop of Porke, and the Lorde Neuyl: The thirde, the Bishop of Lincolne, & the Lord Howebray: The fourth, the Lorde Edward Bailioll Capitaine of Barwike, and the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and the Lord Rolfe, euery battaile had like number after their quantity: and the Quene went from battaile to battaile, prayng them to do their deuoyre for the defence of the honour of their Lord and maister the king of England, and in the name of God euery man to be of good heart and courage, promysyng them that to her power, she would remember them as well and better, as though the king her Lorde were there personally. And so the Quene departed from them, recommendyng them to God.

The order of  
the Quenes  
battalles.

And anone after, the battayles of the Scottes began to set forward: and in likewise, so did the Englishmen. Then the Archers beganne to shote on both parties: howbeit the shot of the Scottes endured but a short space: But the shot of the Englishmen was long and fierce. So that when the battayles approched, the battaile was cruell and daungercous. They began at nyne of the clock in the morning, fought vntill it was noone. The Scottes had great Ares heard and sharpe, and gaue with them many sore and cruell strokes: howbeit in the ende the Englishmen obteyned the victorie of the fielde, but they lost many of their men.

A cruell  
battaile.

There were slaine of the Scots, the Erle of Sys, the Erle of Ostre, the Erle of Patrys, the Erle of Surlant, the Erle of Dastre dare, the Erle Mare, the Erle John Doboglas and the Lorde Alexander Ramsay, who bare the kings Banner, and diuers other knightes and squiers. And there the Scottishe king was taken, who had fought valiantly and was sore hurt: A squire of Northumberland tooke him called John Copland. And asone as he had taken the king, he went with him out of the field with an eyght of his seruaunts with him, and roade all that daye vntill he was .xv. leagues from the place of the battaile, and at night he came to a Castell called Orgulus. And then he sayd that he would not deliuer the king of Scots to no man nor woman luyng, but onely to the king of England his Lorde. The same day there was also taken in the fielde the Erle Morct, the Erle of Marche, the Lord Wylliam Doboglas, the Lorde Robert Uely, the Bishop of Dadudaine, the Byschop of Saint Andrews & diuers other knightes and Barones. And there were slaine of one and other .xv. thousand, and the other saued them selues as well as they might. This battaile was foughten besides New Castell vpon Tyne in the yere of our Lorde. 1346.

The Scottishe  
king taken  
by a  
Squire of  
Northum-  
berlande cal-  
led John  
Copland.

Prisoners  
taken.

Now when the Quene of Englande being at New Castell vnderstood of the victorie: she then tooke her horse and roade to the place where the battaile had bene. And there it was shewed her how the king of Scottes was taken by a squire called John Copland, and he had carryed him away, no man knew whether. Then the Quene wrote to the squire, commaunding him to bring his prisoner the king of Scottes vnto her, and that he had not well done to depart with him without leaue. All that day the Englishmen taried in that place, and the Quene with them. And the next day they returned to New Castell.

1346  
21



The answer  
of John  
Copland.

When the Quenes letter was brought to John Copland, he answered and sayde: That as for the king of Scottes his prisoner, he would not deliuer him to no man nor woman lyving but onely to the king of England his soueraigne Lorde. As for the king of Scottes he sayde should be safely kept, and he would geue accompt for him. Then the Queene sent letters to the king to Calice, wherby the king was informed of the state of his realme. Then the king sent incontinent to John Copland, commanding him forthwith to come ouer the sea to him to Calice. Then the sayde John did put his sayde prisoner in a strong Castell in safe keeping, and so roade thoro England until he came to Douer, and there toke the sea & arriued before Calice.

When the king of England sawe the squire, he tooke him by the hande and sayde, welcome my squire, which by your valiauntnesse haue taken mine aduersarie the king of Scottes. The squire kneeled downe and sayde: syr, if God by his grace haue suffered me to take the king of Scottes by true conquest of armes, I thinke no man ought to haue any enuie thereat: For as well God maye sende by his grace suche a fortune to a poore Squire, as to a great Lorde. And Sir, I require your grace not to be discontent with me, though I did not deliuer the king of Scottes to the Queene at her commaundement. For syr I holde of you as mine othe is to you, and not of her, but in all good maner.

The king sayde to him, John, the good seruite that ye haue done and your valiauntnes is so much worth, that it must counteruayle your trespass, and to be taken for excuse, and blame haue they that beare you any euill will. Therefore ye shall returne againe home to your house, and then my will and pleasure is, that ye deliuer your prisoner the king of Scottes to the Quene my wyfe. And in rewarde, I assigne you nere to your house, where as ye thinke best your selfe fife hundred pound sterling of yerely rent to you and to your heires for euer: and here I make you squire for my body.

Then the thirde daye he departed into Englande, and when he came home to his abone house, he assembled together his friendes and kinsmen, and so they tooke the King of Scottes and roade with him to the Citie of Yorke, and there from the King of England he presented to the Queene the King of Scottes, and excused himselfe so discretely as the Queene and the counsaile were content.

Then the Quene made good prouision for the Citie of Yorke, the Castell of Rokebourgh, the Citie of Dureham, the towne of New Castell by on Tyne, and in all other garrisons on the marches of Scotlande: And left in those Marches the Lorde Percy and the Lorde Newyll as Gouvernours there, and then the Quene departed from Yorke to London.

Then she placed the King of Scottes in the strong tower of London, and the Erle Muret and all the other prisoners with him, and set good keeping ouer them. Then she went to Douer and there tooke the Sea, and had so good winde, that within a short space she arriued before Calice, three dayes before the feast of all Saintes: For whose comming the king made a great feast and dinner to all the Lordes and Ladies that were there. The Quene brought many Ladies and Damoselles with her, as well to accompany her, as also to see their husbandes, fathers, brythren and other friendes that laye at that siege.

The

The frenche king vnderstanding well that his men in Calyce were charged sore, sent forth his commaundement throughout France, that euery man should be with him at the towne of Amiens at Whitsontyde next following, and there was none that durst say naye. And when Whitsontyde came, the frenche king kept there a great feast, and thether came vnto him the Duke of Odes and of Burgoyne, and the Duke of Normandy his eldest sonne, and the Duke of Orleans his youngest sonne, the Duke of Burbon, the Erle of Foitz, the Lorde Lewes of Sauoy, Sir John of Herynault, the Erle of Armanack, the Erle of Forestes, the Erle of Valentenoys, and dyuers other Erles, Barons, Lordes, and knights.

When they were all at Amiens, they counsailed together, howe they might best enter towarde Calice, to rayse the siege. And some counsailed the frenche king to make meanes to the Fleminges to haue the passages of Flaundyrs open, and then might he come in by Grauelynge, and not only raise the siege, but also on that syde he might easely geue them battaile. And soone after the frenche king sent great Ambassadors into Flaundyrs, to treat in the aforesayde matter. But the king of England had made there suche fast friendship, that they would not agree to that request: And then the frenche king sayde that he would enter on the syde towarde Burgoyne.

In this meane time the king of England sawe that he could not get Calice, but by famine, and therefore he made a strong Castell, and a highe, to close by the passage by the sea: And this Castell was set betwene the towne and the sea, & was well fortified with Springaldes, Bombardes, Bobes, and other Artillery. And in this Castell were lx. men of armes, and two hundred Archers, and they kept the Hauen in suche wise, that nothing coulde come in nor out, but by their licence.

And in this time also the king of Englande had so laboured and solicited the Counsaile of Flaundyrs, that they came out of Flaundyrs with an hundred thousand men, and went and layd siege to the towne of Aye, and bent the Countrie round about, as Meryuell la Gorge, Estelles Le Ventre, and a Marche called la Loe, and to the Gates of Turwyn, and Saint Omere. Then the frenche king went to the towne of Arras, & sent many men of warre to the Garrison of Arrhoys, and specially he sent his Constable, Sir Charles of Spaine to S. Omers: For the Erle of Cleve, and of Guynes, who was Constable of France, was then prisoner in England, as before it is shewed.

The Fleminges did the frenche men great trouble before they departed. And when the Fleminges were returned, then the frenche king and his companie departed from Arras, and went to Hedyn. His host with their cariages helde well in length three Leagues of that Countrie, and there he tarried one day, and the next day he went to Blangy: And there he rested to take aduice what waye to go forth: Then he was counsailed to go throughe the Countrie called la Belme: and that way he toke, and with him two hundred thousand one and other, and so passed by the County of Franquebergh, and so came streight to the hill of Sangates, betwene Calice and Wyssant. They came thether in goodly order, they Banners displayed, that it was greaue bentie to beholde theyr pyssant array. They of Calice, when they sawe them lodge, it seemed to them to be a newe siege.

When the king of Englande knewe and sawe the frenche king come with

The frenche  
king assen-  
bleth his lordes  
at Amiens,  
& counsaileth  
which waye to raise  
the siege at  
Calice.

A huge ar-  
mie of frenche  
men.



with such a power to raise the siege. Then he had made so good provision for the stoppage of the passages, that he was sure that the French king could not with his armie come nere to Calice, except it were in two places, the one was by the downes by the sea syde, or else about by the high way: and there were many ditches, rockes, and marishes, and but one way to passe over a Bridge called Newland Bridge. And all alongest the Downes, the king of England caused all his nauye to lie, and euery ship wel furnished with Bombarbes, Crosbowes, Archers, Springalles, and other artillary, whereby the French hoste might not passe that way.

And the king caused the Erle of Darby to go and keepe Newland Bridge with a great number of men of armes, & Archers, so that the French men could not passe no way, without they would haue gone through the Marshes, the which was a thing impossible.

On the other syde toward Calice, there was a high Tower kept with xxx. Archers, and they kept the passage of the Downes from the French men, the which was well fortified with great and double Ditches.

When the French men were thus lodged on the hill of Sangate: The Commons of Courney who were. xv. C. came to the Tower last aboute named, and they within shot at them: But they passed the ditches, and came to the foote of the wall with Dikes and Hookes, and there was a sore assault, and many of them of Courney hurt: But at the last they wanne the Tower, and slew all that were therein, and the Tower beaten downe.

The French king sent his Marchalles to aduise what way hee might approche to fight with the English men: and so they went forth, and when they had well aduised the passages and streytes, they returned to the king and sayde, that by no meanes he could not come at the English men without he would leese his people. So the matter rested all that day and night. The next day the French king sent to the King of England, the Lorde Godfrey of Charney, the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount, Guy of Pele, and the Lorde of Beauuue: and as they roade that strong way, they sawe well that it was harde to passe that way. They prayed much the order that the Erle of Darby kept at Newland bridge, by the which way they passed. Then they road forth until they came to the king of England, who was well accompanied with Noble men about him.

Then they foure alighted, and came to the king, and did their reuerence vnto him: Then the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount sayde, Sir, the king my Maister sendeth you worde by vs, that he is come to the hill of Sangate to do battaile with you, but he can finde no way to come at you: And therefore sir he would that ye should apoynt certeyne of your counsaile, and he will do likewise of his, and they betwene them to deuise a place for the Battaille.

The king of Englande was readie to answer and sayde, Sirs, I haue well vnderstand that ye desire me on the behalfe of mine aduersary, who kepeth wrongfully from me mine heritage: Wherefore I am sorry. Say vnto him from me if ye list, that I am here, and so haue bene nere a whole yere: and all this he knewe right well: he might haue come hether sooner if he had would, but he hath suffered me to abide here so long, the which hath bene greatly to my costes and charges. And I now could do so much if I would, soone to be Lorde of Calice. And therefore I am not determined to folowe your

your maisters aduice, nor to depart from that which I am at a poynt to win. Wherefore if he nor his men can passe this way, let them seeke some other passage if they thinke to come hether, for I entende not to styre my siege to come to them.

Then these Lordes departed, and were conueyed until they were past Newland Bridge: And then they shewed the French king, the King of Englandes answer.

And in this tyme, while the French king studied howe to fight with the king of England, there came into his host two Cardinales from Pope Clement in message, who tooke great paine to ryde by and downe betwene the two hostes, and they laboured and endeouered themselves so much, that they obtayned a graunt for an entreatie of an accorde and peace, and a respit betwene the two kings, being the one at the siege, & the other in the field onely. And so there were foure Lordes appoynted on eyther party to counsaile together for a peace. For the French king, there was the Duke of Burgoyne, and the Duke of Bourbon, Sir Lewes of Sauoy, and Sir John of Helynault. And for the English partie, the Erle of Darby, the Erle of Northampton, the Lorde Reignald Cobham, and the Lorde Gualtier of Hamy, and the two Cardinals were as indifferent meanes betwene both parties.

These Lordes met three dayes, and many deuises put forth, but none tooke effect: And in the meane season the king of Englande alwayes fortified his hoste and fielde and made ditches on the downes, that the French men should not come sodainely vpon him. These three dayes passed without any agreement, and then the two Cardinales returned to Saint Omers. And when the French king sawe that he could doe nothing, the next daye he dislodged betymes and tooke hys waye to Amyns and gaue euery manne leaue to departe.

When they within Calyce sawe their king departe, they made great sorowe. Some of the Englishmen folowed the tayle of the French armie, and wanne Sommers, Cartes and cariages, horse, wine and other things, and tooke dyuers prisoners and brought them to Calyce.

After the departure of the French king from Sandgate, then they within the towne perceiving they were utterly without reliefe and succour, cryed vpon their Capitaine syr John of Wyen that he would entreate the king of Englande for mercie. And at the last the Capitaine graunted so to doe, and went to the walles, and made a signe to speake with some of the hoste: whereof knowledge was immediatly brought to the king. And when the king heard thereof, he sent thither syr Gualtier of Hamy and syr Basset. Then syr John of Wyen sayde vnto them: Sirs, ye be right valiant knights in deedes of armes, and you knowe well how that the king my master hath sent me and other vnto this towne, and commaunded vs to keepe it to his behoofe, in such wise as we take no blame nor yet be to him any damage, and we haue done all that lyeth in our power to doe: And now our succours hath fayled vs, and we be so sore streyned, that we haue not to lyue withall, but that we must all die or perishe by famine: except the noble & gentle King of yours will take vs to mercy, the which thing to doe we praye you to be a meane of entreatie for vs, that it would please him to take pitie of vs, and to let vs go and departe as we be, and let him take the towne and the Castell

and

Two Cardinals laboured betwene the two kings for peace.

The French king departed with all his great and honore armie.

The French men within Calice pray King Edwardes mercy and licence to depart the towne.



and all the goodes that be therein, the which is a great abundaunce.

Then sayz Gualtier of Manny sayde, Sir we knowe partly the kinges minde, for he hath shewed it vnto vs. And therefore know you for a truth, it is not his minde that you nor they that are within the towne should departe so: for it is his will that ye all shall yeelde your selues simply to hys will and pleasure, to raunsome or put to death whom he please. Then sayd the Capitaine, this is to heard a matter to vs, we are in thys towne a small sorte of knightes and squiers, who haue as truely serued the king our master, as you haue serued yours, and in lyke maner we haue endured great vexation and paine, and we will endure as much paine as euer knightes did rather then to consent that the worst lad in the towne that should susteyne any more euill then the greatest or best of vs all, therfore sayz we pray you of your humanitie and gentleness that ye will go and speake with the king of England and desire him to haue pittie vpon vs, for we trust so much in his gracious goodnesse that his minde will chaunge, and that he will take pittie and compassion vpon vs.

Sir Gualtier of Manny and sayz Basset returned to the king, and declared to him all that had bene sayde. The king being in a great furie, sayde that he would none otherwise but that they should yelde themselves by simply to his will and pleasure. And then sayz Gualtyer sayde, sayz sayng your displeasure, in this ye may be in the wrong: for ye shall geue by this an euill ensample, if ye sende any of vs your seruauntes into any fortreffe, we will not be very glad to go, if ye put any of the towne to death after they be yeilded, for in lyke case they will deale with vs, if the case fall lyke, the which sayeng diuers other Lords that were there susteyned and mainteyned. Then the king sayde: Sirs, I will not be alone against you all, therefore sayz Gualtier of Manny, ye shall go agayne to the Capitaine and saye, that all the grace that ye nowe can finde at oure handes is, that they let. vij. of the chiefe Burgeses of the Towne come out barehedded, barefooted and barelegged, and in their shertes with halters about their neckes, with the keyes of the Castell and towne in their handes: and let them. vij. yelde themselves simply to my will, and the residue I will take to mercy.

Then Sir Gualtier returned and found Sir John of Wyen still on the wall, abyding for an answer: Then sir Gualtier shewed him all the grace that he could get of the king: well sayde sayz John, I require you to tarie here a certaine space till I go into the towne, and shewe this vnto the commons who sent me hether.

Then sayz John went into the market place, and there tolled the common Bell, and then incontinent men and women assembled there.

Then the Capitaine made report of all that he had done, and sayde, Sirs, it will be none otherwise, and therefore nowe take aduise and make a short answer. Then all the people beganne to weepe and to make suche sorow and lamentation that there was not so heard a hart, if they had scene them but would haue had pittie vpon them. The Capitaine himselfe wept also and that pittifully. At the last the most riche Burgesse of all the towne called Eustace of Saint Peters, rose by and sayd openly: Sirs, both great and small, a most pittifull and horrible thing were it, to suffer such a number of people to dye as are in this Towne, eyther by famine or otherwise, so long

How king Edward required six Burgeses of the towne to be deliuered vnto his mercy.

The maner howe the six Burgeses were appointed and sent to king Edward.

long as there is any meane to saue them: I thinke he or they shoulde haue great merite of our Lorde God that would deliuer them from such mischief as for my parte I haue so good a trust in our Lorde God, that if I dye in the quarell to saue the residue, that God wyll pardon mee, wherefore to saue them I will be the first to put my lyfe in icopardie. When he had thus sayde, euery man worshipped him, and diuers kneeled downe at his fecte, weeping and bringing their hands most greuouly. Then another honest Burgesse stood out and sayde, I will keepe company with my Gossyp Eustace, his name was John Dayre, then came Jaques of Wyssaunt who was riche both in goodes and heritage, he sayde also that he would keepe company with his two Cosyns, and so sayde Peter of Wyssaunt his brother, and after came two other and sayde they would doe the same, and then they went and appareled them as the king desired. Then the Capitaine went with them to the gate, there was great moene and lamentation made at their departyng both of men, women and children. Then the gate was opened, and the Capitaine issued out with the. vij. Burgeses, and closed the gate agayne: So that they were betweene the gate and the barryers. Then he sayde to sayz Gualtier of Manny: Sir, I deliuer here to you as Capitaine of Calice, by the whole consent of the people of the towne these. vij. Burgeses, and I sweare to you truely that they be and were to day the most notable, riche and worthyest Burgeses of all the towne of Calice: wherefore, gentle knight I requyre you to pray the king to haue mercy vpon them that they die not. Then sayde sayz Gualtier, I cannot tell, neyther can I say what the king will doe, but I will doe for them the best I can. Then the Barryers were opened and the. vij. Burgeses went towardes the king, and the Capitaine entered agayne into the Towne.

When Sir Gualtier presented those Burgeses vnto the king, they kneeled downe and helde by their handes, and sayde: Gentle king, beholde here vs six who were Burgeses of Calice, and great merchauntes, we haue brought to you the keyes of the towne and Castell of Calice, and we submit our selues wholly vnto your will and pleasure, onely for the safetie of the rest of the people of Calice, who haue suffered great paine and miserie: Sir we besech your grace to haue mercie and pitie vpon vs through your high noblenesse. Then all the Erles and Barons, and other that were there, wept for pitie. The king looked felly and cruelly vpon them, for greatly he hated the people of Calice, because of the great damnages and displeasures that they had done him on the Sea before. Then the king commaunded their heades to be stryken off: Then euery man cryed and besought the king to haue mercie, but he would here no man in that behalfe. Then Sir Gualter of Manny said, A noble king, for Gods sake refraine your courage, ye haue the name of soueraigne noblenesse, therefore nowe do not a thing that should blemishe your renoune, neither geue occasion for any to speake vilanie of you: for euery man will say it is a great tyranny to put to death suche honest perfonnes, who of themselves haue willingly put themselves into the handes of your grace, for the safetie of their companie. Then the king turned from him, and commaunded him to send for the Hangman, and sayd: They of Calice haue caused a great number of my men to be slaine, and therefore these also shall die likewise. Then the Queene beyng great with childe, kneeled downe, and

Howe the six Burgeses are presented to the king.

The submission of the six Burgeses vnto the king.

The petition of the Queene for the six Burgeses vnto the king

fore



fore wepyng sayd. O gracious king, sithe I passed the sea in great perill, I haue desired nothyng of you: Therefore now I humbly require you in the honour of the birgin Mary, and for the loue of me, that ye will take mercy of these sixe Burgeses. The king behelde the Queene and stood still in a study a little while, and then sayde, A Dame, I would ye had bene as now in some other place, for I am not able to denie your request: Wherfore I geue them to you, to do your pleasure with them. Then the Queene caused them to be carryed to her Chamber, and made the halters to be taken from their neckes, and caused them to be new apparayled, and gaue them their dinner at theyr leysure. And then she gaue eche of them sixe Nobles in his pursse, and made them to be brought out of the hoste in safegard, and set at their libertie.

Thus was Calice yelded and geuen vp to the king in the latter ende of September, so that he had laide siege therebnto one whole yere and moze. And then the king called vnto him Sir Gualtier of Hamy, and his two Marchalles, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Stafforde, and sayde to them, Sirs take ye here the keyes of the Castell, and towne of Calice. Go and take possession thereof, and put in prison all the knightes that be there: And all other Souldiours that came simplie to winne their liuyng, cause them to aduoyde the towne. And in like maner aduoyde the towne of all o- ther men, women, and children, for I will repeople the towne againe wyth mere Englishe men.

So these three Lordes with an hundreth with them, went and tooke possession of Calice, and first did put in prison, Sir John de Uien, sir John of Surrey, Sir John of Belborne and other: Then they caused all the soul- diours to bring all their harnesse into a place appointed, and layde it all on an heape in the hall of Calice. Then they caused all maner of people to boide, and kept there no mo persons but one priest, and two other auncient perso- nages, such as knewe the customes, lawes and ordinaunces of the towne, and to signe out the heritages howe they were deuided. Then they prepared the Castell to lodge the king and Queene in, and prepared other houses for the kinges companie.

Then the king mounted on his horffe, and entered into the towne, with Trumyettes, Drommes, and other Instrumentes of Musicke, and there the king laye vntill the Queene was brought in bed and deliuered of a faire Ladye named Margaret. The king gaue to Sir Gualtier of Hamy dy- uerse fayre houses within the towne, and to the Lorde of Stafford, to the Lord of Bethene, to sir Bartholomew of Bomes, & to dyuerse other Lordes and knightes, to repeople the towne againe. The kinges minde was when he came into England, to sende out of London. xxxvj. good Citezens to Ca- lice to dwell there, and by that meanes to people the towne with pure Eng- lishe men, the which the king afterward performed.

Then the newe towne and Bastide that was made without the towne was pulled downe, and the Castell that stood on the Hauen, was likewylle pulled downe, and the great timber and stones brought into the towne. Then the king ordeyned men to kepe the Gates, walles and Barriers, and amen- ded all thinges within the towne. And sir John de Uien, and his companie were sent into England, and were halfe a yere at London before they were put to ransome.

The Godly and charitable Queene.

1347

22

Certaine Lordes are sent to take possession of Calice.

The king en- tereth into Calice tri- umphantly.

A pitifull sight was it when the Burgeses and other men of the towne of Calice, and women, and children, were put out of the Towne, and faine to forsake houses, heritages and goodes, and to take nothing with them: Ney- ther had they any restitution of the French king, for whose sake they lost all. The most part of that people went to Saint Omers.

At this tyme the Cardinall called Guy de Boloyne as a Legate from Clement the sixt, came vnto the French king his Cosyn in the Citie of Ami- ens. And he applyed the matter so, betwene the king of England & the French king, that a truce was concluded and taken to endure for two yeres. To thys truce all parties were agreed: But Britaine was clerely excepted, for the two Ladyes made still warre one against another.

Then the king of Englande, and the Queene returned into England: And the king made capitaine of Calice, Sir Amery of Dauy a Lombard borne, who the king had greatly aduanced. Then the king sent from Lon- don. xxxvj. Citezens to Calice, who were riche and sage, and their wyues, and children, and dayly the number encreased: For the king graunted there such liberties and franchisees, that men were glad to go and dwell there.

The same time was brought to London Sir Charles de Bloys, who called himselfe Duke of Britaine, who was taken in Britaine by the kinges people, durynge the tyme of the siege of Calice, and was nowe committed in- to Curtoyse prison in the Tower of London, with the king of Scottes, and the Erle Nozette: But he had not bene there long, but at the request of the Queene of England, Sir Charles, who was her Cosyn Germaine was re- ceuyed on his fayth and truth, and rood round about London at his pleasure: But he might not lye past one night out of London, without it were in the Court where the king and Queene lay: Also the same tyme there was pri- soner in England the Erle of Ewe, and Guynes, which was Constable of Fraunce, a right gentle knight, and his behauiour was suche, that he was welcome wheresoeuer he came, both with the king, Queene, Lordes, La- dyes, and Damofelles.

At this time in the towne of Saint Omers was the Lorde Geoffrey of Charney Capitaine, and he kept the frontiers there, and bled and ordered euery thing concerning the warre as king. This Lord Geoffrey calling to his minde, which way he might compasse or deuise how he might practise to get agayne the Towne of Calice, and considered with himselfe that Lom- bardes are couetous, he thought he would practise with syr Amery the Cap- taine of Calice, and he knewe he might the better do it without all suspicion because at that time they might by reason of the truce the one frankly re- sorte vnto the other. Then syr Geoffrey espyeng a conuenient time, fell secretly in communication with syr Amery for the towne of Calice. And in the ende syr Amery promised for the some of twentie thousand crownes to deliuer Sir Geoffrey the towne of Calice.

This compact was not so secretly made, but it came to the knowledge and vnderstanding of the king of Englande: wherfore the king sent for Sir Americ de Dauie to come vnto him into England to speake with hym, and so he came, and when the king sawe hym, he toke him a parte and sayd: Thou knowest well that I haue geuen thee in keeping the thing that in this worlde I loue best, next my wyfe and children, that is to saye, the Towne

Et. j.

and

A truce con- cluded be- twene the king of Eng- land and the French king for two yeres

Sir Amery a Lombard made Capitaine of Calice.

Sir Charles de Bloys Duke of Briteyn.

A practise of the French men for the recouering agayne of Calice.

Sir Amery is sent for to come to king Edward.



and Castell of Calyce, and thou hast solde it to the Frenchmen, and therefore thou hast well deserued to die. Then the Lombard kneeled doونه (and sayde) A noble king, I crye you mercy, it is true that ye haue sayde: But syz, the bargayne maye well be broken, for as yet I haue receyued neuer a penny. The king loued well the Lombard and sayde, Amery, I will that thou go forward on thy bargayn and the day and time that thou appointest to deliuer the towne let me haue true knowledg the of before: And on this condition I will forgiue thee thy trespassse. And so the Lombard returned agayne to Calice and kept his matter secret.

Then syz Geoffrey of Charney thought well to haue Calice, and assembled a certain number secretly, about a fivie hundred speares, and there were but a fewe that knewe what he purposed: And it was to be thought that he neuer made the French king a counsaile thereof, for if he had, it was not lykely that he would haue consented therevnto for breaking of the treue.

This Lombard had appointed to haue deliuered the towne and Castell of Calyce the last day of December at night, and he sent worde thereof by a brother of his vnto the king of Englande.

When the king knewe the certaine day appointed, he departed out of Englande with three hundred men of armes, and tooke shipping at Douer, and in the euening arriued at Calice, so secretly that no man knewe thereof, and went and layde his men in bushmentes in the Chambers and Towres within the Castell.

Then the king sayde to syz Gualtier Hamy, I will that ye be chiefe of this enterpryse, for I and my sonne the Prince wil fight vnder your banner.

The Lorde Geoffrey Charney, the last daye of December at night departed with all his company from Arras, and came nere to Calice about the houre of midnight, and there taried awhile abyding for his company, and in the meane tyme he sent two squires to the posterne gate of the Castell of Calice, and there they founde Sir Amery ready. Then they demaunded of him if it were time that the Lorde Geoffrey should come, and the Lombard sayde yea. Then they returned to their master and shewed him as the Lombard had sayde: Then he made his men to passe Newland Bridge in good order of battayle. Then he sent .xij. knightes with an hundreth men of armes to go and take possession of the Castell of Calice: for he thought if he might haue the Castell, he should soone get the Towne. And he deliuered to the Lorde Edward of Keny twentie thousand Crownes to pay the Lombard. And syz Geoffrey houed still in the fieldes priuely with his Banner before him. His intent was to enter into the towne by the gate, or else not, and the Lombard had let doونه the brydge of the posterne, and suffred the hundred men of armes to passe peaceably: and syz Edward at the posterne deliuered twentie thousand Crownes in a bagge to the Lombard, who sayde, I trust here be all, for I haue no leasure now to tell them, and it will be day anone. Then he cast the bagge with the Crownes into a Coffer, and sayde to the Frenchmen: come on Sirs, ye shal enter into the Dungeon, for then shall ye be sure to be Lordes of the Castell, and they went thether, and he drewe apart the barre, and the gate opened.

Within this Castell was the King of Englande wyth two hundreth speares, who issued out with their swordes and axes in their handes, cryeng Hamy,

Sir Geoffrey of Charney assured himselfe to haue receiued Calice, and therefore provided a certaine number to strengthen him.

King Edward took passage to Calice to prevent the betraying thereof.

1348

23

Sir Gualtier Hamy.

The French men conueged into a Dungeon.

Hamy, Hamy, to the reskewe, what? weneth the Frenchmen with so fewe men to wyne the Castell of Calice? Then the Frenchmen seyng well that defence coulde not auayle them: Then they yeelded themselues prisoners, and so there were but a fewe hurte, and the rest were closed vp in the same Towre in prison.

And the English men issued out of the Castell into the towne, and mounted on their horses, for they had all the French prisoners horses. Then the Archers roade to Boleyn gate where syz Geoffrey was with his Banner before him of Goules, three skotcheons of Siluer. He had a great desyre to be the first that should enter into the towne: he sayde to the knightes that were about him: without this Lombard open the gate shortly, we are lyke to dye here for colde. In the name of God sayde Sir Depy dewere, Lombards are malicious people and subtile, he is now looking on your crownes, whether all be good or not, and to recken if he haue his whole some or no.

Therewith the king of Englande and the Prince his sonne was readie at the gate vnder the Banner of Sir Gualtier of Hamy, with dyuers other Banners, as the Erle of Stafford, the Erle of Suffolke, the Lorde John Mountagew, brother to the Erle of Salisbury, the Lorde Beauchampe, the Lorde Barkeley, and the Lord delaware: All these were Lordes and had Banners, there were no mo in that iourney.

Then the great gate was set open, and all they issued out: when the Frenchmen sawe them issue, and heard them crye Hamy to the reskewe, they knewe well they were betrayed. Then Sir Geoffrey sayde to his company, Sirs if we flie we are cleane lost: yet were we better to fight with a good courage, in hope the iourney shall be oures.

The English men heard these wordes and sayde, by saint George ye say truly, shame haue he that flieth. The Frenchmen alighted on foote, and put their horses from them, and ordered themselues in good aray of battaile.

When the king sawe that, he stood still (and sayde) let vs put our selues in order to fight, for our enimies will abyde vs. The king sent parte of hys company to Newlande Bridge, for he heard saye, that there were a great number of Frenchmen. Then thether went a .viij. Banners, and three hundred Archers, and there they founde the Lorde Honau of Frenes, and the Lorde of Creques keeping the Bridge. And betwene the Bridge and Calice there were manye Crosbowes of Saint Omers and Aye: So there was a fore fraye, and there were slaine and drowned mo then .viij. hundreth Frenchmen, for they were sone discomfited and chaced into the water. This was early in the morning, and incontinent it was day. The French men kept their ground awhile, and manye feates of armes were there done on both parties: But the Englishmen euer encreased by comming out of Calyce, and the Frenchmen discreased. Then the Frenchmen sawe well that they could not long kepe the Bridge, wherfore they that had their horses by them mounted vpon them, and shewed their horse heeles, and the Englishmen followed them in chace. There was many a man ouerthrowne, and many were taken of their owne courage, which might haue scaped if they had list.

When it was sayre day, that euery man might knowe other: Then some of the French knightes and Esquiers assembled together againe, and turned and fought manfully with the English men: So that there were some

Ct.ij.

of



of the Frenchmen that tooke good prisoners, whereby they had both honour and profite.

How help-  
auntly the  
king of Eng-  
land quit him  
selfe against  
the French men.

Nowe let vs speake of the king of England, who was there unknowne to his enemies, vnder the Banner of Sir Gualter of Manny, and was on foote among his men to seeke his enemyes, who stood close together woth their speares a fure foote long. At the first meetyng, there was a sore reencountre: and the King chaunced to light vpon the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount, who was a strong and valiaunt knight, and there was a long fight betwene the King and him, that it was ioy to behold them, but at the last they were put asunder, for a great company of both partes came the same waye, and fought there fiercely together.

The frenche men did there right valiauntly: But specially the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount, who strake the king the same day two tymes on his knees: But finally the King himselfe tooke him prisoner: and so he yelded his sword to the king, and sayd, Sir knight I yeelde me vnto you as your prisoner, he knew not at that time that it was the King. And so this iourney was for the king of England: and all that were there with Sir Geoffrey, were eyther slaine or taken, for very fewe escaped. There was slaine Sir Henry of Boys, and Sir Depyn de Labarre, and Sir Geoffrey taken. Thus this iourney was achieued besyde Calice, the yere of our Lorde. 1348. the last day of the moneth of December, and in the beginnyng of the. xxij. yere of the reigne of king Edward.

1348  
23

When this battaile was done, the king returned againe to the Castell of Calice, and caused all the prisoners to be brought thether. Then the french men knew well that the king of England had bene there personally himselfe, vnder the Banner of Sir Gualter of Manny. The king sayde he would geue them all a Supper that night in the Castell of Calice: And when the houre of Supper was come, and the tables couered: The king and hys knightes were there every man in newe apparell: And the french men also were there, and made good cheere, though they were prisoners.

The king sate downe and the Lordes and knights about him right honourably. The Prince, Lordes and knightes of England, serued the king at the first messe. And at the second they sate downe at another table: they were all well serued and at great leasure.

Then when supper was done, and the Tables taken away: The king tarped still in the Hall with his knightes and with the frenche men, and he was bare headed, sayng a Chapelet of fine Perles that he ware on his hed. Then the king went from one to another of the french men: And when he came to Sir Geoffrey of Charney, a little he chaunged his countenance, and looked vpon him, and sayd, Sir Geoffrey ye haue geuen me occasion to loue you but a little, when ye would steale by night that thing from me which I haue so deuely bought: But yet this pleaseth me best, that I haue taken you with the maner. Ye would haue come to a better market then I came vnto, when you thought to haue had Calice for. xx. thousand Crownes: But God hath holpen me, and ye haue fayled of your purpose, and therewith the king went from him, and he gaue him neuer a worde to aunswere.

The wife  
speech of king  
Edward vnto  
to sir Geof-  
frey of Char-  
ney.

Then the king came to Sir Eustace of Rybamount, and ioyously to him he said, Sir Eustace ye are the knight that among all other are the most valiauntest

liauntest that I haue seene, as well in the assaylyng of your enemye as in the defendyng of your selfe, neyther was it my chaunce to mete with any knight that euer put me to aunswere, and defende my selfe body to body as ye haue done this day, wherefore I geue you the price aboute all the knightes of my Court, by right sentence. Then the king tooke the Chapelet that was vpon his head, beyng both fayre, goodly, and riche, and sayd, Sir Eustace I geue you this Chapelet for the best doct in armes in this iourney past on cyther partie, and I desyre you to beare it this yere for the loue of me. I know wel ye be freche and amorous, and often tymes ye are among Ladyes, and Damoselles: Say wheresoeuer ye come, that I did geue it you, and I requite and discharge you of your imprisonment and raunsome, and ye shall depart to morowe if it please you.

And in the end of this yere, the plague of Pestilence reigned sore in England, but chiefly in the Citie of London, that besyde the bodies that were buryed in sundrie Churches and Churchyardes in London, there were also buryed in the Charterhouse Churchyard fiftie thousand persons and aboue.

A great  
plague and  
pestilence.

This yere and the. xxij. day of August, dyed Philip the french king at Nogent, and was buryed in Marys: And the. xxvi. day of September folowynge, John eldest sonne to king Philip was crowned french king at Reynes, and the same day also the Queene his wife was crowned with him, and at the same tyme, the king made also manye knightes, and created Erles Marqueses, and Dukes.

1349  
24  
Philip the  
French king  
dead.

This yere about the latter ende of August, a noble man of Spaine called Sir Charles, to whome King John of Fraunce had newly geuen the Erledome of Angolesme, entendyng to winne some honour vpon the English men, with a strong nauie of Spanyardes entered the English streames, and did much harme vnto king Edwardes friendes. So that the king about the tyme abouesayde met with the sayde nauie vpon the coast of Winchelsey, where betwene the king and them was a long and cruell fight, to the great losse of many people vpon both partes: But in the ende God sent vnto the king the victoery, so that he chased his enemyes, and wanne from them. xxij. of their Shippes, with many prisoners. Fabian.

1350  
25

In the ende of this yere, there were solempne Messengers sent in Ambassade to Rome, for to conclude a perfite peare betwene the two Kinges of England and of Fraunce, so that King Edward should resigne and geue vp all his title and claime that he made vnto the Crowne of Fraunce: And the french king should clerely geue vnto him all the Duchy of Guyan, with all such landes as at any time before, were taken by any of his progenitors from it. And that king Edward and his heyres kinges, should freely holde and occupie the sayde Duchie, without doynge of any homage to any french king after that day. But the conclusion of this matter was so prolonged and deferred by the Pope, that the Erle of Darby, and other which were appoynted for the King of England, returned without spending of their cause. Wherefore king Edward made newe prouision to warre vpon king John of Fraunce.

An over-  
throwe geuen  
to the french  
men by sea.

In the. xxvi. yere of the reigne of this king, the Castell of Guynes nere vnto Calice was yelden vnto the Engliche men, by the treason of a french man called Guyllam de Beauconry, for the which treason the sayde Guyllam was shortly after put to execution by the french king in the towne of Amiens.

1351  
26



And the same yere Sir Guy of Neale then Marshall of Fraunce with a strong companie gaue battaile vnto the Englishe men then beyng in Briteyn, in the which the sayde Sir Guy, with the Lorde of Briket, and the Chasteleyn of Beauueyes, with manie other noble men were slaine, and many taken prisoners.

A victorie ouer the French men.

Trinity hall.

1352  
27  
The daye of here Somer.

And at this tyme was builded Trinitye hall in Cambzidge, by William Bateman, Bishop of Rozeuiche.

At this time happened throughout Englande so hote a Sommer, that many yeres after it was called the drie Sommer, for from the later ende of Marche vntill the later ende of July, then next followyng there fell little or no rayne, by reason whereof, many great inconueniences followed. And chieflye the price of Corne this yere beganne greatly to be aduanced, and the yere folowyng it was moze dere, and so lyke wise were Befes and Mottons greatly aduanced by reason of the lack of pasture and feeding, which thing happened in Fraunce as well as in Englande.

1353  
28  
Parliament at Westminster.

The Erle of Darby was appealed befoze the French king by the Duke of Brunswike.

This yere the king called his high Court of Parliament at Westminster, and about Whitsontyde folowyng the king created the Erle of Darby, Duke of Lancaster, and Syr Raufe Stafford, Erle of Stafford. Then thys Duke of Lancaster was sent agayne ouer the Sea, where in the ende of of this yere (as sayth froyssart) he was appealed of the Duke of Brunswike, a Duke of the Countrie of Almayne, of certaine wordes that were agaynst his honour: for the which he offered to wage his battayle with the sayde Duke in the court of the french king.

Then thys Henry, which some call Henry of Bolynbroke Duke of Lancaster, purchaced his safeconduite of the french king, and kept his daye apointed for that battaile in a field called in the french, La preux Clers, where was for them ordeyned a place listid and closed in goodly wise: king John beyng there present with the greatest parte of the Nobles of Fraunce.

And there came in first into that field the afozenamed Duke of Brunswike appellaunt, and after him came the noble Duke of Lancaster, to the great honour of all Englande. And soone after (dyuers obseruances according to the lawe of armes done) and solempne othes taken, eyther of them set hys speare in the rest to haue runne the first course. But then king John of his speciall grace ceassed the matter, and tooke the quarell into his awne hands, so that eyther of them departed the field without any stroke striking: and then the french king pacified the appeale to the honour of the Duke of Lancaster although he was the french kings enemye.

The french king taketh vp the matter

1354  
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And shortly after this, the sayde Duke of Lancaster, with other nobles assigned vnto hym by the king of Englande, went vnto Auinion with the Archebishop of Rone then Chauncelour of the Realme of Fraunce, and also the Duke of Burbone, and other that were apointed for the king of Fraunce to conclude a peace betweene their two princes aforesayde, who were at the Citie aforesayd and there heard at length of the election of a new Pope, then called Innocent the. vij. which also lyke vnto his predecessor was a french man bozne. In conclusion after many and great arguments made on both sides, it was there agreed that the peace betweene the two sayde kings should be kept and holden inuiolable vntill Mydsomer then next followyng.

Now for as much as the towne of Flaundyze did refuse to keepe the bandes

bandes of amity that befoze time had beene made betweene the king of Englande and them, in the tyme and lyfe of Jaques Dartuell afoze mencioned: But that now they beganne to fauour the french king, therefore the king withdrew from them the Martes or Markets and staples of wolles which to their great aduantage by the procurement of the sayde Jaques de Artuell was in sundrie of their towne bled and kept. And the king caused the same to be kept in sundrie good towne of England, as Westminster, Chichester, Lyncolne, Bristow, and Cauntozburie.

Staple of Wolles kept in England.

And shortly after Easter the french king sent his eldest sonne Charles Dolphyn of Wyenne into Normandy for to take the rule of that country, and specially for to cease certaine lands and Castels, which at that day belonged vnto the king of Nauarre, which then was out of the french kings fauor for the death of Syr Charles of Spayne late Constable of Fraunce which by his meanes was murdered in a towne called Aigle in Normady. ij. yeres befoze.

And while the Dolphyn was thus bused in Normandy, he made such meane to the rulers thereof, that they graunted him ayde of thre thousand men for thre monethes at their proper costes and charges.

Of this sone after sprang such tydings, that the king of England was informed that the french king had geuen to his sonne Charles the Duchy of Normandy, with all Gascoyne and Guyan: and how the Normans had graunted to the sayde Charles thre thousande men for thre monethes to warre at their costes on the Englishmen, which (as the french boke sayth) was graunted him onely to defende the king of Nauarre, which came to Constantyne shortly after, to repossesse suche landes as the Dolphyn had leased there of his, and therefore he made warre vpon the Dolphyn.

But howsoeuer it were, in October next followyng the Prince of Wales with a great hoste entred into Gascoyne, and passed by Tholous and the ryuer of Geround and so by Carcassion, and brent the Bulwarks of that Citie, and from thence to Narbon in brennyng and spolyng all as he went.

The Prince of Wales entred into Gascoyne.

And in the same yere king Edward with his power landed at his towne of Calice, where he rested hym all the winter followyng.

Ye haue heard in the last yere that the Prince of Wales with an army of men went ouer into Gascoigne, where he did many a noble dede and feate of armes, and tooke many towne and Castels and subdued his enemies with great courage. At the last the french king made suche great prouision to encounter with hym, that there was no remedy but he must fight with hym. Wherefore he made all the prouision he could, and sayde courageously for the comfortyng of his men beyng God wote but a handefull in comparison to the french armie, well syz sayth he, although we be but fewe in regarde to the multitude of our enemies: Let vs not be abashed therefore, for the victorie lyeth not in the multitude of the people, but where it pleaseth almighty God to geue it. If it fortune that the iourney be oures, we shall be honoured thorough the whole worlde: And if we die in a right and good quarell, I haue a king to my father and I haue brethren, and you haue good friends and kinsmen that will reuenge our deatnes. Therefore Syz, for Gods sake take the good heartes of Englishmen vnto you this daye, for if God will, this daye shall ye see me doe the parte of a good knight. These wordes and suche other that the Prince spake, did greatly encourage his people. The

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Prince Edwards comonly called the black Prince was of great courage.

Prince



Prince had placed himselfe with his armie among the Wyndes and had closed in the weakest parte thereof with the carriages.

Now that the time of battaile approached, the Prince hauyng by hym the Lorde Sir John Chandos and the Lord James Audelay, who assisted him and neuer went from him all the time of the battaile. But the Lorde Audelay kneeled downe (and sayde vnto the Prince) Sir I haue serued alwayes truely my Lorde your father and you also, and will doe as long as I lyue. I saye this because I made once a vowe that the first battaile that epyther the king your father or any of his children should be at, heu that I would be one of the first setters on, or else to die in the trauaile: Therefore I beseeche your grace as in rewarde for anye seruire that euer I did to the king your father or to you, that you will giue me licence to depart from you, and to set my selfe there as I may accomplishe my vowe.

The Prince agreed to his desyre, and sayde, Sir James, God ayde you so this day, that ye may proue the best knight of all other, and so tooke hym by the hande. And the knight departed from the Prince, and went to the foremost front of all the battayles, beyng only accompanied with foure Esquiers in whom he put great trust & confidence, and they promised not to fayle him.

This Lorde James was a right sage and Vertuous knight, and by him was much of the hoste ordered and gouerned. Thus Sir James was ready to fight in the front of the Battaile, against the battayles of the Marshalles of Fraunce. Then the battaile began of all partes, and the battayles of the Marshalles of Fraunce approached, and they set forth that were appointed to breake the array of the Archers: They entred on horsebacke into the way where the great hedges were on both sydes set full of Archers: Als soone as the men of armes entered, the Archers beganne to shoote on both sydes, and did slay and hurt knightes and horses a great number. So that the horses when they felt the sharpe Arrowes, they would in no wise go forward, but dyue backe and flang, and tooke on so fiercely, that many of them fell vpon their maisters: So that for preece they could neuer rise againe. In so much, that the Marshalles battaile could neuer come at the Prince: But yet certein knightes and Esquiers that were well horsed, passed through the Archers, and thought to haue approached to the Prince, but they could not. The Lord Audely with his foure Esquiers was in the front of that battaile, and there did maruelles in Armes, and by great prowes he came & fought with Sir Arnold Dandrehen, vnder his aboue Banner, and there they fought long together, and Sir Arnold was there soze handled. The battaile of the Marshalles began to disorder, by reason of the shotte of the Archers, with the ayde of the men of armes, who came in among them, and slue of them, and did what they lust. And there was the Lorde Arnold Dandrehen taken prisoner by other men, and not by the Lorde Audelay, for that day he neuer tooke prisoner, but alwayes fought and went on his enemies. Also on the French part the Lorde John Cleremount fought vnder his aboue Banner as long as he could endure, but there he was beaten downe, and coude not be relieued nor ransomed, but was slaine without mercie. So within a short space the Marshalles battayles were discomfited, for they fell one vpon another, and could not go forward. And the Frenchmen that were behinde, and could not come forward, reculed backe, and came on the battaile of the Duke

The Lorde James Audley his vowe to the Prince.

A fore and cruell battaile called the battaile of Porters.

Duke of Normandy, the which was great and thicke, and were on foote, but anone they began to open behynde. For when they knewe that the Marshalles battail was discomfited, they tooke their horses and departed he that might best make way to be gone: Also they sawe a rowte of Englishe men comyng downe a little hill on horseback, and many Archers with them, who brake in on the one syde of the Dukes battaile. To say the truth, the Archers did their company that day great seruice, for they shot so thicke, that the French men wist not on what syde to take hede, and little and little the English men wanne ground on them. And when the men of Armes of England saw that the Marshalles battaile was discomfited, and that the Dukes battaile began to disorder & open, they lept then on their horses, the which they had redy by them. Then they assembled together, & cryed Saint George. And the Lorde Chandos sayde to the Prince: Sir, take your horse and ryde forth, thys iourney is yours: God is this day with you, and fighteth for you, and let vs go vnto the French Kinges battaile, for there lyeth all the soze of this matter. I thinke verely by his valyannesse that he will not flie, I trust by the helpe of God and Saint George we shall haue him, if he be well fought withall: And Sir in the begynnyng of the battaile I heard you say, that this day I should see you a good knight, nowe is the tyme therefore, folowe it. The Prince sayd, let vs go forth, ye shall not see me this day returne backe, and then sayd the Prince, aduance forth your Banner in the name of God and Saint George: The knight that bare it, did his commaundement. There was then a soze battaile and a dangerous, and many a man ouerthrowne, and he that was once downe could not be relieued againe without great succour & ayde. Then the Prince and his company gaue the onset of the battaile of the Duke of Athens Constable of Fraunce, and there was many a man slaine and cast to the earth. And as the French men fought in companies they cryed (Moune ioye Saint Dionice) and the Englishe men, Saint George. Anone the Prince with his companie met with the battaile of the Almaynes, whereof the Erle of Salesbruce, the Erle of Mosco, and the Erle Meydo were Capitaines: But in a short space they were put to flight. The Archers shot so wholly together, that none durst come in their dangers, they slue many a man that could not come to ransome, and the aforesayde thre Erles were slaine, and diuerse other knightes and Esquiers of their company. Then the Kinges battaile came on the Englishe men, there was a soze fight, and many a harde stroke both geuen and receyued: The French king and his yongest sonne mette with the battaile of the Englishe Marshalles, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Suffolke, and with them of Gascoynes, the Captall of Buz, the Lorde of Pompyers, the Lorde Amery of Charre, the Lorde of Mucident, the Lorde of Langram, and the Lorde de la Strade. To the French partie there came time ynough, the Lorde John of Landas, and the Lorde of Woodney, they alighted on foote, and wente into the kinges battaile. And a little besyde fought the Duke of Athens, constable of Fraunce, and a little aboute him the Duke of Burbon, and many good knightes of Burbonys, and of Picardie with him. And a little on the other syde, there were the Doytynnes, the Lorde de Pons, the Lorde of Hartney, the Lorde of Dampmar, the Lorde of Montabatton, the Lorde of Suggers, the Lorde John Sayntre, the Lorde Argenton, the

A courageous Prince.

Duke of Athens.  
Duke of Burbon.

Doytynnes.

Lorde



Burgoyne.

Normandie.

Limousin.

Picardy.

Lord James Budeley.

John the French King.

French men slain.

French men taken.

Lozde of Lymyers, the Lozde of Mountandze, and dyuers other : Also the Count of Rocheuart, and the Erle of Daunoy. And of Burgoyne, the Lord James Beauieu, the Lozde de la Castell vileyn, and other. In another part there was the Erle of Wantadowze, and of Mountpencer, the Lozde James of Burbone, the Lozde John de Arthoys, and also the Lord James his brother, the Lord Arnold of Cernolle called the Archepriest, armed for the yong Erle of Manson. And of Auvergne, there was the Lord Marcuell, the Lord de la Towze, the Lozde of Chalenton, the Lozde of Mountagetw, the Lozde of Rocheford, the Lozde de la Chayze, the Lozde Dacheone. And of Limosin, there was the Lozde Delmall, the Lozde of Nozwell, and the Lord of Piers Buffier. And of Picardie, there was the Lozde William of Nerle, the Lord Arnold of Reinewall, the Lozde Geoffrey of Saint Digier, the Lozde of Chamy, the Lozde of Heley, the Lozde of Mounsaunt, the Lord of Hangies, and diuers other. And also in the kinges battaile was the Erle Douglas of Scotland, who fought a season right valiantly : But when he sawe the discomfiture, he departed and saued himselfe, for in no wise he would be taken of the English men, he had rather haue bene slaine.

On the English part the Lord James Budeley with the ayde of his foure squiers, fought alwayes in the chiefe of the battaile : he was sore hurt in the bodye and in the visage, but yet as long as his breth serued him, he fought. At the last towarde the ende of the battaile, hys foure squiers tooke and brought him out of the field, and layed him vnder a hedge side for to refresh he hym : and they bndarmed him, and bounde by his woundes as well as they coude.

On the french part, King John was that day a full right good knight, if the fourth parte of his men had done their deuoyzes as well as he did, the iourney had bene his by all lykelyhood : howbeit they were all slaine and taken that were there, except a very fewe that were with the king, which saued themselves by flyng.

There were slaine the Duke Peter of Burbone, the Lozde Guysshard of Beauieuwe, the Lozde of Landas, and the Duke of Athens Constable of Fraunce, the Bishop of Chalons in Champeyne, the Lozde William of Pece, the Lozde Eustace of Rybamount, the Lozde de la Towze, the Lozde William of Mountagetw, s<sup>r</sup> Guyuenton of Chambley, s<sup>r</sup> Baudryn de la house and many other as they fought by companies. And there were taken prisoners, the Lozde of Woodney, the Lozde of Dompadoz, and the Archepriest sore hurt, the Erle of Vandos, s<sup>r</sup> Loys of Melwall, the Lord Piers Buffier and the Lord of Senetache : There were at that bzont slaine and taken mo then two hundzeth knightes.

This battaile was fought nere vnto Poytiers in the fields of Beaumont and Halpertnes, the which was great and perillous, and manye worthie deedes of armes were there done that came not at all to my knowledge, sayth Froissart. The fighters on both partes endured muche traualle and paine : King John with his owne hands did that day like a valiant Prince, he had an Acre in his hande, wherewith he fought in the breaking of p<sup>r</sup>ease to haue come to the Prince, very courageously and manfully. And nere vnto the french king was taken the Erle of Tankeruyll, Sir James of Burkon Erle of Ponthieu, and the Lozde John of Arthoys Erle of Ewe,

Ewe. And a little aboue that vnder the Banner of y<sup>e</sup> Capitol of Buz was taken s<sup>r</sup> Charles of Arthoys, & diuers other knightes and squires. The chace endured to the gates of Poytiers : There were manye slaine and beaten downe horse and man, for they of Poytiers had closed their gates, & would suffer none to enter : wherefore in the streete before the gate, was a great & horrible murder, and many men hurt and beaten downe : The frenchmen yelded themselves as farre off as they might know an Englishman. There were diuers English Archers that had foure, fiue, or sixe prisoners, the Lozde of Pons a great Baron of Poyton was there slayne, and many other knightes and squires. And there was taken the Erle of Rocheuart, the Lord of Damnaement, the Lozde of Bertney and of Faynton, the Lord of Motendze and the Lord Saint John: But he was so sore hurt that he neuer had helth after, he was accompted for one of the best knightes in fraunce. And there was lefte for deade among other deade men, the Lozde Richard Dangle, who fought that daye by the king right valiantly, and so did the Lord Charney, on whom was great prayse, because he bare the souereign Banner of the kinges : his awne Banner was also in the fiede, the which was Coules three Scotcheons Silver.

So manye Englishmen and Gascoynes came to that parte, that perforce they opened the kings battaile, so that the french men were so mingled among their enemies, that some time there was fiue men vpon one Gentleman. There was taken the Lord of Dompadour, and the Lord Bartholomew de Brunnes : and there was slaine Sir Geoffrey of Charney with the kinges Banner in his handes. Also the Lozde Reynould Cobham slue the Erle of Dammarcyn. Then was there great p<sup>r</sup>eailling to take the king, and suche as knewe him cryed vnto him and sayde, Sir, yeelde you, or else ye are but dead. At that tyme there was a knight of Saint Omers retayned in wages with the king of Englande called s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Morbeck, who had serued the king of Englande, fiue yere before, because in his youth he had forseyted the Realme of Fraunce for a murder that he did at Saint Omers. It happened so well for this knight, that he was next to the king when they were about to take him, and he stepped forth into the p<sup>r</sup>ease, and by strength he came to the french king and sayde vnto him in good french (Sir yeelde you) the king behelde the knight and sayde vnto him, to whom shall I yeelde me? where is my Cosyn the Prince of Wales, if I myght see him I would speake with him, Sir Denyce answered and sayde, Sir he is not here, but yeelde you to me, and I will bring you to him : who be you quoth the king? Sir sayth he, I am Denyce of Morbeck, a knight of Arthoys : But I serue the king of England, because I am banished the realme of Fraunce, and I haue forsayted all that I had there : Then the king gaue him his right Gauntlet, sayeng I yeelde me vnto you. There was a great p<sup>r</sup>ease about the king, for euerye man cryed that he had taken the king, so that the king coude not go forwarde wyth hys young sonne Phillip wyth him for the p<sup>r</sup>ease.

The prince of Wales, who was courageous and cruell as a Lyon, toke that day great pleasure to fight and chase his enemies : The Lozde John Chandoz, who was with him of all that daye and neuer left him, nor neuer tooke heede of taking anye prisoner, at the ende of the battaile sayde to the

This Sir Geoffrey was he that would haue gotten the cap.

The french king is taken



the Prince, Sir, it were good that you rested here, and set your Banner a high in this Bushe, that your people maye draw hether, for they be soze scattered abroad, neyther can I see any mo Banners or Pennons on the French partie: wherefore sye, rest and refrethe you, for ye are soze chafed.

Then the princes Banner was set by high on a Bushe, and Trumpets and Clarions beganne to sounde, and then the Prince did of his Basenet, and the knightes for his body, and they of his Chamber were readie about him, and pight a Read pavilion presently, and then drinke was brought unto hym and to suche Lordes as were about him, who still encreased as they came from the chase, and their prisoners with them.

And when the two Marchalles were come to the Prince, he demaunded of them, and if they heard any tydings of the French king: and they answered and sayde, Sir we heare none of certaintie, but we thinke verily that he is eyther dead or taken, for he is not gone out of the battayles. Then the prince sayde to the Erle of Warwike, and to Sir Reignold of Cobham: Sirs I requyre you to go forth and hearken and inquire a truth, & returne agayne so soone as you can. These two Lordes tooke their horses and departed from the Prince, and roade by a little hill to looke about them. And they perceaved a flocke of men of armes coming together right verily: There was the French King on foote in great perill, for Englishmen and Gascons were his masters, they had taken him from Sir Denyce Morbeck perforce, and such as were the strongest sayde, I have taken him, nay quoth another I have taken him, so they strave who should have him: Then the French King, to eschewe that perill, spake unto them and sayde, Sirs, strive not, leade me and my sonne curteously to my Cofyn the prince, and fall not out for my taking, for I am so great a Lorde as maye make you all riche: the which wordes did somewhat pacifie them: howbeit, still as they went, they made ryot and braboled for the taking of the King.

When the aforesayde Lordes sawe and heard the noyes and strife amongest them, they came unto them and sayde, Sirs, what is the matter that ye strive for? Sir sayde ore of them, it is for the French King, who is here taken prisoner, and there are mo then .x. knightes and squirees that challenge the taking of him and of his sonne: Then the two Lordes entered into the prease and caused every man to drawe a back, and commaunded them in the Princes name upon paine of their heades to make no more noyes, nor to approche to the king any neerer, without they were commaunded. Then every man gave some to the Lordes, and they alighted, and did their reverence unto the king, and so brought him and his sonne quietly unto the Prince of Wales.

Allone as the two Marchalles were departed from the Prince, as before you have heard: Then the Prince demaunded of the knightes that were about him, whether any of them could tell him of the Lord James Audley: and answer was made, that he was soze hurt, and lay in a Litter, not farre off. Nowe truly sayde the Prince, I am sozy for his hurt: But go knowe if he may be brought hether, or else I will go see him where he is. Then two knightes came to the Lord Audley, and sayd, sir, the Prince hath earnestly asked for you, and is very desyrous to see you, and sayth that if you cannot come to him, he will come to you. A sye quoth the knight, I thanke the prince that

Sir Dionise Morbecke took the French King.

that will thinke on so pooze a knight as I am. And then he called, viij. of his servauntes to beare him in his Litter to the place where the Prince was. Then the Prince tooke him in his armes and kissed him, and made to him most lounyng countenance, and great cheere (and sayd) sir James I ought greatly to honour you, for by your valyantes ye have this day obteyned the commendation and fame by all our iudgements to be the most valiant knight of all other that fought at this battaile. O Sir, sayde the knight, ye say your pleasure, I would it were so, but if I have this day put forth my selfe in your service (and for the accomplishment of the bowe that before I had made) it ought not to be reputed to my prowes or force, but to dutie. Sir James, sayd the Prince, I and all ours repute and declare you in this battaile to be the best doer in Armes: And to the entent to furnishe you the better in the warres, and to encourage you to follow the same, I retaine you for ever to be my knight with five hundred markes of yerely reuenewes, the which I will assigne you out of myne inheritance in England. Sir sayde the knight God make me able to deserue the great goodnesse that ye shew me, and so he tooke his leaue of the Prince, for he was very weake.

So soone as sir James Lorde Audley was brought to his lodgyng, he sent for sir Peter Audley his brother, and for the Lorde Bartholomewe of Bunes, the Lorde Stephen of Gouseton, the Lord of Wyllly, and the Lord Raufe Ferrers: All these were of his Linage. And he called before them his foure Esquiers that had served him that day so well and truly: And then he sayde to the Lordes: Where it hath pleased my Lorde the Prince to geue me this day .v. C Markes of yerely reuenewes, for the which gift I have done him small service with my body: Sirs, sayde he to the Lordes, beholde here these foure Esquiers, who have alwayes served me truly, and specially thys day, for the honour that I have, is by their valiantnesse, and therefore I am bound to reward them. Wherefore, here before you all, I geue and resigne into their handes the gift that my Lorde Prince hath geuen me of five hundred markes of yerely reuenewes, to them and to their heyres for ever, in like maner as it was geuen me, and I cleerly disenherite my selfe thereof, and enherite them to hold the same, without any variaunce or contradiction.

The Lordes and other that were present, every of them behelde other, and sayde among themselves, this commeth of a noble and valiant courage, thus to depart with so great a gift: and they answered him with one voyce, Sir, be it as God will, we will beare witness in this behalfe, when & wheresoever we become, and so they tooke their leaue and departed.

The next day as the king departed and was going in his journey, it was tolde the king howe the Lorde Audley had geuen to his foure Esquiers the gift of the five hundred Markes that he had geuen unto him. Then the Prince sent for him, and he was brought unto the Prince in his Litter, who receyved him right curteously (and sayde) Sir James, we have knowledge that the reuenewes that we gaue you, alsoone as ye came to your lodgyng, ye gaue the same to foure Esquiers: We would knowe why ye did so, and whether ye thought the gift sufficient and worthie for you or not? Sir sayde the knight, it is of truth that I have geuen it to them, and I will utter unto you the cause why I did so: Those foure Esquiers have of long tyme served me well and truly in many great daungers: And Sir at this tyme,

Ed. j.

they

A gentle gracious Prince.

The boontis full reward of a Prince.

A noble and liberal knight.



they serued me in such wise, that if they had neuer done any thing else, I was and am bound towarde them, and befoze this day they neuer had any thing of me in rewarde. And Sir, as ye know, I was and am but a man alone, but by the courage, ayde, and comfort of them, I tooke on me to accomplishe my bowe to you befoze reherfed, and certeinly I had bene deade in the battayle if they had not beene. Wherefoze sir, when as nature and duetye dyd binde me to consider the loue that they bare vnto me, I should haue shewed my selfe to muche vnthankfull if I had not rewarded them: And God I thanke him, I haue and shall haue inough to mainteine my pooze estate, as long as I liue, and I feare nothing lesse then lacke of substance. And forasmuch as I haue done this without your licence and knowledg, I humbly beseech you to pardon me, and Sir be you well assured, that both I and my Esquiers, will serue you as well and as truly as euer we did.

Then the Prince sayd, Sir James, I must needes commend you very much in all your doings, chiefly for your valiantnes shewed in this battaille: and for the good seruice of these Esquiers, whome ye haue so much praised, I agree and allowe to them your gift, and I will render againe to you sixe C. markes in the lyke maner as ye had the other graunted vnto you befoze.

Thus this battaille ended as you haue heard, which was fought the xxij. day of September two leagues from Hoytiers. And it beganne in the morning, and ended at noone: But as then the Englishmen were not returned from the chase of their enemies. Therefore, as ye haue heard, the Princes Banner stood in a bushe to drawe all his men together, but it was night befoze all came from the chase. And as it was reported, there were slaine all the flowre and chualtrie of Fraunce. And there was taken wyth the King and the Lord Philip his sonne. xviij. Erles, beside Barons, knights, and squiers, and there were slaine. v. or. vi. thousand one and other.

When euery man was come from the chase, they had as manye prisoners as the whole armie of the Englishmen were twice in number. Wherefoze it was agreed and concluded among them, because of the great charge and doubt to keepe so manye prisoners, that they should put manye of them to raunsome incontinent in the fielde, and so they did. And the prisoners founde the Englishmen and Gascons right curteous and gentle vnto them. And all that night the prince with his armie and prisoners laye in the fielde, and euery manne made good cheere vnto his prisoner, for that day whoso euer tooke any prisoner, he was cleere his, and might quyte and raunsome him at his pleasure.

All suche as were at this battayle, were all made riche with honour and goodes, as well by raunsoming of prisoners, as by wyning of Golde, Siluer, plate, and Jewels, that was there found in the spoyle. There was no man that did set anye thing by riche harneys, whereof there was great plente, for the Frenchmen came thether very richly besene, wenyng to haue obteyned the glorie of that iourney.

When night came, the prince made to the French King and his sonne, and to the other Lordes that were taken prisoners, a supper. And first the Prince placed the French king and his sonne, the Lorde James of Burbone, the Lorde John de Arthoys, the Erle of Tankerupll, the Erle of Stampes, the Erle of Dampmartyn, the Erle of Graupll, and the Lorde of

A noble and  
gracious  
prince.

A notable  
victorye.

The honora-  
ble behauiour  
of the prince,  
to the French  
king.

of Partenay to sit all at one borde, and other Lordes knightes and squires at other Tables. And the prince himselfe serued all that supper time, neither would he sit downe for no request that the French king coulde make vnto him: For he sayde, he was not meete to sit at that table with so great and high a prince as the French King was. And then he sayde to the King, Sir for Gods sake be not sad nor shewe not anye heauie countenaunce, for though God thys daye hath not consented to folow your will: yet Sir surely the King my father I dare boldly say will beare you so much honor and amitie as he maye doe, and I doubt nothing but that ye shall so reasonably accorde and agree, that ye shall be friendes for euer together. And sye mee thinketh that ye ought to reioyce, though the iourney be not as ye would haue had it, for this daye ye haue wonne the high renowne of Prooves, and haue this daye in valyauntnesse exceeded all other of your partie. Sir, I speake not this to mock you, for all that be on oure partie and sawe euery mannes deedes, doe plainely agree and conclude in one sentence to geue you the Chapelet. Therewith the French men beganne to muttor, and sayde among themselves, the prince had spoken nobly, and by all coniectures he was lyke to proue a noble and worthe prince, if God did sende him lyfe.

When supper was done, euery man went to his lodging with their prisoners, the next daye in the morning when euery thing was readie trusted by, then they tooke their horses and roade towarde Hoytiers. The same night there was come to Hoytiers the Lord of Roy with an hundred speares he was not at the battail, but he met the Duke of Normandy nere to Chauigny, and the Duke sent him to Hoytiers to keepe the towne, butill they heard other tydings.

When the Lorde of Roye knewe that the English men were comyng so nere the Citie: he caused euery man to be armed, and euery man to go to his defence to the walles, Towres and gates: and the Englishmen passed by without anye approchyng, for they were so laden with Golde, Siluer, plate, Jewels and prisoners that in their returning they assaulted no fortes.

They thought it much if they coulde bring the French King and other prisoners with all their spoyle in safetie to Bourdeaur. And they roade but small iourneys because of their prisoners and carriages, so that they roade in a whole daye not past foure or fiue leagues at the most, and lodged euer betimes, and roade close together in good aray, sayng the Marshalles battayles, who roade euer befoze with fiue hundred men of armes to open the passages as the Prince should passe. But they met with no encounters, for euery man was so afrayde that they were fled to the Fortresses.

Thus the Prince and his company did so muche, that they passed thorough Hoyteau and Kaynton without daunmage, and came to Blay, and there passed the ryuer of Geron, & arryued in the good City of Bourdeaur.

It cannot be exprest what great feasting and cheere they of the Citie and the Clergie made to the Prince, and how honorably they were there receaued. The prince brought the French king into the Abbey of Saint Androis, and there they lodged both, the King in the one parte and the prince in the other.

And here were many chaloners of the French King to be their prisoner: But in the ende, partly by the confession of the French king, and partly by

D.ij.

by



by right of armes and tokens shewed by Sir Denyce Morbeck, it was thought his right: but notwithstanding for the appealing of all thinges the prince differred the iudgement of the matter to his father the king, when they shoulde come into Englande. And yet in the meane season, the prince secretly caused two thousande Nobles to be deliuered to Syr Denyce Morbeck to maintaine his estate.

Great ioy made in England for the taking of the French king.

1356  
31

The Prince of Wales returned into England with the French king and his other prisoners.

In England when newes came of the victorie of the battaile of Poitiers, and of the taking of the French king, there was great ioy and gladnesse, and great solemnities were made in all churches, Cities, and Townes, throughout all the Realme.

Nowe approached the tyme that the Prince of Wales had made prouision of Ships and furniture to the same, for the conueyaunce and bringing ouer of the French king, and his other Prisoners into England. And when he had all thynges in a redinesse, he called vnto him the Lorde Dalbert, the Lorde Masident, the Lorde Laspare, the Lorde of Dunvers, and the Lorde of Rosen, and gaue them commaundement to kepe the Countrie there vntill his returne againe.

Then he tooke the Sea, and certaine Lordes of Gascoyne with him. The French king was in a vessell by himselfe to be the more at his ease, and was accompanied with two hundreth men of armes, and two thousand Archers. For it was shewed the Prince that the thre Estates, by whome the Realme of Fraunce was gouerned, had layde in Normandy, and Crotuye two great armyes, to the entent to meete with him, and to get the French king out of his handes if they might. But there appered no such matter, and yet they were on the sea. xi. dayes, and on the. xij. day they arriued at Sandwich. Then they issued out of their Ship, and landed and lay there all that night, and taryed there two dayes after to refrefhe them: And on the thirde day they roade to Cauntorbury.

The French king landed at Sandwich

When the king of England knewe of their commyng, he commaunded the Citezens of London to prepare themselves and their Citie, and to make the same seemely and meete to receyue such a man as the French king was, which the Citezens of London did accordyngly.

The French king is honourably receyued into London.

And from Cauntorbury they came to Rochester, and there taryed a day, and from Rochester to Dartford, and there taryed a day, and from thence the next day to London, where they were honourably receyued, and so they were in euery good towne as they passed.

The French king roade through London on a white Courser well apparelled: and the Prince on a little blacke Hobby by him. Thus the French king was conueyed along the Citie vntill he came to the Sauoy, the which house apperteyned to the heritage of the Duke of Lancaster. And there the French king kept his house a long season, and often tymes the king and Queene came thether to see him, and made him great feasting and cheere.

An Ambassade sent from the Pope to increase a peace.

Soone after by the commaundement of Pope Innocent the sixt, there came into Englande the Lorde Taylleran, Cardinall of Piergozt, and the Lorde Nicholas, Cardinall of Dargell. They treated for a peace betwene the two kinges, but nothing came to effect: But yet at the last a truce betwene the two kinges & all their assistentes was concluded for to endure vnto the feast of Saint John baptist, 1359. that is to say, for thre yeres. And

out

out of this truce was excepted the Lorde Philip of Nauerre and his alyes, the Countesse of Mountford, and the Duchie of Britaine.

Anone after, the French king was remoued from the Sauoy vnto the Castell of Windsor, and all his householde, and went on hunting and halwing there at his pleasure, and the Lorde Philip his sonne with him: but all the other prisoners abode stil at London, and yet went to see the king at their pleasure, and were receyued onely vpon their faythes.

In the latter ende of this yere, sayth Fabian, the king did holde a royall Justes in Smithfielde in London, and many a noble feate of Armes was there done to the great honour of the king and of all the realme of England. At the which disport were present, the king of England, and the French king and the king of Scottes his prisoners, with many noble Estates of all the thre prouinces or Kingdomes: whereof the greater number of the straungers were then prisoners.

A Joutes holden in Smithfielde.

Ye haue heard befoze of the taking of the king of Scottes prisoner, by the Queene in the tyme that king Edward was occupied about the siege of Calice, which now was. xi. yeres past and more. And so soone as the aforesayde Cardinales had concluded a truce betweene the king of England and the French king, they also accompanied with the bishop of Saint Andrewes in Scotland, fell to a treatie with the king of England, for the deliuerance of the king of Scottes. And the same was concluded in this maner.

1357  
32

A truce of peace concluded betwene the French king and the king of Englande.

That the king of Scottes should neuer after arme him selfe against the king of England in his realme, nor counsaile, nor consent to any of his subiectes to arme them, nor to grieue nor make warre against England.

Also the king of Scottes after his returne into his realme, should endeavour himselfe with all diligence that his people should agree, that the realme of Scotland should holde in fee, and do homage to the king of England. And if the realme would not agree thereto: Yet the king of Scottes to swere solemnly to keepe good peace with the king of Englande, and to binde himselfe and his Realme to paye within. x. yeres after, five hundreth thousande Nobles as froissart sayth: But Fabian sayth one hundreth thousande Markes. And at the summoning of the king of England, to sende good pledges and hostages for the same: as the Erle of Douglas, the Erle of Moray, the Erle of Mare, the Erle of Surlant, the Erle of Fife, the Baron of Wersley, and Sir William of Caumoyle. And all these to abide in England as prisoners and hostages for the king their Lorde, vnto the tyme that the seuerall paymentes of the money aforesayd were fully contented and payde.

The Scottish kinges ransome.

Of these ordinaunces and bondes, were made instrumentes publiques, and letters patentes, sealed by both the kinges.

When all these thinges were ordered and done, then the Scottish king departed and went into his realme, & his wife Queene Isabell sister to king Edward, with him. And when he came within his realme, he was honorably receyued, and he lay at Saint Johns towne vpon the ryuer of Tyne, while his Castell of Edenburgh was newly reedified.

The Scottish king and his wife departed into Scotland.

Now befoze the day of the truce last concluded with Fraunce, were fully expired, the warre was newly begon. But anone after that, a peace was made betweene the king of Nauarre, and the Duke of Normandy.

1358  
33

And in this tyme the king of Englande and the Prince his sonne, the

Ed. iij.

French



A peace com-  
mence of and  
agreed upon,  
betwene the  
French king  
and the king  
of England.

French king, and the Lord Jaques of Burbon met at London, & they foure beyng alone together in counsaile, agreed vpon a peace vpon certein articles written in a letter, and sent the saue into Fraunce to the Duke of Normandie. When the Duke had receyued these letters, he demaunded counsaile of the king of Nauarre who then was present with him, and he counsailed him that the Prelates and Nobles of Fraunce, and the good tobones should assemble themselves, and to say their mindes therein: the which thing was done. And it seemed to the king of Nauarre, and to the Duke, and to his, and to all the counsaile of the Realme, that the sayde treatie was to greivous to be borne: Wherefore they answered all with one voyce, that the peace and conditions cōteyned in that letter, was so preiudicial to them & to the realme, that they yet would endure greater mischiefe then they had done, rather then in such wise to minish and abace the state of Fraunce: and sayd also that they would rather suffer their king to lie still in England.

And when the French king vnderstood howe the Realme of Fraunce would not agree to his appointment he sayd. A sonne Charles: ye be counsailed by the king of Nauarre, who deceaucth you, and will deceaue suche it. as you be.

A noble and  
courageous  
Prince.

And when the King of Englande knew what answer was brought, he sayde: Before winter be past I will enter into Fraunce, in purssuant and valiaunt maner, and there will abyde so long tyll I haue an ende of thys warre, or else peace at my pleasure and to myne honour, and then he made the greatest prouision for warre, that ever he made.

The same season, about the middes of August, the Lorde John of Craon Archebishop of Reynes, and they of the Citie of Paris, and of the Countie thereabout, with certaine knightes and squires of the Countie of Rochell and Laon, went and layde siege to the Castell of Koucy, and therelate five weekes. And then they within yeilded by their lyues and goodes saued, and to go whether they list.

And of this they had letters patents sealed by the Archbishop, by the Erle Porcien and the Erle of Brayne: But for all that, when they departed, the commons that were there, rose against them and slue the most parte of them, for all the Lordes, and they had much paine to saue the Capitaine called Hankyn Frauncois. And thus the Erle of Koucy had agayne his awne Castell.

Sir Robert  
Knolles.  
Sir James  
Dyke.  
Thomlyn  
Foulke.

And in this tyme (sayth Fabian) Sir Robert Knolles and Sir James Dyke Englishmen warred in Briteyne, and with the helpe of one Thomlyn Fowlke, they came earely in a morning vnto a towne that was nere vnto Ancore called Regennes, which then was in the rule of the Englishmen and out of that towne they tooke more strength and went streight to Ancore being within two English myles, and scaled the walles with ladders, and quit them so manfully that they had the rule of the towne before the Sunne ryng. And in that Castell was taken prisoner Sir Gyllam de Chalyn the sonne of the Erle of Ancerre, his wyfe and many other.

Ancore taken

In taking of which towne and Castell, few were slayne, howbeit there came of armed men aboue to thousand to defend the towne, but it was taken before they came. Then the Englishmen searched so neere, that as the common report went, they founde Jewels as though they had bene priue to the

hyding

hyding of them, and they were of great value: Among the which they found certaine skinnes of Fures which were valued at v. M. Mottons of Gold.

Mottons of  
Golde.

The Motton of Golde was a coyne bled in Fraunce and Briteyn, and is of the value of five shyllings sterlyng.

When the Englishmen had pilled and spoyled the towne by the space of viij. dayes, and ransomed such as were of substance: Then they shewed vnto the rulers of the towne, that they would set it on fyre, except they would geue vnto them a certayne some of money. For the which the rulers, after conference had among themselves, agreed to geue the English Capitaines, xl. thousand Mottons and lx. pearles valued at ten thousande Mottons, the which fiftie thousand Mottons amounted neere vnto. xij. thousand and five hundred pounde sterlyng.

The king of Englande in all this tyme made his prouision for his voyage into Fraunce, suche and so great as had not beene sene before: For he had sent into Almain to al the Lordes of the Empire that serued him before, and they came at their daye appointed vnto Calice, and there came a great number mo then were required, for they came of themselves, vpon hope and gayne of the spoyle of Fraunce, and they taried for the king, from the beginning of August vntill October followyng. And to save truth, they taried so long, that by reason victuals wared skant and dere there were many of them that were fayne to sell the best Jewels they had.

1359  
34

Then the king of Englande sent ouer before the Duke of Lancaster with foure hundred speares and two thousande Archers. And when the Duke came to Calice, the Lordes that were straungers made great ioy and were glad of him, and demaunded tydings of the Kinges comming. The Duke excused the king and sayde that all his prouision was not full ready: and he sayde vnto them, gentle lordes to tarie here is to no purpose, I will ryde forth into Fraunce and see what we can finde there, and I pray you to ryde forth with me, and I will deliuer you a certayne some of money to pay your costes in your lodgings, and ye shall haue furniture of victuall to carie with you. And the Lordes graunted the Duke, and so roade forth and passed by Saint Omers, they were a two thousande speares, beside Archers and other footemen, and at the last came to Mount Eloy a good Abbey and a riche neere to Arras, and there taried foure dayes to refrethe them and their hoxles. From thence they went to Cambrey and there made a great assault, but they within defended themselves valiauntly by the ayde and comfort of the Erle of Saint Paule. And when the Englishmen sawe that nothing was there to be had, they departed and went ouer the ryuer of Some, and came to a Towne called Cheresey, where they founde great plentie of Bread and Wyne. And here the Duke had knowledge that the king was arryued at Calice, who had sent him worde that he and all his companie should come back agayne to him. And then the Duke and his companie returned toward Calice & met with the king by the way, within foure leagues of Calice. And with the king were a great company of Lordes both straungers and other, whose names I ouerpasse. And when the king and the Duke and all their companie were met, the company was so great, that all the Countie was couered with them. And there the Almaynes, Perceuares, Brabanters, Behemoyes, they altogether shewed vnto the king how they

The Duke  
of Lancaster  
with certaine  
straungers  
entereth into  
Fraunce.

The Duke  
of Lancaster  
returneth to  
come to king  
Edwarde,  
who was  
nowe com-  
ming with a  
power from  
Calice.



they had spent all their goodes, horses and harnesses solde. So that little or nothing was left them to doe him seruire, for which purpose they came: neyther had they wherewith to beare their charges home agayne into their countreies, wherefore they desyred his noblenesse to haue some consideration of them. The king answered and sayd, how he was not as then readie to geue them a playne aunswere: But sayde, Sirs, I thinke ye be soze trauayled, wherefore go your wayes and refrethe you two or thre dayes in Calice, and this night or to morow I will take counsaile and send you such an aunswere that of reason ye will be content withall.

Then these straungers departed from the king and from the Duke, and roade towarde Calice, and they had not ryd halfe a league, but they met a great multitude of cariages. And after them came the Prince of Wales, nobly and richely besene and all his company: whereof there were such a number, that all the Countrey was couered with them. And the Prince roade a soft pace readie raunged in battaile, as though they should incontinent haue fought. Thus the prince roade euer a league or two after the kinges hoste, and euer the cariages went betweene both the hostes, the which order the straungers lyked meruelously well.

When these straungers had well behelde this company, and had reuerently saluted the prince and suche Lordes as were with him, and the prince louingly receaued them, as he could doe it right well. Then in taking their leaue of him, they shewed him their necessitie, desyring him to consyder of them, and he promised them so to doe.

So the straungers roade on vntill they came to Calice, and the second day after the king sent them their aunswere by three worthy knights, which was that the king had not brought sufficient treasure with him to pay all that they desyred, and also to perforce the enterprize that he hath taken in hand: But if they would go forth with him, and to take such fortune as shall happen, good or euill, they to haue their parte: So that they demaunded no wages, neyther allowaunce for horse nor expence, nor any dammage that they may happen to haue: for sayd they, the king hath brought men enough out of his realme to furnishe his enterprize.

This aunswere pleased not greatly the straunge Lordes, and the company that were about them: Howbeit, they could haue none other, but yet the king of his goodnesse gaue them a somme of money to bring them home. Howbeit, some of them went agayne to the king & serued at their aduenture.

And before the king departed Englande, he tooke this order: first he caused all the Lordes of Fraunce that were Prisoners, to be put into diuers Castelles, and other sure places. And the French king was committed to the Tower of London, and his yong sonne with him, and kept close: And then placed certeine Lordes for the safe keping & good gouernment of the realme.

But to retorne, the kyng passed forward, hauing his Constable the Erle of Marche before him, which had in his battaile fivie hundred knights, and a thousand Archers.

Then folowed the king, who had in his battaile thre thousand men of armes, and fivie thousand Archers, well trimmed, and in good order.

Then came all the cariages, the which conteyned two leagues in length, and they caried with them, hande Milles, Quens to bake in, and forges

King Edward chargedly some of those that came vnto for.

The order that the king toke in Eng- land before his departure

The maner and order of the kinges battaile.

forges for Iron, and other necessaryes.

Then folowed the Princes battaile and of his brethren, wherein were a thousand speares nobly horsed, and richely besene in order, ready to fight, And in the end of the kinges battaile, there were. v. C. Arlettes wyth Hattookes and Arres, to make euen the wayes for the cariages to passe.

The king thus passed forward into Fraunce with his armie, and at the last came to Reynes, where he layde siege seuen weekes, but could not preuaile, and so passed to Paris, and from thence to Charters, soze spoyling, brennyng, and destroyng the Countrey as he went, & likewise did the prince his sonne with his battaile. So that the Countrey of Fraunce was so greatly wasted, spoyled and decayed, that they were glad to seeke for peace. And at the last by the speciall labour of a fricr called Symond of Langres, and was also a Legate from the Pope, a day of entreatie was appoynted, and a place of metyng for the same.

And at the sayde day and place, there came for the king of England, the Duke of Lancaster, the Erles of Warwike, and of Northhampton, with sir John Chandos, sir Gualter of Manny, and sir William Cheyne knights.

And for the Regent of Fraunce appeared there, the Lorde fewe Constable of Fraunce, the Lord Bociquant then Marshall of Fraunce, the Lord of Saranciers, the Lord Aigney of the Countrey of Aienne, sir Symond Bucy, sir Guichard of Anglie knights, the which treatie came to none effect.

And there came vnto the king to a place called Dones, the Bishop of Beauuays then Chaunceloz of Normandy, with other, and so behaued themselves vnto the king, that a newe day of treatie was appoynted to be holden at Breynguy within a Myle of Charters, vpon the first day of May then next ensuyng.

At which day of appoyntment, the aforesayde Duke of Lancaster, with the sayd Erles of Warwike, and Northhampton, and other, appeared at the the same place for king Edward.

And for the Regent there appered the aforesayde Bishop with many other Lordes and knights, and Spirituall men, to the number of. cxiij. persones, whose names I ouerpasse for length of tyme.

These persones applied them so diligently, that within the space of. liij. dayes they agreed vpon an bnitie and peace, the which was comprised in. xli. articles, the effect whereof hereafter follow.

First the king of England and his heyres kings, with all the landes that he then had in Gascoyne, and Guyan, should haue to him and to his heyres for euer, the Citie and Castell of Doytiers with all the appurtenaunces to that Lordship belongyng. Also the Citie of Limoges, with all the landes of Limosyn, and all other their appurtenaunces. The Citie and Castell of Pirigort, with all the landes and reuenues to the same Lordship belongyng. The Erledome of Bygort, with all that therevnto belongeth, the Erledome of Doytiau, with all the appurtenaunces: the Seignioy of Beluyse, the Lordship of Erantes, Crauchour and Crancon, the Cities of Agen, Agenoys, and of Caours, and Lordshippe of Caoursyn. The Cities of Charbe, of Gaure, Angolesme, of Rodes, and of Raverne. The Lordship of Mounstrell, with all the reuenues therevnto belongyng. The seignioy of Calice, Marguise, of Sandgate & Coligne. The Lordship of Hammes,

Reynes besieged.

Symond of Langres a fricr.

An intreacie and communication for a peace, but it tooke none effect.

A peace concluded.

The some and effect of the articles conteyned in the peace.



of Wales and of Duy. The Erledome of Guynes, with all the profites ther-  
vnto belongyng. All which Lordshippes, honoures, Castelles, Townes, Ci-  
ties, and Townes, king Edward the thirde and his heyres should haue and  
holde for euermore, in as royall wyse and like maner as haue done the kings  
of Fraunce, without doying for them any homage, fealtie, or other dueitie.

The king here agreeth to refuse the name of the French king and no more to call himselfe by that name.

2 And the sayd king Edward after that day, for him and his heyres kinges  
of England, should cleerly renounce and geue ouer all his title, right, and  
interest that he had vnto the Crowne of Fraunce, and specially the name of  
the king of Fraunce.

3 Also all his right that he had to the Duchie of Normandie, of Thoraie,  
of Aniou, of Britaine, and of the souereintie of the Erledome of Flaundyng,  
and of all other Lordshippes, Cities, Castels, honoures, Townes or Townes,  
that anye king of Englande before that day had any right vnto within the  
realme of Fraunce: and to holde him content with the abouenamed Lord-  
shippes, without any further claime.

The ralsome whiche the French king payde was. b hundred thousand pounds.

4 Furthermore it was agreed that the frenche king shoulde pay for hys  
ransome three Millions of Scutes of Golde, whereof two should alwaye  
make a noble Engliche, the which do come vnto sterlyng money, fyue hun-  
dred thousand pound.

Of the which three Millions of Scutes, ten hundred thousand, which  
is one Million, to be payed at Calice the first day of June next folowing the  
sayde treatie. And another Million to be payde at the sayd towne of Calice  
within. iiii. Monethes after the French king was come to Calice. And the  
thirde Million, to be payde at London in two yeres and a halfe, that is to say,  
at Michelmase come a yere after the agreement, foure hundred thousand  
Scutes: And at Michelmase next after ensuyng, foure hundred thousand  
Scutes: And at Easter folowynge two hundred thousand Scutes, in full  
payment of the three Millions, or. xxx. C. thousand Scutes.

The charge of the French kinges bet for a moneth.

5 And further it was agreed that after the French king was come to Ca-  
lice, he should rest him there foure Monethes: whereof the first Moneth  
should be at the charge of king Edward, and the other three Monethes to  
be at the cost and charge of the sayd French king, and to pay for euery of the  
sayd three Monethes, ten thousand Royalles of Fraunce, which at that tyme  
were in value euery Royall. xxi. pence, and so a Monethes charge after the  
account of our money was. iiii. C. lxx. pound.

And it was also agreed, that John the French king for the tyme, nor any  
king of Fraunce after him should ayde or assist the Scottes against king Ed-  
ward, nor against his heyres kinges of England. Neyther shall king Ed-  
ward nor his heyres kinges, allie them with the Fleminges, nor ayde nor as-  
sist them agaynst the sayd king John, nor his heyres kinges of Fraunce.

6 And for the title and right of the Duchy of Briteyn, which was in que-  
stion betweene the Erles of Bloys and of Mountford, it was agreed that  
both the kinges beyng at Calice, the sayde parties should be called before  
them. And if a peace betweene them by the two kings might not be set, then  
the sayde kinges to assigne certaine indifferent persons to agree the sayde  
Erles, and they to haue halfe a yere of respite for to quiet the matter. And  
if the sayde persons so by the two kinges assigned, could not agree the sayde  
Erles by the time aforesayde: That then eyther of the sayde Erles to make  
the

the best prouision for himselfe with the helpe of his friendes or other wise,  
whereby they might attayne to their right and clayme of the sayde Duchy.

7 Prouyded alwayes, that neyther of the sayd kinges, nor anye of their  
sonnes shall ayde or assist any of the sayde Erles, by reason whereof the  
peace betweene them agreed might be losed or broken. And it is also further  
prouided, that vnto whether of the sayd two Erles the sayd Duchy shall fall  
by sentence of man or otherwise, that the homage of it shall alwayes be done  
to the frenche king.

All which ordynances and agreements, with many mo that would aske  
long leasure to wyte, were ratified and confirmed by the instruments and  
seales of the prince of Wales, vpon the party of king Edward for Englands  
partie, and by Charles Regent of Fraunce for that partie, as by their let-  
ters patents and their seales then sealed appered, bearyng date that one at  
Louiers in Normandye the. xvi. day of May, and that other at Paris the  
tenth daye of the sayde Moneth and yere.

And moreouer, eyther of the sayd two princes, that is to saye Edward  
prince of Wales was swozne in the presence of. vii. French knightes vpon the  
Sacrament of the Altar after the thirde Agnus was sayde in time of a low  
Masse, at the foresayde Louiers, long or sayde, that he to the vttermost of  
hys power shoulde vpholde and keepe the aforesayde peace in euery point,  
as farre as in him was. And in lyke maner was Charles then Regent of  
Fraunce swozne in the presence of. vii. English knightes to performe the same.

After which treatie thus finished and ended, king Edward with hys  
sonnes and Nobles of Englande tooke shyping at Honflet in Normandy  
the twentieth day of Maye, and sayled into Englande, leauyng behinde hym  
the Erle of Warwike for to guyde the Englishmen that remayned in Guyan  
and other places, & to see that peace which was then proclaymed thorough  
France were kept & not broken by them, which for al that endured not long.

And in thys time of king Edwards being in Fraunce, John the French  
king and his sonne, who were in the Tower of London, did at the returne  
of king Edward feast him and all his Lords in the sayd Towre of London,  
and then peace was proclaymed, and the French king set at his libertie.

Peace pro-  
claymed.

The eyght day of the Moneth of Julie next ensuyng, the French king  
landed at Calice and was lodged in the Castell, and there taried the com-  
ming of king Edward.

The French  
king goeth to  
Calice.

The. ix. day of October king Edward arriued at Calice, and went  
streight vnto the Castell to visite king John, which welcomed him with a  
louing and friendly countenance, and when the king should departe to his  
lodging into the towne, the French king required him, that he with hys  
sonnes would dyne with him the morow folowynge, which the king graun-  
ted. At which dynner the king was first set and kept the estate, and then se-  
condarily the French king sate: Thirde the prince of Wales, and fourthly  
the Duke of Lancaster, and no mo at that table. In the time of which dyn-  
ner came to the Castle the Erle of Flaundyng, whome the French king wel-  
comed in most louing maner.

King Ed-  
ward arri-  
ueth at Ca-  
lice.

And when the sayde dynner with all hono: was ended, two of the kings  
sonnes of England, and two of the French kinges sonnes, tooke leaue of  
their fathers, and roade toward Boleyne, where at that time the Regent of  
Fraunce



France was. The which met them in the mid waye betweene Calice and Boleyn, and so conueyghed them vnto Boleyn, and rested there with them that night. And vpon the morow the Regent himselfe came to Calice to hys father, and after his father and he came both to the kinges palace to dyner, whome king Edward receaued with much ioye and honour, and made vnto them a sumptuous feast.

And after two dayes, the Regent departed from Calice, and returned vnto Boleyn, and the two sonnes of king Edward returned from Boleyn to Calice.

The. xxiii. day of October next followyng, both the kinges beyng in two traueses, and in one Chapel at Calice, a Masse was sayde before them, to the offering of which Masse neither of them came. But when the Pare was bozne first to the french king, and then to king Edward, and eyther of them refused to kisse it first: The french king roase vp and came toward king Edward: wherof he beyng aware, roase vp and met with him, and refused the Pare, and eyther killed other. At the which masse, eyther of them was solemnly sworne to maintaine the articles of the sayde peace. And for more assurance of the same, many Lordes vpon both parties were also sworne, to maintaine the same to their powers.

The cause that the french king thus sojourned at Calice, as before it was agreed, was for the discharge of the first payment of his raunsome, and also for the deliuerie of certaine towne which yet the Englishmen had not in possession.

The next day after the takyng of the aforesayd othe by the two kinges, that was the. xrb. day of October, the french king was freely deliuered, and then he departed from Calice, and roade toward Boleyn: Whome king Edward conueyed a myle vpon his way, at which myles ende they departed with kissing, and other louing maner: And Prince Edward kept on his way with the french king, and so conueyed him to Boleyn, where he taried that night. And vpon the morow the sayde Prince Edward, and Charles Duke of Normandie, with the Erle of Estampes and other noble men there then beyng present, were againe sworne to mainteyne and holde the sayde peace, without fraud, colour, or deceyt. And that done, the sayde Prince takyng his leaue, returned that night to Calice. And so it may appeare vnto you that king John stood as prisoner by the space of foure yeres, and moze. And after king Edward had dispatched all his busynesse at Calice, he returned into England. But before the king came from Calice, he sent into England such hostages as the french king had left for the performace of y Articles contained in the last peace, and the names of the hostages were these, as folowe.

Philip Duke of Orleans some tyme son to king Philip of France, and also his two Nephewes.  
The Duke of Aniove.  
The Duke of Berry.  
The Duke of Burbon.  
The Erle of Alanson.  
The Lorde John of Stampes.  
Guy of Bloys Erle of that Countie.

Lewes of Bloys his brother.  
The Erle of Saint Paule.  
The Erle of Harecourt.  
The Erle Daulphyn of Auergne.  
Sir Ingram Lorde Cobury.  
The Erle of Porcen.  
The Erle of Brene.  
The Lorde Homozency.  
The Lorde Roze.

The

The Lorde of Peaur.  
The Lorde of Stoutuyle.  
The Lorde of Clerettes.  
The Lorde of Swenaunt.  
The Lorde of Towre.

The Lorde of Auergne, and diuers other Lordes and knightes: Besydes these there were two or thre of the best Citizens of euery of the best Cities of France.

And all these the king sent ouer, and commissions also that they should be well bled and intreated, the which was well obserued: for they passed their tyme in the Citie of London, and about where they would, euen as they would themselues. And shortly after king Edward returned into Englande.

And in this yere the Lady Elizabeth daughter to the Erle of Gloucester reedified Uniuersitie Hall in Cambridge, which had bene consumed wyth fyre, and named it Clare hall.

Clare hall in Cambridge.

Some after the returne of the french king into France, there were generally throughout all France, sundrie companies went together robyng and spoylyng the Countie, and they were called the Companions. And the number of them so encreased, that they could be none otherwise subdued, but by a strong army: But they so preuailed against the french kings power and did so much mischief in France, that it was sayde and affirmed, that they did more harme then all the warres that Englande had with France. And truly before they were suppressed, it cost many a man his life. The number of them as sayth Froysart, at the first were foure thousand, and after increased to ten thousand, and so to. xx. thousande, and. xxx. thousande and mo. The occasion of their begynnyng, as is alleged in the french Chronicle, was the warres of England, who made such a spoyle and destruction in France, by brennyng of Villages and otherwise, that the husbandmen and their seruautes, and other labouryng men entered into an ydlenesse, and so flocked in companies: wherof sprang these Companions.

This company were named by the Frenchmen Companions

The cause of stealing and pilfing is idlenesse.

And in this yere (as sayth Fabian) was a great dearth in England, both of men and bestes, duryng the which tyme the noble Duke Henry of Lancaster dyed. And after his death Sir John of Gaunt Erle of Richmond the kinges third sonne, which had maryed the sayd Dukes daughter, was made Duke of that Duchie. And in this tyme John Wickliffe did read the diuinitie Lecture in Oxforde.

1361  
36

Henry Duke of Lancaster dyed.

This yere the french king, bearyng great loue and fauor to king Edward and to the Queene his wife, and to their children, came into England to visite them, and to make mery with them, and the. xxiii. day of January, he came to Eltham, where then the king and Queene was, and there dined, and after dinner the king conueyed him most honourably through the Citie of London vnto the Sauoye: where he lay vntill the begynnyng of Marche next folowyng, and then a greivous sicknesse tooke him, of the which he dyed the. viij. day of Aprill next folowyng. 1363. and after was carryed into France, and was buryed at Saint Dionise besyde Paris.

1362  
37

The death of John the french king.

And this yere king Edward created Lionell his sonne Duke of Clarence, and sir Edmond his other sonne, Erle of Cambridge.

Lionell the kings second sonne made Duke of Clarence.

And in this yere there were thre kinges that came to visite and see king Edward. First the king of France, the king of Cyprus, & the king of Scots.

About this tyme king Edward helde a great counsaile in Englande for the better ordering of the realme, and specially for the kinges children.

1363  
38

Cl.

For



For it was considered, that the prince of Wales helde a great and a noble estate (as it was right mete for him to doe) for he was valiaunt, puissaunt and riche, and had great possessions & heritage in Aquytayne, where was abundance of al riches welth and prosperity. Wherefore it was thought most mete for the prince did remayne in those parts, for he had sufficient in that Duchy to maintaine his estate. And also al the Barons and knights of Aquytayne did earnestly desyre to haue him among them, for the which they had made their earnest request to the king. For although Sir John Chandos was to them right curteous and friendly: yet they rather coueted to haue their awne naturall Lorde and Souereigne.

The prince was very wylling to agree vnto this deuise, and so was the good Ladye his wyfe, and they prepared themselues with all speede accordyng to their estates. And when euery thing was readie, they tooke their leaue of the king, and of the Quene, and of their brethren, and departed out of England, and with a prosperous winde came to Burdeaur, and shortly after tooke possession of his Duchy of Guyan, and afterwarde did homage to his father for the same.

About this time also dyed the Lady Isabell the kinges mother, which was wyfe to king Edward the second, and daughter vnto Phillip le Beau, sometime French king. And she was buried in London, at the Frier Priours, commonly called the Gray Fryers (which nowe is a parische Church and is called Christes Church) right nobly and honourably, with all the prelates and Barons of Englande, and all the Lordes of Fraunce that then lay here as hostages.

In this time, or a little before, a great and greuous complaynt was made by the Lordes and commons of Englande to the king, that the realme susteyned many mischices and inconueniences, for that the Lawyers pleaded all their ples in lawe in French, and not in English: wherefore it was ordeyned and enacted by parliament that from thenceforth all ples, which are to be pleded in any of the kinges Courtes, before any of his iustices, or in any other his Courts, or before any his other ministers, or in the Courts and places of any other Lordes within the Realme, shalbe pleaded, sued, and defended, answered, debated and iudged in the Englishe tongue, and that the same be entred and entrolled in Latyn.

This yere on Trinitie Sunday Charles sonne and heyre to John the French king, was crowned king of Fraunce in the Citie of Reyns, wyth great pompe and solempnitie, and so was the Queene his wyfe daughter to Peter Duke of Burbone.

And as Fabian sayth, in this yere, because vpon S. Stephyns day the king finished and ended all his warres with Fraunce, he therefore in the worship of S. Stephyn began the foundation of S. Stephyns Chapell at Westmynster, and Richard the second sonne of Prince Edward, called the black prince, fynished the same.

In this yere was borne Edward, the first sonne of Prince Edward, the which died when he was about eyght yeres of age.

And about this time one Barthrain de Claicon a Norman with an army of Frenchmen entered the lande of Castile, and warred vpon Peter, then king of that lande, and so behaued him, that in lesse then foure Moneths, he chased

Edward the prince did homage to his father for the Duchy of Guyan.

Isabell daughter vnto the french king and wyfe vnto king Edward: the seconde buried in the Church that now is called Christes Church with in Newgate in London.

A complaint made of the Lawyers for pleadynge in french.

It were a good order, that all the Lawe were in Latyn.

Charles the french kings sonne crowned king of Fraunce.

1364

39

Saint Stephens Chapell at westmynster begunne.

1365

40

Edward the first sonne of Prince Edward.

chased the sayde Peter out of his awne lande, and crowned his brother named Henrye king of Castile, at a Towne called Burges vpon Easter daye: wherefore the sayde Peter constrained by necessitie, was compelled to come to Burdeaur to craue ayde of Prince Edward.

This Peter was rightfull heyre vnto the Crowne of Castile, and Henry his brother (as most writers affirme) was a bastard. But this Peter was of so vile conditions, that his subiectes fauoured him not. And so thys warre continued a season betweene his brother and him, in the which the Prince with his Archers tooke partie with this Peter, and the french king with speares tooke party with Henry.

And in this time King Edward forbade that any money, commonly called Peter pence, should eyther be gathered or payde to Rome.

In this yere also prince Edward had his second sonne borne at Burdeaur, whose name was Richard, and was afterwarde king, by the name of Richarde the second.

This yere at the importunitie, sute and great entreatie of Done Peter King of Spaine, Edward prince of Wales went with him into Spayne with a strong power, and the Prince overcame the Spaniards and frenchmen in a strong battayle, where the number of them were foure to one of the princes power, and the prince restozed king Peter to his former estate as king of Spaine. But not long after the princes returnyng home agayne to Burdeaur, the aforesayde Henry so repayred his army and gaue a new onset, that in the ende he bitterly banquished Peter and put him to death, and then reigned himselfe quietly. I am the shorter herein because this properly doth not touch the warres and affayres of Englande, which is the chiefe thing that I purpose in this Collection.

Prince Edward after his comming out of Spayne where he had spent a great some of money, and yet a number of the Souldyours that went out with him, whome king Peter promised to pay, came home agayne vnpayde and lnygered and still hanged vpon the prince, wherefore he to rayse a masse or great some of money, deuyded to set great taxes and impositions vpon the people of Aquitayne: which thing the Erle of Arminack, of Bret, of Berrygozte, and other noble men would not in any wise consent vnto, but appealed to the french king for remedy, and in such wise perswaded him, that he contrary to the league and peace lately made, summoned the prince to appeare at Paris: By meane whereof the peace was broken, and open warre agayne proclaymed betweene both princes to the great mortalitie and desolation of people on both parties, but the most losse and dammage fell alwayes to the king of England. In so much that in the ende, he lost the moze parte of the lands which were graunted him by the composition and agreement of peace. And no boe fortune, which pleasauntly had smiled vpon king Edward the space of .xl. yeres, in hys latter dayes stowardlye frowned and chaunged her Copie.

This yere in the moneth of May the frenche king in his high court of parliament holden at Paris proceeded in iudgement vpon the appellations before made by the Erle of Arminack, the Lorde of Bret, and Erle of Berrygozt, agaynst prince Edward: wherevpon discord and variaunce began to take place betweene the two kings, insomuch, that by meane of the sayd three

Ce.ij.

Lordes

The king for biddeth Peter pence to be gathered.

1366

41

Richard the second sonne of prince Edward borne at Burdeaur

Prince Edward goeth into Spaine and restozeth king Peter to his former estate.

1367

42

The reuyling of a tax or masse of money was the losse of all Aquitayne.

warre agaynst proclaymed & Fraunce.

1368

43



Lordes ( notwithstanding that they were before sworn to be to the king of Englande true liege men ) dyuers towne of the Countrey of Poiteau yelded them to the french king, as Aubeuyle, Rue and the moze parte of the towne of the sayde Countrey.

Wherupon Ambassadors were sent bypon both partes, and dyuers meanes of intreacie were commoned of, but in the ende, it came all to none effect. Thus the peace which before was so substancially made & with great solemnity and circumstances established, was now vtterly violat and broken, and eyther king for his parte made prouision for warre.

Charles the french king went to Roan in Normandie and there in the moneth of July rigged his ships, & set them forward to war bypon England.

The Duke of Lancaster landeth in Normandy.

And while king Charles was occupied in Normandie, the Duke of Lancaster landed at Calice with a strong companie of Archers, and other warriors, and from thence passed to Choroienne, and so to Aye, in wastynge and spolyng the Countrey with yron and fyre as he went. Wherfore the french king in the defence of those partes sent forth the Duke of Burgoyne with a puyssant armie to withstand the sayd Duke of Lancaster. The which Duke of Burgoyne sped him in such wise, that aboute the .xxiiij. day of August he lodged his host bypon the Hill of Turneham, nere vnto Arde. And the Englishe hoste was lodged betwene Gygone, and Arde, so that the fronts of both the hostes were within a myle: Betwene whome were dayly skirmishes and small bickerings: And when the sayd Duke of Burgoyne had kept the foresayde hill, from the .xxiiij. day of August, vnto the .xij. day of September folowynge, he remoued his host, and went to Helden: For the which dedde, he was after blamed of his brother.

After which departure of the frenchmen, the Duke of Lancaster with his host tooke the way toward Caur, and passed the ryuer of Some, and so roade toward Harlew, entendynge to haue fyred the french kinges nauye: But at their comynge thether, the towne was so strongly manned, that they did but little hurt. Wherfore the sayde Duke departed shortly thence, and sped him into the Countrey of Poiteau, & so came vnto the towne of Aubeuyle. Where the frenche men encountered him and gaue him bataille. In the which was taken Sir Hugh Chatellon Knight, with other knightes, Esquiers, and Burgesses of the towne, and there were slaine of the frenchmen mo then three hundreth, and they had taken prisoners to the number of .xlv. which they sent to Calice. And then the Duke with his companie went to Burdeaur, and brent and spoyled the Countrey as he went.

And in this time dyed at Calice the Erle of Warwike, after that he was returned from the Duke of Lancaster, which was a noble and valiant man.

And in the moneth of August folowynge, dyed that noble woman Quene Philip, wife of king Edward the thirde, the which was a great benefactor vnto the Chanons of Saint Stephens at Westmynster. And sone after died Dame Blanche, sometime the wife of Henry Duke of Lancaster, and was buried at Paules bypon the Northsyde of the high Altare by her husbnde. Where she ordeyned for him and her (as sayth Fabian) foure Chauntreyes for euer, and an Anniuersary yerely to be kept: At the which helyde other great thinges appoynted to the Deane and Chanons of the Church: Shee ordeyned that the Maior of London beyng present at the Masse, should offer a penny,

1369

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The death of the noble Quene Philip daughter of the Erle of Verhaulr, and wife married to king Edward the thirde.

a penny, and take by .xx. shillinges. The Shirifes eyther of them a penny, and to receyue eyther of them a Marke. The Chamberleyn of the Citie ten shillinges, the Sworde bearer, vi. shillinges. viij. pence, and euery officer of the Maiors beyng there present .xxij. pence, and to .viij. officers of the Shirifes eyther of them .viij. pence: But this obite is not nowe kept, for the landes are gone, as I thinke.

This yere also the king helde his Parliament at Westminster. In the which was graunted vnto him thre fiftenes to be payed in thre yeres folowynge. And by the Clergie was graunted vnto him thre Dismes to be payd in lyke maner.

A parliament holden at Westminster.

And in this yere was a thirde mortalitie or death of men: and likewise a marueylous mozeyn bypon Cattell, so that the like had not bene sene in many yeres before. And then fell merueylous aboundaunce of raine, so that the corne was drowned in y earth, by reason whereof, the next yere after wheate was solde for thre shillinges foure pence the Bushell.

A third mortalitye of men and bestes.

And in the ende of the Moneth of July, Sir Robert Knolles beyng accompanied with diuers noble men and souldiours, entered Saint Omers. And when they had done their pleasures there, and in the Countrey rounde about, then they roade vnto Arras, in wastynge and spolyng all the Countrey as they went. And when they had brent the Bulwarkes of the sayde towne of Arras, they passed by Royen, and Vermendoys, and brent the houses of all suche as would not to them geue due ransome. And thus holdynge their way, they passed the ryuers of Dyle, and of Syze, and so came vnto the Citie of Keynes, and passed there the ryuer, and roade toward Croys, and passed the riuers of Aube, and of Seyne, and so helde their way toward Saint Florentyne, and there passed the ryuer of Jon, in holdynge their course toward Joigny, and so to Corbeuile, and Esson. And the .xxij. of September they lodged themselues bypon the Mount Saint Albou, and in the Countrey there about. And within two dayes folowynge, they embattayled themselues in a fielde, betwene the towne of Jony, and Paris. In all which tyme, they passed without bataille through all the Countreys aforesayde, in spolyng and breynynge the towne, and in ransomyng of the Inhabitanes thereof, without resistence or impediment. And albeit that in the Citie of Paris at that day were two hundreth men of armes waged by the french king, beside the Souldiours and strength of the Citizens of that Citie: Yet the sayd hoste of Englishemen lay, as before is sayde, embattelled vntill it was past noone of the aforesayd day. At which tyme, forsomuch as they were credibly informed, that they should there haue no bataille, they brake by their fielde, and went to a place or towne called Antoyngne, and there lodged that night, and bypon the next day, they tooke their iourney toward Normandie. But after foure dayes labour, they turned to Escamps, in pillyng and dammagynge the Countrey as before they had done, and so went forth vntill they came to the Erledome of Angeou, where they wanne by strength the towne of Uaas, and Ruyly, with other strong holdes thereaboutes.

Sir Robert Knolles with a great power taketh his iourney into France

But then it came infortunatly to passe, for it so chaunced that the Lord Fitzwater, and the Lord Grauntson fell at a bariaunce with Sir Robert Knolles and his companie, which encreased to such hatred and displeasure, that Sir Robert Knolles with the flower of the Archers and Souldiours departed

Warlike betwene the Lord Grauntson and Sir Robert Knolles.

Pe. iij.

departed



departed from the sayde two Lordes, leauyng them in the aforesayd townes of Waas and Bayllye, and then he went into Briteyn.

When the French king heard the certentie hereof, anone he commaunded sir Barthram de Glaycon, who was newly made Marshall of Fraunce, with a strong armie to enter the sayde Countrie of Angeou, and to make sharpe warre vpon the sayde Englishmen. The which vpon the. xij. day of October folowing, layd siege to the sayd towne of Waas, and out of the same issued the sayd lordes of Fitzwater and Grauntson, and gaue vnto the Marshall battaile: But in the ende the Englishe men were discomfited, so that of them were slaine. vij. hundreth, and the rest put to flight, And there was taken the Lorde Grauntson with other.

And after this victoꝝy the French men went vnto the towne of Waas, and wanne it by assault, where also were slaine thre hundreth English men, and many taken prisoners, and the other put to flight.

And after this Sir Barthram pursued the Englishmen that were fled to a towne called Verfure: where in the assaultyng of the sayde towne he slue and toke prisoners foure hundreth Englishmen. And thus by strife and dissension among themselves, those that before by amitie & good accord were victoꝝs, now by hatred and disoord, were slayne and taken prisoners.

Now the king of Englande considering with himselfe of the great and daylie losses that he susteyned, and howe the Frenchmen continually gate and wanne from him in all partes in Fraunce, but chietely the Countie of Poiteau, wherebpon he had spent a marvellous treasure in the fortifyng and strengthing of the same, ouer and aboue the yerely reuenues thereof, and also did now well perceaue that he should haue warre on all parties, and also at this time it was shewed him that he should haue war wyth Scotland because the Scottes were newly allyed with the French king. Wherefoze he was sore bered and troubled, for he feared more the warre of the Scottes then the warre of the Frenchmen: And therfore with all speede he sent men of warre to the frontiers of Scotlande, as to Barwikke, Rokesborough, Newe Castell, Dureham, and into other places about the frontiers. Also he sent a great flauie to the Sea, about Hampton, Bernesey and the Isle of Wight, for it was shewed him howe that the French king had furnished and set forth a great flauie to go to the Sea, and to lande in Englande, so that he wist not well on which parte he should first take heede.

At thys time the Archebishop of Winchester (as Fabian calleth him) then being Cardinall, and was present at Auignon with Pope Gregory the vi. of that name, was put in commission with the Archebishop of Beauuays, to make or treate a peace and bnitie betwene the two Realmes of Englande and Fraunce. Which sayde Cardinall of Winchester, after his departure from the Pope, came downe toward Melune, where by the Cardynall of Beauuays he was honourably met and conueyed into the Citie of Melune. And when he had arrested him there foure dayes, the two Cardinales meeting together went to Parys, where they had communication with the French king touching the peace. And after that they had vnderstande hys pleasure, the Cardinall of England tooke his leaue and departed to Calice, where he tooke shippyng, and so came into Englande, and shewed vnto the king of Englande the Popes pleasure, and the French kinges aunswere.

And

The Lorde Grauntson taken.

Losse vpon losse.

1370  
45

The Scotts rebell.

And in this time was soze warre in Guyan, and many townes gotten and yeelded to the Frenchmen, and still the Englishmen had the worst, and many of them slayne and taken prisoners, for in a berie shorte time the Citie of Lymoges, and all the countrie of Lymosyn was vnder the obeyssaunce of the French king. And the occasion of this losse as sayth sundrie authoures, was for that prince Edward a little befoze had reysed a great tax vpon the inhabitautes of that Countrie, whereby he lost all their hearts.

When the French king had thus obteyned the rule of the Countrie of Lymosyn, he immediatly after sent syr Berthram de Glaycon into the Erledome of Poiteau, and wanne there many townes and Castelles, and lastly layde his siege to Rochell.

In this yere king Edward kept his high Court of parliament at Westmynster, in the which toward the furniture and ayde of his warres he demaunded of the spiritualtie fiftie thousand ponde, and as much of the laye fee. The which by the Tempozaltie was graunted, but the Clergie kept them of with pleasaunt aunswers: So that the king and his counsaile was with them discontented, in so much that to their displeasures, dyuerse officers, as the Chauncelour, the priuie seale, the Treasorer and other officers who then were possessed by spirituall men, were taken from them, and temporall Lordes set in their places.

And shortly after, the aforesayde Cardynall of Beauuays came into Englande, to treate of the peace betweene the two realmes, but all his labour tooke none effect.

In the Month of Julie, the French king sent into the Countrie of Poiteau the aforesayde Sir Barthram de Glaycon with a strong army, where he wanne dyuers holdes and fortresses from the Englishmen.

In the which time king Edward for strengthing of the countrie, and specially to defende the towne of Rochell, which as aboue in the other yere is shewed, was this yere besieged by the sayd Sir Barthram, sent the Erle of Pembrooke, with other noble men to fortifie the sayde towne, and to remoue the siege. But befoze he could come at that towne, he was encountred on the sea with a flete of Spanyards, the which king Henry of Castile had sent into Fraunce, to strength the French kings partie. By the which flete after long and cruell fight, the sayde Erle was taken, with syr Guychard de Angle and other to the number of. Cij. prisoners and the more parte of hys men slayne and drowned, with the losse of many good shippes.

Also in the begynning of September next folowynge a Gascoyne boꝝne, a man of good fame, whom the king of England had admytted for his Lieutenant and Governour of the countrie of Poiteau, named le Captail de Bueff, fought with an army of Frenchmen befoze a towne named Sonbise, where in conclusion his men were slaine and chased, and he with lxx. of his parte taken prisoners.

Then the Dukes of Berrey and Burgoyne vpon the. vij. daye of September came befoze Rochell, and had certaine communications with the rulers of the sayde towne for the deliuerie thereof.

King Edward nowe heyring of the taking of the Erle of Pembrooke, and of the losse that he daylie had of his men in dyuers partes of Fraunce, with also the ieopardie that the towne of Rochell and other stode in, made hastie

The reysing of taxes remoueth the hartes of the people from the prince.

1371  
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The clergie refuse to ayde the king.

The Erle of Pembrooke sent into Fraunce with a great power.

The Erle of Pembrooke taken by the Spanyards.



hastie prouision and entended to haue passed the sea : But the winde was so contrarious that he could haue no passage, wherfore saith Keynulphe Seyonke of Chester, he returned agayne into Englande.

Rocheil is yelden to the French men.

The. viij. daye of September folowyng the Captaine of Rocheil hauing no comfort to haue any quick reskues, yeelded vpon certayne appoyntments the sayd towne vnto the afozenamed Dukes, to the vse of the French King. And shortly after were also yeelden vnto them the Townes of Angoulesme, of Crantes, of Saint John the Angely with dyuers other.

1372  
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This yere also Sir John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Edmond his brother Erle of Cambridge, wedded the two daughters of Peter which was late king of Castile, who was put to death by Henry his bastard brother, as before is shewed in the. xli. yere of this kinges reigne. Of the which two daughters, Sir John of Gaunt maryed the eldest, named Constance, and his brother, the yonger named Isabell, so that by these mariages, these two brethren claymed to be enheritours of the kingdome of Castyle, or Spayne.

Also this yere, After the Duke of Briteyne had receyued many exhortations and requestes from the French King, to haue him vpon his partie: he sent for certeyne Souldiours of English men, and fortetied with them some of his Castels and holdes. Of the which when king Charles heard, he sent thether with a strong power the afozenamed Sir Barthzaim de Clayton, warning them to make war vpon them as enemies to the house of Fraunce. The which accordyng to their commission entered the lande of Briteyne, in wastyng the same with yron and fyre, and in a little time there was yelden to him the most part of the chiefe townes, except Brest, Aulroy, and Daruall.

Brest in Briteyn belleged.

And in the ende of June, the sayd Barthzaim layde siege vnto Brest, and the Lorde of Craon with other, lay before Daruall. And in all this tyme the Duke of Briteyn was in England: for so soone as he had bestowed the afozenamed English souldiours, he sailed into England to speake with king Edward.

The Duke of Lancaster with a great power landeth at Calice.

And in the moneth of July, the Duke of Lancaster with Sir John de Mountford Duke of Briteyne and other, with a great power landed at Calice. And after they had rested them there a fewe dayes, they road vnto Helden, and lodged them within the Parke another season. And after passed by Dourlons, by Benquesne, and so vnto Corby, where they passed the Ryuer of Some, and road vnto Roye in Vermendoys, where they abode the space of. viij. dayes. And then they set the towne on fyre, and tooke their way toward Lamoy, and burned and spoyled the Countrie as they went. And in proccesse of tyme, passed the ryuers of Orne, Marne, and of Aube, and roade through Champaigne, and by the Erledome of Braine, streight vnto Guy, and passed the ryuer of Seyn, and so toward the riuer of Ley, & vnto Margigny the Romnery. And when they were passed the sayde Romnery, they kept their way toward the ryuer of Ancherre, and so vnto Burdeaux. In all which iourney they passed without battaile.

Roye dyent.

1373  
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In this tyme dyed at Burdeaux Edward the eldest sonne of Prince Edward, to the great grieffe and sorow both of the Prince his father, and of the good Ladie his mother. And soone after the death of his sonne, he himselfe beyng very sickly, was aduised and counsayled, that he should returne into England, and the rather that he might obteyne his health. The Prince did agree

agree therevnto right gladly, and therevpon made his prouision. And when the Prince should depart from Aquitaine, he first caused a speciall summons to be made at Burveaur, of all Barons and knightes of Gascoyn, and Poytreaun, and in all other places where he was Lorde, and they vnder his obeysaunce. And when they were all come together in a Chamber before the prince: Then he spake vnto them and sayd, it is well knowen to you all, that I am your true and the right Lorde and inheritour of your countrie, and how that I haue gouerned, and kept you in peace asmuch as in my power hath lycn. I haue bene so faythful a Protector ouer you, that I haue not feared neither the aduenture of my life against your enemyes and mine, neyther the expences of my treasure, for your defence: and God be prayled, though now ye are a litle afflicted, yet hether to ye haue bene mainteyned in great wealth and pyssaunce agaynst your enemyes. And now at this tyme, I beyng vexed with a great and greivous sicknesse, am counsayled by my Physicians and other, that for the better recouery of my health, I should returne into England to my naturall Countrie, which God willyng I purpose shortly to do. And therefore I most hartely besech you, euen as earnestly as a Prince may requyre his subiectes, that ye will yeelde in mine absence, to my dere and naturall brother here present, the Duke of Lancaster, whome I leaue here as my Lieutenant to gouerne you, the same honour, reuerence, and obeysaunce, and faythfulnesse of heart, that ye beare or should beare vnto me: and doubt you nothing but that ye shall finde him a right good Lorde, valiaunt and courteous, and therefore I beseeche you to ayde and assist him in all his affayres and attemptes, with your good aduice and counsaile.

And forthwith the Barons of Aquitaine, Gascoyne, Poytreaun, and of Raynton promised, and swore on their faythes, that there should neuer be default found in any of them. And therevpon immediately they did their fealtie and homage to the Duke of Lancaster, and promysed him their loues, seruices and obeysaunce, and in the presence of the Prince they swore to byholde and keepe the same, and therevpon kissed his mouth.

And when this was ended, within short tyme after, the Prince and princes his wife, with their yong sonne Richard, accompanied with the Erle of Cambridge, and the Erle of Pembroke, and with them. v. C. fighting men besyde Archers entered into their Shippes, and so long sayled with a good and prosperous winde, that at the last they came vnto Southhampton, and there they tooke lande and refreshed them two dayes, and then they toke their horses, and the Prince went in a horse Litter, and at the last came to Wyndesore, where then the king was, who receyued right sweetly his children, & so there the king was enformed by the prince of all the state of Guien.

The Prince returneth with his wife into England to king Edward his father.

After the departure of the Prince from Burdeaux, the Duke of Lancaster kept the obsequy of his Cosyn Edward sonne to the Prince his brother, the which was honourably done in the Citie of Burdeaux.

This yere (as sayth froyssart) came into England sent from the Pope, who then was Gregorie the. xi. the Archebishop of Rauenne, and the Bishop of Carentes, for to treat of a peace betweene the two kinges of Englande and of Fraunce, the which met together at Bruges in Flaundyrs. And thether came certeyne Lordes, aswell from the king of Englande, as also from the French king. And the Commissioners of the French pattie, after they had

An Ambassade sent to the Pope to king Edward.



had spent a tyme in disputations, they then prayed licence of the Legates that they might go to Paris, and shewe vnto the king the offers of the Engliche partie, and so to returne with his pleasure, whereupon it was agreed, that a certene should ryde vnto the frenche king. And the Englishmen abode stiffly vpon the souereintie, that was that the king of Englande, and hys heyres kinges, shall enioy all the former landes, comprised in the peace lately made with John King of Fraunce, without homage, or other due tie for the same doying. And for this the frenche king assembled a counsaile at Paris, and there it was fully concluded, that the frenche king might not geue ouer the souereintie.

When this report was brought to Bruges, the treatie was dissolved without any conclusion of any thing, sauyng that a peace was continued vntill the feast of all Saintes next folowynge.

This yere John Erle of Pembroke, who before, as we haue shewed, was taken by the Spanyardes vpon the sea, and now was raunsomed with the payment of a great somme and masse of money, returning into England, dyed by the way. And the Countesse his wife, who was descended of the noble house of the Erles of saint Paule in Fraunce, a woman of great vertue, and a louer of learning and learned men, founded in Cambridge a house for scholers, which at this day is called Pembroke Hall.

Yet once againe a newe assemblie was made for the treatie of a peace, to be kept at Saint Omers, but after it was kept at Bruges. Where, for king Edward appered the Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Edmond his brother, the Erle of Cambridge, with diuers other of the Kinges Counsaile: Where the sayde Lordes with the other helde their assemblies, and Courtes, vntill it was nere Easter, to the great cost and charge of both parties: But in the ende they departed againe without effect, sauyng onely that the peace was prolonged vntill the first day of Aprill next folowynge. And yet againe by labour of the sayd Legates the sayde peace was further prolonged vntill Midsummer next folowynge. And in this meane tyme great laboures and paynes were taken to haue a peace concluded, but in the ende it would not be, some imputing the fault to the frenche and some to the Engliche. But in whome so euer the fault was, the frenche king in the tyme of these intreaties, waane many townes and Castelles, aswell in Guyan as in Briteyne, and in other places to his great aduantage.

At this tyme there arose a great murmure among the people of Englande agaynst certaine persons that bare auctoritie about the king, as the Lorde Latymer then the kinges Chamberleyne and other: By whose sinister counsaile as they sayde, the king in his age was misled, and hys treasure mispended, to the great dishonour of the king, and to the great losse, hurt, and dammage of all the kinges subiects.

The king being thus troubled on all sydes with warres, called his high Court of parliament, in the which he required a subsidie for the defense of his enemies. Wher vnto it was answered by the common house, that they could no longer beare suche charges, considering the manifold and most grievous burdens that they had from time to time borne before. And further they sayd, that they knew full well that the king was riche enough to defende him and his lande, if the land and his treasure were well guyded and gouerned: But it

it had beene long euill ruled by euill officers, so that the lande could not be plenteous, neyther with Chastre, marchandise, nor riches. By reason wherof, & by their impoztune charges the commonaltie was greatly empouertised.

Moreouer, the sayde commons complayned them vpon diuers officers, that were the causers of this misorder, whereof the Lorde Latymer was noted for principall, with also dame Alice Diers, the which the king had long tyme kept for his Concubyne, and also one named Sir Richard Scurre knight, by whose counsailes and sinister meanes, the king was misguyded and the gouernement of the lande disordered.

Wherefore the sayde commons prayed by the mouth of their speaker, which was then Sir Diers de la mere, that the sayde persons with other might be remoued from the king, and other to be set in auctoritie about his person, as should serue for his honour and for the weale of his realme.

Which request of the commons, by the meanes of the Noble Prince Edward, was accepted, so that the sayde persons were remoued from the king, and other Lordes of the realme were put in their places.

And shortly after, the commons graunted the king his pleasure, so that he had of euery man and womā that were aboute the age of. xiiij. yeres, foure pence, Beggers onely except.

And by the Clergie was graunted that the king should haue of euery beneficed man. xij. pence, and of Priestes not beneficed, foure pence, the foure orders of Fryers onely excepted.

But before this money was gathered, the king was fayne to borowe sundrie summes of money in diuers places: Among the which the Citie of London was sent vnto for foure thousande ponde: And for that the Maior then beyng, was not quick in the furthering of that matter, he was by the kings commaundement discharged, and another put in his place.

And vpon the eyght day of June, dyed that noble and famous prince the flowre of Chualrie, Edward the kinges eldest sonne, within the kinges palace of Westmynster, beyng of the age of. xliij. yeres, and after with great solempnitie was conueyed to Cauntorbury, and there honorably buried.

After the death of the prince, the king contrarie to his promise before made, called to him agayne all suche persons as he before for his awne honour and the profite of the realme aduoyded out of his Court, and admytted them agayne to the same offices that they before occupied. By meanes of which alteration the aforesayde speaker of the parliament Sir Diers Dela mere was in such wise complayned vpon to the king, that he was committed to prison, where he laye many yeres after. Fabian.

Then king Edward created Richard the sonne to prince Edward, prince of Wales, and gaue vnto him the Erledomes of Chester and Cornewall.

And because the king waxed now sickly and feeble, he therefore betoke the rule of the realme vnto his sonne Sir John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and made him Gouernour of the lande, and so he continued duryng hys fathers lyfe.

And this yere Sir John Mynsterwoorth knight, beyng arrayned of high treason at the Guildhall in London, before the Lorde Maiour and other the Queenes Justices, for that he was charged to haue receaued great sommes of money of the king, to haue payd his souldyours withal, and he did not

Lorde Latymer is complayned vpon

A gift made to the king of euery poll foure pence.

The death of Prince Edward.

Richard the son of Prince Edward created prince of Wales.

Sir John Mynsterwoorth created for treason.

Pembroke hall in Cambridge.

1374  
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An assembly at S. Omers and after at Bruges for a peace.

1375  
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The commons of Englande murmur agaynst the rulers.

A parliament. The Parliament denieth the king any further ayde.



not onely kepe the sayde summes of money to his awone vse, but also fled vn- to the French king, and conspired with hym agaynst his naturall prince and souereigne Lorde, of the which treason he was founde guiltie, and there- fore had iudgement to be hanged, drawen, and quartered, which was exe- cuted accordyngly.

Schisme for election of two Popes.

This yere beganne a wonderfull Schisme in the Church of Rome, a- bout the election of the Pope, for after the death of Gregoꝝ the .xj. there were chosen two Popes, the first was named Urban the .vij. and the other, Clement the .vij. The first an Italian, and the other a Frenchman. Of the which election ensued suche disorde for the terme and space of. xxxix. yeres, that much christian bloud was spent by epyther of them in the defense of their papacy, as after shall appere.

The death of king Edward the thirde.

Now approached the ende of king Edward the thirde, who in the begin- ning of his reigne was courageous but not constāt, and in the middle of his age a valiant and noble Conquerour, and towarde the latter ende of hys dayes, lost that which befoze with great charge and traunyle he had gayned: and now yeilded himselte to pay nature her debt, and dyed the .xxij. daye of June at his manor of Shene, now called Richemount, when he had reig- ned full fiftie yeres and five moneths, lacking foure dayes, and was of the age of .lxx. yeres: leaving behinde him foure sonnes, that is to say, Lyonell Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, Edmond of Lang- ley Duke of Yorke, and Thomas of Woodstocke Erle of Cambridge.

By the which sonnes and other Lordes of this realme he was most honorably conueyed from his Manour of Shene vnto the Monastery of Westmynster, and there solemnly enterred within the Chapel of Saint Edward vpon the Southside.

The aforesayde noble and valiaunt king Edward in the tyme of his life had .xij. children, that is to say.

- 1 Edward Prince of Wales. { who had issue Edward that dyed without issue, & Richard that after was king Ri- chard by the name of king Richard the secōd.
- 2 William of Hatfielde. ( who dyed without issue.
- 3 Lyonell Duke of Clarence { had issue, Philip maryed to Edmonde Mortimer, Erle of March.
- 4 John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster ( had issue Henry the fourth.
- 5 Edmond of Langlay Duke of Yorke { had issue Edward Duke of Yorke, that di- ed without issue, and Richard Erle of Cambridge, father to Richard Planta- genet, duke of Yorke, which Richard was father to king Edward the fourth.
- 6 Thomas

- 6 Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester { had issue, Anne first maryed to Homfrey Erle of Stafford, who had issue Hom- frey Erle of Stafford, and after he was maryed to the Lorde Bowcer.
- 7 William of Windsor ( dyed without issue.
- 8 Daughters { Isabell Countesse of Bedforde. 1
- 9 { Ione Queene of Spaine. 2
- 10 { Blanche. 3
- 11 { Mary Duches of Briteine. 4
- 12 { Margaret Countes of Pembroke. 5

The issue of Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lan- caster, vwho had three viues.

- 1 John
- 2 Edward
- 1 Blanche his first wife by whom he had six Childzen. { 3 Henry which was king Henry the fourth
- 4 John
- 5 Philip Queene of Portingale.
- 6 Elizabeth Countes of Huntingdon.
- 2 Constance his second wife, by whom he had issue { Katheryn Queene of Spaine.
- 3 Katheryn the thirde wife, by whome he had issue { 1 John Erle of Somerset.
- 2 Henry that was Cardinall.
- 3 Thomas Duke of Exeter.
- 4 Ione Countesse of Westmerland.
- 1 Henry Erle of Somerset.
- 2 Margaret Countesse of Deuonshyre.
- The abouesayd John Erle of Somerset had issue .viij. childze. { 3 Thomas.
- 4 Ione Queene of Scottes.
- 5 Edmond Duke of Somerset.
- 6 John Duke of Somerset.

The sayde John Duke of Somerset had a daughter which was called Margaret Countesse of Richmond, which was mother to king Henry the .vij.

ff. j. Richarde





**R**ichard the seconde of that name, borne in Burdeaur, a sonne of Edward prince of Wales, who was called the blacke Prince, which was the eldest sonne of King Edward the thirde, of the age of .xj. yeres, began hys reigne ouer the realme of England the .xxij. day of June. 1377. and was crowned at Westminster the .xv. day of July next folowynge. In bountie and liberalitie he farre passed all his progenitors: But he was ouermuch geuen to rest and quietnesse, and loued little deedes of armes and Martiiall prowes: And for that he was yong, he was most ruled by yong

counsaille, and regarded nothing the aduertisement of the sage and wise men of his realme. For the chiefe about him was of no wisdom nor estimation, which turned his lande to great trouble, and himselfe in the ende to extreme miser ye.

Ye haue heard before in the tyme of King Edward, that the peace was continued betweene Fraunce and Englande untill Midsummer folowynge, which tyme was now expired. And the French king in the tyme of peace had made great prouision for warre, aswell of Shippes and Galeys, as of men and munition, insomuch that the king of Spaine had sent him his admirall, called Sir Ferrand Sawse, who with Sir John of Uien Admirall of Fraunce, so soone as the truce or peace was expired, went and bzent the towne of Rye in Kent, the .xxiij. day, or .xxix. day of June, which was within sixe dayes after the death of King Edward.

And shortly after newes hereof came to London: Then the Erle of Cambridge and of Buckyngham went to Douer with a great power. And the Erle of Salburie and the Lorde Mountague went to Southampton: But in the meane time, the Frenchmen had landed in the Isle of Wight, and had bzent therein dyuers townes: And also they landed in the West partes of Englande, and bzent Dartmouth, Plymouthe, Dorsetmouth and dyuers other townes. And then they came to Southampton, and there would haue landed, but there they founde Sir John of Arondell with a great number of men of warre, and Archers, who defended the towne right valiantly, or else it had bene spoyled and taken. Then the Frenchmen departed, and went toward Douer, and one daye they landed beside a little Abbey, called Lyons. There were manye men of the Countrie assembled, and they had made the Priour of the place, and Syr Thomas Cheyny, and John Fusell their chiefe Captaines, and had put themselves in good araye to defende the passage: So that the Frenchmen had but small aduantage there, for they lost many of their people before they could lande: notwithstanding, at the last, by force they did lande, and there was a sore skirmishe, and the Englishmen were put back, and two hundred of them slaine, and the two knights and the Priour were taken prisoners. Then the Frenchmen entred agayne

into

into their shippes, and lay still all that night at Anker befoze the Abbey. And here the Frenchmen knewe first of the death of King Edward the thirde, by the prisoners that they had taken, and of the coronation of King Richard, and of the order that was taken for the gouernement of the realme. Then Sir John of Uien caused a Barke to departe and to cary those newes with other of his awne enterprizes, vnto the French king.

After the Barke was sent awaye, the Frenchmen and the Spanyards hoppled by their Sayles, and had winde at will, and came with the same tyde to Douer, about thre of the clock in the after noone.

And there was readie to receyue them, Sir Edmonde Erle of Cambridge, and Syr Thomas his brother Erle of Buckyngham, with ten thousand, with Banners displayed, and the Frenchmen were sixe score Wesselles shippes and Galeys. The Frenchmen came heard by the towne, but taried not, but streight passed by and tooke the deepe of the Sea. For then the Sea began to ebbe: Howbeit the Englishmen taried there still all that day and the next night, and the Frenchmen by the nexte tyde, came befoze the Hauen of Calice, and there entred.

At this time also the French king sent vnto Robert King of Scotland, prayeng him to make earnest and effectuell warre vpon the Englishmen and to folow them so hard that they should haue no puissaunce to passe the Sea. Whereupon King Robert assembled hys counsaile at Edenborough; where as were the most parte of all the knightes and Barons in Scotlande, and other suche as he thought were hable to doe him seruyce. And when they were thus assembled together, King Robert sayde vnto them, ye knowe how that the Englishmen in time past haue done vnto vs many great hurtes and harmes in spoylynge and brennyng of our Countrie, beatinge downe of oure Castelles, and in slepyng and raunsomyng of our men. And Sirs, nowe is the tyme come, that we maye be well reuenged of them: For nowe is there but a yong king in Englande, for King Edward is dead, who was wont to haue so good fortune. And when the Barons, and yong knightes that were there heard this, and they also beinge desyrous to be reuenged, answered and sayd, all with one voyce, that they were readie and full appointed and furnished to ryde into England, and it were the same day or the next folowynge, or when it pleased him. This aunswere pleased greatlye the king of Scottes, and he thanked them all. And at the same time the king appointed foure Erles to be the chiefe Captaines of all the armie, that is to saye, the Erle of Douglas, the Erle Mozet, the Erle of Maure, and the Erle of Surlant. And he appointed Sir Archibald Douglas for Conestable of Scotlande, and Syr Robert Uerley to be Marshall of the host, and so they made their sommons to be at a certaine day at Mozlanc.

And in the time of the makinge of thys assembly, there departed from them a valiant Esquier of Scotland called Alexander Ramsay, who thought to enterprize and to atchieue a great feate of armes: and he tooke with him xl. that were well horsed, and roade by night priuely, so long untill that by daye breakyng he came to Berwik, which towne was then Englishe, and the Capitayne of the towne was one of the Erle of Northumberlands Esquiers, and was called John Biset. And in the Castell was Capitaine a valiant knight called Syr Robert Merton.

ff. ij.

When

The French men bzent the towne of Rye.

The French men landed in diuers places in Englande, and bzent dyuers townes.

The French king sendeth to the Scots to stir them against the English men.

The Scots with a great power determine to enter vpon Englande.

The enterprize of Alexander Ramsay a Scot, who tooke the Castell of Berwik.



When the Scottes were come to Berwike, they kept themselves close, and sent a spie to the towne and to the Castell, to see in what condition it was. The spie entred downe the ditches, wherein there was no water, nor none could abide there, for it was all a quick sande. And so the spie looked and hearkened all about, but he could neyther here nor see anye creature, and so he returned and shewed his master.

Then Alexander Ramsay auanced forth and brought all his company priuely vnto the ditches, and they brought with them ladders, and so dressed them by to the walles. And Alexander was one of the first that went by the ladder with his sworde in his hande, and entered into the Castell, and all his companie folowed him, for there was none that withstood them. And when they were all within, then they went to the chiefe Towre, where the Capitaine lay a sleepe. And there sodainely with great Axes they brake open the doore. The Capitaine sodainely awooke, and had slept all night, for he had kept but small watch, the which he deerely bought, and so opened his chamber doore, wenyng to him the noyse had beene made by some of his awne Souldiours that would haue robbed or murdered him in his bed, because he had displeased them the weke before, and so lept out at a wyndow into the great ditches in great feare, and there brake his neck.

The watchmen were halfe a sleepe, and heard the noyses, and awooke, and perceyued well howe that the Castell was scaled and betrayed, and so sowned in a Trumpet Trahey, Trahey.

John Biset Capitaine of the Towne hearing the voyce of a Trompet, armed himselfe immediatly, & caused all the towne to arme themselves, and forthwith they drew together all before the Castell, and heard well the noyses that the Scottes made within: But they could not enter into them, for the gate was shut and the bridge drawen. Then John Biset remembred himselfe of a good deuise, and sayde to them of the towne that were about him. Let vs breake downe the staves of the bridge on this side, and then they that are within cannot issue out wythout oure daunger. And incontinent wyth Axes they bet downe the staves of the bridge. And then John Biset sent a messenger to Anwike a. xij. myles of to the Lorde Percy, certefying him of all the matter, desyryng him without delay to come to the rescue of the Castell.

Alexander Ramsay and his company, when they had slayne in the Castell whome it pleased them, and had taken the rest prisoners, and shut them by into a towre, then sayde Alexander, now let vs go downe to the towne, for it is oures, and let vs take all the goods that are therein, and let vs bring all the riche men into thys Castell, and then set fyre on the Towne, for it is not to be kept by vs. And within thre or foure dayes we shall haue rescue out of Scotlande, so that we shall saue all oure pillage: and at our departing let vs set fyre in the Castell, and so pay our hoste. To the which purpose they all agreed, for they all desyred pillage.

And then they toke eche of them a glayue in their handes, for they found enough in the Castell, and so opened the gate and let downe the bridge: And when the bridge was downe, the ropes that helde it brake, for the resting place of the bridge was broken awaye as aforesayde.

And when John Biset sawe the maner of them, he and all his company beganne to hooote and crye, and sayde: A Sirs, keepe you there, ye shall not

Barwike  
Castell is taken  
by the  
Scottes.

not departe thence without our leaue.

And when Alexander Ramsay sawe the maner of them without, he knewe well that they were ware of his being in the Castell: and so with much a do closed in agayne the gate for feare of thot: and then they fortrefyed the Castell thinking to haue kept it. And they cast out into the ditches all the deade men that they had slaine, and locked the rest that were prisoners into a Towre. They thought that the place was strong enough to be kept for a long tyme, or at the least vntill some reskewe came to them out of Scotlande, which they thought would not be long.

So soone as the Messenger had declared the whole matter vnto the Lorde Percy, he immediatly sent knowledge into the whole countrie, & made hast himselfe to come to the reskewe, and the Barons, knightes and Esquiers of the countrie and good men of warre came vnto him from all places. And the first that came thether was the Erie of Northumberland, and then dailye came great companyes, so that at the last they mustered themselves, and they were aboute ten thousand men.

Then they besieged the Castell so nere that a Birde could not come out without knowledge. And after they beganne to mine vnder the Castell, the sooner to meete wyth the Scottes that were wythin, and so to recouer agayne the Castell.

Then tydings came to the Barons of Scotlande, howe the Erie, Barons, Knightes, and Esquiers of Northumberland had besieged their companie in the Castell of Barwike. And they were all determined to go and rayse by the siege, and to bitaile the Castell, for they sayde that Alexander Ramsays enterpryce was valiaunt. And to confirme the same, Sir Archibald Douglas Constable of Scotlande sayde: Alexander is my Cosyn, and it cometh of a noble courage, and valiaunt heart, to enterpryce suche a feate, and we ought to comfort and helpe him in his deede: Wherefore, if we may, let vs go raise the siege, it will redounde to our great noblenesse, and therefore let vs go thether. And then they tooke order who should go with him, and who should abyde, and so he toke with him five hundred Speares, the best of all the hoste, and so roade on toward Barwike.

Tydings came to the Englishe Lordes, that the Scottes were comyng to raise the siege, and to victuall the Castell. Then they went to counsaile, and so determined to take a place, & to abyde their enemies and to fight with them. And the Lorde Percy caused all his companie to be readie armed and furnished to fight, and to make their Musters, and they found themselves to be the number of thre thousand men of armes, and. liij. thousande Archers. And when the Erie sawe that he had so great a number, he sayde: Let vs kepe our place, we are men enowe to fight with all the puissaunce of Scotlande, and so they rested in a fayre playne without Barwike in two battayles in good order.

And they had not bene there the space of an houre, but they sawe certein Currouses of the Scottes well horsed, which came to biewe the Englishe hoste. And when these Currouses had well aduised the number of the Englishe men, then they returned to their maisters, and shewed them all that they had seene, and sayde: Sirs we haue ridden so nere to the Englishe men, that we haue well aduised and considered all their doying: And we saye vnto you,

ff. iij.

you.



you, they are ready abiding for you in two fayre battalles, in a goodly plaine, and in euery battaille a fine thousande men. Therefore nowe take good aduice, for we approached so nere them, that they perceyued well that we were Currouers of Scotland, but they would not stirre nor sende out one man to runne at vs.

When sir Archibalde Douglas and his Captaines heard these tidings, they were pensife, and sayde: we cannot see that it should be for our protite to ryde as nowe against the Englishe men, for they are tenne agaynst one of vs, wherfore we may lose more than we can winne, and of a foolishe enterprize comineth no good, as we maye nowe see by Alexander Ramsay: and there was present an vnckle of Alexanders, called Sir William Lindsey, who tooke great paine to come to comfort his Nephewe. And he sayde vnto the companie: Sirs, on the trust of you, my nephew hath made this enterprize, and taken the Castell of Barwike: It will turne you all to great blame if ye lose him thus, and peradventure hereafter, there will be none so hastie to shewe somuch good will to our Countrie. And they answered and sayde, they could not amend it, neither was it mete that so many noble men as were there, should put themselves in aduventure of life or vndoing, for the sauyng of one Esquier. Wherfore they determined to returne againe to their awne Countrie, and so withdrew themselves.

The Scots  
die.

Nowe when the Erle of Northumberland, and the Erle of Pottyngham, and the other Barons of England perceiued that the Scottes came not forwarde, they sente forth their Currouers, to knowe where they were become, and they brought worde how they were gone toward Mozlan beyond the Castell of Rosburgh.

Against night, the Englishe men drew againe to their lodgynges, and made good watch that night, and in the moornyng euery man was readie to go and assaile the Castell, and there was a fierce assault, and endured almost a whole day. There hath not beene seene more hardier men of so fewe, then those Scottes were, nor that better defended a place then they did. For the English men had ladders, which they rered by to the Walles, and they went by vpon them with Targettes ouer their heades, and before them, and so came and fought with the Scottes hande to hande, and some of them came downe againe into the Ditches: But the thing that troubled the Scottes most, was the Archers, who shot so wholly together, that they durst not come to the defense of the wall. So long this assault continued, that at the last the Englishe men entered by force, and there slue as many as they found, not one of them that were within that scaped, but were slaine, except Alexander Ramsay, whome they tooke prisoner. And thus the Castell of Barwike was againe recouered from the Scottes, and the Erle of Northumberland made John Biset Capitaine there, and he newly repayed the Castell & the brydge.

Barwike  
Castell re-  
couered by  
the Englishe  
men.

1378

2

In the second yere of this kinges reigne (as sayth Reynulph:) By reason of a variaunce that chaunced betwene the Lord Latymer, and sir Raufe Ferrers on the one partie, and sir Robert Hall, and Shakerley Esquier on the other part, for a prisoner that was taken beyond the Sea in Spaine, called the Erle of Deane, whome the sayde Esquier kept in his possession, contrary to the mindes and willes of the aforesayd knightes. And here vpon the sayde knightes beyng in Choler, entered into the Church of Saint Peters at

at Westminster, and there findyng the sayde Sir Robert Hall kneeling at Masse before the high Altar, drew out their swordes, and slue him: And afterward by their meanes and labour, caused the sayde Shakerley to be arrested, and committed to the Towre of London, where he was kept as prisoner a great while after, for he would not deliuer the Erle of Deane his prisoner vnto those two knightes: But Carton calleth them Lordes.

Sir Robert  
Hall slaine in  
Westminster  
Church.

About this tyme the French king sent a great number of Shippes and Galeyes into England, and they landed in dyuers places, as at Rye, at Winchelley, at Hastings, at Portesmouth, and in dyuers other places, and did great harme, but chiefly at Graues ende, where they landed, and spoyled the towne, & bzent a great part thereof, and so returned againe into France with much spoyle.

1379

3

Graues ende  
bzent and  
spoyled by  
the French-  
men.

And in this yere a Parliament was called, and therein was graunted to the king foure pence of euery man and woman beyng of the age of xiiij. yeres and vward, that were within the realme, at the which Subsidy the people did greatly murmur, and much mischief came thereof, as in the yere following shall appere. But yet with that money, an armie was prepared and sent ouer, whereof Sir Thomas of Woodstock Erle of Cambridge, and Uncle to the king was chiefe Capitaine: The which beyng accompanied with vij. or viij. thousand men, passed the water of Some, and came vnto Soylones, and passed also the Ryuers of Dyle, and Marne, and other, and came before Troyes, and wanne it, and after lodged them betwene the newe Towne and Sens.

The people  
greatly mur-  
mured for the  
payment of  
four pence  
the poole.

And euer as they passed the Countries they tooke great ranfomes of the people, or else set fyre on their towne. And although y the french king had sent an armie of frenchmen to resist them, yet they hindered them nothing at all of their purpose. For euer, if they chaunced to skirmishe, the frenchmen were put vnto the worse. And thus they continued forth their iourney, and passed by the Countrie of Gastynoyes, and so into Briteyne, where they were ioyously receyued of syr John de Mountfort, Duke of that Prouynce, who then was but newly come thither.

To the entent to haue a stay and quietnesse with Scotland there was sent vnto them in Ambassade John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and he came to the Towne of Berwike. And from thence, he sent an Herault of Armes into Scotlande to the king and Barons there, shewing them that he was come to speake with them. And if they would, he would come and treate with them, and thereof he wyllid them to send him worde, or else he knewe right well what he had to doe. The Herault departed and roade to Edenborough, where king Robert of Scotlande, the Erle Douglas, the Erle de la Mare, the Erle Horet, and other the Lordes of Scotland were assembled together. For they had knowledge how that the Duke of Lancaster was comming thither to treate with them. Wherfore they were assembled in the chiefe towne of Scotland that ioyneth vpon the borders of England. And there the Herault did his message, and was well heard at length, and he had answere that they were well content to here the Duke speake. And so the Herault brought a safeconduyt for the Duke and his company, to endure as long as he was in the Marches & that they commoned together.

1380

4

Thus the Herault returned to Barwike, and shewed how he had sped.

And



And so the Duke departed from Barwike and left all his prouision in the towne behinde him, and so came to Rosebourgh and there lodged. And the next daye he lodged at the Abbey of Maros which is on the ryuer, that departeth Englande and Scotlande a sunder. There the Duke and his companie taried, buttill the Scots were come to Honbanne, thre mile thence, & when they were come thether, they sent word to the Duke. Thus the treaty began betwene the Scots and the Englishmen, and it endured fiftene daies.

The commons  
of England  
rebelled.

And in this meane whyle the commons of England rebelled, by the which the whole state of the realme was in great perill to be bitterly destroyed and lost: and because ye shall vnderstande the truth thereof, & that the rulers of the realme may preuent and foreseee suche lyke mischiefes as maye hereafter ensue, therefore I haue purposed fully to set forth at length, the truth and whole discourse thereof vnto you, as Froissart doth at large write the same.

Of small oc-  
casions great  
mischiefes  
growe and  
increase.

And first, consider how straunge a thing it is, that of so pore and simple a foundatiō, so great a mischiefe should growe and insurge, as this y foloweth. There was and is an vsage in England in many places, that the noble men and Lords of Manoures hauing fraunchises ought to haue seruices of the commons, that is to say, that their tenaunts ought by custome to plow their landes, to gather and bring home their corne, and some to threthe and fanne, and to carie wood, and water, and dyuers suche other things, which they ought to doe by their tenure and seruice that they owe to their Lordes. And lykewise there are another sort that holde their lands by billenage, and those are commonly called bondmen, of the which kinde of people there were then many in England, and specially in the County of Kent, Suffex and Bedford.

At this time there were a certaine of suche kinde of people as is aforesayde, that beganne to stirre in England and namely in Kent, and sayde they were in great seruitude and bondage: But sayd they, in the beginning of the worlde, there were no bond men: neyther ought there to be any now, except it were such a one as had committed treason agaynst his Lorde, as Lucifer did to God. But sayde they we can haue no suche battayle, for we are neyther Angelles nor spirites, but men framed and formed to the similitude of our Lordes, and therefore sayde they, why should we then be so kept vnder lyke beastes and slaues? And they playnely sayde they would no lenger suffer it, for they would be all one with their Lordes, and if they labored or did anye thing for their Lordes, they woulde haue wages for the same as well as other.

John Wall a  
priest the set-  
ter forth, and  
the very auce-  
thour of re-  
bellion.

And of this imagination was a foolish priest in the Countie of Kent called John Wall, for the which lyke foolish words he had bene thre times in the Bishop of Cauntorburies prison. This priest vsed oftentimes on the Sundayes, when the people were going out of the Church after seruice, to call them back into the Cloyster or Churchyard, and to talke to them as foloweth: A good people, matters go not wel to passe in England in these dayes, nor shall not do vntill euery thing be common, and that there be no Willynnes nor gentlemen, but that we be all as one, and that the Lordes be no greater then we be. What haue we deserued, or why should we be thus kept in seruitude and bondage? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eue. Wherefore can they saye or shewe that they are greater Lordes then we be? sayyng in that which we get and labour for, that doe they spend.

They

They are clothed in Vcluet and Chamlet furred richly, and we be clad with the poozest sorte of cloth. They haue their wines, Spices, and fyne bread: and we haue the drawing out of the Chaffe, and drinke water. They dwell in fayre houses, and we in homely cotages, and we in the fieldes in winde and rayne. And with that which they haue by oure laboures, they keepe and maintaine their estates. We be called their bondmen, and without we doe them readie seruice, we must be beaten, punished or put out of our lyuings. And we haue no souereigne to whome we maye complayne, nor none that will here vs, nor doe vs right. Let vs go to the king, he is young, and shew him in what daunger we be in: and let vs shewe him plainely that we wyll haue it otherwise, or else we wyll prouyde a remedy for our selues. And if we set forward, all maner of people that are now in bondage will folow vs, to the entent they may be made free. And when the king seeth vs, he will prouyde some remedy for vs, epyther by fayrenesse or otherwise.

Thus John Wall vsed to talke on Sundayes, when the people went out of the Churches to go into the Villages, wherfore, many of the meane people loued him: and those that meant no goodnesse, sayde he sayde truth: and so they muttered together one with another in the fieldes and wayes as they went.

The Archebishop of Cauntorbury, who was agayne informed of thys John Wall, caused him to be taken and committed to prison, where he remained two or thre moneths, as a matter somewhat to correct his foly: howbeit, it had bene much better in the beginning that he had bene condemned to perpetuall prison, or else to haue dyed, rather then to haue suffered him agayne to be deliuered out of prison, for the great mischiefe that did ensue: But the Bishop had conscience to put him to death.

And when this John Wall was agayne come out of prison, he returned agayne to his olde trade. Of his wordes and deedes there were many peccle in London enformed, namely suche as had great enuy at them that were riche. And at the last they began to speake among themselues, and sayd: that the realme of England was euill gouerned, and how that Golde and Siluer was taken from them, by such as were named noble men. And thus a sort of vnhappy people gathered together about London, began to rebell, and sent worde into dyuerse Countries to such as they knewe, that they should come to London, and bring their people with them, promisyng that they should finde London open to receyue them, and the Commons of the Citie to be of the same mynde, and sayde, that they would worke so much with the king, that there should not be one bond man in all England.

This promise so moued them of Kent, Essex, Suffex, Bedford, and other Countries about, that they arose and came towardes London in great numbers. And they had made to themselues certeine Capitaines, named Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, and John Wall and other, of the which companie, Watte Tyler was the chiefe, and he was a Tyler in deede, and an vngracious Patrone.

When these vnhappy men began thus to stirre, they of London, namely the honest Citizens were greatly afrayed. Then the Maior of London, and the substanciall of the Citie toke counsaile together: and when they sawe the people come in on euery syde, they caused the Gates of the Citie to be closed,

\* Fabian sayeth  
Jacke  
straw was  
chiefe.



closed, and would suffer no man to enter into the Citie: But when they had better aduised themselves, they thought it not best so to do, least they might chaunce thereby to geue an occasion that their Suburbs might be bzent. And so they opened againe the Gates of the Citie. And there entered in by xx. and. xxx. together, in some places an hundzeth, and in other places two hundzeth, and tooke their lodgyng within the Citie, but to say truely, the thirde parte of these people coulde not tell what to aske or demaunde, or wheretoze they came, but that one folowed another for company, as brute Beastes.

The same day that these unhappie people of Kent were commyng to London, there returned from Cauntorbury the kinges mother Princesse of Wales, comming from her pilgrimage. She was in great ieopardy to haue bene lost: For these people came to her Chayze, and dealt rudely with her, whereof the good Lady was in great doubt, least they would haue done some vilany to hir, or her Damoselles: howbeit God kept her, and she roade in one day from Cauntorbury to London, for she neuer durst tary by the way. And the same tyme king Richard her sonne, was at the Tower of London, and there his mother found him, and with him there was the Erle of Sarisbury, the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, Sir Robert of Namure, the Lorde of Somegines, and dyuers other, who were in doubt of this people that thus were gathered together, and wist not what they demaunded.

This rebellion was well knowen in the kinges Court, befoze anye of these people began to styrre out of any of their houses: But the king noz hys counsaile prouided not remedie therefoze in due tyme.

But here to begin and shew foorth the story in order. First on the Monday in the yere of our Lorde. 1381. certeine of the aforesayd people issued out of London, and came first to Cauntorbury, and there John Ball or John Wall had thought to haue found the Bishop, but he was at London with the king. When Watte Tyler, and Jacke Strawe entered into Cauntorbury, all the Common people made great ioy, for all the towne was of their mind. And there they tooke counsaile to go to London to the king, and to send some of their companie ouer the Thames into Essex, and likewise to send another company into Suffer, and into the Counties of Stafford, and Bedford, to speake to the people, that they should all come to the farther syde of London, and thereby to close London rounde about, so that the king should not stop their passages, and that they should all mete together on Corpus Christi day.

They that were at Cauntorbury did much harme, for they entered into Saint Thomas Church, and robbed, and brake by the Bishops Chamber. And in robbing and bearyng out their pillage, sayde, A, this Chaunceloz of England hath had a good Market to bring together all this riches: he shall geue vs nowe an accompt of the reuenues of England, and of the great profites that he hath gathered sithen the Coronation.

Then this Monday they came from Cauntorbury, and tooke their way to Rochester. And in their passage they spoyled the houses of all men of lawe that stood in their way, whether they were Spirituall or Tempozall. And when they were come to Rochester, there they had good cheere, for the people of that towne were of that minde. And then they went to the Castel there, and tooke the knight that had the rule thereof, who was called Sir John Motton: and they sayde vnto him, Sir John, you must go with vs, and ye shall be

shalbe our souereigne Capteyne, and doe that we will haue you doe. The Knight made many excuses very honestly and discretely, but it auayled him nothing, for they sayde vnto him, Sir John, if ye do not as we will haue you do, ye are but dead. The Knight perceyving those people in that furye, and readie to slay him: He then fearyng death, agreed vnto them, and so he went with them, though against his will. And in like maner did they in other countries in England, as Essex, Suffer, Stafford, Bedford, and Warwike, euen to Lincolne. For they brought the knightes and Gentlemen into such a feare, that they caused them to go with the whether soeuer they would haue them, as the Lorde Holin a great Baron, sir Stephen of Hales, and sir Thomas of Silighen, and other.

Then on the Tuesday these people lodged at Rochester, and from thence departed and came ouer the ryuer there, and so kept on their way towarde London, vntill they came to Datzford, spoylyng and bzennyng as they went, all the houses that belonged to any man of lawe, what soeuer they were, and they stroke of the heades of dyuers personnes: And so long they came forwarde, that at the last they came to Blackheth, which is within foure myle of London, and euer as they went, they sayde they were the kings men, and the seruantes of the noble Commons of England.

But when they of the Citie of London knewe that they were so neere vnto them: The Maior closed the Gates, and stopped the passages.

And whyle the lewde company lay on Blackheth, they agreed the next day, which was Wednesday, to sende syr John Motton (whome they called their knight) to the king, to shewe him that all that they had done and doe, is for him and his honour: and howe the realme of Englande hath not bene well gouerned of a great space, neyther for the honour nor common profite of the same, by his Uncles, nor yet by the Clergie, and specially by the Archebishop of Cauntorburie his Chauncelour, of whome they woulde haue accompt: But when they had well bethought themselves, they wylled syr John Motton to let these things alone, and to say to the king that they desyred to speake with him, because that to him, and to none other they woulde open their griefes. The aforesayde knight durst doe none other, but passed ouer the Thames and came to the Towze, prayng to speake with the king. The king and they that were with him in the towze, desirous to here newes, wylled that the knight should come vnto them. And at that tyme there were present with the king, first the princesse his mother, and hys two brethren, the Erle of Kent, and the Lorde John Holland, the Erle of Salburie, the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Oxford, the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, the Lord of Saint Johns, Sir Robert of Namure, the Lord of Uertaigne, the Lorde of Somegines, the Maiour of London, and dyuers other notable Citizens.

This knight syr John Motton, who was well knowen among them, for he was one of the kinges officers. He kneeled downe befoze the king, and sayde. My redoubted Lorde, let it not displease your grace, the message that I must shew vnto you, for deare syr, it is by force and agaynst my will, Sir John, sayde the king, save what ye will, I holde you excused, Sir, the commons of your realme hath sent me vnto you, for to desyre you to come and speake with them on Blackheth, for they desyre to speake with you and none

The kinge  
mother the  
Princesse of  
Wales, was  
in great feare  
of the Ken-  
tish rebels.

The first en-  
trie of the re-  
bels was at  
Cauntorbury.

The rebels  
sought enemies  
to all men of  
lawe, wher-  
ther they  
were spiritu-  
all or tempo-  
rall.



none other. And saye ye neede not to haue any doubt of your person, for they will doe you no hurte, for they holde and will holde you for their king: But Sir, they say they will shewe you diuers things the which shall be right necessary for you to take heede of, when they speake with you, of the which thinges I haue no charge to shewe you: But I humbly beseeche you, to geue me your aunswere, suche as may appease them, and that they maye knowe for truth that I haue spoken with you, for they haue my children in hostage vntill I returne agayne vnto them: and if I returne not agayne, they will slea my children incontynent. Then sayde the king, ye shall haue aunswere forthwith.

Then the king toke counsaile what was best for him to doe, and it was anon determined that the nexte morning the king would go downe by water, and without fayle speake with them, by the Thames side, whither he willed that a certaine of them should come vnto him.

And when saye John Motton had that aunswere, he desyred nothing else, and so he tooke his leaue of the king and of his Lords, and returned agayne to Blackheth, where he had left mothen. lx. thousande men: And there he declared his aunswere, which was, that the next morning they should sende some of their counsaile vnto the Thames, and the king would come and speake with them. This aunswere greatly pleased them, and so passed away that night, and the fourth parte of them fasted for lack of victuall, which greued them muche.

In the morning being thursday, the king being accompanied wyth the Erle of Salburie, the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Suffolk and certaine knyghtes, tooke his Barge and rowed downe along the Thames to Detforde, and there were come downe the hill aboue ten thousand of the aforesayde persons, to see and speake with the king.

And when they sawe the kings Barge comming, they began to shoute, and made suche a crie as if all the Deuills in hell had bene among them. And they had brought with them Sir John Motton, to the entent that if the king had not come, they would haue hewen hym all to pieces, and so they promysed hym.

And when the king and his Lords sawe the demeanour of the people, the stoutest hearted of them that were with the king were afrayed. And the Lordes counsailed the king not to take any landyng there, but to rowe by and downe the ryuer. And the king demaunded of them what they would, for sayde he, I am come hether to speake with you. And they all with one voyce sayde: we would that ye should come a lande, and then we will shewe you what we lack. Then the Erle of Salbury aunswere for the king, and sayde, Sirs, ye be not in suche good order nor araye that the king ought to speake with you. And with those wordes, they were somewhat stayed. Then the king was counsailed to returne agayne to the Towre of London, and so he did. And when they sawe that, they were enflamed with wrath and returned to the hill where the great bande was. And there they shewed them what aunswere they had, and howe the king was returned to the Towre of London. Then they cryed all wyth one voyce, let vs go to London, and so they tooke their waye thether, and in their goyng they bet downe the Lawyers houses without all mercie, and many other houses of suche as had offices

offices vnder the king. And specially they brake by the Kinges prisons, as the Marshalsey, and kinges Benche, and deliuered freely all the prisoners that were within. And at the brydge foote, because the Gates were closed, they threatened sore the Citezens of London, sayeng how they would brenne all the suburbes, and also slea all the commons of the Citie, and set the Citie on fyre. And within the Citie were a great number of their affinitie, and they sayde: why doe not we let these good felowes into the Citie? they are oure felowes, and that that they doe, is for vs: And shortly after the gates were opened, and they entred into the Citie, and went into houses, and late do bene to eate and drinke. And they could call for nothing but it was brought vnto them, for euery man was readie to make them good cheere, and to please them with meate and drinke.

Then their Capteynes Watte Tyler, Jacke Straw, Jacke Shepard, and other, to the number of. xx. thousand, went through London, and came to the Sauoy, which then was a goodly place, and perteyned to the Duke of Lancaster. And when they were entered therein, they first slue the keepers thereof, and then spoyled and robbed the house. And when they had so done, they set fyre on it, and cleane consumed and destroyed it: And then came vnto the Temple and other Innes of Court, and spoyled the Bookes of law, and the recorderes of the Counter, and set all the prisoners of Newegate and the Counters at large. And when they had this done, then they went streight to the goodly Hospitall of the Rhodes, called Saint Johns beyond Smithfiede, and spoyled that likewyse, and then consumed it with fyre. Then they went from streete to streete in London, and slue all the Flemyngees that they could meete withall, eyther in Church or in any other place, and they brake by diuers houses of the Lombardes, and robbed them, and toke their goodes at their pleasure. And the same tyme they slue in the Citie a riche Citizen called Richard Lion, for that Watte Tyler once dwelled with him, and on a tyme did beate him, wherefore he was nowe reuenged vpon him, and caused his head to be stricken off, and put vpon the poynt of a Speare, and made it to be borne before him throughout London. Thus these vngacious people demeaned themselues, like mad and outrageous bestes. And toward night they went to Saint Katherines befoze the Tower of London: sayng howe they would neuer departe thence vntill they had the king at their pleasure, and vntill that he had graunted vnto them all that they would aske, and haue speciall accomptes of the Chaunceloz of England to know where all the treasure was become that he had leuyed through the realme: & without he made a good accompt thereof, it should not be for his profite. And so after they had spent all this day, beyng Thursday, and then called Corpus Christi day, and was then a highe and festiuall daye, in doying of mischietes and murders, they rested at night befoze the Towre, as aforesayde.

But here may ye well thinke, that this was a heauy and troublous night vnto the king, and those that were with him in the Tower, for such was the behauiour of these vileynes, that dyuerse and sondry tymes in the night they shouted and cryed as all the deuilles in hell had roared.

And in this Euenyng the king was counsailed by his brethren and Lordes, and by sir Nicholas Walworth Maior of London, and diuers other worshipfull Citizens, that in the night tyme they should haue issued out of the

Eg. f.

Tower,

Watte Tyler  
Jacke Straw  
Jacke Shep-  
heard, John  
Wall.

Sauoy burnt

Richard Lion  
on murdered



Tower, and haue entred into the Citie, & there to haue had ayde, & so to haue slaine al those vnhappy people that then were at their rest, for it was thought that many of them were drunken, by reason whereof they might haue bene slaine like flees, and among. xx. of them there was scant one in harness. And surely the good men of London might haue done this at their ease, for they had secretly in their houses a great number of theyr friendes, and seruauntes readie harnessed.

And also sir Robert Canolle was in his lodgyng, keepyng the kinges treasure, with sixe score readie at his commaundement. And in lyke maner was sir Perducas Dalbert, who was as then at London. In somuche as there might haue bene assembled. viij. thousand men well harnessed and appointed: Howbeit, there was nothing done, for they were in feare of the rest of the Commons of the Citie, and againe the number of the Commons of the Countrie were. lx. thousand and mo.

Then the Erle of Sarisbury, and the wyse men about the king sayd, sir if ye can appease them with faire wordes, it were best and most profitable so to do, and to graunt them euery thing that they desyre. So this counsaile was accepted and folowed, and the Maior countermaunded not to stirre that night. And in the Citie with the Maior, there were. xii. Aldermen, wherof ix. of them helde with the king, & the other thre took part with the vngacious people, as it was after well knowne, the which they ful derely bought.

On the Friday in the moznyng the people that were lodged at Saint Katheryns, began to apparell themselves, and to cry and howte, and sayde: Without the king would come out and speake with them, they would assault the Tower, and take it perforce, and sley all them that were therein.

Then the king doubted those wordes, and he was counsailed to go out and speake with them. And then the king sent vnto them that they should all draw to a fayre plaine place called Mylende, where as the people of the Citie did vse to shote, and thether the king promised to come to them, and to graunt them whatsoeuer they desyred.

Then the people began to depart, specially the Commons of the Villages, and went to the same place, but all went not thether, for they were not all of one condicion, nor of one minde. For there were some that desyred nothing but spoyle, and the bitter destruction of noble men, and to rob and sacke London: And that was the principall matter of their beginnyng, the which they well shewed. For assone as the Tower Gate opened, and that the king issued out with his two brethren, and the Erle of Sarisbury, the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Orford, Sir Robert of Hamure, the Lord of Briteyne, the Lord Somegines, and dyuerse other. Then Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, and John Wal, alias Wall, and mo then foure hundreth entered into the Tower, and brake by Chamber after Chamber, and at the last found the Archbishop of Cauntorbury called Simon, a valiaunt man & a wise, and high Chaunceloz of England, and him they brought out, and stroke off his heade, and also beheaded the Lorde of Saint Johns, and a gray Friar, which was a Phisition belongyng to the Duke of Lancaster, for hatred that they had to hys mayster, and a Sergeaunt at armes called John Laige. And these foure heades they put vpon the endes of foure long Speares, and they made them to be bozne before them thzough the streetes of the Citie. And at the last set them

them on high at London bzydge, as though they had bene Traytors to the king and to the realme. Also these wretches entred into the Princesse Chamber, and brake her head, with the which she was so sore afrayde, that she sobned, and so was taken by and bozne to the water syde, and put in a Barge, & couered, and so conueyed to a place called the Royall, which then was the Queenes Wardrobe, and there she was all that day and night, as a woman halfe deade, vntill shee was comforted with the king her sonne, as ye shall after here.

Now when the king was come to Mylende without London, he put out of his company his two brethren the Erle of Kent, and syr John Hollande and the Lorde of Somegines, for they durst not appere before the people. And when the king and his other Lords were there, he founde there a lx. thousand men of dyuers Villages and of sundrie Countries in Englande.

And the king entered in among them, and spake vnto them gently and sayde. A good people, I am your king, what lacke ye? what doe ye saye? Then such as heard him sayd, that ye will make vs free for euer, our selues, our heyres, and oure landes, and that we be called no more bondmen, nor from henceforth so to be reputed or taken. Sirs, sayde the king, I doe gladly graunt your request: withdrawe you home to your abone houses, and into suche Villages as ye came from, and leaue behind you of euery Village two or thre, and I wyll cause wytynges to be made and seale them woth my seale, the which they shall haue with them, containing euery thing that ye demaund. And to the entent that ye shall be the better assured, I will cause my Banners to be delyuered vnto euery Waplywike, Shire and Countie.

These wordes quieted well the common people, and suche as were simple and good plaine men that were come thether, and wist not wel wherfoze: They answered the king, it was well sayde, they desyred no better. And so they beganne to withdrawe themselves, and came into the Citie of London. And the king sayde also one worde, the which greatly contented them, and that was: syr, among you good men of Kent, ye shall haue one of my banners, and ye of Essex another, of Bedford, of Cambridge, of Stafford, of Lyncolne, and of Lyn, eche of you shall haue one. And also I pardon euery thing that ye haue done hetherto, so that ye folowe my Banners, and returne home to your houses. They all answered they would so doe. Thus these people departed and went to London.

Then the king appointed mo then. xxx. Clerkes the same fridaye to write with all diligence letters patents, to be sealed with the kinges seale, and to be delyuered to these people: and as they receaued their wytyngs, so they departed into their Countries.

But yet the great venome remayned behinde, for Watte Tyler, Jack Strawe, and other of their Captaines sayde, they would not so depart, and there agreed vnto them mo then. xxx. thousand: And thus they abode stil, and made no haste, neyther to haue the kings wytyng nor Seale, for their ententes was to haue spoyled the Citie. The which thing all the honest Citizens of London greatly feared, and therefore had priuely in their houses their friends in a readynesse.

When it drewe somewhat toward night, the king came to the Towre in the Royall, where the Princesse his mother beyng in great feare had re-



mayned all that daye, to comfort her and taried there with her all that night.

And here (sayth Froissart) I will tell you what happened among these unhappie people before the Citie of Norwiche by a Capitaine among them named William Lyster of Stafforde. The afozenamed daye of Corpus Christi that the aforesayde lewde people entered into London, the berye same tyne they assembled together of Stafford, of Lynne, of Cambridge, of Bedford. And as they were comming towardes London they had a Capitaine among them called Lyster, and as they came they stayed before Norwiche, and all the waye as they passed, they caused euery man to arise with them, so that they left fewe lewde people behinde them. And the cause why they stayed before Norwiche was this. There was a knight, and a Capitaine of the Towne called Sir Robert Sale, he was no gentleman borne, but he was sage and balaunt in armes, and for his balauntnesse king Edward made him knight, he was of his body one of the mightiest men in Englād.

William Lyster Captayn of the rebels.

Sir Robert Sale a balaunt knight.

Lyster the lewde Captayne of this route, thought that this man was meete to be a Capitaine among them, to the entent they might be the more dradde and feared of the people: wherfore they sent vnto him that he shoulde come and speake with them in the fielde. The knight considered that it were better for him to go and speake with them, rather then by his not goyng he shoulde prouoke them to doe any outrage to the towne, and therefore he took his horse, and ryd vnto them all alone, hauyng no company with him. And when they sawe him, they shewed him most ioyfull and louing countenance and honored him very much, and prayed him to alight of his horse, for they were desyrus to common with him, and he so did, wherin he did very fondly. And asone as he was alighted, they came rounde about him, and began to speake very sayre vnto him, and sayde. Sir Robert, ye are a knight and a man greatly beloued in thys Countrie, and counted for a balaunt man. And though you be so, yet we knowe you well, ye are no gentleman borne, but sonne to a Willyne, suche as we be: Therfore we will that ye shall go with vs, and we will make you so great a Lorde that one quarter of Englande shall be vnder your obeyfaunce.

When the knight had heard them thus speake, it offended him not a litle, wherfore beholding them with a cruell looke, he sayde vnto them: Admoyde ye false trayterous and ungracious people: wene you that I will forsake the obedience and duety that I owe vnto my soueraigne Lorde for such a company of knaues as ye be, which should be to my dishonour for euer: I had rather ye were all hanged, as I doubt not but ye shall be, for that wyll be your ende. And with those wordes he had thought to haue left agayne to his horse, but he fayled of the Stryop, and the horse sterted awaye.

Then they cryed all with one voyce, at him, and sleigh him without mercy. And when he heard those wordes he let his horse go, and drew out his sworde, and beganne to skirmishe with them, and he made suche ryme about him that it was pleasure to beholde him, for there was none that durst come nere him. Howbeit, some there were that did approche neere vnto him, but at euery stroke that he gaue, he cut of eyther legge, head, or arme, and there was none so hardie but that they feared him. He did there suche deedes of armes, that it was maruell to beholde, but the number of these lewde people were mo then. xl. thousande, and they shot soze at him and wounded him

to

to death. But yet befoze he dyed he slue. xij. of them out of hande, beside many other that he hurte: and finally he was stryken to the earth, and they cut of his armes and legges, and then hewed his body all to peeces. And thys was the end of syr Robert Sale, which did not a litle offend all the knights and squires of Englande: But now to retorne where we left.

Sir Robert Sale knyght.

On Saturday, the next day in the forenoone, the king had bene at Westminster, and came from thence on the backsyde through Holbozne into London, and thought to haue ridden to the Tower, and as he came ouer Smithfielde, he sawe there Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, and their companie assembled together, which caused him a litle to stay, and considering them wel, they seemed to be nere vnto the number of. xx. thousand, and all this company had the kings Banners, for they were deliuered vnto them the day befoze. And these vileyne sayde among themselues, let vs ouerruine and spoyle this Citie wherem we may haue great rycheffe, befoze that they of Essex, Suffe, Cambridge, Bedford, Arundell, Warwike, Redyng, Oxenford, Gylford, Lynne, Stafforde, Lyncolne, Poike, and Duram do come hether. For Wallior and Lister will bring them hether, and they will be Lordes of London if we be not, and therefore nowe seeyng we be first here, why should we not geue the attempt: and to this they were all agreed, and euen therewithall the king came.

Wallior Lyster.

And when Watte Tyler sawe the king, he sayd to his company, yonder is the king, I will go speake with him, ferre not you quoth he to his people, from hence, except I make you a signe, and when I make you a signe, come on together, and slay them all (except the king.) But do the king no hurt, for he is yong, and we shall rule him as we list, and leade him with vs round about Englande, and so without doubt we may be Lordes of the realme. And therewith he spurred his horse, and came to the king, so nere him that hys horse touched the kinges horses heade as they roade, and the first worde that he sayde vnto the king was this, Sir king, seest thou all yonder people? ye truly sayd the king, wherfore askest thou that? Because sayde he, they be all at my commaundement, and haue swozne to me fayth and trouth, to do all that I will haue them. In a good tyne sayde the king, be it so. Then sayde Watte Tyler, as he that sought nothyng but ryot. What, beleuest thou king, that these people and as many mo that are in London, which are at my commaundement, that they will depart from thee thus, without hauyng thy letters? So sayd the king, ye shall haue them, they are appoynted for you, and shall be deliuered eche of you one after another: wherfore good felowes withdrawe your selues to your people, and cause them to depart out of London, for it is our entent that eche of you by Villages and Towneships shall haue letters Patents as I haue promised you. With those wordes Watte Tyler cast his eye on a Squier that was ther with the king, and bare the kinges sworde. And Watte Tyler hated greatly the same Squier, for wordes that had passed the day befoze betwene them, and sayde vnto him, what, sayth he, art thou there? Geue me thy dagger. Nay sayd the Squier, that will I not do, wherfore should I geue it thee? The king behelde the squier and sayd, geue it him, let him haue it, and he gaue it him. And when Watte Tyler had it, he began to play wyth it in his hand, turning of it: And then he sayde agayne to the Squier, geue me that sworde, nay sayd he, it is the kings

An arrogant and proud vileyne.

Sworde,

Sworde,



sworde, thou art not worthie to haue it, for thou art but a knaue. And there were no mo here but thou and I, thou durst not demaund any such things of me, neyther to speake as thou hast spoken, for as much Golde as would lye in yonder Abbey: By my fayth sayd Watte Tyler, I will neuer eate meate vntill I haue thy head.

And with those wordes the Shaiour of London came to the king, with xij. horses well armed vnder their coates, and so he brake the pcase, and saw and heard the demeanour of Watte Tyler in the presence of the king, and he sayde vnto him, Ha thou knaue, howe darest thou be so bolde in the kinges presence to speake suche wordes, it is to much to suffer thee so to do. Then the king began to chafe, and sayde to the Shaiour, let handes on him. And when the king had sayd so, Watte Tyler sayde to the Shaiour, a Gods name, what haue I sayde to displease thee? Yes truely quoth the Shaiour, thou false sūking knaue, halt thou speake thus in the presence of the king my naturall Lorde? I wishe neuer to liue, except thou dearely by it. And with those wordes the Shaiour drewe out his sworde, and stroke Watte Tyler suche a stroke on the heade, that he fell downe at the feete of his horse. And alsoone as he was fallen, he was compassed round about, so that he was not seene of his company. Then a Squier alighted, called John Standishe, and thrust his sworde into Watte Tylers belly, and so he dyed.

Then the vnhappy people there assembled, perceyving their Capteyne slaine, began to murmure among themselves, and sayd: A, our Capteine is slaine, let vs go and slay them all. And therewith they raunged themselves in the place in maner of battaile, and their Bowes bent before them.

Thus the king began a great outrage, howbeit all happened to the best: for as soone as Watte Tyler was on the earth, the king departed from all his company, and all alone he roade to the naughtie companie, but before his goyng, he sayde to his awne people, sirs, folowe not me, let me alone. And when he came to the vngacious people, who had put themselves in order of warre, to be reuenged of the death of their Captaine: The king sayde vnto them, Sirs what ayleth you, ye shall haue no Capteine but me, I am and will be your king and Captaine, be you therefore quiet. And a great number that heard him speake, and seeyng him in presence, quieted them selues, and departed. But such as were wicked and maliciously mynded, would not depart, but made a shewe as though they would do somewhat.

Then the king returned to his awne company, and demaunded of them what was best to doe. Then he was counsayled to drawe into the field, for to flie away was no boote. Then sayde the Shaiour, it is good that we do so, for I thinke surely we shall haue some comfort of them of London, and of suche good men as be of our parte, who are prouided and haue their friends and men armed in their houses.

And in this meane time, a crye and noyes went through the Citie, how the king and the Shaiour were lyke to be slayne by these naughtie people: By reason of which noyes, a great number of good men issued out of their houses, and came into Smithfield where the king was. And they were a none to the number of seauen or eyght thousand men well armed.

And first, thether came Sir Robert Canol and Sir Perducas Dalbret well accompanied, and dyuers of the Aldermen of London, and with them

sire

sire hundred men in harneys. And a worthie and puissaunt man of the Citie which was the kinges Draper, called Nicholas Brembre, and he brought wyth him a great companie, and euer as they came, they raunged themselves on foote in order of battaile.

And on the other part these vnhappie people were readie raunged, making countenance as though they would presently fight: and they had with them dyuers of the kings Banners.

There the king made foure knightes. The one the Shaiour of London, Syr Nicholas Walwoorth, Sir John Standishe and Syr Nicholas Brembre. Then the Lords sayde among themselves, what shall we doe? we see our enimies who would gladly slei vs, if they might haue the better hande of vs. Syr Robert Canoll counsayled to go and fight with them and slei them all. But the king would not consent thereto, but sayde: Naye, I will not so, I will sende to them commaundyng them to sende me agayne my Banners, and thereby we shall see what they wyll doe: Howbeit, eyther by fayre meanes or otherwise, I wyll haue them: That is well sayde, quoth the Erle of Salbury. Then these newe knightes were sent to them, and these knightes made token to them that they should not shoote at them. And when they came so nere them that their speche might be heard, they sayde: Sirs, the king commaundeth you to sende him agayne his Banners. And incontinent they deliuered the Banners, & sent them to the king, and then they were commaunded vpon payne of their heads, that all suche as had letters of the king, to bring them forth, and to sende them agayne to the king, and many of them deliuered their letters, but not all. Then the king commaunded them to be all tozne in their presence. And alsoone as the kinges Banners were taken from them, they kept none array, but the most parte of them threwe downe their bowes, and so brake their array, and returned into London. Sir Robert Canoll was sore displeased that he might not set on them, but the king would not, but sayde he would be reuenged on them well enough, and so he was after.

Thus these beastly people departed, some one waye and some another. And the king and his Lordes, and all his company right comely and orderly entred into London with great ioye, and forthwith his grace went to the Lady Princesse his mother, being in the Tower of the Roiall, where she had taried two dayes, and two nightes, in great feare (as she had good cause) And when she sawe the king her sonne, she greatly reioyced and sayde: A fayre some, what paine and sorow haue I suffered for you this daye. Then the king spake and sayde, Madame, I know it right well, but now I pray you reioyce and thanke God, for it his high time. I haue thys daye recouered mine heritage and the realme of England, which I had almost lost. And thus the king taried that day with his mother, and euery Lord went peaceably to their awne lodgings. And forthwith a proclamation was made in euery streete in the kings name, that all maner of men, not being of the Citie of London, neyther hath dwelt there the space of one yere, to departe. And if any suche be founde there, the next day, which was Sunday, by the Summe ryng, that they should be taken as Traytors to the king, and to lose their heades. Alsoone as this proclamation was made, they sparkled abroade, euery man to their awne homes.

And

And for this  
the Citie ge-  
ueth a sworde  
in their  
armes.

Sir Robert  
Canoll.Sir Perdu-  
cas Dalbret.



And here is to be noted that in the tellyng of all this stoze, Sir John Froyssart nameth one John Ball to be a chiefe Captaine, and I finde none other Authour that nameth any such, but Jack Straw, and Jack Shepard. But I thinke it is some fault in the print, and that it shoulde be John Wall, for in the beginning of the stoze is set forth that a simple priest called John Wall was the first mouer, and speciall authour, and setter forth of thys rebellion, and therefore lyke enough that he was one of their Captaines. And it should the rather appere so to be, for that in the beginning of thys enterpryses, they went first to the Byshop of Cauntozburie, and spoyled hys house, and bare suche malice vnto him that after they slew him in the tower of London. And the same Byshop of Cauntozbury had thre or foure times emprisoned the sayde John Wall for his lewde communication that tended to rebellion, & therefore most lyke it should be John Wall, & sought to be reuenged.

In like maner the aforesayde authour Sir John Froyssart doth in thys stoze acompt Watte Tyler to be the chiefe of this rowte, whom he saith was a Tyler in dede, and an vngacious patrone. But Fabian, Carton, Kastell, Cowper, Polidore and many other Authours doe impute Jack Straw to be chiefe, and more Froyssart sayeth it was Watte Tyler that bragged with the king, and toke by the Maior of London in the kinges presence, and also that it was Watte Tyler whome the Maior of London did overthrow: But all other say it was Jack Strawe, and it should seeme rather Watte Tyler, for that in all this discourse he was the busiest bragger of all the Captaines. But which of them so euer it was, they were naught all.

But nowe sayth Froyssart, John Ball, and Jack Strawe were founde hidden in an olde house, where they had thought to haue stollen awaye, but they could not, for they were accused by their awne company. Of the taking of them, the king and his Lordes were glad, he caused their heades to be stricken of, and Watte Tylers also, and commaunded them to be set vpon London bridge, and those valiaunt mens heades to be taken doone, which they had set on befoze. These tydings spreade abroad so, that the people of strange Countries which were comming towardes London, returned back agayne to their houses, and durst come no further.

And here we must retorne to the Duke of Lancaster, who all the time of this rebellio was in Scotland in treatye of a peace as ye haue heard befoze. And so long they continued this treatie, that at the last a truce was concluded to remain for thre yeres, & when this truce was concluded then the Lordes of eche part made good chere to other. Then sayd the Erle of Douglas to the Duke of Lancaster: sir we know right well of the rebellion of the common people in England, & the peril that the realme is in at this present, and sir we take you for a right sage & valiaunt man, that in all the tyme of this communication of the treatie ye would not seme to vnderstand any thing therof: but syr, we say now vnto you, & we offer our selues to be redy to aide you with .v. or .vi. C. speares, and to do you seruice. By my fayth saide the Duke, gentle Lordes I thanke you, I will not refuse your friendly offer: howbeit I thinke verily that the king my lord hath so good counsaill, & it shall be pacified right well: howbeit, I desyre you to haue a sauve conduyt for me & mine to retorne into your Coutrie if neede be, vntill the matter be appeased. The Erle Douglas, and the Erle Moret who had the kinges aucthoritie, graunted him hys desyre,

John Ball  
and Jacke  
Strawe  
were founde  
hidden in an  
olde house.

The end of  
the histoze  
of the rebels  
of Ric.

desyre, and so they departed, the Scottes went to Edenbourgh.

The Duke of Lancaster and his people wente to Barwike, wenyng to the Duke to haue entered into the towne, for when he passed that way, he left all his prouision behinde him: But the Capteyne of the towne called Sir Mathew Redmayn denyed him to enter, and closed in the gates against him and his, sayng he was so commaunded by the Erle of Northumberland. And when the Duke heard these words, he was soze displeased and sayde: Howe cometh this to passe, Mathew Redmayn: is there in Northumberlande a greater souereigne then I am, which should let me to passe this way where all my prouision is with you: what meaneth these newes? By my fayth sir, sayde the knight, this is true that I say, and by the commaundement of the king: and sir, this that I do to you is right soze agaynst my will, but I must nedes do it, and therefore for Goddes sake holde me excused, for I am thus commaunded vpon paine of my life, that I shall not suffer you, nor none of yours to enter into the towne.

Then the Duke not sayng all that he thought, brake out of this matter, and sayde, Sir Redmayn, what tydynges out of England: and he sayde, he knewe none, but that the Countries were soze moued, and the king had sent to all this Country to be in a redinesse when he should send. Then the Duke mused a litle, and sodeinly turned his horse, and bid the knight farewell, and so went to the Castell of Rosebourgh, and the Constable receyued him. Then the Duke of Lancaster was counsayled, that because he was not sure howe the matters went in Englande, neyther knewe not of whome he was beloued, or hated, that therefore he should send vnto the Lordes of Scotland, desyrng them to sende a quantitie of men of warre to conuey him into Scotland: And then he sent to the Erle Douglas, who was as then at Alquest. And when the Erle sawe the letter, he was right glad thereof, and made the Messenger great cheere, and sent worde thereof to the Erle Moret, and to the Erle de la Mare his brother, prayng them incontinent without any delay to meete with him at Mozlane the thirde day after, with a certeine number well horsed and appoynted. Assoone as these Lordes knewe this, they sent for men and friendes, and so came to Mozlane, and there they found the Erle Douglas, and so they roade altogether, to the number of fiftie hundred speares, and came to the Abbey of Mauros, which was .ix. litle myle frome Rosebourgh. And on the way they met the Duke, and there the one embraced the other right louingly, and then kept forth their iourney vntill they came to Edenbourgh, where the king of Scottes of late had beene, but as then he was in the wilde Scottishe. There the Duke of Lancaster was greatly honoured of the Erle Douglas, and of the Barons of Scotland and the Castell was deliuered to the Duke to lie in, and there he lay vntill other newes came out of England, which was not so soone as the Duke had wished. And in the mean season, many naughtie reportes and rumors were raysed and bruted by the rebellious people, of the Duke of Lancaster, affirmyng that he was become Scottishe, and a traytour to England: and Lyffer, Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, John Ball, and other Capteynes of the rebelles affirmed at the present houres of their death, the same to be true. The which caused many shamefull and slanderous tales to be reported of the Duke in euery parte of England. And no doubt these villeynes bare great hatred

Sir Mathew Redmayn Capteyne of Barwike denyed the Duke of Lancaster to enter into the towne.

Slanderous  
and lewde re-  
portes made of  
the Duke of  
Lancaster.



hated to the Duke of Lancaster, as appered by the brennyng of his house, and spoylyng of the same, and by the murderynge of his Phisition.

And soone after the death of these lewde Capternes, the king visited his realme and sate in sundrie places, and made inquirie of the aforesayde rebels, and he persecuted them in very quiet maner, from one billage to another, and from one towne and Countie to another, so long vntill at the last, he had executed aboue. xv. hundreth of them, and the rest he pardoned, and so all the realme was quieted.

Then the king sent for his vnckle the Duke of Lancaster out of Scotland, whereof he was glad, and at his departing he thanked the Lordes of Scotland of their great friendship. And the Erle Douglas, the Erle Mazer, and other Lordes of Scotland would nedes bring him as farre as Mauris and there eche toke leaue of other. And thus the Duke came to Rosebourgh, to Newcastle vpon Tyne, and so to Durham, & Porke, & at the last to Lodon.

And when he had shewed to the king and his Counsaile how he had done with the Scottes: Then he forgate not to shewe howe Sir Mathew Medmayn shutte him out of Barwike. And the Duke inquired of the king if he would allow that deede, and it seemed that the king did but faintly allowe it. So the Duke sayde no moze at that tyme.

And shortly after on the day of the Assumption of our Ladie in August, the king helde a solempne feast at Westminster, vnto the which came many Nobles and Lordes of England, and there was the Erle of Northumberland, and the Erle of Nottyngnam, and dyuers other Lordes of the Forth. And the king made knightes the same day the young Erle of Pembroke, Sir Robert Haubre, sir Nicholas Twyford, and sir Adam fraunces.

And at this feast there were great wordes betweene the Duke of Lancaster, and the Erle of Northumberland. The Duke sayd vnto him, Henrie Percy, I knowe not that ye were so great a man in England, as to close the Gates of any towne, Citie, or Castell, against the Duke of Lancaster. The Erle vnderstood whereof the Duke meant, and he tempered his speech, and sayde, Sir I denie not that the knight did, for I can not. For the king here present commaunded me streyghtly, that on mine honour, and on my lyfe, I should not suffer any maner of person, Lord, or other, to enter into any Citie, towne, or Castell in Northumberland, without he were heyze of the place. And sir the king and his Counsaile may well excuse me, for they knewe that ye were in Scotland, and therefore they should haue excepted you. What quoth the Duke, say you that there ought a exception to haue beene made for me, who am vnckle to the king, and haue kept mine heritage as well or better then any other haue done, next to the king, and knowing that I was gone for the businesse of the realme into Scotlande? This excuse can not excuse you, but that you haue done euill, and greatly agaynst mine honour: and you haue geuen therby an occasion to bring me in suspition that I had done some treason in Scotland, when at my returning the kinges townes are closed against me, and specially there where my prouision was: Wherefore I say, ye haue acquitted your selfe right euill. And for the blame and slaunder that ye haue brought me into, I nowe to purge my selfe, here in the presence of the king do cast you here my gage: reyle it and ye dare.

Then the king stepped forth and sayde: Right louyng vncle, all that was

The Duke of Lancaster returneth home out of Scotland.

Hotte and great wordes betweene the Duke of Lancaster, and the Erle of Northumberland.

was done, I must take it vpon me. And I must excuse the Erle of Northumberland, and speake for him. For we commaunded him on paine of his life that he should kepe close all the townes of the Marches, and ye knowe well howe our realme was then in great trouble and perill. The fault was in the Clerke that wrote the letters, and in the negligence of our Counsaile: For of truth we should haue excepted you: Wherefore I will and also desyre you, to put apart this euill opinion that ye haue of the Erle of Northumberland, and I take the charge on me, and discharge the Erle in that behalfe. Then kneeled downe before the Duke, the Erle of Arondell, the Erle of Salisbury, the Erle of Suffolke, the Erle of Stafford, and the Erle of Leicester, and sayde vnto him: Sir you here howe louyngly and howe truly the king speaketh, wherefore we besech you to agree to his pleasure. Wel quoth the Duke, who was inflamed with yre, I will hold my peace, and as it pleaseth the king to haue it, it is reason that I be content therewith, & so departed.

In this tyme as sayth Polidore in his booke De Inuentoribus rerum, Connes were first in vse, which were inuented by one of Germany. But sayth he, least he should be cursed for euer that was the Authour of thys inuention, therefore his name is hidden, & not knowne. But dyuers say that a Donke was the inuenter, though they name him not.

In the Moneth of Aprill next followyng, there landed in Kent Dame Anne the daughter of Charles the fourth, late Emperour deceased, and she was Sister vnto Wenceslaus who then was Emperour, the which of the Maior, and Citizens of London was honorably met vpon Blackheth, and conueyed with great triumph vnto Westminster the eyght day of the month of Maye, and shortly after was there solemply married vnto king Richard.

And the sayde yere was a terrible, and a horrible earthquake throughtout the vniuersall worlde as many Authours write, but namely in England, that threwe downe Castelles, Churches, Steples, houses, and Trees, and whole Villages, that y lyke was neuer sene nor heard of before, to the great terrour and feare of all suche as then lyued, and were present.

This yere by the commaundement of Pope Urbane, Henry Spencer Byschop of Norwiche, with a great number of Spirituall men and other, went to warre vpon the king of Spaine. And for the maintenance of thys warre, the Pope, as sayth Froissart, had sent vnto the said Byschop more then xxx. Bulles, and also graunted to the king and to his vncles, to further this enterprise, a Disme of the Clergie. And then the preachers aduanced and set forth this voyage to be so acceptable before God, and that the benefite of the Popes Bulles, were of such value for the remission of sinne, that the people of Englande, who soone gaue credite thereto, beleued verily that if they dyed that yere, they could not come into heauen, except they had geuen somewhat in almose toward this warre. And at Londo (sayth Froissart) and in the Diocesse thereof there was gathered a Tonne full of Gold and silver, and according to the Popes Bulles, he that most gaue, obteyned most pardon. And whosoener dyed in that tyme, and gaue his goodes to further that voyage, he was cleane absolved from paine and from sinne, and he accompted himselfe most happie that dyed in that season to obtaine so noble an absolution. And thus was gathered a great Masse of money.

This Pope (as Fabian writeth) gaue aucthoritie to the sayde Byschop

The first inuention of Connes.

1381

5 Anne the daughter of Charles the fourth late Emperour. A terrible earth quake.

1382

6

Bulles are of great force.



to make warre vpon the king of Spaine, for that he contrarie to the Popes commaundement withhelde certaine possessions, belonging of right vnto hys John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, in the right of his wife dame Constance.

But to say more truely, as diuers Authours saye, it was for the malice that this Pope Urbane bare vnto Pope Clement, to whome the Duches of Anjou had geuen the kingdomes of Naples, Sicilia, Apulia, and Calabria, of the which she wrote her selfe Queene.

In performance of which act, the sayde Byschop entring into the countre of Flaundyrs, founde there the Flemynge with diuers mistreaunts, such as the king of Spaine had sent thether, making resistence agaynst hym: wherefore he made vpon them sharp warre, and wanne from them certaine townes, as Grauelynge, Burbourgh, and Dunkirke, and wanne great and riche pillage, so that he and his Souldiours stuffed and freight with it (as sayth Reynulph) xli. shippes. But shortly after the Flemynge assembled with such power and strength, and gaue vnto the Englyshmen suche an assault about Dunkirke, that they were constreyned to geue back. And because the sayde shippes and goodes should not come agayne into the possession of his enemies, therfore he the sayde Byschop caused them to be set on fyre within the Hauen, and so were spoyled both shippes and goodes. And although that after this mishap he recovered his strength, and layde siege vnto the towne of Fpre, and wrought the Flemynge much care and trouble, yet shortly after, such sickneses fell among his people, as the flux and osker, that his souldiours dyed in great number: for the which he was compelled to leaue his iourney, and to returne agayne into England.

In thys yere also was a battaile of Combate done and holden in the Kings Palayce at Westminster, betwene one called Garcon Appellaut, and Sir John Aulpe Knight Defendaunt, of the which fight the knight was at length the Victour and forced his enemy to yeelde vnto him. For the which the sayde Garcon was immediatly from that place drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged for his false accusation.

And at this time, being the vij. yere of the reigne of King Richarde, a truce or peare was concluded betwene him the french king, and the king of Scottes for one whole yere next ensuyng, so that the frenchmen should geue knowledge thereof vnto the Scottes.

After the conclusion of the aforesayde peace, certaine Lordes of Englande returning out of Fraunce, and vnderstandyng that the frenche king had not yet geuen knowledge vnto the king of Scotlande of the truce, they now thinking to do a feate, assembled themselves with their powers, namely the Erle of Northumberland, the Erle of Nottingham, and the Barones of the borders and Marches of Scotland, and made a road into Scotland, and beganne to brenne the countre and lande of the Erle of Douglas, and of the Lorde Lyndsey, and left nothing vnbrent to Edenbourgh.

But shortly after that the Englyshmen had done this feate, and were returned agayne into Englande, the Scottes, although then they had knowledge of the peace, that was concluded in fraunce, yet they would not take knowledge thereof: But the Erle Douglas to be reuenged, entered into Northumberland, and so into the lande of the Lorde Percy, and there beganne to brenne, robbe, spoyle and destroy, and then returned by the lande of the

A warlike Byschop.

A Combate.

1383  
7

1384  
8

the Erle of Nottingham: and the Lord Howbray, and there did much hurt, and so passed by Rosebourgh, but they taried not there, because they were so laden with pillage, prisoners and Cattell, and so returned into their Countre againe without any daunger. And thus one mischief was requyted with another lyke mischief.

Also, thys yere there came vnto king Richarde the king of Ermony, which was driuen out of his lande by the Infidelles and Turkes, and he prayed aide of the king to be restored to his dominion. The king feasted and comforted him according to his honour, and after counsaile taken with hys Lords concerning that matter, he gaue vnto him great somes of money, and other riche giftes: with the which (after he had taried in Englande about two Moneths) he departed with glad countenance.

And in this time a variaunce chaunced betwene John Holland brother to the Erle of Kent, and the Erles sonne of Stafford: By reason of which variaunce in conclusion the sonne of the Erle was slayne by the hande of Sir John Holland: For the which dede the king was greuously amoued.

This yere the king assembled his high Court of parliament at Westminster, during the which he created two Dukes, a Marques & five Erles, The first was hys Edmond of Langley the kinges Uncle, and Erle of Cambridge, who was created Duke of Yorke, hys Thomas of Woodstock Erle of Buckyngham was created Duke of Gloucester, Sir Robert Were, who before was created Erle of Oxford, was now made Marques of Dublyn, Sir Henry Bolynghbrooke sonne and heyre of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was now made Erle of Darby, Sir Edward sonne and heyre to the Duke of Yorke was made Erle of Rutlande, Sir John of Holland brother to the Erle of Kent was made Erle of Huntynghdon, Sir Thomas Howbray was made Erle of Nottingham, and Marshall of Englande, and hys Hughell de la Poole was made Erle of Suffolk, and Chaunceloz of Englande, who was hated and iudged to be an euill man, both of the Lords and commons of this realme, as in the yere folowynge shall be shewed. And by authoritie of the same Parliament, Sir Roger Mortimer Erle of March, and sonne and heyre vnto Sir Edmond Mortimer, and of Dame Philip eldest daughter and heyre vnto Sir Lyonell the second sonne of Edward the thirde, was sone after proclaymed heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Englande. The which Sir Roger shortly after sayled into Ireland, to suppress the rebellion & vnquietnesse of the people of his Lordship of Wolster, which he was Lorde of by his aforesayd mother. But whyle he was there occupied about the same, the wyldc Fyrishe came vpon him in great number, and slue him and many of his company.

This Sir Roger had issue, Edmond, and Roger, Anne, Alice, and Alianor that was made a Nonne. The two aforesayde sonnes dyed without issue, and Anne the eldest daughter was maryed to Richarde Erle of Cambridge, which Richard had issue by the sayde Anne, Isabell Ladie Bourcher, and Richard that was after Duke of Yorke, and father to King Edward the fourth, which sayde Richard Erle of Cambridge was put to death by Henrie the fift at Southhampton, as after shall appere.

Also this yere Sir Henry Bolynghbrooke Erle of Darbye, maryed the Countesse daughter of Harford, by whome he was Lorde of that Countre.

H. j.

And

One mischief asketh another.

The king of Ermony.

A variaunce betwene John Holland, and the Erles sonne of Stafford.

1385  
9  
Creation of Dukes and Erles.

This Henry was afterwarde king Henry the fourth.

Hughell de la Poole Chaunceloz of Englande.

Sir Roger Mortimer proclaymed heyre apparaunt.

The issue of Sir Roger Mortimer

Henry Bolynghbrooke Erle of Darby.



And by her he had issue, Henry that after him was King, Blaunche Duches of Barre, and Philip that was wedded to the King of Denmark: Also Thomas Duke of Clarence, John Duke of Bedford, and Humfrey Duke of Gloucester.

Robert Were created Duke of Ireland.

And where a litle before mencion is made, that sir Robert Were was made Marques of Dublyn, ye shall vnderstand, that now the same man was created Duke of Ireland, & that the King purposed to haue made him King of Ireland if he might, such an affection the King had vnto him, albeit that all the Noble men disdeyned his high and sodeyne exalting, seeyng that many of as good qualities and condicions as he was, and of as good blood, remained still in their olde estate. This Robert was maryed to a fayre yong Ladie of King Edwardes blood, which he forsooke and put from him, and toke vnto him one of a base blood, a Sadlers daughter, which was borne in the realme of Beame, named Lancicron, which came ouer with King Rychardes wife. The putting away of the former Lady, was the occasion of many great murmures and displeasures agaynst this Robert Were, specially by the Duke of Gloucester Uncle vnto her, which determined vtterly when he sawe tyme, to reuenge the iniuries done vnto his Niece. This grudge borne by the Duke of Gloucester, was not vnknownen to the Duke of Irelande, which cast in his minde by what meanes he might destroy the sayde Duke, and all those which toke his part. The tyme of Easter came, at which season it was before appoynted, that the Duke of Ireland should haue taken his boyage into Ireland: But small preparation was made for his goyng ouer: But yet because it should be thought none otherwise but y<sup>e</sup> the purpose should hold, the King tooke his iourney into Wales, vnder pretence to bring him to Ship: and yet meant nothing lesse, for his speciall purpose was to deuyse howe he might bring to passe to set holde vpon the Duke of Gloucester, the Erles of Arondell, Warwike, and Darbie, with many other noble men: And to this vngracious purpose was of counsaile Mighell de la Poole Chaunceloz of Englande, Sir Robert Tresilian one of the Kinges chiefe Justices, and Alexander Neuell Archebishop of Yorke, with dyuerse other, as after in this story shall moze at large appere. And after that the king had continued a certeine of tyme in Wales, he put off the iourney of the Duke into Ireland, and the King and the Duke returned to London, and thether had sommoned a Parliament to be holden at Westminster. And these thinges thus wrought betwene the king and the other persons afozenamed, were not kept so secrete, but that the Duke of Gloucester, and the other Lordes had thereof knowledge. Wherefore when the tyme of the Parliament came, they came by euery of them with great power and strength.

And soone after the begynnynge of the sayde Parliament, the aforesayde Mighell de la Poole Chaunceloz (as I finde written in an olde Chronicle, which beareth the name of the Chronicle of Leycester) demaunded of the Commons in the Kinges name, foure fiftenes, for with lesse he sayd that the king could not mainteine his estate, and his outward warres. The whole body of the Parliament made aunswere againe, that without the king were present, they would make therin none aunswere. And they said further that if the king did not remoue this Mighel de la Poole from his office of Chauncelozship, they would no further meddle with any acte in thys Parliament, were

were it neuer so small.

This message beyng done to the King, the King sent agayne to the Commons that they should sende to Eltham (for there he lay then) xl. of the wisest and best learned of the common house, the which in the name of the whole house should declare vnto him their minde. And then the house were in more feare then they were in before, for a talke there went that the King entended to betrappe dyuerse of them which folowed not his mynde, eyther by that way or else at a banquet, which was appoynted to be made purposely at London, if Nicholas Erton then Maior of London would haue consented thereto, at which tyme the Duke of Gloucester should haue beene taken. Wherefore the Lordes of the vpper house, and the common house assembled together, and agreed with one assent, that Thomas of Woodstoke Duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Arondell Bishop of Ely, should in the name of the whole Parliament be sent vnto the king to Eltham, which was done, and the king well pleased that they should come.

A dissension betwene the King and the Parliament

Lordes sent by the parliament to the king.

The saing of the Lordes vnto the King.

Once in the yere the king may call a Parliament.

And first when they came into his presence, they most humbly saluted him, and sayd: Most high and our redoubted soueraigne Lorde, the Lordes and Commons at this your Parliament assembled, with most humble subiection vnto your most royall Maiesty, in likewise desyre your most gracious fauor: So that they may liue in tranquillity and peace vnder you, to the pleasure of God, and wealth of your realme: On whose behalfe we also shewe vnto you, that one olde statute and laudable custome is approued, which no man can denie, that the king our soueraigne Lorde may once in the yere lawfully summon his high Court of Parliament, and call the Lords & commons thereto, as to that which is the highest Courte of his Realme. In which Court all equitie and iustice must shine, euen as the Sunne when he is at the highest, whereof pooze and rich maye take refreshyng: Whereas also must be reformed all the oppreSSIONS, wronges, extorcions, and enormities within the realme, and there to counsaile with the wise men for the maintenance of the kinges estate, and conseruation of the same. And if it might be knowen that any persons within the realme or without entended the contrary, there must also be deuised howe such euill wedes may be destroyed. There also must be studied and foreseene, that if any charge do come vpon the king and his realme, howe it may be well and honourably supported and susteyned. Hetherto it is thought to the whole realme, that your subiectes haue louyngly demeaned themselues vnto you, in ayding you with their substance to the best of their powers, and they desyre to haue knowledge how and by whome these goodes be spent. One thing resteth yet to declare on their behalfe vnto you, howe that by an olde ordenance, they haue an acte, if the king absent himselfe. xl. dayes, not beyng sicke, but of his awne minde, (not heedyng the charges of the people, nor their great paynes) will not resort to his Parliament, they then may lawfully retorne home to their houses. And nowe sir, you haue bene absent a lenger tyme, and yet refuse to come amongest vs, which greatly is our discomfort.

The king should be present at the Parliament once in xl. dayes.

The kinges aunswere to the Lordes.

To this the king aunswered by these wordes: Well, we do consider that our people and Commons go about to rise against vs: wherefore we thinke we can do no better then to aske ayde of our Cosyn the French king, and rather submit vs vnto him, then vnto our awne subiectes.

M. ij.

The



The most-  
cns agayne  
of the Lords  
so the king.

The Lordes answered, Sir that counsaile is not best, but a way rather to bring you into daunger: for it is well knowen that the French king is your auncient enemy, and your greatest aduersarie. And if he set foote once within your realme, he will rather dispoyle you, and invade you, and depose you from your estate royall, then put any hande to helpe you. You may call to your remembrance, how your noble progenitors Edward the thirde, and Edward the Prince your father, toke great laboures vpon them, in heat and colde with great anguise and troubles, and laboured without rest, to conquere the realme of Fraunce, the which rightfully did apperteyne vnto them, and nowe vnto you. Pleaseth you also to remember how many Lords noble men, & good commons of both realmes died in those warres, and what great goodes the realmes exposed & consumed in susteyning of the warres. And nowe great pitie it is to here, that more burthens be dayly layde vpon your subiectes neckes, for mainteyning of your charges, who are brought vnto such incredible pouertie, that they haue not to pay their house rents, nor to ayde theyr Prince, nor yet to haue sufficient for their necessarie sustenance: for so is your power depouerished, and Lordes and great men brought to infelicite, and all your people to great debilitie. And as that king can not be poore that hath riche people: so can not he be riche that hath poore Comons. And as the king taketh hurt in this, so doth the Lordes and Noble men, euery one after his hauour. And all these inconueniences be commonly by euill counsaile which are about you. And if you put not the soner your helpynge hands for the redresse of y<sup>e</sup> pmisses, this realme of England shalbe brought to naught and vtter ruyne, which cleerely should be layde vnto your default, and in your euill counsaile: Seyng that in the time of your father, this realme throughout all the worlde was highlye esteemed, and nothing ordered after these wayes: Wherefore we be sent vnto you, to exhort you, to sequester all such persons as might be the occasion of ruyne, eyther of you, or of your Realme.

By these good perswasions the king was appeased, and promised within thre dayes after, to come to the parliament, and to condiscend to their petitions. And accordyng to his appointment he came. And sone after his coming John Fortham Bishop of Durham was discharged of the Treasurership, and in his place was set the Bishop of Herford. Also there was then discharged and put downe Highell de la Poole Chauncelour of Englande to his great shame and rebuke: And in his roome was placed Thomas Arundell Bishop of Elye, by the whole consent of the parliament. After thys Highell de la Poole was charged with manye and great enorme crimes, fraudes, falsities and treasons by him done and committed, to the great prejudice of the King and of his realme, and therupon was committed to ward: Notwithstanding, they would not adiudge him to death, nor disgrace him from the honoz of knighthood: But as some write, they deemed him to pay a fyne of twentie thousande Markes, for suche aduantages as he had gotten, beyng Chauncelour, in putting the Kings subiects from expedition of their causes, vntill suche tyme as they had rewarded him: All which fynes were adiudged to the King in relieuyng of the commons. And also one thousand pounds of yerely rents, which he had purchased. This done, the Lords and wise men of the realme, considering that by the couetousnesse of the officers

The king is  
appeased, and  
promiseth to  
come to the  
Parliament.

The Treas-  
urer and  
Chaunceller  
are deposed.

The fyne of  
Highell de  
la Poole late  
Chauncelour

cers aforesayd, the kings treasure and goodes were purloyned and from the kinges profite clerely consumed: The King and the realme thereby soze decaued and empouerished: Tillage also layd downe in many quarters of the realme, and the kinges officers this notwithstanding maruellously enriched: wherfore they did chose. xiiij. Lordes which should haue the ouersight vnder the king of the whole realme. Of the which, thre were the new officers, that is to saye, the Bishop of Ely Chauncelour, the Byshop of Herford Treasorer, and Nicholas Abbot of Waltham keeper of the priuie scale, and ten oither, which were Wylliam Archbishop of Cauntorbury, Alexander Archbishop of Yorke, Edmond Langley Duke of Yorke, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, Wylliam Byshop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Excester, Richard Erle of Arundell, John Lorde Cobham, Richarde Lorde Scrope, John Lorde Deuerox: All which had auctoritie to enquire, intreate, desyue and determine of all maner of causes, querels, debtes and demaundes from the time of Edward the thirde vnto that present daye, as well within the realme as without, and also to enquire of the kings charges and of the order of his seruaunts. For the execution wherof well and truely to be done, they all tooke their othes, and the king in lykelike tooke his othe to abyde by their order, and then to mayntaine in all their actes, and not to reuoke any article of their commission, but to holde firme and stable all that euer the sayde counsailors did order, duryng the tyme to them assigned. And if it hapened that all the number could not come together to a determination of anye acte, that then if. vij. of them with the thre principall officers afozenamed did agree, the act should stande firme and stable, whether they were matters of this side the sea or beyond the Sea. And if any manner of person attempted to moue the King to infringe any parte of thys ordynance, and that being knowne, for the first time, he should be depriued of his goodes and possessions, and for the second time, to be drawen thorough the Citie, and so put to execution as an arrant traytor. And for that the king should the rather shew his beneuolent fauour in confirming these actes deuysed by the parliament. There was graunted vnto him halfe a deeme of the Spiritualtie, and halfe a deeme of the Tempozaltie, to be payde at the feast of Saint Highell then next, if it seemed to the Lordes and counsailours that it was neede.

These determinations notwithstanding, the king suffred Highell de la Poole Erle of Suffolke which was prisoner at Wyndsoze, to go at large, and not long after came Robert Tresilian, chiefe Justice of the common benche to Couentrie, and endited there two thousand persons. And the king and the Queene came vnto Grobye, and thether came vnto him by his commaundement the Justices of the Realme, and there were present all these euill Counsailors, that is to say, Alexander Archebishop of Yorke, Robert Vere Duke of Irelande, Highell de la Poole, Robert Tresilian and their felowes. Of whome it was demaunded if it might stande with the lawes of the Realme, that the King might reuoke the ordynances by hym and his realme made in his last parliament, which he accorded vnto in maner by constraint. And they made aunswere that the king might well reuoke and make frustrate all their actes at his pleasure, for they were actes about the lawes.

Then were these Justices commaunded to come agayne to Notting-  
ham, where the King appointed to meete them. And thether came the King  
H. iij. out

Thirteen  
Lords cho-  
sen by par-  
liament, by  
the kings af-  
sent to go-  
uerne the  
realme.

The com-  
mission appe-  
reth in the  
statute of the  
x yere of  
king Richard  
the second.

The othes of  
the Lordes  
and of the  
King: so: due  
execution of  
the commissio.

A gift given  
to the king  
conditionally

Highell de la  
Poole pris-  
oner at wind-  
soze is relea-  
sed by the  
king.

Robert Tre-  
silian chiefe  
Justice.

The Insti-  
ces answere.

The coun-  
saile at Not-  
tingham.



out of the North parties, and helde a solempne counsaile in the Castell of Nottyngham the morowe after Saint Bartholomewes day. In the which counsaile was Syr Alexander Archebischop of Yorke, Robert Ueer Duke of Irelande, Whighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian Justice, Robert Bramble Justice and sundry other. And al these Justices were commaunded to set to their handes to the questions vnder written, that by the meanes thereof, these seducers, which were about the king, thought they might haue good occasion to put the Duke of Gloucester and all the other Lords to death, which were the last Parliament, as aforesayde, ordeyned to haue the gouernaunce of the realme, and all other that were consenting to the same. Dyuers there were of the Justices which refused to set to their handes, but they were constreyned thereto, among the which was John Belknap, who vtterly refused it, but till such time as the Duke of Ireland and the Erle of Suffolk compelled him therunto, which if he had still refused, he had not escaped their hands. And when he had set to his seale: Nowe sayth he, here lacketh nothing but a rope, that I maye receyue the worthy death for my rewarde, and I knowe that if I had not done thys, I could not haue escaped your handes, and nowe it is done for the kings pleasure and yours, I haue deserued death of the Lordes, which shortly folowed, for in the next parliament he was condemned and put to execution. And for that thys should be in remembrance, an act of counsaile was made therof, in maner as foloweth.

An act of  
counsaile an.  
Ric. 2. xi.

A company of  
evil Justices  
and Coun-  
sellours.

Memorandum that the .xxv. daye of August in the .xi. yere of the reigne of King Richarde the second, at the Castell of Nottyngham afoze the sayde King, Robert Tresilian chiefe Justice of England, Robert Belknap chiefe Justice of the common benche, John Holte, Roger Fulthorp, and Wylliam Brough knightes, and felowes of the sayde Robert Belknap, and John Lockton, one of the kings Sergeaunts at the law, being personally requirred in the presence of the Lordes, and other witnesses vnder written, by our sayde soueraigne Lorde the king, in the sayth and allegeaunce, by the which they are firmly bounden to the sayde king, that they should truly aunswer to certayne questions vnder written, and befoze them recited, and vpon the same by their discretions to saye the lawe.

Articles pro-  
posed and an-  
swers made  
vnto them.

1 First, it was asked of them whether the newe statute and ordynaunce and commission made in the last parliament holden at Westminster, be hurtfull to the kings royall prerogative?

Wherunto all of one minde answered, that they be hurtfull, and specially because they were agaynst the kings will.

2 Item it was inquired of them, howe they ought to be punished which procured the sayde statute, ordynaunce and commission to be made?

Wherunto of one assent they answered, that they deserued to be punished by the Capitall payne, that is to say of death, onlesse the king of his grace will pardon them.

3 Item, it was inquired howe they ought to be punished which excited the king to consent to the making of the sayde statute, ordynaunce and commissio?

Wherunto of one minde they sayde, that onlesse the king would geue them his pardon, they ought to be punished by the Capitall paine.

4 Item, it was enquired of them, what paine they deserued that compelled the king to consent to the making of the said statute, ordynaunce & commission?

Wher-

Wherunto of one assent they gaue aunswere, that as Traytors they ought to be punished.

5 Item, howe they ought to be punished that interrupted the king, so that he might not exercise those thinges that apperteyned to hys regality and prerogative?

Wherunto of one assent it was answered, that they ought to be punished as Traytors.

6 Item, it was enquired of them, whether that after the businesse of the realme, and the cause of that assembly of the parliament were by the kings commaundement disclosed and declared in the parliament, and other articles lympted by the king, vpon which the Lordes and commons of the Realme ought to procede in the same parliament: If the Lordes and commons would in any wise procede vpon other articles, and in no wise vpon the articles lympted by the king, till the king had answered the Articles expressed by them, notwithstanding that they were by the king enioyned to the contrary: whether the king in this case ought to haue the rule of the Parliament, and in dede to rule, to the intent that vpon the articles lympted by the king, they ought first to procede or not, befoze they proceeded any further?

To which question, of one mynde they answered, that the king in this parte should haue the rule in order one after another, in all other articles touching, but till the ende of the parliament. And if any doe contrarie to thys rule of the king, he ought to be punished as a Traytor.

7 Whether the King whensoever it pleased hym, myght not dissolue the Parliament, and commaunde hys Lordes and Commons to departe from thence or not?

Wherunto it was of one mind answered, y he may. And if any would procede in the parliament against y kings wil, he is to be punished as a traytor.

8 Item, it was inquired that for as much as it is in the king to remooue suche of the Justices and officers as doe offende, and to iustifie and punish them for their offenses, whether the Lordes and commons might without the kings will empeche the same officers and iustices vpon their offenses in the parliament or not?

To thys aunswere was made, that they might not: And he that did contrarie, was to be punished as a Traytor.

9 Item, it was inquired, howe he is to be punished that mooued in the Parliament that the statute whereby Edward, the sonne of king Edward, great Graundfather to the king that nowe is, was indited in the parliament might be sent for, by the inspection of which statute, the sayde newe statute or ordynaunce and commission were conceained in the parliament.

To the which question of one accorde they answered, that as well he that so somoned, as the other which by force of the same motion brought the sayde statute into the parliament house, be as cryminous and Traytors to be punished.

10 Item, it was enquired of them, whether the iudgement geuen in our parliament, holden at Westminster agaynst Whighell de la Poole, late Erle of Suffolk, were erroneous and reuocable or not?

To the which question, of one assent, they sayde, that if the same iudgement were now to be geuen, the same Justices and Sergeaunt aforesayde would



would not geue the same, because it seemed to them that the same iudgement is reuocable and is erronyous in euery parte. In witness whereof the Justices & Sergeaunt aforesayde to these presents haue set to their scales, these men being wytnesses. Alexander Archebithop of Yorke, Robert Archebithop of Dowblynd, John Bishop of Durham, Thomas Bishop of Cyster, John Bishop of Wangoz, Robert Duke of Ireland, Hughell Erie of Suffolke, John Kypon Clarke, and John Blake.

But here a little to returne backe: Ye heard before in the viij. yere of the reigne of this king, that a peace was concluded with Englande, Fraunce and Scotland for one yere next to come. And that the frenche men shoulde geue knowledge thereof to the Scottissh king, and so it was that the frenche king sent his Ambassadors into Scotland, and they passed through Englande to geue the Scottissh king knowledge of the peace. In the meane time that the frenche Ambassadors lay in Scotlande, among other thinges, the Erie Douglas sayd vnto them, ye see our Coutry, but ye consider not the strength thereof, for we are so lodged vpon Englande, that we may at our pleasure enter which way we lust, and brenne and spoyle foure dayes iourney into the realme, and returne againe at our pleasure, we lacke nothing but men, had we a thousand Speare men of fraunce to ioyne with the power that we can make, we might geue Englande such an overthrow as Englande neuer had, and this my Lordes were good for you to kepe in remembrance, and to shew the Lordes of fraunce at your returne, that the next and reddest way to persecute and conquere Englande, is to enter with vs into their land. The aforesayde Ambassadors did lightly credit this tale, and at their returne forgot not to make report thereof vnto the counsaile of fraunce, of the which dyuers of them also thought it a right good way: Wherefore against the sayde peace should expire, they made prouision toward Scotland, myndyng to enter that way vpon Englande.

The frenche king purposed to enter & bere Englande three maner of wayes.

The frenche king sent a power into Scotland, purposing that way to overthrowe Englande.

Paris.  
Compey.  
Valenciens.

And at this tyme, there were bruted abroad in Englande diuers thinges, namely that the frenche king entended to assaile Englande with a mighty puissance, and that thre maner of wayes. The one out of Briteyn, for that the Duke of Briteyn was become frenche. The other by Normandic, for the which as it was sayd, the Constable of fraunce made his prouision at Harflew, and Deepe. And the thirde by Scotland.

In the beginnyng of May, Sir John de Uien Admirall of fraunce, accompanied with a thousande Speares of chosen knightes and Esquiers, and five hundred Crosbowes, with harnesse to arme a thousande Scottes, landed in Scotland, & at the last arrived at Edenbourgh, which is the chiefe towne in Scotland. And as sone as the Erie Douglas, and the Erie Mores knewe of their comming, they went to the Hauen and met them, and receyued them right louingly: sayng that they were right welcom into that Countrie. And at that time the king of Scottes was in the wilde Scottissh. But it was shewed these knightes, that the king would be there shortly, wherewith they were content, and so they were lodged thereaboutes in the Villages. For Edenbourgh though the king kept therein his chiefe residence, yet it is not like Paris, nor yet like Turney, nor Valenciens. For in al the towne there is not foure thousand houses. Therefore these Lordes and Knightes were lodged in Villages about, as well as they might be in that Countrie.

When

When knowledge came into the Realme of Scotlande, that a greate number of men of armes of fraunce were come into their Countrie: some thereat did murmure and grudge, and sayde: who the deuill hath sente for them? what do they here? Cannot we mainteine our warre with Englande without their helpe? we shall do no good as long as they be with vs, and so let them be tolde, that they may returne againe. And say vnto them, that we be strong inough in Scotlande to mainteine our warre without them, and therefore we will none of their companie, they vnderstand not vs, nor we them: They will quickly rise and eate vp all that euer we haue in this Countrie: They will do vs more despight and damage, then though the Englishmen fought with vs. For if the Englishmen brenne our houses, we care little therefore, for we may soone make them againe cheape inough, for in thre dayes we will make them againe, if we may get foure or five stakes, and a fewe Bowes to couer them.

This was the communication of the Scottes at the commyng of the frenche men, for they set nothing by them, but hated and spake shamefully, and vilanously of them, like to rude people without all humanitie. And all thinges considered (sayth Froissart) it was to greut an armie of so many noble men to come into Scotland. For xx. or xxx. knightes of fraunce had bene better then all that number of a thousand, and the cause is, that in Scotland ye shall find lightly no man of honour or nobilitie, neyther that knoweth what belongeth to a Gentleman. They are like wilde and sauage people, they couet to be acquainted with no straunger, and they are full of enuy at the prosperous estate of others, and they are euer in feare to lose that they haue, for it is a pooze Countrie. And when the Englishmen make any roade or boyage into the land, they are euer compelled to haue their victualles folowe them: for in Scotland they shall finde nothing. Neyther is there in Scotland prouision to shoe their horses, nor leather to make harnesse for their horse, as Saddels, Bridels, &c. But they haue all these thinges readie made out of flaundyng. And when that prouision fayleth, then is there none to get in that Countrie.

The frenche men are euil welcomed to Scotland.

A description of Scotland and their maners.

When the Barons and Knightes of fraunce, who were wont to finde sayre hosteryes, Halles hanged, and goodly Castelles, and soft beddes to rest in, saue themselues in that necessitie: They began to smile, and sayde to the Lorde Admirall, Sir this is a pleasaunt iourney, we neuer knewe what beggery was vntill now, and now we finde it true, that our old fathers were wont to say: go your way, and ye liue long ye shall finde hard beddes.

The Admirall pacified them as well as he might, and sayde: It behooueth vs to suffer a little, and to speake sayre, for we be here in daunger, we haue a great long way to go, and by Englande we can not returne, therefore let vs quietly take in good worth that we finde.

Yet there was another thing that was greatly grieuous to the frenche men: For when they were in Scotland, and would ryde, they found horses vnrasonably deare, for that which was not worth .x. floreyngs, they would not sell vnder an hundred, and muche paine to haue them for their money. And when they had a horse, then had they neyther Bydle nor Saddell, except they brought them with them. In this trouble and daunger were the frenche men: Yea, and mozeouer, when their Merlets went forth a foraging, and

The miserie of Scotland.



The deceipt  
& crueltie of  
the Scottes.

and had laden their horses with such as they could get for money, in their returne home, the Scottes themselves which had taken their money for the forage, did lie in wayte of them, and tooke all that they had from them, and slue them, so that there was none that durst go a foragynge, for in a moneth the French men lost of their barlettes mo then an hundreth, for if they went fourth three or foure together, they neuer returned againe, and thus the French men were handeled in Scotland.

Also now the French men desired that the king of Scottes would come forward, and likewise the Lordes and knightes of Scotland, for the tyme passed away. And they answered and sayd, that they would make no warre on England at that tyme: and this they sayde, because they would make the French men pay well for their comynge: for befoze the king would come out of the wilde Scottish to Edenbourgh, he demaunded of the Admirall of Fraunce to haue a great somme of money, for him and his people. And the Admirall of Fraunce was faine to promise, and to seale that the king should haue a certeine some of money befoze that he and his company departed his Realme. And if he had not done this, he shoulde haue had none ayde of the Scottes. And yet when he had made the best agreement with them that he could, he gate but little by them, as in the ende will appere.

A description  
of Robert  
King of  
Scottes.

At the last, King Robert of Scotland came to Edenbourgh, with a paire of blered eyes, and it semed they were lyned with scarlet. And it appered by him, that he was no baliuant man of armes, but that he loued rather to lye still, then to ryde: He had .ix. sonnes, and they loued well armes. So when the king was come, the Lorde and knightes of Fraunce drew vnto him and did their duetie. And there was present with the king the Erle Douglas, the Erle Doret, the Erle de la Mare, the Erle of Surlant, and dyuerse other, There the Admirall required the king that the cause of their comynge might be accomplished, which was to make a iourney into England.

The Barons, knightes, and Esquiers of Scotland answered and said, that if God pleased, they would make such a voyage that should be to their honour and profite.

The king then sent out his commaundement to assemble his power, & at a day appoynted, there were redy .xxx. thousand men all on horsebacke.

Sir John Uien Admirall of Fraunce thought the tyme long, and faine would haue bene doynge of some great feate in Englande: when he sawe the Scottes were come together, he made haste and sayde, Sirs, it is now tyme to ride, we haue lye still a great while. So then they set forward to Rosebourgh.

The king himselfe went not in this iourney, for he abode still in Edenbourgh, but all his sonnes were in the armie. The thousand complete harnesses which the French men brought with them, were deliuered to the knightes of Scotland, who were befoze but euill harnessed, and had neede of that harness.

Then they rode toward Northumberland, and so long they roade, that they came to the Abbey of Hannes, and there they lodged all about the riuer of Tyne, and the next day they came to Morlan, and so befoze Rosebourgh.

The keeper of the Castell of Rosebourgh vnder the Lord Mountagew, was a knight called Sir Edward Clifford. The Admirall of Fraunce, and the

the Scottes tarped and behelde well the Castell. And when they had well considered it, they thought to assail it should not be profitable for them, wherefoze they passed by, and drew along the ryuer syde appoehyng to Barwike, and so long they road, that they came to two towers right strong, the which were kept by two knightes, the father and the sonne, both were called Syr John Strand. About these Towers were faire Laundes, and a faire place, the which incontinent were bzent, and the two Towers assailed, and there were many feates of armes shewed, and diuerse Scottes hurt with shot and throwynge of stones: But finally the Towers were wonne by plaine assault, and the knightes taken, the which manfully defended the same as long as they might.

And after the conquest of these two Towers, they went to another Castell called Werley, belongyng to Sir John Mountagew, and vnder him was Capteine thereof Sir John of Luthborne, who had there with him, his wife, and his children, and all his goodes. And he knewe well befoze that the Scottes would come thether: and therefore he had furnished this Castell to the best of his power to abide the assault. So about this Castell tarped all the armie. This Castell stode in a fayre Countrey, by a fayre Ryuer that cometh out of Tymbre, and runneth into the sea. And one day there was a great assault geuen to the sayd Castell, and the French men bare themselves right well that day, much better then did the Scottes, for they entered into the ditches, and passed through with much paine: There were manye feates of armes done, what by them aboue and them beneath. The French men mounted by by Ladders, and fought hande to hande with Daggers on the Walles.

Sir John Luthborne did quite himselfe as a baliuant knight, & fought with the French men hande to hande on the Ladders. At this assault, there was slaine a knight of Almaine called Sir Bleres Gastelain, which was great pitie. There were many hurt that day: But at the last the number of Scots and French men were so great, that the Castell was wonne, and the knight and his wife, and children taken, and .xl. other prisoners. And then the Castell was bzent, and rased downe, for they saw well that it was not to be kept, seeing it stode so farre within England as it did.

Then the Admirall and the Scottes roade toward Anwike, and there they had knowledge that the Duke of Lancaster, the Erle of Northumberland, the Erle of Pottyngham, with a great number mo, were comynge vpon them with a great power.

When the Admirall of Fraunce heard these tydings, he seemed to be very ioyfull, and in like maner were all the Barons of Fraunce, and all the Scottes: But they were counsailed to returne againe toward Barwike, because of their prouision that folowed them, and to be nere to their awne Countrey, and there to abyde their enemies. And so they returned toward Barwike, and so to their awne Countrey.

Tydings was brought into England how the Frenchmen and Scottes were in Northumberland, and had destroyed and bzent the Countrey. The King of England knowyng befoze of the comynge of the Frenchmen, made great prouision for Scotland, both by sea and lande. And by sea, the king had .xxvj. shippes laden with victuall and prouision coastyng the frontiers of

Werley Castell is assaulted by the Scottes.

Werley Castell taken and rased downe.



The king of  
England en-  
treth Scot-  
land with a  
great power.

of Englande, and readie to enter into every haven of Scotland.

The king himselfe came accompanied with his Uncles, the Erle of Cambridge, and s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Holland, the Erle of Salisbury, the Erle of Arundell, the Erle of Pembroke, the Erle of Stafford, the Erle of Muzien, the Lord Spencer, and so many other Barons and knightes, that they were foure thousand speares, beside them that went befoze with the Duke of Lancaster, the Erle of Northumberland, &c. which were two thousand speares, and .xv. hundred Archers, beside berlets.

And it was tolde the king that the Scottes and Frenchmen were lyke to fight with the Englishmen that went befoze, and therefore the king made suche haste, that he came to the Marches of Duresme, and there he heard that the Scottes were returned into Scotland.

The king passed still forwarde, beyng accompanied with eyght thousand men of armes, and .lx. thousand Archers, and passed Berwikke, and so into Scotland to the Abbey of Maros. The which Abbey, in all the warres that had bene betwene Englande and Scotlande, was neuer hurte, vntill this time, and nowe was it bitterly spoiled and brent, for it was the entent of the king neuer to returne into Englande, vntill he had destroyed a great peece of Scotlande, because they brought in Frenchmen to the destruction of Englande.

When the Admirall of Fraunce knewe that the king of Englande was passed the ryuer of Tweede, and was entred into Morland in Scotlande, Then he sayde to the Barons of Scotland, Sirs, why doe we lye here still: Let vs go forth and looke on our enimies, and fight with them.

It was shewed vs befoze we came hether, that if ye had out of Fraunce but one thousand of good men of armes, ye should be strong enough to fight with all the Englishmen, and I assure you, ye haue mo here then .xv. C. of good knights and squiers, and suche as will stande by it, and take that fortune that God doth sende.

The Scottes answered and sayde, Sir we beleue well that ye and your company are chosen men and valiaunt: But s<sup>r</sup> we haue knowledge that al the power of England is here at this present, and there were neuer so many Englishmen assembled together in these partes as are nowe, and if ye will, we will bring you into place where ye shal wel see and aduise them. And then if ye thinke them meete to be foughten withall, we wyll not refuse it. Then sayde the Admirall, I pray you let me see them. And they brought him to a Mountaine, where vnder the hill was a passage that the Englishmen must nedes passe, and they sawe them and biewed them to be to the number of sixe thousand men of armes, and .lx. thousand Archers and other.

Then sayde the Admirall to the Erle Douglas, and the Erle Moret, in dede here is no egall number to fight with them, for ye are not aboue .xxx. thousand, and yet many euill armed. But now aduise your selues best what is to be done, they are now entred into your Country, and they are enough to ouerrunne al your Country, and to destroy it: & ye are not minded to encounter with them, what will ye then do? ye sayd ye could enter out of your countrie dyuers waies into dyuers places of England: And I thinke it best that we make them some warre there as they doe vs here. And herebnto all the Barones of Scotlande agreed and sayde, we are well contented so to doe,  
and

and we knowe dyuers waies. And they agreed to go into Wales, which is otherwise called Winland, and so to go to the Citie of Carlisle, and there to be reuenged. And so they left the Englishmen in Scotlande, and they went by the Forrestes and Mountaynes. And the Scottishe king was gone to the wilde Scottishe, and there remayned.

The king of Englande, with his Uncles, Barons, Knights and army went to Edenborough, the chiefest towne in all Scotland, and there laye .v. dayes, and at his departing set fyre on it, and brent it downe to the ground. And lyke wise he brent Streuelyn and the Abbay therebnto adioynyng. Also they brent Saint Johns towne, and the towne of Streuelyn, the towne of Dondre, and to be short, they spared nothing that stood in their waye, neyther Towne, Village, Abbey, nor Church, for they might doe in Scotland what they would, for there was no people left to resist them. For all the people were gone with the Frenchmen & Scots toward Carlisle, as aforesayd.

Now when the king had thus spoiled, destroyed, and brent Scotland, the Duke of Lancaster aduised hym to folow the Scottes and Frenchmen to Carlisle. And there were other considered that Winter approached, and that the passage ouer the Mountaynes and forestes would be long and dangerous, and that it would be no small thing to victuall still that great army. Wherefore at the last, by the meane of the Erle of Orford, the king was fully perswaded to returne into Englande as he came, and so he did.

The French Lordes and the Scottes lyke wise, as aforesayd, made a roade into Northumberland betwene the Mountaynes, bremyng Mannoures and Townes, and all that stood in their waye, and did much hurte, and besieged the Citie of Carlisle, but they gaue it ouer, & returned againe into Scotland the same waye they went, but the Frenchmen sayde, they neuer intended to go that way any moze.

When the Admirall of Fraunce and hys companye, were returned to Edenborough, then they tasted of some paine, for they founde the Towne cleane brent, and destroyed, so that there was nothing to be had for money, wyne there were none, so that for drinke, they had none but small Ale or Beere, and their Bread was made of Barley and of Otes. Also their horses were dead for hunger, and foundred for pouertie. And when they would haue soulede them, they wist not to whome, nor there was none that would geue them one penny, neyther for horse, nor for harnays. The Souldyours tolde their Capitaines how they were delt withall, and they knewe it to be true by their awne experience, and their seruants sayde that they could not endure with that miserie: They sayde that the Realme of Scotlande was such a countrie as no host were hable to endure there a wynter, for if they did they should eyther dye for cold, or starue for hunger, or both. And also if they should departe asunder, and serche for their buyng abroad in the Countrie, they doubted that the Scottes would slay them in their beddes. The Admirall considered wel all these things, and saw all was lyke to be true that they sayde: Howbeit he was in purpose to haue bidden there all the wynter, and to haue sent bnto the French king, and to the Duke of Burgoyne, and to haue had newe prouision of money and victualles, and to haue made a new freche warre agayne the next Sommer. Howbeit he sawe well the euill nature and maner of the Scottes, and considered well the perill of his people,  
and

Scotland is  
foze spoiled  
and plagaed.

The king re-  
turneth a-  
gayne into  
England, not  
meeting with  
any Scotte  
that durst en-  
counter him.

The French  
men returne  
into Scotlād  
as men wece-  
ric of that  
iourney.

Howe the  
Frenchmen  
opened their  
griefes one  
to another.

The Abbey  
of Maros in  
Scotlande  
spoiled and  
brent.



Howe the  
Scottes hand-  
led the french  
men.

and therefore he gaue leaue vnto all suche as would, to departe. But at their departing, then was the mischiese: For the Lordes coulde finde no passage for themselves, nor yet for their men. The Scottes would that such knights and squiers as were but pooze, should departe, to the entent that they might rule the remnaunt at more ease. And they sayde to the Admirall, Sir, let your men departe when you will: But as for your selfe, ye shall not departe out of this Countrey, vntill we be fully satisfied of all such charges and damages as we haue borne and susteyned all this season with your army. This communication seemed harde to the Admirall and to the other Barons of Fraunce. And the Admirall shewed all this matter to the Erle Douglas, and to the Erle Moxet, who seemed to be sore displeased, that they were so hardly delt withall. And so these two Erles spake to the other Erles, and Barons of Scotlande, who sayde howe they had lost as well as they. But they answered, sayeng, although you dissemble with them, we will be recompensed. Then these two Erles sayde to the Admirall and to the other Lordes of Fraunce, that they could not rule the other Lords nor commons: wherefore it behoued them, if they purposed to go out of the realme, to satisfie the commons, and to restore vnto them all their dammages.

The Admirall  
of fraunce  
is driven to  
a streight.

And when the Admirall sawe that it would be none otherwise, he thought he would not leese the more for the lesse, and he considered well how that he was without comfort, & closed in with the Sea, and sawe how that the Scottes were of a wyld opinion, and therefore agreed to the Scottes request, and caused a proclamation to be made, that all maner of persons that could proue that anye of his people had done them any damage, let them come to the Admirall, and he would recompense them the balue thereof, the which proclamation appeased the Scottes. And so the Admirall became debter to them all, and sayd how he would not depart out of Scotland vntill all the complayntes were fully satisfied and payde. Then dyuers Knightes and Squyres had passage, and so returned wythout eyther horse or harneis, cursing the day that euer they came into Scotlande, sayng that there were neuer men that had so harde a voyage, wysing that the French king had peace wyth Englande one yere or two, and so both kings together to go into Scotlande, vtterly to destroy that Realme for euer, for they sayde they neuer sawe so euill people, nor so false, nor more foolish people in feates of warre. The Admirall of Fraunce by them that first departed, wrote his letters to the french king, and to the Duke of Burgoyne, certefying them what case he was in, and howe the Scots dealt with hym, and that if they would haue hym to come home, they must send thether suche summes of money as he was become debtor for, to be payde to the knightes, Squyres and commons of Scotland. For the Scottes sayd playnely that the warre that they made into England, at that tyme, was for Fraunce, and not for themselves. And therefore all suche dammages as they had taken by that iourney, they would be fully recompensed agayne befoze he went out of Scotland, to the which he had swozne and agreed.

The depart-  
ure of the  
Admirall of  
Fraunce out  
of Scotland.

The french king and his counsaile were bounde to redeeme agayne the Admirall, for they sent hym thether. Then the sommes of money were ordeyned for, and payde by exchaunge in the Towne of Bridges, and so the Scottes were satisfied, and the Admirall tooke his leaue in Scotland and departed

departed into Fraunce.

Nowe when the Admirall was returned into Fraunce to the yong king Charles, and to the Duke of Burgoyne, and they demaunded of him the condition of the king and the Lordes of Scotland: He answered, that the Scottes somewhat resembled the English men, because they are enuious to straingers. And moreouer he sayd, that he had rather be Erle of Sauoy, or Erle of Arthoys, then to be king of Scottes, and sayd also that he had seene all the power of the Scottes in one day together, as the Scottes sayd themselves, and yet he neuer sawe together, not past. v. C. Speares, and .xxx. thousande men of warre, the which number against the English Archers, or against a thousand of other good men of armes, could not long endure.

The report  
made by the  
Admirall vnto  
the french  
of the estate  
and maners  
of Scotland.

Then the Admirall was demaunded if he had seene the pyssaunce of England: He answered, yea, for on a day quoth he, when I sawe the Scots fle away for feare of the Englishmen, I desired them to bring me where as I might see and aduise the English horte, and so they did. I was set at a streight passage, where as they must nedes passe, and to my iudgement, they were. lx. thousand Archers, and sixe or seuen thousand men of armes. And the Scottes sayde, that it was all the power of England, and that there were none abydyng behynde.

Then the king and his Counsaile studied a little, and at the last sayd, it is a great thing of. lx. thousand Archers, and .vj. or .vij. thousande men of armes. It may well be, quoth the Constable, that they may make that number: But I had rather fight with them at home in their aboue Marches with that number, then here with halfe the number: And so I haue heard my father say often tymes when I was yong. By my fayth, sir quoth the Admirall, if ye had bene there with a great number of men of armes, as I supposed ye should haue bene, I thinke we had famished all in Scotland. And thus an ende of the french mens voyage into Scotland.

Nowe ye haue heard of the iourney that the french men made into Scotland against England, and ye haue also heard befoze, that the french king entended to enter into England, and made provision for the same three maner of wayes, first by Scotland, as ye haue alreadie heard, the second by Briteyn, because the Duke of Briteyn was nowe reconciled to the french king, and thirde by Normandie, in the which two places he made provision of a huge armie, and nauie, as after shall appere.

And while the aforesayd french men were busie in Scotland agaynst the English men, as abouesayde, the yong french king Charles, and his Uncle the Duke of Burgoyne and Constable of Fraunce, had great desyre and affection to go with an army into England, and all knightes and squires of Fraunce did very well agree therevnto, sayng why should not we once go into Englande to see the Countrey, and to learne the pathes of the same, as they haue done in Fraunce. So that forthwith great provision and furniture for that voyage was made in Fraunce on all hydes, and taxes and tallages set and assessed vpon the Cities, townes, and Burgeses of the same, and in the plaine Countrey, that in an hundredth yere befoze there had bene none such scene nor heard of. And also great provision made by sea all the Sommer tyme vntill the moneth of September, they did nothing else, but grinde Coyne, and bake Bisket. And at Toynay, Lille, Doway, Arras, Amiens,

A great pro-  
uision made  
by the french  
agaynst Eng-  
lande.



Bethine, saint Omers, and in all the Townes about Sluce, they were occupied to lyke purpose. For the frenche king by the aduise of his counsaile purposed to take the Sea at Sluce, and so to enter England, and to destroy the same. They that were riche men in the Realme of Fraunce to the ayde and furniture of this bozage, were tared and sealed at the thirde penny, and fourth part of their goodes, & many payd moze then they were worth besides.

And from Spaine, and from the Porte of Ciuille to Bruce there was no great ship on the Sea that the French men could lay theyr handes vpon, neyther any ship that was vnder their obeyfance, but they were reteyned for the French king. And his men, and his other prouision came from all partes, and arryued in Flaundyrs, both wyne, salt, fleshe, fishe, otes, hay, Onyons, Bisket, flower, egges in Pipes, and all maner of thinges that could be deuysed, so that the prouision was so great as it could not be beleued of any, but of such as sawe it. Besydes this, Lordes, Knightes, Esquiers, and men of warre were written vnto and desyred to come and serue the French king in this iourney, out of Sauoy, Almaine, and from the Sonne goyng downe, to the lande of the Erle of Arminack. And so these Lordes of farre Countries, as the Erle of Sauoye was reteyned with five hundreth speares. Also the Erle of Arminack, & the Dolphyn of Annerency, though they were of farre Countries, yet they made their prouisions so great and costly, that it was a great maruyle to thinke thereof: And it was a wonder to consider from whence such prouision came, what by land, and what by sea into Flaundyrs, as to Bruges, to Dan, and to Sluce. Also there was sent for into Holland, Zeland, Middlebourgh, Zwickzee, Dordright, Stonehoue, and to all other townes on the sea coast, and to the riuers enterynge into the sea, for all maner of shippes that could do any seruice, and all were brought to Sluce. But the Hollanders, and Zelanders sayd to them that reteyned them, if ye will haue our seruice, pay vs our wages cleerly, or else we will not go to any Porte, and so they were payde, wherein they did wisely. And (sayth Froissart) I thinke that sithen the creation of the worlde, there was neuer sene together so many great ships as were at y tyme at Sluce, and at Blanquerge: For in the moneth of September in the sayde yere, they were numbred to be. xij. hundreth, lxxvij. shippes at Sluce: And their Mastes seemed in the sea lyke a great Wood or forest. And the Constable of Fraunce his ship, was apparayled and furnished at Lentergier in Briteyn. Also the Constable of Fraunce caused to be made in Briteyn of Tymber, a Closure for a Towne, made like a Parke, that when they had taken lande in Englande, to close in their felde to lodge therein with more ease and safetie. And whensoever they should remove their felde, the Closure was so made, that they might take it a sinder in pieces, and a great number of Carpenters and other were reteyned in wages to attend therupon. And whosoener at that tyme had bene at Bruges, at Dan, or at Sluce, and had seene the businesse that there was in charging and lading of shippes with haye, sackynge of Bisket, and lading of Onyons, Peason, Beanes, Barley, Candelles, hosen, shoes, spurres, knyues, daggers, swordes, Targettes, Ares, Hattookes, Nayles of all sozies, Hammes, Hammers, Beddes, Cowches, Horse shoes, Pottes, Pannes, Candlestickes, Candles, Torches, Piche, Tarre, Rosen, Ropes, Gables, Tinkers, shot Powder, Ordinaunce, Armoz, and of all other thinges necessarye

A great number of shippes.

A Closure made of timber like a closure of a park for the enclosure of the french army when they should lie in the felde.

Great and wonderfull prouision.

saye that might be thought vpon, as Bootes, Clokes, Saddelles, Byddes, Bittes, Stirrops, and Stirrop leathers, scalyng Ladders, and a number of thinges mo that I can not reherce. Whosoener (sayth Froissart) that had bene there and had seene it, although he had bene right soze sicke, yet it woulde haue made hym to haue forgotten both hys disease and paine. The lustie yonkers of Fraunce talkyng among themselves, had almost none other talke, nor made none other accompt, but that the Realme of England should haue bene vtterly spoyled and destroyed for euer and euer, without all mercie and recouerie.

Of this great preparation and prouision the king of England and his counsaile were well informed, and the king was certainly assured that the French king would come into England, for so had he & his Nobles sworne. And although at the first heryng of thys wonderfull great prouision, it dyd somewhat abashe the Englishmen, which was no great maruyle. For as the matter of it self was very great, so the same was reported to be ten times much moze then it was. And agayne, although the Englishmen vnderstood of this great prouision, yet were they not in certaintie, whether the same was wholly purposed to lande in England, or else to laye siege to Calice both by land and sea. For the Englishmen knewe well that of all the Townes of the worlde, the French men most coueted to haue Calice: Wherefore the king of England sent to Calice great prouision of Wheat and other grayne, Salt, fleshe, fishe, wyne, Beere, and other thinges. And thether was sent Sir Thomas Holland Erle of Kent, Sir Hugh Cancell, Sir Wylliam Helman, Sir Dangoses, syr Walter of Wyne, Sir Water Hauille, syr Wylliam Concet, syr Lewes of Mountalbon, syr Colers of Dambzichecourt, and five hundred men of armes, and five hundred Archers, and the Erle Richard of Arondell, and syr Henry Spencer were ordeyned to keepe the Sea, with .xl. great shippes well furnished and trimmed with the number of thre hundred men of armes, and five hundred Archers.

Agayne an other report was bruted abroad that this army of the French being so furnished and appoynted, was not meant to go neyther to Calice, neyther yet into Englande, but rather was altogether purposed against the towne of Gaunt. And (sayth Froissart) as I was informed, the towne of Gaunt the same season doubted greatlye that all that prouision was to come vpon them: But they were in a wrong beleife, for the Duke of Burgoyne their Lorde meant towards them nothing but rest and quiet, although that Fraunces Aitremen were shortly after the making of the peace at Corney Bayne, which happened rather by his awone folye, then by any displeasure that the Duke ought vnto him: but because that matter doth not properly touche this our discourse for Englande, I therefore passe it ouer.

And now agayne to retorne to the prouisions that were made at thys season at Dan, and at Sluce, it is not had in remembrance of man, neyther in wytyng was euer the lyke seene or read of the charges of thys prouision, for sayth Froissart, Gold and siluer was as fast spent by the French king, as though it had reigned out of the Clouds, or that it had come out of the fume and skomme of the sea.

The French king himselfe, as yong as he was, had moze minde and desire to this iourney into England, then any other, and so he shewed himselfe

¶ i. iij.

alwayes

The king of England was certified of the prouision that the french king made to enter the realme of England.

Shippes brutes and reports were made of the intention of this great Host and armie of Fraunce.

Fraunces Aitremen Gaunt.

The yong French king was couragous.



alwayes to the ende thereof. And nowe to go forward, every man helped to make provision for other, and to garnishe and bewtishe their shippes, and to paynt them with their armes, and to aduance and make them a glorious shewe to the whole worlde. Painters at that time were well set on worke, and the time was to them very profitable, for they had whatsoever they desired, and yet there could not enow of them be gotten for money. They made Banners, Penons, Standards of silke, so sumptuous and comely that it was a maruell to beholde.

Great cost  
heavily spent.

Also they peynted the Mastes of their shippes from the one ende to the other, glittering with Golde, and deuises and armes that was maruelous ryche: and specially (sayth Froissart) as it was tolde me, the Lorde Guy of Tremoull so decked, garnished, and bewtisied his ship with peynting and colours, that it cost him two thousande Frankes of french money, that is more then C. C. xij. pound of the curraunt money of Englande. And in lyke maner did every Lorde of Fraunce set forth his deuise and shew.

And as it is before sayde, all that hath bene rehearsed, and whatsoever else was done in Fraunce concerning the aduancement of this iozney, was well knowen in Englande, which brought some feare among them, and therefore they caused dyuers generall processions to be made in every good Towne and Citie three times in the weeke, wherin prayer was made with feruent spirite and deuotion vnto almighty God to be their Protectour and shield agaynst their enemies, and the perill that the realme was then in. And yet notwithstanding, there were in Englande at that tyme more then a hundred thousand that hartely wished and desired that the Frenchmen myght arrive in Englande. And those lustie young laddes, as triumphyng among themselves and their companions would say, let these frenchmen come, there shall not one taylor of them returne agayne into Fraunce. And suche as were in debt and cared not for the payment thereof, they reioysing greatly at the coming of the frenchmen would saye to their creditors when they demaunded their debt of them, Sirs, be you pacient a little and beare wyth vs, for they forge in Fraunce newe floreyne wherewith ye shall be payde. And in trust thereof they luyed and spent very largely. And when they could not be credited, they would saye, what would ye haue of vs, it were better for you that we shoulde spend freely the goodes of this Realme, rather then the Frenchmen coming hether should finde and consume the same.

At thys time the king of Englande was in the Marches of Wales, and wyth him the Erle of Oxford, by whose aduise the greatest thinges in Englad were gouerned, & without whose aduise nothing in effect was done. Also there was wyth the king as chiefe of hys Counsaile, s<sup>r</sup> Symond Burle, s<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Braule, s<sup>r</sup> Robert Caillon, s<sup>r</sup> Robert Beauchamp, s<sup>r</sup> John Saluen, and s<sup>r</sup> Higbell de la Doole. Also there was named s<sup>r</sup> Wylliam Neuell, brother to the Lorde Neuell. All these as the talke went, did wyth the king what they would. And as for the kings Uncles, the Erle of Cambridge, and the Erle of Buckyngham could doe nothing wythout it were agreeable to the other aforesayd. And this trouble and difference among themselves was well knowne in Fraunce, which greatly aduanced the enterprize of the french king.

Now when the king and the Lordes of Englande were truely informed

med that the french king was ready with his power to enter into England and to destroy it, then they drew together in counsaile. And the king at that tyme being in Wales, as aforesayde, was written vnto by his Uncles and other of the counsaile, that it was meete and necessary for hym to come to London where his Lords, and he might best consult for the weale and defence of his realme.

The king forthwith returned towarde London with the Quene hys wyfe, and came to Wynsoze, but shortly after, he came to Westmynster, and thether came vnto him all the Lordes of his counsaile, and there tooke aduice what thinges were to be done agaynst this iozney, and enterprize of the french king.

The king of  
England with  
his counsaile  
taketh aduice  
for the defence  
of England.

Then s<sup>r</sup> Erle of Sarisbury, who was a right valiant and prudent knight sayde before the king and hys Uncles, and before all the Lordes and prelates of England that were there present. Sir, my soueraigne Lord, and all ye my Lords and other, it ought not to be marueyled at if our aduersary the french king doe come and runne vpon vs, for sithen the death of our late soueraigne Lorde and noble king Edward, one of the purstauntest Princes that euer reigned, this noble realme of Englande hath bene in great hazard and aduerture to haue bene lost and destroyed euen with the lewde and naughtie people brought vp and nourished in the same, which thing is not hidden from Fraunce, and that which is worse, it is well knowne that war among oure selues are not in perfite loue and vnitie, and that maketh our enemy so bolde. And hereunto I wyll specially direct my speche, to moue and exhort that peace, vnitie, and loue may be had amongest our selues, and that being first had, and saythfully and louyngly graunted of every of vs, we shall the better deuyse the resistance and withstandyng of our forreyn enemies. And nowe to beginne wyth that matter. First it is meete that we ordeyne a sufficient power for the defence of all oure enemies at every Porte, Hauen and Creke, within this realme, that our Country receaue no dishonour blame nor damage. And then let vs with all diligence see well to the defence of all oure good Fortes, holdes, Cities and good townes, and endeour our selues to the good consideration and defence of the same.

The worthy  
and godlye  
counsaile ge-  
uen by s<sup>r</sup> Erle  
of Sarisbury.

Nowe when the Erle of Sarisbury had ended his tale, his wordes and sayng was very well noted, as the wordes of a sage and valeant knight, and there was no replie made, but with one voice they consented to enter into deuises for defence. And first they thought it most meetest to provide for the defence of those Hauens where they thought the french king was most lykely to lande. And for that the Erle of Sarisburies possession in parte marched nere vnto the Isle of Wight, which is right ouer agaynst Normandie, and the Countrie of Caux, therefore he wyth his Archers and power was there placed for the defence of that frontire. The Erle of Denonshire was appointed to be at Hampton, with two hundred men of Armes, and. vij. hundred Archers, to defende the Hauen and towne. The Erle of Northumberland was placed at Rye, with two hundred men of Armes, and. vij. hundred Archers. The Erle of Cambridge was assigned to Douer, with. v. hundred men of Armes, and. xij. hundred Archers. And his brother the Erle of Buckyngham, at Sandwich with. vij. hundred men of Armes, and. xij. hundred Archers. The Erle of Stafford and the Erle of Dembrooke were assigned to  
Orwell

The order of  
defence made  
for the realme  
of England  
to withstand  
the power of  
Fraunce.



Orwell haven, with .v. hundred men of armes, and .xij. hundred Archers. And sir Henry Percy, & foule Percy, were appointed to Portsmouth, with three hundred men of armes, and .vi. hundred Archers. And sir Symond Burle was appointed Capteyne of Dover Castell. All the Havens and Portes betwene the riuer of Humber, and Coznewall, were relieved with men of armes and archers.

And on the Mountaines and hilles all along the sea coast, byon the frontiers, lying agaynst Flaundrys and Fraunce, were placed certein numbers of watchmen, but in such maner (sayth Froissart) as I can not well describe: But as I heard, they had empty Pyppes filled with sande, one set byon another, and on the height of them was place made where the watch men might both stand and sit, and there they continued their watche both night and daye, hauyng alwayes speciall eye and regarde towarde the sea, hauyng in speciall charge that when they espyed any nauye of Frenchmen drawyng towardes them, that then they should cause certein Beacons beyng nere vnto them, to be set on fyre, that by reason thereof the people might be drawen the sooner to that place, to awayte for the enemye. It was also ordered, that if it fortuneth that the French nauie came, that they should suffer the French king peaceably to take lande, and all his, and to enter into the land three or foure dayes iourney, and that then they shoulde first go betwene the sea and them, and to fight with his shippes if they could, and to destroy them, and to take theyr prouision from them, and then to followe the Frenchmen, but not immediately to fight with them, and to harry them and keepe them wakyng, and to keepe them from goyng a foragyng, and from the destruction of the Country, and so also by diligent folowing of them, they should be brought to great lack and scarcetie. This was the opinion and order of this counsaile of England. And at that time also it was agreed, that Rochester bridge should be broken downe, where there is a great Ryuer runnyng from Arondell, in the County of Suffex, and entereth into the Thames, and so into the sea agaynst the Isle of Tenet: and this bridge they of London, to be the more sure, did beat downe.

And where as the taxes and tallages were great in Fraunce: In likewise at that tyme they were great in England, so that the realme felt great grieffe thereof. There were at that tyme ready in England for defense, of good fighting men, a hundred thousand Archers, and .x. M. men of armes.

Nowe the time approached, that euery man beganne in Fraunce to set forward, cryyng, and sayyng, Now let vs go on these cursed Englishe men, who haue done so many mischiefes and wickednesse in Fraunce, the tyme is at hande, that we shall be reuenged vpon them for the death of our fathers, brethren, and kinsmen, whome they haue cruelly slaine and discomfited. Then the French king tooke his leaue of the Queene his wife, and of the Queene his mother, and of the Duches of Orleans, and of all the other Ladies of Fraunce, and the same daye heard a most solempne Masse in our Ladie Church in Paris, and he sayde that he purposed neuer to returne againe to Paris, vntill he had bene first in England. And the next day early he rood to Senliffe: But all this while the Duke of Berry was still in his Countrie of Berry, although great prouision were made for him, both in Flaundrys and at Schuse. And likewise the Duke of Burgoyne was then in his Countrie, but he forthwith toke his leaue of the Duchesse, and of his children, and de-

termined to take his leaue of his great aunt the Duchesse of Brabant, and so he departed out of Burgoyne, and roade in great estate, and the Admirall of Fraunce in his company, and sir Guy of Tremoyll, & so they came to Bruxelles, and there found the Duches of Brabant and other Ladies, who receyued him with great honour. And two dayes he taried there with them, and then tooke his leaue, and from thence he rood to Douins in Henault, and there he found his daughter the Ladie of Ostreuant, and Duke Albert, and his sonne, sir William of Henault Erle of Ostreuant, who receyued the Duke with great ioy, and so brought him to Valenciens. And the Duke was lodged in the Erles Palace, and Duke Albert in the lodgyng of Alconquet, and the Ladie of Ostreuant. And from thence the Duke roode to Doway, and so to Arras, and there he founde the Duchesse his wife taryng for him. Then the French king came to Compaigne, and so to Royon, and from thence to Peron, and so to Bapalmes, and so to Arras, and dayly there came downe people from all partes, in such great numbers that the Countrie was almost eaten vp. And to say truth, nothing remayned in the Countrie, but it was taken from them, without making any payment for the same. So that the poore Commons that had gathered together their coynes, had nothing left them but strawe, and that also was taken from them, and if they made any complaint thereof, they were eyther beaten or slaine. There Ponds were fished, there houses beaten downe for fyre wood: So that if the Englishe men had arriued in that Countrie, they could haue done them no more hurt, neyther was it likely that they would haue done so much hurt vnto them as the Frenchmen did. And when the poore pitifully called vpon them for some amendes, they answered, as nowe we haue no siluer to pay, but when we returne we will bring inough, and then euery thing shall be fully answered and payde. But when the poore people sawe their goodes thus taken away and spent, and that they durst not complaine thereof, they cursed them betwene their teeth, sayyng: Get ye into England, or to the deuill, and God graunt that ye neuer returne againe.

The French king came nowe to Lille in Flaundrys, and his two Uncles with him, the Duke of Burgoyne, and the Duke of Bourbon, for as yet the Duke of Berry was behinde in his awne Country, and made prouision for his iourney. And with the King at Lille was the Duke of Barre, the Duke of Lozeu, the Erle of Arminack, the Erle of Sauoy, the Erle Dalphyn of Anneringe, the Erle of Geneue, the Erle of Saint Paule, the Erle of Swe, the Erle of Longueuile, and other great Lordes of Fraunce, in such number as I am notable (sayth Froissart) to name them. The report was, that there should passe into England, .xx. thousand knights, and squiers, which certainly were a goodly company, also .xx. thousand Crosbowes, and .xx. thousand of other men of warre, which were persons that should enter into England, & remaine in the fielde, besyde all the full furniture of the whole nauie vpon the sea. And at this tyme sir Oliuer Clifson was in Briteyn, and prouided there for his businesse and nauie, and was appointed to bring with him the Closure of the fielde made of Tymber, wherof mencion is made before. And with the sayde sir Oliuer Clifson Countstable of Fraunce, shoulde come out of Briteyn the best knightes and Esquiers therein, as the Account of Rheau, the Lorde of Rays, the Lorde of Beawmanour, the Lorde of de la

Great taxes  
set vpon the  
people both in  
Fraunce and  
in England.

Here the  
French men  
courageously  
make a show  
to set forward  
against Eng-  
land.



Gale, the Lorde of Rochefort, the Lorde of Malestroyt, sir John of Malestroyt, and sine hundredth Speares Britons chosen men of warre. For it was the Constables purpose and entent, that no man should enter into England, without he were a man of armes chosen. And he gaue charge to the Admirall, saying: take hede that ye charge not our Shippes with Verlettes and boies, for they shall do more hurt then profite. So that two or thre knightes, without they were great maisters & Capitaynes, although they hyred ships for their money, yet should they haue but one horse ouer, & one Verlet. And to say the truth, they ordeyned all theyr busynesse in so good order, that dyuers were of that opinion, that if they might arriue altogether in England, where as they entended to lande (and that was at Orwell Hauen) howe that they should haue put the Countrie in great feare, and so they should haue done without all doubt. For the great Lordes both spirituall and temporall, & the people of the good towne of England were in great doubt: But the Commons and poore people made small accompt thereof, no more did the poore Gentlemen, for they desyred the warre, eyther to lease, or to winne all. And they sayde one to another, I trust God hath sent vs a good tyme, for that the frenche king will come into this Countrie, he sheweth himselfe to be of a valiaunt courage, and we haue not heard of thre hundredth yerres past, of a french king of like courage, but he doth it to make his souldiours good men of warre: And we thanke him that he will thus visite vs, for now we shall attaine to some riches, or else shortly make an ende of our lyues.

Nowe the frenche king came downe to Lisse, to shewe that the iorney pleased him, and to come the neerer to his passage. And it was commonly spoken in flaudyrs, and Arthoys, that the french king and his armie taketh Sea on Saturday, on Mondaye, one Tuesday, so that every daye in the weeke it was sayde, he departeth to morowe. And the kinges brother, the Duke of Thourayn, and the Bishop of Beauoys Chancelour of Fraunce, and dyuers other great Lordes tooke their leaue of the king at Lisse, and they returned to Paris, and it was sayde, how that the king had geuen and committed the gouernaunce of the Realme of Fraunce to his sayde brother the Duke of Thourayne, and to dyuers other Lordes, as the Erle of Bloys and other. And yet all this time the Duke of Berry was behinde, and came fayre and softly, for he had no great appetite to this iourney of going into England: But his long taryng was very displeasaunt vnto the king, and to the Duke of Burgoyne and to the other Lords, for they would fayne haue bene gone. Still great prouision was made, which was very costly and dere vnto them, for that which was not woorth two shyllings, they payde .x. shyllings, and yet they would nedes haue it, for every man desired to be well furnished, in maner of an enuie that euerie man desyred to be better appointed then other. And though the great Lordes were well payde their wages, or their poore felowes bought the bargayne full dere, for some had owyng vnto them for a Moneths wages, and yet could get nothing. The Treasorer of the warres and Clerkes of the Chamber of accompts sayde. Sirs, content you vntill the next weeke, and then ye shall be payde, and so they were answered weekly. And if any payment were made vnto them, it was but for euight dayes, when they were owyng eyght weekes. So that some of the wiser sorte, when they sawe thys maner of dealyng, and howe they were so

euill

euill payde, they were much offended and sayde, this boyage will be of small effect: For it is most lykely, or at the least to be greatly suspected, that so sone as the money is collected and gathered of suche taxes as were set, that then they will breake this iorney and retorne home agayne into their awne countreyes, and those which cast these doubts, and prouided for themselves, were wise. But the poore Gentlemen and common souldyours, who had spent all that euer they had, and euery thing was so deere in flaudyrs, that hard it was to get eyther bread or drinke, and specially if any were in suche neede (as there were a great number) to sell his armour to make money of, there was no person to buy it, neyther was there anye money to geue him for it. There was suche and so great a number of people about Dan, Bruiges, and Ardenburgh, and specially at Scuse, that when the king came thether, they wist not where to lodge him. The Erle of saint Daule, the Lorde of Cowcy, the Lorde of Anuergne, the Lorde de Antoigne, and dyuers other Lordes of fraunce: and to lye the more at their ease, they were lodged at Bruiges, and dyuers times they resorted to the king at Scuse, to knowe when they should departe. And euer it was sayde vnto them that within thre or foure dayes, or when the Duke of Berry doth come, and also that we haue winde to serue vs. And thus euer the time passed, and the dayes shortened, and the yere beganne to waxe soule, and colde, and the nightes long, the which expence and losse of time muche greued and offended the Lordes, not onely for that their charges were great, but also most chiefly for that by their long taryauce, their victualles much diminished.

And in this meane time Lyon King of Armony: who being in fraunce, and had assigned vnto him by the french king sixe thousande frankes by the yere, which is one thousand Marke of the curraunt money of England, toward the maintenaunce of hys estate. And at this time he tooke on him for a good entent to go into England to speake wyth the king there, and his counsaile, to see if he might perswade anye maner of peace to be had betwene the two realmes of Englande and fraunce. And so he departed from his lodging of Saint Aulbyn beside saint Dionise, onely with his awne company and without any great furniture: and so he roade to Bolleigne, and there he tooke shyping, and landed at Douer, where he founde the Erle of Cambridge, and the Erle of Buckyngham, and mo then an. C. men of armes, and two thousand Archers, who laye there to keepe that passage. For the brute went that the french king would lande there, or else at Sandwich. And at this time the king of Englande laye at London, and parte of his counsaile with him, and daylie heard tydings from all the portes of England.

When the king of Armony was arryued at Douer, he had there good cheere, because he was a straunger, and so he came to the kinges Uncles, who receaued him right honorably. And at tyme conuenient they demaunded of him from whence he came, and whether he would. The sayde King of Armony sayde, that in trust of goodnesse he was come thether to see the king of Englande and his counsaile, to treate for peace betwene Englande and fraunce, for he sayde he thought that the warre was not meete, for he sayde by reason of the warre betwene these two Realmes, which hath endured so long: The Sarazens, Jewes and Turckes are wahren proude, for there is none that maketh them any warre, by reaso wherof I (saith he) haue

lost

The arrivall  
of Lyon king  
of Armony  
at Douer.



lost my lande and realme, and am not lyke to recouer it agayne without there were firme peace in all christendome. And I would gladly shew this matter which in effect toucheth all christendome, vnto the king of Englande and to his counsaile, as I haue done vnto the french king. Then the kings Uncles demaunded of him if the french king had sent him hether or no: he answered and sayde, nay there is no man that sent me, but I am come hether by mine awne motion, to see if the king of England and his counsaile would any thing bende to the intratie of peace. Then it was demaunded of hym where the french king was: he answered I beleue he be at Schluse. I saw him not since I toke my leaue of him at Schluse. The he was demaunded how he could make anye entreatie of peace, hauing no powere so to do: And they sayde moreouer vnto him, if ye be conueyed to the king our Nephew, and to his counsaile, and the french king in the meane season should fortune wyth hys puyssaunce to enter into England, ye may hap thereby to receaue great blame, and your person to be in great iopardie with them of the Countrie. Then the king answered, I am in suretie of the french king, for I haue sent vnto hym, desyryng that vntill I returne agayne, not to remoue from Schluse. And I repute him so noble, and so well aduised, that he wyll graunt my desyre, and that he will not enter into the Sea vntill I returne agayne vnto him. Wherefore, right honozable and valiant gentlemen, I pray you in the instance of loue and peace, to conuey me to speake with the king, for I desyre greatly to see him: Or else ye that be his Uncles, if ye haue aucthority to geue me aunswere to all my demaundes. Then the Erle of Buckyngham sayde, Syr king of Armony, we be here ordeyned to keepe and defend thys passage and frontier of Englande, and we haue no charge to meddle anye further with the businesse of the realme, without we be otherwise commaunded by the king: But syr ye be come for a good entent into this countrie, and ye are right hartely welcome. But syr, for any certaintie of aunswere ye can haue none of vs, for as now we be not of the counsaile. But we will cause you to be conueyed to the king without perill or dammage. The king thanked them and sayd, I desire nothing else but to se the king & speake with him.

The next day the king of Armony was conueyed with a good conduct that the Lordes appointed vnto him for feare of any rencountres. And at the last he came to London, and ryding thorough London, he was well receaued because he was a stranger. And when time was conuenient, he was brought to the king, who lay then at the Royall, which was then the Quenes Wardrobe, neere vnto Watlyngstreete in London.

When the comming of the king of Armony was knowne, the kings counsaile drewe to the king, to here what tydings the king brought in that troubleous season. When the king of Armony was come into the kings presence, he made his due salutations, and then began to shew the present estate of fraunce, and how he was come from thence, specially to see the king of Englande, whome he had neuer sene before, and sayde, howe that he was right ioyous to be in his presence, trusting that some goodnesse should grow thereby. And then he vttered with many wordes, that to withstand the great daunger of the present mischiefe that was lykely to happen to England, therefore he was come of his awne good will to do some good therein if he might: not sent from the french king, but wylling to set some accorde and peace be-

twene

twene the two realmes of Englande and fraunce, if he might.

And the Lorde Chauncelour shortly aunswereed him and sayde, syr king ye are welcome into this realme, for the king our soueraigne Lorde and all we are glad to see you here: But syr, we saye that the king hath not here all his counsaile, but shortly they shall be here, and then ye shall be aunswereed, and so for that time the king of Armony departed. And within foure dayes after the king remoued to his Palayce of Westmynster, and thether came to him all his counsaile, and also the king of Armony.

And when he was come into the presence of the king of Englande, and his counsaile, the king caused the king of Armony to sit by him. And there the king of Armony reherfed agayne the requestes that he made, and also shewed wisely howe that all Christendome was decayed and weakened by occasion of the warres betweene Englande and fraunce, and how that all the knightes and squiers of both the realmes entended and prepared themselves to nothing, but alwayes to be of the one parte or the other, whereby the Empire of Constantinople leeseeth, and daylie is lyke moze to leese. And then he shewed, by reason of thys warre he hymselfe had lost all his realme of Armony, and therefore desyred for Gods sake that there might be some treatie of peace had betwene the two realmes of Englande and fraunce.

The Archebishop of Cauntorbury, who was appoynted to aunswere him, said: sir king of Armony, it is not the maner nor neuer was seene, betwene two such enemies as the king of England, and the french king are, that the king our soueraigne Lord should be requyred of peace with his enemy, and he hauing in readinesse an huge armie to enter his land. Wherefore sir, for aunswere vnto you, if it will please you to returne to the french king, and to cause him and all his puyssaunce to withdraw themselves backe agayne into their awne Countreyes, and when euerye man is at home, if it please you to returne agayne hether, then we will gladly entend to your treatie. And this was the aunswere that the king of Armony had, and so he dyed with the king of England, and had as great honour done vnto him as could be deuised. And the king offered him many riche giftes of Golde, and siluer, but he would take none, although he had neede thereof, but onelye a Rynge to the value of a. C. frankes, which was in English money. xj. pound or thereaboutes.

And after dinner he departed, and toke his way to Douer, and there toke leaue of such Lordes as were there, and so toke his passage and came to the french king, and shewed him how he had bene in England, and what answer he had there. But the french king & his Uncles toke no regard to any thing that he sayde, and therefore sent him back agayne immediately into fraunce.

Shortly after, the Duke of Berry toke his leaue at Paris, & sayd that he would neuer enter there again vntill he had bene in England, although it appeared that he thought nothing lesse. And all the way as he came, he had letters from the king, & from the Duke of Burgoyne to hast him away: But yet notwithstanding he hastid fayre & easely, and came by small iourneyes. And in this tyme the Constable of fraunce departed from Lentringer, standing on the sea side in Britaine, with a great number of men of armes and prouision. He had lxxij. great Shippes, and he had with him the Clofure of the fielde made of Tymber. And the Constable and his companie had good winde at

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The answer  
made to the  
king of Ar-  
mony.

The depart-  
ture of the  
king of Ar-  
mony.



the begynnynge: But when they approached neere to England, the winde rose so fiercely and was so tempestuous about the entrie of Dergate, & the Chamys mouth, that whether they would or not, their shippes were scattered, so that .xx. kept not together, and some were driuen perforce into Chamys, and there were taken by the Englishe men, and specially there was taken two or thre shippes laden with part of the Closure of Tymber that was ordeyned to close in the fielde, and certeine maister Carpenters and Artificers with them, & so they were brought to London, wherat the king had great ioy, & so had all the Londoners. But the Constable and other Lords with much paine came to Scuse to the french king. Of the Constables commynge & his companie, the french king was right ioyfull, and the king sayd vnto him: sir Constable, when shall we depart, certainly I haue great desyre to see England, & therefore I pray you set forth all things with spede, for mine Uncle the Duke of Berry will be here within these two dayes. Sir, quoth the Constable, we cannot depart vntil the wind serue vs, & againe the tempest is soze and great: Then said the king, I haue bene in my bessell vpon the sea, & the ayze therof please th me right wel, & I beleue I shal be a good mariner, for the sea did me no hurt. In the name of God, quoth the Constable, it hath done hurt to me, for we were in great perill coming from Briteyn hether. The king demaunded how so: Then the Constable sayd, by fortune of the sea, and great windes that rose against vs vpon y frontiers of England. And sir, we haue lost both of our shippes & men, for the which I am right soze, but now there is no remedy. Thus the king and the Constable deuised in words: But still the tyme passed away and winter approached, and the Lords lay there in great cold and perill. The Flemynge also were very loth that they should retorne againe through their Countrie, and said among them selues: why the deuill doth not the french king passe into England: what meaneth he to tary so long in this country: Are we not poze enough, though the french king make vs no poze: And to be short, all the whole Country of Flaundrys began to mutter and cry out vpon them,

At the last the Duke of Berry came to Scuse to the king, and the king sayd vnto him. A good Uncle, I haue bene greatly desirous to see you, why haue you taried so long: We had bene as nowe in England, and had fought with our enemyes if ye had bene come. The Duke began to smile and excuse himselfe, but did not vtter what was in his minde. But there they rested .viij. dayes, and euery day it was sayde, that they should depart to morowe. Howbeit, truly the wind was so contrary, that they could not sayle into England. And winter was farre on, for it was past Saint Andrewes tyde: and it was no good season for the Noble men to take the Sea, although diuerse of theyr Shippes were redy crossed to depart. But then the kinges counsaile drewe together, and the Duke of Berry brake all this purpose, and sayde flatly that it was not meete to counsaile the french king beyng but a childe, to take the sea at that season of the yere, and also that the boyage was hindered of much of their prouision that was taken into England, that went with the Constable of Fraunce. And moreouer he sayde, call all the Mariners together, and looke if all they will not say that my counsaile is good. For though we be now .xv. C. goodsaile of Shippes, yet before we come there, we shall not be thre hundred in companie, and therefore consider what perill we shall put our selues in, and namely in a straunge Countrie, wherein before we haue not tra-

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uayled. And in the ende they concluded to differre that boyage vntill Aprill, or May next folowynge, and their prouisions of Bisquet, Salt, Beefe, & Wine should be safely kept vntill then. And so brake vp this most wonderfull boyage for this tyme, which cost the realme of Fraunce a hundred thousande frankes, thirtie tymes tolde (sayth Froissart) which of Englishe money was CCC. xxxiiij. thousand. CCC. xxxiiij. pounde. vi. shillings. viij. pence, after it. Franckes to the pound.

And in this yere, as sayth Fabian, the Erle of Arondeil was sent into the Duchy of Guyan, for to strength such souldours as the king at that tyme had in those partes, or as some wrote, to kepe the Seas from Routers, & enemies. The which Erle in keepynge his course and passage, met with a great fleete of Flemynge, laden with Rochell Wine, and set vpon them, and distressed them and their shippes, and so brought them into diuerse Portes of England. By reason whereof, the sayde Wine was so plentiful in England, that a Tonne thereof was solde for. xiiij. shillings, foure pence, and for. xi. shillings to take the choise. And in that fleete was taken the Admirall of Flaundrys, which remayned here long after as prisoner.

Ye haue heard before in the beginning of the .x. yere of this kings reigne that a great counsaile was holden at Pottyngham, and vnto the same were called the chiefe Justices and Sergeants at lawe, and that there was proponed certaine articles against the Lordes of the realme that were admitted by Parliament to haue the examination of suche as had bene lewde rulers, and such as had the gouernment of the kings treasure, and that the same articles, as before may at large appere, did specially touch the luyes of the sayd honorable personages, & that by the sentence and iudgement of the lawyers they were all condemned as Traytors. The which when the sayde Lordes understood, they assembled themselves together and agreed for the safetie of themselves, and for the better gouernement of the realme to gather suche power as they might, and to resort vnto the king, and to admonish him to remoue and aduoyde from him all such lewde counsaillors as before had bene complayned vpon in Parliament, as afore sayde, and also in all humble manner to beseech his highnesse to hearken to their complaynts agaynst the sayd euill counsaillors, which not onely sought the vtter destruction of the realme, but also of his royall person.

The king hering of this assembly, came to London in Nouember, being accompanied with all the afore sayde lewde counsaillors, and there purposed to haue holden a parliament, and to haue attaynted the afore sayde Lordes, which in the last parliament were appointed and aucthorised to haue the examination of suche as had consumed and made awaye the kings treasure, as afore sayde: But the king hering of the Lords approaching with a great puissance, steyed in such sorte as that parliament went no farther. Notwithstanding the king caused to be made, that no Citezene of London should be so hardie to sell to the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Arondeil, or anye other the Lords, any harnesse, Bowes, Arrowes, nor anye other munition or matter that should tende to the furniture of the warre, vpon a great paine.

But this notwithstanding, the Lords with a goodly company well furnished, came to London: and before they approached neere to the Citie, they sent vnto the King the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, the Lord John Louell,

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The bycausing  
of this great  
enterprise.

1387

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Pottyngham  
counsaile.

The coming  
of the King and his  
Lords to  
London.

A proclama-  
tion made by  
the King ag-  
aynst his  
Lords.

The coming  
of the  
Lords to-  
ward London.

The courage  
of the French  
king.

The coming  
of the Duke  
of Berry.



the Lord Cobham, and the Lord John Eueror requiring to haue deliuered vnto them such as were about him, Traytors and seducers both of him and the realme, and troublers both of poore men and riche, and such as sowed discordes and variaunces betwene the king and his nobles: And they farther declared that their comming was for the honour and wealth both of the king and the realme. But the king ruled by his syue euill counsayloz, was perswaded that the Lordes intended to bring him vnder: Therefore they gaue him counsayle to make the king of Fraunce sure friend vnto him in these great necessities, and for to be more in quiet, to giue him the Towne and Marches of Calice, and whatsoever he had else beyond the Seas, and so to call in the french king to chastise his enemies, and those Lordes that neuer would be fained. And immediatly the king sent for the Maior of London, and demaunded of him how many hable men he supposed that the Citie coude make? And he answered that he thought surely within an houre to haue fiftie thousand, well then sayd the king, go and proue what will be done. And after the Maior beganne to attempt the matter, the Citezens answered with one voyce, that they would neuer fight agaynst the kings friendes and defenders of the realme: But agaynst the kings enemies, and the enemies of the realme they would alway be readie, which answer the Maior reported to the king. At this time also was about the king the Lord Raufe Bassett, which sayde franchly to the king, sye I haue bene and shall be your true liege man, and my bodye and goods shall alway be yours in all iustice and truth: But of thys I assure you, if it fortune me to come into the field, vndoubtedly I will alway folow the true part, and it is not I that intend to aduenture the breaking of my head for the Duke of Ireland. Also at the same tyme was the Erle of Northumberland with the king, which sayd vnto him, sye no doubtis therof, but these Lordes which now be in the field, alway haue bene your true and faithfull subiects and yet be, and entend not to do or attempt any thing agaynst your estate, wealth and honoz: But they feele themselues sorowfully greued by the wicked imagination and false oppression of certayne persons which are about you. And sye, without fayle all your realme is sore moued therewith, and that both great and small, as well your nobles as your commons. And I see none other but they entend to aduenture their lyues with the Lordes, specially in this case, which they doe recon yours & your realmes. And sye, now ye be in the chiefe place of your realme, and in the place of your coronation, nowe order your selfe wisely and like a king, and send vnto them to come into your presence in some open place, and there will them to declare vnto you the entent of their comming with so great a number to these parts, and I doubt not, but they will shewe suche reasons, that you shall haue them excused.

The Archebishop of Cauntozbury and Bishop of Ely Chaunceloz, and other Bishops there present, affirmed the Erles aduise to be good, and the king considering wisely the case as it stode, appeased himselfe, and accorded to their aduise, and desyred the Archebishop of Cauntozbury and the Bishop of Ely to aduertise them of his pleasure, which was: that he willed them to come vnto him to Westmynster the Sunday solowynge, and so they tooke their leaue of him and returned vnto the Lordes, and made vnto them relation of all the king's minde. The Duke of Gloucester and the other Lordes were

A message sent by the Lords to the king.

Euill counsayloz gaue leaue counsayle.

In vnbanded answer.

The sayng of the Lord Bassett.

The sayng and counsayle of the Erle of Northumberland.

The kings answer sent vnto the Lordes.

were so stiff in their matter that they swoze all wholly that they would neuer leaue of as long as they had one penny to maintaine their cause. And if any of them happened to die, the ouer lyuers should doe the same vntill the time that this matter were brought to good effect: And because they were in doubt that the king by his sinister counsayle should stirre the City of London agaynst them, they first determyned to certefie the Maior and the Citie that their comming was for reformations of great and enozme causes, which they declared vnto the sayd Maior and Citezens in wryting, and desired their fauours and counsayle therein. And this done, they farther determyned to kepe their daye on the Sundaye followynge to come to the kinges presence. And according to the same appointment the sayde Lordes came into the Hall at Westmynster. But before their comming thether, they sent certayne persons to serche both the Hewes, and also the Archebishop of Yorkes place, if percase any man had bene layde there to betrap them. For it was shewed vnto them that in those places there should be some treason wrought agaynst them. And when they perceyued that all was cleere, they went forth on their way. And when they entred into Westmynster hall, and had sight of the king, they made vnto him humble obeysaunce, and so went they forth vntill they came to the nether step going by to the kings seat of estate, where they made their second obeysaunce, and then the king made them a countenance to come nere vnto him, and they so did, kneeling downe before hym. And he forthwith arose from his place, and louingly welcommed them, and tooke ech of them by the hand, and that done set him downe againe. There they declared vnto him that their comming was for none euil to his person that euer they imagined or thought: But the cause of their grieue was agaynst the fyue Traytors which were about his person, and suche matters as they had to charge them was there ready in wryting, which they deliuered vnto the king. There the king openly promised them that they should appere personally at the parliament, and that none of them should haue of him pardon without the assent of the Lordes, if they had offended according to their accusations. And then forthwith the king arose from his place, and led them to his chamber, and after that he had dronken with them, they departed. And for as much as it should be well knowne throughout all the Citie that these Lordes had nothing offended him with their comming, the king caused a proclamation to be made, the effect wherof was as foloweth.

Richard by the grace of God. &c. We will that it be knowen to all our liege people throughout our Realme of England: That where as Thomas Duke of Gloucester, Richard Erle of Arondell, and Thomas Erle of Warwick haue bene defamed of Treason by certeyne of our counsayloz: We, as it apperteineth, diligently searching the cause and ground of this defamacion, finde no such thing in them, nor any suspicion thereof. Wherefore we declare the same defamacion to be false and vnttrue, and do receyue the same Duke and Erles into our speciall protection. And because their accusers shall be notoriously knowen, their names are Alexander Archebishop of Yorke, sir Lionel Vere (but in the boke of statutes he is called sir Robert Vere) Duke of Ireland, Adighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolke, Robert Tresilian chiefe Justice of Englands, and Nicholas Bymz of London knight: Who in likewise shall remaine vnto the next Parliament, and there shall stande to their

Ek. iij.

answere,

The great courage of the Lordes.

The Lordes certefie the Citie of London of the cause of their assemble.

Wisdomer presenteth perilles.

The behauior of the Lordes when they came into the kings presence.

The cause of the Lordes assemble.

The kinges answer to the Lordes.

The departing of the Lordes.

A proclamation in the fauour of the Lordes.

The names of the Lordes accusers.



answers, but in the meane time we take them into our protection, strictly charging and commaūdyng that no maner of person charge any of the aforesaid named, eyther openly or priuily, neyther in worde nor deede to hurt them, or cause any hurt to be done vnto them, but all querels and demaundes against them to be remitted vnto the next Parliament prefixed.

The accusers  
are in great  
fear.

Then came the wicked counsaylours to the king, shewing to him that they were dayly in daunger of their lyues by the great Lordes of the realme, and saw none other but dayly they should be in more, for y<sup>e</sup> the king had promised that they should apere at the next Parliament, which was at hand, and sayde also that all the displeasure that they had, was onelye for the Kinges sake, and not for any matter of their owne, and that it was not his honour to see them so entreated: And further, they sayde, that they neyther durst nor would put their bodie to so manifest a daunger as to appere in Parliament.

The evil  
Counsaylours  
flye.

The king considering this, withdrew himselfe from the counsaile of his Lordes, which then were assigned to sit at London for matters of the Parliament: So that Counsaile which was ordeyned for the purpose to haue the Parliament, was delayed and layd asyde. And these false counsaylours fled from the king into dyuers partes. And among other, Mighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolke fled into Calice, and as it was then sayde, he had shauen off the heare of his heade, and came in lyke a Poulter to the Gates of the Castell of Calice to sell his Capons, where as his brother was Capitain: and anone he was knowne, and taken, and brought to William Beauchampe his brother Capiteyne of Calice, who forthwith brought him into England to the king. But the king was not a little displeasid with his brother for taking and bringyng of him, and therefore committed him to ward. But afterward he set him againe at libertie, for that it should not appere that he punished him for that cause, and so he returned to Calice, & kept his place. Yet Mighell de la Poole, fearing still the displeasure of the great Lordes would not tary, but toke his leaue of the king and departed from him. And the king beyng now destitute of the sayde Chaunceloz, and also of the Duke of Ireland, was nothing contented in his mynde: But forthwith sent for the sayde Duke of Ireland to come to him. And also he sent one Thomas Molyners, which was a man of great power in the Counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, and by him the king sent to the Shirife of Chester a Commission vnder a secrete seale, commaūdyng him that he should arreyse a great power, and that they should see the Kinges kinsman and especial friend the Duke of Ireland conueyed in safetie to his presence, not lettynge for any labour or expenses. Then this Molyners reysed a great power, and suche as for the loue they bare vnto the Duke of Gloucester, and to the other Lordes, would not go with him, he did emprison them in dyuerse prisons, commaūdyng the Jaylor to kepe them streyt in Irons, and to geue them bread and water, and some day water onely, vntill his returne againe. The king also commaūded Sir Raufe Vernon, and Sir Raufe Ratcliffe to assist them: And so they set forth toward the king, and they were in number aboute fife thousand men. Wherof when the Duke of Gloucester had knowledge, he and the Erle of Darbie, the Erle of Arondell, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Nottingham assembled their powers out of all quarters, to ayde and assist them with all speede agaynst these oppressors of the Commons, and of the Realme,

Mighel de la  
Poole taken  
at Calice and  
brought into  
England.

Molyners  
raisseth an  
army to helpe  
the Duke of  
Ireland.

Realme, for feare least the honour of the Realme of Englande should be by them troden vnder foote.

The Duke of Irelande hauyng in his company Molyners, Vernon, and Ratcliffe, with a power of fife thousand men, as aforesayde, came still forward vntill he came to Radcocke Bridge, not passyng foure myles from Chepyng Norton: and if he had passed the same bridge, he had bene sure out of the daunger of his enemyes. But when he came thether, he founde it kept by the Erle of Darbyes folkes, which had broken the bridge, and so stopt his passage: And within a little way therof lay the Erle of Darby himselfe with a great company. But after the Duke of Irelande had knowledge of the Erles beyng there, he stayed and caused the Kinges Banner to be displayed, and with a mery countenance he exhorted his company to quite themselves balliantly, and he caused his Trompettes to sound: howbeit, there appeared vnto him, that as some were willyng to fight on his part, so there were other that clerely forsooke him, and sayde they would not fight agaynst so manye Noble men, nor in so vniust a cause. The Duke of Irelande espyng this, gaue his horse the spurres, and roade forward, thinking to haue passed the Bridge: But when he came thether and sawe the Bridge broken, he sayde with open voyce, we are deceyued, and turned his horse and alighted, and gate him vpon an other Courser, myndyng to haue fled ouer the Chamys: But there met him the Duke of Gloucester, with his companie. And when he sawe that he was enclosed amongest his enemyes on the one syde, and the Riuer of Chamys on the other syde, and also the Erle of Darby to please on him so far for to haue taken him, he thought to put all to hazard, and cast away his Gauntlets, and his sword to make him the lighter, and gaue his horse the spurres, and toke the riuer, and so escaped all his enemyes. And the next newes that was heard of him, was, that he was slaine in Louaine in huntynge of a wilde Boare, in the yere of our Lorde. 1393. and in the .xvi. yere of the reigne of King Richarde the seconde. But when King Richarde heard of his death, he tooke it merueylous heauily, and to shew the great affection that he bare vnto him, he commaūded that his dead carkasse should be brought from Loueyn into England, and to be conueied with all solempne funerall pompe to the Priorie of Colney in Essex, and caused him to be layde in a Coffin of Cypresse, and to be adourned with princely garmentes, and his face vncouered, and garnished with a Chaîne of Golde, and riche ringes put on his fingers. And the king himselfe was at his buryall accompanied with the Dukes mother, and with one Archebishop, and sundrie other Bishops: But of Noble men, there were very fewe, for they had conceyued suche hatred agaynst him, that they bitterly contemned him. But to returne where he left: After the Duke was fled, as aforesayde, Thomas Molyners would haue folowed him also, but the Lorde Mortimer drewe him backe and there killed him. Then the Lordes armye set vpon the people that came with the Duke out of Cheshire, Lancashire, and Wales, and toke them as enemyes, and spoyled them of their horse, harnesse, Bowe, and Arrowes, and so sent them home without doying of them any more harme.

After this the Duke of Gloucester, and the other Lordes went to Dr-enforde, beyng sozry that their fortune was not to haue taken the Duke of Ireland. And there they tooke their counsaile what was best for them further

Radcocks  
Bridge.

The Duke  
of Irelande  
flyeth.

The Duke  
of Ireland  
escapeth  
hardly.

The Lordes  
counsaile at  
Drenford.



ther to do, to bring their purpose to good ende. And from thence they remo-  
ued to Saint Albons, and came thether on Christmas Euen, and there tari-  
ed that day and the next, and on Saint Stephens day they tooke their way  
to London, & there mustered themselues besydes Clerkenwell, with a good-  
ly army, which they diuided into thre battayles, and their harness was so  
cleane and bright, that it was a goodly sight to beholde: And they sent two  
Knights, and two Esquiers vnto the Maior of London, and Aldermen,  
and chiefe Citizens of the same, that they should come and declare vnto the  
sayde Lords, whether they were minded to take their partes, and the partes  
of the Commons, or else with the Duke of Irelande, and his Adherentes,  
Traytors vnto the King and the Realme. So came the Maior of London,  
whose name was Nicholas Erton, and certeine of the chiefe of the Citie with  
him, and brought the Keyes of the Citie with them, and submitted themsel-  
ues to the Lordes, and offered them entrie into the Citie at their pleasures  
with all their people. And then the Lordes sent certeine personnes befoze, to  
searche if there were any bishmentes, or personnes lye in wayte, for to trap  
or destroy them. And when they were well assured that all was cleere, they  
entred into the Citie, and there abode quietly. Sone after their commyng,  
meanes was made that there might be a meetyng betwixt the King and the  
Lords, & that they might come to common with him in the tower of London,  
which was agreed vpon. And the fryday folowynge came vnto the King sit-  
ting in a Pavilion stately apparellled, the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of  
Nottyngham, and the Erle of Darby. But befoze they commyng into the  
Tower, they had the Keyes of the Gates sent vnto them, and of all the  
strong holdes within the Tower. And so soone as they came into the kinges  
presence, after their humble salutations done, they requested the King, that  
all those of his Court which were knowne or suspected of treason to his per-  
son or realme, might be taken and committed to seuerall holdes, the which the  
King graunted. And durynge the tyme of this communication, the Erle of  
Darby desyred the King vpon the Wall of the Tower to beholde the people  
that were there assembled for the preservation of him and his realme, which  
he did, and marueyled much to see such a goodly armie and strength. Then  
sayde the Duke of Gloucester vnto him, sir this is not the tenth part of your  
willyng subiectes that would haue risen to haue destroyed these false Tray-  
tors. And after they had such communication with the King, they would haue  
taken their leaue of him: But the King desyred them to tary all night there  
with the Quene. The Duke thynkyng to make all sure, made his excuse that  
he durst not be absent from all those folkes which they had brought with  
them, for feare that some businesse might arise, eyther in the armie, or in the  
Citie. But at the kinges instance, the Erles of Nottyngham, and Darby ta-  
ryed there all night.

And the next daye King Richard, at the instance of the Lordes, caused  
to be taken all suspect folkes of his courte, and to be sent into dyuers prisons  
to be kept against the parliament, and then to come to their aunswere. The  
persons that were apprehended, were these. Sir Symond Burley, Sir  
Wylliam Elm, Sir Nicholas Dagwoorth, Syr John Goloford, Clifford  
and Slake priests, Sir John Beawthamp, Syr Thomas Creuet, Syr John  
Salsburie, and one called Lyncoln, and James Barners a priest. There  
should

The Lordes  
sent to the  
Maior and  
Citizens of  
London.

The Lordes  
were circum-  
spect.

The com-  
myng of the  
Lordes to  
the King.

The names  
of the crimi-  
nall persons  
that were  
apprehended.

should also haue bene apprehended Alexander Neuell Archbishop of Yorke,  
Wighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolk, and Robert Tresilian chiefe Justice  
of England, but these would not be found. And there was also taken Syr  
Robert Brember of London knight, but he found suretie for his foorth com-  
myng. Other Lords and Ladies there were that were put out of the Court,  
as John Fortham Bishop of Delyn, Lord Bewmond, Lorde Sowche,  
Lorde Louell, Lorde Thomas Canweyes, the Lord Cliffords sonne, Lord  
Bawdewyn, the Bishop of Chichester the kinges Confessor, the Lady Mo-  
noy, the Lady Poynings, the Lady Molyners and dyuers other.

Shortly after, that is to say the morow after Candlemas daye the par-  
liament began, the which was named the parliament that wrought won-  
ders. And the first daye of the parliament were arested sytting in their pla-  
ces all the Justices except Sir Wylliam Skipwoorth, that is to saye, Sir  
Roger Fulthorpe, Syr Robert Welknap, Sir John Carey, Syr John Holt,  
Syr William Brooke, and John Moxton the kinges Sergeaunt at lawe, all  
which were committed to the Tower, and there kept in seuerall places. The  
cause of their apprehension was, for that at the last parliament the Lordes  
and Nobles were made gouernors of the realme, by the assent of the sayde  
parliament, and also by the assent and counsaile of all the Justices then be-  
yng, and therefore Indentures tripartited were made, wherof the one part  
remayned with the King, and the second parte with the Lordes that were cho-  
sen to gouerne the realme, and the thirde parte with the Justices. And for-  
as much as the sayde Justices at a counsaile holden at Nottyngham, as a-  
foresayde, did afterward contrary to the sayde agreement, it was determy-  
ned that they should make aunswer therunto.

In the beginning of the parliament was called Robert Ueer Duke of  
Irelande, Alexander Neuell Archebishop of Yorke, Wighell de la Poole  
Erle of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian chiefe Justice of Englande, to an-  
swere Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, Richard Erle of Aron-  
dell, Thomas Erle of Darby, and Thomas Erle of Nottyngham vpon cer-  
taine articles of high treason, which these Lordes did charge them with. And  
for as much as none of these appered, it was ordeyned by the whole assent of  
the parliament that they should be banished for euer: And their landes and  
goodes, moueable and bimmouable, to be forfeit and sealed into the kinges  
hand, the landes entayled onely except.

Shortly after this, was founde Robert Tresilian chiefe Justice lur-  
kyng in a Botcharies house at Westmynster, and there founde the meanes to  
haue spyes daylie vpon the Lordes what was done in the parliament: For  
all the dayes of his lyfe he was craftie, but at the last his craft turned to hys  
destruction: for he was discovered by his aboue seruant, and so taken and  
brought to the Duke of Gloucester, and the same daye had to the Tower,  
and from thence drawen to Tyborne, and there hanged.

The morow after, Syr Nicholas Brember which afore had bene Ma-  
ior of the Citie of London against the Citezens will, was brought foorth.  
This man had done in the Citie many great oppreessions, and in his Ma-  
raltie had made great and monstrous stockes to emprison men in, and also  
he caused to be made a common Are, to stryke of the heades of them which  
did resist his will and pleasure, for so highly was he in fauour with the King,  
that

Certain per-  
sons put out  
of the Court.

A parliamt.

The Judges  
arested and  
committed to  
the Tower.

Judgement  
geuen against  
the euill coun-  
sailours.

Robert Tre-  
silian chiefe  
Justice of  
England  
executed.

Sir Nicho-  
las Brember  
executed with  
his owne Are



that he might do what he would. And the report went that he had caused. viij thousand and mo to be endited, which befoze had taken part with y<sup>e</sup> Lordes, which he entended to haue put to execution, if God had not shortened hys dayes. And in the ende, being called to his aunswer, he was found gilty, and had iudgement neyther to be hanged nor drawen, but to be hedded with his awne Axe, which befoze he had deuised.

Dyuers con- demned and executed.

Iustices con demned to perpetuall exile.

The next day after, there were condemned these folowynge, Thomas Uske, John Blagg, Sir Symon Burly, Syr John Beauchamp, Sir John Barners, John Erle of Salburie, and euerie of them were executed.

As touching the Iustices, they were also condemned to death by the Parliament: But suche meanes was made for them vnto the Quene, that she obteyned of the king pardon for their liues, but they forseyted their lands and goodes, and were iudged to perpetuall exile, and places appointed vnto them where they should remayne.

1388

12

The Sadge of king Richard the second were white hartes with chapnes of Golde about their neckes.

And in the. xij. yere of the kings reigne, he kept a Marciall Justes in Smithfield in London, in the month of Nouember, where all such persons as came in on the kings partie, their Armour and apparell was garnished with whyte hartes, and crownes of Golde about their neckes.

And of that sorte were. xxiiij. knightes, with. xxiiij. Ladyes also appareled, as abouesayde, and their hozes were led with. xxiiij. Cheynes of Golde, and so conueyed from the Towze thorough the Citie of London vnto Smithfield, where the king, the Queene, and many other great estates beyng present (after proclamation by the Heraults made) many goodly and martiall feates of warre were practised, to the pleasaunt recreation of the king and the Queene, and all other the beholders of the same.

To this disporte came many straungers, among the which the Erle of Saint Paule, the Lorde Ostreuaunt, sonne and heyze vnto the Duke of Holland, and a yong sonne of the Erle of Ostrich, were greatly comended.

And when these Justes had cotinued by sundry times the space of. xxiiij. dayes, to the great ioye and comforte of the young lustie Bachelers, and to the kings great honor, who all that tyme kept open household for all honest comers: I say, when the same was finished, the straungers returned to their Countries with many riche giftes. Fabian.

Battle of Otterboine.

1389

13

Combat.

A truce take betweene England Scotland and Fraunce.

1390

14

And this yere also the Scottes brake into the Borders of Englande, robbed Comberland and Northumberlande, besieged new Castell, and discomfited and tooke prisoners the two sonnes of the Lorde Percy of Northumberlande. Cooper.

And at this time an Esquire of the Prouince of Nauarre, neere to Fraunce, accused an English Esquier, called John Welsh, of certaine points of treason. For triall whereof a daye was appointed for a fight to be taken betweene them, in the kings Palace at Westmynster, where eyther of them kept his day, and fought there a strong fight. But in the ende John Welsh was victour, and constrayned the other to peelde him: and then he was dyspoyled of his armor, and drawen to Tiborne, & there hanged for his vntreuth.

And thys yere a truce was taken betweene Englande and Fraunce, and Scotlande, for three yeres.

In the. viiiij. yere of this king, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, with a goodly company of men of armes, sayled into Spayne, to clayme there suche

suche landes as he ought to haue, in the right of Dame Constance his wife, when the sayde Duke was vpon the other side of the Sea, there came vnto him the king of Portingale with a strong armie, and so entred the Territorie of Spaine. And there chaunced much harme to be done to the Spanyards in robbing and pylling their countrie, but whether by the Englishmen or the Portingales, it was not well knowen, but it caused grudge betwene the king of Portingale and the Duke, and also made many Spanyards that ought them good will to drawe back, and departe from them. And for reformation of that euill, certaine persons, as well English as Portingales that were founde gilty of suche robberie, were put to death: By meane wherof, the other feared so, that where by the former lewdnesse the Duke and the king were put to after deale, by the reformation of that euill, they gate againe daylie vpon their enemies: So that in processe of time the king of Spayne was driuen of necessitie to treat with the Duke of a peace and concord.

Of the which peace, as sayth Reynulph in his last boke, and. viij. Chapter, the conditions were these.

First, for a finall concord, the king of Spaine should mary the Dukes eldest daughter, named Constance.

Also, that he should geue vnto the Duke in recompense of costes so many wedges of Golde as shoulde lade eyght Charets. And that yere during the lyues of the sayde Duke and his wyfe, he should at his proper coste and charge, delyuer to the Dukes assignes ten thousand Marke of Gold, within the towne of Bayon.

And after this peace was stablished, and sureties taken for the performance of the same: The Duke departed with the king of Portingale, to whome shortly after he married his second daughter, named Anne.

And in this yere the Turkes made cruell warre agaynst the Genowayes or men of Geane, & they sought ayde of the king of England, and of the king of Fraunce. And for their helpe there was sent out of England a noble warryour called the Erle of Alby, with two thousande Archers. And out of Fraunce went the Duke of Burbon, and the Erle of Ewe, with. xv. hundred speares. The which kept their iourney vntill they came vnto a City in Barbary, named Thunys, sometime belonging to the sayde Genowayes, where the sayde English and frenchmen bare themselves so manfully, with the ayde of the Genowayes, that in processe they wanne the sayde Citie from the Turkes, and put the Genowayes agayne in possession thereof, and toke of them many prisoners, the which were exchaunged for chriстен prisoners befoze taken. And moze, they forced they sayde Sarazens to paye vnto the Genowayes ten thousande Ducates of Golde, for confirmation of a peace for a certaine time. But some other write, that this towne was not recouered, but only a truce taken for a time. And froissart sayth, that the Chriistians departed sodainely from the Citie of Thunys, without any league or truce making, fearing dyuers perilles and incidents that might else haue chaunced vnto them.

And here Cooper (in his Chronicle) sayth: That in this time in Englande it was decreed that the auctoritie of the Bishop of Rome should be ended with the Ocean Sea, and it should be lawfull thenceforth to no man to appeale to the Bishop of Rome, nor make sute that any Englishman should

John Duke of Lancaster sayled into Spaine.

Conditions of peace made betweene the king of Spaine, and the Duke of Lancaster.

An ayde sent out of Englande and Fraunce agaynst the Turkes.

The determination of jurisdiction and auctoritie of the Bishop of Rome



be curst by his auctoritey, neyther y any man should execute such commaundement. though it were obteyned of the Bishop, on payne to leese and forseyt all his goodes, and his body to perpetuall prison.

And in this yere dyed king Robert of Scotland, and John Erle of Carreke his eldest sonne succeded and reigned after him, whome the Scottes called Robert after his father, because they thought John an vnluckie name in a King. He was mayned with the stroke of an horse in his youth, and so made vnhabable for the gouernaunce of the Realme, and Duke Robert of Albany continued as gouernoure all the tyme of hys reigne, and he reigned xviij. yeres.

King Richard lying at his Manor of Woodstock, and keepng there his Christmasse: The Erle of Pembroke beyng yong of age, was desirous to learne to iust, and requyred a knight named Sir John Saut John to run with him certeine courses. At whose request the sayd knight ranne with him in Woodstocke Parke certeine Courses. In the which, were it with stroke or other mishap, the sayde Erle receyued there his deathes wound, and dyed shortly after.

And at this tyme chaunced in London a Bakers seruant to carie a Basket full of horsebread: And as he came before the bishop of Sarisburies place in fletestreet, one of the Bishops seruautes tooke out one of the Loaves, and the Baker was earnest to haue it againe, and the Bishops seruaunt with his Dagger brake the Bakers heade: then came the Citizens and woulde haue had the Poman to Warde for breaking of the peace, and he resisted and fled into the Bishoppes house. Then roase the streete, namely the yorth, and they woulde haue had him out of the Bishoppes house, and there was great heauing and shouyng, and many people by. And at the last came the Maior of London, and the Shirifes, and they pacified this businesse as soone and as well as they could, and shortly after all was in quiet.

In this meane tyme, the Bishop of Sarisbury beyng at the Court with the King, and himselfe also being then high treasurer of England, such worde was brought him of this ryot, and the tale so euill tolde agaynst the Citizens and rulers of the Citie, that the sayd Bishop informed maister Arondell then Archebishop of Cantourbury, and Chaunceloz of Englande thereof, and in fine they two made so grienous a tale and complaint to the king agaynst the Rulers of the Citie, and Citizens, that the Maior and Shirifes were sent for in all hast: And when they came, they were shaken by to grienously, and their honest and reasonable excuses could not be heard: But forthwith the liberties of the Citie were seized into the Kinges handes, and the Maior and Shirifes discharged of their offices, and a knight named sir Edward Dalyngrige made Gouernour of the Citie.

And the king beyng thus in displeasure with the Citie, caused Michelmasse Terme to be kept at Porke, and so continued untill Christmasse next folowng.

The Citizens perceyving the king to continue in displeasure with them, made daily labour vnto such friendes as they could make, to pacify the kings wrath agaynst them, and to obteyne his most gracious pardon. The which at length, specially by the meane of the Queene, and Doctor Grauefende then Bishop of London, they obteyned. But first the Citizens were tolde that the

The death of King Robert of Scotland.

1391

The Erle of Pembroke in running at the tyll, was wounded to death.

A fond fray whereby the liberties of London were seized into the Kinges hande.

Arundel Bishop of Cantourbury was Chauncelour of England.

Doctor Grauefende Bishop of London restored the liberties of London.

the King entended to come from his Manor of Shene, to the Citie of London, and then it was lyke they should obtain fauour: wherefoze in all goodly hast the Citizens trymmed and bewtefyed their Citie most sumptuously with Pageautes and riche hangyngs, and at the day appoynted, foure hundredeth of them in one Lyuery road and met the King on the Hethe on this side Shene, and in their most humble maner submitting themselues, and praiyng his grace to pardon their follyes past, besought him to take his way to hys Palayce of Westminster through the Citie of London. The which the King tooke in good part, and graunted them so to do: And when he came at London Bridge, they presented vnto him two sayre steedes, trapped in riche cloth of Golde, parted of red and white. The which present he thankfully receiued. And so the King kept on his way untill he came to the Standard in Cheepe, the Citizens of London in their Liueres standing vpon eyther syde of the street as the King went, cryng, King Richard, King Richard. And at the sayde Standard in Cheepe was ordeyned a sumptuous stage, in the whiche were set dyuers personages in rich apparell. Among the which, one Angell was ordeyned, which with a vice came downe, and set a riche crowne of gold garnished with stone and pearle vpon the Kinges heade as he passed by, and another on the Queenes, and so they roade forth untill they came at Westminster, where the Maior and his companie, takyng theyr leaue of him, returned to London.

The next day folowng, the Maior and his brethren went to Westminster, and presented there vnto the King two Basons of Siluer and gilt, and in them two thousand nobles of Golde, besechyng him in most humbly wise, to be good and gracious Lord vnto the Citie. The which he accepted thankfully, and gaue vnto them very comfortable wordes. And the thirde day folowng they receyued a newe confirmation of all their olde franchises and liberties: wherefoze by counsaile of their friendes, they ordeyned a Superaltare of Siluer, and guilt, and therein the stoye of Saint Edwarde was grauen most curiously, the which was valued at a thousand marke, and that they also presented as theyr gift vnto the King, which was berpe well accepted and taken.

And here Fabian sayth, that for the great zeale and loue that the aforesayde Bishop of London bare vnto the Citie and Citizens in this their sute to the King for their liberties, they of theyr awne good willes to this day, yerely vpon the feastful dayes, as the day y the Maior taketh his othe, which is the morowe after Simon and Jude, and Alhalowen day, Christmasse day, the Twelwe day, and Candlemasse day, when they go to Paules in theyr Liueres, they visite the place of his buryall, beyng in the middle Isle in the West ende of the Church, where the sayde Bishop is pictured and drawn forth in Brasse, holdyng the Charter of the Citie of London, and the great seale of England in his hand. But it seemeth to me that this is not true, for the place of buriall in Paules, to the which the Maior doth resozte, is the graue where William, sometyne Bishop of London is buryed, of whom we haue made mention in the first yere of William the Conqueror, who first obteyned the priuileges for the Citie, and so it appereth by the inscription vpon the same Grauestone.

And the next Terme folowng, which was Hillary Terme, was holden

King Richard passed through London.

The liberties of London newly confirmed and restored.

The cause why the Maior and the Citizens of London do come diuerse dayes in the yere to Paules Church.

The terme againe remoyned to Westminster.

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den and kept at London as had bene accustomed.

And in this time, saith Fabian, dyuerse Gentlemen of Scotland chalenged sundrie poyntes of Armes with certeine Gentlemen of England. As first the Lorde Mordeise, chalenged the Erle of Nottyngnam Marshall of England. Sir William Darell Knight, and Cockborne Esquier, chalenged Sir Nicholas Haulbert Knight. And the same feates of Armes were holden in Smithfielde in London. And Mars was so friendly to the Engliske men, that the honour of that iourney went with them: Insomuche that the Erle Marshall ouerthrew the Lorde Mordeise his Appellant, and so brused him, that in his returne towarde Scotland, he dyed at Porke. And Sir William Darell refused his Appellant before they had runne theyr full courses. And the thirde of them, that is to wit Cockborne, was thowen at the seconde copying, to the ground, horse and man.

This yere and the. vij. day of June, dyed that gracious woman Quene Anne, and lyeth nowe buryed at Westminster by her Lord king Richard, by on the Southsyde of Saint Edwardes churche.

And this yere was a Truce concluded betweene Fraunce and England for foure yeres.

This yere king Richard made a boypage into Ireland, which was nothing profitable, nor honourable vnto him, and therefore the Wyfters seme to thinke it scant worth the notyng.

Also in this yere was a wonderfull tempest of wynde, which did muche hurte throughtout the Realme of England. And in this yere also dyed Constance, the second wife of John of Gaunt, and is buried at Lyncester.

This yere king Richard (as sayth Reynulph) went ouer to Calice, and there met with the French king about the conclusion of a maryage, which was with the Ladie Isabell daughter vnto the French king, whome the sayd French king did offer to the king of England to take in mariage as his wife. At the meting of these two Princes, was great prouision made of both sides, and many sumptuous shewes and sightes were there shewed and seene, and many riche and most costly bankets & feastes made by the one prince to the other, the reherfall wherof should be tedious, wherfore I will be short. At the last this mariage was agreed vpon, and the day of the solemnitie therof appointed. And the. xviii. day of Nouember, the sayde King Richard maryed the sayd Lady Isabell in Calice, beyng within the age of. viij. yeres, as saith Fabian. And Holidore also sayth that she was not of ripe and mete yeres to accompany with a man: But the Authour of the Booke which is called the Chronicles of England, sayth that she was. xix. yeres of age.

And here a little to note the giftes geuen of the Kinges one to another, whereof Froissart maketh a great & long discourse. But to be short, first king Richard gaue vnto the French king, a Bason of Golde, with an Ewer. Then the French King gaue him three standing Cups of Gold with Couers garnished with pearle and stone, and a ship of Gold richely garnished with perle and stone. At another metyng king Richard gaue him an Owoche, set with so fine stones, that it was valued at fiue hundreth Marke. Then the French king gaue him two flagons of Golde, a Tablet of Golde, and therein an Image of Saint Myghell richely garnished. Also a Tablet of Golde with a Crucifix, richely appoynted. And a Tablet of Golde with the Image of the

Trinitie.

1393  
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A challenge made betweene gentlemen of England and Scotland.

Anne Quene of England, and wife to King Richard dead.

1394  
18

A fore and great tempest.

1395  
19

A mariage concluded betweene King Richard & the French kings daughter the Lady Isabell.

Giftes geuen by the Kinges of England and Fraunce.

Trinitie set with pearle and stone, and a Tablet of Golde with an Image of Saint George, richely set with pearle and stone, which all were valued at xv. hundreth Marke. Then king Richard seeyng the bountie of the French king, gaue to him a Bawderick or Coller of Gold, set with great Diamods, Rubyes, and Baleses, beyng valued at fiue thousand Marke, the which for the richenesse thereof, and for the excellency and finenesse of the workmanship, the French king ware it aboute his necke, as often as the king and he met together. Then the French king gaue to him an Owoche and a spice Plate of Golde of a great weight, valued at two thousand Marke. Also many were the riche giftes that were geuen and receyued of Lordes and Ladies of both Princes. Among the which are specially noted foure giftes, which king Richard gaue vnto the Duke of Orleans, for the which he receyued againe of the Duke treble the value. For where his were valued at a thousand Marke: The Dukes were valued at three thousand Marke.

Now after that these two Kinges had thus solaced themselves, the one with the other, and all matters concerning the mariage fully concluded and ended. The French King, taking his leaue of King Richard, delyuered his young daughter vnto him, and sayde as followeth.

Right louyng sonne, I delyuer here to you the creature that I most loue in this worlde next my wife and my sonne, beseeching the father of heauen, that it may be to his pleasure, & to the weale of your realme, and that the amitie betweene these two realmes, in aduoydyng of the effusion of christian blood, may be kept inuolably for the terme betweene vs concluded, which terme was. xxx. yere, as sayth Froissart. And shortly after these two princes tooke their leaue eche of other, and the French King went into Fraunce, and King Richard came into England. Where he and the Queene were by the Citizens of London most honozably conueyed throughtout the sayde Citie vnto the Palice of Westmynster.

The latter ende of thys yere the King by sinister counsaile delyuered by appoyntment the towne of Brest in Briteyne to the Duke, which was occasion of displeasure betweene the King and the Duke of Gloucester his Uncle, as after ye shall here.

In february next folowynge, the King holding a sumptuous feast in Westminster Hall, manye of the Souldiours which were newly come from the towne of Brest aforesayde, pressed into the hall, and kept arome together. Which companie the Duke of Gloucester did earnestly beholde, and asked what men they were: and when he knew they came from Brest, which towne was geuen by without his knowledge, he was bered in his minde. In somuch as when the king was entred into his Chamber, and fewe nere vnto him, he sayde to the King: Sir, sawe ye not the felowes that late in so great a number to daye in your hall at suche a table? And the king answered yes, and asked the Duke what companie it was: To whome the Duke answered and sayde, sye these are the Souldiours come from Brest, and as nowe haue nothing to take to, nor know not how to shift for their luyng, and the rather for that I am informed, they haue bene before time euil paid. Then sayd the king, it is not my will, but that they should be well payd: And if any haue cause to complayne, let them shewe it vnto oure Treasorer, and they shall be reasonably answered.

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In

1396  
20

A great feast made by King Richard in Westminster Hall.



In reasonyng of this matter further, the Duke sayde to the king, for you ought to put your bodye to paine for to wyne a strong holde or towne by feate of warre, befoze ye take upon you to sell or delyuer any towne or strong holde that is gotten with great difficulty, and by the manhood of your noble progenitoz. To this the king with chaunged countenance aunswered and sayde: Uncle, how saye you those wordes? Then the Duke boldly recited the aforesayde wordes. Wherevnto the king being then moze discontented, sayde: wene you that I am a Marchaunt, or a foole, to sell my land: by saint John Baptist nay: But truth it is, that our Cosyn the Duke of Briteyne hath rendred vnto vs all suche sommes of money as our progenitoz lent vnto him or his auncestours, vpon the sayde towne of Brest: for the which, reason & good conscience will, y he haue his towne restored vnto him agayne. By meane of which wordes thus vttered by the Duke, such rancour and malice kindled betweene the king and him, that it ceased not vntill the sayde Duke was put to death by murder vnlawfully, as shall appere in the next yere followyng.

This present yere the king bearing still malice in his minde agaynst the Duke of Gloucester, as aforesayde, and chiefly for that he and the Erles of Arondell, and of Warwike and other had forced him to renounce his most trustie friends and counsayloz, as he thought, as is befoze at large declared in the. xi. yere of this kings reigne, and noboe partly to be reuenged on their outrage, as he sayde: And partly also for that all princes subiects should take example, not to presse their soueraigne Lorde after that maner, he sommoned a parliament to be holden at Westminster. And there, not regarding the othe that he had made befoze to the Lordes in open parliament, he called out of exile certaine of the Justices, which by the former sentence giuen, should neuer haue returned. And for that the Deuill is alway readie to hasten euill purposes: This yere came out of Almayne to the king the Prouost of Colayn with other: And they perceauing that the king was light and Ambitious, thinking also to wyne largely thereby, informed him that eyther he was or should be chosen Emperour, which pleased him highly, and he gaue good credite vnto them, and very liberally rewarded them for their good tydings. And because he would be certainly certefied, he sent ouer his Ambassadors, which at their returne agayne into Englande made repozte vnto the king, that the most parte of the Electoiz had consented to his election, onely two or thze withstood it, for this cause, as they sayd, that he that could not keepe in due obeysaunce his awne subiectes, in his awne realme, it was not lyke that he should gouerne well other lyeng farre of and wide a sunder: Wherefoze his Ambassadors aduised him to wyne the fauour of them that so did stick. Nowe whether the messengers did sayne this, to reuelve the kings displeasure against the Duke of Gloucester and the Erle of Arundell and other, for that perrase they bare them no good will, or that they brought true reporte agayne, it is not knowen: But now when it was thought that this realme of England was most quiet, and that prosperitie was lyke dayly to encrease, what for that the king had married the French Kings daughter, and had by her great riches: And also for that truce was taken betwene both the princes for. xxx. yeres: And also considering the goodly garnishment of this realme by the great and wise number of noble Lordes, and valiaunt knightes,

A parliament at Westminster.

An Ambassade out of Almayn.

A malicious report made by the Ambassadors.

knightes, which were suche, as no christian realme for the number of them coulde then shewe the lyke. All these things considered, euen contrary to all mens expectation, sodainely the kings maiestie bearing in his heart great wrath and displeasure against the true Lords of his counsayle as aforesayd, whome he nowe purposed to be reuenged of, practised their destructions, which put the realme to great trouble, and in the ende it turned to the overthrow and confusion of the king himselfe, as ye shall here. For the. vij. daye of Julij next after, the king appointed to keepe a great feast in London, where he purposed to haue had the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Arondell, the Erle of Warwike and dyuers other, which he hated deadly, purposing there to haue trapped and taken all those noble men together without businesse, or further resistance. But the Duke of Gloucester excused him by sicknesse: The Erle of Arondell fearing the kings displeasure kept him at home in his Castell, and so there came to this feast none but onely the Erle of Warwike. And at the comming of the Erle, the king receaued him with maruellous gentle and louing countenance, and gaue him very comfortable wordes sayeng vnto him, be of good cheere and take no thought, for losing of Goers lande, swearing vnto him that he would prouyde other for him, that should amount to as good a balure. But neuerthelesse, after that dynner was done, the king caused him to be arrested of treason, and deliuered him to be kept in safe custody vntill the next parliament, which he had ordeyned to be kept for the destruction of him and manye other. The same night also the king spake vnto the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, that he should perswade his brother the Erle of Arondell frankly to submit himselfe, swearing his olde othe by Saint Iohn Baptist, that hurte should he haue none thereby, if he would so do. The Archbishop trusting the kings faire promise, moued this matter to the Erle his brother: But he knowing the kings great malice, and that he purposed nothing moze then to apprehend and destroye him, would in no wise agree to his brothers counsaile: howbeit the Archbishop would not so leaue him, but daylie was importune on him to submit himselfe: Sayng vnto him that all which he mistrusted should passe awaye lyke a clowde. And if he would not submit himselfe when he might, it might fortune to turne to the dishonouring both of him and his: For it was sayde then, and the same was the opinion of manye, that for none other purpose would he keepe these Lordes vnder a rest, but for to shewe the Lordes of Almayne that he coulde rule the greatest of them. And after that he had so holden his Lordes a season, that it was knowen in Almayne and in outward parties, that then his purpose was to restore them agayne to their liberties and dignities. So at the last, by these perswasions & other vsed by the Archbishop of Cauntorburie, his brother the Erle in an vnhappy houre submitted himselfe to the king. And forthwith he was taken and sent to be kept in the Isle of Wyght. And the same night that he was taken, the king sent secretly to the Shair of London, commaundyng him that he should make ready as manye harnessed men as he could, and that they should be in a readinesse within two or thze houres to attend vpon the king, whether his pleasure was to go. The king also commaunded the Erles of Rutland, Kent, Huntynghdon and Pottyngham to arme themselves, and to conduct the Londancers. And so they tooke waye to Blakby in Essex, where then was the

A dangerous feast for the Lordes.

The Erle of Warwike is arrested of treason.

The Erle of Arondell taken and committed



Duke of Gloucester in his Castell. Notwithstanding fewe there were that knew, when the king set forth, whether he would go. And when they came nye the place, the king bewed his people following him, which were numbered by the Heraultes to be. x. thousand. Then the king sayde vnto them, whatsoeuer ye see me doe, lykewise studie you to doe the same. If I prepare me to fight, doe ye lykewise. If ye see me in peace, rest you also in quiet, doyng hurte to no man. The king sent afore the Erle of Rutlande to the Dukes Castell, that they should see what number of defensible men the Duke had within the Castell: for he was afeard both of the valiauntnesse and wisdom of the Duke. But it happened at that time that the most parte of the Dukes household seruaunts, by licence were departed to their friendes and wyfes. When the king was certefied that the Duke had so small a number aboute him, he maruelled muche, for it had bene tolde him before by such as bare the Duke no good will, that he had fortified and manned his Castell. So then the king approached there vnto, his men of armes goyng before him and behinde him: And albeit that the Duke was somewhat accrased, yet he met him with a solempne procession of the Colledge, and receaued him with all the reuerence and humilitie that he could doe, as it became him befo to do, being his souereigne Lozde. And the king as he sawe the Duke comming vnto him, and that he made him lobe curtesie: The king ciapped his hande vpon his shoulder, and arested him. To whom the Duke answered, that he not onely was content to obey his arest, but the arest of the least of his court. And the king sayde vnto him, and will you so, good Uncle? And the Duke answered, ye surely sy: then the king folowed the procession, and the Duke folowed the king a farre of. And when the king was somewhat set forth, he looked back, and called the Duke vnto him, and sayde, By Saint John Baptist, good Uncle, this that is done, shall be for the best both for you and vs, and so entered into the Chapell, where were a great number of reliques and Jewels of great balure: which when the king sawe, he sayde vnto his Uncle, I see you are a good husbunde: But nowe go your waye, and take some susteruaise, and after you haue dnyed, ye shall go to the place that I haue appointed, for here you may not tary. Then the Duke prayed the king to shewe him how may seruauntes he should haue to wayte vpon him: The king answered that he should be aduertised thereof before he rose from dyner. The Duke then went to his lodging, which was nigh vnto the Chapell. And the king went to his lodging, where was prepared for him and those that came with him, great and honorable fare, both of fische and flesc, and it was no great maruaile, for the Duke was aduertised priuily of the kinges comming. After that the king was set at dyner, he sent to the Duke his minde, what number of persons should wayte vpon him, and wyllid him to make shorte worke and come away.

After dyner the king departed, and left to conuey the Duke the Erle of Kent, and the Lozde Thomas Percy Steward of his house. And when the Duke had dnyed, he caused suche stuffe to be trussed vp, and caried wyth him, as was necessarie for him. And then bade his wyfe fare well, who was a Lady both honorable, wise and vertuous: and at his departing he desired her to make humble sute to the king, to haue him his good and gracious Lozde, and that she should boldly offer to sweare that he was neuer Traytor

to

The king as  
resteth the  
Duke of  
Gloucester.

to his person, nor he that willed him any hurt. And when he was a horsback, with a mery cheere, he sayde vnto the Lozdes that abode for him. Nowe, whether shall we go? And who shall be our guide? For one of you? They answered with reuerence. Nay sy, it becommeth you to leade, and we to folow. Then sayde he, let vs set forth a Gods name, wheresoener your pleasure is that I shall go, and so was he conueyed to Calice, and thus taken and arested at that time, when he thought that he was most in the kings fauour. For not long before the king had geuen him so great giftes, honours and Lordships, that euery man thought there was no man moze acceptable in the kings fauour then he.

Now after the taking of these Lozdes was blowen abroad, there was made great moane for them throughout all England, as though the Realme had bene deliuered into the enemies handes: so great hope had the Commos vniuersally in them, but most specially in the Duke of Gloucester, whome the Realme beleued, that by his prosperitie the same was safe from all inward and outward enemies.

The king perceiuing the great affection that the people bare to the duke and the sayd Lozdes, and fearyng insurrection of the Commons, which were not all clere of their Melancholy, caused to be proclaymed, that this taking of the Lozdes was not done for their offenses committed of olde, but for new matters, wherein they had offended sithens the obteynnyng of their pardons, as they should vnderstand plainly at the next Parliament.

Duryng the tyme (sayth mine Authour) that these Lozdes were in prison, so sozpy was the people for them, that prayers and Processions were bled throughout all the realme, that it might please God of his goodnes to inspire into the Kinges minde, to be good and mercifull vnto these Lozdes, and to conuert his heart from hatred vnto loue. The king heeryng of these prayers, forbade streightly all Bishoppes and Prelates that such Processions should be no moze bled.

And shortly after, the king helde a great counsaile at Nottingham, and there he hauyng his Judges, and other of his learned Counsaile, caused inditmentes to be drawen of the Duke of Gloucester, and of the Erles afore sayde. And he framed there also an Appellation, and there it was ordeyned that certeine Appellers should lay vnto them highe treason in open Parliament, whose names were Edward Erle of Rutland, Thomas Lord Howbrey Erle Marshall, Thomas Holland Erle of Kent, John Holland Erle of Huntingdon, Lozde Beneforde Erle of Somerset, Lozde John Mountague Erle of Sarisburie, Thomas Lozde Spencer, William Lozde Scrope, Chamberleyn to the king. The which matters beyng deuised, the king caused proclaymation openly to be made, declaring vnto the people that these Lozdes were arested and imprisoned for high treason. And soone after he summoned a Parliament to be holden at London the .xv. day of September next following. And thether were commaunded to come all such as the king had best confidence in. And agaynst the tyme of the sayd Parliament, the king reteyned vnto him a gard of Archers of Cheshire, like as he should haue gone in battaile against his enemyes. And those Cheshire men were very rude and beastly people, and fell into such great pryde of the Kinges fauour, that they accounted the king to be as their felowe, and they set the

Lozdes

The Duke  
of Gloucester  
is conueyed  
to Calice.

A false  
proclamation.

A Counsaile  
holden at  
Nottingham

The names  
of the Appellers.

A parliament  
holden at  
Westminster.

A garde of  
Cheshire men  
to attend vpon  
the king.



Lordes at naught, yet few or none of them were Gentlemen, but taken from the plough and cart, and other craftes. And after these rusticall people had a while Courted, they entered into so great a boldnesse, that they would not let, neyther within the Court, nor without, to beate and slay the kinges good Subiectes, and to take from them their victuals, and to pay for them little or nothing at their pleasure, and to rauish their wiues and daughters. And if any man fortun'd to complaine vnto the king of them, he was soone ryd out of the way, no man knewe howe, nor by whome, so that in effect they dyd what them lusted.

A new house made for the Parliament.

Sir John Buse the speaker of the Parliament.

The Arche-bishop of Cauntorbury is accused of high treason.

Sir John Buse a flatterer.

Against this Parliament, the King had commaunded a great house to be made in the Palace at Westminster, which was so great, that scarcely the roome of the Palace sufficed to set it in. In this house was made a highe trone for the King, and a large place for all estates besydes, to sit in. And also there were places made for certeine Appealers, which are mencioned before, and they to be on the one syde, and the answerours on the other, and a lyke roome was made behynde for the knightes and Burgeses of the Parliament. And a place also made for the speaker of the Parliament, who at that tyme was one named Sir John Buse, which was called a cruel, ambitious, and couctous man without all measure. And immediately after, all men in their degrees were placed, and the cause of the calling of that Parliament beyng declared, which was that the king had ordeyned it for reformation of dyuerse transgressions and oppreSSIONS, done against the peace of our soueraigne Lorde the kinges Maiestie, by the Duke of Gloucester, the Erles of Arondell, and of Warwike, and other. Then forthwith came Sir John Buse, and made request on the behalfe of the Commonaltie, that it might please the kinges highnesse and excellencie, that for the enoyme actes done agaynst hys lawes and Maiestie, they might haue condigne punishment accordyng to theyr desertes, and chiefly the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which then sat next vnto the king, whom he called the highest traytor, for where for many causes he should haue bene to the king a most faythfull Counsaylor, he by his euill counsaile and prodigious suggestions, craftily circumuented the king, inducyng him to graunt his letters of pardon to a great traytour the Erle of Arondell his brother. To this when the Archebishop arose and would haue answered, the king would geue him none audience, but commaunded him to sytte downe againe in his place, and not to make any further aunswere, for it should be well inough if he helde his peace for that tyme. Then Sir John Buse requyred that the Archebishop should not be taken to his aunswere, for he sayde that his wit was so great, and did so farre excell all other, and his craft so great, that he feare he shall circumuent vs: So at that tyme the Archebishop had no further heeryng. The said Sir John Buse in all his prepositions to the king, did not onely attribute to him worldly honours, but diuine names, inuentyng flatteryng wordes, and blused termes, and to a mortall man not conuenient, for as oft as he spake vnto the king in his Throne, he cast his handes abrode, as he had adoured and worshipped God, beserchyng his excelsse, high, and adozant Maiestie, that he woulde misse to graunt him this or that. And the Prince beyng ambitious of honours, did not repressle this insolencie, but tooke great pleasure in his wordes, whereof came more inconuenience, as shall appere.

Thus

Thus after, as ye haue heard, that the king had excluded the Archebishop from his aunswere: Sir John Buse, keping his olde flatteryng way, requyred on the behalfe of the Commons, that the Charters of pardon graunted vnto the traytors, as to the Duke of Gloucester, the Erles of Arondell, and of Warwike, should be by the assent and consent of all the whole Parliament be reuoked. The king also in his awne person protested, that those pardons were extorted from him, and that he did not willyngly graunt them, and therefore he requyred that euery man would say his opinion, as well spirituall as tempoꝛall, what they thought therein. The spirituall men began first, being afrayde to displease the king, and sayd that such pardons were reuocable, and at the kinges pleasure, and ought not to be allowed: And lyke wyse sayde euery of the spiritualtie, man by man, vntill it came to the Archebishop of Cauntorbury: For the custome is, when suche questions be asked, the yongest both of the spiritualtie and tempoꝛaltie say their opinions first, and so passe forth in order vntill it come to the highest. And when this question was asked of the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, he aunswered that the kinges person is so high from whom the pardon came, that he durst not say, that any suche Charters were reuocable: Howbeit, in the ende it was determined that such pardons were to be reuoked, for they did empeche the honoz of the kinges person.

After that Sir John Buse had obteyned this reuocation, he declared further, that the Erle of Arondell had yet another speciall Charter of pardon for his awne person, which he obteyned after the first, and in that also the said Sir John Buse requyred importunately ayde, in the name of the Commonaltie, that the same also might be reuoked. Then this question was also asked of the Prelates, which were of lyke opinion as they were of the first, that is to say, that it was reuocable. At this tyme the Archebishop of Cauntorbury absented himselfe from the Parliament, trustyng in the kinges promise, and lyke also as he had sworne vnto him, that nothyng should be attempted agaynst him in his absence, but the contrary folowed. For still this Sir John Buse pursued him, and at his instant sute, which seemed to be the kinges will, he was condemned to perpetuall exile, and that he should not make any further abydyng within this realme then sixe dayes. And after this Bishop was thus condemned, he sent to Rome, that Richard Walden his Treasurer might haue the Archebishopricke, whereunto at the kinges instance the Pope accorded, & within two yere after was by the same Pope deposed.

Shortly after this, was brought forth Richard Erle of Arondell, on the day of Saint Mathewe the Euangelist, to aunswere before the King, and the whole Parliament, to such thinges as should be objected and deposed agaynst him. And as he stood at the Barre, the Lorde Beuel was commaunded by the Duke of Lancaster, which sat that day as high steward of England, to take the whoode from his necke, and to bngyde him. Then the Duke of Lancaster, to whom by his office it apperteyned, notefyed vnto him, that for his manifolde rebellions and treasons agaynst the kinges Maiestie, he was arrested, and hether to kept in Warde, and now at the petition of the Lordes and Commonaltie, he was called to aunswere to suche crimes as should be there objected agaynst him, and there eyther to purge him of them, or else to abyde condigne punishment. And first he did charge him that he

roade

The kinges pardon made by parliament.

The Arche-bishop of Cauntorbury condemned to perpetuall exile.

Richard erle of Arondell arraigned of treason.

The Duke of Lancaster high steward of England.



roade trayterously in harnesse agaynst the king with the Duke of Gloucester, and the Erle of Warwike, perturbyng of the peace and Realme.

To the which he answered, that he neuer did that as a traytor, nor for any hurt meant or intended against the kinges person, but for the kinges profite, and the realme, if that act might be well interpreted as it ought.

Also it was demaunded of him, why that he procured letters of pardon of the king for himselfe, if he knewe that he was not faultie therein? To this he answered, that he did it not for any feare of any thyng that he had misdone, but for stoppyng of euyl tongues, which neyther bare the king, nor him good wyll.

Also he was demaunded, whether he would denie that he made any such roade with the personnes afozenamed, and that he entred not armed into the kinges presence, agaynst hys pleasure and will? To this he answered that he could not say nay.

Then Sir John Bushe cryed importunately, and called for iudgement to be geuen against the traytor, & sayd: your faythfull commons aske, and requyre that it may so be. The Erle soberly turned his head, and sayd mildely vnto him: Not the kinges faythfull Commons require this, but thou, and what thou art I knowe well inough. Then the. viij. Appealantes before named, standyng on the other syde, cast their gloues vnto him, and folowed their appeale which before was read, and offered to fight with him man for man, in iustefyng of their appeale. Then said the Erle, if I were at my libertie, & that it might please my soueraigne Lord the king, I would not refuse to proue you lyers in your appeale. And then spake the Duke of Lancaster high Steward, and sayde vnto him, what haue you further to say to the popntes before alleaged agaynst you? He answered that of the kinges grace he had his letters of generall pardon, which he requyred might be allowed. Then the Duke answered that the Pardon was reuoked by the Prelates and Noble men in the Parliament, and therefore willed him to make some other answer. The Erle sayde againe, that he had another pardon vnder the kinges great seale, which was graunted him long after of the kinges abone mocion, which also he requyred to be allowed. The Duke sayde againe, that that pardon was in likewyse reuoked. And after this, when the Erle had nothing to saye for him selfe: Then the King with his Scepter made countenance to the Duke to geue iudgement. Then the Duke vsed these wordes vnto him: Forasmuch as thou art couicted of high treason. &c. Thou shalt be drawen to the Galowes, and there hanged, and after taken downe, and thy Bowelles to be taken out of thy body, and burned, and after to be beheaded, and quartered. And this iudgement geuen in this maner, the Duke pawled a while, and then sayd: The King our soueraigne Lord of his grace, because thou art of his blood, and one of the Deeres of the realme, hath remitted all the other paines vnto the last, so that onely thou shalt lose thy head.

And anone he was taken from the place, and without delaye had to the Tower hill, and there went before him, and behinde him the aforesayde furious Cheshire men, which onely in this Parliament had licence to beare weapon. There went with him also to his death the Erle of Notynggham, that had married his daughter: The Erle of Kent his Nephewe, the Erle of Huntynghdon, John Holland, which were all vpon great hozesses, and had

with

The Erle  
of Arundell  
condempned  
and iudged.

with them a great company of harnessed men. And when he should departe the Palaice, he desyred his hands might be let loose, and that he might geue suche money as he had in his Purse with his abone hands, betwixt that and Charing crosse. And so he gaue his almose, but his armes were bound behinde him. The Londoners seyng him thus passe thozough the City, bewayled sore his fortune, who not long before, among all the noble men was most famous, for he was so noble and balyaunt, that all the worlde spake honoz of him. And when he came to the Towze hill, the noble men that were about him, moued him berie earnestly to acknowledge and confesse that he had offended the king in high treason: But he in no wise would agree so to do, but sayd that he was neuer Traytor in worde nor deede. Then he turned to him that was the executioner and kyssed him, and said: do thy duetie, and as thou art commaunded, but torment me not, but with one stroke strike of my head, and he assayed himselfe with his fingers, whether the sworde was sharpe enough, and sayde it is very well. Then sayde he to his kinsmen that stood there, it had bene moze meeter for you to haue bene awaye then at this acte. I haue bene he that hath brought you vp, and haue enriched you, & brought you to honoz, and ye lyke unkinde persons rewarde me with this, to bring me to thame: But the time will come and that shortly, when there shall as many manuaile at your misfortune, as doth now of my fall. And then kneeled he downe, and the Executioner with one stroke strake off his head, and his bodey was honozably buried in the Augustine Fryers.

Then returned they that were at the execution, and shewed the king merily of the death of the Erle: But though the king was then mery and glad that the dede was done, yet after, as mine Aucthor sayth, he was exceedingly bered in his dreames, imagning that the Erle appered vnto him. &c.

After the iudgement and death of the Erle of Arundell, as aforesayde, then was Thomas Becham Erle of Warwik brought forth to abyde the iudgement of the Parliament. And when his accusers charged hym, as a Traytor, with diuers articles of treason, such as were before alleaged against the Erle of Arundell, he answered that his minde was neuer to be Traytor vnto the king, nor he thought neuer that those rydings and assemblies that he made, could be accompted as treason. And when the Judges had shewed vnto him that it was treason, he humbly asked of the king mercy and grace. The king then asked him, whether that he had so rydden with the Duke of Gloucester, and the Erle of Arundell: he answered that he could not denie it, and wished that he had neuer sene them: then sayde the king, doe you not knowe that ye are giltie of treason? he answered againe I knowledge it, and with great weeping and sobbyng required al those that were present, to make intercession to the kinges Maiestie for pardon for him. Then the king and the Duke of Lancaster commoned, & after the king had pawled a while, he sayde to the Erle, by saint John Baptist Thomas of Warwike, this confession that thou hast made, is vnto me moze acceptable then all the landes of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Erle of Arundell. Then the Erle making still intercession for pardon, the Lordes humbly besought the king to graunt it him. The king then was contented to graunt hym his lyfe, but he banished him into the Isle of Man, which then was the Lorde Scropes, and he promised the Erle, that he and his wyfe and children should haue honozable

The Erle of  
Arundell is  
executed.

The Erle of  
Warwike is  
arraiged of  
Treason.

The banish-  
ment of the  
Erle of  
Warwike.



nozable enterfeyment : But that promise was slenderly kept, for both the Erle and the Countesse led their lyues in great penurie.

The king not yet quieted, sent one of his Iustices called Wylliam Bykyl, bozne in Ireland, to Calice, which was commaunded to enquire of the Duke of Gloucester, whether he had committed any such treasons as befoze were alleged agaynst the Erle of Arundell, and the Erle of Warwike, and that he should write what he sayde, and what the Duke did confesse : which after the sayde Justice had speedely done, he returned vnto the King, and shewed him such things of his awne deuise, as he thought would best please the King, affirming that those things the Duke had franckly confessed. The King after the sight therof, purposed the death of the Duke, and yet not willing to haue him bzought vnto open iudgement, for he feared the people, who bare him great loue and fauour, and therefore he sent the Erle of Pottyngham vnto Thomas Howbrey Erle Marshall, which then had the keeping of the Duke in Calice, and commaunded him that priuily the Duke should be killed. But he fearing to commit such an enozne deede, deferred the matter, though the king would haue had it done with all speede. For the which the King was soze mooued agaynst the Erle, and sware that it should coste him his lyfe, if he obeyed not quickly his commaundement. And beyng thus constreyned, he called out the Duke at midnight, as though he should haue taken shyping to go into Englande, and there in his lodgyng with his seruaunts, casting on fetherbeds vpon him, he was smothered. And so was this honozable and goodman miserable put to death, which for the honoz of the King and wealth of the realme had taken great traouayles.

After that the king in thys unhappye Parliament had bzought all these matters to passe : yet would he not dissolue the same, but prozoged it, because it was nigh the feast of Christmaste, and ordeyned that it should begin againe immediatly after the feast at Shrewesbury. And after that the king & Lords were come together, the king obteyned that the whole pover of both the houses was graunted vnto sixe or eyght persons which had aucthoritie to determine suche causes as yet hanged in the parliament. By vertue of which graunt, the number aforesayde did proceede in derogation of the state of the house, and to the great disaduantage of the king, and perillous example in time to come. And for that the king had spent much money at these Parliaments, he required to haue one disme and a halfe of the Clergie, and a fiftene of the temporaltie, and then he tooke vpon him the name of the Prince of Chester, for loue that he bare to the Cheshire men.

Then was the Erle of Darbie made Duke of Hertfoord : The Erle Marshall Duke of Norffolk, the Erle of Rutland Duke of Aubemarle : the Erle of Kent Duke of Surrey, and the Erle of Huintyngdon Duke of Excester : The Countesse of Norffolk Duches of Norffolk, the Erle of Somerset Marques of Dorset : The Lorde Spencer Erle of Gloucester, the Lorde Penyll Erle of Westmerland, the Lorde Scrope the kings Chamberleyn, the Erle of Wiltshire, the Lord Percy Steward of the kings house Erle of Worcester.

The king after this triumphed not a little, as one that had conquered and ouerthrowne his enemies, and he wared so hauwte, that he had all estates in contempt, and thought himselfe more noble then any prince lyuing. And then he

The Duke of Gloucester shamefully murdered.

The parliament prozoged vnto Shrewesbury.

King Richard nameth himselfe prince of Chester.

Creation of Dukes and Erles.

he chaunged his armes that his Graundfather had giuen, and ioyned Saint Edwardes armes and his together. And to rewarde the persons about named, whome he had aduanced to honoz, he gaue vnto them a great parte of the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Arondels lands. And whatsoeuer the king did, no man durst speake a worde, or aduise hym in any thing, but must sothe him in whatsoeuer he sayd, or did. And such as were then chiefe of hys Counsaile, the commons iudged to be the woorst of all other, the which were these. The Duke of Aumarle, the Duke of Norffolk, the Duke of Excester, the Duke of Wiltshire, Sir John Buske, Sir Wylliam Bagot, syz Thomas Grene knight, to whom as is aforesayd, the Commons bare great and priute hatred.

Sone after this, the king caused to be arreigned and atteinted the Lord Cobham, vpon those articles that the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Arundell, and the Erle of Warwike were condemned for : But the Lorde Cobham was pardoned of his lyfe, and put to exile into the Isle of Bernesey, and there was assigned vnto him a small and pooze lyuing. And for an ende of thys parliament the King graunted a generall pardon to all persons, and for all maner of offenses, except onely fittie persons, whose names he would not declare, nor no man so priuy about hym that could vnderstand them. And it was sayde, that he kept that secret, that when any great man offended, he would then declare that he was one of the fittie that was excepted, and by that meanes he had alwayes his subiectes in his daunger.

Thys yere being the .xxij. yere of hys reigne, it chaunced Henry Erle of Darby a little befoze created Duke of Hertfoord, a prudent and wyse man, and welbeloued of all, calling to his minde, and well considering with himselfe howe king Richarde his Cossyn Germane was nowe come to that trade, that he little or nothyng regarded the counsaile of hys Uncles : nor other graue and sad persons, but did all thing at his pleasure, vsyng his wyll in steede of lawe and reason. Wherefoze on a daye beyng in the company of Thomas Howbrey Duke of Norffolk, and Erle Marshall, he beganne to breake his minde vnto him, rather for sorow and grieffe, then for malice or displeasure, reherfing howe king Richard little esteemed the Nobles of hys Realme, and as muche as laye in him, sought daylie occasions to destroy the more part of them, dispatching some by death, and other by banishment. And this his cruell and seuerer gouernement (sayde he) is not onely greenous to the Nobilitie, but to the Commons also, who greatly murmured thereat, therefore for as much as I knowe he loneth you, and, I am sure, so do you him, when time oportune will serue, ye shall doe well to aduertise him thereof, and to beseeche his grace to turne the lese, and vse a better way. When the Duke of Norffolk had heard fully his deuice, he tooke it not in good parte, but reconed that he had gotten a pray, by the which he should obteyn greater fauour of the king then euer he had, and for that time dissembled the matter and so departed. And after, when he had oportunitie and sawe his tyme, he declared to the king what he had heard : and to aggrauate, and to make the offense the greater, he added much therewith, but left out nothing.

When the king had heard him, and had pauised a little with himselfe, he beganne to be in a great chafe, but after a whyle he tempered his melancholy, and was content to here both parties together, and therefore called

Mm. j.

vnto

King Richard arreth his armes.

The Lord Cobham is arreigned and atteinted.

A generall pardon.

1398

22



unto him the Duke of Lancaster, who was chiefe of his counsaile, and both the Dukes of Herfford & Northfolke, and caused the accuser openly to declare what he had heard the Duke of Herfford speake. The Duke of Northfolke rehearsed agayne the tale that he had tolde to the king, but not in such order as the Duke of Herfford had tolde it to him, but had added thereunto, and altered very much thereof. When the Duke of Herfford heard the tale so tolde, he was somewhat troubled therewith and paused awhile, and after turning him to the Duke of Northfolke, he declared worde by worde what he had sayde, and shewed the cause why he so spake, denyng all the other matters that the Duke of Northfolke had added thereunto, and sayde further vnto the king, that if it would please hys grace to suffer hym, he would prouue his accuser vnture, and a false forger of lyes by the stroke of a speare and dent of a sworde. The Duke of Northfolke affirmed constantly hys tale to be true, and refused not the Combate. The king demaunded of them if they would agree among themselves: which they both denied, and threwe downe their gages. By saint John Baptist, quod the king, if you of your selues will not agree, I will not studie how to agree you, and then he graunted them the battayle, and assigned the place to be at Couentrie, in the moneth of August next ensuyng.

Then was great preparation made, as to such a matter apperteyned, and when all things were in readynesse, and the daye come, thether came the king being accompanied with all his nobles. And thether came also the two Dukes aforesayde, that is to say, the Duke of Herfford Appellant, & the Duke of Northfolke Defendat, & they beyng armed, entred on horseback the one after the other into the Listes, & the people cryed vpon God to saue and prosper the Duke of Herfford, for they loued not the Duke of Northfolke, because it was said that he murdered the Duke of Gloucester at Calice, as aforesayd. Now the time beyng come, these two noble men, eche hauyng his Speare in rest, and readie to ioyne the battaile, the king cast downe his warder, and commaunded them to stay, and then the king and the Lordes went to counsaile, and they toke by the matter: And after great deliberation, the king by the mouth of the king of Heraults pronounced sentence in this sort, first that Henry of Lancaster Duke of Herfford Appellant, and Thomas Mowbray Duke of Northfolke Defendant, haue honorably and valiantly appered here within the listes this day, and haue bene redy to darreyne the battaile, lyke two valiant knightes, and hardie Champions: But because the matter is great and weightie betweene these two great Princes, this is the order of the king and his counsaile. That Henry Duke of Herfford for dyuerse considerations, and because it hath pleased the king, shall within. xlv. dayes depart out of the realme, for the terme of ten yeres, without returnyng, except by the king he be repealed agayne, and that vpon paine of death.

The Herault cryed agayne and sayde, that Thomas Mowbray Duke of Northfolke, by the ordenaunce of the king and his Counsaile, because that he had sowed sedicion in the realme by his wordes, wherof he can make no prooffe, shall aduoyde the realme of England, and dwell where he list out of the Kinges dominions, and neuer to returne agayne into the same vpon paine of death, and that the king woulde stay the profites and reuenues of hys landes untill he had receyued such sommes of money as the Duke had taken

Combate betwene the duke of Herfford and the duke of Northfolke.

The Duke of Herfford banished for ten yeres.

The Duke of Northfolke banished for ever.

by of the Kinges treasurer, for the wages of the Garrison of Calice, which were still vnpayd. And then they called befoze him the two banished persons, and made them swere, that y one should neuer come into the place where the other was (willyngly) nor kepe companie together in any other forein region.

The Duke of Northfolke, which supposed to haue bene bozne out by the king, was sore repentant of his enterpryse, and departed sorowfully out of the realme into Allmain, & at the last came to Venice, where for thought he died.

The Duke of Herfford toke his leaue of the king at Eltham, and there the king released vnto him foure yeres of his banishment. And so he toke his iourney, and came to Calice, and so into Fraunce, where he continued a while.

When he was arriued in Fraunce, king Charles heeryng the cause of his banishment, which he esteemed very small and light, receyued him gently and honorably entercepted him: Insomuch, y he had by fauour obtained the mariage of the only daughter of John Duke of Berry, Uncle to the French king, if king Richard had not cast a stop in his way: For he well considered how the Commonaltie loued the Duke, and howe desyrous they were of his returne into England: and then foreseeyng that if he should be ioyned wyth so great an affinitie as the blood of the house of Berry was in Fraunce, and afterward sodeinly to returne into Englande, it might fortune to turne to hys more displeasure then pleasure, wherfore he letted that mariage.

Duryng the first yere of the exile of this Duke, his father John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster dyed, and is buryed on the North syde of the Quier of the Church of Saint Paules in London. The death of this Duke shortened the life of king Richard, for he notwithstanding, that the Duchie of Lancaster was to this Duke Henry lawfully descended, not onely seized without right or title all the goodes of the sayde Duke John his parent, but also defrauded his heyre of his lafull inheritaunce, receyuyng the rentes and reuenues of all his patrimonie, and geuyng to other that which was not his, and distributed the Dukes landes to his Parasites, and flatterynge folowers. This act was iudged of all the nobilitie to be vnlawfull, vniust, and vngodly, to depriue a man beyng banished out of the realme without defart, of his inheritaunce. But Edmond Duke of York, Uncle to Henrie nowe lawfully Duke of Lancaster, was sore moued with this chaunce, to see the king breake and violate all lawes: And after the murder of hys brother the Duke of Gloucester, to spoyle and robbe the sonne of his other brother. For he befoze this tyme, as much as his patience could beare, dyd tolerate and suffer the death of his brother, the banishment of his Nephew, and many mo iniuries, which for the lightnesse and youth of the king he passed ouer: But nowe that he sawe there was no hope of amendment of the kinges gouernement, and that he had no man nere him that durst boldly admonithe him of his office, and dutie, he therfore as a wise man, thought it meete in tyme to get him to a restyng place, and to leaue the solowynge of so doubtfull and wilfull a Captaine: Wherfore he with the Duke of Armerle his sonne, departed from the Court, and went to his house at Langley.

In this meane tyme, king Richard had made great preparation to go into Ireland, and gathered together great summes of money by sundrie deuises and practises: as first, he caused an inquirie to be made in euery shyre, of those that had beene in armes with the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of

John Duke of Lancaster dyeth.

How exact.



Arondell, and the Erle of Warwike, and caused dyuerse Bishoppes and men of honour in euery shyre, to aduise such as had offended, to confesse their treasons by wrytyng, and put them in the kinges mercie, promisyng that they should haue no hurt thereby. Wherefore many were constreyned, as well of the Clergie, as of the Commonaltie, to make great synes. And also manye Noble men were compelled to pay vnto the king great sommes of money, which was called Pleasaunce, to please the king withall. Also at thys tyme the king caused many blacke Chartres to be made, and forced men to signe and seale the same, by the which he might whē he would vndo any of his subiectes. But some wryte that it was for that he purposed to deliuer Calice, and all his landes beyonde the Sea, to the French king, and to shewe that all his subiectes had assented therevnto.

Blanche Chartres.

The king ferreth forth to Ireland.

When all these thinges were done, as is mentioned befoze, the king set forward with a great nauie & power of men towards Ireland, in the moneth of Aprill, to suppress and tame the wilde heddes of the Irishe men, and he had with him his garde of Cheshire men, in whome hee put his speciall trust. Also he caried with him the greatest of the noble mens sonnes of England, as the Duke of Gloucesters sonne and heyre, the Erle of Herford son and heire to Henry Duke of Herford and of Lancaster. Also he was accompanied with the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Exeter, and many other. And at his departure he left for his Lieutenant in England, Sir Edmond of Langley his Uncle, Duke of Yorke. And so the king entered into Ireland, and set fiercely vpon the Irishe men, and compelled them shortly to submit them selues. The sayng also was, that befoze his goyng into Ireland, he had let the realme to ferme to Sir William Scrope Erle of Wiltshire, and then Treasurer of England, to Sir John Bushe, Sir John Bagot, and Sir Henry Greene, knightes, for the terme of. xiiij. yeres: By reason wherof they procured many men to be accused, and such as were accused, there was no remedye to deliuer him, or them, but were he poore or riche, he must compounde and make his fine with those Tyrannes, at their will and pleasure. Nowe the King beyng in Irelande, as afoze sayde, he so subdued the Irischemen, and that in short space, that he brought the greatest part of that realme into very good order, and set them very quiet.

The King had let the Realme to Ferme.

1399

23

The landing of the Duke of Lancaster and Archebishop of Cauntorbury.

But while the king was thus occupied in Irelande, the Duke of Herford by the prouocation of Thomas Arondell, Archebishop of Cauntorbury, who, as you befoze haue heard, was banished by king Richard, and was in France with the said Duke of Herford, returned nowe both into England, and landed at Rauenspurre in the North Countrie, in the moneth of August, and by reason of his title to the Duchie of Lancaster, he raysed and assembled the people euer as he went, so that he had gathered together a great number of people. And, as sayth Hall, there resorted vnto him, the Erles of Northumberland, and Westmerland, and the Lordes Percy, Rose, Willoughby, and other, and takyng an othe of him, that he should not do to king Richard any bodily harme, they made to him homage, & became his liege men, and so tooke theyr iourney towardes London, where they were receyued with all ioy and gladnesse. Then the Duke consulted there dyuerse dayes with his friendes. And thether came vnto him, Thomas Arondell, sonne to Richard Erle of Arondell, by king Richard a little befoze put to death, which had

had late escaped out of prison. When the Duke had well perceyued and considered the great loue and fauor that was bozne him, as well of the nobilitie, as also of the commonaltie, and how they came dayly vnto his reliefe, he not onely yelded thankes vnto God therefore, but shewed himselfe most thankfull vnto them for the same, and then set forward into the West Countrie, and still as he passed, his people encreased without number, and beyng nowe so well and strongly accompanied, he then proclaymed open warre agaynst King Richard, and all his partakers and friendes.

King Richard beyng in Ireland, and nowe heeryng of the Dukes arrival in England, hastened not a little to set all thinges there in order, and returned into England, and landed at Mylforde Hauen, in the beginnyng of September, and from thence passed vnto the Castell of Flynt in Wales ten Myles distant from Chester, and there rested him and his people, entending there to haue gathered a great power, and to haue set vpon the Duke. But in this meane time, the afozesaid Duke, who had proclaymed himselfe Duke of Lancaster, in the right of his father John of Gaunt, was come to Bristow and there without resistance tooke Sir William Scrope Erle of Wiltshire, and high Treasurer of England, Sir John Bushe, and Sir Henry Greene, who shortly were adiudged, and were beheaded. There was also taken Sir John Bagot, but he escaped, and fled into Ireland.

King Richard returned to England.

William Scrope Sir John Bushe and Henry Greene put to death.

Now King Richard was not so diligent to gather his power together, but they were as hastie to flee from him, and to ayde the Duke, which amased the King much, and in the ende the king determined to kepe that Castell, and to abyde fortune. And this (sayth Hall) is to be noted of all Princes, rulers, and persons set in Aucthoritie, that this Duke Henry of Lancaster should be thus called to the Kingdome, and haue the helpe and assistance almost of all the whole realme (which perchance neuer there of once thought or dreamed) and that King Richard should thus be left desolate, boyde, and desperate of all hope and comfort, in whome if there were any offence, it ought rather to haue bene imputed to the frailtie of his youth, then to the malice of his hart.

A speciall note.

When the Duke of Lancaster knew that king Richard was come to the Castell of Flint, he came forward with speede with a great armie, and dyebere nere Chester: When Thomas Percy Erle of Worcester, and Lord Steward of the Kinges household, and brother to the Erle of Northumberland, heard tell of the Dukes approachyng, and bearyng displeasure to the king, because a little befoze he had proclaimed his brother a Traytor, he calling together the Kinges household, did befoze them all breake his white staffe, and bid euery man go where he would, and shift for himselfe. And when the Kinges seruantes sawe this, they dispersed themselues, some one way, and some another, and left the king alone, sayng two or thre Lordes, and a fewe men.

Thomas Percy Lord Steward breake his staffe.

The King is forsaken of all and left alone.

The Duke approachyng very nere to the Castell of Flint, whereof King Richard beyng aduertised by John Pallet, and Richard Seymer (his assured seruantes) departed out of the Castell, and fled to Conway, and there he sent for the Duke of Exeter his brother, the Erle of Northumberland, and Thomas Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and desired them to come to the Castell vnto him, to whome he shewed his purpose, and that he was well content to geue by the Crowne, and to be discharged of that great Burthen, and shortly after, he yelded himselfe vnto the Duke, who secretly sente him to the

The King yeldeth himselfe to the Duke of Lancaster.

Am. iij.

Tower



## Tower of London.

Parliament  
at Westminster  
Rec.

When the Duke had thus possessed his pray, he returned to London, and shortly after called a Parliament the. xiiij. of September, in the kinges name, at the which many of the kinges friends, but more of his, appeared. There was declared how vnprofitable king Richard had bene to the realme durynge his reigne, howe he subuerted the lawes, polled the people, ministred iustice to no man, but to such as pleased him. And to the entent that the Commons might be perswaded that he was an vniust and vnprofitable Prince, and a tyraunt ouer his subiectes, and therefore woorthie to be deposed, there were set forth certeine articles very heynous to the eares of many, and to some incredible, the effect of which articles hereafter folowe.

1. First that King Richard wastefully spent the treasure of the realme, and had geuen the possessions of the Crowne to men vnwoorthie, by reason wherof dayly newe charges more and more were layde in the neckes of the poore Comynaltie. And where diuers Lordes, aswell spirituall as tempozall, were appoynted by the high Court of Parliament, to common and treat of diuerse matters concernyng the comyn wealth of the same, which beyng busy about those commissions, he with other of his affinity went about to empeche them of treason, and by force and threathyng, compelled the Justices of the realme at Shrewsbury to condescend to his opinion, for the destruction of the sayd Lordes: insomuch that he began to rayse warre against John Duke of Lancaster, Thomas Erle of Arundell, Richard Erle of Warwike, and other Lordes, contrary to his honour and promise.

2. Item, that he caused his Uncle the Duke of Gloucester to be arrested without law, & sent him to Calice, and there without iudgement murdered him. And although the Erle of Arundell upon his arreignment pleaded his Charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shamefull manner sodeinly put to death.

3. Item, he assembled certeine Lancashire and Cheshyre men, to the entent to make warre on the foresayde Lordes, and suffered them to robbe and pill, without correction or reprove.

4. Item, although the King flatterynge, and with great dissimulation made Proclamation throughout the realme, that the Lordes before named were not attached for any cryme of treason, but onely for extorcions and oppressions done in this realme, yet he layde to them in the Parliament, rebellion and manifest treason.

5. Item, he hath compelled diuerse of the sayde Lordes seruauntes and frindes, by menace and extreme paymentes, to make great fines to their better vndoing. And notwithstanding his pardon to them graunted, yet hee made them fine of newe.

6. Item, where diuers were appointed to comyn of the estate of the realme, and the comyn welth of the same. The same king caused all the rolles and recordes to be kept from them, contrary to his promise made in the Parliament, to his open dishonour.

7. Item, that he vncharitably commaunded, that no man upon paine of losse of lyfe and goodes, should once entreate him for the returne of Henry, nowe Duke of Lancaster.

8. Item, where this realme is holden of God, and not of the Pope or other

ther Prince, the sayde king Richard, after he had obteyned diuerse actes of Parliament for his awne peculiar profite and pleasure, then he obteyned Bulles and extreme censures from Rome, to copel all men streightly to kepe the same, contrary to the honoz and auncient priuileges of this realme.

9. Item, although the Duke of Lancaster had done his deuoyze agaynst Thomas Duke of Norfolkke, in prooffe of his quarell, yet the sayde King without reason or ground, banished him the Realme for ten yeres, contrary to all equitie.

10. Item, before the Dukes departure, he vnder his broade seale licenced him to make attourney to prosecute and defende his causes: The sayde king after his departure would suffer none attourney to appere for him, but dyd with his at his pleasure.

11. Item, the same king put out diuerse Shirifes lawfully elected, and put in their rowmes, diuerse other of his awne minions, subuertynge the lawe, contrary to his othe and honour.

12. Item, he borrowed great sommes of money, and bound him vnder hys letters patents for the repayment of the same, and yet not one penny payde.

13. Item, he taxed men at the will of him and his vnhappy counsaill, and the same treasure spent in folie, not payng poore men for their bitail and biande.

14. Item, he sayd that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and sometye in his brest, by reason of which fantastigall opinion, he destroyed Noble men, and impouertised the poore Commons.

15. Item, the Parliament sittynge and enactyng diuerse notable statutes for the profite and aduancement of the comyn wealth, he by his priue friends and solliciters, caused to be enacted, that no acte then enacted should be more preiudiciall to him, then it was to any of his predecessors, through which prouiso he did often as he list, and not as the lawe ment.

16. Item, for to serue his purpose, he would suffer the Shirifes of the shire to remaine aboue one yere or two.

17. Item, at the sommons of the Parliament, when Knightes and Burgeses should be elected, and that the election had full proceeded, he put out diuers persons elected, & put in other in their places, to serue his wil & appetite.

18. Item, he had priue Espials in euery shyre, to here who had of him any communication, and if he commoned of his lasciuious liuyng, or outragious doynge, he streight wayes was apprehended, and made a greiuous fine.

19. Item, the Spiritualltie alleaged agaynst him, that he at his goynge into Ireland exacted many notable summes of money, besyde plate, and iewels, without lawe or custome, contrary to his othe taken at his coronation.

20. Item, when diuerse Lordes and Justices were swozne to say the truth of diuerse thinges to them committed in charge, both for the honour of the Realme, and profite of the king, the sayde king somenaced them with fore threathynge, that no man would or durst say the right.

21. Item, that without the assent of the Nobilitie, he carped the Jewelles, and Plate, and Treasure ouer the sea into Ireland, to the great empouertising of the realme. And all the good recordes for the comyn welth, and agaynst his extorcions, he caused priuely to be embesiled, and conueyed away.

22. Item, in al leages & letters to be concluded or sent to the See of Rome or other Regions: His wyting was so subtile and so darke, that no other prince



prince durst once beleue him, nor yet his owne subiectes.

23 Item, he most tyrannously and vnprincely sayde, that the lynes and goodes of all hys subiectes were in the princes hands, and at his dispositio.

24 Item, that he contrarie to the great Charter of England caused diuers lustie men to appeale diuers olde men, vpon matters determinable at the common lawe, in the Court martiall, because that in that court is no triall but onely by battayle: wherevpon the sayde aged persons fearing the sequelle of the matter, submitted themselues to his mercy, whome he fined and ransomed vnrasonably at his pleasure.

25 Item, he craftily deuised certaine priuie othes, contrarpe to the lawe, and caused diuers of his subiectes, first to be sworne to obserue the same, and after bounde them in bondes for the former keeping of the same, to the great bindoyng of many honest men.

26 Item, where the Chauncellour according to the lawe, woulde in no wise graunt a prohibition to a certaine person: the king graunted it vnto the same person vnder his priuie seale, with great threathings, if it should be disobeyed.

27 Item, he banished the bishop of Cauntorbury without cause or iudgement, and kept him in the parliament Chamber with men of Armes. Item, the Bishops goodes he graunted to his successour, vpon condition that he should maintayne all his statutes made at Shrewesburie. Anno. xxj. and the statutes made. Anno. xxj. at Couentrie.

28 Item, vpon the accusation of the Archbisshop, the king craftily perswaded the sayde Bisshop to make no answer, for he would be his warrant, and aduised him not to come to the parliament. And so without answer he was condemned and exiled, and his goodes seased.

After that king Richarde was charged with the aforesayde articles, there was an instrument made, declarpng his answers, & how he consented wyllyngly to be deposed, the tenor of which instrument was as followeth.

**T**his present instrument made the Monday the xxix. daye of September 1389. and in the xxiiij. yere of king Richard the second, witnesseth: that where by the aucthoritie of the Lordes spirituall and temporall of this present parliament, and commons of the same, the right honourable and discrete persons, here vnder named, were by the sayde aucthoritie assigned to go vnto the towre of London, there to here and iustifie such questions and answers as then and there should be by the sayde honourable and discrete persons heard: know all men to whome these present letters shall come, that we Sir Richard Scrope Archebisshop of Yorke, John bisshop of Hereford, Henry Erle of Northumberland, Raufe Erle of Westmerland, Thomas Lorde of Berkeley, William Abbot of Westmynstre, John Bziour of Cauntorburie, William Chirnyng, and Hugh Burnell knights, and John Marham Justice, Thomas Stowe, and John Burbage Doctours of the lawe Ciuille: Thomas Screeby, and Dionyse Lopham Notaries publique, the daye and yere abouesayd, betwene the houres of eyght and nine of the clock in the fore noone, were present in the chiefe chamber of the kings lodging within the sayde place of the towre, where was reherfed vnto the king, by the mouth of the foresayde Erle of Northumberland, that before tyme at Contwaye in Northwales, the king being there at his pleasure and libertie promised

The copy of  
an Instru-  
mente.

promised vnto the Archebisshop of Cauntorbury, then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the sayde Erle of Northumberland, that he for the insufficiency which he knewe himselfe to be of, to occupy so great a charge as to gouerne this Realme of Englande, would gladly leaue of, and renounce the right and title, as well of that, as of the title of the crowne of Fraunce and his maiestie, vnto Henry Duke of Herfford, and that to doe in such conuenient wise as by the learned men of this lande it should most sufficiently be by them deuised and ordeyned.

To the which reherfall, the king in our presence answered beningly and sayde, that such promise he made, and so to the same he was at that houre in full purpose to perfourme and fulfill, sayyng that he desyred first to haue personall speche with the sayde Duke, and with the Archebisshop of Cauntorbury his Cossyns. And furthermore, he desyred to haue a bill drawen of the sayde Resignation, that he might be perfite in the reherfall thereof. After which Copie by me the sayde Erle of Northumberland delyuered, we the sayde Lordes and other departed. And vpon the same after noone, the king desyryng much of the comyng of the Duke of Lancaster, at the last the sayd Duke with the Archebisshop of Cauntorbury entered the aforesayde Chamber, bringyng with them the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Burgeyn, and Lorde Willoughby with dyuerse other.

Where after due obeysaunce done by them vnto the king, he familiarly and with a glad countenance (to vs apperyng) talked with the saide Archbisshop & Duke a good season. And that communication finished, the king with a glad countenance, in presence of vs and the other aboue reherfed, sayde openly, that he was readie to renounce and resigne all his kingly maiestie in maner and forme as he before had promised. And although he had and might sufficiently haue declared his renoucement by the reading of another meane person, yet he for the more suretie of the matter, and for that the sayde resignation should haue his full force and strength, he therefore red the scrole of resignation himselfe, in maner, and forme as followeth.

**I**n the name of God, amen. I Richard by the grace of God, king of Englande and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Irelande, acquyte and assoyle all Archebishops, Bishops, and other prelates secular & religious, of what dignitie, state or condition that they be of: And also all Dukes, Erles, Barons, Lords, and all mine other liege men, both spirituall and secular, of what maner of name or degree they be, from their othe of fealtie and homage, and all other deedes and priuileges made vnto me, and from all maner of bandes of allegaunce and regaly and Lordship, in the which they were or be bound vnto me, or in any other wise constreyned: And them their heyres and successours for euermore from the sayde bandes and othes I release, delyuer, acquyte and set them for free, dissolued and acquitted, and to be harmeless, for so much as longeth to my person by any maner of waye, title or right, that to me might follow of the aforesayde things, or of any of them. And also I resigne all my kingly dignitie, maiestie and crowne, with all the Lordships, power and priuileges to the aforesayd kingly dignity and crowne belonging, and all other Lordships and possessions to me in any maner of wise appeteyning, what name and condition soeuer they be of, except those lands and possessions for me & mine Obite purchased and bought. And I renounce all right

King Rychard resigneth his crowne and Kingdome of Englande.



right and all colour of right, and all maner of title of possession, and Lordship, which I ever had or haue in the same Lordshippes, and possessions, or any of them, or to them, with any maner of rights belonging or appertayning vnto any parte of them.

And also the rule and gouernance of the same kingdome and Lordshippes, with all ministrations of the same, and all things and euerye of them that to the whole Empire and iuridictions of the same belongeth of right, or in any wise may belong.

And also I renounce the name of worship & regaly and kingly highnesse, cleere, freely, singularly and wholly, in the most best maner and forme that I may, and with deede and word I leaue of and resigne them, and go from them for euermore, sayyng alwayes to my successors kings of Englande, all the rightes, priuileges and appurtenances to the sayde kingdome & Lordshippes aboue sayd belonging and apperteyning: For well I wote and knowe, lege, and deme my selfe to be, and haue bene, insufficient and vnhabable and also vnprofitable, and for mine open desertes not vnworthy to be put downe. And I sweare vpon the holy Euangelistes, here presently with my handes touched, that I shall neuer repugne to thys resignation, dimission, or receding by, nor neuer impugne them in any maner, by worde or by deede, by my selfe nor by none other: Nor I shall not suffer it to be impugned, in as much as in me is, priuily or aparte. But I shall haue holde and kepe thys pronouncing, dimission and leauyng by for fyne and stable for euermore, in all and in euery part thereof, so God help me and all Saints, and by thys holye Euangelist by me bodely touched and kyssed. And for more record of the same, here openly I subscribe and signe thys present resignation with myne aboue hande. And forthwith in oure presences and other he subscribed the same, and after deliuered it vnto the Archebyschop of Cauntorbury, sayyng that if it were in his power or at his assignement, he would that the Duke of Lancaster, there present, should be his successor and king after him. And in token thereof, he toke a ryng of Golde from his finger, being his signet, and put it vpon the said dukes finger, desyryng & requiring the Archbyschop of Yorke, to shewe and make reporte to the Lordes of the Parliament of his voluntarie resignation, and also of his entent and good minde that he bare towarde his Cossyn the Duke of Lancaster, to haue him bys successor & king after hym. And thys done, euery man toke their leaue and returned to their home.

On the morowe followyng, beyng on the Tewe day, and the last day of September, all the Lordes spirituall and temporall, with also the commons of the sayde parliament, assembled at Westmynster: where in the presence of them, the Archbyschop of Yorke, according to the kings desyre shewed vnto them seriously the voluntary renouncing of the king, with also the fauour that he ought vnto his Cossyn the Duke of Lancaster, for to haue him his successor. And moreover he shewed vnto them the Schedule or bill of renouncement, signed with King Richardes hand.

And when the things aforesayde were by the sayde Byschop fynished, the question was asked first of the Lordes, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: The which when it was of the Lordes graunted and confirmed, the lyke question was asked of the Commons, and of them in lyke maner affirmed.

After

After which admission, it was then declared, that notwithstanding the foresayde renouncing so by the Lords and commons admitted, it were needfull vnto the realme, in the aduoyding of all suspicions and surmises of euill disposed persons to haue in wytyng and regestred the manifolde crymes and defautes before done by the sayd Richard, late king of England, to the ende that they might first be openly shewed vnto the people, and after to remaine of record among the kings records. The which articles are before expressed.

Now when the Lordes of the parliament had considered this voluntarie renouncement of King Richarde, and that it was behouefull and necessary for the weale of the realme to proceede vnto the sentence of his deposition, they there appoynted by the auctoritie of the states of the sayde parliament, that is to saye the Byschop of Saint Asse, the Abbot of Glascebury, the Erle of Gloucester, the Lorde Barkeley, Wylliam Chyrning iustice, and Thomas Cppyngham, and Thomas Gray knightes, that they should geue open sentence to the kings deposition. Wherevpon the sayde commissioners layng their heades together, by good counsaile and aduisement and of one assent agreed among them, that the Byschop of Saint Asse should publishe the sentence for them and in their names, as followeth.

In the name of God, amen. We John Byschop of Saint Asse or Assenence, John Abbot of Glascebury, Richard Erle of Gloucester (and so the names of the other as they are aboue reherfed) chosen and deputed speciall commissioners by the three estates of this present parliament, representing the whole body of the realme, for all such matters by the said estates to vs committed: we well vnderstandyng & considering the manifolde crymes, hurtes and harmes done by Richarde King of Englande, and the misgouernance of the same by a long time, to the great decay of the sayd land, and vtter ruine of the same shortly to haue bene, we had the speciall grace of our Lorde God therbnto put the sone remedy: And also furthermore considering that the sayd king knowyng his awne insufficiency, hath of his awne meere inocion and free will renounced and geuen by the rule and gouernance of this lande, with all rightes and honours to the same belongyng, and vtterly for his merites hath iudged himselfe not vnworthely to be deposed of all kingly maicesty and estate royall. We the premisses well considering, by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name and auctoritie to vs, as abouesayde, committed pronounce, decerne and declare the same king Richard, before thys to haue bene and to be vnprofitable, vnhabable, insufficient, and vnworthy to the rule and gouernance of the aforesayde realmes and Lordshippes, and all other the appurtenances to the same belongyng. And for the same causes we deprive him of all kingly dignitie and worship, and of any kingly worship in himselfe. And we depose him by our sentence definitive, forbydding expressly to all Archebishops, Bishops, and all other Prelates, Dukes, Marqueses, Erles, Barons and knightes, and to all other men of the aforesayd kingdome and Lordshippes, or of other places belonging to the same realmes and Lordshippes, subiectes and lieges whatsoeuer they be, that none of them from this time forward, to the aforesayde Richard as king and Lorde of the aforesayde Realmes and Lordshippes, be neyther obedient nor attendaunt.

And immediately after this sentence, the duke of Lancaster ryng from the place where he then sate, and standing where all might behold him, spake these wordes. I Henrie of Lancaster clayme the realme of England, and the

The depolition of King Richard the seconde.



Henry Duke of Lancaster maketh claime to the crowne and kingdome of Englande.

the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood comyng from that good Lorde king Henry the thirde, and through the right that God of his grace hath sent unto me, with the helpe of my kinne, and of my friendes to recouer the same, which was in poynt to be vndone for default of good gouernaunce and due iustice.

After which words, thus by him vttered, he returned & sate him doونه in the place where he before had sitten. Then the Lordes heyring this claime, comyned secretly among themselves, and then was it demaunded of them what they thought: and they all agreed to the sayde claime, and that he was worthie to reigne as king ouer them. Then the Archbishop of Cauntorburp hauyng knowledge of the Lordes mindes, stode vp, and asked the Comons if they would assent to the Lordes, to the which also they assented. After which aunswere the Archbishop went to the Duke, and after low & solmne obeysaunce, kneelyng vpon his knee, did afterwarde arise, and tooke the Duke by the right hande, and led him vnto the kinges seate, and there wryth great reuerence placed him.

Duke Henry placed in the regall seate.

After the Duke was thus placed as king, then he stood vp and sayde to the Lordes and Commons present: I thanke you my Lordes spirituall and temporall, and all the states of this lande, and I geue you to vnderstand, that it is not my wil that any man thinke that by the way of Coquest I would disherite any man of his heritage, franchise or other rightes, that of right to him belongeth, nor to put him out of that which he now enioyeth, & hath had before tyme by custome of good lawe of this realme, except such priuate persons as haue bene against the good purpose & the comon profit of the realme.

When the king had thus spoken, he sate doونه, and then it was agreed that the Procurator afozenamed should go vnto the Towre, and resigne vnto the late king Richard all their homages and fealties in the name of the whole realme, and to shewe vnto him, not onely the maner of his deposition,

but also howe Henry Duke of Lancaster was placed in the Kingdome, which was done accordyngly, and the next

day after, the Duke was openly proclaymed kyng by the name of King Henry the fourth.



Now after King Richard was deposed, as you haue heard, then Henry Plantagenet, borne at Bolynghbrooke in the Countie of Lincolne, Duke of Lancaster and Hereford, Erle of Darbie, Leycester, and Lyncolne, sonne to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, tooke vpon him the gouernment of this realme, and was by sounde of Trompet proclaymed king of Englande, and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Irelande, the xxix. day of September, in the yere of our Lorde 1399. by the name of King Henry the fourth, and was crowned at Westminster the xi. day

1399  
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The Coronation of King Henry the fourth.

of October then next folowing, which was the day of the Translation of Edward the Confessor, with all tryumph and solemnitie.

And at the day of his coronation (as sayth Hall) because he would not haue it thought that he tooke vpon him the Crowne without good title and right therevnto had, therefore he caused it to be proclaymed and published, that he chalenged the realme not only by coquest, but also for that he was by king Richard adopted as heyre, and declared successor of hym, and by resignation, had accepted the Crowne and Scepter, & also that he was next heire Male of the blood royall to king Rycharde.

Henry prince of Wales.

Shortly after his coronation, he created his eldest sonne Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, and Erle of Chester beyng then of the age of xij. yeres, and caused him to be proclaymed heyre apparant to the Crowne of this realme. And soone after he called his high Court of Parliament, in the which was demaunded by king Henryes friendes, what should be done with king Richard. And as the aforesayde Hall sayth, whome I chiefly folowe in this history, for that he hath diligently traueyled therein. The Bishop of Carlisle which was a man well learned, and of a good courage, stood vp and sayde: My Lordes, I require you to take hede what aunswere you make vnto this question: For I thinke there is none of you worthie or mete to geue iudgement on so noble a Prince as King Richard is, whom we haue taken and honoured for our souereigne and liege Lorde, by the space of. xxij. yeres, & I assure you, there is not so ranke a traytor, nor so arrant a thefe, nor yet so cruel a murderer, apprehended or deteyned in prison for his offence, but he shall be brought before the Justice to heere his iudgement: And yet ye will proceede to the iudgement of an annoynted king, and here neyther hys aunswere nor excuse. And I say, that the Duke of Lancaster, whom you call king, hath more offended and more trespassed to king Richard & this realme, then the king hath epyther done to him or to vs. For it is manifest and well knownen, that the Duke was banished the Realme by king Richard and hys counsaile, and by the iudgement of his awne father (for the space of .x. yeres) for what cause all you knowe, and yet without licence of king Richard he is returned againe into the realme, yea and that is worse, hath taken vpon him

The bishop of Carlisle a stout bishop.



A bishop committed to ward for talkyng to broad in the parliament house.

An order taken how King Richard should be treated.

A foze sentence.

Sundry appeals.

Reuengesment of the Duke of Gloucesters death.

John Holland Duke of Exeter.

An act entituled King Henry the fourth to the Crowne of the realme.

the name, title, & preheminance of a king: And therefore I say, that you haue done manifest wrong, to proceede in any thing against King Richard, without calling him openly to his aunswere and defence. Assoone as the Bishop had ended his tale, he was attached by the Erle Marshall, and committed to ward in the Abbey of Saint Albones.

And in the sayde Parliament it was concluded, that King Richard should continue in a large prison, and should haue all thinges honourably ministred vnto him, aswell for his dyet as also apparell. And that if any person or persons would presume to stirre and rere warre on the behalfe of King Richard for his deliuerance out of prison, that then King Richard himselfe should be the first that should die for that commotion.

In this Parliament, the Lorde Fitzwater appealed the Duke of Aumarle of high treason, and offered to fight with him in Listes royall: Likewise the Lorde Moxley appealed the Erle of Sarisbury, and there were more then .xx. Appealants which waged battail in this Parliament: But the king pardoned all their offences, sauynge the faultes of the Lorde Moxley, and the Erle of Sarisbury, whom he committed to ward, and after at the request of their friendes, they were againe set at libertie. The king also punished extremely all suche as were priuie and doers of the murder of Thomas his Uncle, late Duke of Gloucester, which was shamefully murthered, as is before, in the Towne of Calice. Also he greatly aduanced sundrie of his friendes, and called out of banishment Richard Erle of Warwike, and restored the Erle of Arondelles sonne to his aboue possession and dignitie, and manie other. He tooke into his speciall fauour John Holland Duke of Exeter, and Erle of Huntynghon, halfe brother vnto King Richard which had espoused the Ladie Elizabeth his aboue sister: And he beyng before Captaine of Calice, was greatly moued and inwardly grieved, that King Richard his brother was remoued out of the seate royall, and therefore began to stirre by newe motions and factions within the Realme: the which the king much feared, and therefore he reconciled him to his fauour, and made him as he supposed, his perfect friende, where in deede he was his deadly enemye.

Also in the ende of this Parliament were repealed all the statutes that were made in the .xxj. yere of the reigne of King Richard. And then King Henry supposyng that he had wonne the heartes and fauoures, aswell of the Nobilitie both spirituall and temporall, as of the Commons of his realme, prayed that for the aduoydng of all claymes, tytles and doubtes that might be made vnto the Crowne, that he might haue his dignitie, lyne and successio enacted, confirmed, and entayled, by the assent of the high Court of Parliament, the which was done in maner and forme folowynge.

The request and petition, aswell of the nobilitie, as of the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, it is ordeyned and established, that the inheritance of the Crowne and Realmes of Englande, and of Fraunce, and of all other Lordships to y<sup>e</sup> king our soueraigne Lord, aswell on this side the seas, as beyond, apperteyning, with their appurtenances, shall be vntied and remain in the person of our soueraigne Lord the King, and in the heyres of his bodie lawfully begotten. And especially at the request and assent aforesayde it is ordeyned, established, pronounced, enacted, wrytten and declared,

clared, that my Lorde Prince, Henry, eldest sonne to our soueraigne Lorde the king, shall be heyre apparant, and successor to our soueraigne Lorde in the sayde Crowne, Realmes, and Seigniozies, to haue and enioy them with all their appurtenances, after the deceasse of our sayd soueraigne, to him and the heyres of his bodie begotten. And if he die without heyres of his bodie begotten, that then the sayde Crownes, Realmes, and Seigniozies, with their appurtenances shall remaine to the Lorde Thomas, second sonne to our sayd soueraigne Lorde, and to the heyres of his bodie begotten. And if he depart without issue of his body begotten, all the premilles to remaine to Lorde John his thirde sonne and to the heyres of his bodie begotten. And if he die without issue, then the Crownes, Realmes, and Seigniozies aforesayd with their appurtenances shall remaine to the Lorde Homyer, the fourth sonne to our sayd soueraigne Lord, and to the heyres of his bodie lawfully begotten.

Now when King Henry had thus mortified himselfe and his issue so sure and fast, as he thought, that the same was not possible to be remooued, then was he neuer an vtter ouerthrow and destruction then euer he was, for suche is the nature of dissimulation, that when fortune with her flattering seemeth most to ioy and laugh, then (so fickle is she of condition) is most perill and daunger at hand: for now dyuers of those Lords which were King Richards friendes, outwardly dissimuled that which they inwardly conspired, which was the finall confusion and destruction of King Henry, and to restore agayne their olde Lorde and mayster King Richard. And the better to bring thys matter about, they practised with the Abbot of Westminster that then was, who had no good opinion of King Henry, for that he heard him once saye, when he was Duke of Lancaster, that Princes had to little, and the religious had to much, and therefore he supposed that he would not be a friend vnto the Church, if he continued long in that dignitie. Vnto the house of thys Abbot resorted one day as bidden gestes of the sayde Abbot, John Holland Duke of Exeter and Erle of Huntynghon, Thomas Holland Duke of Surrey, and Erle of Kent, Edward Duke of Aumarle and Erle of Rutlande, sonne to the Duke of Yorke, John Mountagew Erle of Salisbury, Hugh Spenser Erle of Gloucester, John the Bishop of Carleill, Sir Thomas Blunt, and one Magdalen, one of King Richards Chapell, a man as lyke vnto him in stature and propozcion, as vnlke in birth and dignitie. This Abbot highly feasted these great Lordes, and when dyner was done, they withdrew themselves into a secret Chamber, and when they were set, John Holland Duke of Exeter, who bare great grudge agaynst King Henry, declared to them their allegeaunce promised, and by othe confirmed to King Richard his brother, forgetting not the highe promotions and dignities, which he and all they present had receyued of the liberalitie of his sayde brother, by the which they were not onely bound to take part with him and his friendes, but also to be reuenged for him and his cause on his mortall enemies and deadly foes: In the doynge wherof he thought pollicy more meeter to be used then force. And the better to bring this matter about, he deuised a Justes to be kept betwene him and .xx. on his part, & the Erle of Salisbury .xx. of his part, at Orforde: To the which Justes King Henry should be desyred to be present, and when he were most earnestly beholdynge the pastyme, he should sodainely haue bene slayne and destroyed, and by this

A conspracie agaynst King Henry the fourth.

A Justes to be holden at Orforde.

And. meanes



meanes king Richard, which was then alyue should be restozed to his libertie and to his crowne and kingdome.

This deuise seemed to please well all that were present, wherfore they made an Indenture sextipartite sealed with their seales, & signed with their handes, in the which eche bounde himselfe to other to endeouor themselves for the destruction of king Henry, and the erection and restozing of king Richard, and sware on the Euangelistes the one to be true to the other, euen to the houre and poynt of death.

Nowe all things beyng thus appoynted and concluded, the Duke of Exeter came to the king to Wynsoze, humbly beseeching him for the loue that he bare to the noble actes of Chivalrie, that he would vouchsafe not onely to repaire to Oxfozd, to see and beholde their enterpryses and attemptes, but also to be the discoverer and indifferent Judge (if any ambiguitie should arise) of their courageous actes and royall triumph. The king seing himselfe so earnestly desyred, and that of his brother in lawe, and suspecting nothing lesse then that which was purposed, did gently graunt vnto his request. And so sone as the Duke had his aunswere, he returned home to his house and prepared all things necessarie for the exploit of his pretended purpose. And when the time due nere, he came to Oxfozde with a great compaigne of Archers and horsemen, and when he came thether, he found there all his confederates well appointed for the purpose, except the Duke of Aumarle Erie of Rutlande, for whome they sent messengers in great haste, Thys Duke of Aumarle went befoze from Westminster to see his father the Duke of Yorke, and sitting at dynner, he had his Counterpane of the indenture of confederacie (whereof is mencion made afoze) in his bosome. The father espyed it, and demaunded what it was. His sonne lowely aunswere, that it touched not him: By Saint George, quod the father, but I will see it, and by force tooke it out of his bosome, and when he perceyued the content thereof, and the fire seales set and fired to the same, whereof the seale of his sonne was one, he sodenly roase from the Table, commaundyng his horses to be saddled, and in a great fury sayd to his sonne: thou Traytor theefe, thou hast bene a Traytor to king Richard, and wilt thou now be false to thy Cousyn King Henry? Thou knowest well inough, that I am thy pledge, Sorow, and Haine perne bodie for bodie, and for lande and goodes in open Parliament: and goest thou about to seeke my death and destruction? By the holy Roode I had rather see thee strangled on a Gybbet. And so the Duke of Yorke mounted on horsebacke, to ride to Windsoze to the king, and to declare the whole matter vnto him. The Duke of Aumarle considering in what case he stood in, tooke his horse and roade another way to Windsoze, riding all the way in post (which his father beyng an olde man, could not do) and when he was alighted at the Castell gate, he caused the gates to be shut, sayng that he must nedes deliuer the keyes to the king. And when he came befoze the kinges presence, he kneeled on his knees, beseeching him of mercie and forgiveness. The king demaunded the cause, and he declared vnto him plainly the whole confederacie. Well sayd the king, if this be true, we pardon you: if it be feyned, at your extreme perill be it.

While the king and the Duke talked together, the Duke of Yorke kneeled at the Castell Gate, whom the king caused to be let in, and there he deliuered

The king is requested by the Lords to come to the Justes.

Treason will be called out.

nered the Indenture which befoze he had taken from his sonne. Which wrytting when the king had red and seene, perceyung the signes and scales of the Confederates, he chaunged his former purpose: For the day befoze he heard that the Chaloners and defenders were all in a redinesse, and thought the same day to haue gone thether, but now he stayed, and wrote his letters forthwith vnto the Erie of Northumberland his high Constable, and to the Erie of Westmerland, his high Marshall, and to dyuers other his friendes, of his doubtfull daunger and perelous ieopardie.

The Confederators perceyung the lacke of the Duke of Aumarle, and also seing no preparation made there for the kinges commyng, imagyned that their purpose was disclosed to the king, wherfore, that thing which they purposed preuily to haue done, they determined now openly with speare and shilde to set forth and aduance. And so they adourned Magdalene a man resembling much king Richard, in royall and Princely besture, calling him king Richard, and affyrmyng that he by fauour of his keepers was deliuered out of Prison and set at libertie. Nowe while the Confederates with theyr newe deuised king, accompanied wyth a puyssaunt armie of men, toke the direct way to Windsoze: King Henry beyng admonished of their commyng, with a fewe horse in the night went from Windsoze, and came to the Tower of London aboute midnight, where he in the Mornyng caused the Maior of the Citie to bring vnto him three thousand Archers, and thye thousand Billmen well armed and appoynted.

The Lordes of the Confederacie came to Windsoze, and entered the Castell, where they fyndyng not theyr pray, determined with all speede to passe forth towardes London: But when they were well onwarde of theyr journey, they then chaunged theyr purpose, and returned backe to Colbroke, and there stayed. These Lordes had many people folowyng them, what for feare, and what for entreaty, and specially for that they beleued certainly king Richard was there present with them. When King Henrie heard of theyr commyng toward London, he issued out of the sayd Citie with twentie thousand men, and came to Hounslow hethere, and there pitched his campe, mynyng there to abyde the commyng of his enemyes. But when the Lordes were aduertised of the kinges commyng, and of hys great puyssaunce, beyng eyther amased with feare, or else repentung their enterpryce, or mistrustung theyr owne companie, they departed from Colbroke to Barkhamsted, and so to Aucester, and there the Lordes tooke theyr lodgyng: The Duke of Surrey, Erie of Kent, and the Erie of Sarisbury in one Inne, and the Duke of Exeter, and the Erie of Gloucester in another, and all the armie lay in the fieldes. In the night tyme the Baylife of the Towne with lxxx. Archers set on the house where the Duke of Surrey and the other lay: The house was manfully assaulted, and strongly defended a great space. The Duke of Exeter beyng in another Inne, with the Erie of Gloucester, set fyze on dyuerse houses in the towne, thynkyng that the assylantes would leaue the assault and rescue theyr goodes, which they nothyng regarded. The army lying without, heying noyse, and seeyng fyze in the towne, thynkyng that the king was come thether with his puyssaunce, fled without measure to saue themselves. The Duke of Exeter & his companie seeyng the force of the townes men moze and moze to encrease, fled out on the backe syde, entendyng to re-

Magdalene a man that much resembled king Richard the seconde.



The overthrow and discomfiture of the Lords.

payre to the armie, which they found dispersed and retyred. Then the Duke seeing no hope of comfort, fled into Essex: And the Erie of Gloucester going towardes Wales, was taken and beheaded at Bristolwe: Magdalene flying into Scotland, was apprehended and brought to the Tower of London. And the Lordes which were still fighting in the towne of Cicester, were wounded to death and taken, and their heades stricken off and sent to London: And there were taken Sir Bennet Shelly, and Sir Barnard Brokas, and xxiiij. other Lordes, knightes, and Esquiers, and sent to Orforde, where the King then sojourned, and where Sir Thomas Blunt and all the other prisoners were executed.

When the Duke of Excester heard that his complices were taken, and his counsaylors apprehended, and his friendes put in execution, he lamented his awne chaunce, and bewayled the misfortune of his friends: But most of all he was troubled to thinke vpon the wretched ende that should happen to King Rycharde hys brother, whose death he sawe as in a Glasse, to be at hand by reason of this his unhappie enterpryse, and thus beyng succourlesse, and wandering by & downe, at the last he was taken in a towne called Blashy in Essex, and there made shorter by the head, and in that place specially (sayth Hall) for that he in the same Lordship, betrayed Thomas Duke of Gloucester, and was the very cause of hys death and destruction, and so the common prouerbe was verified, as you haue done, so shall you feele.

After this, Magdalene that represented the person of King Rycharde amongst the rebels, and dyuers other were put to execution, and all the heads of the chiefe conspirators were set on poles ouer London bridge, to the feare of other which were disposed to commit lyke offense. The Abbot of Westminster in whose house this confederacy was conspired, heeryng that the Chiefeteynes of his felowship were taken and executed, he going betwene the monasterie and his mansion house, for thought fell into a sodaine palsey, and shortly after without any speeche ended his lyfe: After whom the Bishop of Carlisle, more for feare then sicknesse yeelded his spirite to God, as one desyryng to die by deathes darre, rather then by the temporall sword.

But now drewe on the time, the Innocent must perithe with the innocent, and the vngiltie with the giltie: For King Rychard being ignorant of this conspiracie and kept in miserable captiuitie, was by King Henry adiudged to die, for he would delyuer himself of al inward feare of his enemies, wherfore some write that he commaunded him to be slaine, & others say that he was agreeable thereto, and some others affirme that he knewe not of it, vntill it was done: But howsoeuer it was, King Rychard dyed of a violent death: And one wyrtter sayth that King Henry sitting at hys table, and sore sighing sayde, haue I no saythfull friende that will delyuer me from him whose lyfe will be my death, and whose death will be the preservation of my life? Thys sayng was noted of them that were present, and specially of one called Sir Piers of Erton. This knight incontinently departed the Court wyth eyght talle persons with him, and came to Pomfret, commaunding that the Esquire which was accustomed to serue, and take the assaye before King Rychard, should no more vse that maner of seruite, sayng: let him eate well now, for he shall not long eate. King Rychard sate downe to dyner, and was serued without curtesie or assaye, he much marueyllyng of the

The death of King Rychard the second.

sodaine

sodaine imitation of the thing, demaunded of the Esquyre why he did not his duetie? Sir sayde he, I am otherwise commaunded by Sir Piers of Erton, which is newly come from King Henry. When he heard that word, he toke the caruyng knyfe in his hande, and strake the Esquire on the head, sayng, the Deuill take Henry of Lancaster and thee together: and with that word Sir Piers entered into the Chamber well armed, with eyght talle men in harnes, euey man hauing a byll in his hande. King Rycharde perceuyng them armed, knew well that they came to his confusion, and putting the table from him, valiantly tooke the byll out of the first mans hande, and manfully defended himselfe, and slewe foure of them in a short space. Sir Piers beyng somewhat dismayed with his resistyng, lept into the Chayre where King Rychard was wont to sit, while the other foure persons chased him about the Chamber, which being vnarmed defended himselfe against his enemies that were armed (which was a valiant acte) but in conclusion he came by the Chayre where Sir Piers stode, who with a stroke of his Pollax felled him to the ground, and soone after was rid out of his lyfe in this worlde. When this knight perceued that he was dead, he lamented and sayde: O Lorde, what haue we done? we haue murdered him whome by the space of xiiij. yeres we obeyed and honoured as our souereigne Lorde, nowe will all Noble men abhorre vs, and all good men hate vs, and poynt at vs as the murderers of a noble Prince. Thus haue you heard the death and ende of King Rychard the second as the best aucthours report of it.

When King Rychard had thus ended his lyfe, he was then entaulmed, and seared, and couered with lead, all saue his face (to the entent that all men might perceyue that he was departed out of this lyfe) and was conueyed to London, and so to the Tower, and from thence through London to the Cathedral Church of Saint Paule, and there remayned thre dayes, that all the people might see him, and from thence he was conueyed to Langley in Buckyngham shire, where he was buryed: And afterwarde by King Henry the fift, was remoued to Westminster, and there honourably entombed wyth Queene Anne his wyfe.

King Rychard first buried at Langley, and after remoued to Westminster.

Now newes were first brought to the French King, how King Rychard was deposed of his Kingdome, at the which the sayde French King wounded not a little, and cryed out of the shamefull doying thereof, that an annointed king, and crownded Prince should be so villye vbled: But the French King was not so much agreeued, but Walleram Erie of Saint Paule, which had maryed King Rychardes halfe sister, was muche more grieued, who beyng moued with highe disdeine agaynst King Henrie, ceased not to prouoke the French King and his counsaile, to make sharpe warre vpon England, to reuenge the injury and dishonour committed and done to his sonne in law King Rychard, and he himselfe sent letters of defiance into England: Which thing was soone agreed vnto, and an armie royall appoynted with all speede to invade England. This armie was come downe into Picardie, readie to be transported into Englande: But when it was certainly certefyed that King Rychard was dead, and that theyr enterpryse for his deliuerance was haine, the armie was discharged, and euey man returned to his home. But shortly after, the French King gathered another great power, & entred the Duchy of Aquitaine and Gascon, and thought there to haue greatly preyayled. But

The French King sendeth his letters of defiance vnto the King.

king



king Henry being advertised of all the frenche attempts, sent the Lorde Thomas Percey Erle of Worcester with a goodly crewe of Souldiours into Aquitaine to ayde and assist Sir Thomas Knolles his Lieutenant there, and to perswade and exhort the people to continue in their auncient libertie, and due obeysance. When the Erle was there arryued, he so wisely entreated the noble men, and perswaded the Magistrates of Cities and Townes, and so gently and familiarly vsed himselfe to the common people, that he not onely appeased theyr furie and malice, which they had conceyued agaynst king Henry, for the death & destruction of king Richard, but also he brought them to an vniforme obeysance, receiuyng of them othes of obedience, which done he returned againe into England with great thankes.

When king Charles of Fraunce perceyued that his purpose and attempt came to no good conclusion in Aquitaine, and that king Richard being dead, his enterprize into England would be to no purpose, he determined with himselfe howe to haue the Ladie Isabell his daughter, which was espoused to king Richard, to be restored home to him againe: And for that purpose he sent a solempne Ambassade into England to king Henry, which gently receyued them, and gaue aunswere that he would shortly send his Commissioners to Calice, which should further common and conclude with them, not onely vpon that request, but also of dyuerse other matters of great importance.

And shortly after their departyng, he sent Edward Duke of Yorke before called Duke of Aumerle, which succeeded in the sayde Duchie his father Edmond Duke of Yorke, a little before deceased, and Henry Erle of Northumberlande into the Countie of Guynes, and there they mette with the frenche Commissioners, who assembled together dyuerse tymes and in dyuerse places.

The Duke of Burbon aboue all thinges, requyred in the name of the french king his maister, to haue Queene Isabell to him deliuered: But the English men denyed that, and required to haue her to be maryed to Henrie Prince of Wales, a man both in blood and age to her in all thinges equall: But the french king vtterly refused that maryage, sayng that he would neuer ioyne affinitie againe with the Englishe Nation, because that the alliance had such infortunate successe.

Then they beganne to entreate a continuall peace, which request the french men refused, and in conclusion they agreed that the truce which was taken betwene them and king Richard for the terme of xxx. yeres, was renewed and confirmed: But some write that a new league was then concluded to continue the liues of both the Princes, which should appere to be true. For the king of England sent shortly after the aforesayd Ladie Isabell vnder the conduct of the Lorde Thomas Percey Erle of Worcester, being associate with many noble and honourable personages, as well women, as men, hauyng wyth her all the Jewelles, Ornamentes, and Plate, with a great surplussage geuen to her by the king, which she brought into England in solempne estate vnto Calice, and there shee was deliuered to Valeran Erle of saint Paule Lieutenant for the french king in Picardie, and so conueied to her father, which gaue her in maryage to Charles, sonne to Lewes Duke of Orleans. The french men often tymes requyred king Henry to assigne vnto her a dower, but all was in vaine, for the Englishe men aunswere, that the

In Ambassade sent from the french king to the king of England.

The Ladie Isabell and wife of king Richard is sent home to her father the french king.

the matrimony was neuer consummate, by reason wherof, she was not dowable by the very treaty of the mariage concluded, and so this matter cessed and was no more moued.

Nowe as the olde prouerbe sayth, after winde commeth raine, and after one euill commonly ensueth another: So during this tyme that king Henry was bered and vnquieted, both within the Realme and without, Owen Glendore a squier of Wales, perceyuing the realme to be vnquieted, and the king not very well settled in his Kingdome, purposed to take vpon him the principalltie of Wales, and the name & preheminence of the same: and what with faire flatterynge wordes, and large promises, he inuegled and allured an vndiscrete number of welthe men, who tooke him for theyr Prince, and made to him an othe of allegeance and subiection. And being thus aduanced and supported, he made sharpe and cruell warre vpon Reignold Lorde Gray of Ruthen, and tooke him prisoner, promisyng him libertie, and that he would discharge his ransome if he would take his daughter in marriage, thinking by that affinitie to haue great ayde, and to be of a great power in Wales. The Lorde Gray being not very riche, neyther of substance nor of frendes, considering this offer to be the onely way of his reliefe and deliuerance, assented to his pleasure, and maryed the Damosell: But this false father in lawe kept him with his wife still in prison vntill he dyed: And not content with this heynous offence, he also made warre vpon the Lorde Edmond Mortimer, Erle of Marche, and in his awne Lordship of Wigmore, where in a conflict he slue many of the Erles men, and toke him prisoner, and fettered him in Cheynes, and cast him in a deepe and miserable Dungeon. The king was requyred to purchase his deliuerance, by dyuerse of the Nobilitie, but he would not here on that syde, but rather desyred and wished all his linage in heauen, for then his title had bene out of all doubt & question.

Owen Glendore glorifying in himself for these two victories, invaded the Marches of Wales on the west syde of Senerne, robbed Villages, brent townes, and slue the people, and being laden with prayes and bloody hands returned againe into Wales, neuer ceasyng to doe mischief vntill the next yere that the king raysed a great armie and puyssaunce, to resist and defende his malicious attempts, as after shall be declared.

And in this first yere also this realme was not only troubled with Ciuile sedition, and the craftie practises of the frenchmen, and great trouble of the Welshmen, but also of the Scottes with all their power armed themselves agaynst thys king Henry, the occasion whereof was, that George of Dunbare Erle of the Marches of the realme, made meanes vnto king Robert of Scotland that David hys eldest sonne might marie the Erles daughter called Elizabeth, and delyuered for the same mariage into the kings handes a great some of money. When Archibald Erle Douglas heard of thys conclusion, he disceyning the Erle of Marches blood to be aduanced before hys stock, did epyther by fayre wordes or else by disbursing a greater some of money, so enuegle king Robert of Scotlande, that David his heyre refusynge the first damosell, married the Erle Douglas daughter: The Erle of March desyred restitution of his money, to whome the king gaue many trifelyng answers, the which he tooke in so euill parte, that he with his wyfe fled into Englande vnto Henry Erle of Northumberlande, intending to be reuenged

Owen Glendore rebelleth

Edmond Mortimer taken and imprisoned.

Ciuile sedition.



ged byon the king of Scotlande, and with the helpe of the borderers, brent dyuers towne, and slue many persons within the realme of Scotland.

kyng Robert beyng hereof aduertised, first deyrined the Erle George of all his dignities and possessions, and caused his goodes to be confiscate, and then wrote to the king of England earnestly beseeching him, if he would haue the truce any lenger to continue, eyther to delyuer into his possession the Erle of Marche, and other Traytors and rebels to his person and realme or else to banish and exile them out of his realme and dominions. King Henry aunswered discretely the Herault of Scotland, that the worde of a prince ought to be kept, and hys wytyng and seale ought to be inuolate: And considering that he had graunted a saufe conduyt vnto the Erle and hys company, he would neyther without cause reasonable breake his promise, nor yet deface his honour, which aunswere beyng declared to the king of Scottes, he incontinent did proclayme open warre against the king of England, with bloud, fyre and sworde.

King Henry forthwith gathering together a great pryssance & army, entered into Scotland brennyng and spoyling towne, Villages and Castels, sparyng nothing but Religious houses and Churches, and brent a great parte of the towne of Edenborough and Lyth, and besieged the Castell of Maydens in Enderborough in the ende of September, whereof was Captain David Duke of Rothsay, and Prince of the realme, and Archibald Erle Douglas wyth many hardy men. Robert Duke of Albany beyng appoynted Governour of the Realme, because the king was sick and vnapt to rule, sent vnto king Henry an Herault, assuryng hym on hys honour that if he would abyde and tary hys comyng, which should be wythin fyre dayes at the most, he would geue hym battayle, and remoue the siege, or else die for it.

The king being glad of these newes, rewarded the Herault with a Cobwe of silke, and a chayne of Golde, promising him in the worde of a Prince, not to depart thence, but to abide there the comyng of the Governour. The first daye passed, ye fyre and sixtene to, the Governour neyther appered nor sent worde, the wynter wared colde, victuall fayled, men dyed of the flure, and it rayned euery day so abundantly, that hunger and colde caused the king to breake by hys siege, and to depart out of Scotland without battayle or skirmishe offered: duryng which time both the Wardeynes of the Marches beyng with the king, the Scottes made a roade into Northumberland, and burned diuerse towne in Wamborough wyre, and shortly returned againe, or else they had bene trapped and come to late home.

When the king of Englande had dismissed his souldyours and discharged his armie, the Scottes entending to be reuenged of their great damages to them by the English nation done & committed by the Erle Douglas, appoynted two Armies to inuade Englande. Of the first was Chieftaine syr Thomas Halibarton of Dirlton, and Patrike Hebborne of Hales, which made a road into England, and returned with little losse and no great gayne. After this the aforesayde Sir Patrike Hebborne, encouraged with the prosperous successe of his first iourney, with a great armie of the people of Lowdian, inuaded Northumberland, robbing and spoyling of the countrie, and departed homeward, not without great gayne of beastes and captiues: But by the waye he was encountered with the Erle of Northumberland

War proclaymed by the Scottes against England.

Robert Duke of Albany promysed to fight with King Henryes power.

The Scots inuade England.

lands Vice Wardeyn, and other gentlemen of the borders, at a towne in Northumberlande called Nesbit, and there the Englishmen soze assayled, and the Scottes valiantly resisted, but after a long fight the victorie fell on the English part, and as John Maior the Scot wyteth, there were slaine the flowre of all Lowdian, and specially syr Patrike Hebborne with many of hys lynage. There were apprehended syr John, and William Cockborne, syr Robert of Was, John and Thomas Hablington Esquiers, and a great number of the common people. The Erle Douglas beyng soze grieved with the losse of his Nation and friendes, and entending to requite the same if it were possible, did by the consent of the gouernour of Scotland gather together an armie of twentie thousand talle men and mo. In the which armie the Lorde Mordeck Erle of Fiffe, sonne to the Governour of Scotlande, the Erle of Angus, and many other Erles and Barons of the Nobilitie of Scotland. These valyaunt Captaines and courageous Souldyours entered into Northumberland, with baners displayed lyke men that thought themselves hable to spoyle the whole Countrie of Northumberland. Now when they were entred into Englande, thinking no pryssance hable to encounter with their force, sodainely there issued out of a Waley beside a towne called Homelden, the Lorde Henry Percy, whom the Scottes for his haut and valyaunt courage, called Sir Henry Hotspurre, and in his companye the Lorde George of Dunbarre Erle of Marche before banished Scotlande, as you haue heard, with all the Gentlemen of Northumberlande, and eyght thousand men on horsback and on foote: The encounter was sharpe, the fight was dangerous and doubtfull, but in the ende the victorie chaunced to the English nation, and there were slaine of the Scottes of men of great renoune and estimation, Sir John Swynton, Sir Adam Gordon, Sir John Leuynton, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalehouse, and. xxiij. knyghtes mo, beside ten thousand of the common people. And there were taken prisoners, Mordeck Erle of Fiffe, Archibald Erle Douglas, Thomas Erle of Marrey, Robert Erle of Angus, and as some wyters affirme, the Erle of Athell, and Menteith with fyue hundreth other.

When the Lorde Percy had obteyned this great victorie, he sent his prisoners into dyuers fortresses, and determyned to subdue or destroy all the Countries of Lowdian and Marche, whose heades and Governours eyther he had slaine, or by force taken Captiues. And so with a great power entered into Cuedale, wastyng and destroyeng the whole Countrie, and there besieged the Castell of Coclaues, whereof was Captaine Sir John Grenelaw, who seyng that his Castell was not long hable to be defended, fell to composition with the Englishmen, that if the Castell were not surrendered within thre Moneths, that then he would delyuer it into the Englishmens handes.

The Captaine thereof wrote vnto the Governour, which calling a great counsaile, the most parte aduised hym rather frankly and freely to yeelde the Castell, thento put in iopardie the remnaunt of the Nobilitie of Scotlande: So muche was their courages abated and cooled wyth the remembraunce of the last conflict and battayle: But the Governour rebirking their feynt and cowardly hearts, sware that if no man would follow of the Nobilitie, he would doe his deuoyze to reskew the Castell at that daye.

But

The Scots are discomfited.

Sir Henry Hotspurre.

The Scots agayne ouerthrowne.

Cuedale.



But this othe was neyther kept nor broken, for he little preparing and lesse intending the othe which he solemply made, neuer set foote forward during the first two Moneths, for the reysing of the siege, or rescuyng of the Castell. But the Englishmen being sent for to go with the king into Wales, raysed their siege and departed, leauyng the noble men prisoners still with the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lozde Percy his sonne, which by the king were commaunded to keepe them to his vse, and not to delyuet them without his assent.

The king now purposing his iourney and enterprize into Wales, made great prouision both for men, munition and artillery meete for suche a buisnesse, whereof the frenche king beyng aduertised, sent priuilye the Lozde James of Burbone Erle of Marche, & his two brethren, John and Lewes with, xij. hundred knightes and Esquiers, to ayde Owen Glendoz against King Henry, and the sayde James of Burbone with his companye tooke shipping wyth. xxx. sayle at the mouth of Seyn, and the winde not beyng favourable to his purpose, could not approche to the coast of Wales, but came before the towne of Plymouth in Deuonshire, and there leauing his great shippes lyeng at Anker, in the night tooke lande, and bzent, spoyled and destroyed dyuers small Villages and pooze cottages, and robbed fiue or sixe little Crayers and fisher boates laden with fishe and corne. But while he and his companye lyke greedy Wolues were seeking after their praye, the winde arose high, and a great tempestuous rage and furious storme sodainly fluthed and drowned. xij. of his great shippes, which laye in the mouth of the haue for his safegarde and defense. Whereof when the Erle was aduertised, and perceauing by the syring of the Becons that the people beganne to assemble in plumpes to encounter with him, and also seying his power sore diminished, as well by the slaughter of suche as raunged abzoade in hope of spoyle and praye, as by the furious rage of the bmerciful sea, and hydeous tempest, with much paine and great labour tooke his shippes againe, and was not without great ieopardie of his lyfe driuen on the Coast of Briteyn, and landed at Saint Malos. The frenche king perceauyng that this iourney had euill successe, appointed one of his Marchalles called Demozancy, and the Master of his Crosbowes, with. xij. thousande men to sayle into Wales, which tooke shipping at Brest, and had the winde to them so prosperous that they landed at Hilford Haue, and leauing the Castell of Pembroke vnassaulted, because it was well fortifyed, manned and victualled, besieged the towne of Herfford West, which was so well defended by the Erle of Arondell and his power that they much more lost then gayned. And from thence they departed towarde Owen Glendoz, whome they named Prince of Wales, and founde him at the towne of Denbigh abyding there comming with ten thousand men. They were of him louingly receaued and gently enterteyned: And when all thinges were prepared, they passed by Glamorgan shire toward Worcester, and there bzent the Suburbes: But heying of the kings approachyng, they sodainely returned into Wales. The king with a great pypsaunce folowed and found them enbattailed on a high Mountayne, and a great valey betwene both the armies, so that eche army playnely perceaued other, and euery hoste looked to be assaulted of hys aduersary, and of the grounde to take the most aduantage: Thus they conty-

nued

nued eyght dayes together from morning to night ready to abide, but not to geue battayle. There were many fierce skirmishes, and many proper feates of armes daylie done, which the French Chronicles more then the English can reporte. For there were slayne the Lozde Patrioles of Tries, brother to the Marshall of Fraunce, the Lozde Mattelone, and the Lozde Wale; and the Bastard of Burbone with fiue hundred gentlemen.

Skirmishes with the French.

The Frenchmen and Welchmen were sore troubled and afflicted wyth famine, that their hartes and courages were sore abated, for the king had so stopped the passages, that neyther victuall nor succour could by any waye be conueyed vnto them: wherefore of very necessitie they were compelled eyther to fight or flee, and so by the aduisement and counsaile of the Marshall of Fraunce, which put not to much confidence in the wauering Welchmen, the whole host departed the eyght day, in the secretest maner that they could deuise. The Frenchmen with little rewardes and small gayne returned into Briteyn, making small boast of their painefull iourney.

The French men returne againe into Fraunce with little gayne, and lesse woorthip.

When the king perceaued them thus departed, he followed them and chased them from hill to dale, and from one place to another, but all in vaine, and perceuyng then the time of the yere to be passed, and seying that as then he could doe no good, he returned agayne to Worcester, and there dispersed his armie, and returned agayne to London.

While the king was occupied in Wales, as aforesayde, certeine lewde and sedicious persons had blased abzoade & noysed that king Richard (which openly was seene deade) was yet liuyng, and desyred ayde of the common people, to repofesse his realme and royal dignitie: And for the better blasing of this false rumoz abzoade, they set vp vpon postes, and cast about the stretes, sundrie most slaunderous and sedicious billes and rymes, agaynst king Henrie, and his proceedyngs. The king beyng not a little offended with these malicious doynge, caused diligent searche to be made for the aucthors thereof, and amongst other, there was found out, Sir Roger Claringdon knight, and. viij. gray friers, which accoording to theyr desertes were put to execution at Tyborne.

Rumour spread abzoade that King Richard was aloue.

Sir Roger Claringdon knight.

And here is to be shewed that king Henry now seeking friendship and affinitie in Germanie, sent this yere his eldest daughter Blanche, accompanied with the Erle of Somerset, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Lozde Clifford, and other noble personages into Almaine: which brought her to Coleyn, and there with great triumph she was maryed to William Duke of Bauier, sonne and heire to Lewes of Bauier the Emperour, in the which yere also dyed Ladie Katheryn Swynsford, the third wife of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, father to this king Henry, and was buried at Lincolne.

Blanche the eldest daughter of king Henry, maryed to Duke of Bauier.

In the sayde yere king Henry married Jane Duches of Briteyne, late wife to John Duke of Briteyne, at the Citie of Winchester, and with all triumphant pompe conueyed her through the Citie of London to Westminster, and there she was crowned Quene.

King Henry married to Jane Duches of Briteyne.

While these thinges were thus in doying in England, Waleram Erle of Saint Paule, which had maryed the halfe sister of king Richard, hauyng a deadly hatred to king Henry, assembled a great armie, wherein (as sayth Maister Hall) were. xvi. thousand men, and a great number of the same were noble men, and after he toke shipping at Harflet, and landed in the Isle of

Waleram Erle of saint Paule entered with power.

Do. j.

Wight:

1400  
2

The king maketh prouision to enter into Wales.

The French king aydeith Owen Glendoz.

The French king aydeith the Welchme agaynst king Henry.

Herfford West besieged



Wight: And when he sawe no appearance of defence, he burned two poore Villages, and foure simple Cottages, and for great tryumph of thys noble acte, he made foure knightes: But sodeynly, when he was aduertised by his Espralles, that the people of the Isle were assembled and approached to fight with him, he with all possible hast tooke his ships and returned home againe, wherewith the noble men of his companie was much discontent and displeas- sed, considering that his prouision was great, and his gaine small or none. And at this present tyme, John Erle of Cleremont, sonne to the Duke of Bourbon, wonne in Gascoyne, the Castelles of Saint Peter, Saint Marie, and the newe Castell: And the Lorde Delabreth wonne the Castell of Car- lassin, which was no small losse to the English Nation: Duryng which tyme dyed Philip Duke of Burgoyne, & Duke Albert of Bavier Erle of Henault.

Philip duke of Burgoyne dead.

Geoffrey Chawcer.

John Sowre

1401

3  
A blasfing starre.

Henry Erle of Northum- berland & the Erle of Wor- cester. &c. be- gin to rebell.

In the ende of this yere dyed Geoffrey Chawcer, the most excellentest Poet that euer was in England, deceased the xxv. day of October, and lyeth buried in the bodie of the Church of Westminster, on the Southsyde neere vnto the Clocke. And the same yere also dyed that excellent Poet John Sowre, who lyeth buried in Saint Andries Church in Southwarke, and he buylded a great part of the same Church.

This yere appered a Comete or blasfing starre of a great and huge qua- titie, which some expounded to signifye great effusion of mans blood, and the same proued true, as after ye shal here. For Henry Erle of Northumberland, and Thomas Erle of Worcester his brother, and his sonne Lorde Henry Percy, called Hottespurre, which were to king Henrie in the begimnyng of his reigne both friendes and ayders, percepyng now that the king had pa- cified all ciuile sedition, and repressed his enemies, & had brought his realme to a conuenient quietnesse, they began now somewhat to enuy his glozve, and grudged at his wealth and felicitie: And specially grieved, because the king demaunded of the Erle and his sonne, such Scottishe prisoners as they had taken at the Conflictes fought at Homeldon and Nesbit, as you before haue heard. For of all the Captiues which were then taken, there was de- liuered to the Kinges possession, onely Mordake Erle of Fisse, sonne to the Duke of Albany, Governour of Scotland: For the king diuerse and sundry tymes requyred them of the Erle and his sonne, but the Percyes affyrmyng them to be theyr awne proper prysoners, and theyr peculiar prayes, did bitterly denie to deliuer them, insomuch, that the king openly sayd, that if they would not deliuer them, he would take them without deliuerance. Where- with they beyng sore discontent, by the counsaile of Lorde Thomas Percy Erle of Worcester, whose studie was euer to procure malice, and to set all thinges in broyle and vnberteintie, saynyng a cause to proue and tempt the king, came to him to Windsor, requyryng him by raunsome or otherwise, to cause to be deliuered out of pryson, Edmond Mortimer Erle of March their Cossyn Germaine, whome (as they reported) Owen Glendoz kept in fyl- thie pryson, shakelod with Irons, onely for that he tooke the kinges part, and was to him faythfull and true. The king began not a little to muse on thys request, and not without cause, for in dede it touched him as nere as his shirt, for that he was so neere of the blood of king Richard, and had good cause to make clayme to the Crowne. For this Edmond was sonne to Erle Roger, which was sonne to Ladie Philip, daughter to Lionell Duke of Clarence, the

the third sonne to king Edward the third, which Edmond at King Richardes going into Ireland was proclaymed heyre apparant to the Crowne of the realme, whose Aunt called Elianor this Lord Percy had maryed. And ther- fore the king little forced although that lynage were clerely subuerted, and bitterly extinct.

When the king had well aduised vpon and considered thys matter, hee made answer and sayde, that the Erle of Marche was not taken prisoner neyther for his cause, nor in his seruice, but willyngly suffered himselfe to be taken, the which fraude the king caused to be openly published, and thys answer pleased nothing the Erle of Worcester, but put him in a great Cho- ler and chafe, and departed in a great rage and fume, insomuch y<sup>e</sup> Henry Hottespurre sayde afterwardes openly: Beholde the heyre of the realme is robbed of his right, and the robber with hys awne will not redeeme him. And nowe the Percies disposed and bent themselues in all that they myght bitterly to depose king Henry, and to restore theyr Cossyn Edmond Erle of Marche vnto the Crowne and Diademe of the realme, whome they shortly after not onely deliuered out of the Captiuitie of Owen Glendoz, but also entred into a league and amitie with the sayde Owen agaynst king Henrie and all his friendes, to the great displeasure and long vnquietnyng of kyng Henry and his partakers.

The Lorde Percy & his brother re- demed Ed- mond Mortimer Erle of March and pay his ran- some.

And here sayth Hall, that the aforesayd Owen Glendoz, and the Erle of Marche, and the Percyes were greatly abused and deceyued by a Welthe Prophecier, who made them to beleue, that king Henry was the Holde- warpe curst of Gods awne mouth, and that they thre were the Dragon, the Lyon, and the Wolfe, which should deuide this realme betwene them by the prophetic of Habimet Harlyn: But in the ende all turned to their con- fusion and destruction, and specially of Owen Glendoz, and the Lord Per- cy: For the Erle of Marche was euer kept in the Court, vnder such a ke- per, that he could neyther do, nor attempt any thing agaynst the king, with- out his knowledge, and dyed without issue, leauyng his right title and inter- est to Anne his sister and heyre, maryed to Rycharde Erle of Cambridge fa- ther to the Duke of Yorke, whose offspring in continuance of tyme obteyned the game, and gat the garland.

Edmonde Mortimer Erle of March dyed without issue

King Henry now knowyng of this Confederacie, and nothing lesse myndyng then that which hapned after, gathered a great armie to go againe into Wales, whereof the Erle of Northumberland and his sonne were ad- uertised by Lord Thomas Erle of Worcester, and with all the diligence that they could, raysed all the powber that they could make, and sent to the Scots which before were taken prisoners for ayde of men, and promisyng the Erle Douglas the towne of Barwike, and a parte of Northumberland, and to o- ther Scottishe Lordes great Lordships and Seigniories, if they obteyned the hyper hand and superiortie. The Scottes allured with desyre of gaine, and for no malice that they bare to king Henry, but yet somewhat desirous to be reuenged of theyr olde griefes, came to the Erle with a great companie: And to make their cause to seeme good and iust, they deuysed certeyne Ar- ticles by the aduyse of Richard Scrope Archebischoppe of Yorke, brother to the Lord Scrope, whome King Henry caused to be beheaded at Bristow, as you haue heard before: which Articles they shewed to diuerse noble men

The Per- ties raise a power a- gainst king Henry.



and Bishops of the realme, which fauouring and consentyng to the purpose, promised them ayde, not onely by wordes, but also by wrytyng. Howbeit, whether it were for feare, eyther for that they would be lookers on, and no deede doers, neyther promise by worde nor by wrytyng was performed: For at the day of conflict, all the confederates absented them selues, and left the Erle of Stafford alone, which beyng of a haute courage and hie stomache kept his promise, and ioyned with the Percies to his destruction.

The Lord Percy, with the Erle Douglas, & other the Erles of Scotland, with a great armie departed out of the North partes, leauryng hys father sicke (which promised vpon his amendment and recouerie, without delay to followe) and came to Stafford, where his Uncle the Erle of Worcester and he met, and there began to consult vpon their great affaires, and there also they exhorted theyr Souldiours to spare no trauaile for the libertie of theyr Countrie, protestyng openly that they made warre chiefly to restore the noble realme of England to his accustomed glozy and freedome, which was gouerned by a tyrant, and not by his lawfull and right king. The Capteynes sware, and the Souldiours promised to fight, yea and to dye for the libertie of their Countrie.

When all thinges were prepared, they set forward towarde Wales, lo-kyng euery houre for new ayde and succours. The king hearyng of the Erles approachyng, thought it pollicy to encounter with them before that the Welsh men should ioyne with their armie, and therefore returned sodainly to the towne of Shrewesburie. He was scantly entred into the towne, but he was by hys Postes aduertised that the Erles with Baners displayed, and battails ranged, were comyng towarde him, and were so hote and courageous, that they with light hores began to skirmish with his hoste. The king perceiuyng theyr doynges, issued out and encamped himselfe without the East gate of the towne. The Erles nothing abashed, although their succours them deceyued, embattayled themselves not farre from the Kinges armie. And the same night they sent the Articles, whereof is mencion made before, by Thomas Kayton, and Thomas Saluayn Esquiers, to the king, the true Copie whereof, as sayth Hall, doth followe.

1 We Henry Percie Erle of Northumberlande, high Constable of England, and Warden of the west Marches of the same toward Scotland, Henry Percie our eldest sonne Warden of the East Marches of Englande toward Scotland, and Thomas Percie Erle of Worcester beyng Proctours and protectours of the common weale, before our Lorde Iesus Christ our supreme iudge, doe allege, say, and entend to proue with our handes personally this day, agaynst thee Henry Duke of Lancaster, thy complices and fauourers, vniustly presuming, and named king of Englande, without title of right, but onely of thy guyle and by force of thy helpers: That when thou after thine exile diddest enter into Englande, thou madest an othe to vs by on the holy Gospelles, bodely touched and kyssed by thee at Dankaster, that thou wouldest neuer claime the crowne, kingdome, nor state royall, but only thine awne proper inheritaunce, and the inheritaunce of thy wyfe in Englande, and that Richard our soueraigne Lorde and king and thine, should reigne during the tyme of his lyfe, gouerned by the good counsaile of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall. Thou hast imprisoned the same thy so-  
ueraigne

ueraigne Lorde, and our king within the tower of London, untill he had for feare of death resigned his kingdome of Englande and Fraunce, and had renounced all his right, in the aforesayde kingdome, and other his dominions and landes of beyond the sea. Under colour of which resignation and renunciation by the counsaile of thy friends and complices, and by the open noysing of the raskall people, by thee and thine adherents assembled at Westmynster, thou hast crowned thy selfe of the realmes aforesayde, and hast seized and entered into all the Castels and Lordships prteyning to the kings crowne, contrarie to thine othe, wherfore thou art forsworne & false.

2 Also we doe allege, saye and entend to proue, that where thou swoorest vpon the same Gospels in the same place and tyme to vs, that thou wouldest not suffer any dismes to be leuyed of the clergie, nor siffenes on the people, nor any other tallages nor taxes to be leuyed in the realme of Englande, to the behofe of the realme during thy lyfe, but by the consideration of the thre estates of the realme, except for great neede in causes of importaunce or for the resistance of our enemies, onely, and none otherwise. Thou contrary to thine othe so made, hast done to be leuyed right many dismes and siffenes and other impositions and tallages, as well of the Clergie, as of the commonaltie of the realme of England, and of the Marchaunts, for feare of thy Maiestie royall, wherfore thou art periured and false.

3 Also we doe allege, saye and entend to proue, that where thou swoorest to vs vpon the same Gospels in the aforesayde place and tyme, that our soueraigne Lorde and thine, king Richard should reigne during the terme of his lyfe in his royall prerogative and dignitie: Thou hast caused the same our soueraigne Lorde and thine, traytorously wythin the Castell of Boimffret, without the consent or iudgement of the Lordes of the Realme, by the space of .xv. dayes, and so many nightes (which is horrible among christian people to be heard) with hunger, thirst and colde to perishe, to be murdered, wherfore thou art periured and false.

4 Also we doe allege, saye and entend to proue, that thou at that tyme when our soueraigne Lorde and thine, king Richard was so by that horrible murder dead as abouesayde, thou by extorte power diddest vsurpe, and take the kingdome of Englande, and the name, and the honour of the kingdome of Fraunce vniustly and wrongfully, contrary to thine othe from Edmonde Mortimer Erle of Marche, and of Ulster, then nexte and direct heyre of Englande and of Fraunce, immediately by due course of inheritaunce after the deceasse of the aforesayde Richard, wherfore thou art periured & false.

5 Also we doe allege, saye and entend to proue, as aforesayde, that where thou madest an othe in the same place and tyme to support and maintayne the lawes and good customes of the realme of Englande: And also afterward at the tyme of thy coronation, thou madest an othe, the sayd lawes and good customes to keepe, and conserue inuiolate. Thou fraudulently and contrary to the lawe of England and thy fauourers, haue wrytten almost thorough euery shyre in Englande to chose such knightes for to holde a parliament, as shall be for thy pleasure and purpose, so that in thy parliaments no iustice should be ministred agaynst thy minde in these our complaynts now moued & shewed by vs, whereby at any tyme we might haue perfitte redresse: Notwithstanding that we according to our conscience (as we trust ruled by God)

The king  
with his po-  
wer cometh  
to Shrewes-  
burie.

Articles pro-  
posed by the  
Percies a-  
gaynst king  
Henry.



haue oftentimes thereof complayned, as well can testifie and beare witnesse the right reuerend fathers in God, Thomas Arundell Archbishop of Caun-  
torbury, and Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke: wherefore now by  
force and strength of hand before our Lorde Jesu Christ, we must aske our  
remedy and helpe.

Also we doe allege, saye and entende to pzooue, that where Edmonde  
Mortimer Erle of Marche & Ulster, was taken prisoner by Owen Glen-  
doz, in a pitched and foughten fielde, and cast into prison, and laden with yron  
fettlers for thy matter and cause, whom falsely thou hast pzoclaimed willing-  
ly to yeelde himselfe prisoner to the sayd Owen Glendoz, and neyther woul-  
dest deliuer him thy selfe, nor yet suffer vs his kinsmen to raunsome and de-  
lyuer him: yet notwithstanding, we haue not onely concluded and agreed  
with the same Owen for his raunsome at our proper charges and expenses,  
but also for a peace betwene thee, and the sayde Owen. Why hast thou then  
not onely published and declared vs as traytors, but also craftely and deceit-  
fully imagined, purposed and conspired the bitter destruction and confusi-  
on of our persons? For the which cause we desie thee, thy ayders and helpers  
as common Traitors and destroyers of the realme, and the Inuadours, op-  
pressours and confounders of the very true and right heyres to the crowne  
of Englande, which thing we entende with our handes to pzooue thys daye,  
almightie God helping vs.

When king Henry had read their articles and defiaunce, he answered  
the Esquiers, that he was readie with dent of sword and fierce battayle, to  
pzooue their quarell false and feyned, and not with wytyng and slaundersous  
bylles, and so in his righteous cause and iust quarel, he doubted not but God  
would both ayde and assist him agaynst vntrue persons, and false forsworne  
traytors, with which answered the messengers departed.

The next daye in the morning early, which was the Euen of Marpe  
Magdalen, the king perceaued that the battayle was neerer then he eyther  
thought or looked for, therefore least long taryeng might minish or hinder his  
strength, he did with all speede set his battayles in good order: and lykewise  
did his enemies, which both in puissance and courage was nothing to hym  
inferior. Then sodainely the Trumpets blew, and forthwith the battayles  
ioyned. The Scottes which had the forward on the Lordes syde, intending  
to be reuenged of their olde displeasures, done to them by the Englishe na-  
tion, set fiercely on the kings foreward, that they made them draw back, and  
had almost put them out of their araye. The Welshmen also, which sith the  
kings departure out of Wales, had lurked and lyen in woodes and Moun-  
taynes, hearyng of thys battayle toward, came to the ayde of the Erles, and  
refreshed the werie people with newe succours. When a fearefull messen-  
ger had declared to the king that his people were beaten downe on euerye  
syde, it was no need to bidde him stirre, for sodainely he approached with his  
freshe battayle, and comforted, hartened and encouraged his parte so, that  
they toke their hartes to them, and manfully fought with their enemies. The  
Prince that daye holpe much his father, for although he were that daye sore  
wounded in the face with an arrow, yet he neuer ceased either to fight wher  
the battayle was most strongest, or to encourage them who seemed to him  
to faint. Thys sore and fierce battayle continued thre long houres with in-  
different

different fortune on both parts: but at the last the king cryeng victo-ry, brake  
the array, and entered into the battayle of his enemies, and fought fiercely,  
and entered so farre into the battayle, that the Lorde Douglas strake him  
downe, and slue Syr Walter Blunt, and three other appa-  
relled in the kings sute and clothing, sayeng: I maruell to see so many kings to arise so  
sodainely agayne, but sone after the king was reysed agayne, and that daye  
he did many a Noble feate of armes. For the Scottes write, and frenche  
men also, though the Englishmen keepe sylence, that he himselfe slue with  
his awne handes that daye. xxvi. of his enemies, and the other of his parte  
encouraged by his doings fought valyauntly, and slue the Lorde Percy cal-  
led Sir Henry Hotspurre, the best Captaine on the parte aduerser, and when  
his death was knowne, they fled and happie was he that was formost. And  
in that flight the Erle Douglas fallyng from the cragge of a MOUNTAYNE  
brake one of his stones, and so was taken, and for his valyauntnesse was of  
the king freely and frankely deliuered. There was taken also Sir Thomas  
Percy Erle of Worcester and dyuers other. On the kings parte were slaine  
Sir Walter Blunt, and. xvj. hundred other persons: But on the parte of  
the rebels were slayne the Erle of Stafford, the Lorde Percy, and about. v.  
thousand other, and as for the Scottes fewe or none escaped alyue.

After this great victo-ry by the king obtained, he first rendred his humble  
and hartly thanks to God almightie, & caused the Erle of Worcester the next  
morow after to be drawne hanged and quartered in the towne of Shrews-  
burie, and his head to be sent to London, and there set vpon a pole vpon Lon-  
don bridge, and the same tyme also were many moe Captaynes executed in  
the sayde place. And this being done, the king lyke a valyaunt Conquerour  
returned to London with great pompe, where he was by the Magistrates  
of the Citie most solemnly receaued, and ioyfully welcommed. But here a  
little to returne, before his departure from Shrewsburie he not forgetting  
his enterpryse agaynst Owen Glendoz, sent into Wales with a great armie  
Prince Henry his eldest sonne agaynst the sayde Owen, and hys sedicious  
complices, which being disinayed and in a manner desperate of all comfort,  
by the reason of the kings late victorie, fled into desert places and solitarie  
Caues, where he receyued a finall rewarde, meete and prepared by Gods  
prouydence for such a rebell and sedicious seducer. For being destitute of all  
comfort, and dreading to shew his face to any creature, lacking meate to  
sustaine nature, for pure hunger and lack of foode, miserably ended his wret-  
ched lyfe. Nowe after that the death of Owen was knowne to the Prince,  
and that the Prince with little labour, and lesse losse had tamed and bryde led  
the furious rage of the wyld Welshmen, and had left Governours to rule  
and gouerne the countrie, he returned to his father with great hono-ry and  
no small prayse.

The Erle of Northumberland heeryng of the ouerthrowe of hys bro-  
ther and sonne, came of his awne free will to the kyng, excusing himselfe as  
one neyther partie nor knowyng of theyr doynge nor enterpryse: The king  
neyther accused him, nor helde him excused, but dissembled the matter for two  
causes, one was, he had Barwicke in his possession, which the king rather de-  
sired to haue by pollicy, then by force: The other was, that the Erle had his  
Castelles of Alnewyke, Warckworth, and other, fortifyed with Scottes, so  
that

Sir Henry  
Hotspurre is  
slaine.

The king  
obrayned a  
great victorie  
of his Lorde.

Owen Glen-  
doz being for-  
saken of all  
people, dyed  
by hunger  
and famine.

The kings  
answered to  
the Lordes  
articles.

The battayle  
of Shrews-  
burie.



that if the Erle were apprehended, all Northumberlande were in leoparde to become Scottische: For these causes the king gaue him sayre wordes, and let him depart home, where he continued in peace a while, but after rebelled as ye shall here.

And in this tyme, at the charges of the Citie of London, where before there was a certeine prison in Cornehill called the Tonne, they nowe buylded in the same place a sayre Conduyt, which at this day is called the Conduyt in Cornehyll.

This yere Walleram Erle of Saint Paule, considering that he had defyed king Henrre, and also that he had made dyuerse voyages, and done little dammage to the Englishe Nation, but had susteyned much losse, and yet continuing in hys olde malice agaynst the king of England, by the assent of the French king, assembled a great number of men of warre, as five hundred men of armes, five hundred Genowayes with Crosbowes, and a thousande Flemynge on foote, and layde siege to the Castell of Marke, three Leagues from Calice, within the territore of the king of England, the .xviij. day of July, whereof was Capteine Sir Philip Hall, with .lxxx. Archers, and .xxiiiij. other Souldiours. The Erle raysed agaynst the Castell dyuers engynes, but they preuayled not, for they within shotte so fiercely, and cast stones so incessantly, and defended the same so manfullye, that they preuayled not at that tyme. And the Erle perceiuyng that his enterprize had not such successe as he looked for, retyred with his men lodged in the towne, fortifying the same for feare of rescues that might issue from Calice. The next day he gaue a sore assault again, & with great force entered the bitter Court, of the Castell & toke therein a great number of horse, Byne and Cattaille, at the which assault sir Robert Barpynguille, cossyn to the Erle, was slain. The same day an hundredeth Archers on horsebacke came out of Calice, and perceined the doynges and demeanour of the Erle and his companie, and toward night they sent an Herauld vnto him, certefying that they would dyne with him the nexte daye: To whome he proudly answered, that he would gladly receiue them, and theyr dinner agaynst theyr comyng shoulde be ready prepared.

The next day ensuyng issued out of Calice two hundredeth men of armes, two hundredeth Archers, three hundredeth men on foote, with .x. or .xij. Chariots laden with victuall and Artillery, conducted by Sir Richard Aston knight, Lieutenant of the Englishe pale for the Erle of Somerset, Captaine generall of those Marches, which in good order of battaile marched toward their enemies, which before by their espialles were aduertised of their comyng: But that notwithstanding, they issued not out of their lodgynges to encounter with them, but kept themselves within their Closure.

The Englishe men shot so closely and so sharply together, that the Flemynge and footemen began to flie: The men of Armes fearyng the slaughter of theyr horses, ran away with a light gallop: The Genowayes which had spent the most part of their shot at the assault, made little defence, and small resistance, and so were all slaine and put to flight. The hastie and rather Erle of Saint Paule, and dyuerse other without stroke geuen to their enemies, fled to Saint Omers: And there were taken of the best of the armie, as sayth the French and Duché Chronicles, .lx. or .lxxx. persons, amongst whome

whome the Capteyn of Bulleyn was one, and many Lordes and knightes slaine. After that the Englishe men had taken all the Cartes, Munitions, and victualles that their enemies had brought thether, they returned to Calice in great triumph: And within five dayes after, there issued out of the Englishe pale about the number of five hundred men, toward Arde by night tyme, thinking to haue found the towne vnzoyled: But Sir Hansard de Boys, and the Lord Kygnie defended it, and disappointed the Englishe men, who with the losse of forty men, returned to Calice: Which dead persons were brent in an olde house, because their enemies shoulde be ignozant of the damage that the Englishe men had by them susteyned.

The Erle of Saint Paule beyng at Turwyn, and yet imagining in some part, or by some way to be reuenged of the Englishe men, and to recover some part of his losse, but more of his honour, sent for a great companie of Noble men, and valiant personages, and concluded to invade the Marches of his enemies. But the French king considering the Erles euill fortune, commaunded him to leaue off his enterprize, with the which he was sore displeased. Yet to aduoyde perilles, the French king layde in Garrison at Bulleyn and other places, the Marques of Mount, sonne to the Duke of Barre, and the Erle of Dampney, and Sir John Harpadane, a knight of great renoune and high estimation.

The king of England circumspectly fore seeing thinges to come, and imagining that the French men attempted some newe enterprize agaynst him, or his Dominions beyond the Sea, sent foure thousand men to Calice, and to the Sea, whereof three thousand landed at Scluse, which besieged a Castell standing in the mouth of the Hauen, and made dyuerse assaultes, and lost diuerse of their companie: But newes were brought to them, that the Duke of Burgoyne had desyred licence of the French king to besiege the Towne of Calice, for which cause they raysed their siege, and went to the defence of Calice.

And this yere also sayth Keynolph, the Emperour of Constantinople, whose name, as some wyters call him, was Robert, came into Englande, onely to see the Countrie, and maners of the people thereof.

And this yere the Lorde of Castell in Briteyn landed within a myle of Plymmoth, with a great companie, and lodged in the towne all that day and night, and the next day spoiled and robbed the sayde towne, and carryed away all that was therein, and returned againe into their Shippes.

Some after this, Lewes Duke of Orleance, brother to the French king, a man of no lesse pride then of great courage, wrote his letters to king Hery, aduertising him that he for the perfect loue which he bare to the noble feates of Chivalrie and Martiall actes, could inuent nothing more honourable nor laudable to them both, then to meete in the field, eche part with an hundred knightes and Esquiers, all beyng Gentlemen, both of name and armes, armed and weaponed at all poyntes, to fight and combate to the yeldyng, and euery person to whome God shoulde send victoerye, to haue his prisoner, and him to ransome at his pleasure, offering himselfe & his companie to come to his City of Angulesme, so that the king of England would come to the lands and borders of Burdeaux, and there defende his chalenge.

The King of England, which was as graue and wittie, as the Duke was

The buylding of the Conduyt in Cornehill.

1402

Walleram Erle of saint Paule once agayne assyseth king Henry the fourth.

Plymmoth is spoiled by the French men.

1403

The French brag.

The French men are discomfited.



The wife  
and graue  
answere of  
king Henry.

was haucie and couragious, wrote to him againe, that he not a little mused  
and more maruailed, that the Duke beyng sworne aswell to him, as to king  
Richard, to mainteyn the peace betweene his brother the frenche king, and  
them concluded, and to that had set his signe and great scale, would now for  
baine glorie, and vnder the colour of doying of deedes of Armes, not onely  
violate the peace, and breake the amitie betweene them before concluded, but  
also geue an occasio of displeasure and ingratitude, by the which in conclusion  
might rise mortall warre, and deadly enemie: affirmyng farther, that no  
king annoynted, of very dutie was euer bound to answeere any challenge, but  
to his pere of egall estate, & equiuolent dignitie. And that no Christian prince  
ought or should consent to warre or effusion of Christian blood, but onely for  
the defence of his realme, or for conquest of his right, or for the amplifying of  
Christes fayth, and Christian religton, and not for pride, worldly fame, and  
baine glorie: And sayng further, that when oportunitie of tyme, and conue-  
nient leysure serued, he would transiret and passe the sea himselfe, with such  
companie as he thought most conuenient, into his Countrey of Calceyne, at  
which tyme the Duke might sit forward with his band, for the atteynyng of  
honour, and accomplisshyng of his couragious desyre, promisyng in the word  
of a Prince, that he would not thence depart, vntill the Duke eithet by fulfil-  
lyng his awne desyre, or by singuler Combate betweene them two, onely for  
the aduoidyng of the effusion of Christian blood, should thinke himselfe satis-  
fied and fully answered. Howbeit, at that tyme he beyng busied with weigh-  
tie affayres, concernyng the publike weale of his realme, could neyther ap-  
poynt tyme nor place, protestyng that the deferryng of tyme was neyther for  
disdeyne, nor yet for cowardnesse, but onely to abate the pride of him, which  
knowyng not himselfe, nor fearyng reproche, regarded not his othe, wy-  
tyng, nor scale.

To this answer the Duke of Orleans replied, and king Henry re-  
iorned, the which doynge for the vnpryncely tauntes conteyned in them, I  
thought meete to omit and passe them over.

The Duke of Orleans not content with the king of England, assem-  
bled an army of sixe thousand men, and entered into Guyan, and besieged the  
Towne of Clergie, whereof was Capteyne Sir Robert Antefielde a baly-  
ant knight, and an hardie Capteyne, hauyng with him onely three hundred  
Englishe men. The Duke almost euery day assaulted the towne very fierce-  
ly, but they within the Towne couragiously defended the same. Insomuche  
that when they had lien there three monethes, and had lost many of his men,  
and gotten nothing, without honour or spoyle returned into France.

After this, the Admirall of Briteyn, which was greatly enflamed and  
encouraged, because the last yere he had entered the Haven of Plymnoth,  
and robbed and spoiled the towne, and afterward had taken certayne ships  
with wine. And he being now accompanied with the Lorde Castell a baly-  
aunt Baron of Briteyn, and hauyng xxx. sayle of Shippes well furnished with  
artillerie, munition, and victualles, and. xiiij. hundred men of armes, say-  
led from Saint Malos, and came before the towne of Dartmouth, and  
would haue landed, but by the force of the townes men, and men of the coun-  
trie, they were repulsed and put back: In which conflict the Lorde of Castell  
with his two brethren, with foure hundred other were slayne, and aboute

The Duke  
of Orleans  
besiegeth  
Clergie in  
Guyan.

The Admi-  
rall of  
France is  
discomfited.

two

two hundred prisoners taken and ransomed, whereof the Lord of Saque-  
uille high Marshall of Briteyn was one, which was brought to the king,  
and was afterward redeemed.

The Admirall being sorry of thys infortunate enterprize, with much losse  
and no gayne returned hastily into his Countrey. King Henry being aduer-  
tised of this attempt, sent the Lorde Thomas his sonne, which after was  
Duke of Clarence, to the sea, with a great nauie of Shippes, to the entent  
that eithet with battayle or spoyleing or destroyeng of the Sea costes, both  
of Briteyn and of France, he might reuenge this iniurie and inuasion. And  
he sayling by the sea costes landed diuers times, and brent townes and de-  
stroyed people without any pittie or mercie: And when he thought his qua-  
rell well reuenged, he sayled toward England, and in his returning he en-  
countred with two great Caricks of Seane, laden with riche merchandise,  
betweene whome was a great conflict, and a bloody battayle: But after long  
fighting the Englishmen preuailed, and brought both the Carickes into  
Camber before Rye, where one of them by misaduenture of fyre perished, to  
the losse and no gayne of both the parties.

About this time, John Duke of Burgoyne, which had long laboured,  
and now obtayned licence to besiege the towne of Calice, preparyng En-  
gines, and all other Instruments necessarie for that purpose, assembled at  
Saint Omers sixe thousand men of armes, xii. hundred Crosoowes, and  
xii. thousand footemen. And now when all things were in a readinesse, and  
the whole armie assembled, he was by the frenche king and his counsayle  
(who had some mistrust in hym) countermaunded and forbidden any further  
to procede in that enterprize: For the which cause he conceaued such an ha-  
tred and deadly malice against the Duke of Orleans (whome he thought  
was the onely let and stop of his glozie and renowne) that he euer after, not  
onely stomaked and grudged agaynst him, but in the ende (as you shall here)  
brought him to death and finall destruction.

And it so happened, that this yere one William Serle, whome some  
call John Serle, beyng one of the murderers at Calice of the Duke of Glo-  
cester, was taken lurking in the Marches of Scotlande, and drawen on an  
herdle from that place by to London, and committed to the Tower, and  
then brought to Westmynster, and there he was also charged that he had  
bruted abroad that king Richard was alyue, and for these things was there  
arraigned, condemned, iudged, hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne.

The Erle of Northumberland, of whome before is spoken, bearing no  
litle hatred vnto king Henry, for the death of his sonne Sir Henrie Hot-  
spurre, and his brother the Erle of Worcester, as aforesayde, did daylie prac-  
tise some meane to be reuenged therof, and now secretly he began to breake  
his minde to Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke, brother to William  
Lorde Scrope, high Treasorer of Englande, whome king Henry (as you  
haue heard) besidged at Bristow, & with Thomas Howbray Erle Mar-  
shall, sonne to Thomas Duke of Norfolke, for king Henryes cause before  
banished the realme of England, and with the Lordes, Hastinges, Faucon-  
bridge, Bardolfe and dyuers other, which he knew to beare deadly hatred  
vnto king Henry. And after many meetings, and long consultations had,  
they finally did conclude and determine: that all they, their friends and Allies,

The Lorde  
Thomas  
Duke of  
Clarence.

John Duke  
of Burgoyne  
could haue  
besieged Ca-  
lice, but he  
was forbidde  
by the frenche  
king.

William  
Serle one of  
the murder-  
ers of the  
Duke of  
Glocester, ta-  
ken and exe-  
cuted.

1404

6

John Erle  
of Northum-  
berland con-  
spireth a-  
gainst king  
Henry.

with



wyth all their power should meete at Porke wolde at a daye appointed, and that the Erle of Northumberland should be Chiefetayne of the armie, who promised to bring with him a great number of Scottes.

The king hath knowledge of the conspiracie.

This conspiracie was not so secretly kept, nor so closely covered, but that the king had knowledge thereof, and was fully informed of the same: wherefore to prevent the time of their assembly, he with suche power as he could sodainely call together, marched with all speede into the North partes, and was there with all his hoste and power, before the Confederats heard any thing of his comming forward, and todaynely he caused to be apprehended the Archebischoppe, the Erle Marshall, Syr John Lampley, and Sir Robert Plumpton. These persons were arreigned and atteinted of highe treason, and adjudged to die, and so on the Monday in the Whitson weeke, all they without the Citie of Porke were beheaded.

Divers Lordes apprehended and executed.

The Archebischop of Caerborugh intreateth for the Archebischop of York.

And here I finde written in an auncient historie, that after the taking of the Archebischop of Porke, that the Archebischop of Cauntorbury, called Thomas Becon came unto the king and sayd, Sir if the Bischop of Porke haue so greatly offended you as it is sayd, yet I pray you consider that I am your ghostly father, and the second person in your realme, & that you ought not to hearken to anye mans boyce before me: wherefore I counsaile you referue the payne and punishment of the sayde Bischop to the Popes iudgement, and he will take suche order as ye shall be pleased. And if you will not so doe, yet let him be referred to the parliament, and keepe your handes undefiled from his bloud. The king answered: I may not stave him for the rumour of the people. Then the Archebischop called for a Notarie, to make an Instrument of the kings answer, that if neede were, it might be presented to the Pope: But the king would not stay but caused execution, as aforesaid.

Execution.

Beside the persons aforesaid, divers other of the sayde conspiracie, as the Lorde Hastings, the Lorde Fauconbridge, Sir John Coluile of the Dale, and Sir John Griffith were beheaded at Durham.

The Erle of Northumberland fleeth into Scotland.

The Erle of Northumberland perceaving his counsaile to be reveled, and his confederates put to shamefull execution, fled into Scotland to hys olde friend George of Dunbarre Erle of Marche, which the yere before was retoked out of exile, and restored to his possessions, name, and dignitie, where he taried untill the next Sommer, and then sayled into Fraunce, and after into Flaunders, desyring ayde and assistance agaynst king Henry: But when he sawe little hope of comfort, and that fewe hearkened to his request, he accompanied with the Lorde Bardolph much dismayed, and more desperate, returned againe to his true friends into Scotland, and there made his abode the whole yere, abyding the favour of fortune: During which tyme, the king without any difficultie tooke into his possession the towne of Berwike, the Castels of Alnewike, and all other Fortresses apperteyning to the Erle. And lying at Berwike, he caused to be put to death the Barons soune of Greystock, Sir Henry Beynton, and John Blenkinsop, and fyve other, as offenders in this conspiracie.

The Prince of Wales entreateth with a power into Scotland.

Nowe when king Henry had thus appeased this late conspiracy, he sent his soune the prince of Wales, accompanied with Edward Duke of Porke, and a great armie with him, to encounter with the Scottes, which by promise were bounde to ayde and assist the aforesayde Conspirators: But they hearyng

hearyng that the founders of the warre were apprehended and put to death, made no haste forward, but taried peaceably at home. So that the Prince entering into Scotlande, and fynding no resistance, brent Townes, spoyled villages, and wasted the Countrey every where as he passed: which thing so much amased the king of Scots and his counsaile, y notwithstanding that he had gathered & appoynted a great host vnder the Conductes of the Erles of Douglas, and Bowhan to resist the prince and his inuasions: yet they sent Ambassadors vnto him, requyring him of peace and finall concord: which request he bitterly denyed, but at their humble petition a truce for certaine Moneths was taken, of the which they were both glad and ioyous, and so the prince laden with pray & spoyle, returned with great gaine to his father.

Whyle the prince persecuted thus the country of Scotland on the land, Sir Robert Umfreule Vice Admirall of England bered the Countreys of Fisse, and Loghdian on the Sea coast, for he lyeng in the Scottishe Sea xiiij. dayes, and every day landed on the one side or other and tooke prayes, spoyles and prisoners maugre the great powers of the Duke of Albany, and the Erle of Douglas: in so much that he brent and tooke the towne of Pemples on their sayre day: and with great gaine returning to his shippes, brent the Galiot of Scotlande with many other vessels, and sent cloth, victuall and dyuers marchaundizes to every towne in Northumberlande, setting thereon no great price, wherfore the Scots called him Robin Rensmarket.

Robin Rensmarket.

The king about this time was newly bered and bnguieted, for notwithstanding the fortunate successe that he had obteyned in all his outwarde warres and inward affayres, yet some of his people bare vnto him such cancard heartes, that still they practised his destruction: for nowe was a newe rumour spread abroad that King Richard was alyue once agayne, and that he was in Scotland: To the which fable, suche credite was geuen, that if prudent pollicie had not foreseene the daunger thereof, it had kindled a greater flame then would haue bene eyther easely or quickly quenched.

A newe rumour that King Richard was alyue.

This Sommer the plague of pestilence reigned so sore in the Citie of London, and in the countreie also rounde about the Citie, that the king durst not repayre thither. Wherefore he departing from the Castell of Ledes in Kent, determined to take shipping at Dynborough, and to saile over to Aye in Essex, and so to Piaishy, there to passe hys time untill the plague were cessed: And because certayne Pirates of Fraunce were lurking at the Thamesmouth waiting for their praye: Thomas Lorde Camoys with certaine shippes of warre was appoynted to waitt over the kyng. When the kyng was on the Sea, and in the middelt of his iourney, whether the winde taried, or that the Lorde Camoys kept not a direct coursse, or that his Ship was but a slugge. The french men, which by all similitude had knowledge of the kings passage, entered amongst the kings flanie, and tooke foure vessels next vnto the kings ship, and in one of them, Sir Thomas Rampton knight the kings Vice Chamberleyn, with all his Chamber stufte and apparell, and followed the king so neere, that if his Ship had not beene swift, he had landed sooner in Fraunce, then in Essex. The king being sore moued with the Lorde Camoys, caused him to be attached and endited, that he condiscended and agreed with the french men, that the king in his iourney should be intercepted and taken. On this poynt he was arreigned the

1407

A great pestilence and death in London.

The king so great danger to be taken of the Frenchmen.



last day of October, before Edmond Erie of Kent, that daye high Stuarde of the Realme, on which daye he was adiudged by his Peeres not guilty, and was dismissed at the barre, and restored to all his lands, goods & offices.

In this yere king Henrye, not onely desiring newe amitie with tozern Princes, but also the preferment of his lyne and progemie, sente the Ladie Philyp his yonger daughter to Erick king of Denmarke, Norway, & Swethen, which was conueyed thither with great pompe, and there with muche triumph was solemnly maryed to the sayde king, where theye tasted both of welth and wo, ioy and paine.

This yere Rochester Bridge was begon to be buylded of stone, and the same together with the Chapell standyng at the ende of the same, was finished by Sir Robert Knolles knight, who also newly rededyed the bodie of the Church of the white friers in fletestrete in Lodon, & there was buried.

You heard before howe king Robert of Scotland, beyng very aged and impotent, was not able to gouerne and rule his realme, and howe Walter his brother, beyng by him created Duke of Albanie (which was the first Duke that euer was in Scotlande) was made Gouvernour of his brothers Countre and Dominion. After which office and preheminence by him obtayned, he so sore thirsted after the Crowne and Scepter royal, that he cared little though the king his brother & his two sonnes had bene at Christs fote in heauen. And somewhat to further his purpose, it vnsfortunatly chanced, that Daup of Northsay Prince of the realme, and eldest sonne to the king was accused to his father of diuerse and sundry crimes, and especially of wanton and dissolute luyng, as rauishyng of wyues, deflowryng of Virgines, and defilyng of maydens: wherfore the king deliuered him to his brother the gouernour, trustyng that by his good counsaile, and discrete aduertisement, he would not onely amend his lyfe, but also waite graue, prudent, and wise. Nowe when the Duke had possessed part of his desyred pray, he sent his Nephewe from Castell to Castell, from prison to prison, from place to place, and in conclusion lodged him in a Towre within the Castell of Franklande, where with famine he caused him miserably to ende his lyfe, puttyng a pooze woman to painefull death, which gaue to the Prince the milke of her brestes by a Rede into the prison. His death was long hidden from the king his father: But in conclusion the Gouvernour shewed vnto the king, how diuerse persons trayterously had murdered him, which were apprehended and iudged to die, and yet in their lyues they neuer knewe nor sawe him. The King notwithstanding his brothers excuse, doubted much of the ende of his other sonne named James, wherfore he priuily prouided a ship, in the which he put the childe, beyng then of the age of .ix. yeres, vnder the tuition of the Lord Henry Scintclere, Erie of Orkeney, willyng him to conuey the prince into fraunce, if by any possibilitie he could thither attayne. And if fortune should driue him vpon the coast of England, he wrote his most gentle and louyng letters vnto king Henry, the effect whereof were, that forasmuch as a truce was taken betwene them, and that in the same was conteyned, that all men conueyng letters from the one of the kinges to the other shoulde surely and safely passe and repasse without any contradiction, and that therefore it would please him not to breake nor derie the sayde libertie to the bearer of his letter which was his only sonne, and to suffer him not onely to liue

safely

safely and surely vnder his protection and defence, but also to vouchsafe to preferue and defende him, beyng now the onely heyre of the Kingdome of Scotland, from the malicious attemptes of his ambitious & cruell kindred.

Now all thinges beyng in a redynesse, the Mariners set forwarde and departed from Bas Castle with this yong Prince, and Henry Percey, sonne to the Lord Percey, called Hottespurre before slaine at Shrewsbury, and by force of tempest were driuen vpon the coast of England in Holdernesse, at a place called Flambozough hed, the .xxx. day of March, where the yong prince to refresh himselfe tooke land, and soone after he and all his companie were taken, and brought to the king at Windsor, where he with all due reuerence deliuered his fathers letter. When the letter was read and vnderstand, the king assembled his counsaile, to knowe what should be done with this noble infant. Some to whome the continuall warres was odious and hatefull, affirmed that there could not happen a moze surer or better occasion of peace betwene both the realmes, which beyng so offered, they would in no wise should be reiecte but taken, considering that this Prince was sent thither in trust of safegarde, in hope of refuge, and in request of ayde and comfort agaynst his enemyes and euill willers: But other (whose opinion tooke place) affirmed him to be a prisoner, and so to be ordered, forasmuch as he was taken, the warre beyng open, and that his father did not onely maintein the Erie of Northumberland and other rebelles within his Countre, and gaue them great honoures, but also sent a great number of his Nobilitie agaynst the king at the battail of Shrewsbury: wherfore it was agreed that he should be deteyned as a prisoner lawfully taken, and duely apprehended.

When newes of this definitive sentence was shewed to his father, he tooke suche an inward conceipt, that it cost him his lyfe within a fewe Monethes after. And although the takyng of this Prince was at the first tyme displeasent vnto the realme of Scotland: yet surely, after, he and all his region had great cause to reioyce, and thanke God of that fortunat chauce. For where before that tyme, the people of Scotland were rude and without good maners, and hauyng little learnyng, and lesse good qualities, this Prince beyng, .xviij. yeres prisoner within this realme, was so trayned and taught by his Schoolemaisters, which were appoynted to him onely by the kinges clemencie, that he not onely flourished in good learnyng and knowledge, but also excelled in Martiall feates, Muscicall instrumentes, Poeticall Artes, and liberall sciences. Insomuch that at his returne from Captiuitie, he furnished his realme both with good learnyng, and Ciuile pollicie, which before was barbarous, rude, and without all good maner.

This yere a worthy Citizen of London named Rycharde Whittynghon Mercer and Alderman, was elected Maior of the sayde Citie, and bare that office three tymes: This worshipfull man so bestowed his goodes and substance to the honor of God, to the reliefe of the poze, and to the benefite of the comon weale, that he hath right well deserued to be registred in the boke of fame. First he erected one house or Church in London, to be a house of prayer, and he named the same after his awne name Whittynghons Colledge, and so it remayneth to this day. And in the same Church, besyde certeine Priestes and Clerkes, he placed a number of pooze aged men and women, and buylded for them houses and lodgynges, and allowed vnto them

Dp.ii.

Wood.

James  
prince of scot-  
land by tem-  
pest is forced  
to land in  
England.

James  
prince of  
Scotland is  
taken as a  
prisoner.

Richards  
Whittynghon  
Maior of  
London.

Whittynghon  
Colledge.

1406  
8

The Ambli-  
cious munde  
of the Duke  
of Albanie.

The Duke  
of Albanie  
cruelly mur-  
dered the  
Prince of  
Scotland.



Newgate.

Saint Bartholomewes.

Supperhall Chapell.

Supperhall.

A glorious glasse for rich men to looke in.

1407

The Erle of Northumberland with a great power of the Scots returned into England.

The Erle of Northumberland taken & executed.

Waters.

Wood, Cole, Cloth, and weekly money, to their great reliefe and comfort. This man also at his owne costes, builded the Gate of London called Newgate, in the yere of our Lord. 1422. which before was a most ugly & lothsome prison. Also he buylded more then the halfe of saint Bartholomewes Hospitall in west Smithfielde in London. Also he buylded of hard stone, the beautiful Librarie in the gray Friers in London, now called Christs Hospitall, standing in the North part of the Cloyster thereof, where in the wall his armes is grauen in stone. He also buylded for the ease of the Mayor of London and his brethren, & of the worshipfull Citizens, at the solempne dayes of their assemblee, a Chapell adioynng to the Supperhall, to the entent they should euer before they entered into any of theyr affayres, first to go into the Chapell, and by prayer to call vpon God for his assistance. And in the ende ioyning on the South part of the sayde Chapell, he buylded for the Citie a Librarie of stone, for the custodie of their recordes and other bookes. He also buylded a great part of the East ende of the Supperhall, besyde many other good workes that I knowe not. But among all other, I will shewe vnto you one very notable, which I receyued credibly, by a writing of his owne hande, which also he willed to be fixed as a Scedule to his last will and testament, the contentes whereof was, that he willed and commaunded his Executors as they would answer before God at the day of the Resurrection of all fleshe, that if they found any debtoz of his, that ought to him any money, that if he were not in their consciences well woorth three tymes asmuch, and also out of the debt of other men, and well able to pay, that then they shoulde neuer demaund it, for he cleerely forgane it, and that they should put no man in sute for any debt due to hym. Looke vpon thys ye Aldermen, for it is a glorious Glasse.

But nowe to returne to the story where we left. The Erle of Northumberland, which had bene in Fraunce and other Countries, to haue gotten ayde agaynst king Henry, and missed of his purpose, did nowe put his whole confidence in the Scottes, and in especially in his olde friend George Erle of Marche, and so assembled a great power of the Scottishe Nation to invade Northumberland, and recovered diuerse of his owne Castelles and Seignories, to whome people without number dayly resorted. And he intending to be reuenged of his olde griefes, accompanied with the Lord Bardolfe, and diuerse other Scottes, and Englishe men, entred into Yorkshire, and there began to destroy and spoyle the Countrie.

Whereof the king beyng aduertised, caused forthwith a great army to be assembled, and marched toward his enemyes, but before the king came to Nottingham, Raufe Rokelby Shirife of Yorkshire, in the middelt of February, with the power of the Countrie, sodainly set on the Erle and his companie, at a place called Bramham Moore, where after long fight, the Erle, and the Lord Bardolfe, and many other were taken and brought to York, and there executed, and their heddes sent to London.

After this, the king hauyng knowledge that diuerse Pirates were about the coast of England, prepared certeine Shippes well furnished with men, victuall, and munition, and in the beginnyng of Marche sent to the sea, Lord Edmond Holland Erle of Kent, as Chefetaine of that Crewe. And when the Erle had searched all the coast of Fraunce, and had not founde one Pirate

pirate or Sea robber, he was aduertised by his espialles, that they heryng of his army were gone back into the partes of Briteyne. Wherefore the sayd Erle entending to be reuenged on them, made his course thither, and before his arrivall they had conueyed theyr Shippes into the Hauens, so that he could not fight with them on the sea, wherefore he launched out his Boates, & with his lustie & hardie Souldiours toke land, and fiercely assaulted the towne of Briake standing vpon the Sea syde. The Citizens threwe out Bartes, cast stones, shot quarelles, and manfully defended their Walles. In the which conflict, the Erle receyued such a wounde in his head, that he departed out of this worlde the fift day after. The assaillantes nothyng dismayde, but rather kindeled and set on fire with the death of their Capteyn, like men desperat, still continued and folowed the assault of the towne, and by fine force entred into the same, and set it on fyre, and slue all that made any resistance: And for lacke of a Capteyne, the men of warre laden with prayes and prisoners, returned againe into England.

This Edmond Erle of Kent was in such fauour with King Henry, that he not alonely aduanced and promoted him to highe offices and dignities: But also by his meane, and no small cost, obteyned for him Lucie the eldest daughter, and one of the heyres of the Lord Barnaby of Milleyn (brother to Lord Saleace, whose sonne also called Saleace, murdering his Uncle Barnaby made himselfe first Duke of Milleyn:) For which marriage the Lord Barnaby payde to the sayde Erle of Kent, an hundred thousand Ducates in the Church of saint Mary Quereyes in Southwarke, at the day of the solempnitie of the sayde marriage, by Done Alphons of Caniola.

This Lucye, after the death of her husbände, by whome she had none issue, was moued by the king to mary hys bastard brother the Erle of Dorset, a man very aged and euill visaged, whose person neyther satisfied her phantastic, nor whose face pleased her appetite, wherefore she preferring her owne minde more then the kinges desyre, delyghting in him which shoulde more satisfie her wanton desire, then gayne her any profitie, for herse loue tooke to husbände Henry Mortimer a goodly yong Esquire, and bewtiful Bachelier. For which cause the king was not onely with her displeased, but also for maryeng without his licence, he seassed and fined her at a great some of mony, which fine king Henry the fift, both released and pardoned, and also made him knight and promoted him to great offices, both in England and in Normandy, which Sir Henry had issue by this Ladye, Anne maryed to Sir John Aubemond, mother to Elizabeth Candos, mother to Phillis maryed to Sir Dauid Hall Captayne of Cane: She had also issue, Mary maryed to John Cheddur, and Lucy espoused to Syr John Cressy.

This yere happened a long and great frost, which continued .xv. weekes, and by reason thereof dyed great numbers of sheepe and birdes.

About this time John Duke of Burgoyne, a man of a quick wit, and of a haute courage, and desyrous of rule, beyng of great aucthoritie among the french nation, to whome ciuile discorde was more pleasant, then brotherly loue and friendship, beganne sore to murmour and grudge agaynst Lewis Duke of Orleans, because that he was chiefe of the kings counsaile, and ordred all things by his discretion for that the king his brother was (as you haue heard) fallen into a frensie, and therefore meddled in nothing. The

pp. iij.

Duke

The Erle of Kent slain at the siege of Briake.

Briake take and burnt.

Edmond Erle of Kent was well beloued of king Henry.

33333-

A great frost.

1408

10

Straitnes betwene John Duke of Burgoyne and Lewis Duke of Orleans.



Duke of Orleans on the other side, being highly set by in pride, beganne to disdaine and frowne at the Duke of Burgoyne, because he perceived that he aspired and gaped to have the supreme regiment in the publique affaires and weighty causes, thus the one would have no superiour, and the other would have no peere. This cankerd disdaine in short space grew to such a hate, that all the Realme of Fraunce was devided into factions, the one parte favouring the Duke of Orleans, & the other enclining to the Duke of Burgoyne, which division had almost brought the realme of Fraunce to utter ruine and confusion.

The French king being somewhat amended of his disease, hearing of the controuersie betwene these two princes, sent for them both to Paris, where he openly and largely rebuked their pride and malice, in so much that the Nobilitie there present iudged the displeasure betwene them was clerely forgiven and forgotten. But high courages are not so sone abated, nor rooted malice will not so sone be plucked by. For the Duke of Burgoyne still compassing the destruction of the Duke of Orleans, appointed a secreete friend called Raufe Actouille to bring his purpose to passe. This Raufe forgetting not his enterpryse, assembled together a companye of such persons as he most trusted, and as as a Wolfe greedy of his praye, when the Duke of Orleans was coming from the court, in the night season, he fiercely set upon him, and shamefully slue him.

Here the Duke of Orleans is murdered.

When this murder was published, all people cryed vnto God for vengeance. The Duke of Burgoyne iustified this acte, by the mouth of John Petit Doctor in diuinitie, who wrested Scriptures and Doctors so farre out of course, that his iustification within fewe yeres after was by the whole vniuersitie of Paris adiudged Heresie.

The French king least greater mischiefe might ensue, was inforced to cloake his inward affection, and to dissemble the matter, doubting least the Duke of Burgoyne, whose heart and haute courage he had good experience of before (if he should proceede agaynst him for his euill acte) woulde ioyne and take part with the English nation against the realme of Fraunce. Wherefore after long consultation had by the entreatie of the king, and other Princes of the blood Royall, Charles Duke of Orleans, sonne to Duke Lewes lately murdered, and John Duke of Burgoyne were reconciled, and brought to a feyned concord and a faynt agreement, eche of them taking a corporall othe vpon the holy Euangelists, neuer after to disagree or renewe any displeasure for any thing before passed, but all this preuayled nothing.

For nowe the Duke of Orleans perceiving the king his vncle to beare with the Duke of Burgoyne, and to let the detestable murder of his father so lightly passe ouer without payne or punishment, allyed and confederated himselfe with the Duke of Berry and Bourbon, and the Erles of Mounson and Arminack, who reysed a great puyssaunce of people, & defyed the Duke of Burgoyne & his complices, as their mortal foe, & deadly enemy.

The Duke of Burgoyne tenderth to the king of England for ayde.

The Duke of Burgoyne fearing the ende hereof (because there was a motion of a marriage to be had betwene the prince of Wales and his daughter) was somewhat the bolder to sende to the king of England for ayde and succours against his enemies. King Henry no lesse foresyng then that which after ensued, which was that the discord of these two great princes might

turne

turne his realme to great profite and honour, sent to the Duke of Burgoyne Thomas Erle of Arundell, Sir Gilbert Umfreuyle Lorde of Kyne, Sir Robert Umfreuyle, and Syr John Grey, with five hundred Archers, which toke shipping at Dover, and landed at Sluce. When the Englishmen were arryued in Flaundrys, the Duke of Burgoyne with the Englishmen and all his power roade daye and night untill he came nere to Paris, and there the next daye after with harde fighting, and courageous shooting, the Englishmen gate the bridge of Saint Clow, and so passed ouer the riuier of Sayne, and tooke and slue all the Souldyours, which the Duke of Orleans had there left in garrison to defend the bridge. Amongest whome Sir Hansard de Boyes a valiant Captayne was taken prisoner by the Englishmen, and highly ransomed. But the Duke of Orleans and his companye, which were lyke to haue bene compassed with their enemies, so that almost all their wayes of refuge were stopped and enclosed, in the night time made a bridge ouer the riuier on the parte of saint Denyce streete, and so escaped and fled into the high Countries. And after this conflict the Duke of Burgoyne being nowe in his ruffe, and thinking no man eyther in auctoritie or bloud equiualent to himselfe, and blynded with a Rall before his eyes, tooke vpon him the whole rule and gouernaunce of the realme, and ordered the king as pleased him, and not to the kings wyll, and thinking also that in so troublous a time he had vnknytt the knot of all ambiguities and doubtcs, and therefore dismissed the Englishmen geuyng to them both heartie thanks and great rewarde, which doing king Henry much disallowed, considering that he had sent awaye his defence before the great brunt of the warre were ouer passed and should haue taken heed before what pollicie his enemies practised.

The Englishmen returne agayne into England.

This yere sayth Keynolp, the king kept, and heide a great Justes in Smithfelde in London, which continued eyght dayes, and vnto the same came certayne Henowayes Gentlemen, and came with the Gentlemen of Englande, but the honor of that pastyme was geuen to the Englishmen, although some of the straungers did very well.

A great Justes in Smithfield.

King Henrie being nowe at quiet, and not troubled with ciuile dissension, nor warres in his realme, called his high Courte of Parliament, in the which after he had concluded dyuers actes meete and expedient for the publique wealth of his realme and people, he exalted and promoted his three younger sonnes to high honors, as Lorde Thomas to the Duchye of Clarence, Lorde John to the Duchy of Bedford, and Lorde Homfrefrey to the Duchy of Gloucester, and Lorde Thomas his halfe brother Erle of Dorset, he made Duke of Excester: Howbeit some wyrters saye that he was erected to that estate and dignitie by king Henry the fift, in the first yere of his reigne, which thing is not greatly materiall, considering he had none issue.

1409

1:

A parliament at Westminster.

Thomas Duke of Clarence. John Duke of Bedford. Homfrefrey Duke of Gloucester. Thomas Duke of Excester.

And this yere the commons of the realme put by a Byll into the parliament house vnto the Lordes agaynst the clergie for the taking away of their temporalties, of the which Bill more shall be sayde in the seconde yere of King Henry the fift.

A bill preferred vnto the Parliament agaynst the possessions of the Clergie.

And this yere the market house in the nether ende of the poultrie in London, now called the Stockes, was buylded for the free sale of the foreyn Boocher, and of the foreyn fishmonger.

In this meane while John Duke of Burgoyne, which ruled the roste, and

1410

12



and gouerned both king Charles the French king, and the whole realme, so much stomacked and enuyed the Duke of Orleans and his helpers, that he caused the French king in person to arme himselfe against them and their adherentes, as traytors to him, and apparant enemies to the common weale, and sente diuerse Capteynes to invade their landes and territories in the Countreyes of Poytiers, and Angulesme, and other Seigniozies apperteyning and belongyng to the homage and obeyfaunce of the Duchie of Aquitayn and Guyan: Wherefore the Dukes of Orleans, and Berry, & Bourbon, with their friends and alyes, seyng that now their hope consisted in the king of Englande, sent to him Albert Arbemond, a man of no lesse learnyng than audacitie, who in the name of the Confederates offered certeyne conditions, as ye shall heere.

1 First, the sayd Lordes offered that from thenceforth they should expose and set forth their abone persons, finaunces and landes, to serue the king of England, his heyres and successours, whensoever they were requyred or called, in all iust quarelles: which iust quarelles, the king of England shal take to apperteyne to the Duchie of Guyan with the appurtenaunces, affyrmyng howe the sayd Duchie perteyneth, and ought to apperteyne, to him of right by lyneall heritage, and lawfull succession, manifestyng from thenceforth, that they should not blemish nor spot their truth nor fidelitie to assist and ayde him, in the recoueryng the same Duchie.

2 Also the sayd Lordes offered their somes, daughters, nephewes, and neeces, parentes and all their subiectes, to contract marriage accordyng to the discretion of the king of England.

3 And they offered townes, Castelles, treasures, and generally all their goodes to ayde the king, his heyres and successours for the defence of their rightes and quarelles, so that the bond of their allegiance might be saued, the which in an other secret appoyntment, they befoze had declared.

4 Also they offered to the king of England generally, all their friends, alyes, and well willers, to serue him in his quarell for the recouery of his whole Duchie of Guyan.

5 Also to ceasse all fraude, the sayde Lordes recognised that they were redie to affirme the sayd Duchie of Guyan to belong to the king of England, in like and semblable wise, in libertie, and fraunchises, as euer any of the sayde kings predecessours helde or possessed the same.

6 Also the sayde Lordes knowledged, that all the townes, Castelles, and fortresses, that they had within the Duchie of Guyan, to holde them of the king of England, as of the very true Duke of Guyan, promisyng all seruite and homages after the best maner, that in such case might be.

7 Also they promised to deliuer vnto the king as muche as lay in them, all townes and Castelles apperteynyng to the royaltie and Seigniozie of England, which are in number, xx. townes and Castelles, and as to the regarde of other townes and fortresses which were not in their puyssaunce and seigniozie, they would helpe the king of England, his heyres and deputies to win them, with men in sufficient number at their proper expences and charges.

8 Also the king of England was agreed, that the Duke of Berry his true Uncle and Vassall, and the Duke of Orleans his subiect and Vassall, and the Erle of Arminacke should holde of him by homage and fealtie, the landes and

The Duke of Orleans seeketh ayde of the king of England.

and Seigniozies hereafter folowynge: that is to say, the Duke of Berry to holde onely the Countie of Pontieu, durynge his lyfe, and the Duke of Orleans to holde the Countie of Angulesme, durynge his life, and the Countie of Perigot for euer, and the Erle of Arminacke to holde foure Castelles vpon certeyne sureties and conditions, as by Indenture should be appoynted.

9 For the which offers, couenauntes, and agreementes, they affirmed that the king of England as Duke of Guyan, ought to defende and succour them agaynst all men, as their very Lorde and soueraigne, and not to conclude any treatie of league with the Duke of Burgoyne, his brethren, children, friends or allyes.

10 Furthermore, the king of England ought to ayde the Lordes, as his true Vassals in all their iust quarelles for recoueryng of dammages, for injuries to them wrongfully done.

11 Also they required the king of England to send vnto them, viij. thousand men to ayde them agaynst the Duke of Burgoyne, which dayly prouoked the French king to make open warre on them, their landes and seigniozies, promisyng further to disburse and pay all the costes and charges which the sayde armie of Englishe men should expend durynge their warre, which letter was wyitten the. viij. day of May, in the yere of our Lorde afore meucioned.

The King Henrie louingly receyued, and gently entertayned this Messenger Albert, and when he had well debated and considered the case, he first detestynge the abhominable murder of the late Duke of Orleans, and seing no iustice ministered, nor no punishment done for so shamefull an act, hauyng also an approued experience of the Duke of Burgoyne would kepe no lenger promise then he himselfe lusted. And secondarily, consideryng what large promises and offers these Princes had made vnto him, both greatly to his honour, and to the high profite and commoditie of his realme and subiectes, thought that he was bound by the office of a king to ayde and succour them, which cryed for iustice and could haue none, and in especiall because they in that point beyng his subiectes and vassalles, ought to be defended in maintenance of his superiozitie and seigniozie: Wherefore he louingly promised them ayde and reliefe.

The returne of the Messenger with this message was to them as pleasant, as is the deliuerance of a Captiue from his soze imprisonment, or of a Marchant passing by the way, & beset with theues, when he is rescued by his friends or companions. And not without cause, for the French king, not of his abone courage animated, but maliciously incensed by the Duke of Burgoyne, persecuted the faction of the Orleanses from Citie to Citie, and from towne to towne, with such power and extremitie, that they were both of force and necessitie compelled to repayze to the Citie of Bourges in Berry, and there to appoynt themselves eyther to render or defend.

Ye must vnderstand that Princes haue sometyme Argus eyes, and Midas eares, for this feate was not so secretly wrought in Englande, but it was as apparantly spoyed in Fraunce: Wherefore the French kinges Counsaile sent the Erle of saint Paule, the olde cankerd enemy to the English men, into the partes of Picardie, with. xv. hundred horsemen, and a great number of footemen, and he ordeyned certeyne of his men to geue assault to the towne of Guyne, while he lay in stale to waite for the reliefe that might come from Calice.

The king graunteth to ayde the Duke of Orleans

The French men assault Guyne.



Calice. The furious frenche men brake a fetwe olde Pales aboute poore mens Gardeynes of Guisnes: But the men of warre in the Castell thotte so fiercelly, and cast out wilde fyre in such aboundaunce, that the assaylants were faine to retyre. And so the Erle of Saint Paule which neuer wonne gaine, but lost honour at the Englishe mens handes, returned, not onely with the losse of his people, but defrauded of his desyred pray, and went to the towne of Saint Quintines.

Thys yere, of an euill fauoured olde house or cotage was the Gylde hall in London buyded and finished at the charges of the Citizens, but chiefly at the charges of Richard Whytington Alderman.

But to retorne to the former historie, the French king in this meane while besieged the Citie of Bourges in Berry, wherein the Duke of Orleans and his company had fortifyed themselves. When the king of Englande was thereof aduertised, he sent forth his sonne Thomas Duke of Clarence, and Edward Duke of Yorke, with eyght hundred horsemen, and nine thousand footemen, which landed in the Bay of Hogges in Normandy by saint Maist, in the territorie of Constantyne. The Englishmen swarmed lyke Bees rounde about the countrie, robbing Marchaunts, spoyling husbandmen, and brennyng townes, and were ioyously receyued of the Erles of Flaunson and Richemond ayders of the Orienciall parte.

The Counsaile of fraunce not wpylling that the Englishmen shoulde ioyne with the Dukes of Orleans and Berry, or their complices, caused a common fame (although it were not true) to be spreade abroade, that there was a final peace concluded betwene the French king and his Lords, which late were to him aduersaries. When this fable was noted to the Englishmen, which were by hastie iourneyes passed the ryuer of Leyre, they spoyled the towne and Monasterie of Beaulieu, and wasted with fyre & sword the Countries of Courayn and Mayne. Agaynst whom the Duke of Burgoyne sent the Lorde Rambures, with a great armie, which in thorte tyme was vanquished. The Dolphyn of fraunce fearyng the doings of the Englishmen, concluded a feyned peace betwene the Duke of Orleans and Burgoyne, and their adherents, so that the Duke of Orleans should without delaye dispatche out of the dominions of fraunce all the Englishe armie. The Duke was not riche to pay, and the Englishmen were greedy to haue, insomuch as they marching toward Guyan in good order, what by sacking of townes, and what with ransoming of riche persons gate great treasure and many good prayes. Besides this, to the ayde of the Duke of Orleans king Henry sent to Calice the Erles of Kent and Warwike with two thousand fighting men, which spoyled and defaced the Countie of Bullenoy, and bent the towne of Samer de boys, and tooke with assault the Fortresse of Ruffalt with dyuers other.

The Duke of Orleans, which was daylie called vpon to dispatche the Englishmen out of fraunce, came to the Duke of Clarence and his armie, rendering to them a thousande Gramercyes, and disbursed to them as much money as eyther he or his friendes might casely spare, and for nine thousand Frankes, which remayned bnpayde, he delyuered in gage his second brother John Erle of Angulesme, which was Graundfather to Frauces, after ward frenche king, and Sir Marcell of Bourgh, Sir John of Samours, Sir Archibald

Capto hall buyded.

1411

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The Englisshmen lande in Fraunce.

A French practice.

A feyned peace concluded.

Archibald of Williers and dyuers other, which Erle long contynued in Englande as aiter ye shall here.

When this agreement was taken, the Dukes of Clarence and Yorke with great praye (riche prisoners and welthy hostages) came to Burdeant, making warre on the frontiers of fraunce to their great gaine and profit. So by the onely commyng in of the Englishmen into fraunce, the Duke of Orleans was restored, not onely vnto peace and quietnesse with all persons, sayng the Duke of Burgoyne: But also fell into suche fauour with the king and the realme, that he was of all men welbeloued, much honored and highly esteemed, and so continued, butill wauering fortune turned her variable wheele. For after this, he being enemy to the Englishe nation, was vanquished and taken prisoner, and so remayned in Englande aboute xxij. yeres, butill the flowre of his age was passed or soze blemished.

And thys yere the king abaced the coyne of Golde and Syluer, and caused the same to be curraunt in his realme at such value as befoze they had gone, where in dedde the Noble was worse by foure pence, then the other was, and lyke wise was the coyne of Siluer curraunt after the same rate.

And here I finde noted by certaine wyrters, that thys yere the Chamys did flowe three tymes in one daye, as though the same were matter worthe of a note, for the straungenesse thereof: But if you consider the causes thereof, then is it worthy of no note at all, for the causes thereof are naturall, as great windes and tempestes that rise on the sea costes, which by violence driue the sea into the freshe ryuers, moze aboundantly then the common course would, or else by lyke violence keepeth out the sea from the freshe ryuers, that it can not flowe at one houre so high and abundantly as the common course thereof is accustomed to doe, and it happeneth also many tymes by reason of abundaunce of rayne, which falleth of the lande, and filleth the ryuers, and so encreaseth the freshe waters, that the same meeting with the sea water entering into the ryuer, causeth the same to swell, and rise farre above the common course, and altereth the houres both of flowyng and ebbing. In lyke maner the tydes alter by reason of great and long frostes and Snowe that freezeth the ryuers and dyches in the land, which causeth short and mo tydes in fewer houres then hath bene accustomed, by reason the water is turned to Ice. And in lyke maner vpon a sodaine thawe, the floodes agayne encrease farre above the accustomed course, & of these naturall causes cometh the alteration of the houres of ebbing and flowyng.

Now after that these great and fortunate chaunces had happened to King Henry, he thinking that there could not a greater prayse be geuen to a king, then for the execution of his office, and the administration of iustice, and intending to lye in quietnesse, being nowe delyuered of all civile diuision, with the which almost all christendome was troubled, not onely to the decaye of Christs religion, and christian creatures, but to the greater aduancement of Paynyn princes, by the publishing and setting forth of that counterfeate and false prophet Mahomet. And that the king would shew himselfe myndefull hereof, he called a great counsaile of the three estates of his Realme, in the which he deliberately consulted and concluded, as well for the politiqne gouernance of his realme, as also for the warre to be made agaynst the Infidels, and specially for the recovery of the Citie of Jerusalem.

The Englisshmen re- turne out of Fraunce with riche prayes.

The coyne abaced.

Ebbing and flowyng why they alter as sometimes.

1412

14



King Henry  
purposed a  
voyage to  
Jerusalem.

The king is  
taken with a  
greivous  
sickness.

A courageous  
young prince.

The death of  
king Henry  
the fourth.

The issue of  
king Henry  
the fourth.

The descrip-  
tion of king  
Henry the  
fourth.

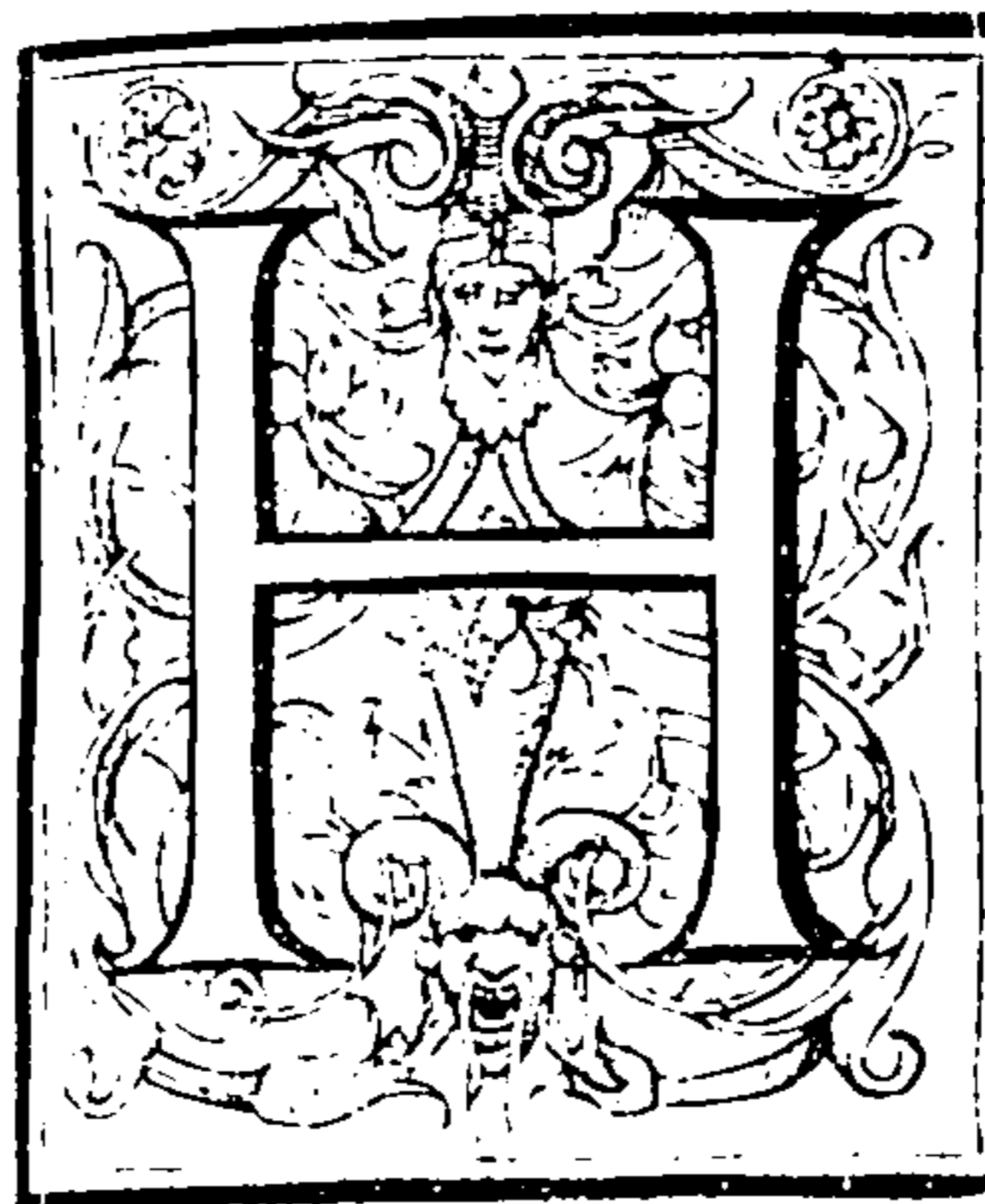
lem, in the which warres he intended to ende his transitory life, and for that cause he prepared a great armie, and gathered much treasure, intending to set forward in the same spring time. But see the chaunce, whatsoeuer man intendeth, God sodainely reuerteth, what princes will, God will not, what we thinke stable, God maketh mutable, whereby Salomons sayeng is found true: That the vvifedome of men is but foolishnesse before God. When this prince was thus furnished with treasure sufficient, with valiant Captaines and hardie Souldiours, with tall shippes furnished with victualles, munitions and all things necessary for such a iourney royall, he was taken with a sore and sodaine disease called an Apoplexie, of the which he languished vntill his appoynted houre. During which sickness, as some aucthors wyte, he caused the crowne to be set on the pillowe at his beddes head, and sodainly his panguie so sore troubled hym, that he lay as though his bzeith and soule were departed from him, wherefore hys Chamberleynges covered his face with a linnen cloth.

The Prince his sonne being thereof aduertised, entered into the chamber, and tooke away the crowne and departed: The father being sodainely reuyued out of his traunce, quickly perceaued the lacke of his crowne, and hauing knowledg that the prince his sonne had possessed it, caused him to repayre to his presence, requyng of him to shew for what cause he had so misused himselfe. The prince with a good audacitie answered: sye, to mine and all mens iudgements you seemed dead in this worlde, wherefore I as your next and apparaunt heyre tooke that as mine awne, and not as yours: well sayre sonne sayde the king (with a great sigh) what right I had to it, & how I enioyed it God knoweth. well quod the prince, if you die king, I wil haue the Garlande, and trust to keepe it with the sworde against all mine enimies as you haue done, well sayde the king, I commit all to God, and remember you to doe well, and with that turned himselfe in his bed, and shortly after departed vnto God in a Chamber of the Abbotes of Westminster called Jerusalem, the twentieth daye of Marche. 1413. and in the yere of his age. xliij. when he had reigned. xiiij. yeres. v. moneths and odde dayes, in much trouble and little pleasure, whose body with all funerall pompe was conueyed to Cauntorbury and there solemnly buried, leauing behinde him by the Lady Mary daughter to Lorde Homfrey Erle of Hereford and Northampton, Henry prince of Wales, Thomas Duke of Clarence, John Duke of Bedford, Homfrey Duke of Gloucester, Blanche Duchesse of Barre, and Phylip Queene of Denmarke, for by hys last wyfe, Queene Jane, he had no children.

The king was of a meane stature, well proportioned and formally compact, quick and delyuer, and of a stoute courage. After that he had appeased all ciuill dissentions, he shewed himselfe so gently to all men that he gat him more loue of the nobles in his later dayes, then he had euill will of them in the beginning.

When tydings of hys death was brought vnto the Duke of Clarence, being then in Aquitayne, he then with all diligence toke ship with the Erle of Angulesne, and other his hostages and returned into England, to the great comfort of hys bzeithzen.

Henry



1412  
1

Henry Prince of Wales, sonne and heyre vnto king Henrie the fourth, borne at Monmouth on the Riuer of Wye; after the death and buriall of his Noble father king Henry aforesayde, tooke vpon him the highe power and regiment of this realme of England the. xi. day of Marche. 1412. and was proclaymed king, by the name of king Henry the fift, and crowned at Westminster the. iij. day of Aprill next ensuyng. And before the possession of the Crowne, diuerse honorable and noble personages did to him homage, & fealtie (which before that time had not bene used) as vnto him of whom they had conceyued great hope and worthynesse of Government.

This king, this man was he (which accordyng to the olde prouerbe) declared and shewed that honoures ought to chaunge maners, for incontinent after that he was placed in the sege royall, and had receyued the crowne and Scepter of this Noble Realme, he determined with himselfe to put on the shape of a newe man, and to vse a nother sort of liuyng, turning insolencie and wildenesse into grauitie and sobernesse. And because he would so continue, and not be allured to the contrary by his olde familiars, who in the lyfe of his father, by their wantonnesse and entisyng caused him at one tyme to strike the Lorde chiefe Justice in the face, for the which he was imprisoned, and also had the displeasure of his father, who remoued him from being president of his counsaile, & placed therein his brother Thomas, Duke of Clarence, to his great grieffe: he therefore, I say, detestynge a wanton and disorderly life, first banished from him all his olde wanton familiars & flatterers, (not vntrewarded, nor yet vnpreferred) forbidding them vpon a great paine, not once to approach nor come neere his speche or presence, by the space of ten myles. And in their places he elected and chose men of grauitie, of wisdom, and of high pollicie, by whose wisdom, and prudent counsaile he might at all tymes rule to his honour, and gouerne to the profite both of himselfe and of his common weale. This prince among all other, did very well remember and consider, that a king ought to be a ruler with wisdom and grauity, and to be both diligent and constant: wherefore calling his counsaylors together, first of all (as Hall sayth) he commaunded the Clergie sincerely and truly to preach the worde of God, and to liue after the same. The laye men he willed to serue God, and obey their Prince, forbidding them about all thinges the brech of Matrimonie, the vse of swearyng and wilfull perurie. Besyde this he elected the best learned men in the lawes of the Realme, to the offices of iustice, and men of good liuyng he preferred to high degrees and auctoritie. And calling to remembraunce the madnesse of the Welchmen, and the falsehood and inconstancie of the Scottes (whose often incursions and robberyes he well had in his fathers dayes experimented and as-

Dq. j.

sayed)

A Godly and  
wise Prince.



sayed) he studied to assuage and represse, to the entent that he beyng quiet in his awne regions, might eyther make outward warre without doubt or daunger, or else for the common weale of his realme studie howe to encrease the glozie of his seignorie, and so to kepe and conserue it.

When all thinges were thus settled and framed to his purpose, he caused the bodie of kung Richard the seconde to be remoued, with all funerall pompes conuenient for his estate, from Langley to Westminster, where he was honourably enterred with Queene Anne his first wife, in a solempne Tombe, erected and set vp at the costes and charges of this Noble Prince King Henrie.

And although this noble prince had set and established all thinges beyng in difference and variaunce within his awne peculiar realmes and dominions: Yet the same tyme, beyng called to the counsaile of Constance, which is a Citie situate vpon the goodly ryuer of Rhyne, he sent thither Richard Erle of Warwike, and thre Bischoppes, with other famous Prelates and Doctors besydes knyghtes and Esquiers to the number of. liij. hundred horse. At this Synode were assembled (as Hall saith) thre hundred. xliij. Bischops, Abbottes, and Doctors. And of noble men five hundred. liiij. And of knyghtes and Esquiers. xvi. thousand, besydes seruantes, which (not accomptyng the townes men) were accompted. lxx. thousand persons.

These persons were highly receyued of the Emperour Sigismond, and of the Bishop of Rome called John the. xxiiij. which in the same counsaile as the sayde aucthor affirmeth, for great and abheminable crimes, and detestable offences by him committed (of the which he could not purge himselfe, nor make any defence) was by the same Synode deposed, and of his estate depriued. Gregorie the. xij. beyng one of the Schismatical number, fearyng shame more than regardyng his worldly affection, deposed himselfe both from his name and Papall dignitie. But Benedict the. xiiij. still and stiffly affirmyng himselfe to be the Vicar of God, so much desyred honour, and somuche was wrapped in his awne lewde opinion, that neyther friend nor good counsaile could do any good with him, wherefore at the last, he was also deposed, and lost both his name and honestie. And within thre yere after, Otho Columbe a noble Romaine borne, was elected Bishop of Rome, and named Martyn the fifth. And in this counsaile, John Wickliffe English man, and John Husse, and Jerom of Prage Bohemians, were condemned of heresie, of whome ye may read more in the booke of Monuments of the Church.

And in this first yere, Sir John Oldcastell, which by his wife was called Lorde Cobham, a valiaunt Captaine and an hardie Gentleman, was accused vnto the Archebishop of Cauntobury of certeine poyntes of heresie: But for that I haue not purposed in this Historie to write of any matter that specially concerneth religion, I will therefore referre you to the booke of Monumentes of the Church, where the whole Historie of this Gentleman and many others is at large described and setfoorth. And in lyke maner foloweth in the sayde booke, the whole historie of Sir Robert Actone, Browne, Beuerley, and dyuerse other.

The king, for the honour of himselfe, and the aduancement of hys people, called this yere and the last day of Aprill, in the towne of Leycester his high Court of Parliament, in the which many good and profitable lawes were

King Richard is remoued from Langley to Westminster.

The counsaile of Constance.

Pope John is deposed.

John Wickliffe, John Husse, Jerom of Prage.

Sir John Oldcastell.

Sir Robert Acton, Browne, Beuerley.

1413

2

were concluded, and many petitions moued, were for that tyme deferred. Among which petitions one was, that a bill exhibited in the. xi. yere of King Henry (as is mencioned befoze) which by reason that the king was then troubled with Ciuill dissention, came to none effect, might nowe be considered and regarded: the effect of which petition was, that the temporall lands deuoutly geuen, & disordnately spent by the religious, and other of the clergie, might suffice to mainteyne to the honour of the king, and defence of the realme, xv. Erles, xv. C. knyghtes. vij. thousande, two hundred Esquiers, and one hundred almose houses, for the reliefe of the impotent and nedy persons, and the king to haue cleerely into his Coffers, xx. thousand poundes, with many other prouisions and values of sundrie religious houses.

This befoze remembred bill (sayth Hall) much feared the religious, insomuch that fat Abbottes swet, the proude Bishops frowned, the poore friers cursed, the sickly Monnes wept, and all together were nothyng pleased nor yet content. But to finde a remedie for a mischiefe, and a tent to stop a wounde, the Clergie practised to put into the kinges heade, the title that he had to the Crowne and Kingdome of Fraunce, and howe honourable it should be for him to trauaile for the recouerie thereof, and howe willyng all the good people of the realme would be to ayde him in that honourable enterprize. And the next day after in most solempne and learned maner, the Archebishop of Cauntobury, whose name then was Henry Chichley, made such an excellent Oracion to moue, encourage, and perswade the king to take that boyage in hand, that nothing could be eyther moze or better spoken. And when the Bishop had done, then the Nobilitie in like maner sayd to and fro their mindes, so that nowe there was vsed none other talke in euery mannes mouth in the Parliament house, but for the conqueryng of Fraunce, and the bill against the Clergie was lulled a sleepe, and nothing came thereof. And so soone as this boyage was agreed vpon, the parliament brake vp.

The aforesayde parliament being nowe ended, the king sendeth a solempne Ambassade vnto the French king, to make his clayme vnto the crowne and kingdome of Fraunce, as his right and inheritaunce, or else to bid hym battayle, and to declare vnto him, that if he would not deliuer the same vnto him, that then he would trie his right by dent of sworde: The Ambassadors were these, the Duke of Excester and Erle of Dorset the kings Uncle. The Lorde Grey Admirall of England, the Archebishop of Beuelyn, the Bishop of Norwiche, and they had attending vpon them aboute five hundred horse.

The French king receaued them very honorably, and sumptuously banqueted them, shewing to them goodly iustes, and martiall pastimes, by the space of thre dayes together, in the which Iustes the king himselfe to shew hys courage and actiuitie to the English men, brake speares, and lustely turneyed.

After this great triumph, the English Ambassadors had accesse vnto the French king and declared their commission, which was to require of him to deliuer vnto the king of England the realme and crowne of Fraunce with the entier Duches of Aquitaine, Normandy and Anidwe, with the Countries of Poyteu and Mayne, and dyuerse other requestes, and offering also that if the French king would without warre or effusion of Christian

bloud,

bloud,

A bill inoued in the Parliament house against the Clergie.

An Ambassade sent fro the king of Englande to the french king.

The king of Englande claymeth the crowne and realme of Fraunce.



bloud, tender to the king their master his verie right and lawfull inheritance, that then he would be content to take in marriage the Lady Katherine daughter unto the French king, and to endue her with all the Duchye and countreys before rehearsed. And if he intended not so to doe, then the king of Englande did expresse and signifie unto him, that with the ayde of God, and helpe of his people he would recouer his right and inheritance wrongfully withholden with mortall warre and dent of sword.

The French king and his counsaile much amased at these demaundes, thinking them very unreasonable, and yet not wylling to make any hasty answer in so great and weightie a matter, prayed the English Ambassadors to say to the king their Master, & they hauing nowe no oportunitie to conclude in so highe a matter, would shortly sende Ambassadors into England, which should certifie and declare to the king their whole minde, purpose and answer.

The English Ambassadors receyuing this for answer, tooke their leaue of the French king, and returned into Englande, declaring unto the king in order all that had bene done.

And at this time, as some writers reporte, the Dolphyn, who heering this message sent to the French king his father, and discerning the youth of King Henry, and thinking it was an enterpryse farre vnmete for him to take in hande, did therefore in mockage sende to him a Coupe of Tennys balles to play with all, meaning that he had better skill in a Tennys court, and handling of a Ball, then in the martiall affayres of warre. But the king after he had receyued from the Dolphyn his former present, answered: that before he had ended with him and his father, he purposed by Gods ayde to tolle as many Balles of Pyon with him, which & best racket he had should not be hable to resist nor returne. And forthwith, for that many French men were promoted within this realme to Ecclesiasticall dignities, and by reason thereof comeighed dyuers sommes of money ouer into Fraunce, for the reliefe of their friends and Countreie men, the king therefore for the common weale of his realme and subiectes, ordeyned that no straunger hereafter should be promoted to any spirituall degree or dignitie within this realme, without his speciall lycence and royall consent, and that all they that should so be admitted, should finde sufficient suretie not to disclose the secretes of this realme to any foreyn or straunge person, nor also to minister unto them any ayde or succour with money, or by any other meane.

And nowe with all speede he assembled a great puyssaunce and armie thorough all his dominions: And for the better furniture of his Maie, he sent into Holand, Zelande, and Friselande to procure and hire Shippes for the conducting and transportyng ouer of his men and municions of warre: And finally, prouyded for armour, victuall, money, Artillery, cariages, Centes, and other things necessarie for so high an enterpryse, the which prouisions were soone blown ouer and knowne in Fraunce. Wherefore the Dolphyn, who had taken on him the gouernance of the realme, because his father was fallen again into his olde infirmitie, sent for the Dukes of Berry and Alanson, and all the counsaile of Fraunce, to determine what should be done in so weightie a cause. And after long consultation it was agreed to assemble people thorough the whole realme of Fraunce to resist and repulse the

The pride  
and disbaunce  
fulnesse of  
the Dolphyn  
of Fraunce.

The king  
maketh a  
great prouisi-  
on agaynst  
Fraunce.

the king of England and his power whensoever he would arryue or set foote in Fraunce.

But to the intent to haue steyed the king of Englande at home, they sent unto him a solempne Ambassade, to make unto him some offers accordyng to the demaunds afore rehearsed. The charge of this Ambassade was committed unto the Erle of Wandosme; to Master William Bouratier Archbyschop of Bourgues, and to the Byschop of Lysieux, to the Lorde of Pury and Braquemont, and to Master Gualtier Cole the kings Secretary and dyuers other. These Ambassadors accompanied with CCL. horse passed the sea at Calice, and landed at Douer, before whose arryual the king was departed from Wyndsoze to Winchester, intending to haue gone to Southampton, and there to haue bewed his Maie, but heering of the Ambassadors coming, taried still at Winchester, where the sayde French Lordes shewed themselves very honorably before the king and the Nobilitie. And the king sitting vnder his cloth of estate in the Bishops hall, the sayde Ambassadors had accesse unto him, where the Archebyschop of Bourges made unto him an eloquent Oration dissuading warre and prayeing peace, offering to the king of Englande a great somme of money, with dyuers base and pore Countreies with the Lady Katherine in marriage, so that he would dissolue his army, & dismisse his Souldiours which he had gathered and made ready.

The oration being ended, the king caused the Ambassadors to be highly feasted, and set them at his aborne table. And at a daye appoynted in the aforesayde hall, the Archebyschop of Cauntorbury made to their oration a notable and learned answer: the effect wherof was, that if the French king would not geue with his daughter in marriage, the Duchies of Aquitayn, Normandy, Aniove and all other seignories and dominions, sometime apperteynyng to the Noble progenitors of the king of England, he would in no wise retire his armie nor breake his iourney, but would with all diligence enter into the realme of Fraunce, with sword and fyre, and not leaue vntill he had recouered his auncient right and lawfull patrimony. The king allowed the Archebyschops sayng, and in the worde of a prince promised to performe it to the bittermost.

The Byschop of Bourges beyng in a chafe that his purpose tooke no better effect, prayed lycence and pardon of the king that he might speake, which being graunted unto him, he very rudely and vnrerently sayde unto the king as followeth. Thinkest thou to put downe and destroy wrongfully the most christian king our most redoubted soueraine Lorde, and the most excellent prince of all Christianitie, of bloud and preheminence? O king, sayng thine honor, thinkest thou that he hath offered or caused to be offered to thee lands, goodes, or other possessions with his awne daughter for feare of thee or thy English Nation, or of thy friendes or well willers? No, no, but of truth, he moued with pittie, as a louer of peace, to the intent that innocent bloud should not be disperfed abroade, hath made to thee these reasonable offers, putting his whole affiaunce in God most puyssaunt, according to right and reason, trustyng in hys quarell to be ayded and supported by his faythfull and good subiectes and his well wyllers. And syth we be subiectes and seruaunts, we require thee to cause vs safely and surely without damage to passe out of thy realme and dominions, and that thou wylte write

Dq. iij.

thine

An Ambas-  
sade sent out  
of Fraunce  
to the king  
of England.

The howte and  
prouid bishop



thine aunswere wholly as thou hast geuen it, and to seale the same wyth thy Scale.

The king of England nothing bered nor vnquieted with the sayengs and proude bragges of the vnurtered Archebischop, but well remembering the prouerbe of Salomon, that warres are to be taken in hande with discre- tion, and where many can geue counsaile there is victorie, therefore coldely and soberly he aunswered the Bpshop, sayeng: My Lorde, I little esteeme your french bragges, and lesse set by your pover and strength; I knowe perfytely my right to your region, and except you will denie the apparaunt truth, so doe you, and if you neyther doe nor will knowe, yet God and the worlde knoweth it. The power of your Master, you see daylie, but of my power ye haue not yet tasted, if your Master haue louing friends and fayth- full subiectes, God I thanke him I am not vnprouyded of the same: But this I saye vnto you, that befoze one yere passe, I trust to make the highest crowne in your Country to stoope, and the proudest Myster to knele downe: And saye this to the vsurper your Master, that within thre Moneths I will enter into Fraunce, not as into his lande, but as into mine aboue true and lawfull patrimonie, entending to conquer it, not with bragging words, nor flattering Orations, but by power and dent of sword by the ayde of God in whome is my whole confidencz, and I assure you I will not speake that worde, the which I would not both write and subscribe, neyther would I subscribe to that which I would not wyllingly set to my seale, therefore your safe conduyt shall be to you delyuered with mine answere, and then you may departe surely and safely into your Countrie, where I trust sooner to bilitte you then that you shall haue cause to bid me welcome. With this aunswere the Ambassadors not a little greued did shortly after departe, but not unre- warded, and that very bountifully and liberally.

Nowe after the frenche Ambassadors were departed, the king, as I sayde befoze, hauyng a great foresight and disposing all thinges in order, did not forget the olde condicions of the variable and inconstant Scottishe Na- tion, and therefore appoynted the Erle of Westmerland, the Lorde Scrope, the Baron of Greytroke, and Sir Robert Umfreuile, with dyuerse other valiant Capteynes, to kepe the Marches ioynyng to Scotland. The which sir Robert Umfreuile, on the day of Saint Mary Magdalene, entered vpon the Scottes at the towne of Geder yng, hauyng in his companie onely foure hundred Englishmen, where after a long conflict and skirmishe, he slue of his enemies. lx. and odde, and tooke prisoners. CCC. and discomfited and put to flight a thousand and mo, whome he folowed in chase. xij. myles, and so laden with prayes and prisoners, returned to the Castell of Rokesborough vnhurt, of the which Castell he was then Capteyne.

When the king had prepared all thinges mete for his iourney, he then for the safegarde of the realme, leauyng behinde him the Queene his mother as Governour of the realme, departed to the towne of Southampton, and there purposed to take his shippyng. And because he would not steale on the french king, but that he should haue knowlege of his commyng, he there- fore dispatched with speede Antelop his pursuyuant at armes, with letters of defiance: The which letters, when the french king and his counsaile had read, and well considered, he made aunswere to the officer of armes, that he

The kinges discrete aun- swere made to the bishop.

A skirmishe wyth the Scottes.

1 + 1 + 3

Letters of defiance sent to the french king.

woulde prouide for his defence, and so lycensed the Messenger to departe at his pleasure.

Shortly after, the king beyng in a readinesse to aduance forwarde, so- deynly, he was credibly informed, that Richard Erle of Cambridge, brother to Edward Duke of York, and Henry Lorde Scrope, and Sir Thomas Gray had conspired his death and bitter destruction, wherfoze he caused them forthwith to be apprehended: And after these prisoners were examined, they notorely confessed the conspiracie, but also declared that for a great somme of money which they had receyued of the french king, they entended eyther to delyuer the king aliue into the handes of his enemyes, or else to murder him befoze that he should arrive in Normandie. When king Henry had all the truth opened vnto him, of the which he was not onely very desyrous, but also was most hartely soze, and inwardly griened that he should lose such va- liant Capteynes, by whose ayde he might haue bene made the more dread- full to his enemyes: but nowe the matter beyng thus fallen out, the king as- sembled together all his nobilitie, and befoze them caused to be brought forth the aforesayd thre great offenders, and vnto them sayde as foloweth. I can not a little meruayle what should moue you to deuise or conspire my death, who hath loued you most derely, and to say truly vnto you, ye could not con- spyre my death which am your heade and governour, but ye must also pur- pose the destruction of all that be here, and of all the people in this realme. And although some priuate Scorpion possessed your heartes, and heades to this great wickednesse; yet ye should nowe haue forborne to haue practised the same, so long as I was with mine armie, whome ye knowe can not continue without a Captein. But forasmuch as ye haue purposed so great a mischief, and so abhominable a fact, and confessed the same, and also to the entent that your ayders beyng in the armie may abhorre so horrible an offence, ye shall receyue the punishment and paine that the lawe hath appoynted for your demerites.

And the next day folowyng, when these noble men were executed, the king sayde to his Lordez, se you not the mad imagination of men, which per- secute me that dayly studie & vse my great trauayle to do good to them and to all men, and hurt to none, which I knowe is my duetie, and therevnto was I borne. I pray God that there remaine none among you that is infected with so much vnto truth, as had liefer to see mee destroyed and brought to con- fusion, then to see his native Countrie flourish and increased with honour, and Empire. But I assure you, I haue conceyued a right good opinion of you, and therefore by Goddes sufferance we will set forward, and for my selfe I will forget all paine & perill, and be your Lode sman and gypde. Now when the king had thus sayde, all the noble men kneled downe, and promi- sed faythfully to serue, and duly to obey him, and rather to die then suffer him to fall into the handes of his enemyes.

This done, the king thought surely that all conspiracie and sedition had bene quenched: But he was deceyued, for he sawe not a fyze that was newly kindeled, which after ward dwe to so great a flame, that it burned and con- sumed the walles of his aboue house and family, which fyze at that tyme if he had espyed, he might peraduenture easilie haue quenched and put out: For certeine wyte that Richard Erle of Cambridge did not conspyre with the Lorde

Certaine Lordez ap- prehended for treason.



Lozde Scrope, and Sir Thomas Gray, to murder king Henry, to please the frenche king withall, but onely to the entent to exalt to the Crowne his brother in lawe Edmond Erle of Marche, as heyre to Duke Lyonell the thirde begotten sonne of king Edward the third. After whose death, considering that the Erle of Marche for dyuerse secreete impedimentes, was not able to haue generation, he was sure that the Crowne should come to hym, or to his children. And therefore it is to be thought, that he rather confessed himselfe for neede of money to bee corrupted by the frenche king, then hee would declare his inwarde minde, and open his very entent: For surely he sawe that if his purpose were espyed, the Erle of Marche should haue drunken of the same Cuppe that he did, and what should haue come to his abone children he much doubted, therfore beyng destitute of comfort, and in dispaire of lyfe, to saue his children he feyned that tale, despyng rather to saue his succession, then himselfe, which he did in deede. For Richard Duke of Yorke his sonne, not priuily, but openly claymed the Crowne, and Edward his son both claymed it, and gayned it, as hereafter ye shall here, which thing at this time if king Henry had foreseene, I doubt (sayth Hall) whether euer that lyne should haue claymed the garland, or gotten the game.

Nowe assoone as the winde came about, the king set forward with hys Nauie, beyng in number an. Cxl. shippes, and shortly after landed at Cauc in Normandie without resistance. And the next day after, the king marched toward the towne of Harflew, standyng upon the Riuer of Sepne, betwene two hilles, and besieged it on euery part. The Capteyne of the towne was the Lord Escouteuyle, accompanied with the Lozde Blaynuyple of Hacqueuile, the Lozdes of Harmanuyple, of Galard Boyes, of Clere de Barton, of Adsanchez, of Brian, of Gaucort, of Lisleadam, and many other.

The frenche king beyng aduertised of the Kinges arryuall, sent in all the hast the Lord Delabreth Constable of Fraunce, and the Lord Bonciquall Marshall of Fraunce, the Senescall of Henawde, the Lozde Ligny, and dyuerse other Capteynes, which fortifyed townes with men, victuall and artillery, upon all the Sea coast. And heeryng that the king of England had besieged Harflew at his first landyng, came to the Castell of Caldebeck beyng not farre from Harflew, to the entent to succour their friends whiche were besieged, if they might by any pollicie: And if not, then they imagined howe to sley and hurt the Englishe men, when they went into the Countrie of foragyng for beastes and victuall, and so to trap and destroy them. But they were deceyued, for notwithstanding the prouision and pollicie of the french men, the Englishe men fortrayed the Countrie and spoyled the Villages and returned againe to the Campe with many a riche pray. The Englishe men daily assaulted the towne, and the Duke of Gloucester to whome the order of the assault was committed, made thre mynes vnder the ground, and approached the Walles with ordinaunce and engines, and would not suffer them within to rest at any time. The king lyng on the hill side with his battail, did not onely keepe the frenche men from succoryng of the towne, but also toke away from the townes men all the hope and trust of their succour, ayde, and reliefe, and also all the Goonpowder that was sent by the frenche king vnto them that were besieged, was taken by the English men. The Captaines of the french men within the towne, perceyued that they were not able to

endure

The king  
secretly for-  
ward into  
Fraunce.

Harflew be-  
sieged.

endure the fierce assaultes of the Englishe men, and fearyng to be ouercome and taken by force, desired of the king of England only truce for thre dayes, promysing that if they were not rescued within y<sup>e</sup> tyme, that then they would yeelde themselves and the towne, theyr liues beyng saued. And for performance hereof, they deliuered vnto the king. xxx. of the best Marchauntes and Capteynes that were within the towne.

The king of England accepted this offer. And so soone as this composition was agreed vpon, forthwith the Lozde Hacqueuyle was sent vnto the french king to declare the necessitie of the towne, and the short tyme of the truce. To whome the Dolphyn answered, that the kinges power was not yet assembled in such a nuber, as was conuenient to raise so great a siege.

When this aunswere was reported to the Capteynes, they seyng no hope of comfort or reliefe, after the thirde day rendered to the king of England the towne, beyng the. xxxvij. day after it was besieged, and the. xxij. day of the moneth of September, to the great abashment of all Normandie, for it was the chiefest port of all that Countrie. The Souldiours were ransomed, and the towne was sacked, to the great gaine of the Englishe men. The king of Englande made Capteyne of that towne his Uncle Thomas Duke of Excester, which established his Lieutenant there John Fastolffe, with. xv. hundred men, and. xxx. good knightes, whereof the Baron of Carew, and Sir Hugh Lutterell were two counsaylors. And because dyuerse of his Nobles lyng before Harflew were sicke of the fluxe, and many were dead, amongst whome the Erle of Stafforde, the Bishop of Norwiche, the Lozdes, Holyns, and Burnell, were foure besyde other. The king licenced the Duke of Clarence, his brother, John Erle Marshall, and John Erle of Arondell beyng infected with that disease, to returne into England.

King Henry not a little reioysing of this victory at his beginning determined with all diligence to set forward, and to performe his entended purpose and warlye enterpryse, but by reason that the sharpnesse of Winter weather approached more sooner at that time, then before it had bene accustomed he was therewithall sore troubled and bered. Wherfore he calling together all his Cheueteynes, and conferrynge with them what was best to be done: After long consultation, in the ende it was agreed on all sides, that it was a thing both necessarie and conuenient to set forward with all diligence before the dead time of Wynter approached, toward the towne of Calyce. And because their going forward might be called of slaundersous tonges a running or flyng awaye, it was therefore agreed, that the whole armie should passe the next way by lande thorough the middest of their enemies: And yet that iourney was iudged perillous, by reason that the number was much diminished by the fluxe and other feuers which sore bered, and brought to death aboute fiftene hundred persons, which was the very cause that the returne was the sooner concluded and agreed vpon: But yet before his departing he entred into the towne of Harflew. And all the men of warre that had not payde their ransome, he sware them on the holy Euangelistes to yeeld themselves prisoners at Calice, by the feast of saint Martyn in Nouember next folowyng: Dyuers of the Burgesses he highly ransomed, and a great part of the women and children he put out of the towne, geuing to euery poore creature. v. Sows. The priestes had licence to departe, leauing behinde

Harflew is  
yeilded to the  
king of Eng-  
land.

them



them their substance. The goodes in the towne were innumerable, which were all praye to the Englishmen, which sent the best into England as a token of good luck. There were two strong Towers standing on the Hauensyde, which looking for ayde did not yeelde tenne dayes after the towne was rendered.

When the king had repayred the towne, and fortified and furnished the same with men, munition, and victuall, he remoued from Harflew to Douthoyse, intending to passe the ryuer of Some with his army, befoze the bridges were eyther withdrawn or broken.

The French king heering that the towne of Harflew was taken by the king of Englande, and that he was marchyng forward into the Bowelles of the realme, sent out his proclamations, and assembled his people in euery quarter, committing the whole charge of his armie to his sonne the Dolphyn and the Duke of Aquiteyn, which incontinent caused the Bridges to be broken, and all the passages to be defended: besyde that, they caused all corne and other victuall to be destroyed in all places, where they coniectured that the Englishmen would repaire or passe thorough, to the intent that they might eyther keepe them in a place certayne without any passage or departure, and so to destroye them at their pleasures, or else to keepe them in a straye without victualles or comfort, and so by fauine eyther cause them to dye or yeelde.

The king of Englande afflicted with all these incommodities at one tyme was neyther dismayed nor discouraged, but keeping foorth his iourney approached to the ryuer of Some, where he perceaued that all the Bridges were by his enimies broken and unframed: wherefoze he came to the passage called Blanchetaque, where king Edwards great graudfather passed the ryuer of Some befoze the battayle of Cressy: But the passage was so kept that he could not passe without great daunger, considering that his enimies were both befoze his face, and hard behinde his backe: But yet he passed forward, burnyng Villages and taking great booties, and euery day he sent his light horsemen abroad to spie and seke what perilles there were at hande, and what embushments were layde on the one syde or the other, and where he might most safely passe the riuer. The Espialles returned and declared for a truth that the countrie swarmed with men of warre, whereof he being aduertised, set foorth in good order, keeping still his way forward, and so ordered his armie and placed his carriage, that hauing his enimies on both sides of him, he passed so terribly that his enimies were astrayde once to offer him battayle: And yet the Lorde Delabreth Constable of Fraunce, the Marshall Boncequait, the Erle of Wandosme great Master of Fraunce and the Lorde Dampier Admirall of Fraunce, the Duke of Alanson, and the Erle of Richmond with all the puyssaunce of the Dolphyn lay at Abuyte, and durst not once touche his battayles, but euer kept the passages, and coasted aloofe lyke a Hawke that lyketh not her praye.

The king of Englande still kept on his iourney vntill he came to the Bridge of saint Marce, where he found aboute xxx. thousand Frenchmen, and there pitched his fielde, looking surely to be set on and foughten withall: wherefoze to encourage his Captaynes the moze, he dubbed certaine of his balyaunt and hardy gentlemen knightes, as:

John

Blanchetaque a passage ouer the ryuer of Some.

John Lorde Ferrer of Groby.  
Reignold of Greystock.  
Piers Tempest.  
Christopher Morisby.  
Thomas Pickering.  
Wylliam Huddleston.

John Hosbalton.  
Henry Mortimer.  
Phyllip Hall.  
Wylliam Hall.  
Jaques of Oymond,  
wyth dyuers other.

But after the king sawe that the Frenchmen made no semblance to fight, he departed in good order of battayle by the towne of Amynce, to a towne nere to a Castell called Bowes, and there laye two dayes, looking euery houre for battayle. And from thence he came nere to Corby, where he was steyed that night by reason that the common people and Defaunts of the country assembled in great number, and the men of armes of the Garrison of Corby skirmished with his armie in the morning, which sayeng was to him both ioyous and profitable, for there he discomfited the crewe of horsemen, and drave the rusticall people euen to their gates, and found there the same day a shalow foorde betwene Corby and Peron, which neuer was espied befoze. At the which he, his armie and cariages the night ensuyng passed the ryuer of Some without let or daunger, and then determined with all diligence to passe the ryuer of Some, without let or daunger, and then determined with all diligence to passe forward to Calice, and not to seeke for battayle, except he were therevnto constreyned, for his armie by sicknesse was sore minished, for he had onely two thousand horsemen, and xiiij. thousand Archers, bill men and of all sortes: The Englishmen were afflicted in this iourney with an hundred incommodities, for their victuall was in manner all spent, and newe they coude get none, for the enimies had destroyed all befoze their coming: Rest they could take none, for their enimies were euer at hand: Daylie it rayned, and nightly it freezed, of fuell was scarcenesse, and of fluxes was plenty, money they had ynough, but comfort they had none.

The French king being at Roan, and heering that the king of Englande was passed the water of Some, was not a litte discontent (and as Hall sayth) assembled his counsaile to the number of xxxv. to consult what should be done, the chiefe wherof, were the Dolphyn his sonne, whose name was Lewes, calling himselfe king of Cicile, the Dukes of Berry and Briteyn, the Erle of Montieu the kings youngest sonne, and dyuers other, wherof xxx. agreed that the Englishmen should not departe but foughten withall, and some were of the contrary opinio, but the greater number ruled the matter. And so Mountioy king at Armes was sent to the king of Englande to desyre him as the enemye of Fraunce, and to tell him that he should shortly haue battayle. King Henry soberly aunswored: Sic my entent and desyre is none other, but to do as pleaseth almightie God, and as it becommeth me, for surely I will not seeke your mayster at this time: But if he or his seeke me, I will willingly fight with hym. And if any of your nation attempt once to stop me in my iourney toward Caleys, at their leopardie be it, and yet my desyre is that none of you be so vnadvised or harebreynd, as to be the occasion that I in mine owne defence should be the effusion of Christian bloud, and thus he rewarded the Herault, and lycenced him to depart.

When the Lordes of Fraunce heard the king of Englandes aunswere,

The Englishmen were sore afflicted.

The French king sendeth a defiance to the king of England.



it was incontinent proclaymed, that all men of warre should resort to the Constable of Fraunce, to fight with the king of Englande, and his pursuance: whereupon all men accustomed to beare armour, and desirous to wyne honour thorough the realme of Fraunce, drew toward the field. The Dolphyn sore desyred to be at that battayle, but he was prohibited by the king his father: Lykewise Philip Erle of Charolous sonne to the Duke of Burgoyne would gladly haue beene at that noble assembly, if the Duke his father would haue suffred him, but many of his men staid awaye, and went to the Frenchmen.

The king of England being informed by his Espialles that the daye of battayle was neerer then he looked for, dislodged from Bemyers, and went in good aray thorough the fayre playne, beside the towne of Blangy, where to the intent that his armie should not be included in a streight, or driven to a corner, he chose a place meete and conuenient for two armies to darraigne battayle betweene the townes of Blangy and Agincourte, where he pight hys fielde.

The Constable of Fraunce, the Admirall, the Lorde Rambures maister of the Crosbowes, and dyuers Lordes and knightes pitched their Banners neere to the Banner royall of the Constable, in the Countie of Saint Paule within the territorie of Agincourt, by the which waye the Englishe men must needes passe towarde Calays. The frenchmen made great tyres about their Banners, and they were in number. lx. thousand horsemen as their aboue histoziars and writers affirme, besyde footemen, pages and Waggoners, and all that night they made great cheere and were mery. The Englishe men also that night sounded their trumpets, and dyuers Instruments muscalle with great melodie, and yet they were both hungrie, werie, sore traauayled and muche bered with colde diseases: Howbeit they made peace with God and their consciences, euery man encouraging other rather manfully to dye, then eyther to yeelde or fle.

Nowe approached the fortunate and fayre day to the Englishe men, and a blacke and unluckie day to the French men, which was the. xxb. day of October. 1415. beyng then Friday. On the which day in the moorning, the French men made three battayles. In the Vaward were. liij. thousande healmes of knightes & Esquiers, and foure thousand Archers, and. xv. C. Crosbowes, which were guded by the Lorde Delabreth Constable of Fraunce, hauryng with him the Dukes of Orleance, and Burbon, the Erles of Cleve, & Richmond, the Marshal Bonciqualt, and the maister of the Crosbowes, the Lord Dampier Admirall of Fraunce, and other Capteynes, and the Erle of Vaudoune, and other the kinges officers, with. xvj. hundzeth men of Armes, and they were ordered for a wing to that battaile. And the other wing was guded by Sir Guyllard Dolphin, and sir Clugnet of Brabant, and sir Lewes of Burbon, with. viij. hundzeth men of Armes of chosen persons. And to breake the shot of the Englishe men, were appoynted sir Guylliam de Saueusens, with Hector and Philip his brethren, Ferrey of Maylley, and Alein of Gaspanes, with other. liij. C. men of Armes. In the middle ward were assigned as many persons and mo as were assigned in the Vaward, and therof was the charge committed to the Dukes of Barre, and Alenson, the Erles of Beuers, Vawdemount Blamont, Salings, Graunt pree, & of Ruffy. And

The courage  
of the Eng-  
lishmen.

The battayle  
of Agincourt

iii

in the rereuarde were all the other men of Armes, guded by the Erles of Harle, Dampmarctyne, Fauconberge, and the Lorde Lutrey, Capteyne of Arde, who had with him men of the Frontiers of Bolonoye.

When these Battayles were thus ordered, it was a glorious sight to beholde them, and surely they were esteemed to be in number six tymes as many or more then was the whole companie of Englishe men with Wagones, Pages and all. And now both the Armies beyng in a redinesse, the Constable of Fraunce with an eloquent and earnest Oration, encouraged hys soldiours manfully that day to stande to it for the honour of Fraunce: The king of England did no lesse prudently and valiantly spyre by the heartes of his people. And these exhortations ended, the king of England had placed primely two hundzeth Archers in a lowe Medowe nere to the forwarde of his enemies, but yet separate with a great dicke, and they were commaunded to kepe themselues close untill they had a token geuen them to shote. Besyde this he appoynted a Vaward, of the which he made Capteyne Edward Duke of Yorke, which of a haute courage obteyned of the king by petition that office, and with him were the Lordes Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope, and this battaile was all Archers. The middle ward was guded by the king himselfe, with his brother the Duke of Gloucester, and the Erles Marshall, Orford, and Suffolke, in the which were all the strong bill men. The Duke of Exeter, Uncle vnto the king, had the rereuarde which was myred both with Archers and Bill men. The horsemen like winges went on euery side of the battaile. When the king had thus ordered his battaile, yet fearyng least the French men would compass and beset him about, lyke a wise and a politike prince, he caused stakes bound with yron sharpe at both the endes, of the length of. v. or. vi. foote, to be pitched before the Archers, to the entent that if the barde horses ranne rashly vpon them, they might shortly be gozed and destroyed, and appoynted certteine persones to remouie the stakes when the Archers moued, as tyme requyred: so that the footemen were hedged about with the stakes, & the horsemen stode lyke a Bulwarke betweene them and their enemies, without the stakes. This deuice of fortifying of an armie with stakes, was at this tyme first deuised and practised, but since that tyme they haue denyed, Caltrappes, Harrowes, and other newe trickes. All thinges beyng thus set in order, nowe approached the battaile. But here shall sheweth at large, howe that the French men the night before had made themselues assured of the victorie, and had diuided the prisoners and spoiles among them, and had cast lottes for them, but it is an olde proverbe that he that maketh his reconyng without his hoste, must be false to recon twice, and also it is a true sayng, that man purposeth; but God disposeth, for victorie is the gift of God, as may appere by the sequelle of this battaile, which happened to the Englishe men rather miraculously then otherwise. Therefore to God the king very well gaue the praise thereof, as in the ende of the same ye shall heere.

Nowe the armies approchyng somewhat nere, an olde knight called Sir Thomas Harpyngton, a man of great experience in warre, with a Warder in his hande. And when he cast by the Warder, all the armie shoted, at the which the Frenchmen much manuepled: But that was a signe to the Archers in the Medowe; which knowyng the token shot wholly altogether

Rr. j.

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A good in-  
vention.



ther at the vaward of the french men. When they perceyued the Archers in the Meadowe, whome they sawe not before, and sawe they could not come to them for a ditch, they with all hast set on king Henries foreward: But ere they ioynd, the Archers in the forefront, and the Archers on the syde, which stode in the Meadowe, so wounded the totemen, so galled the horses, and so combred the men of Armes, that the footemen durst not go forward, the horsemen ranne in plompes without order, some ouerthrewe his fellowe, and horses ouerthrewe their maisters: So at the first iorneyng, as the frenche men were clerely discouraged, so the Englishe men were muche chered and comforted. When the french vaward was thus discomfited, the Englishe Archers cast away theyr Bowes, and toke into their handes, Axes, Halles, Swordes and Billes, and therewith slue the french men, vntill they came to the middle warde. Then the king appoched, and so encouraged his souldiours, that shortly the seconde battaile was ouerthrowne, and dispersid, but not without great slaughter of men, for the frenchmen strongly withstood the fiercenesse of the English men, when they came to handie strokes, so that the fight was very doubtfull and perillous. And when one part of the french horsemen thought to haue entered into the kinges battaile, they were wylly the stakes ouerthrowne and slaine, or taken.

A valiant  
Prince.

Thus the battaile continued thre long houres. The king y day shewed himself a valiant Prince, for notwithstanding that he was almost felled by the Duke of Alanson, yet with plain strength he slue two of the Dukes companie, and felled the Duke: But when the Duke would haue yelded vnto him, the kinges garde, contrary to the kinges minde, outragiously slue him. And in conclusion, minding to make an ende of that dayes iourney, caused his horsemen to fetch a compasse about, and to ioyne with him against the reuerde of fraunce, in the which battaile were the greatest number of people. When the french men perceyued his entent, they were sodeinly amased, and rane away lyke sheepe, without array or order. When the king perceyued the Banners cast downe, and the array cleerely broken, he encouraged hys Souldiours, and folowed so quickly, that the french men turnyng to flight, ran hether and together, not knowyng which way to take, castyng away their armour, and on their knees desyred to haue their liues saued.

In this meane tyme, while the battaile continued, and that the Englishe men had taken a great number of prisoners, certeine frenche men on horsebacke, whereof were Capteynes, Robinet of Worneuile, Riffarde of Clamas, and Flamert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of vij. hundred horsemen, which fled first from the field at their first comyng, and heeryng that the Englishe Centes and Pauillions were farre from the armie, and without any great number of keepers or persons mete and conuenient for defence, partly moued with couetousnesse of spoyle and pray, and partly entenyng by some notable act to reuenge the damage and displeasure done to them and theirs in the battaile the same day, entered into the kinges Campe, beyng boyde of men, and fortrefed with Verlettes and Lackeyes, and there spoyled Hales, robbed Centes, brake by Chestes, and caried away Caskettes, and slue suche seruauntes, as they there found: For the which act they were long imprisoned and sore punished, and lyke to haue lost their lynes if the Dolphyn had lenger luyed.

But

But when the king of Englande by a fearefull messenger was sodeinly aduertised of thys newe onset, and also heard the outcrie of the Lackeyes, he fearing least his enimies were gathered together agayne, and doubtyng that the great number of prisoners that were taken, would rather take parte with the enimies then with him, did therefore by proclamation commaund throughout the armie that euery man should kyll his prisoner, vpon paine of death. When this dolorous commaundement was pronounced, pittie it was to see, and more lothsome to beholde how some french men were sodeinly stiked with daggers, some brayned with Bolaxes, some beaten downe with Halles, some their throtes cut, and some their bellies cut, and their paunches hanged out, so that in effect, hauing respect to the great number of prisoners, fewe or none was saued.

When this lamentable manslaughter was fynished, the Englishe men forgetting their woundes, and not remembryng what paine they had susteyned all that daye in fighting with their enimies, as men that were fresh and lustie, raunged themselves agayne in array, both prest and ready to abide a newe fielde, and also to inuade a fresh their enimies, and there withall couragiously set vpon the Erle of Harle and Fauconbridge, and the Lords of Louray and of Thync, which with vij. C. men of armes had all daye kept together, and slue them out of hande.

After this last conflict, the king of Englande passed thorough the fielde, and sawe neyther resistance nor the appaunce of any french men, sauing the dead Corsses, wherefore he caused a retrayte to be blowen, and brought all his armie together, about foure of the clock at after noone, and first (as Hall sayth) callyng his prelates together, caused them to geue thanks to God, by whose almightie power he had receaued that victorie, and to sing the psalme of In exitu Israel, &c. Commaunding euery man to kneele downe, when they came at this verse, Non nobis domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam. Which is in Englishe, Not vnto vs O Lorde, not vnto vs, but vnto thy name be geuen the prayse and glozy, & then caused the psalme of Te deum to be song, so that it might evidently appere that this noble prince had a perfite fayth and trust in the ayde of God, which heard his prayer, and regarded his fayth, and therefore gaue him the victorie.

That night he was refreshed with suche as he founde in the frenche campe, and in the morning Mountiory king at Armes, and foure Heraultes came vnto him to knowe the number of prisoners, and to desyre buriall for them which were slayne. But before he answered the Heraults, he calling to remembraunce, that it was moze honourable to be praysed of his enimies then extolled of his sciendes, did therefore demaunde of them why they made to him that request, for that he was not certaine whether the prayse of that victorie ought to be attributed to him or to their Nation? O Lorde quod Mountiory, thinke you vs officers of Armes to be rude and bestiall? If we for the affection that we beare to our naturall Countrie, would eyther for fauour or meede hyde or denie your glorious victorie: The Foules of the ayre and wormes of the ground will beare witness agaynst vs, and so wyll the Captiues that are yet in your possession. Wherefore accordyng to the dutie of our office, which is or should be alwayes indifferently to write, and truly to iudge, and therefore we saye and affirme, that the victorie is yours, the ho-

Rr. ij.

no2



The battaile of Agincourt.

noz is yourres, and yourres is the glorie, aduising you as you haue manfully gotten it, so polletiquely to vse it. Well sayde the king, seing this is your determination, I wyllingly accept it, desyryng you to shewe me the name of the Castell neere adioyning, and they aunswered it was called Agincourt: Then sayde the king, this conflict shall be called the battaile of Agincourt, which victorie hath not bene obteyned by vs noz our power, but by the ayde and sufferance of almighty God, for the iniurie and vntruth that we haue receyued at the handes of your prince and his nation. And that daye he feasted the French officers of armes, and graunted to them their request, which busily sought thorough the fielde for such as were slayne: But the Englishmen suffered them not to go alone, for they searched with them, and found manye hurte, but not in iopardy of their lyfe, whome they tooke prisoners, and brought them into their tents.

When the king of Englande had well refreshed himselfe and hys souldyours, and had taken the spoyle of suche as were slaine, he with his prisoners in good order returned toward his towne of Calice.

When tydings of this notable victorie was perfittely knowne in Englande, there was no small ioye and reioysing with prayeing of God, and making of Bonefyres with all the triumph that might be made.

On the Sundaye, after the king was departed toward Calcey, diuers Frenchmen repayred to the playne where the battaile was, and remoued agayne the dead bodyes, some to finde out their Masters, and to bury them, and some to take the reliques which the Englishmen had left. For the Englishmen tooke nothing but Golde, Siluer, Jewelles, riche apparell and costly armour: But the ploughmen and Heysaunts spoyled the deade Carcasses, leauing them neyther shyrt noz clovete, and so they laye stark naked untill Wednesday. On the which day diuers of the noble men were conueyed into their countries, and the remnaunt were by Philip Erle of Charoloy (soze lamenting the chaunce, and moued with pittie) at his cosse and charge buried in a square plot of fiftene hundred yardes, in the which he caused to be made thre pittes, wherin was buried by accompt fine thousand and. viij. hundred persons beside them which were carryed away, and other that were wounded to the death, and were carryed to Hospitalles and there dyed.

Prisoners taken.

In this battaile were taken and slayne the flowre of all the Nobilitie of Fraunce, for there were taken prisoners:

- |                                |                                                                                                                     |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Charles Duke of Orleance.      | The Lorde of Dynchy.                                                                                                |
| John Duke of Burbone.          | Sir John of Wadecourt.                                                                                              |
| John of Craon Lord of Donuart. | Sir Arthur Bremper.                                                                                                 |
| The Lorde of Fosseur.          | Sir Fenet of Boys.                                                                                                  |
| The Lorde of Humpers.          | The sonne and heyre of the Lorde Ligny.                                                                             |
| The Lorde of Roy.              | Sir Gilbert de Laboney.                                                                                             |
| The Lorde of Cadwyn.           | The Lorde Dancombe, and diuers other, to the number of. xv. hundred kightes and Esquires, besyde the common people. |
| The Lorde of Hamcourt.         |                                                                                                                     |
| The Lorde of Noell.            |                                                                                                                     |
| The Lorde Bonciqualt,          |                                                                                                                     |
| Marshall of Fraunce.           |                                                                                                                     |

There were slayne of the Nobles and Gentlemen at this battaile, Charles Lorde Delabzeth, high Conestable of Fraunce,

Noble men slaine.

Jaques

- |                                                             |                                                                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jaques of Chastillon Lorde of Dampier, Admirall of Fraunce. | The Lorde Daurcy.                                                      |
| The Lorde Rambures, master of the Crossebowes.              | The Lorde Brenew.                                                      |
| Sir Guyhard Dolphyn, great Master of Fraunce.               | The Lorde of Pair.                                                     |
| John Duke of Maunson.                                       | The Lorde Crecqui.                                                     |
| Anthony Duke of Brabant.                                    | The Lorde of Lowraye.                                                  |
| Edward Duke of Barre.                                       | The Baylye of Ampence.                                                 |
| The Erle Neuers.                                            | The Lorde of Rayniale.                                                 |
| Sir Robert Barre Erle of Harle.                             | The Lorde of Longuale.                                                 |
| The Erle of Wadecourt.                                      | The Lorde of Hawlaye.                                                  |
| The Erle of Blawmount.                                      | The Lorde of Diurte.                                                   |
| The Erle of Graundpre.                                      | The Lorde of Newfile.                                                  |
| The Erle of Rouffy.                                         | The Lorde of Saliguy.                                                  |
| The Erle of Fawconbridge.                                   | The Lorde of Rocheguythe.                                              |
| The Erle of Foy.                                            | The Viceane of Lamoy.                                                  |
| The Erle of Lestrake.                                       | The Lorde Delaligier.                                                  |
| The Lorde Boys of Burbon.                                   | The Lorde of Sastremount.                                              |
| The Viceane of Amias.                                       | The Lorde Saint Bris.                                                  |
| The Lorde of Croy.                                          | The Lord of Contes and his sonne.                                      |
| The Lorde Belly.                                            | The Lord of Haunes & his brother                                       |
|                                                             | The Lorde of Ront.                                                     |
|                                                             | The Lorde of Applyncourt,                                              |
|                                                             | The lord Delarauer, w diuers other which I leaue out for tediousnesse. |

And certainly by the relation of Heraltes, and declaration of other noble persons worthy of credite, as Enguerrant wyrteth, there were slaine at this battaile on the French parte, aboue ten thousand persons, whereof were princes and nobles bearing banners. Cxxvi. and all the remnaunt sauuing. xvj. C. were knightes, Esquires and Gentlemen: So of noble men and Gentlemen were slayne eyght thousand, and foure hundred, of the which fine hundred were dubbed knightes, the night before the battaile. From the fielde escaped alyue the Erle Dampmartyn, Clinet of Brabant, Sir Lewes of Burbon, Sir Galliot of Gaultes, Sir John Dengearmes, and fewe other men of name.

English men slaine.

Of Englishmen were slaine at this battaile, Edward Duke of Yorke, The Erle of Suffolke, Sir Richard Kikeley, and Dauigam Esquer, and of all other not aboue fine or sixe hundred persons.

After that the king had refreshed himselfe in the Towne of Calice, and that such prisoners as he had left at Harflew, as you haue heard, were come vnto him to Calice: Then he the sixt day of Nouember with all his prisoners tooke shipping at Calice, and the same day landed at Douer, hauyng with him the deade bodyes of the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Suffolke, and caused the Duke to be buryed at his Colledge of Foderpynghey, and the Erle at Chelme. And by soft iourneyes he came to London, and was met and receyued at Blacketh by the Mayor and Aldermen of London, clothed in scarlet, and three hundred Commoners clothed in murrey, with all ioy and solemnitie, prayyng God for the high honour & victorie that he had obteyned.

But now to retorne to the french king, when he heavy newes of the losse of the aforesayde battaile came vnto him, he then lying at Roan, and wyth

heauynesse to the french king.

Rr. iij.

him



him the Dolphyn, the Dukes of Berrey, and Briteyn, and his second sonne the Erle of Donthewe, though the same were most grieuous unto him, no man ought to merueyle. Wherefore the frenche king perceyving that the warre was nowe but newly begon, determined to prouide for chaunces to come before they should sodainly happen. And first he elected his chiefe officer for the warres called the Constable, which was the Erle of Arminacke, a wise and pollitique Capteine, and an auncient enemye to the English men, and Sir John of Corsey was made maister of the Crosbowes, and then they fortified towne, and furnished garisons. While these thinges were thus in working, eyther for Melancholy that he had for the losse susteyned at Agincourt aforesayde, or else by some sodaine disease, John Dolphyn of Wyndesore, heire apparant to Charles the french king, departed out of this natural lyfe without issue, which was an happie chaunce for Robynet of Bozneuile and his companions, as you haue heard before, for his death was their lyfe, and his lyfe would haue bene their death.

The death of  
the Dolphyn  
of France.

1415

4

After this notable victorie obteyned by the Englishe men, and that king Henry was departed into England, and the french king had made his new officers, as aforesayd. Thomas Duke of Exeter Capteine of Harflew, accompanied with three thousand Englishmen, made a great road into Normandy, almost to the Citie of Roan: In which iourney he gate great aboundaunce both of riches and prisoners. But in his returne the Erle of Arminack newly made Constable of France, entending in this his first iourney to winne his spurre, and in his companie aboute five thousand horsemen, encountered with him. The skirmishe was sore, and the fight fierce, but because the Englishe men were not able to resist the force of the french horsemen, the Duke to saue his men, was compelled to retyre as politikelly as he could deuyse: But for all that he could do, he lost three hundred of his men. The frenche men not content with this good lucke, folowed them almost to the Barrers of Harflew. When the Englishe men within the towne espied the chace, they issued out in good order, and met with their enemies, and not onely slue and tooke a great number of them, but also chased them aboute. liij. Myles toward the Citie of Roan.

3 sore battell.

Sigismund  
Emperour.

And about this season, Sigismund Emperour of Almaine, which had maryed Barbara daughter to the Erle of Silie, Collyn Germain remoued to king Henry, a man of great vertue, & fidelitie, which had not only long labored to set an vnitie and conoord in Christes Church, and Christian religion, but also he sent dyuerse Ambassadors, aswell to the french king as to the king of England, because he was farre distant from their countries and regions to encrease perfect peace and vnitie. Wherefore he perceyving that his Ambassade brought nothing to such conclusion as he wished, did therefore in his awne person come from the furthest part of Hungary into France, and after into England, entending to knit together all Christian Princes in one amitie and frendship, and so beyng friendes together, to make warre and reuenge their quarelles agaynst the Turke, the persecutor of Christes fayth, and enemy to all Christendom. And with this noble Prince came the Archebishop of Reynes, and dyuerse other noble men, as Ambassadors from the french king, into England. The king of England for olde amitie betwene the house of England and Beame, accompanied with all his Nobilitie,

Nobilitie, him receyued upon Blacke heth the. vij. day of May, and brought him through London to Westminster with great triumph, where Justes, Courneyes, and other martiall feates were to him with all ioy and pleasure shewed, and set forth.

Duryng which tyme, there came into Englande Albert Duke of Holland, who also was friendly enterteyned. And these two Princes were by the king conueyed to Windsor to saint Georges feast, and there were elected companions of the noble order of the Garter, and had the Coler and Habite of the same to them deliuered, and sate in their stalles all the solemnitie of the feast, by the which order they knowleged themselves to be highly honoured, and much exalted. After this solempne feast finished, the Duke of Holland well feasted, and greatly rewarded, returned into his Country. But the Emperour tarped styll, neuer ceasing to declare and perswade, what vnitie, what goodnesse, and what ioy might ensue, if both the realmes of England and France were brought to a finall conoord, and perfect vnitie. But the euill chaunce of the french Nation was to his purpose a barre, and a let, because they were predestinate to suffer yet moe plagues and detrimetes at the handes of the English men. For when conoord was at hande, and peace was entereng into the Gates, a new cause of moe discorde and dissension sodainly brake out, and came to the kinges knowlege: For he beyng informed of the losse of his men in the territorie of Roan (as you haue heard) was so sore displeased, that he would heere of no treatie, nor haue once this worde (peace) named.

Albert duke  
of Holland.

The Emperour like a wise Prince, perceyving that the tyme would not serue to bring to passe that he came for, ceased any further to trauaile therein. And leauing all treatie and perswasion for France, he entered into a league and amitie himselfe with the king of England. Which confederacye least it should be broken, they studied and deuised all wayes and meanes possible, for the preservation and obseruation of the same: Which plaine meaning, and true dealing was afterwarde to them both, not onely much honour, but great commoditie. Nowe when the Emperour had thus concluded a league with the king of England, he tooke his iourney homeward into Germanie: and the king of England, partly to shewe him pleasure, and partly because of his awne affayres, associated him to his towne of Calice: during which time the Duke of Burgoyne offered to come to Calice to speake with the Emperour and the king, because he hearde talke of the league and confederacie that was concluded betwene them. The king sent to the water of Grauelyng, the Duke of Gloucester his brother, and the Erle of Marche, to be hostages for the Duke of Burgoyne, and sent also the Erle of Warwike with a noble companie to conduct him to his presence. At Grauelyng foorde the Dukes met, and after salutations done, the Duke of Burgoyne was conueyed to Calice, where of the Emperour, and of the king he was highly welcomed and feasted: Duryng which tyme, a peace was concluded betwene the king of England, and the Duke of Burgoyne, for a certain space, concerning onely the Counties of Flaundrys, and Arthoys, for the which cause the french king and his sonne was highly displeased. The Duke of Gloucester was receyued at Grauelyng by the Erle of Caroloys, sonne to the Duke of Burgoyne, and by him honourably conueyed to Saint Omers, and there lodged

The Emperour  
entered  
into a league  
with the king  
of England.

A peace con-  
cluded be-  
twene the  
king of Eng-  
land and the  
Duke of  
Burgoyne.

ged



ged that night. The next day the Erle Caroloys came with diuers noble men to visit the Duke of Gloucester in his lodgyng. And when he entered into his Chamber, the Dukes backe was towarde him, talkyng with some of his seruantes, and did not see nor welcome the Erle Charoloys at the first entrie: But after he sayde shortly, without any great reuerence or comming towarde him: ye are welcome fayre Cossyn, and so passed forth his tale with his seruantes. The Erle Charoloys for all his youth was not well content, but suffered for that tyme.

When the Duke of Burgoyne had done all thinges at Calice that he came for, he after the .ix. day returned to Grauelynge, where the Duke of Gloucester and he met againe, and lounge departed, the one to Calice, and the other to Saint Omers: for the which voyage the Duke of Burgoyne was suspected to be enemye to the Crowne of Fraunce. After the Dukes departure, the Emperour was highly feasted and rewarded, and at his pleasure sayled into Holland, and so road into Beame. The king likewise tooke Ship and returned into England, on Saint Lukes euen, the yere of our Lorde. 1417.

In this meane tyme, the Erle of Arminack puffed by with his last victorie, although the honour were small, and the gaine lesse, determined clerely to get againe the towne of Harlew. Wherefore as closely as he could, he gathered together men in euery place, and appoynted them all to mete him at Harlew at a day assigned. The appoyntment was kept, and the towne was besieged both by water and land, before the Capteynes of the towne knewe perfectlye the first motion. For John Vicount Harbon, Viceadmirall of Fraunce had brought the whole nauie to the ryuage and thore adioynng to the towne, entending priuily to haue entered the towne before he had bene perceyued. But this subtile imagination tooke no place, for they which kept the watche tower, sodeinly perceyving their enemies to approche, rang the Laron Bell: And the Duke of Excester incontinently caused all men to repayre to the walles, and forsteyed the Gates, and dispatched a swift Barke to the king of England with letters, requiryng him of ayde and succour. And although the French men perceyued that their wily enterpryse was knowne, and that the towne could not so sodeinly be stolen and taken as they had deuised, yet they continued their siege both by water and by land, and made diuerse assaultes, at the which if they nothyng gayned, yet euer somewhat they lost.

When these newes were come to the eares of king Henric, and that he knewe that his people were in great ieopardie, except that great diligence were vsed for their reliefe and deliuerance, he without delay apparelled a great nauie, and made Chieftaine thereof the Duke of Bedford, who beyng accompanied with the Erles of Marche, Orenford, Hunsyngdon, Warwick, Arondell, Sarisbury, Deuonshire, and diuerse Barons, with two hundred sayle of good Shippes, well furnished with men, munition, and victualles, did with all speede set forwarde, and beyng shipped at Rye, they with good expedition came to the mouth of the Riuer of Seyne. And when the Vicount of Harbon, who with his nauie kept the mouth of the Riuer of Seyn, perceyued the Englishe nauie to approche, he geuyng a token to all his companie, couragiously set forth towarde his enemies. The Duke in

likewise

likewise valiantly encountred with them, the fight was long, but not so long as perillous, for battailes of the sea be euer desperate. But after long fight the victorie fell to the Englishe men, and they tooke and sonke almost all the whole nauie of Fraunce, in the which were many Shippes, Hulkes, and Carricks, to the number of five hundred. Of the which three great Carricks were sent into England. And in the same conflict were slaine of the French men no small number, as it appeared by their dead bodyes, which swarmed euery day about the Englishe shippes.

After this victorie fortunately obteyned, the Duke of Bedford sayled by water by to the very towne of Harlew, and without let or impediment landed and refreshed it both with victuall and money: which succours if they were welcome to the Duke of Excester his Uncle, I report me to them that haue bene in necessitie, and would haue gladly bene refreshed.

When the Erle of Arminack heard that the puyssaunt Hauie of Fraunce was vanquished and taken, he reysed his siege before the towne, and returned with small ioye vnto Paris, as he that had no hope, nor sawe no lykelyhood or meane to recouer agayne the towne of Harlew, for the which he so sore thirsted.

After this discomfiture and great losse, the fortitude and strength of the Frenchmen beganne to decaye, and their bragging bewtie beganne to fade. For nowe the Princes and Nobles of the realme fell into diuision and discorde among themselves, as who say, that the Nobility studyeng how to reuenge their olde iniuries and displeasures, refused to take payne for the aduancement of the publique wealth, and sauegarde of their awne countrie. And for priuie displeasure, couert malice or hatred, their power began to wane so slender, and their libertie was brought into suche a malicious diuersitie and doubtfull difference, that, as here after shall be shewed, it was merueyle y their countrie was not brought to a perpetuall bondage: Which thing no doubt had followed, if this king Henry of Englande had longer liued in this transitorie worlde. For notwithstanding that the Duke of Orleans, the Captaine and head of the one faction, was at that tyme captiue and prisoner in England, yet there grew so much priuie displeasure and carthated betwene Charles the Dolphyn and John Duke of Burgoyne, that whyle the one studied and compassed howe to ouercome the other, with armour or with pollicie, with dissimulation or craftie conueyance, euerye Journeyman of their faction, and euery noble man partaker with the one or the other, put all their whole studie and diligence to aduance forwarde their sect and parte, and not one of them would take heede how to resist or refell the present ieopardie which was comming out of Englande. And as one inconuenience suffereth many to follow, so was it in Fraunce at this time: For the french king was not of good memorie: The warre that was towarde seemed both doubtfull and perillous: The princes were vntrusty, and at discorde, and an hundred things, which might bring the realme to extreme miserie and bitter destruction, as after you shall here.

When the Duke of Bedford had atchieued his enterpryse, and performed his commission both in rayeing the siege of Harlew, and victualling of the towne, he with no small number of prisoners, and great abundaunce of praye, as well in shippes and in prouision for the sea, returned into Eng-

land

The French men ouerthrowne by on the Sea.

Harlew is rescued by the Englishe men.

The Erle of Arminack departeth fro the siege of Harlew.

Discorde among the noble in Fraunce

Harlew besieged by the Frenchmen.



land with great triumph and glozie.

1415  
5  
parliamēt.

Shortly after this, the king assembled his high courte of Parliament, and there in open audience made to them a thozte and pithie Oration, declaring to them the iniuries lately done and committed by the French Nation, and shewed also the iust and lawfull occasion of his warres, and signified also what discorde and ciuile dissention reigned amongst the Nobilitie of France, and rehearsed many things for the which it were now very necessarie and needefull for his grace and the realme, to repressse and ouercome them with all their power and puyssaunce, and that without deferring or prolonging of time, and therefore in all gentle maner desyzed them to prouide for money and treasure out of hande for the conduct and wages of souldiours, to the intent that nothing should lacke when they should be ready to set on their enemies.

The whole parliament hearing his causes so iust, and his request so reasonable, did immediately geue their generall assent to ayde him, and caused such somes as they agreed vpon to be forthwith collected and payed, so glad was all men of these warres, and as all they conceaued good opinion thereof, so it happened in the ende most honorable to the king, and profitable to the subiectes.

John Duke of Bedford made gouernour of the Realme of England.

John Holland Erie of Huntingdon.

Jaques Bastard of Burbon.

The king of Englands came with a power into France.

In this parliament also John Duke of Bedford was made Gouernour or Regent of the realme, and head of the publique wealth, which office he should enioye as long as the king was making warre on the French nation. The king before he would take his boyage, sent the Erie of Huntingdon to serche and scowze the Seas, least any Frenchmen being in waye for him might attrap him sodainly, or he had any knowledge of their setting forward. This lustie Erie called John Holland, sonne to the Duke of Excester, which was behedded at Circiter in the time of King Henry the fourth, and Collyn to the king, with a great number of shippes searched the sea from the one coast to the other. And in conclusion he encountred with ix. Caricks of Jeane (which Lorde Jaques the Bastard of Burbon had reteyned to serue the french king) and set vpon them sharply, the conflict was great, and the fight long: But in conclusion the Frenchmen were overcome and fled, and three of the greatest Caricks with their patrones, and Monsieur Jaques de Burbon their Admirall were taken with asmuch money as should haue payd the Souldiours of the whole flete for halfe a yere: And three other Carickes were bowged and sent to the bottome of the sea.

The king heering of this good chaunce, about the ende of Julij tooke his Ship at Portesmouth, accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, brethren to the sayde king, the Eries of Huntingdon, Merhall, Marwike, Devonshire, Salburie, Suffolke and Somerset, the Lords Rolfe, Willoughby, Fitz Hugh, Clynton, Scrope, Matriners, Bourchier, Ferrers of Erby & Ferrers of Chartley, Fanhope and Gray of Codnoze, Sir Gilbert Umfreuyle, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and dyuers other: And so having winde and wether to his desyre, he landed in Normandie nere vnto a Castell called Touque, where he consulted with his Captaines what waye was best to be taken concerning their high enterpryse.

When the Normans heard of the kings arriuall, they were sodainly stricken with a deadly feare, and as men amazed, and halfe out of their wities, and

and forsake their houses and bagge and baggage, and ranne into the strong and walled townes. And likewise the men of warre, which were left in euery place to scowze the Country, fled into the walled townes, among the rude Commonaltie.

When king Henry had taken counsaile, he layed siege to the Castell of Touque, being very well fortified both with nature and mans arte, and began to assault it: And although that they within valiantly defended it, yet by fine force the king ouercame it and tooke it, and all the men that were therein, whome also he tooke to mercy, and made Captaine thereof Sir Robert Kirkkeley knight.

Touque castell besieged and taken.

From thence he passed forth to the strong towne of Cane, which standeth in a playne fertile countrey, no stronger walled then depe ditched, which was well victualled and replenished with people: For the Citizens fearing the kinges coming, had prouyded for all things necessary for defense. And as sone as the king was come he cast a depe trench with a high mount to prohibite them within the towne to haue any egress or outward passage: and that done, beganne fiercely to assault the towne: But the men of the towne were nothing abashed, and stood manly to their defence. The fight was fierce and euery man tooke heede to his charge. The Englishmen studied all the wayes possible to dammage their enemies, some shot arrowes, some cast stones, and other shot Connes: Some brake the walles with engines, some set scaling ladders to the walles, and other cast in wildfyre, euery man labored to come to hande strokes, which was their desyre. On the other syde, the Normans threwe downe great stones, Barres of yron, dartes, hot Witche, and breinyng Brimstone and boyling lead. Dyuers dayes this assault continued to the great losse & hurt of the Englishmen. When king Henry perceyued this, he absteyned from the assault, & determined vnderminyng to overthrow the walles & towres of the towne, & the Pioners wrought so fast that within fewe dayes, the walles stood onely vpon Postes ready to fall, when fyre should be put vnto them. The king caused his people to approche the walles, and to keepe the Citizens occupied, least they should make a countermine, or to be an impediment to his workemen and laborers, wherefore he caused the assault to be cried agayne: Then euery man ran to the walles, some with scaling ladders, some with hookes, and some with cards and plom nets, euery man desyryng to get by on the walles, and haue to hande to grapple with his enemye, the Citizens manfully defended. While the fight was quick and fierce on both sydes: The Englishmen in diuers places perceived and brake thorough the walles, and dyuers overtnes and holes were made vnder the foundation by the Pioners, by the which the Englishmen might easely enter into the towne. The king hauing compassio of the townes men, desyryng rather to haue them saued then destroyed, sent them worde by an Herault, that yet was time of mercie and clemencie, if they would submit themselues to his grace: But they obstinately hoping of succour, answered that they would stand at their defense. Then the Englishmen againe scaled the walles, and entred thowow the trenches into the towne: The fight was sore by the space of an houre, but in conclusio the Englishmen obteyned.

Cane besieged and als saulced.

Howe when the king was possessed of the towne of Cane, he first of all commaunded all harneys and weapons to be brought into one place, which was



was done with diligence without any resistance. Then the miserable people kneeling on their knees cryed for mercie: To whom the king gaue certayne comfortable wordes and bade them stande by, and then he resorted to the Church and gaue thanks to God, & after he caused a good and great watch that night to garde the towne. And the next day in the morning he called the Magistrates and gouernours of the towne into the Senate house, where some for their stony stubbernesse, and mad obstinacie were aduudged to die, and other were soze fyned and highly ransomed. Then he callyng together hys souldyours and men of warre, both gaue to them high laudes and prayes for their manly doings, and also distributed to euery man according to his desert the spoyle and gayne, taken of the towne and townes men, chiefly because he had tried at that assaulte their valiaunt courages, and vnfearefull heartes.

Howe though the towne were wonne, as aforesayde, yet the Castell which was strong and well fortifed, both with men & al things necessary for defence, was still in the Frenchmens possession, the captayne wherof, to the entent to shew himselfe valiaunt and not wylling to breake his othe, boasted that he would rather dye in defense, then freely to yeelde the Castell. King Henry was not minded to ouerthrow the Castell (without which it was not easie to be won) because it was bewtiful & necessary both to kepe the towne from goyng backe, & also to defend the same when oportunitie should serue: Wherefore he sent worde to the Lorde Mountaigny being captaine, that if he would yeelde the Castell by a daye, he should departe without dammage: And if he would be obstinate, he should finde no fauour. When the Captaine and his companions had well considered vpon the condition offered, he rendred the Castell and yelded themselues. And so the king was possessed both of the towne and Castell of Cane.

While the king of England was besiegyng this towne, the French men had neyther a conuenient armie to resist their power, nor were redy or able relieue their friendes in this miserable necessitie, because they had such diuision & dissension among themselues, and a good cause why: For king Charles was of so small wit by reason of his sicknesse, that he could not rule, and so was spoyled both of his treasure and kingdome, and euery man spent and wasted the common treasure.

Charles the Dolphyn beyng of the age of. xvi. or. xvij. yeres, onely lamented and bewayled the ruine and decay of hys countrie: He onely studyed the aduancement of the common welth, and he onely deuyed how to resist his enimies: But hauyng neyther men nor money, was greatly troubled and vnquieted. And in conclusion, by the counsaile of the Erle of Arminack Constable of Fraunce, he founde a meane to get all the treasure and riches which Quene Isabell his mother had gotten and hozded by in dyuerse secret places: and for the common vtilitie of his Countrie, he spent it wisely in buyyng of his Souldiours, in preparyng of thinges necessarye for the warre. The Queene forgettyng the great perill the realme stode in, but remembryng the displeasure to her by this act done, declared her sonne and the Constable to be her mortall enimies, and promised that they should be persecuted to the bittermost. And euen for very womanly malice, shee set in the highest auctoritie about the king her husband, John Duke of Burgoyne, geuyng

Castell of Cane is rendred to the king.

Charles the Dolphyn of Fraunce.

him

him the regiment and direction of the king and his Realme, with all prehemynence and souereigntie.

The Duke of Burgoyne hauyng nowe the sworde of auctoritie, for the which he had so soze longed, and glad to be reuenged of his olde iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphyn. And purposyng that when he had once tamed and framed to his purpose this yong vnbrideled Gentleman, then he determined, as he might to resist and withstand the common enimies of the realme. The same or like reason moued the Dolphyn, for he myndyng first to repress and extinct the Ciuile dissension at home, before he would inuade forein enimies, prepared warre to subdue and destroy John Duke of Burgoyne, as the chiefe heade & leader of that wicked and great mischiefe, whereby the realme was much vnquieted, & more decayed, and in a maner brought to a small ruine and bitter destruction. Thus Fraunce was inflamed, and in euery part troubled with warre and diuision, and yet no man would eyther prouide in so great a daunger, nor once put forth their synger to remoue the mischiefe.

King Henry not myndyng to lye still in Normandie, nor yet to leaue his enterpryse vnperformed, sent the Duke of Clarence to the Sea coast, which with great difficultie gate the towne of Bayeux. The Duke of Gloucester also with small assault, and lesse defense tooke the towne of Lisieux. In the meane season, King Henrie tarped still at Cane, fortifyng the Towne and Castell, and put out of the towne. xii. hundred women and impotent persons, and replenished the towne with Englishe people. And while the king iourned at Cane, he kept a solempne feast, and made there many knightes: And besydes that, he shewed there an example of great charitie & mercy. For in searching the Castell, he found there innumerable substance of plate & money, belonging to the Citizens: whereof he would not suffer one penny to be touched or conueyed away, but restored the goodes to the owners, and deliuered to euery man his awne.

When the fame of the gettyng of Cane was blowen through Normandie, the Normanes were so soze afrayed, and so much abashed, that you should not onely haue sene men, women, and children runnyng in euery way by great plompes from towne to towne, not knowyng whether to flie: But also the rurall persons and husband men draue the Beastes out of the Villages into suche places where they hoped of refuge or defence: So that a man would haue thought that Normandy had sodainly bene left desolate and boyd of people and Cattaille. But when the rumoz was spread abroad of his clemencie shewed to Captiues, and of his mercie graunted to suche as submitted themselues to his grace, all the Capteines of the townes adisyng came willyngly to his presence, offering to him themselues, their townes, and their goodes. Whereupon he made proclaymation, that all men which had or would become his Subiectes, and sweare to him allegeaunce, should enjoy their goodes and liberties in as large or moze ample maner then they did before, which gentle enterteinyng, and fauourable handelyng of the stubborne Normanes, was the very cause why they were not onely content, but also glad to remoue and turne from the French parte, and become subiects to the Crowne of Englande.

When the king had set Cane in good order, he left there for Capteynes, St. J. the

John Duke of Burgoyne is made Regent of Fraunce.

A noble and charitable prince.



the one of the towne and the other of the Castell, Sir Gilbert Umfreville, and Sir Gilbert Talbot, and made Bailife there Sir John Popham, and so departed from Cane to Argenton, which was shortly rendred unto him. Then all these townes folowyng, without stroke striken, yeldded to him, in whom he placed dyuerse Capteynes.

Blanson	Tamboi	Essay
Argenton	Conde	Saloyg
Boyeur	Crenly	Thorigny and Vernoyle

Also these Tovvnes folovvynge yeldded themselves to the Duke of Clarence,

Amilliers	Chambroyg	Fangerimon	Lisient
Barney	Cowrtou	Freshney	Ragles.
Betheluyne	Creuener	Harecozte	

And likewise dyuers tovvnnes in the Country of Constantine yeldded to the Duke of Gloucester, vvhich were these,

Buranches	Constance	Dont done	Uire
Briqueuille	Hambery	Saint Saluioz	Ualoignes.
Cauciton	Hay du Dayes	Saint James	
Chiergurg	Dontozon	Saint Clow	

And while the king wanne thus in Normandie, his nauie lost nothing on the Sea, for they so scoured the streames, that neyther Frenchman nor Briten durst appere: Howbeit one day there arose so hideous and so terrible a strome, that neyther Cable helde, nor Anker preuayled, so that if the Erles of March and Huntyngham had not taken the Hauens of Southhampton, the whole nauie had perished, and the people had bene destroyed, and yet the sauegarde was straunge: For in the same Hauens two Balyngers, and two great Carrikes laden with marchandice were drowned, and the broken masts of another Caricke was blown ouer the wall of Hampton (as diuers wyrters affirme) such is the power of the winde, and such is the rygour of a tempest. When the fury of the winde was asswaged, and the Sea waxed calme, the Erles of March, and Huntyngham passed ouer the sea with all their companie, and landed in Normandie, marchyng toward the king, before whom the Normanes fled, as fast as the fearefull hare doth before the greddie Greyhound. And so they passed through the Countrey, destroyng of Villages, and takyng of prayes, untill they came to the king who then was goyng toward Rhoan.

And durynge this tyme Sir John Oldercastell Lord Cobham, of whome mencion is made before, was taken, and after condemned and hanged, and bzent, the whole Hystorie whereof you may reade in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church.

As the king passed to Rhoan, he was skirmished with, in sundry places, but in the ende the victorie still happened vnto him, so that nothing that stood in his way could stop him, for he tooke by force Dountlarch, Louyers and Sureur, and at the last came before the Citie of Rhoan, the which was wonderfully fortified, for the while he had lpen at the siege of Cane, and was in other places of Normandy, the inhabitants of Rhoan had walled it round about, and made dyuers Bulwarke for the defense thereof, they had also

great store of victuals, for the whole countrey about had brought thether such as they had: And thether also they had brought their plate, Jewels, and money, so that the towne was filled with great ryches & treasure, which caused the king to be the more desyrous thereof, wherefore the last daye of Julij he compassed the same rounde about with a strong siege, and gaue therevnto a terrible assault. And to the intent that no ayde should passe by the ryuer toward the Citie, a great chayne of Yron was deuised at Dountlarche, and set on piles from the one side of the water to the other: and beside that chayne he set by a newe forced bridge, sufficient both for cariage and passage. And at this tyme the Erle of Warwike was sent to the towne of Calwdebeck standing on the ryuer side betwene the Sea and the Citie of Rhoan, which towne he so hardly assaulted, that the Captaines offered to suffer the English nauie to passe by their towne without hurte or detriment, to the Citie of Rhoan, and also that of Rhoan yeldded, they promised to render their towne without anye fayle or farther delaye: And this composition they sealed, and for performance of the same they deliuered pledges. And immediately after this agreement the English nauie, to the number of one hundred Sailles, passed by Calwdebeck and came before Rhoan, and besieged it on the water side. To this siege came the Duke of Gloucester with the Erle of Suffolke and the Lorde of Burgayny, which had taken the towne of Chierburgh, and were lodged before the port of Saint Hilarij, neerer their enemies then any other persons of the armie.

During this siege, arryued at Harflewe the Lorde of Kylinay in Ire-land with a band of. xvi. hundred Frishmen, armed in Mayle with Dartes and scaynes, after the maner of their countrey, all talle, quick, and deliuer persons, which came and presented themselves before the king, lyeng still at the siege: Of whome they were not onely gently enterterncd, but also (because the king was informed that the French king and the Duke of Burgoyne would shortly come, and eyther rayse the siege, or victuall the towne at the Northgate) they were appointed to keepe the Northside of the army, and in especiall the way that came from the forest of Lyons. Which charge the Lord of Kylinay and his company ioyfully accepted, and did so they deuoyre, that no men were more praysed, nor did more dammage to their enemies then they did, for surely their quicknesse and swiftnesse did more preiudice to their enemies, then their great barbed horses did hurte or dammage to the vnable Frishmen.

Thus the Citie of Rhoan being compassed aboute with enemies, both by water and lande, hauing neyther comfort nor ayde of king nor Dolphyn. And although the armie were strong without, yet within there lacked neyther hardy Captaynes nor manfull Souldiours. And as for people, they had more then ynough: For it was written by him that knewe the number, there were at the time of the siege within the Citie of Christian people. CC. and. x. thousand persons. The king and his people assaulted the towne fiercely: The frenchmen defended it courageously and valiantly: long was the siege, and terrible were the assaults, to the losse and no gayne of neyther partie: wherefore after the king of England had well considered with himselfe that by the manifold assaults many of his people perished, therefore at the last he determined to conquere them by famine. Wherefore he stopped all

St. ii. the

Rhoan is besieged.

Frishmen.

Townes in Normandie that yielded to king Henry.

A fore tempest.

Sir John Oldercastell.

1417  
6



the passages both by water and lande that no victuall should be conueyed to the Citie, and he cast trenches round about, & set them full of stakes, and defended them with Archers, so that they within could haue no waye out, eitherto invade their enemies, nor departe out of their fortresse.

And sodainly a fayned tydings was brought, that the french king approached with all his power to rayse the siege and to rescue the Citie: wherefore king Henry commaunded all men to lye in their harneys, least they might by some subtile cautele be surprisid vnware, and taken vnprourded. But the french king neyther came nor sent, to the great wonder of the Englishmen.

This siege thus contynuyng from Lammas to Christmas, diuers enterprizes were attempted and diuers pollicies were deuised, how euery part might dammage and hurte his aduersary and enemy, but no parte much reioysed of their gayne. During which time, victuall began sore to fayle within the towne, so that onely Wineger and water serued for drinke, yea and at the length dogges, Rattes, and Hylse serued for their meat, and the scarcety of victualles was so great, that daylie great numbers of people within the Citie dyed for hunger. And the riche men within the towne put out of the gates great numbers of poore people and children, which were by the Englishmen that kept the trenches, beaten and driuen back agayne to the gates of the towne, which agaynst them were closed and barred. So that this miserable people vncomfortably forsaken, and unnaturally dispisid of their owne nation and household felowes, betwene the walles of their Citie, and the trenches of their euemies lay still cryeng for helpe and reliefe, for lacke whereof innumerable soules daylie died and hourelly starued. Yet king Henry moued with pittie and compassion, did in the honour of Christes birth on Christmas day refreshe all the poore people with victuall, to their great comfort, for the which act they not onely thanked him, but also prayed to God for his preseruation and furtheraunce, and for the hinderaunce and euill successie of their vnkinde Citizens and vncharitable countre men.

This miserable famine daylie more and more encreasing, so daunted the heartes of the bolde Captaines, and so abated the courages of the riche Burgeses, and so tormented the bodyes of the poore Citizens, that the stowte Souldiour for faintnesse could scarse holde his weapon, nor the riche Marchaunt for money could not buye a thyuer of bread: So that the commonaltie cryed to the Captaines, and the needie people besought the Lords to haue compassion vpon them, and to inuent some waye for their succour and comfort.

The gouernours of the towne, after long consultation had, considering the great necessitie that they were in, and seing none apparence of succour or reliefe, determined it both necessary and conuenient to treat with the king of Englande. And vpon newe yeres euen, there came to the walles at the gate of the bridge diuers commissioners, appoynted by the Captaines, which made a signe to the Englishmen lying without, to speake with some gentleman or other person of auctoritie. The Erie of Huntingdon, which kept that part, sent to them Syr Gilbert Umfreuyle, to whome they declared, that if they might haue a guyde and a safe conduyt, they would gladly speake with the king. Sir Gilbert not onely promised to doe their message, but

but also to certefie them of the kings pleasure and purpose, which communication ended, he repayred to the Duke of Clarence, and other of the kings Counsaile, aduertising them of the request of the Citizens, which incontinent assembled themselves in the kings lodging, where Syr Gilbert Umfreuyle wisely and discretely declared to the king, the mindes and intents of the Citizens. The king lyke a graue prince considering that a thing gotten without effusion of bloude is both honorable and profitable, and sawe that the haute courages of the bragging french men were sore abated and almost tamed, thought it conuenient to here their lowly petition and humble request, and therefore willed Sir Gilbert to aduertise them that he was content to here twelue of them, which should be safely conueyed to hys presence: And with this aunswere Sir Gilbert departed, and made relation thereof to the Capitaynes standing at the gate: who on the next daye in the morning appoynted foure knightes, foure learned men, and foure Burgeses all clothed in black, to go to the king of England. These twelue persons were receyued at the porte Saint Hillarij, by Sir Gilbert Umfreuyle accompanied with diuers gentlemen and yeomen of the kings household, commonly called yeomen of the Crowne, and they were conueyed to the kings lodging. And shortly after, they were brought into the kings presence, who behelde them with a fierce and princely countenance. And one of them beyng of a stowte courage spake vnto the king as foloweth: Right high and mighty prince, if you will consyder wherein the glozie of victorie doth consist, you shall playnely perceaue that the same is in the taming of proud men, and ouercomming of valiaunt souldiours, and subduyng of strong Cities, and not in slayng of christen people by hunger and famine, wherein resteth neyther manhood, wylt nor pollicie. What glozie shall you obtayne in kyllyng of wretches by famine, which death of all deathes is to be dispisid? If you wylt shewe your selfe charitable before God, or mercifull before men, let all our poore people which will depart out of our Citie passe thorough your campe to get their lyuing in other places, and then manfully assault our Citie, and by force (if you dare) subdue and conquere it. And in this doyng if your enterprise succede well, then shall ye not onely obteyne worldly lame and glozy, but also merite much of God, in hauing pittie and compassion of the poore and needie people.

When this bragger had sayde, the king which no request lesse suspected then that which they desyred, began a while to muse. And when he had well considered the subtile & craftie inuention of the Messengers, he with a fierce countenance, and a bolde spirite made to them this aunswere. Thinke you of fantastick frenchmen, that I am so ignoraunt, that I can not perceyue your double dealyng and craftie conueyaunce? Judge you me so simple, that I knowe not wherein the glozy of a Conquerour consisteth? Esteeme you me so ignoraunt, that I perceyue not what crafts and warlike pollicies by strong enemies are to be subdued and brought to subiection? Yes, I am not so lopteryng a truaud as to forget so good a lesson. And if these things be to you blind and obscure, I will declare and open them vnto you. The Goddesse of warre called Bellona (which is the Correctrice of Princes for right witholding, or iniury doyng, and the plague of God for euill liuyng) hath these thre handmaydes, euer of necessitie to attend vpon her, that is, blood, fyre, and fa-

A proud and  
vicious  
french man.

Bellona  
the Goddesse  
of warre.

St. iij.

mine,



mine, which thre Damoselles be of that force and strength that euery of them alone is able to torment and afflict a proude Prince: But they all being ioyned together, are of puissance able to destroy the most populous Countrey and richest region of the worlde. If I by assaultyng of your towne shoulde seeke your blood, although I gayned (as I doubt not but I should) yet my gaine were not clere without some losse of my people, If I set your Citie on fyre, and so consume it and you also, then haue I lost that precious Jewell which I haue so long laboured for. Therefore to saue mine awne people (which is one poynt of glorie in a Captein) and to preserue the towne, which is my iust and lawfull inheritaunce: And to saue as many of you as will not willingly be destroyed, I haue appoynted the mekest of the thre Damosels to afflict and plague you, vntill you be brudeled and brought to reason, which shall be when it shall please me, and not at your appoyntment: And therfore I say and affirme, that the gaine of a Capteine by any of these thre handmaidens is both honorabile and triumphant: But of all thre, the yongest mayd is in all thing most profitable and commodious. And nowe to aunswere to your demaundes, as touchyng the poore people lying in the ditches, I assure you, I more lament your lacke of charitie toward your Christian brethren, yea, and your awne nacion, your awne blood, and your awne Countrey men, then I reioyce at the vndoyng of so many creatures, and castyng away of so many enemyes. You lyke Trauntes put them out of the towne, to the entent that I should slay them, and yet I haue saued their lyues. You woulde geue them neyther meate nor drinke, and yet I being their mortall enemye haue succoured and relieved them: So that if any vcharitie be, it is in you: If any shame or reproch be taken, receyue it your selfe, for you be the doers. If I haue done them good, let God reward me, for I looke of them to haue no thanks, if you haue done them euill, so shall you be doue to. And as to suffer your people to passe out of the Citie through my campe, no, no, I will not so accomplishe your cloked request, but you shall kepe them still to spend your victualles: And as to assault your towne, I will you knowe it, that I am thereto both able and willyng as I see tyme and occasion: But scyng the choise is in my hande to tame you eyther with blood, fyre, or famin, or wyth all, I will take the choise at my pleasure and not at yours. And with that the king with a frowning countenaunce departed from them into his Chamber, and commaunded them to dyne with his officers.

When he was departed, the French men meruayled at his excellent wit, and mised at the hautinesse of his courage, and after they had dyed and consulted together, they requyred once again to haue accesse vnto his royall presence, which when it was to them graunted, they humbly on their knees besought him to take a truce for. viij. dayes, in the which they might by theyr Commissioners take some ende and good conclusion betwene him and hys counsaile. The king like a piteous Prince, rather couetyng the preseruation of the people, then their destruction, after good deliberation taken, graunted to them their askyng, with the which aunswere they ioyously returned.

After their departure, there were appoynted and set by thre rich tents, the one for the Lordes of Englande to consult together: The seconde for the Commissioners of the Citie, and the thirde for both partes to argue and debate the matter in. The Commissioners for the Englishe part were, the

Erles

Erles of Warwike, and Sarisburie, the Lorde Fitzhugh, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir Gilbert Umfraville, Sir John Robsert, and John de Gasques de Allmada. And for the frenche part were appoynted Sir Guy de Butteller, and sire other.

Duryng this truce, euery day the Commissioners met, the Englishmen accused, and the frenchmen excused. The Englishmen demaunded muche, and the frenchmen proffered little. Thus with arguyng and reasonyng the viij. day came, and nothing was done, nor one article concluded. Wherefore the Englishe men toke downe their Centes, and the french men toke their leaue: But at their departyng, they remembryng themselves, required the Englishe Lordes for the loue of God that the truce might continue vntill the Sonne setting the next day, to the which the Lordes assented.

When the frenchmen were returned to Roan, sodainly in all the towne sprong a rumoz that the truce was expired, and nothing determined. Then the poore people ranne about the streetes lyke frantike persons, howtyng, cryyng, and callyng their Capteynes and Gouvernours murderers, and manquellers, sayng that for their pryde and stiffe stomacke, all this miierie was happened vnto the towne, threathyng to slay them if they woulde not agree vnto the king of Englandes demaund and request.

The Magistrates being amased with the furie of the people, called all the towne together, to knowe their mindes and opinions. The whole boye of the Commons was to yeelde, yeelde rather then starue. Then the french men in the Euening came to the Tent of Sir John Robsert, requiryng him of gentlenesse to moue the king that the Truce might be prolonged for foure dayes. The King therevnto agreed, and appoynted the Archbishop of Cantorbury, and the other seuen before named for his partie, and the Citizens appoynted an egall number for them. So the Centes were againe set by, and dayly were assemblies, and much treatie on both partes. And on the fourth day the treatie was concluded, to the great reioysyng of the poore Citizens of Roan, and the same treatie was conteyned in. xxiij. Articles, which for that they are long, I do omit them: But the somme and effect of them were, that they yeelde the towne of Roan, themselves and their goodes vnto the king of England, the. xij. day of January, in the yere aforesayde.

When the rendyng of the Citie of Roan was blowen through Normandie, and the kinges Proclamation published through the Countrey, it is in a maner incredible to here what a number of townes yeelde vnto the king, not being once desyred, which to recite I purpose not, because at this day England possesseth not one of them.

Nowe when the gettyng of Roan, and the deliery of all the townes aforesayde were blowen through the Realme of Fraunce, the heartes of the frenchmen were sodainly heauie, and their courages soone cooled. But who soeuer kicked and winched at this matter, John Duke of Burgoyne raged & swelled, yea, and so muche fretted, that he wist not what to say, and lesse to do: And no marueyle, for he was at one tyme bered with a double disease. For he ruled both king Charles and his, and did all thinges at his will, whether reason agreed or no, and for that cause he knewe that he was neyther free from disceyn, nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice. And therefore he imagined & all mischiefes and calamities which chaunced in the common

wealth

The Citie of Roan is yeelde vnto the King of England.



wealth should be imputed and assigned to his vnpolitique doynge, or to his negligent permission. Wherefore he imagined it profitable to the realme, and to him selfe most available, if by any meanes possible he could devise any way or meane, by the which he might reconcile and ioyne in amitye the two great and mightie kinges of England and of Fraunce. Which thing once obteyned, and beyng deliuered from all feare of exterior hostilitie, he determined first to reuenge his quarell agaynst Charles the Dolphyn, & after to repressse all causes of grudge or disdeyne, and to recouer againe both the fauour of the Commonaltie, and also to put away all causes of suspicion or imagined infamie against him and his procedynge. And intending to buyld vpon this fraile foundation, he sent letters and Ambassadors to the king of England, aduertisyng him that if he would personally come to a communication, to be had betwene him and Charles the French king, he doubted nothing but by his onely meanes, peace should be induced, and bloodie battaile excluded.

King Henry heard gently the Ambassadors, and agreed to their request and desyre, and so came to Maunt, where at the feast of Penthecost he kept a liberall house to all commers, and sate himselfe in great estate. On which daye eyther for good seruire before by them done, or for good hope of things to come, he created Gasconde Foyes a balyant Gascoyne, Erle of Longeuyple, and s<sup>r</sup> John Gray he made Erle of Tankeruyple, and s<sup>r</sup> John Bourchier Erle of Ewe. After this solempne feast ended, the place of enteruiew and meeting was appointed, to be beside Melaus on the ryuer of Seyne in a fayre playne, every parte was by the Commissioners appointed to their ground. The frenchmen ditched, trenched and paled their lodgings for feare of after clappes: But the English men had their parte onely barred and ported. The king of Englande had a large Tent of blewe Ueluet and greene, richely embrodred with two deuises, the one was an Antlop drawing in an horse Mill: the other was an Antlop sitting in an high stage, with a braunch of Olive in his mouth. And the tent was garnished and decked with this poesy. After busie labour, commeth victorious rest. And on the top and height of the same was set a great Eggle of Golde, whose eyes were of suche orient Diamondes, that they glistered and shone ouer the whole field.

The french king likewise had in his Parke a fayre Pavillion of blewe Ueluet, richely embrodred with stobze delices, and on the top of the same was set a Hart flyeng made all of fyne Siluer winges enameled. Betwene these two Campes or enclosures was appointed a Tent of purple Ueluet, for the counsaylours to meete in, and every parte had an egall number to watch on the night, and to see good order on the daye.

When the day of appointment approched, the king of England accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brethren, and the Duke of Excester his Uncle, and Henry Bewford Clerck, his other Uncle, which after was Bishop of Winchester and Cardinall, and the Erles of March and Salburie, and other to the number of a thousand men of warre entred into his parke, and tooke his lodging. Likewise for the french part, thether came Isabell the French Queene, because the king her husbande was fallen into his old freneticall disease, hauing in her company the Duke of Burgoyne, and the Erle of saint Paule: And she had attending vpon her the fayre Lady Katheryn her daughter, and, xxvj. Ladyes & Damosels, and had

A meeting  
betwene the  
king of Eng-  
lande and the  
Frenche  
Queene. &c.

had also for her furniture a thousand men of warre.

After these estates had reposed themselves one night in their Tents, the next daye all suche as were appointed, repayred toward the pavillion ordeyned for the consultation. Where the king of Englande lyke a prince of great stomack, and no lesse good behauiour, receyued humbly the Frenche Queene and her daughter, and them honorably embraced, and familiarly kissed. The Duke of Burgoyne made lowe curtesie, and bowed to the king, whome the king louingly tooke by the hande, and honorably enterteyned him. After salutations and embracings finished, they fell to counsayle within the Pavillion assigned, which was kept with a garde appointed by both the parties, that none but commissioners should once attempt to enter. After the kings request made, and his demaunds declared: The French Queene and her company tooke leaue louingly of the king of England, and returned vnto Douthoyse, to certefie her husband. And king Henry returned to Maunt. The next day after they assembled agayne, and the french parte brought with them the Lady Katheryn, onely to the entent that the king of England seing and beholding so fayre a Lady, and so minion a Damosell, should so be inflamed and rapt in loue, that he to obteyne so bewtifull an espouse, should the sooner agree to a gentle peace and louing composition. This company met together eyght seuerall times, sometime the one parte was more, and sometime the other. And notwithstanding that the English men and french men were lodged no great distaunce a sunder, yet was there neuer fray nor occasion of tumult or rpot prouoked or stirred of any of both the partes.

In this assemble many wordes were spent and no deedes done, many things required and serue offered, many arguments made, and nothing concluded. Some write that the Dolphyn to let this treatie, sent to the Duke of Burgoyne Sir Crauagny du Chastell, declaring to him, that if he would let this agreement, he would common with him, and take suche an order, that not onely they but the whole realme of Fraunce should thereof be glad and reioyce: But what was the very cause of the breach, no man certainly declareth. When none effect ensued of this long consultation, both parties after a princely maner departed, the English men to Mautes, and the french men to Douthoyse.

The king of Englande was nothing pleased that this communication came to no better ende: wherefore he mistrustyng the Duke of Burgoyne, to be the very let and stop of his desyres and requestes, sayde vnto him before his departing: Fayre Cossyn, we will haue your kinges daughter, and all things that we demaunde with her, or we will driue your king and you out of his realme. Well sayde the Duke of Burgoyne, before you driue the king and mee out of hys Realme, ye shall be well wearied, and thereof we doubt little.

After this departure the Duke of Burgoyne being nobly accompanied, roade to the towne of Melune, where the Dolphyn then sojourneyed, and in the playne fieldes they two lyke friends commoned together, and concluded apparantly an open amitie and sure friendship, which was wrytten by Notaries, and signed with their handes, and sealed with their great seales of armes: But as the sequele sheweth, heart thought not that tongue talked, nor minde meant not, that hande wrote. This treatie was concluded

A treaty con-  
cluded be-  
twene the  
Duke of  
Burgoyne,  
and the Dol-  
phyn of  
Fraunce.



ded the first daye of Iulie, 1419. and was proclaymed in Parys, Amoyence and Bonthoyse.

When this new alyauce was declared vnto the king of England, then lyeng at Maunt, he was therewith soze displeased, and not without cause, for he perceaued that the force of these two princes were much stronger now being vnited in one, then they were before when they were separated and diuided. Yet for all this great sworne amitie he went forward with his intended enterpryse. Wherefore he sent Captaine Bueffe brother to the Erle of Foye newly created the Erle of Longeuyle, with .xx. hundreth men secretly to the towne of Bonthoyse, which on Trinitie Sunday early in the morning came into the towne, and so sodainely and quickly had set vp their scaling ladders to the wall, that they were entred into the towne, or the watch perceaued them, cryeng, Saint George, Saint George.

The Lorde Lisleadam Captaine of the towne perceauing the walles scaled, and the market place garyned, opened the gate toward Paris, at the which, he with all his retinue and diuerse of the townes men, to the number of eyght thousand, fled. For the Englishe men durst not, because their number was small, once diuide themselves or fall to pilfering, till about nine of the clock, at which time the Duke of Clarence came to their ayde with five thousand men, and by the way he encountred diuers Burgeses of the towne flyeng with all their substance toward Beauuoye, whome he tooke prisoners, and brought them to their olde dwelling place.

When the Duke was come to Bonthoyse, he much prayesed the valy-  
auntnesse of the assaylants, and gaue to them the chiefe spoyle of the towne and Merchants, of the which they had a great and riche praye. Then the Duke passed forward and came before Paris, and lay before the Citie two dayes, and two nightes without any proffer, eyther of issue by his enemies or of defence if he had the same assaulted, which he could not well do because it was long and ample, and his number small, and for so great an enterpryse not furnished, wherefore scing that his enemies durst not once looke vpon him, he returned agayne to Bonthoyse: For the taking of which towne the countie of Fraunce and especially the Parisians were soze dismayed and astounded, for now there was no Fortresse left habile to resist or withstande the Englishmen, vnt that they might come to Paris whensoever they would: In so much that the Frishe men ouercame all the Isle of Fraunce, and did to the french men innumerable dammages (as their awne wyters affirme) and brought daylie prayes to the English army. And beside that, they would robbe houses, and lay beddes vpon the backs of the kyne and Oxen, and ride vpon them, and carie yong children before them, and sell them to the Englishmen for slaves: which straunge doyngs so feared the french men within the territorie of Paris, and the countie about, that the rude persons fled out of the Villages with all their stuffe, to the Citie of Paris.

The french king and the Duke of Burgoyne lyng at Saint Dionyse, hearing of all these doynges, departed in all the hast with the Queene & her daughter to Troys in Champaigne, there takyng great deliberation what was best to be done, leauyng at Paris the Erle of saint Paule, and the Lord Lisleadam with a great puissaunce to defende the Citie. At the same tyme the Duke of Clarence tooke the strong towne of Gysoys, and the towne of  
Gayllard,

Gayllard, and all the townes of Normandie were shortly after espyue and by force or rendred, except Mount Saint Michell, which because the gaine therof was very little, and the losse in assaultyng of it semed to be very much, and also it could do small harme or none vnto the Countie, therefore the same was neyther assaulted nor besieged.

And thus, as you haue heard, was the Duchie of Normandy reduced againe to the right line, which had bene from the tyme of king Edward the thirde in the yere of our Lorde, 1255, wrongfully deteyned from the kinges of England.

The wise men of Fraunce soze lamenting the chaunce of their Countie, and the miserie of their people, sawe and perceued that they had puissaunce enough to defende their enemies, if they were at a perfect conorde among themselves. And they sawe also that although there were a peace betweene the Dolphyn and the Duke of Burgoyne, yet they espied no good fruit to come therof: For the Duke eyther for secret displeasure y he bare to the Dolphyn, or for the doubt that he had of the Englishmen, neuer assayed by himselfe the armie of king Henry, nor neuer sent ayde nor succours to the Dolphyn. Wherefore by meanes of frendes a newe communication was appoynted, to the entent that the corrupt dregges of their olde malice and inwarde grudges might clerely be expulsed and cast out. The place of this metyng was appoynted at the Towne of Monstreil Faultyou, so called because a small brooke called Vou runneth there to the ryuer of Seyne. Ouer which riuer was made a Bridge with diuerse Barres ouerthwart, so that the princes opening the Barres might embrace eche other, and keepyng the barres shut, eche might see and comunon with other at their pleasure. The day was appoynted when these two great Princes should meete, to the entent that all Ciuile discorde shoulde by this communication be cleere forgotten, or at the least shoulde be suspended vntill the enemies were banquished and driuen out of their Counties. But this mocion succeeded worse then the entreators deuised: For whilest euery man was fulfilled with hope of peace and conorde, craftie imagination crept out of cankerd displeasure, and had almost confounded altogether.

When the day and place of the solempne Enterueu was agreed and assigned, Cauagny du Chastell, a man prompt and prone to all mischiefe, calling to his remembrance y shamefull murder of Lewes Duke of Orleans, (vnder whome he had long bene a Capteine) done and committed by this Duke of Burgoyne, as before you haue heard, determined with himselfe to reuenge the death of his olde maister and Lorde. Some wyte that he was thereto styrred and prouoked by the Dolphyn (and not unlike) for the Dolphyn which bare a continuall hatred to the Duke of Burgoyne, imagined peradventure by this meanes to repressse and subdue the whole power and high pride of this Duke, without any suspicion of fraude or reproche of vnto truth and villanie. The day came, which was the .xij. day of August, and euery Prince with his number appoynted came to this Bridge. The Duke of Burgoyne beyng warned by his frendes to keepe his Closure, and the Barres on his syde shut, little regardyng his frendes monition, as a man that could not aduoyde the stroke for him prouided, opened the Barres and Closure, and came to the Dolphyns presence, which was cleane armed, and  
kneled

A meeting  
appoynted  
betweene the  
Duke of  
Burgoyne,  
and the Dol-  
phyn.



ded the Duke on the one knee, shewyng to him great reuerence and humilitie. The Dolphyn shewed to him no louyng countenance, but reprovod him, layng to his charge much vnturth, and great dishonour: The Duke againe boldly defended his cause, and kneeled still, and his sworde was at his back, which with often turnyng and mouing was shaken very backwarde, wherefoze the Duke chaunced to put his hand backe to plucke his sworde forward. What, quod Sir Robert de Loyz, will you drabe your sworde agaynst my Lorde the Dolphyn? When Cauagny du Chastell apperceyued that an occasion was geuen to performe his enterprize, he incontinent strake him with a Hatchet on the head, so that he coude not speake, and other standyng by shortly dispatched him of his lyfe. Diuerse of his part, not thinkyng him to be dead, began to drabe weapon, amongst whome the Lorde Houale was slaine, and the other taken. For this murther were condemned (but not apprehended) by Parliament, the President of Bourgoyn, the Vicont of Narbone, Guiliam Battailier, Cauagny du Chastell, Robert Loyz, and foure other. This was the ende of John called the proude Duke of Burgoyne, which moze regarded ciuile warre then his awne life and welfare. And this soden death, as I thinke, came not to him without desert, for shamefull murderynge of Lewes Duke of Orleans, the french kinges brother: such is the iudgement of God, that blood is recompensed with blood, and unnatural murther is requited with shamefull death, or soden destruction.

After this heynous murther thus committed, the Dolphyns seruants spoiled the Duke of all his garmentes, euen to his shirt, and covered his face with his hosen: But forasmuch as yet this is no part of the Historie of England, I will returne againe where I left.

When Philip Erle of Carolops, sonne and heyre to this Duke John, and nowe by the murther and death of his father was made Duke of Burgoyne, and Erle of Flaundyys, was informed of this misfortune, he toke the matter very grieuouly and heauily, insomuch that none of his counsaill durst once speake vnto him, and in especiall the Ladie Michell his wife, who was sister to the Dolphyn, and daughter vnto the french king, was in great feare to be forsaken, and cast out of his house and fauour: But as all thinges end, so sorow asswageth. When his grieuous sorow was somewhat mitigated, he first by the aduice of his counsaile, tooke into his fauour the sayre Duches his wife, and after sent diuerse notable Ambassadors to the king of England, who lay then at Roan, to treat and conclude a peace betweene them both for a certeyn space: To which request, in hope of a better chaunce, king Henry agreed. And after that, he kept a solempne Obsequie for his father at Saint Maas in Arras. Durynge which tyme the Erle of Saint Paule, and the Parisiens sent to the Duke of Burgoyne Ambassadors, to know what they should do, and howe they should defende themselves agaynst the Englishe men. He gently answered, that he trusted shortly by the ayde of God to conclude a peace betweene England and Fraunce.

When these Ambassadors were departed, the Duke after long consultation had with his counsaile and nobilitie, sent the Bishop of Arras and two notable persons to the king of England, with certeyne Articles which the Duke of Burgoyne offered to him of loue, as he sayde. The king of England considerynge with himselfe that the Duke of Burgoyne was a conuenient instrument

to bring his purpose to passe, did therefore louyngly receyue and honourably enterteyn his Ambassadors, sayng vnto them, that very shortly he would send his Ambassadors vnto him, that should declare vnto him his lawfull and reasonable requestes and desyres.

With this message the Dukes Ambassadors departed toward Arras: and incontinent after their departure, king Henry sent the Erle of Warwike, & the Bishop of Rochester with many knightes and squiers, to the Duke of Burgoyne, who when they came to the Duke, declared the effect of their Ambassade. He gently heard their requestes, and some he allowed, and some he augmented, and some he altered and disallowed: But in conclusion the Duke of Burgoyne, and the king of England agreed vpon certeyne Articles, so that the french king and his Commons would assent vnto the same. And shortly after it was agreed that the king of Englande should sende in the companie of the Duke of Burgoyne, his Ambassadors to Troy in Champein, sufficiently aucthorised to conclude so great a matter. The king of Englande beyng in good hope that all his affayres should prosperously succede and go forward, sent to the Duke of Burgoyne, his Uncle the Duke of Exeter, the Erle of Sarisbury, the Bishop of Ely, the Lorde Fanhope, & Lord Fitz Hugh Sir John Robart and Sir Philip Hall, with diuers Doctours, and they were in number fiue hundred horse, which in the companie of the Duke of Burgoyne came to the Citie of Troys the .xxj. day of March. The french king, the Quene, and the Ladie Katheryn, them receyued and hartely welcommed, shewyng great tokens and signes of loue and amitie. And after a fewe dayes they fell to counsaile, in the which it was concluded, that king Henry of England should come to Troys, and marry the Ladie Katheryn, and the king should make him heyre of his Realine, Crowne, and dignitie, after his departure out of this naturall lyfe, with many other articles, which hereafter shall be reherced.

When all these things were done and concluded, the Ambassadors of England departed toward their king, leauing behind them Sir John Robart, to geue his attendaunce on the Lady Katheryn. When King Henry had heard his Ambassadors rehearse the articles of the treatie and amity concluded, he condescended and agreed with all diligence to set forward to Troys, longyng for the sight of the Lady Katheryn his newe spouse. And being admonished by the late mischaunce of John Duke of Burgoyne, he did not rashly presume to aduenture himselfe among his newe reconciled enemies: But when he sawe all things safe and in good order, he being accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brethren, the Erles of Warwike, Sarisburie, Huntynghdon, Ewe, Tankerulle and Longuyle, and 10. thousand men of warre, departed from Roan to Douthoyse, and from thence to saint Dionyce, which is two leagues from Paris, and from thence to Doutharenton, where he left a garrison of men to keepe the passage, and from thence by Bourgoyn he came to Troys, where the Duke of Burgoyne accompanied with many noble men receaued him two leagues without the towne, and conueyed him to his lodging and his princes with him, and all his armie was lodged in villages there aboutes. And after he had awhile reposed himselfe, he went to visite the king, the Quene and the Ladie Katheryn, whome he found in Saint Peters Church, where was an honora-

A peace concluded betweene the french king and the king of England.

Cl. i.

ble

John Duke of Burgoyne slain.

1419  
8

A peace concluded betweene Philip Duke of Burgoyne and the king of England.



King Henry  
marrieth the  
Ladie Katheryn  
herin daughter  
to the  
French king.

ble meeting and a louing embracing on both sydes, which was the twente  
dave of Maye, and there at the same time were the Lady Katheryn and the  
king of Englande made sure together, and the thirde dave of June next fol-  
lowing, they were with all solempnitie married in the same Church. At  
which mariage the Englishmen made such triumphs & reioysing, as though  
nothing in the worlde coulde haue chaunced more happie and honozable.

And when this honourable mariage was solempnized, and the feastes  
and triumphes of the same finished, then the two kings and their counsaile  
assembled together dyuers dayes, wherin the former league and treaty was  
in dyuers pointes altered and brought to a certaintie. by the deuise of the  
king of England and his brethren, when this great matter was finished,  
the kings for their parte sware to obserue the same in all pointes. Lykewise  
sware the Duke of Burgoyne, and a great number of Princes and nobles,  
which were present, and they were the better perswaded therunto, for that  
they maruelled before at the noble actes done by King Henry, of whom they  
had knowlege onely by reporte, and nowe they more maruayled when they  
sawe and beheld the honour and wisdom of his person. And immediately  
upon this agreement, King Henry was proclaymed heire and Regent of  
Fraunce. And as the french king sent the copie of this treaty to euery towne  
in Fraunce: So the king of Englande sent the same in Englishe to euery  
Citie and market towne of Englande, to be published and made knowene, the  
Copie of which articles here after ensue, worde for worde.

King Henry  
is proclaymed  
heire and  
Regent of  
Fraunce.

1 First, it is accorded betwixt our father and vs, that for as much as by the  
bond of Matrimonie made for the good of the peace betwene vs, and oure  
most dere beloued Katheryn, daughter of our sayde father, and of our most  
dere mother, Isabell his wife, the same Charles and Isabell bene made fa-  
ther and mother, therfore them as our father and mother we shall haue and  
worship, as it sitteth and seemeth so a worthy prince and princeesse to be wor-  
shipped, principally before all other temporall persons of the worlde.

2 Also, we shall not distrouble, disseason or letten our father aforesayde,  
but that he holde and possesse as long as he lyueth, as he holdeth and posses-  
seth at this time the crowne and the dignitie royall of Fraunce, and rentes  
and profites for the same, of the sustenance of his estate, and charges of  
the realme. And our foresayde mother also hold as long as shee lyueth the  
state and dignitie of the Quene, after the maner of the same realme, with  
conuenient conuenience parte of the sayed rents and profites.

3 Also, that the foresayde Ladye Katheryn shall take and haue dowter in  
our Realme of England as Quenes of Englande here afore were wont for  
to take and haue, that is to say, to the some of .xl. M. Scutes, of the which  
two algate shall be worth a noble Englishe.

4 Also, that by þ waies maners and meanes that we may without trans-  
gressio or offence of other made by vs, for to kepe þ lawes, customes, vsages  
and rights of our said realme of England, shall doen our labor & pursue, that  
the said Katheryn also sone as it may be doen, be made sure to take and for to  
haue in our sayd realme of England from the tyme of our death þ said dowter  
of .xl. M. Scutes perely, of þ which twaine algate be worth a noble Englishe.

5 Also if it hap the sayde Katheryn to ouerline vs, she shall take and haue  
the realme of Fraunce immediatly, from the time of our death, dowter to  
the

the sonne of .xx. M. franks perely of and vpon the lands, places and Lord-  
shippes that helde, and had Blaunch sometime wyfe of Philip Wosecle to  
our sayde father.

6 Also, that after the death of our father aforesayde, and from thence for-  
warde, the crowne and the realme of Fraunce with all the rightes and ap-  
purtenances shall remaine and abide to vs, and been of vs and of our heires  
for euermore.

7 Also, for as muche as oure sayde father is withholden with diuers sick-  
ness, in suche maner as he may not intende in hys owne person, for to dis-  
pose for the needes of the foresayde realme of Fraunce: therfore during the  
life of our sayde father, the faculties and exercise of the gouernaunce and dis-  
position of the publique and common profite of the sayde realme of Fraunce  
with counsaile and nobles and wise men of the same realme of Fraunce,  
shall be and abide to vs: So that from henceforth we may gouerne the same  
realme by vs. And also to admit to our counsaile and assistance of the sayde  
nobles, suche as we shall thinke meete, the which faculties and exercise of  
gouernaunce thus being toward vs, we shall labor and purpose to speedely,  
diligently and truely to that that maye be and ought for to be to the wor-  
ship of God and our sayde father and mother, and also to the common good of  
the sayde realme, and that realme with the counsaile and helpe of the wor-  
thy and great nobles of the same realme for to be defended, peaced and go-  
uerned after right and equitie.

8 Also, that we of our owne power shall doe the courte of the parliament  
of Fraunce to be kept and obserued in his auctoritie and soueraignie, and in  
all that is doen to it in all maner of places, that nowe or in time comming is  
or shall be subiect to our sayed father.

9 Also, we to our power shall defend and help all and euery of the Heres,  
Nobles, Cities, Townes, commonalties and singular persons, nowe or in  
tyme comming, subiects to our father in their rightes, customes, priuileges,  
freedome and franchises longing or due to them in all maner of places, now  
or in time comming subiect to our father.

10 Also, we diligently and truely shall trauaile to our power, and doe that  
iustice be administred and done in the same Realme of Fraunce after the  
lawes, customes and rightes of the same realme, without personal exception.  
And that we shall keepe and holde the subiectes of the same realme in  
tranquillitie and peace, and to our power we shall defende them agaynst all  
maner of violence and oppression.

11 Also, we to our power shall provide, and to doe our power that able  
persons and profitable bene taken to the offices; as well of Justices and o-  
ther offices longing to the gouernaunce of the demaynes and of other offices  
of the sayde realme of Fraunce for the good, right and peaceable Justice of  
the same, and for the administration that shall be committed vnto them, and  
that they be suche persons that after the lawes and rightes of the same  
realme, and for the vtilitie and profite of our sayde father shall minister, and  
that the foresayde Realme shall be taken and deputed to the same offices.

12 Also, that we of our power so soone as it maye commodiously be done,  
shall trauaile for to put into the obedience of oure sayde father, all maner  
of Cities, Townes and Castels, places, Countries and persons within  
the



the realme of Fraunce, disobedient and rebels to our sayde father, holding with them which bene called the Dolphyn or Arminack.

13 Also, that we might the moze commodiously, surely and freely doen, exercise and fulfill these things aforesayde. It is accorded that all worthy nobles and estates of the same realme of Fraunce, as well spirituals as temporals, and also Cities, notables and commonalties, and citezens, Burgeis of townes of the realme of Fraunce, that bene obeysaunt at this time to our sayde father shall make these othes that followen.

14 First, to vs hauyng the facultie, exercise, disposition and gouernaunce of the foresayde common profite to our hestes and commaundementes they shall meekely and obediently obey and intende in all maner of thing concerning the exercise of gouernaunce of the same realme.

15 Also, that the worthy great Nobles and estates of the sayde realme, as well Spirituals as Temporals, and also Cities and notable commonalties and Citezens and Burgesies of the same realme in all maner of things well and truely shall kepe and to their power shall doe to be kept, of so much as to them belongeth or to any of them all, those things that bene appointed and accorded betwene our aforesayde father and mother and vs, with the counsaile of them whome vs list to call to vs.

16 Also, that continually from the death and after the death of our sayde father Charles, they shall be our true liege men and our heires, and they shall receyue and admit vs for their liege and souereigne and berie King of Fraunce, and for suche to obey vs without opposition, contradiction or difficultie, as they been to our foresayde father during his lyfe, neuer after this realme of Fraunce shall obey to man as king or Regent of Fraunce, but to vs and our heires. Also they shall not be in counsaile, helpe or assent that we leese life or limme, or be take with euill taking, or that we suffer harme or diminution in person, estate, worship or goodes, but if they know any suche thing for to be cast or imagined agaynst vs, they shall let it to their power, and they shall doen vs to weten thereof as hastely as they may by them selfe, by message or by letters.

17 Also, that all maner of conquests that should be made by vs in Fraunce, vpon the sayde inobedients out of the Duchie of Normandie, shall be doen to the profite of our sayde father, and that to our power we shall doe that all maner of landes and Lordships that beene in the places so for to be conquered longyng to persons obeyeng to our sayde father, which shall sweare for to keepe this present accorde, shall be restozed to the same persons to whom they long to.

18 Also, that all maner of persons, of holy Church beneficed in the Duchie of Normandie or any other places in the realme of Fraunce subiect to our father and fauoring the partie of the Dukes of Burgoyne which shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall enjoy peaceably their benefices of holy church in y<sup>e</sup> Duchy of Normandy, or in any other places next aforesaid:

19 Also likewise all maner persons of holy Church obedient to vs and beneficed in the realme of Fraunce, and places subiect to our father that shall sweare to keepe this present accorde, shall inioy peaceably their benefices of holy Church in places next abouesayde.

20 Also that all maner of Churches, Uniuersities, and Studies generall,  
and

and all Colleges of Studies, and other Colleges of holy Church, being in places nowe or in tyme comyng subiect to our father, or in the Duchie of Normandie, or other places in the Realme of Fraunce subiect to vs, shall enjoy their rightes and possessions, rentes, prerogatives, liberties, and franchises, longyng or delue to them in any maner of wise in the sayde Realme of Fraunce, sauynge the right of the Crowne of Fraunce, & euery other person.

21 Also by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the Crowne of Fraunce, the Duchie of Normandie, and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of Fraunce, shall bowe vnder the commaundement, obeysaunce and Monarchie of the Crowne of Fraunce.

22 Also that we shall enforce vs, and do to our power that recompence be made by our sayde father, without diminution of the Crowne of Fraunce, to persons obeyng to him, and fauouryng to that partie that is sayd Burgoyne, to whome longeth landes, Lordships, rentes, or possessions in the sayde Duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of Fraunce conquered by vs hethertowarde, geuen by vs in places, and landes gotten, or to be gotten and ouercome, in the name of our sayd father vpon rebelles, and inobedientes to him. And if it so be, that such maner of recompence be not made to the sayd persons by the lyfe of our sayde father, we shall make that recompence, in such maner of places and goodes, when it hapneth by Gods grace to the Crowne of Fraunce. And if so be that the landes, Lordships, rentes, or possessions, the which longeth to such maner of persons in the said Duchie, and places be not geuen by vs, the same persones shall be restozed to them without any delay.

23 Also duryng the life of our sayde father, in all places nowe, or in tyme comyng subiect to him, letters of common iustice, and also grauntes of offices and gites, pardones or remissions and priuileges shall be written and proceede vnder the name and seale of our sayde father. And forasmuch as some singular case may fall, that may not be foreseene by mannes witte, in the which it might be necessary and behouefull that we do write our letters, in such maner case if any hap, for the good and suretie of our sayd father, and for the gouernaunce that longeth to vs, as is befoze said, and for to eschewen perilles that otherwise might fall to the preiudice of our sayde father, to write our letters, by the which we shall commaund, charge, and defende after the nature and qualitie of the neede in our fathers behalfe, and ours as Regent of Fraunce.

24 Also that duryng our fathers life, we shall not call ne write vs king of Fraunce, but vtterlye we shall abstayne vs from that name as long as our father liueth.

25 Also that our sayd father duryng his lyfe shall nempne, call, and write vs in french in this maner. Nostre trechier filz Henry Roy Dengleterre, heretere de Fraunce, and in Latin in this maner. Preclarissimus filius noster Henricus Rex Anglie & heres Frauncie.

26 Also that we shall put none impositions or exactions, or do charge the subiectes of our sayd father without cause reasonable and necessary, ne otherwise then for common good of the realme of Fraunce, and after the sayyng & askyng of the lawes and customes reasonable, approued of the same realme.

27 Also that we shall trauaile to our power to the effect and entent, that by  
Et. iij. the



the assent of the three estates of eyther of the realmes of Fraunce and England, that all maner of obstacles may be done away, and in this partie that it be ordeyned and prouided, that from the tyme that we or any of our heyres come to the crowne of Fraunce, both the Crownes, that is to say of Fraunce and England, perpetually be together in one, and in the same person, that is to say, from our fathers lyfe, to vs, and from the terme of our life thenceforward, in the persons of our heyres, that shall be one after an other. And that both realmes shall be gouerned, fro that we or any of our heires come to the same, not seuerally vnder diuers kinges in one tyme, but vnder the same person, which for the tyme shall be king of both the realmes, and soueraigne Lord as aforesaid, keepyng neuerthelesse in all maner of other thinges to eyther of the same realmes their rightes, liberties, customes, vsages, and lawes, not makynge subiect in any maner of wise one of the same realmes to the rightes, lawes, or vsages, of that other.

28 Also that henceforward, perpetually shall be still rest, and that in all maner of wise, dissensions, hates, rancors, enuies, and warres, betwene the same realmes of Fraunce and England, and the people of the same realmes, drawyng to accorde of the same peace, may cease and be broken.

29 Also that there shall be from henceforward for euermore, peace and tranquillitie, and good accorde, and common affection, and stable friendship, betwene the same realmes, and their subiectes before sayde: the same realmes shall keepe themselves with their Counsaile, helpes, and common assistance, against all maner of men that enforce them for to done, or to imagin wrongs, harmes, displeasures, or grieuance to them, or to eyther of them. And they shall be conuersant, and Marchandisen freely and surely together, payyng the custome due and accustomed. And they shall be conuersant also, that all the confederates and alyes of our sayd father, and the realme of Fraunce aforesayde, and also our confederates of the realme of England aforesayde, shall in. liij. Monethes from the tyme of this accorde of peace, as it is noted to them, declare by their letters, that they wyll drawe to this accorde, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accorde of this peace, sayyng neuerthelesse eyther of the same Crownes, & also all maner actions, rightes, and reuenues that longen to our sayd father and his subiectes and to vs, and to our subiectes, again such maner of allies and confederacies.

30 Also neyther our father, neyther our brother the Duke of Burgoyne shall begyn ne make with Charles, clepyng himselfe the Dolphyn of Wyennes any treatie or peace or accorde, but by counsaile and assent of all and eche of vs thre, or of other thre estates of either of the sayd realmes aboue named.

31 Also that we both assent of our sayde brother of Burgoyne and other of the nobles of the realme of Fraunce, the which thereto ought to be called, shall ordeyne for the gouernaunce of our sayd father sekerly, louyngly and honestly after the askyng of his royall estate and dignitie by the maner that shall bee to the worship of God and of our father and of the realme of Fraunce.

32 Also all maner of persons that shall be about our father to do him personall seruice, not ouely in office but in all other seruices, as well the nobles and gentles as other shall be suche as hath bene borne in the realme of Fraunce or in places longyng to Fraunce, good, wise, true and able to that aforesayde seruice. And our sayde father shall dwell in places notable of his obedience and

and no where else. Wherefore we charge and commaunde our sayde liege subiectes and other beyng vnder our obedience that they keepe and do to be kept in all that longeth to them this accorde and pence after the forme and maner as it is accorde. And that they attempt in no maner wise any thing that may be prejudice or contrary to the same accorde and peace vpon paine of life and lynne, and all that they may forseyt against vs. Pouen at Troys the xij. day of May. 1420. and proclaymed in London the. xx. day of June.

33 Also that we for the thinges aforesayde and euerye one of them shall geue our assent by our letters patentes, sealed with our seale vnto our said father with all approbation and confirmation of vs and all other of our blood roiall and of all the cities and towne to vs obedient sealed with their seales accustomed. And further our sayde father besyde his letters patentes sealed vnder his great seale shall make or cause to be made letters approbatory and confirmacions of the Decrees of his realme and of the Lords, Citezens, and Burgesses of the same vnder his obedience, all which articles we haue sworn to kepe vpon the holy Euangelistes.

So soone as these articles were made and concluded, as aforesayde, the king of England hauing in his company the French king, and the Duke of Burgoyne came before the towne of Sene in Burgoyne, which toke part with the Dolphyn. And after that he had destroyed the Countrie about it, within. xv. dayes the towne was yeilded. And from thence he remooued to Mounstrell Salt Powe, where the former Duke of Burgoyne was slayne, as is before mencioned, which towne was taken by assault, and many of the Dolphyns part apprehended before they could get to the Castell. And after the getting of the towne, the Castell which was newly replenished with men and victuall, denyed to render, and therefore it was strongly besieged.

The king of Englande sent certaine of the prisoners that he had taken in this towne to aduise the captain of the Castell to yeild the same: But they obstinately denyed the request, geuyng euill spech to the kinges Herault. Wherefore the king of Englande caused a Gibbet to be set vp before the Castell, on the which were hanged. xij. prisoners, all Gentlemen and friends to the Capitaine. When the Lorde of Guytry Lieutenant of the Castell perceived that by no meanes he could be releued nor succored, and fearing to be taken by force, he began to treat with the king of England, which in eyght dayes would take none of his offers. But in conclusion he and his rendered themselves simply, their lyues onely saved: And after sixe weekes siege, the Castell was deliuered, and the Erle of Warwike was made Capitaine of the towne and Castell, which fortifyed the same with men, ordinaunce and artillarie. From thence the king of Englande departed to Molyne vpon Sepn, and besieged it rounde about, in whose company were the French king, the young king of Scottes, the Dukes of Burgoyne, Clarence, Bedford and Gloucester.

The Duke of Barre.  
The prince of Orenge.  
The Erle of Riche.  
The Erle of Huntynghdon.  
The Erle of Stafford.  
The Erle of Somerset.

The Erle Marshall.  
The Erle of Warwike.  
The Erle of Worcester.  
The Erle of Suffolke.  
The Erle of Juy.  
The Lorde Charles of Auverre.

The

Molyne vpon  
Sepn besieged.



The Erle of Perche.  
 The Erle of Mortayn.  
 The Erle of Oymond.  
 The Erle of Desmond.  
 The Erle of Ewe.  
 The Erle of Tankeruple.  
 The Erle of Longuple.  
 The Erle of Saint Paule.  
 The Erle of Brayne.  
 The Erle of Ligny.  
 The Erle of Watedeuontier.  
 The Erle of Joingny.  
 The Lorde Rosse.  
 The Lorde Matreuers.  
 The Lorde Gray of Codnoz.  
 The Lorde Bourchier.  
 The Lorde Andeley.  
 The Lorde Willoughby.  
 The Lorde Clynton.  
 The Lorde Deyncost.  
 The Lorde Clifford.  
 The Lorde Ferrers Groby.  
 The Lord Ferrers of Chartley.  
 The Lorde Talbot.  
 The Lorde Fitzwareyn.  
 The Baron of Dudley.  
 The Lorde Homerancy.  
 The Lorde Arbemond.  
 The Lorde Beauchamp.  
 The Lorde Furnyall.  
 The Lorde Fitz Hugh.  
 The Lorde Fanhope.  
 The Lorde Scrope of Balos.  
 The Lorde Scrope of Upsabe.  
 The Lorde Canneys.

The Lorde Bardolfe.  
 The Lorde Scales.  
 The Baron of Carre.  
 The Lorde Duras.  
 The Lorde Delalaunde.  
 The Lorde Mountferraunt.  
 The Lorde Louell.  
 The Lorde Botras.  
 The Lorde of Castelen.  
 The Lorde Lilladam.  
 The Lorde Wergeer.  
 The Lorde of Cromp.  
 The Lorde Saint George.  
 The Lorde Desunes.  
 The Lorde Daugien.  
 The Lorde Tremoyle.  
 The Lorde Jenuale.  
 Sir John de Lawoye.  
 Sir John Courcelles.  
 The Lorde of Barenton.  
 The Lorde of Jalous.  
 The Lorde of Bonuyple.  
 Sir Guy de Barre.  
 Sir John fastolffe.  
 Sir Philip Hall.  
 Sir Philip Leche.  
 Sir John Rodney.  
 Sir Morice Brobone.  
 Sir Piers Tempest.  
 Sir Guy Hoyle.  
 Sir John Stanley.  
 Sir Lewes Hohewe,  
 with many other knightes, Esquiers and Gentlemen, that I can not reherse by name.

These balyaunt Princes and Noble men besieged the strong towne of Molyn vpon Seyn, as aforesaide, with all their force and army, by the space almost of vij. Moneths. They without made Mynes, cast trenches and shot Gonnes at the walles. And they within, whereof the Lorde Barbason was chiefe, manfully defended the same, during the which siege, the frenche Queene, and the Quene of Englands, and the Duches of Burgoyne came dyuers times to visite their husbandes, and to see their friends. This siege so long continued, that victualles within the towne beganne to fayle, and penitence beganne to encrease, so that the Capitayne beganne to treat: And in conclusion the towne was deliuered vpon certaine conditions, whereof one was, that all that were consenting to the death of the Duke of Burgoyne should be deliuered to the king of England, whereof the Lorde Barbason was one, and so they were deliuered to the king, and he sent them vnder the

conduyt

conduyt of the Duke of Clarence vnto Paris, and there they were executed. And fourthwith the sayde Duke of Clarence was by the french king made Captayne of Paris, and had in possession the Bastill of Saint Anthony, the Loure, the house of Peele, and the place of Boys de Wyncens.

After the towne of Molyn was yelded, as aforesayde, the king made Capteyne there the Erle of Huntingdon. From thence he departed with his armie to Corbell, where the french king and the two Queenes then sojourned. And from thence the two kinges accompanied with the Dukes of Burgoyne, Bedford, Gloucester, and Exeter, and the Erles of Warwike, Sarisbury, and a great number of other noble men, set forth toward Paris, whom the Citizens receyued ioyfully, in most honourable maner. The next day the two Queenes made their entry into Paris, where also they were receyued with all solempnitie, as was the two kinges. Duryng the tyme that these two kinges lay in Paris, there was a great assembly called, aswell of the Clergie as of the Nobility, in which the two kinges sate as iudges, before whom the Duches of Burgoyne by her aduocate appealed the Dolphyn and, vij. other for the death and murder of John Duke of Burgoyne her husbände. To the which apeale, the counsaile on the other part made dyuers offers of amends: But this matter was put of vntill an other day. To the Citie of Paris at this tyme resorted the thre estates of the Realme, where euery person severally swore vpon the holy Euangelistes, to kepe, support, mainteyn, and defend the treatie & peace final which was concluded betwene the two Princes and their counsailes, & therunto euery noble man spirituall, gouernour, and temporall ruler set to their seales, which instrumentes were sent to the kinges treasury of his Eschequer at Westminster, sauely to be kept, where they yet remayne. These two kinges sojourned in Paris at the feast of Christmasse. The french king lying at the house of S. Paule, kept no estate nor open court to no man, except to his household seruautes. But the king of England and his Quene, kept such solempne estate, so plentifull a house, so princely pastyme, and gaue so many giftes, that all the noble men of Fraunce spake honourably of him.

Some after this feast of Christmasse, the king of England tooke vpon him as Regent of Fraunce to redresse causes, to remoue officers, to reforme thinges that were amisse, and caused a newe coyne to be made called a Salute, wherein were grauen the Armes of Fraunce, and the Armes of England quartered. And to set all thinges in a quietnesse, he ordeyned sir Gilbert Umfreuile Capteine of Melun furnished with a good number of balyaunt souldiours. And the Erle of Huntingdon his Cousin Germain he appointed Capteyne at Boys de Wyncens. And the Duke of Exeter with fine hundred men of armes, was assigned to kepe the Citie and towne of Paris.

When the king had thus ordered his affayres accordyng to his deuise, he with the Quene his wife, his Princes and Nobles, departed from Paris, and came to the Citie of Roan. But before his remouyng, he caused proesse to be made agaynst Charles called the Dolphyn, commaundyng him to appere at the Table of Marble in Paris: Where for lacke of apperaunce, he was with all solempnitie in suche a cause requisite, denounced guiltie of the murder and homicide of John late Duke of Burgoyne: And by the sentence of the Court of Parliament he was banished the realme and territories of Fraunce, and depriued of all honours, names, dignities and preheminences

which

The King of England taketh vpon him as Regent of Fraunce.

The Dolphyn of Fraunce condemned for the death of John Duke of Burgoyne.



which he then had or hereafter might haue. Wherefore the Dolphyn went into Languedock, and after to Poyters, getting to him such friendes as he could, and especially he obteyned so highly the fauour of the Erle of Armiack, that he not onely tooke his part, but also relieved him with money, ayded him with men, and in his awne person continually serued him agaynst his foes and enemies.

While king Henry sojourned in the City of Roan, he receiued homage of all the Nobles of Normandie: Amongest whome the Erle of Stafford did homage for the Countie of Perche: And Arthure of Briteyn did homage for the Countie of Jury, which the king before had geuen vnto them. He also ordeyned his Lieutenant generall both of Fraunce and Normandie, his brother Thomas Duke of Clarence: and his deputie in Normandie was the Erle of Sarisburie. And thus all thinges beyng set in order, the king and Quene of England departed from Roan to Amiens, and so to Calice, where he tooke shipping, and hauyng a fayre passage landed at Douer, and came to Eltham, and through London to Westminster: But by the way he was receyued most ioyfully and honourably, namely by the Citizens of London.

And shortly after, great prouision and preparation was made for the coronation of the Quene, who was crowned the. xxiii. day of February with all solempnitie.

Now while the king was thus occupied in England, the Duke of Clarence brother to the king, and his Lieutenant generall in Fraunce & Normandie, as is aforesayd, assembled together all the garrisons of Normandie at the towne of Berney, & from thence departed into the Countie of Mayn. And at Pount de Gene, he passed the riuier of Poue, and roade through all the Countie to Lucie, where he passed the riuier of Loyze, and entred into Aniove, and came before the Citie of Angiers, where he made many knightes, that is to say, Sir William Rosse, Sir Henry Godard, Sir Rowland Kilder, and Sir Thomas Beaufoord called the Bastarde of Clarence and diuerse other. And shortly after that he had forayed, brent, and spoyled the Countie, he returned with pray and pillage to the Towne of Beufoord in the Valley, where he was aduertised that a great number of his enemies were assembled together at a place called Bangie, that is to say, the Duke of Alanson calling him selfe Lieutenant generall for the Dolphyn, who was accompanied with a great number of Erles and other the Nobles of Fraunce.

At this tyme the Duke of Clarence had a Lombard resortyng vnto him called Andrew Forgusa, which was retained with the part aduerse, of whom the Duke required the number of his enemies: To whome he reported that theyr number was but small, and of no strength, and farre vnmeete to encounter with halfe the power of his puyssant armie, entisyng and prouokyng him to set on the French men, warranting him a famous victorie, and a faire day. The Duke geuyng to much credite to this Traytor, lyke a valyant and courageous Prince, assembled together all the horsemen of his armie, and left the Archers behinde him vnder the order of the Bastard of Clarence, saying that he onely, and the nobles would haue the honour of that iourney. When the Duke was passed a streight and a narrow passage, he espyed his enemies ranged in verie good order of battaile: And the saide aduersaries had

King Henry  
with the  
Quene his  
wife retur-  
ned into  
England.  
The Coro-  
nation of  
Quene Ka-  
therine.

1420

9

Andrew For-  
gusa a false  
and trayte-  
rous Lom-  
bard.

had layd such Busshementes at the streptes, that the Duke by no wayes with out battaile could eyther retyre or flie. The Englishmen seeyng no remedie, valiantly set on their enemies, which were foure to one: The battaile was fierce, and the fight deadly. The Englishmen that day did valiantly, yet it auayled not, for they were oppressed with the number of frenchmen. There were slaine the Duke of Clarence, the Erle of Tankerville, the Lord Rosse, Sir Gilbert Umfreuile, Erle of Kent, Sir John Lumley, and Sir Robert Cleved, and almost two. M. Englishmen. And the Erles of Somerset, Suffolke, and Berch, the Lord Fitzwater, Sir John Barkley, Sir Raufe Penile, Sir Henry Inglos, Sir William Bowes, Sir William Longton, and Sir Thomas a Borow, and diuers other taken prisoners. And of the frenchmen there were slaine aboue .xii. hundred of their best men. The Bastard Clarence which tarped at Beaufoord was informed of the number of the frenchmen, wherefore he with all the Archers made hast to succor the duke: But they came to late: for the frenchmen heeryng of the appochoyng of the Archers, fled with their prisoners with all the hast they could, leauing behinde them the bodie of the aforesayd Duke, and the dead carions. When the Archers came and sawe their enemies gone, they lamented not a little the euill chaunce of the deceyued Duke: But seying no remedie, they tooke the dead bodie and buried them all, sayyng the Dukes corps, which with great solempnitie was sent into England, and buried at Cauntorbury besyde his father. After this, the English men brent & spoyled the Countie of Mayne, and so returned to Alanson, and there departed euery man to his garrison. This battaile was fought at Babwy in Aniove on Easter Euen in the yere of our Lorde. 1421.

King Henry beyng aduertised of this infortunate ouerthrowe, and deceivable doying of the Lombard, and losse of his brother, sent without delay, Edmond Erle of Mortaigne, & brother to the Erle of Somerset into Normandy, geuyng to him like Auctoritie and preheminance, as his brother the late deceased Duke of Clarence had or enjoyed. After this, he called hys high Court of Parliament, in the which he declared so wisely the actes that were done in the Realme of Fraunce, the estate of the tyme present and what thinges were necessarye for the tyme to come, (if they would looke to haue that Jewell and high kingdome, for the which they had so long labored and sought for) that the Commonaltie graunted a siffene, and the Clergie a double siffene. And because no delay should be in the kinges affayres for lacke of payment, the Bishop of Winchester his Uncle lent to him. xx. thousand pounds, to be receyued of the same disnes or siffenes.

When all thinges necessarye for this boyrage were redie and prepared, he sent his brother John Duke of Bedford with all his armie (which the french men write to be foure thousand men of armes, and. xx. thousand Archers, and other) before him to Calice. And he himselfe shortly after in the middle of May passed the Seas, and arriued there in great triumph, where to him was shewed, that the Dolphyn with. vii. M. men had besieged the towne of Chartiers which was manfully defended by the Bastard of Chyau and other, set and appoynted there by the Duke of Excester.

King Henry not minding to lose so fayre a towne, departed in good order with all his armie towarde Paris. And at Mounstrell there receaued him

The Duke  
of Clarence  
slaine.

The battaile  
of Babwy.

John Duke  
of Bedford  
arriued in  
Fraunce, with  
a puyssant  
armie.

King Henry  
arriued in  
Fraunce.



him the Duke of Burgoyne, which from that place attended vpon the king to Dowaste in Ponthieu, and so came to Abbeville, and from thence to Bops de Vincens, where he found the French king and Queene, whom he louingly saluted, and they him agayne honozably receaued. And there the king of England and the Duke of Burgoyne determined without delaye to fight with the Dolphyn and to raise the siege before Chartres. The king of England with all his power came to the towne of Auant, & thether repayed the Duke of Burgoyne with foure M. men: of whose coming the king reioysed not a little. But before they departed from thence, they had knowlege & true instruction that the Dolphyn hering of the puyssaunt army of the king, was reculed with his people vnto Towres in Towrain. Wherefore the king of England incontynent, not onely sent the Duke of Burgoyne into Picardy to resist the malice of syr Jaques Harcourte, which daylie inferred warre, and caused wast and destruction in the same Countrey: But also appointed James king of Scottes to lay siege to the towne of Dixet, which so fierly assaulted the same, that after sixe weekes, they rendered the same to the king of Scottes to the behoofe of king Henry his soueraigne Lorde, who appointed Captayne there the Erle of Worcester.

The king himselfe remoued from Auant, and passed ouer the Ryuer of Leyz, folowynge the Dolphyn toward Towers: But the Dolphyn mistrusting his power fled to Burges in Berry, and there determined to tarie vntill fortune would looke more fauourably vpon him.

The king of England with all his puyssaunce so fast folowed the syng Dolphyn, that victuall beganne to fayle: wherefore he considering the daunger and hurte of his awne people, and sawe none aduantage to folowe the Dolphyn, did for the safetie of his people retorne ouer the ryuer of Leyz, and gate Salconepes vpon Poue, and a towne called the kings new towne, and dyuers other whose names were to tedious here to reherse.

The aforesaide towne was no lesse victualled then manned, and as well fortified, so that the king of Englande could neyther haue it deliuered vnto him, nor yet gayne it by assault without great losse and detriment. But yet he determined not to departe vntill he had eyther gayned or ouerthrowne the same: And durynge the tyme of this siege was borne at Wyndsoze the kings sonne called Henry, whose Godfathers were John Duke of Bedford, and Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Jaquet Duches of Holland was Godmother, whereof the king was certefyed byeng at this siege of Meaux, at the which he much reioysed, but when he heard of the place of his natiuity, whether he fantaysed some olde blind prophetic, or else iudged of his sonnes fortune, he sayde to the Lorde Fitz Hugh his Chamberleyn these wordes. My Lorde, I Henry borne at Wymouth shall small tyme reigne and get much: And Henry borne at Wyndsoze shall long reigne and loose all: But as God wyll, so be it.

After the Queene of England was thus deliuered of her fayre sonne, she returned into Fraunce, first to her husbande, and after to her father and mother, where she was on all partes so honozably receaued and so louingly enterteyned and highly feasted, that she appered to be no lesse beloued nor welcommed vnto her noble husbande, then vnto her naturall parents.

During the tyme of the siege last aboue mencioned, Sir Olyuer Maun-

ny a baliuant man of warre of the Dolphyns parte, which before was captaine of the Castell of Faloy, and yeelding it by composition, sware neuer to beare armour agaynst the king of Englande, assembled a great number of men of warre, as well of Britons as French men, that is to saye the Lorde Mountburchier, the Lorde Copuon, the Lorde of Chastelgiron, the Lorde of Tyntignace, the Lorde de la Howllaye, and dyuers other which entered into the Countrey of Constantyne in Normandy and robbed and killed the Englishe men where they might eyther espie or take them at their aduantage: But the Erle of Suffolk keeper of those marches hering of their doyngs, sent for the Lorde Scales, Sir John Aston Bailife of Constantyne, Sir Wylliam Hall, Sir John Banester and manye other out of the Garrisons within that territorie, which encountered with their enemies at a place called Le Parke de ouecque, in English the Bishops Parke. There was a fore and a long fight, and many a proper feate of armes was done that day and many a man was in that place ouerthrowen: The Englishe men onely desyred victorie, and the French men desyred a safe returne: But in conclusion the French men being not hable to resist, began to flie, in the which conflict and fight there were slayne, the Lorde Copuon, the Lorde of Castell Siron and thre hundred other: And there were taken prisoners, the Lord de la Howllay, and syr Olyuer Maunay and .lx. other. The king being aduertised of this good chaunce and happy iourney sent for syr Olyuer Maunay to be brought vnto him, he then byeng at Meaux. And when he sawe him he sayde: faire father you haue sworne, & promised vnto vs that you would neuer make warre nor beare armour against vs nor our subiectes: ye are an auncient knight, and ought to haue kept your sayth and promise, which you haue vntuly and also vnhonestly broken, and yet we will not (although by the law of armes we might lawfully so doe) put you to death, but graunt to you your lyfe: But we will send you into England to learne you to speake Englishe. And shortly after he was sent to London, where he dyed, and was buried in the white Fryers.

The Scottes wrote (believe them if ye will) that the king of Englande hering that the Dolphyn had sent for ayde into Scotlande, and that he had retayned them in wages (for of their awne habilitie, they be neyther able to send an army ouer the sea, nor yet of substance to beare a continuall warre, for this all their awne histories declare, and their Chronicles make mencion, and yet the countrey is not so poze, but the people be as proude) sent one day for James the Scottishe king, and in the presence of his counsaile declared vnto him, what humanitie, what fauour and singular affection king Henry his father bare during his naturall lyfe, toward the sayde king of Scottes: Putting him in remembraunce of the great loue and friendship which he himselfe sith the beginning of his reigne had shewed vnto him, and that neyther he nor his father had negligently omitted any thing that might apperteyn to the office of a friend or to the duetie of a Tutor, which should loue and cherish his Orphane or Pupile, promising him liberty with a great rewarde if he would cause the Scottes which were adherents to the Dolphyn to retorne agayne into their countrey and natiue region. To the which request the king of Scottes with a wise and good courage answered, saying: what your noble father hath done to me, and what fauour or benefite

W.D.

Olyuer Maunay taken and sent into England.

The birth of King Henry the first.

1421  
10



I haue receyued at your handes, I shall not nor will not when I maye (I assure you, forget: And when my power shall serue, I shall not faile to recompence your doings with lyke kindnesse. But of your request I meruaile not a little, first considering that I am a prisoner, and haue no possession of my realme: Secundarily that I am as yet neyther sworne to my subiectes, nor they by othe of allegeaunce are bounde to obey my commaundements. Wherefore I desyre you no more to moue me in this thing, which nowe I cannot doe: And yet if I might, I would first foresee whether it were for me honozable, or to my realme honest, to leaue our olde friend in his extreme neede and necessitie without ayde or comfort. With this aunswere the king of England was not content (as the Scottes say) but after that king James was departed from his presence, king Henry sayde, happie shall they be who shall be subiectes to such a king that is indued with suche wit and wisdom at these young yeres.

The king of Englande lyeng still befoze the towne of Meur in Brye (as you haue heard) and had sore oppzessed them within the towne. Whereof hearing the Lorde of Offmound with a company of chosen persons, sent by the Dolphyn, came priuely in the night to the walles, and set by a ladder, and dyuers of his company went by and entred the towne: But as he himselfe passed ouer a planke to haue come to the walles, he fell into a deepe ditch. The Englishe men hearing this noyes, ranne to the ditch, where they tooke the Lorde of Offmound, and slue dyuers of his company which stood at defence. The Captaine within the towne perceauing that their succours were taken, playnely iudged that the towne could not long continue: wherefore they caused all the goodes of the towne to be brought into the market place, which was strong and well fortifyed, The king of Englande being hereof aduertised, commaunded in all haste to geue an assault to the towne, which was quickly done, so that the towne by fine force was within thre houres taken and spoyled. And the same daye the king besieged rounde about the market place, and tooke the Hill adioyning to the same. The Captaynes perceauing in what case they were, fearing to be taken by assault, began to treat with the king of Englande, which appointed the Erle of Warwike and the Lorde Hungerforde to common with them: And in conclusion a treatie was taken, and so the towne and Market place with all the goodes were deliuered into the king of Englandes handes, the tenth daye of Maye, the yere of our Lorde. 1422.

When the deliery of the strong towne of Meur was published through the Countrey, all the townes and fortresses in the Isle of Fraunce, in Lannoys, in Brye, and in Campeigne yelded themselves to the king of England, which appoynted in them baliuant Capteynes and hartie Souldiours.

After that king Henry had thus taken and possessed the towne of Meur and other fortresses at his pleasure, he returned againe to Boys de Wynnes, where he found the frenche king, and the Queene, and his wife, who with all ioy receyued him: And so the .xxx. daye of Maye beyng Whitson euen, the two kinges and the Queenes returned to Parys, where the king of England lodged in the Castell of Loure, and the french king in the house of Saint Paule. These two kinges kept great estate with their Queenes at this feast of Pentecost: But the king of England (as Enguerant both confesseth,

The Lorde  
Offmound  
taken.

The towne of  
Meur & the  
Market  
place taken.

The king of  
England he-  
geth his  
Whitson eue  
in Parys.

essest, and dyuerse other sayth) kept such gloxious an estate, and so costly a Court, that he with his Queene sate at dinner in Parys richely appoynted with moche riche bestures, adourned with Diademes of Golde, garnished and beset with precious stones, and decked with Jewelles both bewtiful and pleasaunt. Besydes this his Princes and estates, Barons and chiefe Capteynes were set in solempne estate, plenteously serued, and abundantly feasted, so that the people of Parys which thether resorted to beholde this estate, iudged him to be more lyke an Emperour, then their aboue king (which sate solitarily alone) to be like a Duke or a pooze Marques: But now againe to returne to our Hystoie.

The Dolphyn knowyng by his Espyals where the King of Englande and his power lay, came with all his puyssaunce ouer the ryuer of Leyze and besieged the towne of Cosney, or Conny, and sent part of his armie to waste and destroy the confines of the Duchie of Burgoyne. And as he purposed, so it happened, for the Duke of Burgoyne with his power set forwarde to defend his awne lande and dominion, and wrote to the king of England to send ayde to them of Cosney or Conny, which had promised to render their towne to the Dolphyn if they were not reskued by the king of England within ten dayes. King Henry heeryng these newes, aunswere that he would not send one creature, but he would go befoze himselfe. And so with all diligence came to the towne of Corbell, and so to Senlys, where, whether it were with the heate of the ayre, or that he with his dayly labour was febled or weakned, he began to ware sicke, yea and so sicke that he was constrayned to tary and to send his brother the Duke of Bedford to perfoyme his iourney & enterprize.

The Duke lyke a baliuant Capteyne set forwarde to reskue the towne besieged, whereof heeryng the Dolphyn with all his Captaynes and hardie souldiours departed thence into Barry to his great dishonour and lesse gaine: And so was the Citie of Cosney, or Conny reskued, to the great honour of the Englishe Nation. But in this meane while, king Henry waxed sicker and sicker, and beyng layd on a Horlitter, was conueyed to Boys de Wynnes, to whome shortly after repayed the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester his Uncles, and the Erles of Sarisbury and Warwike, whome the king most louyngly entercepted and embraced: But when they behelde him (sayth Polidore) lyng in such an extremitie and daunger, they could not refrayne from mournyng and bewaylyng of him. Howbeit the king with a Princely and courageous heart, without any outward shew either of sad countenance or sorow, comforted them, and encouraged them to be mery and ioyous. But when he perceyued his sicknesse so sore to encrease, that there was no hope of health or recovery, he rendred to God his most hartie thankes, and chiefly that he called him out of this miserable life, at such tyme as when he was of most perfite remembraunce, both toward God and the world, and also in the tyme of his flourishyng conquest, in the which he neuer receyued one spot of dishonour. And turnyng himselfe to his brethren and other noble persons there present, he sayde vnto them: My naturall brethren and trustie friendes, I see you lament and bewaile my death appochoyng at hand, of the which death I am both glad and reioyce, for this short tyme of my mortall lyfe shall be a testimonie of my strength, a declaration of my iustice, and a setting forth of all mine actes and traunyles, and finally shall be the cause that

The king of  
Englande is  
sicke.

The words  
of the king in  
his death bed  
spoken to his  
brethren and  
others.



I by death shall obteyne fame, glozy, and renowne, and escape the reprehension of cowardnesse, and the mote of all infamie, which I might haue chaunced to haue fallen into, if nature had lenger prolonged my lyfe and dayes: for it is commonly sayd, that as tyme chaungeth, so maners and condicions alter, and in long tyme, all thinges continue not in one state. But as eternitie is the tryumphet vpon tyme, so do I trust that after this short life to haue eternall beyng: And after this miserable pilgrimage, myne hope is to enjoy the celestiall Kingdome, and to come to the Palace of rest, & place of quietnesse.

Nowe as touchyng you (no doubt but this my sodeyne chaunce molesteth you) and not without a cause: You lament the calamitie and mischaunce that is like to fall in your Countrie, because that I in this troublesome time leaue you destitute of a Governour and Ruler, which chaunce is the lesse to be moned and regarded, because in all worldly thinges, somethyng euer lacketh, and nothing long endureth: wherefore, because the olde sayng is, that in the time of necessitie, wit and wisdom is to be experimented, therefore I require you to consult, and to studie and take paine to come to the ende of the iourney, which I in my time haue begon and entered in, and chietely because I haue euer loued and trusted you aboue all other persons: And therefore I desire you nowe to shewe like loue, and to be as trustie to my sonne that shall be your soueraigne Lorde: So that whatsoeuer dutie, allegiaunce, or fauor for my liberalitie or kindenesse to you shewed, was to me eyther of honestie or ciuilitie due or owyng: Let the same for my sake, be extended, & rewed and recompenced to mine heyre and successor little Prince Henry. Some persons haue hated the father, and yet loued the childe, and some haue loued the father, and yet murdered the childe, of which sort I neyther recon nor accompt you: But this I say, if you loue me, ye ought to loue my childe, not for hys desert, but for myne. And sith nowe I shall be taken from you before satisfaction or recompence be made vnto me for my manifolde goodnesse and ample benefites to you shewed in my lyfe: I say and affirme, that after my death (except you will be noted with the blot of ingratitude, I will not say vnto truth) you ought to render the same to my childe your Nephewe and kinsman: I pray God that ye do not defraude me of the good expectation that I haue euer had of you. And because I will not charge you, I will therefore friendly exhort you, to bring by my little infant in vertuous liuyng, morall doctrine, and prudent pollicie, to the entent that by your paine he may proue wise, by your instruction he may proue polittique, and made able to rule and gouerne a kingdome, and not to be ruled of other: By the which deuoir you shall not onely do your duetie to your Prince and soueraigne Lorde, but also deserue thanks of your natie Countrie, to the which ye are most specially bounde. Besides this, my petition is not onely to comfort my most deere and welbeloued wife the Queene, nowe beyng (as I thinke, the most dolourous and sorowfullest woman liuyng) but also to loue her and honour her, as I haue both loued and honoured you.

And as touchyng the estate of my realmes: First I commaund you to loue and ioyne together in one league or concord, and in one vnfayned amitie, keepyng continuall peace and amitie with Philip Duke of Burgoyne. And neuer make treatie with Charles that calleth himselfe Dolphyn of Wicn, by the which any part of the crowne of Fraunce, or of the Duchie of Normandie and

The order  
that King  
Henry left  
for the go-  
uernement of  
his realme.

and Guyan may be appayzed or diminished. Let the Duke of Orleans and the other Princes still remaine prisoners, vntill my sonne come to his lawfull age, least they returnyng home againe, may kinde more fire in one day, then may well be quenched in thre. If you thinke it necessarie, I would my brother Montrey should be Protector of England, during the minority of my childe, prohibityng him once to passe out of the realme. And my brother of Bedford with the helpe of the Duke of Burgoyne, I will shall rule and be Regent of the realme of Fraunce, commaundyng him with fire & sword to persecute Charles callyng himselfe Dolphin, to the entent either to bring him to reason & obeyfaunce, or to driue and expell him out of the realme of Fraunce, admonishing you to lose no tyme, nor to spare no cost in recoueryng of that which to you now is offered. And finally whatsoeuer I haue gotten, or you shall obteyne, I charge you kepe it, I commaund you to defend it, and I desire you to nourishe it: For experience teacheth, that there is no lesse prayse to be geuen to the keper, then to the getter, for verely gettyng is a chaunce, but keepyng is wisdom.

The noble men present promised to obserue his precepts, and performe his desires: But their heartes were so pensue and so replenished with dolor, that no one without wepyng could behold the other, and the next day folowyng he ended his life in this world, beyng the last day of August. 1422.

This Prince was the noblest king that euer reigned ouer the realme of England, his famous prowes and martiall actes were suche, as bewtifed and glorified all this region: But when his death was knowen to the common people, no estate from the highest to the lowest, but cryed out and lamented that most infortunate and vntimely death. For he was beloued of all, and disceyned nor hated of none, no not of his very enemies, who also spake most honourably of him. But nowe as his death put great feare in the heartes of Englishe men for the atchyuyng of the enterprize of the conquest of Fraunce: So the same did encourage the french enemies that they ensured themselves to gaine, and get againe whatsoeuer before they had lost, as in dedde in the sequelle of this Historie it will to plainly appere. And the decease and sodeine death of this noble Prince is by diuers wryters, dyuerly reported: some say he was poysoned, and to say truth, that might be so, for vndoubtedly the french men, namely the Dolphyn, feared the vtter ouerthrow and losse of his inheritance of the realme of Fraunce, as it was most like if God had geuen this Prince longer life, and therefore whatsoeuer the sayde Dolphyn could by any french practise do or attempt for his destruction, it was not left vndone. Some other wryte it was of a Palsey and a crampe: But other that seemeth herein to wryte most nere the truth, say that it was of a Plurisis, which at that tyme was so rare a sicknesse and so straunge a disease, that the same to the most part of men was vnknewen, and Physitians beyng little acquainted therewith, knewe no present remedy for the same. This king reigned .ix. yeres. v. monethes, and .xxiiiij. dayes, & liued not, saith Hall, full .xxv. yeres, and Polidore sayth he liued but .xxviij. yeres. Of stature he was somewhat tall, more than the common sort. Of bodie he was slender, and somewhat leane, well membred, and strongly made, a goodly countenance, but somewhat long necked, blacke heared, stoufe of stomacke, and eloquent of tongue, and in Martiall affayres so valiaunt, as neuer was there any worthy

Guinefred  
Duke of  
Gloucester  
protector of  
England.

John Duke  
of Bedford  
Regent of  
Fraunce.

The death of  
King Henry  
the fift.

The descrip-  
tion of King  
Henry the  
fift.



The buriall  
of king Hen-  
ry the fift.

of more prayse for his traueyles and victories in so short tyme.

His bodie beyng enbawmed was conueighed with all funerall pompe from Boys de Vincennes to Paris, and so to Rhoan, to Abbeville, to Calice, to Douer, and so through London to Westminster, where among his noble progenitours he was enterred.

And shortly after this solempne buriall, his sorowfull Queene returned into England, and kept her estate with the yong king her sonne.

# Henrye the sixt.



When certain knowledge of the death of king Henry the fift, was brought into Englande, then Thomas Duke of Excester, and Henry Bishop of Wynchester, brethren vnto the king deceased, and Uncles vnto the yong Prince, calling together the other Lordes of the counsaile, did cause their yong Nephewe Prince Henry beyng then about the age of. ix. Moneths with sounde of Trumpets openly to be proclaymed king of England, & of Fraunce, the last daye of August. 1422. by the name of king Henry the sixte, to the great comfort and reioysing of all the Englishe Nation.

Shortly after the Duke of Gloucester returned into Englande, and first of all he called all the Lordes of the counsaile and nobles of the realme, and declared vnto them the last will and Testament of king Henry his brother, and what was his commaundement: By reason whereof he was chosen and named Protectour of the Realme of Englande. Which office when he had taken vpon him, he forthwith ioyned vnto him as counsaillers the grauest, noblest, and wisest in the realme, and first tooke order for the stay of all things within this realme of England, and then with all speede prouided for all things necessarie for the warre for the conquest of Fraunce, and appointed valiaunt and expert Captaynes that should be in a readynesse when oportunitie of time required. And besides thys, he by all politique meanes, gathered great sommes of money, and left nothing vndone that should aduaunce his pretended purpose.

Whyle these things were thus deuysed within the realme of England, the Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce, no lesse studied and tooke paine, to keepe and order the countries and regions by king Henry late conquered and gayned, and also determined not to leaue of from daylie warre and continuall trauayle till the time that Charles the Dolphyn (which was now a flote, because king Charles his father in the Moneth of October this present yere, was departed to God,) were eyther subdued or brought to due obeyssaunce. And surely the death of this king Charles caused many alterati-

ons

Henry the  
Prince pro-  
claymed king  
Henry the. vi.

Dumfrey  
Duke of  
Gloucester  
made protec-  
tor of the realm  
of England.

Charles the  
French king  
deceased.

ons and chaunges in the realme of Fraunce, for a great parte of the nobilitie which then eyther for feare of the puissance of the Englishe men, or for to please and folowe the minde and appetite of Charles the Frenche king, took parte with king Henry against the Dolphyn: Hering now of the french kings death, returned from the Englishe parte and adioyned themselves to the company of the Dolphyn, and diligently studied howe to vanquish and drive away the Englishe nation out of the territorie of Fraunce.

The Duke of Bedford beyng greatly moued with these sodaine chaunges, forsteyed his towne both with Garrisons and munitions, and assembled together a great armie both of Englishe men and Normans, to whom he made a long Oration, admonishyng them to obserue and keepe their othe and faith (which they had made to the late king Henry and his heires) inviolate and vnbroken, wylling them in no wise to be the occasioners or counsaillers that yong king Henry should be deprived from his fathers lawful inheritaunce, by the hatred of certayne Traytors Frenchmen, which had renewed the olde hatred being of late extinct betwene the realmes of England and of Fraunce, and studied to set all things agayne in a broyle: requiring them also to call to their memoire how that the realmes of England & of Fraunce, the two most famous regions of all Europe, by the benefite of almightie God were of late so vniited, connered, & ioyned together in an eternall league and composition, & so strongly established, that no worldly power were able or of puissance sufficient, to resist or withstande the malice of the same: And although sometimes by chaunce of warre the losse might turne on their parte, yet in conclusion the detriment should be recovered, and a surplusage gayned. And if (according to their bounden duties) they would honoz, serue and loue yong king Henry their souereigne Lorde, and would diligently persecute and set on his enimies, they should not onely shew themselves true and faythfull subjects to their true and vndoubted king: But also should for their fidelitie and good seruice receiue of him condigne rewarde, cure and besides immortall fame and renowne.

This exhortation stayed the heartes of many of the french Capitaynes, which wyllingly sware to king Henry feaultie and obedience, by whose example the commonaltie did the same. Thus all the people set in an order in the realme of Fraunce, nothing was minded but warre, and nothing was spoken of but conquest.

The Dolphyn which lay at this time in the Citie of Boytiers heering of the death of his parent, had his heart mixed both with ioye and sorow: for notwithstanding that he was sorowfull, as a naturall childe which lamented the death of his father, yet he was ioyous that power and princely estate was nowe to him happened, by the which he iudged that he should be the more able to defende his enemies and recover more friends: and so calling together the princes of his faction, caused himselfe to be proclaymed king of Fraunce, by the name of Charles the. vij. And then being in good hope of recoueryng his patrimony and expelling his enemies, with a haute courage prepared warre, and assembled together a great armie, and first the warre beganne by light skirmishes, but after it proceeded into mayne battles. The Dolphyn thinking not to make long delays in so great a cause, lest the power of his enemies might daylie be augmented, sent the Lorde Granuile

An exhortati-  
on made by  
the Duke of  
Bedford vnto  
the French  
men that  
were vnder  
king Henries  
obeyssaunce.

The Dol-  
phyn proclat-  
med king of  
Fraunce by  
the name of  
Charles the  
seuenth.



Pount Melance taken by the french.

Thomas Montacute Erle of Salisburie.

Pount Melance recovered againe by the Englishmen.

Dumfrey Duke of Gloucester married Jaquet the wyfe of John Duke of Brabant.

Grample to the towne of Pount Melance standing on the river of Seyne, which so sodainely came to the same, that he was on the walles or the souldiours within heard of his approche, and so he tooke the towne, and slue a great number of the English souldiours.

When the Regent of Fraunce was aduertised of thys sodayne enterprize, he appointed the Lorde Thomas Montacute Erle of Salisburie, a man both for his great pollicie and haute courage, moze to be compared to the olde balyaunt Romaynes, then to men of his dayes, accompanied with the Erle of Suffolke, the Lorde Scales, the young Lorde Dounynges, Sir John fastolffe Mayster of the household with the sayde Lorde Regent, and dyuers other to besiege the towne of Pount Melance, which after two Moneths was rendred to the sayde Erle: and the Lorde of Granuile sware to be true to the king of Englande ever after that day, but shortly after he forgetting his othe, returned to his olde Mayster agayne. The Erle of Salisburie appointed Sir Henry Mortimer, and syr Richard Vernon to be Captaines of that towne. And from thence departed into Champaigne, and there besieged the towne of Sens, and tooke syr Guillam Maryn the Captayne and slue all the Souldiours within the towne, and made there Capitaynes Sir Hugh Seddyng, and Sir Richard Abwemond.

The Parisians, which ever like the Wethercoke be variable and inconstant, perceyuing that the Dolphyn daylie begame to haue moze ayde and power, then he was before accustomed, trustyng to returne againe vnder his obeyfance and subiection (which they both wished and desired) to the entent that it should not appere to come of their desire, and that their fayth and fidelitic should not be put in the Balauce of diffidence with the English nation, sent diuers Senators of their Citie as Ambassadors to the king of England, desyryng him of aide and succour, to whom not onely great thanks were rendred for doying their duetie of subiection, but also high feastes were made, and promises declared, that if they still continued in due obeyfance, and were not adherent to the kings enemies, that neyther succour shoulde want, nor cost should be spared for their common comfort, and publike utilitie. With which aunswere the company outwardly pleased (whatsoeuer they inwardly imagined) departed to Paris. In this season Dumfrey Duke of Gloucester eyther blynded with ambition or dotting for loue, married the Lady Jaquet or Jacomin daughter and sole heire to Wylliam of Bavier Duke of Holland, which was lawfull wyfe to John Duke of Brabant then lyving, which mariage chaunced much to his dishonor. For surely the sweete tast of this pleasaunt mariage, brought after a sower sauce, both to the amorous husbände, and to the wanton wyfe. For John Duke of Brabant, what with force, and what with spirituall compulfaries, neuer left of, till he had recovered his Lady out of the Duke of Gloucesters possession, as after you shall here.

And in this present yere the West gate of London, now called Newgate, which before was an vgly and filthy Dongeon, was now newly builded at the charges and expences of Richard Whytingdon, late Alderman and Maiour of London, by the handes of his Executors.

These chaunces thus happenyng as you haue heard, John Duke of Bedford, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, and John Duke of Britaine, made an

an assemble and friendly enteruiewe in the Citie of Amias, where they renewed the old league and auncient amitie made betwene the noble prince king Henry the sixt, and them before concluded: addyng thereto these conditions and agrements, eche of them to be to other both friend and ayder, and the enemye of the one to be enemye to the other, and all they to be both friendes and ayders to the king of England, and well wylling to hys well wyllers, and auengers of his aduersaries. And because that affinitie is an embracer of amitie, there was concluded a mariage betwene the Duke of Bedford, and the Ladie Anne sister to the Duke of Burgoyne. When these agrements were finished, the Duke of Bedford departed to Troyes in Champaign, wherether with high pompe was conueyed the Lady Anne of Burgoyne, which in the presence of her brother and her Uncle Duke of Brabant, and of the Erles of Salisburie and Suffolke, and of nine hundred Lordes, knightes and Esquires, he was married to John Duke of Bedford, with such solempnitie, feart and triumph, as before that time had not bene sene of the Burgonions.

John Duke of Bedford married Anne the wyfe of the Duke of Burgoyne.

During this triumph, the Parisians thinking to blinde the eyes of the Duke of Bedford wrote to hym, howe diuers Castels and fortresses lyeng round about their territorie, were replenished with his enemies dayly stoppyng their passages, and robbing their marchantes, to their vtter vndoing, if they by his helpe were not relieved: fraudulently meaning, and falsely enticing him to absent himselfe from them, till their craftie conueyed purpose were compassed and atchiued. For diuers of them stubberly bearing the yoke and subiection of the English nation, perceyuing the Duke of Bedford and the principall Capitaines of the English men to be farre from Paris, employeng themselves to ioy and solace, for the honor of this high mariage, conspired to bring into the Citie, Charles the Dolphyn, callyng himselfe french king. And to the entent that their inuented purpose should succede, they thereof aduertised the Dolphyn and his counsaile, appoynting the day of his coming, and the time of his entrie. But the Duke of Bedford was informed of all their secret confederacie and sedicious faction, wherefore he meaning not to lose in short time that which in no small space was gayned, put spurres to the horse, and with a great power entered into Paris one day before the fayze was appointed, and two nightes before the looking for of his enemies, who being vnprovidid, he sodainely caused to be apprehended and taken, and openly put to execution. After this ieopardie thus escaped, he put diffidence in all the Parisians, trusting little the Nobles, and geuing lesse credite to the comons, determined to fortifie the garrisons of his awne nation, and all the Castels neere and adioyning to the Citie, which within small time were abundantly furnished. And to auoyde all night watchers adioyning to Paris, and the confines of the same, he first tooke into his possession, eyther by assaulte or composition the towne of Trayneil and Bray vpon Seyne, and because two Castels the one called Dacy, and the other called Cursay were also euill neighbors to the Parisians, he sent Sir John fastolffe great master of his household, with a notable armie to besiege the Castell of Dacy, which takyng vpon him that enterprize, so handeled his enemies, that the Capitayne named Guillam Keymon Esquire, and all the garrison yeelded them simply to his mercy and discretion, whome he sent as prisoners to the City of Paris, and after besieged the Castell of Cursay, which to

1 4 2 3  
2



to him was shortly rendered upon like appointment, and so with praye and prisoners he returned to the Lorde of Bedford his Master. In this berie season the Dolphyn sent Lorde William Stuard, Constable of Scotland, and the Erle of Ventadoze in Auergne, and many other nobles of his parte, to lay siege to the towne of Crauant, in the Countie of Auxerre within the partes of Burgoyne, whereof hering the Lorde Regent, and the Duke of Burgoyne, they assembled a great armie, to the number of. xv. thousand, whereof the Erle of Salisburie was ordeyned Captaine, which came in good array to gene battayle to the besiegers of the towne of Crauant, and because the ryuer of Yonne which runneth by the sayde towne, was betwene the Englishe armie and their aduersaries, they coude not well assaile their enemies, which defended the bankes and passages very strongly, yet notwithstanding both horsemen and footemen of the Englishe parte, courageously put themselves into the ryuer, and wyth fine force recouered the banke, tohome the Burgonions incontinent folowed. When they were all gotten into the playne, the Archers shot, and the Bilmen strake, and long was the fight in indifferent iudgement, but in conclusion the frenche men not able to resist the force nor puyssaunce of the Englishe Nation, were taken, cyther slayne or discomfited, for in that mortall battayle were slayne and taken to the number of eyght thousand men, wherof was slayne of English men. xxi. C.

After this fortunate victorie obteyned, the English men entered into the towne of Crauant, much prayng the doynges of the Capteynes, and the fidelitie of the Citizens, and when they had set all thinges in an order, they returned to Paris, where of the Regent they were ioyously receiued, which there constituted the Erle of Sarisbury (as he was wel worthy) Vicegerent and Lieutenant for the king and him in the Countie of Fraunce, Bry, and Champaine, and Sir John Fastolfe he substituted Deputie vnder him in the Duchie of Normandie on this side the riuer of Seyne, and with that he deputed him gouernoz of the Countie of Aniew and Mayne, and assigned able Capteynes in euery holde and forresse. The Erle of Sarisbury which could not scepe in his great office of trust, layde siege to the towne and Castell of Mountaguilon in Brie, whereof were Capteynes, Pregelent of Cotyn, and Guille Bourgoys Britons, which valiantly defended the Castell by the space of fiue monethes, but in conclusion the assaylantes were so fierce that they within for sauegarde of their lyues rendred the holde, and the Capteynes sware neuer to bere armure agaynst the Englishe men on this syde the riuer of Leyre: durynge which siege, the Erle of Suffolke toke by force the Castell of Coucy: and the strong Castell de la Roche he gat by appoyntment in Mosconoy.

Nowe must I go backe to put you in memorie howe James king of Scottes, beyng both prisoner in the time of king Henry the fourth, and also as subiect to king Henrype the fift his sonne, seruyng him in his warres in Fraunce till he departed out of this transitorie life at Boys de Vincens, and so as chiefe Mourner attended on the Corps of the sayd decessed king, vnto his buriall, and after at Westminster was released of his Captiuitie, and restored to his realme and possession. For the true knowlege thereof, you shall vnderstand that England demaunded a smal raunsome for so great a prince, as the Scottes accompt their king (and the Scottes were neither able, nor offered

The barraine  
of Crauant.

James king  
of Scots be-  
yng prisoner  
was released  
3 sent home.

offered no somme conuenient) wherefore the counsaile of the realme of England grauously pondered, and wisely considered, that if by coniunction of marriage, England and Scotland were perfectly knit in one, that the indissoluble bande of amitie betweene the frenche and Scottishe Nations should be shortly broken and dissolued. Wherefore the protector of the realme of England by the consent of the whole Baronage of the same, gaue to him in marriage the Ladie Jane, daughter to John Erle of Sommerset decessed, not onely sister to John then Duke of Sommerset, but also Cousin Germain remoued to the King, and Niece to the Cardinall of Winchester, and the Duke of Breter.

The King of Scottes hauyng a great affection to this sayre Ladie, but much more desirynge his deliuerance and libertie, put in hostages for the redempcion of his raunsome, because a great part thereof was diminished and abated for the money allowed to him for his marriage, and so was deliuered to depart at his pleasure. Alack, the olde proverbes be to true: an Ape although he be clothed in purple, will be but an Ape, and a Scot neuer so gently enterpeyned of an Englishe prince, will be but a dissemblyng Scot. What kindnesse could be more shewed to a prisoner, then to bring him by in good literature? what loue may be more declared to a captiue, then to instruct him in martiall feates, and warlike assayzes? what fauour can be more ascribed to a highe and renoumed prince, then to geue in marriage to his vnderlyng and vassall, his Cousyn and kinswoman of his royall parentage lawfully descended. All these kindnesse sufficed not, nor all these gratuities anayled not to make this king James friendly to the realme of Englande. For he notwithstanding his homage done to the yong Henry king of England, and of Fraunce, at his Castell of Windsor this present yere, before three Dukes, two Archbishops. iij. Erles. x. Bishops. xx. Barons, and two. C. knightes and Esquiers and mo, accordyng to the tenor hereafter folowynge.

I James Stuart king of Scottes, shall be true and faythfull vnto you Lorde Henry, by the grace of God king of England and Fraunce, the noble and superior Lorde of the Kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome of Scotland, which I hold and claime to hold of you, and I shall beare you my fayth and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldly honour agaynst all men, and faithfully I shall knowlege, and shall do to you service due to the kingdome of Scotland aforesayde. So God helpe me and these holy Euangelistes.

Neither regardyng his othe, nor esteemyng the great abundaunce of plate and riches, to him by the mother and vncler of his wife liberally geuen, and friendly deliuered (of which sort of richesse fewe or none before that day were euer seene in the Countie of Scotlande) like a dogge which hath cast by his stomacke and returneth to his bomyt, or like a snake which after hys engendryng with a Lampray, taketh agayne his olde popson: After he had once taken the ayre, and smelled the sent of the Scottishe soyle, became like his fraudulent torefather, an vntrue Prince, and like his proude progenitors toke the ymage of a braggyng and boastyng Scot, newly alied himselfe with the frenche Nation. And yet whatsoeuer he did, his Nation both write and testifie, that by the learnyng which he by the great benefite of the kinges of England durynge his Captiuitie in this realme had obteyned, replenished his

James king  
of Scottes  
married Jane  
the daughter  
of John Erle  
of Sommerset.

The homage  
of the king of  
Scottes.



his Countre with good litterature, and by the nurture the which he was brought by in Englande, he brought his people to civillitie: So that his captivitie was to his Nation the greatest libertie that ever they could have, delivring them from blinde ignorance, to excellent knowlege, reducing them from bestiall maners, to honest behaviour, and in conclusion causyng them to knowe vertue from vice, pollicie from rudenesse, and humaine honestie from wilde and beastly liuyng. This was the deliveraunce and the doynges of James the first of that name king of Scottes, which neither reigned verie quietly, nor yet ever favoured Englishe men before the French people: sayyng that he hauyng with him into his countre a yong Gentleman of Northumberland called Andreto Gray (which duryng his captivitie was hys companion) promoted him to the mariage of the heyre of the Lorde of Foules in Anguis, of the which the Lord Grayes of Scotland at this day do descende.

1424

3

Nowe to returne to the affayres of England. The Duke of Gloucester beyng Protector and Governour of the realme, called to him the peeres and nobility of the realme, and by their agrementes & deuises sent into Fraunce to the Regent his brother ten thousand men of warre, which were of the same Regent in the Countre of Paris louyngly receyued, and accordyng to their degrees honestly enterteyned. During their liuyng in Paris, diuers chaunces happened in Fraunce, for euen as Englishe men valiantly woune, and victoriously conquered towne and Castels with open warre and apparant conquest: so the Frenchemen fraudulently stole, and couertly obteyned diuerse fortresses and holdes, apperteinyng to the Englishe faction, and in especiall the fayre towne of Champaigne, and the pretie towne of Crotoy.

When the Duke of Bedford was aduertised of these craftie trickes and sodeine inuented traynes, he sent forth an armie, first to Compaigne, wherof was Capteine the Erle of Suffolke, accompanied with the Erle of Ligny, and diuerse other Capteines of the English men, which lay on the one side of the river of Somme, and on the other syde lay the Lord Lisleadam, sir Thomas Raupstone, and the prouost of Paris. The Frenchmen beyng strongly furnished and well victualled, couragiously defended the towne agaynst the assailantes. The Englishe men perceyving that Guillam Remond otherwise called Mariolayn, had beene the leader of the Souldiours within the towne, which before at Paris was taken prisoner by sir John Fastolfe, caused him to be sent for to Paris, and so brought him to the siege, and set him in a Chariot with a halter about his necke, and coueyed him to the Gibbet without the towne, sendyng worde to the garrison within the towne, that if they would not without delay render the towne and fortresse, they would incontinent strangle their olde Capteine and chiefe conductor. The Souldiours within the towne perceyving that if Guillam Raymond the onely trust of their reliefe, and the aunient friend in their necessitie should suffer death, that then their hope of all ayde were extinguished: and therefore for deliveraunce of him and sauegarde of themselves, they yelded the towne: so that both he and they might depart with horse and harnesse onely, in sure conduite and safetie: yet long or the towne of Compaigne was delivered, Sir Philip Hall, which was sent to Crotoy by the Lord Regent, with. viij. hundred men to besiege the towne, gat it by assault sodeinly, or the Frenchmen had eyther disposed their garrison, or appoynted their lodgynges, and tooke all the men of

of warre, & put them to ransom. And so these two towne cowardly stolen, were manfully recovered, but yet the writers of French fables that do deface the glory of the Englishe, write & say that these towne were yelded to the Burgonians, which neither had the keyyng of them, nor were souldiours to any other person but to the king of England. While these thinges were thus doying in Fraunce, Sir John de la Pole, brother to the Erle of Suffolke, Capteine of Aranches in Normandie, assembled all the garrisons of the base Marches of the Countre of Anio, and came before the Citie of Angiers, and bent the suburbs, spoyled and destroyed the whole Countre, and hauing as many prayes and prisoners as his men might carpe, he was encountred by the Erle of Armerle, the Vicont Arbone, and sixe thousand Frenchmen: which findyng the Englishe men out of array because of the carriage of their great spoyle, sodeinly set on them, and slue thre hundred persons, and tooke prisoners the saide Sir John delapoole, Sir John Basset, John Aulford Lieutenant of Faloy, John Clifton, Henry Mortimer, and sixe hundred other. Although the Frenchmen gate this day in one place, yet they went not victors away in another, for the Bastard de la Baulme, and the Lorde Craignar Capteines of Courrallon with a great band, made a roade into Halconnoys, with whome by chaunce met Mathew Gough, and other Englishe men which were scouryng the Countre, to see and here newes of their enemies, there was a sore conflict, and an hard encounter, the partes in maner beyng of courage and number egal, but after long fight, the French men almost all were slaine and taken, and the Bastard beyng well horsed fled, after whome folowed with the fiercenesse of his spurre Mathewe Gough, and chased him to his Castell gate, and there tooke him as he would haue hid him in the ditch, and presented him to the Erle of Sarisbury, returnyng from Compaigne to Paris, which not only gaue to him the rightes belongyng to the prisoner, but also rewarded him with a goodly Courser, and highly exalted his name and manhoode.

About this season, Arthur brother to John Duke of Briteyn commonly called the Erle of Richemond, hauyng neither profite of the name nor of the Countre, notwithstanding that king Henry the fift had created him Erle of Pury in Normandie, and gaue him not onely a great pension, but the same towne of Pury: yet because his brother the Duke of Briteyne fearyng the Englishe men now hauyng Normandie, would smell and desyre to taste the sweete soyle of Briteyn, was late (contrary to his league and othe) returned to the part of Charles the Dolphyn, he likewise returned and craftely without cause fled into Flaundy, and so came to the Dolphyn to Hoytiers, which was more glad of his commyng then if he had gayned a C. M. crownes, for the Britons which kept the towne and Castell of Pury, hearyng that their maister was ioyned with the Dolphyn, both kept the Castell agaynst the Duke of Bedford, furnisbyng it dayly with newe people and munitions, and also bered, spoyled, and robbed the Countre adioynyng, doying to the Englishe men the most hurt and Dammage that could be deuised or imagined.

The Lorde Regent being aduertised of all these troubles and calamities, assembled a great armie both of Englishe men and Normans, entenyng to serch the Dolphyn in every part, to the entent to geue him battaile in a pitched field, and so to make a finall ende of his intended conquest. So ha-

Et. 1.

uing



uing in his company of Erles, knightes and Esquiers to the number (as the frenche writers testifie) of .xviij. hundred men of armes, and eyght thousand Archers and other, came before the towne of Pury, which was well defended: but the Englishe men beganne to vndermine the wallles, so that they within were glad to render the towne vpon condition, which was taken. Howbeit the Capitaynes of the Castell promised to yeelde, if their fortresse were not rescued at a daye assigned by the Dolphyn, with a number sufficient to rayse the siege, and vpon this promise hostages were deliuered into the possession of the Lorde Regent. By his lycence an Herault was sent to the Dolphyn, to aduertise him of the time determined, the which heryng of the distresse that his people and friendes were in, sent incontinent John Duke of Alanfon his Lieutenant generall, the Erle Douglas whome at that setting forth he made Duke of Corayne, and the Erle Boughan, whom then in hope of good speede, he made Constable of Fraunce (which office he enioyed not fully an hundred houres,) and the Erles of Amuric, Vantadoure, Tonnerre, Maulieuriet, Forest, the Vicountes of Harbon and Chouars, the Lordes of Granuyle, Caules, Malycorne, Manny, Ballap, Fountaynes, Mountfort, and many other noble knightes and Esquiers, to the number of .xv. M. french men and Britons, and .v. M. Scottes, whom the Erles of Douglas had transported late out of Scotland, more for mercede then for loue.

Thys armie royall approached within two Miles of Pury, and sent .xl. light horsemen to view and espie both the number and conduit of the English men. These spies came very nere to the siege, and were espied and chaced to their companions agayne, and declared all what they had seene and perceyued. The Duke of Alanfon seing that he could not get any auantage of the English men, (although the Dolphyn had geuen him in straight commaundement to fight with the Regent) whether his heart fayled or he thought to wayte a more fortunate season for his purpose and enterpryse, retired back with his whole army to the towne of Veruoyle in Berche, which belenged to the king of Englande, and sent worde to the garrison of that towne, that they had discomfited and slayne all the Englishe armie, and that the Regent with a small number, by swiftnesse of his horse had saued himselfe. The inhabitants of Veruoyle geuing to light credence to the frenche fables, receyued the Duke of Alanfon with all his armie into the towne, and submitted themselves to him, which towne he desyred to haue of the gift of the Dolphyn as his owne inheritaunce and lawfull patrimony. Now approached the day of rescous of Pury, which was the day of our Lady the Assumptiō, at which day, no rescous appered to s<sup>r</sup> Gerrard de la Pallier Capitaine of the Castell, which beyng in dispayre of all ayde and comfort, presented the keyes to the Duke of Bedford, and shewed him a letter signed and sealed with the handes of .xviij. great Lordes, which the daye before promised to geue the Duke battayle, and to dissolue the siege and raise the assaulte: well sayde the Duke, if their hartes would haue serued, their p<sup>r</sup>ysse was sufficient once to haue profered, or to haue performed thys faythfull promise. But sith they disdaine to seeke me, God and saint George wylling I shall not desist to folowe the tractes of their horses tyll one parte of vs be by battayle ouerthrowne: and so he gaue a safeconduyt to the Capitayne and other  
which

which would departe, but many of the Britons within the Castell of Pury, seing the faint hartes, and the false promises of the flattering french men, submitted themselves to the Lorde Regent, and swore to be true to the king and him, whome he gently accepted, and put them in wages.

Then he furnished the Castell and towne with a newe garrison, and incontinent he sent the Erle of Suffolke with sixe hundred horses, to espie where the french men were lodged, which passed by Dampeuille, and came to Brelmel, where he heard newes that the french men had taken Veruoyle in Berche, and were there yet abyding, whereof with all diligent celeritie, he sent worde to the Duke of Bedford, which not minding to leese his long desired pray, set forward in great haste toward their enimies. The french men heryng of his comming, set their people in array, & made all one maine battayle wythout forward or reeward, and appointed certayne Lumbards and horsemen to breake the array of the Englishe men eyther behinde, or at the sides, whereof was Capitayne S<sup>r</sup> Stephyn Venoyles, called the hier. The Duke of Bedford, not ignoraunt howe to order his men, made likewise an entier battayle, and suffered no man to be on horseback, and set the archers (euery one hauyng a sharpe stake) both in the front of the battayle, and on the sides lyke wings, and behinde the battayle were the pages with the Chariottes and cariages, and all the horses were tyed together eyther with the reines of their bridles or by the tayles, to the entent that their enimies should not sodainely surprize or disturbe them on the back behinde: and for to defend the cariages were appointed two thousand archers. The french men at the first sight remembryng howe often times in pitched fieldes they had bene ouercome and banquished of the Englishe nation, beganne somewhat to feare, but when they sawe no remedy but to fight, they tooke good courage to them, and set softly forward. In which marchyng the Duke of Alanfon, sytting on horseback, did with many good wordes encourage his Capitaynes and Souldiours to the battayle.

And in lyke maner the Duke of Bedford encouraged his people, and forthwith they gaue the onset vpon their enimies, cryeng, Saint George, Bedford. And the french men likewise cryed, Mount ioy, saint Denise. Then the arrowes flewe out of the long bowes on the one parte, the quarrels out of the Crosse bowes on the other parte. After they came to hande strokes: great was the fight, and terrible was the battayle, with so indifferent iudgement of victorie, that no Herault could determine to which parte fortune most shewed her louyng countenaunce. For on both sides men were slayne and wounded, and on both partes some were felled and recouered, thus stil in a doubtfull iudgement the battaile continued about three houres. The Duke of Alanfon in the meane season neuer ceased to exhort and pray his people manly to fight, and not to suffer their enimies, (which were at the berie point to be ouercome) by their faint hartes to be victors, and ouercomers. Lykewise the Duke of Bedford rode about his armie, refreshing the weake with freshe men, and encoraging hys people with most pleasaunt wordes: But at the laste, when he perceiued the frenchmen, what with heate, and with trauayle, to waxe wearie and faint, and not to be so freshe as they were before (for surely the nature of the frenchmen is not to labo<sup>r</sup> long in fighting, and much more braggeth then fighteth) he with all hys  
ff. ii. strength

The battaile  
of Veruoyle.



strength set incontinent on them with suche a violence, that they bare them downe to the grounde by fine force. The french horsemen that daye did little seruice: for the archers so galled their horses, that they desyred not much to appproch their presence. This battayle was fought the xxvij. day of August, in the yere of our Lorde. 1425. in the which battayle were slaine.

Of French men.

The Erle of Aumerle.  
The Erle of Ventadoze.  
The Erle of Forestes.  
The Erle of Mary.  
The Lorde Granville.  
The Lorde Gaules.  
The Lorde Fountaines.  
The Lorde of Amboys.  
The Vicount Thouars.  
The Lorde Mounteny.  
The Lorde of Combreste.  
The Lorde of Brunell.  
The Lorde Tumblet.  
The Lorde of Poyssy, and thre hundred knights beside.  
The Vicount Perbon whose bodye was hanged on a Gibbet, because he was one of the murtherers of the

Duke of Burgoyne.

Of Scottes also were slaine.

Archibald Erle Douglas made Duke of Toroyne.  
James Douglas hys Sonne Erle of Wigton.  
John the Erle of Boughem newly made Constable of Fraunce.  
Sir Alexandre Meldzine.  
Sir Henry Balglaue.  
Sir John Sterlyng.  
Sir William of Homelstone.  
Sir James Gray.  
Sir Robert Kanden.  
Sir Alexander Lynsaie.  
Sir Robert Steward.  
Sir Robert Swinton.  
And. xxvij. hundred Scottes of name and armes, besides other.

In this battayle were slaine by reporte of Moniop king at armes in Fraunce, and the Englishe Heraulds there present, of frenche men and Scottes. ix. thousand and seauen hundred, and of the Englishe men. xxi. C. but no man of name, sauyng fivie yong Esquiers. And there were taken prisoners, John Duke of Alaunson, the Bastarde of Alaunson, the Lorde of Fayect, the Lorde of Hornit, Sir Piers Harrison, Sir Loys de Wancorte, Sir Robert Busslet, Sir John Turnebull a Scot, and two hundred Gentlemen, besides common Souldiours.

After that the Duke of Bedford had thus obtayned the upper hande of his enemies, and discomfited the onely strength of the Dolphyn. Then he commaunded all the frenchmen within the towne of Vernoyle, to go out and depart, or else to abide their aduventure. They perceyving the euill successe of their boasting enterprise, and seing no meane, whereby in so lowe an ebbe they might be ayded, deliuered by the towne, and went forth out of the same, their lyues saued. Of which towne the Lord Regent constituted Captayne by Phillip Hall, and so departed from thence to the Citie of Roan; where with triumph (and not bntworthy) he was ioyously receyued and honourably feasted. And after all thinges there set in an order, he remooued to Paris.

When this victorie was published through Fraunce: The Dolphyn was driven out of all þ Countries apperteynyng to the crowne of Fraunce, and might resort to no Countries except to Bourbonys, Aluerne, Berry, Boycton, Combrain, a part of Anioy, and Barrain, and Languedoc. And because

cause diuerse of his friendes, which were aduocates in Paris, exiled themselves from the Parliament of Paris, which was with all rightes, and iurisdictiones thereunto belongyng, kept, and holden in the name of king Henry the sixt, as lawfull heire, and very king of the realme of Fraunce: he therefore to shewe himselfe as a king, erected his court of parliament, his Chauncery, and all other Courts in the Citie of Boytiers, and there established his great seale, with all due circumstances thereunto apperteynyng, which there continued by the space of. xiiij. yeres, as you shall after here declared. The Duke of Bedford lying at Paris, entendyng there to bring to obeyssaunce Charles the Dolphin, or else to drive him out of his little Comie holes, and small countries, sent the Lorde Scales, Sir John Montgomerie, Sir John Fastolf, with two thousand men, to conquere the Countries of Anioy and Mayne, which without assault had rendered to them the strong Castelles of Beamoût le Vicont, Teune, Silly, Osle, Courceriers, Rouilly, Masse, Coueteuenant, and twentie other, which for prolixitie of time, I thinke necessary to be omitted. For surely the Englishe pyssaunce was so tryed, proued, assayed, and spred abroad throughtout all Fraunce, that the frenchmen thought that in conclusion the Englishe men would haue, or should haue all thinges, whiche they either wished or enterprised. The Duke of Bedford yet thirteyng after more good fortune, sent the Erle of Sarisbury, with a great armie accompanied with the Lord Scales, and other approued Capteynes, (whose names you haue heard before) into the Countrie of Anioy and Mayne, which were euill neighbours to the Duchie of Normandie: In which armie were ten thousand men of warre, or there about. These lustie Capteynes entered first into the Countrie of Mayne, and besieged the riche and strong Citie of Mauns, the chiefe towne and empery of all that Countrie and region. And although the Citezens, aswell for the sodaine accesse of their enemies, as for the feare of the name of the Erle of Sarisbury (which was both dread of his enemies, and honoured of his friends) were somewhat amazed and astonied: Yet their Capteynes named sir Baldwyn of Champaigne Lorde of Coisse, Sir Guillian de Harignie, and Sir Hughe de Gooz, studied and inuented all wayes possible howe to defend themselves, and to do damage and harme to their enemies: and surely, they had within the towne a crewe and a companie of warlike and practised souldiours. The Englishe men approached as nyght to the walles as they might without their losse and detriment, and shot agaynst their walles great stones out of great Goonnes (which kinde of engines before that tyme, was very little seene or hearde of in Fraunce,) the strokes whereof so shaked, crushed and riued the walles, that within fewe dayes, the Citie was dispoyled of all her towres and outward defences. The Citezens of Mauns much marueilyng at these newe orgaynes, both seeryng their destruction imminent, and desperate of all ayde and succour, offered the towne vpon this condicion: that all persons which would tary within the towne might abyde, and all that would depart with horse and harrisse onely, should be permitted: which offers were accepted, and the towne rendered, whereof the Erle made Capteyne the Erle of Suffolke, and his Lieutenant Sir John Fastolfe. After this the sayd Erle of Sarisbury besieged the faire towne of Saint Susan, whereof was Capteyne, Ambrose de Lore, a man of no lesse audacitie then pollicie, accompanied with a great number of hardy

Fr. iij.

men

A great vic-  
sion.

Mauns be-  
sieged.

Saint Susan  
besieged and  
taken.



men of warre. When the Erle of Sarisburie had both biewed and seene the situation and nature of the place, he determined to assault it in that place which was most weake and woꝛne: and so the trumpets blew to the assault and scaling Ladders were rayed to the walles, and the Englishe men with great noyse began to clime and ascende. The Souldiours which durst not come out of the towne to encounter with the Englishe armie, manfully ran to the walles to resist and defend the assaylants. And so all that day the assault with many aduentures still continued, and although the inhabitauntes and Citizens were sore wounded, they neuer left off both to defende themselves, and to annoy and hurt their enemies. When the Erle perceyued that by this light assault and sleight skirmishe he lost somewhat, and gayned nothing, he made a wall, and cast a trenche round about the towne: and caused his great ordenaunce to be shot at that part of the wal which was most feeble and slender, and so daily and nightly he neuer ceased to beate, and breake downe the Wall and Towres: so that within two dayes the most part of the wall was perced and cast downe to the ground. When the Capteine perceyued these newe feates, he began to entreate, and offered for himselfe and his souldiours, two thousand crownes, so that they might depart in their dobles onely, so their lyues were saued (which somme or money) because winter approached: was taken, and the towne yelded. Of the which towne he made Capteine Sir John Dopham, a balaunt and a circumspect knight. After that, the said Erle besieged the towne and Castell of Mayon le Jubez, wherin was Capteine the Lord of Escotais: which towne after the space of five weekes was yelded (the liues of the defenders onely saued.) To the keying whereof he appoynted Sir John Montgomery knight. And after the feast of the Purification of our Ladie, he besieged the Castell de lafort Barnard: During which Siege, a sale was made of the towne of Alanfon beyng in the Englishe mens possession by a Gascoyne and one of the Garrison there, for foure hundred crownes, to Charles de Villiers, Peter le Beuffe, and other french Capteynes. When the day was appoynted of the deliuerance both of the towne and the money, the Gascoyne opened and discovered the whole agreement to the Erle of Sarisburie: which ordeyned the Lorde Willoughby, and Sir John Fastolfe with two thousand Englishe men to encounter with the byers of the kinges towne of Alanfon. At the day appoynted and time assigned, Charles de Villiers chiefe Marchant of this riche enterpryse, early in the morning with two hundred horsemen, and three hundred footemen approached neere the towne, and abiding for the Gascoyne, he there displayed his banner, thinking triumphantly to enter into the towne: but it happened otherwise. For as they were ware, or suspected any rescues, they were environed with the Englishe armie, and slaine and taken every creature, saue Peter Danthenazy, and .xxv. other, which by the swiftnesse of their horses saued themselves.

After this conflict ended, the Lorde Willoughby with his companie returned to the Erle of Sarisburie, before the towne le fort Barnard: the Capteines whereof considering that there was no hope of succour to be sente to them, and that their bitaile diminished, and that they were not long able to abyde the harde assaultes of the Englishe Nation, rendered the towne and Castell, reseruing to them their horse and harnesse onely, which towne the Erle

Mayon and  
the Castell  
yelded.

The towne  
of fort Sar-  
nard yelded.

Erle receyued to the vse of the king: But the Regent for the balaunt seruice done by the Erle, gaue the same towne to him and to his heyres for euer. Besides this, the Erle partly by assault, partly by composition, toke diuers other townes, as Saint Iales, where he made Capteine Richard Serthyme Esquier, Chauceaux Lermilage, where he made gouernour Mathew Gough, Guerland, of the which he assigned ruler, John Bariaffer, Gualcoꝛne, whereof he made Capteine, William Glasdale Esquier, Lisse Soubs Boulton, wherof he made Capteine sir Lancelot Lisse knight, Acafellas, wherof was made Capteine, Henry Braunche, Mountseur, of the which was made Constable, sir William Oldehall knight, la Suisse, was assigned to the keepyng of John Suffolke squier, and beside this, about .xl. Castles and Pyles were ouerthrowne and destroyed. When the fame and report of these newes were blowen through fraunce, some feared, some feared, and some raged for anger: But the veritie of all thinges beyng by the Duke of Bedford declared into England, all men reioysed and were verie glad: not onely for the conquest of so manie townes, but also that God had sent them victorie in a pitched fielde, and in a mortall battaile. Wherefore generall processions were commaunded, to render to God almightie humble and hartie thankes, by whose onely gift, and not by the power of man, these notable victories were gotten and achieved.

It is not conuenient that I should talke so much of fraunce, and omit all thinges done in England: Wherefore, you shall vnderstand, that about Easter this yere, the King called his high Court of Parliament, at his towne of Westminster, and coming to the Parliament house, he was conueyed through the Citie vpon a great Courser with great triumph, which childe was iudged of all men, not onely to haue the very Image, the liuely portraiture, and louely countenance of his noble parent and famous father, but also lyke to succede, and be his heyre in all morall vertues, marciall pollicies, and Princely feates, as he was vndoubted inheritor to his realmes, seignories and dominions. In which Parliament was granted to the king a subsidy of .xii. pence of the pounce, towards the maintenance of the warres, of all marchandise coming into this realme, or going out of the same, and three shyllings of euery Tonne of wine, besides other sommes set on other liquor, for the terme of thre yeres, & likewise was taxed euery sack of wooll, aswell of English men, as of straungers. During which parliament, came to London Peter Duke of Quimber, sonne to the king of Portugal, & Cessin Germaine remoued to the king, which of the Duke of Breter and the Bishop of Winchester his Uncles, was highly feasted, and liberally rewarded, and was elected into the noble order of the Garter. During which season, Edmond Mortimer, the last Erle of Marche of that name (which long tyme had bene restrained from his libertie, and finally wared lame) deceased without issue, whose inheritance descended to Lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heyre to Richard Erle of Cambridge, beheaded, as you haue heard before, at the towne of Southampton. Which Richard within lesse then .xxx. yeres, as heyre to this Erle Edmond, in open Parliament claymed the crowne and scepter of this Realme, as hereafter shall more manifestly appere. In the tyme of which Parliament also, whether it were, either for desert or malice, or to auoyde thinges that might chaunce, accordyng to a proverbe, which sayeth:

A marvellous conquest  
soauncly ob-  
teyned and as  
soauncly lost.

A parliament.

This is the  
custome whiche  
we now  
paye, called  
Tonnage and  
poundage.

Peter Duke  
of Quimber.

Edmonde  
Mortimer  
Erle of  
Marche de-  
ceased without  
issue.



Sir Roger  
Mortimer  
put to death.

saith, a dead man doth no harme. Sir Roger Mortimer, cosyn to the sayde Erle, was attainted of treason and put to execution: of whose death no small flaunder arose among the common people.

After all these actes done in England, and in France, Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, with the Lady Jaquet his supposed wife, passed the sea, and came to Mons in Henawde, and there by force tooke all suche landes, as John Duke of Brabant her first husbände had in possession of the sayde Lady Jaquet, which doing Phylip Duke of Burgoyne, beyng great friend to the Duke of Brabant, muche disdayned, and moze frowned at, and thought for the olde loue and familiaritie, that he bare to the Duke of Gloucester, that he woulde by friendly monicion, turne hym from hys vn honest and vngodly life, to a reasonable reformation, and brotherly conformitie. Wherefore he wrote louyngly vnto hym, that he should vtterly leaue of any further to folowe the newe attempted enterpryse, aduertisyng him and protestyng openly, that the vsurping and wrongfull withholding of an other mans possession, was not so vile and flaunderous, as the defying of a pure and cleane bed, and adulterously keping the wife of his Christian brother. The Duke of Gloucester being in this case very wilfull, eyther blinded with dorage, or inflamed with couetousnesse of his wyfes possessions, regarding neyther the admonishment of the Duke of Brabant, nor yet the godly aduertisement of the Duke of Burgoyne, sware that he would not leue of to make farther warre, till he had expelled the Duke of Brabant, out of hys wyfes seignories, territories and dominions. Wherefore the Duke of Burgoyne assembled together a great armie to make warre on the Duke of Gloucester, in the cause and quareil of the Duke of Brabant his friend and cosyn. The Duke of Gloucester, partely for great affayres, that then were imminent in the realme of Englande, and partely to assemble moze people, to resist and withstand the power of the Dukes of Burgoyne and Brabant, left hys wyfe at Mons in Henawde, with the Lordes of the towne, which sware to hym, to defende and keepe her agaynst all men, till the time of his returne. Wherefore he leauing with her two thousand English men, departed to Calice, and so into Englande.

When he was gone, the Duke of Burgoyne so threatened, so bered, yea, and almost so famished them within the towne of Mons, that they deliuered into his possession the Lady Jaquet or Jacomyne: which incontinent sent her to Gaunt, where she disguised her selfe in a mans apparell, and so escaped into a towne of her awne in Feland, called Zirice, and from thence she was conueyed to a towne in Holland, called Tergowve, where she was honorably receiued, and there made her selfe strong to withstande her enemies: And for her succour the Duke of Gloucester sent to her five hundred men. The Dukes of Burgoyne and Brabant left her not all in quiet, but bent her townes in Holland, and slue her people in Felande, to her great detriment and displeasure. But in conclusion, this matter was brought before Martin the first Bpshopp of Rome: which adiudged the first matrimonie with Duke John of Brabant, to be good and effectuell, and the second Conuall celebrated with Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, to be of no value, force or effect, and that if the Duke of Brabant dyed, it should not be lawfull to the Duke of Gloucester, to mary againe with the Lady Jaquet. The Duke

Duke of Gloucester obeyng to this sentence, beganne to waere lothe of his supposed wyfe, by whome he neuer had profite but losse: for whose cause his friends became his enemies, and for whose sake he was openly flaundered. Wherefore he, by wanton affection blinded, toke to hys wyfe Elianoz Cobham daughter to the Lorde Cobham, of Sterberow, which before (as the same went) was his soueraigne Lady and paramour, to his great flaunder and reproche. And if he were vnquieted wyth his other pretended wyfe, truly he was ten tymes moze bered, by occasion of this woman, as you shall hereafter playnely perceyue: So that he beganne his marriage with euill, and ended it with worse. The Ladye Jaquet after the death of John Duke of Brabant, married a gentleman of meane estate, called Franke of Bursellen, for the whych cause the Duke of Burgoyne imprysoned her husbände, and lefte her in great trouble: suche was the ende of these two mariages.

A little before this time, Sir Thomas Ramptone, s<sup>r</sup> Philip Branch, Sir Nicholas Burdet, and other English men, to the number of five hundred, repaired and fortified the towne of Saint James de Leitron, on the frontiers of Normandy, adioyning to Brittain. Arthur Erle of Richemond and Pury brother to the Duke of Britayne, which like an vntrue Gentlemā, sworne and forsworne to the king of England, sodaynely fled to Charles the Dolphyn: which much reioysing of his fauour and amitie, gaue to hym the Constableship of France, which the Erle of Boughan slayne before at Vernoyl, a small time occupied, and lesse space enioyed. This new Constable not a little ioyfull of his high office, thought to doe some pleasure to the Dolphyn hys Master, and to aduance his name at the first entry into his auctoritie, he imagined no enterpryse to be to him moze honorable, nor to his prince moze acceptable, then to aduoyde and drine out of the towne of Saint James de Beueon, all the English nation. So in hope of victorie he gathered together aboue xl. M. men, of Britons, Frenchmen and Scottes, and enuironed the towne of Saint James, or Saint Jaques de Beuron, with a strong siege. The English men within, which in number passed not five hundred men, manfully defended the daylie assaultes of the fierce french men. The English men consulted together what way was best to be taken: and after long debating, they determined to issue out of the towne, and to fight with their enemies. So on a day, when the Britons were werled with a long assault, towards the euening the English men came out of the towne one part by the posterne of the Castell, and another parte by the gate of the towne, cryng saint George Salisburie: and set on their enemies both before and behinde. The French men seing the courage of the English men, and hearing their crie, thinking that the Erle of Salisburie was come to raise the siege, ranne aboape like sheepe, and there were taken slayne and drowned in the water of them foure thousand men and mo. Besides thys, these iolly Ballaunts left behinde them for haste, all their tentes, xliij. great Connes, and xl. Barrelles of powder, three hundred pipes of wyne, two hundred pypes of Bisket and flour, two hundred trayles of figges and seasons, and five hundred Barrels of Hering.

The french men (beyng thus vanquished) fell in diuision amongst themselves: the one layng to the charge of the other the losse of their men, and

1425

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A great battle  
was hapned  
to the English  
men.



and the cause of their flyeng. Such is euer the chaunce of the warre, when victorie is obteyned, the most cowarde and faint harted boy will booste and bragge, and when the battayle is lost, the fault is assigned to the best, and not to the worst. The new Constable was soze dismayed and much ashamed of this discomfiture and shameful flight, but there was no remedy but patience: But to the entent to blot out and deface this shamefull flyeng with a notable victorie, he with a great armie entered into the Countrie of Ambove, and bzent, spoyled and destroyed two or thye at the most, little pooze thetched Villages: which small act done, his malice was quenched, and his olde griefe (as he thought) victoriously reuenged.

In this season fell a great diuision in the realme of England, which of a sparkle was like to growe to a great flame. For whether the Bpshp of Winchester called Henry Beaufort, sonne to John Duke of Lancaster, by his thirde wyfe, enuided the aucthoritie of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester protector of the realme, or whether the Duke had taken disdain at the riches and pompons estate of the Bishop, sure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their parte takers: so that the Citizens of London fearing that which might insue upon the matter, were fayne to keepe daylie and nightly watches, as though their enemies were at hande to besiege and destroy them: In so much that all the shoppes within the Citie of London were shut in for feare of the fauourers of these two great personages, for eche parte had assembled no small number of people. For pacifying wherof, the Archebyschop of Cauntorburie, and the Duke of Quynber, called the prince of Portyngale, roade eyght times in one day betwene the two aduersaries, and so the matter was stayed for that time. The Bpshp of Winchester not content with his Nephewe the Lorde Protector, sent a letter to the Regent of Fraunce, the tenor whereof ensueth.

Right high and mightie prince, and my right noble, and after one, leuest Lorde, I recommend me vnto you with all my heart. And as you desire the welfare of the king our soueraigne Lorde, and of his realmes of Englande and Fraunce, and your owne health and oures also, so hast you hether. For by my truth, if you tarie, we shall put thys lande in aduenture with a fielde, suche a Brother you haue here, God make hym a good man. For your wysdome knoweth, that the profite of Fraunce standeth in the welfare of Englande. &c. Written in great haste on Allhallow euen. By your true seruant to my lyues ende. Henry Winchester.

The Duke of Bedford beyng soze greued and vnquieted with these netoes, to tituted the Erle of Warwike, which was lately come into Fraunce with sixe thousand men, hys Lieutenaut in the french dominions, and in the Duchy of Normandie, and so with a small company, he with the Duches his wyfe, returned agayne ouer the Seas into Englande, and the .x. day of January, he was with all solemnitie receyued into London, to whom the Citizens gaue a paire of Basynnes of siluer and gilte, and a thousande Marke in money: and from London he roade to Westminster, and was lodged in the kinges Palayce. The .xxv. day of Marche after hys comming to London, a Parliament beganne at the towne of Leicester, where the Duke of Bedford openly rebuked the Lordes in generall, because that they in the tyme of warre, throught their priuie malice and inwarde grudge, had almost

A variance betwene the Duke of Gloucester, and the Bpshp of Winchester.

A parliament holden at Leicester.

mooued the people to warre and commocion, in which time all men ought or should be of one minde, harte and consent: requiryng them to defende, serue and dread their soueraigne Lorde king Henry, in performing his conquest in Fraunce, which was in maner brought to conclusion. In this Parliament the Duke of Gloucester layed certaine articles to the Bpshp of Winchester charge, the which with the answers hereafter doe ensue.

The Articles of accusation and accord, betwene the Lorde of Gloucester, and the Lorde of Winchester.

Here insueth the articles, as the kings counsaile hath conceiued, the which the high and mightie prince, my Lorde of Gloucester hath surmised upon my Lorde of Winchester Chauncelour of England, with the answer to the same.

Articles set forth by the Duke of Gloucester against Henry Bpshp of Winchester.

1 first, where as he beyng Protector and defendoz of thys lande, desired the Towre to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Rycharde Wooddeuile Esquire, hauing at that time the charge of the keeping of the Towre, refused his desire, and kept the same Towre agaynst him, vnduely and agaynst reason, by the commaundement of my sayde Lorde of Winchester: and afterwarde in approuing of the sayde refuse, he receyued the sayde Wooddeuile, and cherished him agaynst the state and worship of the king, and of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester.

2 Item, my sayde Lorde of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, or of the kings counsaile, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kinges person, and to haue remoued him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windsor, to the entent to put him in gouernaunce as him liste.

3 Item, that where my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, to whome of all persones or that should be in the lande, by the waye of nature and byrth, it belongeth to see the gouernaunce of the kings person, informed of the sayde vndue purpose of my sayd Lorde of Winchester, declared in the article nexte aboue sayde. And in letting there of, determining to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king, to haue prouided as the cause required. My sayde Lorde of Winchester, vntuely and agaynst the kinges peace, to the entent to trouble my sayde Lorde of Gloucester goyng to the king, purposing his death in case that he had gone that way, set men of armes and Archers at the ende of London bridge next Southwarke: and in forbarring of the kings high way, let drawe the cheyne of the Stulpes there, and set by Pyppes and Hardels, in maner and forme of Bulwarkes: and set men in Chambers, Sellers, and Windows, with Bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the entent to bring to small destruction my sayde Lorde of Gloucesters person, as well as of those that then should come with him.

4 Item, my sayde Lorde of Gloucester sayth and affirmeth, that our soueraigne Lorde his brother, that was king Henry the fift, tolde him on a tyme, when our sayde soueraigne Lorde beyng Prince, was lodged in the Palayce of Westminster in the great Chamber, by the noyes of a Spanyell there was on a night a man spied and taken behinde a tapet of the sayd chamber, the which man was deliuered to the Erle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his beyng there at that tyme, the which so examined, at that tyme, confessed that he was there by the stirring by and procuring of my



my sayde Lozde of Winchester, ordeyned to haue slayne the sayd prince there in his bed: wherefore the sayde Erie of Arundell let lacke him forthwith, and drowned him in the Thames.

Item, our souereigne Lozde that was, king Henry the fift, sayde vnto my sayde Lozde of Gloucester that his father king Henry the fourth lying, and visited then greatly with sicknesse of the hande of God, my sayde Lozde of Winchester sayd vnto the king (Henry the fift then being prince) that the king his father, so visited with sicknesse was not personable: and therfore not disposed to come in conuersation and gouernance of the people, & for so much, counsayled hym to take the gouernance and crowne of thys land vpon him.

The aunsvvere of the Bishop.

The answer  
of the Bp-  
shop of Win-  
chester vnto  
the former  
articles.

Here ensue the answers to the accusations made by my Lozde of Winchester Chauncelour of England, vnto the causes and matters of heavinesse, declared in articles agaynst him by my Lozde of Gloucester.

1 First, as of the refuse made vnto my Lozde of Gloucester, of opening the tower to him, of his lodgyng therein, by the commaundement of my sayde Lozde of Winchester, he aunswereth: that in the presence of my sayde Lozde of Gloucester, befoze his comyng out of his Countie of Henaulde, for causes such as were thought reasonable, it semeth lesfull that the tower should haue bene notable stored and kept with vitaille, howbeit, it was not forthwith executed, and that in likewise after that my sayde Lozde of Gloucester was gone into his sayde Countie of Henauld for sedicious and odious billes and language, cast and bled in the Citie of London, sounyng of insurrection and rebellion agaynst the kinges peace, and destruction aswell of diuerse estates of this land, as straungers beyng vnder the defence, in somuche that in doubt thereof, straungers in great number fled the land: and for the more sure keepyng of the sayd Tower, Richard Wooduille Esquier, so trusted with the king our souereigne Lozde that dead is (as well ye knowe) and also Chamberlain and Counsaillor vnto my Lozde of Bedford, with a certeine number of defensible persons assigned vnto him, was made deputie there, by the assent of the kinges counsaile, beyng that tyme at London, for to abyde therein for safegarde thereof, and straitly charged by the sayde counsaile, that duryng that tyme of his sayde charge, he should not suffer any man to be in the Tower stronger then him selfe, without especiall charge or commaundement of the king by the aduise of his counsaile.

2 Item, that after, sone vpon the comyng of my sayd Lozde of Gloucester into this lande from his Countie of Henauld, the sayde Lozdes of the kinges counsaile were informed, that my sayde Lozde of Gloucester, grudged with the sayd maner of enforcyng the Tower, and let say to them of London, that he had well vnderstand, that they had beene heauily threathned for the tyme of hys absence, and otherwise then they should haue bene if he had bene in thys land, wherefore he was right euill contented, and especiall of the sayde forsyng of the Tower, set vpon them in maner of a chaste vilaine. Consideryng the good equitie and truth that they had alwayes kept vnto the king, offering them ther vpon remedie if they would.

Frier Ran-  
dolph.

3 Item that after this, Richard Scot Lieutenant of the Tower, by the commaundement of my sayd Lozde of Gloucester, brought vnto him Frier Randolphe, the which had long befoze confessed treason, done by him agaynst the

the kings person that dead is, for the which knowlege he was put to be kept in the sayde Tower, and straightly commaunded vnder great paine geuen vnto the sayd Scot, to kepe him straightly and surely, and not to let him out of the sayd Tower without commaundement of the king, by the aduice of his counsaile. The which sayd Frier Randolphe, my sayde Lozde of Gloucester kept then with himselfe (not witting to the sayd Scot) as he declared vnto my sayd Lozde of Winchester. Sone after that he had brought the sayd Frier Randolphe vnto my Lozde of Gloucester, sayng vnto my Lozde of Winchester, that he was vndone but he helped hym, and expressed as for cause of the sayd witholdyng of Frier Randolphe: And sayng mozeouer, that when he desired of my sayd Lozde of Gloucester, the deliuerance of the sayd Frier Randolphe, to leade him againe vnto the Tower, or sufficient warrant for his discharge, my sayd Lozde of Gloucester aunswered him, that his commaundement was sufficient warrant and discharge for him. In the which thing aboute sayde, it was thought to my Lozde of Winchester that my sayd Lozde of Gloucester, tooke vpon him further then his Authozitie stretched vnto, and caused him to doubt and dread, least that he would haue proceeded further. And at such time as the said Wooduille came vnto him to aske his aduice and counsaile, of lodgyng of my sayde Lozde of Gloucester in the tower: he aduised and charged him, that befoze he suffered my sayd Lozde of Gloucester or any person lodge therein stronger then himselfe, he should puruey him a sufficient warrant thereof, of the king by the aduise of his counsaile.

4 Item, as to the sayd article of the aforesayd causes of heavinesse, my said Lozde the Chaunceloz aunswereth, that he neuer purposed to set hand on the kinges person, nor to remoue him, or that he should be remoued, or put in any maner of gouernance, but by the aduice of the kinges counsaile. For he could not conceiue any maner of goodnesse or of aduantage that might haue growen vnto him thereof: But rather great perill and charge, and hereof my sayd Lozde of Winchester is redy to make profe in tyme & place conuenient.

5 Item, as to the third article of the forsayd causes and heavinesse, my said Lozde Chaunceloz aunswereth, that he was oft and dyuers times warned, by dyuers credible persons, aswell at the tyme of the kinges last Parliament, holden at Westminster, as befoze and sithe, that my sayd Lozde of Gloucester, purposed him bodily harme, and was warned thereof, and counsayled by the sayd persons, and that diuerse times to abstaine him from comyng to Westminster, as my sayde Lozde of Winchester declared vnto my sayde Lozde of Gloucester.

6 Item, that in the tyme of the sayd Parliament, diuerse persons of lobe estate of the Citie of London in great number, assembled on a day vpon the Wharffe, at the Crane of the Vntrie, and wished and desyzed that they had there the person of my Lozde of Winchester, sayng: that they would haue threwen him into the Chamise, to haue taught him to swim with boinges. Whereof billes and language of slaunder, and threathnynges were cast and spoken in the sayde Citie, by my sayde Lozde the Chaunceloz, which caused him to suppose, that they that so sayd and did, willed and desyzed his destruction, although they had no cause.

7 Item, that after the comyng to London of Sir Raufe Bottiller, and maister Lewes, sent fro my Lozde of Bedford, to the rest of the Lozdes of the



counsaile, they beyng informed that my sayd Lorde of Gloucester did beare displeasure to my sayd Lord of Winchester: They came to my sayd Lorde of Gloucester to his Inne, the second Sunday next before Allhallowenday, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowlege and vnderstandyng of the sayde displeasure, praiyng him to let them knowe if he bare suche displeasure agaynst my sayd Lorde of Winchester, and also the causes therof. At the whiche time (as my sayd Lorde of Winchester was afterward informed) that my sayde Lorde of Gloucester affirmed that he was heauie toward him, and not withouten causes that peradventure he would put in wrytyng.

8 Item, that after the Monday next before Allhallowenday last past in the night, the people of the sayd Citie of London, by the commaundement of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, as it was saide: For what cause my Lorde the Chaunceloz wist not, assembled in the Citie, armed and arrayed, and so continued all that night. Amongest diuers of the which (the same night by what exercitacion, my sayde Lorde the Chaunceloz wist not) sedicious and heauie language was vsed, and in especiall agaynst the person of my sayde Lorde the Chaunceloz. And so the same Monday at night, my sayd Lord of Gloucester, sent vnto the Innes of Court at London, charging them of the Court dwellyng in the same, to be with him vpon the Morow, at eyght of the Clocke in their best array.

9 Item, that on the morowe, beyng Tuesday next folowynge carely my sayd Lorde of Gloucester, sent vnto the Maior and Aldermen of the sayd Citie of London, to ordein him vnto the number of thre .C. persons on horseback, to accompanie him to such place as he disposed him to ride, which (as it was sayd) was vnto the king, to the entent to haue his person, and to remoue him from the place that he was in, without assent or aduise of the kinges counsaile, the which thing was thought vnto my sayde Lorde the Chaunceloz, that he ought in no wise to haue done, nor had not bene seene so before.

10 Item, that my sayde Lorde the Chaunceloz, consideryng the thinges abovesayde, and doubtynge therfore of perilles that might haue ensued therof, intendynge to puruey thereagaynst, and namely for his awne suretie and defence, accordyng to the lawe of nature, ordeyned to let that no force of people should come on the Bridge of London toward him, by the which he or his might haue bene indaungered or noyed, not intendynge in any wise bodily harme vnto my sayd Lord of Gloucester, nor to any other person, but onely his awne defence in eschewyng the perill abovesayde.

11 Item, as toward the fourth and fift of the sayde articles, my Lorde the Chaunceloz answereth, that he was euer true, to all those that were his soueraigne Lordes, and reigned vpon him, and that he neuer purposed treason or vntreuth agaynst any of their persons, and in especiall agaynst the person of our sayd soueraigne Lorde King Henry the fift. The which consideryng the great wisdom, truth and manhoo, that all men knewe in him, he would not for the tyme that he was king, haue set on my sayd Lord the Chaunceloz so great trust as he did, if he had found, or thought in him such vntreuth. The which thing my sayde Lorde the Chaunceloz offered to declare and shewe, as it belongeth to a man of his estate to do, requiryng therevpon my Lord of Bedford, and all the Lordes spirituall and temporall in this Parliament, that it might be seene, that there were Judges conuenient in this case, that they

would

would do him right, or else that he might haue leaue of the king by their aduise, to go sue his right, before him that ought to be his iudge.

12 And as toward the letter sent by my Lord of Winchester, vnto my lord of Bedford, of the which the tenor is before reherced, of the which my lord of Gloucester complained him of the malicious and vntreue purpose of my said lord of Winchester, as toward the assembling of the people, and gatherynge of a field in the kings land, in troublynge therof, and agaynst the kings peace: My sayde lord of Winchester answereth, that if his sayde letters duly vnderstand, and in such wise as he vnderstood and meant in the wrytyng of them it may not reasonably be gathered and taken, that my sayde lord of Winchester, intended to gather any field or assemble people, in troublynge of the kings land, and agaynst the kinges peace, but rather he purposed to acquite him to the king in his truth, and to kepe the rest and peace in the kinges land, and to eschew rebellion, disobedience and all trouble: For by that that in the begynnyng of the sayd letter, he calleth my sayde Lorde of Bedford, his leuest lord, after one, that is the king, whome he ought to accept of dutie of his truth, the which he hath euer kept and will kepe.

13 Moreover in the sayde letter, he desireth the comyng home of my lord of Bedford, for the welfare of the king, and of his realmes of England and of France, the which stande principally in his keepyng of rest and peace, and prayeth my sayd Lorde of Bedford to speede his comyng into England, in eschewyng of leoparde of the lande, and of a fielde the which he dread him, might haue folowed if he had long tarped: As toward those wordes, and yetary we shall put this land in aduventure with a field, such a brother ye haue here. &c. My sayde Lorde of Winchester sayeth, the sooth is: before or he wrote the sayd letter, by occasion of certeine ordinaunces, made by the Maior and Aldermen of London, agaynst the excessive takyng of Masons, Carpenters, Tilers, Plasterers, and other laborers, for their daily iourneyes, and approued by the Kinges aduise and his counsaile, there were cast many heuinesses and sedicious billes, vnder the names of such labourers, threathnyng risynge with many thousandes, and manassynge of estates of the lande, and likewise sedicious and euill language spoken, and so continued and likely to haue ensued of purpose and intent of disobedience and rebellion. To the redressyng of the which, it seemed to my lord the Chaunceloz, that my sayd lord of Gloucester, did not his endeuor nor diligence that he might haue shewed, for lacke of which diligence, they that were disposed to do disobeyfance, were encouraged and emboldened. So that it was like that they should haue made a gatherynge, and that the king and his true subiectes, should haue bene compelled to haue made a field, to haue withstand them, the which field makynge had bene aduentyng of this lande: And in tokenyng that it was neuer my sayde lord Chauncelozs intent to gather no field, but as truth most stirred him agaynst such as riotously would make suche assemble agaynst our soueraigne Lorde, and the weale of this land. He desired so hastely, the comyng of my sayde lord of Bedford, the which he would in no wise haue so greatly desired, if he would haue purposed him vnto any vnlawful makynge of a field, for he wist well that my sayde lord of Bedford would most sharply haue chastised and punished, all those that so would any riotous assemble make. When this answer was made, the Duke caused this wrytyng folowynge,

Ep. ij.

openly



openly to be proclaymed.

In order ta:  
ken that an  
othe should  
be ministred.

14 Be it knowen to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lord of Bedford, and all the lordes spirituall and temporall, assembled in this present Parliament, to acquite him and them, and to procede truly, iustly, and indifferently, without any parcialtie, in any maner of matters or quarrells, moued or to be moued, betwene my lord of Gloucester, on that one partie, and my lord of Winchester, Chaunceloz of England on that other partie. And for sure keeping of the kinges peace, it is accorded by my sayd lord of Bedford, and by my sayde lordes spirituall and temporall, an othe to be made, in forme as foloweth, that is to say.

The Othe of the Lordes.

The othe of  
the Lordes.

That my sayde Lord of Bedford, and my sayde Lords spirituall and temporall, and eche of them shall as farre forth as their cunnings and discretions suffisen, truly, iustly and indifferently, counsaile and aduise the king, and also procede and acquite themselves, in all the sayde matters and quarrells, without that they, or any of them, shall priuely and apertly, make or shewe himselfe to be party or parciall therein, not leauing or eschewyng so to doe, for affection, loue, meede, doubt, or drede of any person or persons. And that they shall in all wise, keepe secreete all that shall be commoned by way of counsaile in the matters and quarrells aboue sayde, in the sayde Parliament, without that they or any of them shall, by worde, wytyng of the king, or in any wise open, or discover it to any of the sayde parties, or to any other person, that is not of the saide counsaile: But if he haue a speciall commaundement or leaue thereto of the king, or of my sayde Lord of Bedford. And that eche of them shall, with all his might and power, assist by waye of counsaile, or else shewe it vnto the king, my Lord of Bedford, and to the rest of my sayd Lords, to put the sayd parties to reason, and not to suffer that any of the sayde parties, by them or by their assistents, procede or attempt by way of fight agaynst the kings peace: nor helpe, assist, or comfort any of them thereto, but let them with all their might and power, and withstande them, and assist vnto the king, and my sayde Lord of Bedford, in keeping of the kings peace, and redressing all such maner of proceeding by waye of fight or force.

The Dukes.

- The Duke of Bedford.
- The Duke of Norffolke.
- The Duke of Excester.

Bishops.

- The Archebishop of Cauntozbury.
- The Bishop of Carlisle.
- The Bishop of Bathe.
- The Bishop of Landaffe.
- The Bishop of Rochester.
- The Bishop of Chichester.
- The Bishop of Worcester.
- The Bishop of Saint Dauies.
- The Bishop of London.
- The Bishop of Duresme.

Erles.

- The Erle of Northumberland.
- The Erle of Stafford.
- The Erle of Orford.

Lordes.

- The Lorde Hungerforde.
- The Lord Tiptoft.
- The Lorde Bonynges.
- The Lorde Cromewell.
- The Lorde Borough.
- The Lorde Louell.
- The Lorde Botreux.
- The Lorde Clynton.
- The Lorde Fouche.
- The Lorde Audeley.

The

- The Lorde Ferris of Groby.
- The Lorde Talbot.
- The Lorde Hoos.
- The Lorde Grey.
- The Lorde Grey of Ruff.
- The Lorde Fitzwalter.
- The Lorde Berkeley.

Abbottes.

The Abbot of Waltham.

- The Abbot of Clauistinbury.
- The Abbot of Saint Augustines in Cauntozburie.
- The Abbot of Westminster.
- The Abbot of Saint Maryes in Porke.
- The Abbot of Saint Albons, not sworne, because he was not present.

Which othe in maner and forme aboue rehearsed, all the Lords as well spirituall as temporall, being in this Parliament at Leycester assembled the fourth day of Marche, promised vpon their fayth, duetie and allegeaunce, which they owe to the king their soueraigne Lorde, truly to obserue and keepe, according to the true meaning and purpote of the same.

The Arbitrament.

In the name of God, we Henry Archebyshop of Cauntozbutie, Thomas Duke of Excester, John Duke of Norffolke, Thomas Bysshop of Duresme, Phillip Bysshop of Worcester, John Bysshop of Bathe, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, Wylliam Alnewik keeper of the kings priue seale, Rauffe Lorde Cromewell, Arbitratoures in all manner of causes, matters and quarrells of heauinesses and greuances, with all incidents, circumstaunces, dependents, or conneres, beyng and hangyng betwene the high and worthy Prince Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, on the one partie, and the worshipfull father in God, Henry Bysshop of Wynchester and Chauncellour of England, on the other partie, by eyther of them for the peasing of the sayde quarrells and debates, taken and chosen in maner and forme, as it is conteyned more plainly in a compromise made therevpon, of the which the tenour sheweth in thys forme.

The Arbitrament.

Memorandum, the .viij. day of March, in the fourth yere of our soueraigne Lord the king, Henry the sixt. The high and mighty prince Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, at the reuerence of God, and for the good of the king our soueraigne Lorde in this lande, and namely at the reuerence, and specially at the request and prayer of the mightie and high Prince, my Lorde of Bedford his brother, agreed him to put and putteth all maner matters and quarrells in deede, with all their incidents, circumstaunces, dependentes and conneres, that touchen him and his person, that he hath in any wise, doe, or seeleth him greued, or heauie agaynst my Lorde his Uncle, my Lorde of Winchester. Or else that my Lorde of Wynchester findeth him greued agaynst him, in as much as they touch him or his person, fro the beginning of the worlde vnto this day: In the aduise, ordinaunce and arbitrament of the worthy father in God, Henry Archebishop of Cauntozbury, the high and noble prince Thomas Duke of Excester, and John Duke of Norffolke, the worshipfull father in God Thomas Bysshop of Duresme, Phillip Bysshop of Worcester, John Bishop of Bathe, The noble Lorde Humfrey Erle of Stafford, the worshipfull persons, Mayster Wylliam Alnewike keeper of the kings priue Seale, and Rauffe Lorde Cromewell, promising and behighting, by the fayth of his body, and worde of his princelhood and kings sonne, to doe, kepe, obserue and fulfill, for him and his behalfe, all that shall be declared, ordey-

Py. iij.

ned



ned and arbitred, by the foresayde Archebishop, Dukes, Bishops, Earle, keeper of the priue scale, and Lorde Cromwell, in all matters and quarrels aboute sayde: Grauntyng also and promysing ouer that, to be comprehended in the foresayde arbitrement, as towarde putting awaye all heauynesse or displeasures in any wise, conteyned by my Lorde of Gloucester, agaynst all those that haue in any wise assisted, counsayled, or fauoured vnto his sayde Uncle of Winchester, and as towarde any matters, that be touching my Lorde of Gloucester, remitteth it and the gouernaunce thereof vnto the king and his counsaile, they to deme it by the aduise of his counsaile, as hun thinketh it to be done. In witnesse of the which thing, to this present compromise, my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, hath subscribed his name with his awne hande Humfrey Gloucester. And in like forme, my Lorde of Winchester in an other compromise, hath subscribed with his awne hande, vnder the worde of Priesthood, to stande at the aduise, ordinaunce and arbitrement of the persons aboute sayde, Mutatis Mutandis.

The causes beforesayde and quarrels by vs sene, heard, and diligently examined and decreed, by the assent of the sayde parties, ordeyne and awarde, that my lords of Gloucester and of Winchester, for any thing done or spoken, by that one partie against that other, or by any of theirs, or any other person or persons, afore the vij. day of this present moneth of Marche, neuer hereafter take causes, quarrels, displeasures or heauynesses, that one against the other, ne neyther agaynst the counsaylers, adherents or fauourers of that other, for any thing or things that are past. And that my sayde lorde of Gloucester, be good lorde to my sayde lorde of Winchester, and haue him in loue and affection as his kinsman and Uncle. And that my sayde lorde of Winchester, haue to my sayde lorde of Gloucester, true and sadde loue and affection, doe and be readie to doe to him suche seruice, as appertayneth of hone. ty to my sayde lorde of Winchester and hys estate to doe. And that eche of them be good Lorde vnto all those adherents, counsaylers and fauourers of that other, and shewe them at all times fauorable loue and affection, as for any thing done by them, or sayde afore the seuenth day of Marche.

And we decree, ordayne and awarde, that my sayde Lorde of Winchester, in the presence of the king our soueraigne Lorde, my Lord of Bedford, and my Lorde of Gloucester, and the residue of the lordes spirituall and temporall, and commons beyng in thys present Parliament, say and declare in maner and forme that foloweth.

My soueraigne lorde, I haue well vnderstande, that I am noyed among the states of your lande, howe that the king our soueraigne lorde that was that time, being prince and lodged in the great chamber at Westminster, by the bayeng of a spanyell, there was on a night taken, behinde a tapet in the same chamber, a man, that should haue confessed that he was there by mine excitation and procuring to haue slaine the foresayd Prince there in his bed, wherevpon he was sacked, and forthwith drowned in the Thames. And furthermore I am accused, how that I should haue stirred the king that last died, the time also that he was prince, to haue taken the gouernaunce of this realme, and the crowne vpon him, lyuing his father the same tyme being king: Thorough which language and noysing I feele my name and fame greatly enblemished, in diuers mens opinions. Wherevpon I take first

God

God to my witnesse, and afterwarde all the worlde, that I haue bene at all times, and am true louer and true man, to you my Soueraigne lorde, and shall be all my lyfe. And also I haue bene to my soueraigne lorde, that was your father, all time of his reigne, true man: and for such he tooke me, trusted me, and cherished me to his liues ende, and as I trust no man will as firme the contrary, nor neuer in my lyfe procuring, nor imagining death nor destruction of his person, ne assenting to any such thing, or lyke thereto, the tyme that he was king or prince, or else in other estate. And in likewise, I was true man to king Henry the fourth, all the time that he was my soueraigne lorde, and reigned vpon me: In which matters, in all maner of wise, that it liketh to you my soueraigne lorde for to commaunde me, I am ready for to declare me: And furthermore, where, how and when, it shall like you by the aduise of your counsaile to assigne me. Wherefore, I beseech you my soueraigne lorde, as humbly as I can, consydering that there is no grounded procelle, by the which I might lawfully in these matters aboute sayde be conuict, blessed be God, to holde me and declare me, by the aduise of all the lordes, spirituall and temporall, being in this present Parliament, true man to you my soueraigne lorde, and so to haue bene vnto my soueraigne lordes that were your father and Graundfather, and true man also, to haue bene at all times vnto your sayde father, whilest he was prince, or else in any other estate, the sayde dislauder and noysing notwithstanding. And this same declaration to be enacted, in this your sayde present parliament.

The which wordes declared in maner as it is aboute sayd, by my said lord of Winchester, it seemeth to my sayde lordes the Arbitratours, that it is meete that my sayde lorde of Winchester draw him aparte, and in the meane tyme, the lordes being present, be singularly examined thervpon, and say their aduise: And if it be assented by them, in maner as my sayde lorde of Winchester desireth, let him be called agayne, and that then my lorde of Bedford haue these wordes in effect that follow.

sayde Uncle, the king my lord, by the aduise of his counsaile, hath commaunded me to say to you, that he hath well vnderstande, and considered all the matters which ye haue here openly declared in his presence, and thervpon ye desire a petition that he will declare you, and by the aduise and assent of the Lordes spirituall and temporall, beyng in this present Parliament, he declareth you a true man to hym, and that ye haue so be to my Lorde his father, and Graundfather, also true man to my Lorde his father whiles he was Prince or else in any other estate, the sayde dislauder and noysing notwithstanding: And wil that the said declaration be so enacted in this present parliament. After the which wordes thus sayde, as before is declared, by the sayd Lordes Arbitratours, that my sayde lorde of Winchester should haue these wordes that foloweth, to my sayd Lord of Gloucester.

My Lorde of Gloucester, I haue conceyued to my great heauynesse, that ye should haue receyued by diuers reportes, that I should haue purposed and imagined agaynst your person, honoz and estate, in diuers maners, for the which ye haue taken agaynst me great displeasure, Sir I take God to my wittesse, that what reportes so ever haue bene to you of me, peradventure of such as haue had no great affection to me, God forgeue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purposed any thing that might be hindering or preiudice to

A decret or order taken by the kings counsaile for the pacifying of the quarrels and variations that were betwene the Duke of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Winchester.

The saying of the bishop of Winchester vnto the Duke of Gloucester.



to your person, honor, or estate. And therefore, I pray you that ye be unto me good lord from this time forth, for by my will I gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to doe hereafter thorough Gods grace.

The which wordes so by him sayde, it was decreed by the sayde Arbitratours, that my lord of Gloucester should answer and say.

Faire Uncle, sith ye declare you suche a man as ye saye, I am right glad that it is so, and for such a man I take you. And when this was done, it was decreed by the sayd Arbitratours that euery eche of my lordes of Gloucester and Winchester should take eyther other by the hande, in the presence of the king and al the parliament, in signe and token of good loue and accord, the which was done and the parliament was adiourned till after Easter.

When the great fyre of thys discention, betweene these two noble personages, was thus by the arbitratours to their knowlege and iudgement utterly quenched out, and layde vnder boorde all other controuersies betwene other Lordes, taking parte with the one partie or the other, were sone appeased and brought to concord, for ioy whereof the king caused a solempne feast, to be kept on whitson Sunday, on the which daye he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the Erle of Cambridge (whom his father at Hampton, had put to execution, as you before haue heard) Duke of Yorke, not foreseeing before, that this preferment shoulde be his destruction, nor that his seede should be of hys generation, be the extreme ende and finall confusion. He the same day also promoted John Lorde Howbrey and Erle Marshall, sonne and heire to Thomas Duke of Norfolke, by king Richard the second exiled this Realme and dominion, to the tytle, name, and stile of the Duke of Norfolke, during which feast, the Duke of Bedford adourned the king with the high order of knighthood, which on the same day dubbed with the sword these knights, whose names ensue.

- Richard Duke of Yorke.
- John Duke of Norfolke.
- The Erle of Westmerland.
- Henry Lorde Percie.
- John Lorde Butler, sonne to the Erle of Ormond.
- The Lorde of Rosse.
- The Lorde Hatreuer.
- The Lorde Welles.
- The Lorde Barkeley.
- Sir James Butler.
- Sir Henry Gray of Tankerville.
- Sir John Talbot.
- Sir Raufe Gray of Werke.
- Sir Robert Ueer.
- Sir Richard Grey.
- Sir Edmond Hungerford.
- Sir Water Wyngfield.
- Sir John Butteler.

- Sir Reignold Cobham.
- Sir John Pastheleue.
- Sir Thomas Tunstall.
- Sir John Chedocke.
- Sir Raufe Langstre.
- Sir Wylliam Dury.
- Sir Wylliam ap Thomas.
- Sir Richard Caruonell.
- Sir Richard Wooduile.
- Sir John Shirdelowe.
- Sir Nicholas Blunket.
- Sir Wylliam Cheney.
- Sir Wylliam Babynghon Justice.
- Sir Raufe Butler.
- Sir Robert Beauchampe.
- Sir Edmond Trafford.
- Sir John June chiefe Baron, and diuers other.

After this solempne feast ended, a great ayde and subsidie was graunted, for the continuance of the conquest in Fraunce, and so money was gathered

Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke.

John Howbrey Duke of Norfolke.

subsidie.

red, and men were prepared in euery Citie, towne and Countrie: Duryng which businesse, Thomas Duke of Excester the sad, wise, and well learned Counsailler, great Uncle to the king, departed out of this mortall lyfe, at the manor of Greenewiche, and was with all funerall pompe conueyed through London to Bury, and there buried. In which yere also dyed the Ladie Elizabeth his halfe sister, and of the whole blood with King Henry the fourth married to Lorde John Holland Duke of Excester, and after to the Lorde Fanhope, buried at the Blacke Friers of London.

The death of Thomas Duke of Excester.

While these thinges were thus appointyng and concludyng in England: The Erle of Warwike Lieutenant for the Regent in the realme of Fraunce, entered into the Countrie of Mayne, and besieged the towne of Chasteau de Loyre, the which shortly to him was rendered, whereof he made Capteyne Mathew Gough Esquier. After that, he toke by assault y Castell of Mayet, and gaue it for his valiantnesse to John Winter Esquier, & after that he conquered the Castell of Lund, and made there gouernour William Gladdisole gentelman. At which place he was informed, y the french men were assembled together, in the Countrie of Beausse, wherfore like a valiant Capteine, he with all his power marched thetherward, to encounter with his enemies, and to fight with his aduersaries, which hauing knowlege of his apzoching, fled, and durst not abide the triall, nor leopard the aduenture, and in his returning, he besieged the Castell of Montdublean, wherof was Capteine sir Roberton des Croix, which siege cotinued thre wekes, but in conclusion y English men so fore charged them within, y the capteine with his whole company were content to yelde the Castell, their liues, horse, and harness, onely reserved: which to them was after long consultation had, & many agrements made, frankely graunted. And the sayd Erle of Warwike, leauyng there the valiant Lord Willoughby, returned againe to Paris. Duryng which season, he was ordeyned by the assent of the thre estates of the realme of England, to be gouernour of the yong king, in like maner as the noble Duke of Excester before his death was appoynted & assigned, but yet he taried still in Fraunce, and did there no small seruire as you shall hereafter perceyue.

The Lord Willoughby made gouernour of the yong king.

The Regent of Fraunce thus beyng in England, meanes was made by the Duke of Burgoyne, for the deliuerie of the Duke of Alanson, which was taken prisoner at the battaile of Veruoyle the last yere. So he for the soume of two hundred thousand crownes, was deliuered and set at large: but neither for the release of all, or abatement of part of his raunsome, he would in no wise acknowlege the king of Englad, to be his liege and soueraigne lord: Such affection bare he to the Dolphyn, and such truth shewed he to his naturall Countrie. When all thinges were concluded, ordered, and established, both for the conseruation of peace and tranquillitie within the realme of England, and also for the maintenance of warre, for the finall gainyng of the region of Fraunce: The Duke of Bedford and his wife, toke their leaue of the king, at Westminster, and landed at Calice, with whome also passed the seas, Henry Bishop of Winchester, which in the sayde towne was inuested with the Habite, Hat, and dignitie of a Cardinall, with all Ceremonies to it apperteynyng. Which degree king Henry the fift, knowyng the haute courage, and the ambitious minde of the man, prohibited him on his allegiance once, either to sue for or to take: meanyng y Cardinals Hats should not pre-

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A great praise of the Duke of Alanson.

Henry bishop of Winchester made Cardinall.

sume



sume to be egal with princes. But now the king beyng yong, and the Regent his friend, he obteyned that dignitie, to his great profite, and to the impoverishing of the spiritualtie. For by a Bull Legantine, which he purchased at Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner had money but he and so was he surnamed the rich Cardinall of Winchester, and neyther called learned Bishop, nor vertuous Priest.

After that, the Duke of Bedford was returned into Fraunce, the Lord of Rustian Marshall of Briteyn, assembled a great companie of the Britishe nation, which fortifyed and repayred the towne of Pontoison, and after the saide Marshall, with a thousand men entered into the Countrie of Constantyne in Normandie, and came before the towne of Aranches. The English men within the garrison, issued out, and boldly fought with their enemies: But after long conflict & many strokes geuen, the Britons were overcome, and the Lorde Rustian taken, and the most part of his people slaine.

The Duke of Bedford heeryng that the towne of Pontoison was newly fortifyed, and strongly defended, sent thether the Erle of Warwike, accompanied with the Lorde Scales, and diuerse other valiaunt Capteynes and Souldiers, to the number of .vij. thousand men to besiege the towne, which so environed it on euery part, that neyther man could scale out, nor beast could passe in. The siege long continuynge, vitaille began to waxe scant in the English armie, wherefore the Lord Scales hauyng in his company, sir John Harpeley Bailly of Constantyne, Sir William Brearton Bailly of Cane, Sir Raufe Tesson, Sir John Carbonell, and thre thousand good men of warre, departed from the siege to get vitail, powder, and other things necessary for their purpose and enterpryse. And as they were returnyng with their cariages on the sea coast, nere to Saint Michaels Mount, they suddenly were encountered with their enemies, whereof the chiefe were the Baron of Coloses, the Lorde Dauseboist Capteine of the sarde Mount, the Lorde Mountabon, the Lorde Mount bouchier, the lorde of Chasteau Siron, the lord of Cynygnat, the lorde Chasteau Brian, with .vij. thousande men of warre. The lorde Scales and his companie (seying that they were compassed on euery syde with deadly daungers, for the sea was on the one syde, and their enemies on the other, & no meane way to escape or flie) descended from their horses, and like gredie Lions together in an vnpeaceable fury, set on their enemies. The skirmishe was strong, and the fight was fierce, the English men kept themselves so close, that their enemies coulde haue no aduantage of them. At the last the lorde Scales cryed Saint George, they flie, with that the Englishmen tooke such a courage, and the Frenchmen that fought before, were so dismayde that they began to flie. The English men leaped againe on horseback, and folowed them, and slue and tooke aboue xi. hundred persons, amongst whome were taken, the Baron of Coloses, and the Lorde of Chasteau Brian, and .xxx. knightes.

After this victorie, the lorde Scales with his vitayles, prouision, and prisoners, returned to the siege, where he was of the Erle and other noble men ioyously receyued, and for this noble fact, highly magnified and prayed. While the siege thus continued before Pontoison, Christopher Hanson and other souldiours of the garrison of saint Susan, made a road into the Countrie of Anjou, and came to a Castell named Ramfort, which Castell was

There skirmishe at the siege of Pontoison.

was so priuily scaled, that the Capteyne within and his company, were taken or slaine before they knewe of their enemies approchyng. When knowlege of this scate was made open to the Frenchmen, which were assembled to the number of .xx. thousand to rayse the siege, and to breake by the Campe, lying before the towne of Pontoison, they left that iourney for a tyme, and returned to the Castell of Ramfort, and besieged the same by the space of ten dayes.

The Englishmen consideryng the multitude of the enemies, and the farre absence of their friendes, began to treat with the French men, and so upon condicion to depart with bagge and baggage, horse and harnesse, they rendered by the Castell, and departed with moze riches then they brought, which Castell thus possessed by the French men, they forgoat the reskue at Pontoison, and brake by their armie. But soone after, the lorde of Rais, callyng himselfe Lieutenant generall for the Dolphyn, accompanied with the Lorde Mount Jehan, the lorde Beaumanoyze, and the lorde Tuffie, and other to the number of thre thousand persons, entered into the Countrie of Mayn, and layde siege to the Castell of Malicorne, whereof was Capteyne an English man, called Oliuer Swaterby, which Castell with the Captein was by force taken and obteyned: in like maner they toke the little Castell of Lude, and therein William Blackebozne, Lieutenant for William Glasdale Esquire, and put him to ransome, and slue all his souldiours. After this victorie, in the which they muche glozied, the Frenchmen perceyuyng that the Erle of Warwike continued still his siege before the towne of Pontoison, and knowing by their espials, that the Englishmen were determined to geue them battaile, if they once attempted to rayse the siege, and therefore fearing to fight in an open battaile, reculed backe againe to the Dolphyn with little gaine, and small honour. The Frenchmen and Britons beyng straightly besieged within the towne of Pontoison, perceyuyng no likelihood of succors to come, and seying the English armie daily did encrease, fearing the sequelle thereof, if they by violence should be taken and banquished, they offered the towne, so that they might depart with horse and harnesse only: which request (after long sute and petition) to them was hardely graunted. The Erle lyke a valiaunt Capteyn, entered into the towne, and there appoynted for gouernours, the Lord Roos, and the Lorde Talbot, and leauyng there a conuenient garrison, returned to the Lorde Regent.

After the takyng of this towne, there was a league, and a treatie concluded betwene the Regent and the Duke of Briteyn, by the which agreement both the townes of Pontoison, and Saint James de Beuron were beaten downe to the ground, and clerely defaced. After the Lorde of Rais was departed out of the territorie of Mayn as you haue heard, Christopher Hanson, Philip Gough, Martyn Godfrey called the scaler, and diuerse other of the garrison of Saint Susan, to the number of .xxx. Archers, went out in a Mornyng to seeke their aduentures, and came nere to the Castell of Saint Laurence de Mortiers (at the same very season) when Sir James de Sepeault Capteyne of the same, was gone out of hys Castell with the greatest number of his retinewe, to a Churche directly against the Castell. In the Masse tyme, the Englishmen entered by subtiltie into the gate, and so gat the Dungeon. And when sir James returned from Masse, as he entered into the gate he was taken, and his men fled, and so was the Castell

Pontoison recovered by the English men.

A league concluded betwene the Duke of Briteyn and the Regent.



Castell furnished with Englishe men, and Capteine there of was appoynted, Sir William Oldehaule.

The same season, Sir John Fastolfe, gouernoz of the Countreies of Anioiw and Hayne, assembled a great puyssaunce of men of warre, and layd a siege before the Castell of Saint Owen Destays, beyde the towne of Lauall, whereof was Capteine Sir Guillam Ozeuge, which, after ten dayes besiegyng, rendered the Castell, their liues and armure onely except: howbeit, one railyng and slaunderous person was put to terrible execution. And from thence, the sayd sir John remoued to the strong Castell of Grauille, and after .xij. dayes, they within offered to yelde the Castell by a day, if they were not succored by the Dolphyn or his power. The offer was taken, and pledges deliuered, which were Gullam Cordouen, and John de Haisiery Esquiers. After these pledges deliuered, sir John Fastolfe returned in post to the Regent, aduertisyng him of this composition and agreement: wherefore the said Lorde raysed a great power, to fight with the frenchmen at the day appointed, and in his companie were the Erles of Mortaigne, and Warwike, and the Lordes Roos, and Talbot, Sir John Fastolfe, Sir John Tubemond, Sir John Katclife, and dyuerse other, to the number of .xx. thousand men, and so marched forward in hope to meete and ioyne Battaille with their enemies. But their aduersaries which were not farre of, durst not approche, wherefore the Regent sent sir John Fastolfe incontinent to receyue the Castell: but they within (contrary to their promise and appoyntment) had newly vitailed and manned the place, and so forsakyng their pledges and felowes in armes, refused to render the fortresse accordyng to the appoyntment: wherefore the pledges were brought before the sight of them within the Castell, and there openly put to death. After this, the Lord Talbot was made gouernoz of Anioiw and Hayn. And Sir John Fastolfe was assigned to another place: which Lord Talbot, beyng both of noble birth, and haute courage, after his commyng into Fraunce, obeyned so many glezious victories of hys enemies, that his onely name was, and yet is dreadfull to the french nation, and much renoumed amongst all other people. This sely Capteyn, & some of the haliant Mars, entered into Hayne, and slue men, destroyed Castels, and brent townes, and in conclusion, sodainly tooke the towne of Lauall: but the Lorde Loghae, and dyuerse other, retrayted themselues into the Castell, and there remayned eight dayes. Duryng which tyme, it was agreed, that all Capteynes, Burgesles, and men of warre, which were within the Castell, should depart with bagge and baggages, payng the Lorde Talbot for all thinges, one hundreth thousand Crownes. And the Castell so beyng deliuered, was committed to the kepyng of Gilbert Halsall, which after, was slaine at the siege of Orleans, for whom was made Capteine Mathewe Cough, which beyng at the iourney before Senlies, by treason of a Miller that kept a Mill adioynyng to the wall, y frenchmen entered into the towne, and brought it into their subiection and obeyssaunce.

The Duke of Alaunson, which, as you haue heard, was late deliuered out of Englande, reuiued agayne the dull spirites of the Dolphyn, and the faint hartes of his Capitaynes, promysing to them great victorie with little trauayle, and much gaine with small labour, wherefore in hope of good luck, he determined to doe some notable feate agaynst the Englishe men. Then

happened

happened a chaunce vnlooked for, or vnthought of, euen as they would haue wished or desired, for not onely the Magistrates, but chiefly the spirituall persons of the Citie of Mouns, knowing that the Duke of Britaine and his brother, were reuerted and turned to the french partie, beganne sore to mourne and lament, that they were subiectes and Vassals to the yoke and power of the Englishe men. Wherefore they determined and fully concluded, to aduertise of their mindes and determinations, the Capitaynes of Charles the Dolphyn, (of them called the french king) and so by certain false Friers, thereof wrote humble and louing letters. These newes pleased muche the french Capitaynes, but no lesse you may be sure the Dolphyn himselfe, as a thing descended from heauen, of them vnought, vnimagined and not deuised. Wherefore to take oportunitie when time serued, and not to leese so great a benefite so honestly offered, the Lordes Delabreth and Fayet, Marshals of Fraunce, accompanied with the Lordes of Monte Thon, of Buel Dozual, Corlye and Beaumamoyze the heire, and Guyllyam his brother, and .b. c. other hardie Capitaynes and valiaunt Souldiers, tooke vpon them this enterprize, sending great thankes and laudes to the Clergie and Citezens, for their assured fidelitie to their soueraigne lord, promysing them to be there at the day appointed, not doubting to finde them readye accordyng to their promise, gladly to receiue them.

When the daye assigned and the night appointed was come, the french Capitaynes priuely approached the towne, making a little fire on an hill in the sight of the towne, to signifie their comming and approaching. The Citezens which by the great Church were looking for their approche, shewed a burning Cresset out of the Steeple, which sodainly was put out and quenched. What should I saye, the Capitaynes on horseback came to the gate, and the Traytors within slue the porters and watchemen, and let in their friendes, the footemen entered first, and the men of armes wayted at the barriers, to the intent that if much neede required, or necessitie compelled, they might fight in the open field. And in the meane season, many Englishe men were slayne, and a great clamour and a houghe noise was harde through the towne, as is wont and accustomed to be in a towne, by treason sodainly surprised and taken: but what was the cause of the crie, or beginning of the noyse, few except the confederates, eyther knew or perceyued. For the remnaunt of the Citezens beyng no partakers in this faction, imagened that the English men had made hauock in the towne and put all to the sword. The Englishmen on the other side, iudged that the Citezens had begonne some newe rebellion agaynst them, or else had striuen amongst themselues. The Erle of Suffolk, which was Gouernour of the towne, hearyng the clamour and noyse of the people, hauing perfite knowledge of suche as escaped from the walles, in what case the Citie stood in, without any taryeng or prolongyng of time, entered into the Castell which standeth at the gate of Saint Vincent, whereof was Constable Thomas Sower Esquire: whether also fled so manye English men, that the place was pestured, & there if they were not rescued, likely to be famished: but surely they were sore assaulted and marueylously hurte, with the shot of the Arblasters and Crossebowes, but they defended themselues so manfully, that their enemies gat small aduantage at their handes. But all their hardinesse had not serued, nor all their pollicy had not

Ma. j.

defended.

The Citie of  
Mouns lost  
by treason.

The Lorde  
Talbot a  
valiant cap-  
taine.



defended them, if they had not priuely sent a Messenger to the Lorde Talbot, which then laye at Alanson, certefiying him in what case they stood, for bitaile had they none, municions fayled, and the Castell was almost vndermined, so that yelding must folowe, and resistance could not preuaile. The Lorde Talbot hering these newes, neyther slept nor banquetted, but with all hast assembled together his valiaunt Capitaynes, to the number of .vij. hundred men of warre, and in the euening departed from Alanson, and in the morning came to a Castell called Superche two Myles from Mauns, and from thence sent as an espiall Mathew Gough, to espie the gouernaunce of the enemies, and if he might, to shewe to his countrey men that he was at hande, to be their ayde and rescues. Mathew Gough so well sped, that priuely in the night he came into the Castell, where he knewe howe that the French men being lordes of the Citie, and now casting no perilles, nor fearing any creature, beganne to ware wanton and fell to ryot, as though their enemies could doe them no damage: thinking that the English men which were shut vp in the Castell, studied nothing but how to escape & be deliuered. When Mathew Gough had knowne all the certainty, he priuely returned agayne, and within a mile of the Citie met with the Lorde Talbot, and the lorde Scales, and made open to them all thinges according to his credence, which to speede the matter, because the day approached, with all haste possible came to the posterne gate, and alighted from their hozses, and about sixe of the clock in the morning they issued out of the castell, cryeng Saint George, Talbot. The Frenchmen which were scarce bp, and thought of nothing lesse then of this sodaine approachment, some rose out of their beds in their shirts, and lept ouer the walles, other ran naked out of the gates for sauing of their liues, leauing behinde them all their apparell, hozses, armour and ryches, none was hurte but such, which eyther resisted, or would not yeelde, whereof some were slaine and cast in prison. There were slaine and taken foure hundred gentlemen, and the villaines frankely let go. After this, inquisition was made of the authozs of this vngacious coniruration, and there were accused thirtie Citezens, twentie priestes, and fiftene friers, which according to their desertes were put to execution.

In thys yere, as sayth Carion, the Uniuersitie of Loueyne in Brabant was founded by John Duke of Burgondy.

And here to encourage and moue the worshipfull and good Citezens of London to be thankefull to God, and beneficiall to their pooze neighbours, and to the common weale, I thought it good to note vnto you the charitable dedde of a worthe Citezen and Alderman of London named John Kaynewell, who about this time gaue certayne landes and tenements lycng in the sayd Citie, to the Chamber of London, for the which the sayde Chamber is bound for euer to discharge the inhabitauntes of the wardes of Dowgate, Billingsgate and Algate, of all suche fiftenes as from time to time shall be graunted vnto the king (so that it passe not thre fiftenes in one yere.)

The Citie of Houns thus being reduced into the English mens hands, the lorde Talbot departed to the towne of Alanson. After which marciall feate manfully achede, the Erle of Warwike departed into Englande, to be gouernour of the yong king, in stead of Thomas Duke of Excester, late departed to God. In whose steele was sent into Fraunce, the lord Thomas Mountacule

Mountacule Erle of Salisburie, with fve thousand men, which landed at Calice, and so came to the Duke of Bedford in Paris. Where he consulting with the Duke of Bedford, concerning the affayres of the realme of Fraunce: seing all thinges so prosperously succede on the English parte, beganne meruaylously to phantasie the Citie and countrey of Orleans, standing on the Riuer of Loyre. But because the Citie was well fortifed both by the nature of the situation of the place, and by the pollicie of man, he imagined it not the worke of one day, nor the studie of one houre. Wherefore he remitted it to a farther deliberation, yet he was the man at that time, by whose wpt, strength and pollicie, the English name was much fearefull and terrible to the French nation, which of himselfe might both appoint, commaund and doe all thinges in maner at his pleasure, in whose power, (as it appered after his death) a great parte of the conquest consisted and was esteemed, because he was a man both painefull and diligent, redy to withstande thinges perillous and imminent, and prompt in counsayle, and with no labour would be weered, nor yet his courage at any time abated or appalled, so that all men put no more trust in any one man, nor no singular person gat more the hartes of all men. After this great enterprise had long bene debated and argued, in the priue counsayle, the Erle of Salisburies deuise, (although it seemed hard and straunge to al other, and to him as it were a thing predestinate very easie) was graunted and allowed, which enterprise was the finall conclusion of his naturall destiny, as you shall shortly perceyue. Thus he replenished with good hope of victorie, and furnished with artillery, and municions apperteyning to so great a siege, accompanied with the Erle of Suffolke and the Lorde Talbot, and with a valiaunt company, to the number of ten thousand men, departed from Paris, and passed through the countrey of Beaufe: he toke by assault the towne of Painuile, but the Frenchmen fled into the Castell, and there continued fve dayes, at the end wherof they rendered themselves simply: of the sayde number, some were put to death for certaine causes, and some were taken to mercie: he toke also the towne of Batwency, suffering euery man, which would become bassayle and subiect to the king of Englande, to inherite their landes and enioy their goodes. The townes of Meun vpon Loyre and Jargenan, hering of these treatise, presented to him the keyes of the towne, vpon lyke agreement and equall condicions.

After this in the Moneth of September, he layde his siege on the one side of the water of Loyre, and besieged the towne of Orleans, before whose comming, the Bastard of Orleans, and the Bysshop of the Citie and a great number of Scottes hering of the Erles intent, made diuers fortifications about the towne, and destroyed the suburbes, in the which were .xij. Parische Churches, and foure orders of friers. They cut also downe all the vines, trees and bushes within fve leagues of the towne, so that the English men should haue neyther comfort, refuge, nor succour.

Here muste I a little digresse, and declare to you, what was this Bastard of Orleans, which was not onely now Capitayne of the Citie, but also after by Charles the sixt made Erle of Dunoy, and in great auctoritie in Fraunce, and extreme enemye to the English nation, as by this storie you shall apparantly perceyue, of whose line and stem descended the Dukes of Longuile, and the Marques of Rutylon. Letwes Duke of Orleans murdered

Raynours  
justly executed.

The foundation  
of Loz  
wayne.

1427

6

The Citie of  
Houns again  
recovered by  
the English  
men.

Bastard of  
Orleans.

Maaij.

murdered



murthered in Paris, by John Duke of Burgoyne, as you before haue heard, was owner of the Castell of Concy, on the frontiers of Fraunce towards Arthoys, wherof he made Constable the lord of Cabony, a man not so wise as his wife was faire, & yet she was not so faire, but she was as well beloued of the Duke of Orleans as of her husband, betwene the Duke & her husband (I cannot tel who was father) she conceyued a child, & brought forth a pretie boy called John, which child being of the age of one yere, the Duke diseased and not long after the mother & the Lorde of Cabony ended their luyes. The next of the kinne to my Lorde Cabony, challenged the inheritaunce, which was worth foure thousand crownes a yere, alleging that the boy was a bastard: and the kindred of the mothers side, for to saue her honesty, it plainly denied. In conclusion, this matter was in contention before the Presidents of the Parliament of Paris, and there hanged in controuersie till the chyld came to the age of eyght yeres olde. At which time it was demaunded of him openly whose sonne he was: his friendes of his mothers side aduertised him to require a daye, to be aduised of so great an aunswere, which he asked, and to him it was graunted. In the meane season his sayde friendes perswaded him to claime his inheritaunce, as sonne to the Lorde of Cabony, which was an honorable luying, and an auncient patrimony, affirming that if he sayde contrarie, he not onely slaudered his mother, shamed himselfe, and sternered his blood, but also should haue no luying nor any thing to take to. The scholemaster thinking that his Disciple had well learned his lesson, and would reherse it according to his instruction, brought him before the Judges at the day assigned, and when this question was repeted to him agayne, he boldly answered, my hart geueth me, and my noble courage telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleans, more glad to be his Bastard with a meane luying, then the lawfull sonne of that coward Cuckold Cabony, with his foure thousand crownes. The Iustices much marueyled at his bold answer, and his mothers cosyns detested him for shaming of his mother, and his fathers supposed kinne reioysed, in gayning the patrimonie and possessions. Charles Duke of Orleans hearing of this iudgement, tooke him into his family, and gaue him great offices and fees, which he well deserued, for (during his captiuitie) he defended his landes, expelled the English men, and in conclusion procured his delineraunce.

Orleans  
besieged.

This couragious Bastard, after the siege had continued three weekes full, issued out of the gate of the brydge, and fought with the Englishmen, but they receyued him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his company compelled to retire and flie back into the Citie: but the Englishmen folowed them so fast, in kylling and taking of their enemies, that they entered with them the Bulwarke of the brydge: which with a great Towre standing at the ende of the same, was taken incontinent by the English men. In which conflict many French men were taken, but mo were slaine, and the keeping of the Towre and Bulwarke was committed to William Glasdale Esquire. When he had gotten this Bulwarke, he was sure that, by that way neither man nor bitaile could passe or come. After that, he made certain Bulwarkes round about the Citie, casting trenches betwene the one and the other, layeng ordinaunce in every part, where he sawe that any battery might be deuised. When they within perceyued that they were enuironed with fortresses

resses and ordinaunce, they laied Gunne against Gunne, and fortified towres agaynst Bulwarkes, and within made new Rampires, and buylded newe Shidwalles, to annoyde crackes and breches, which might by violent shot suddenly insue. They appointed the Bastard of Orleans, and Stephyn Weigold called the heire, to see the walles and watches kept; and the bishop sawe the inhabitants within the Citie were put in good order, and that vittailles were not wantonly consumed, nor baimely spent.

In the Tower that was taken at the brydge ende, as you before haue heard, there was a high Chamber, hauyng a Grate full of barres of yron by the which a man might loke all the length of the brydge into the City, at which grate, many of the chiefe Capteynes stode dyuerse times, biewyng the Citie, and deuising in what place it was best assailable. They within the Citie perceyued well this totyng hole, and layde a piece of ordinaunce directly agaynst the windowe. It so chaunced that the .lix. day after the siege layd before the Citie, the Erle of Sarisbury, Sir Thomas Garraue, and William Glasdale, and diuerse other, went into the sayde Tower, and so into the high Chamber, and looked out at the grate, and within a short space, the sonne of the maister Goomer, perceyuyng men looke out at the Chamber windowe, tooke his matche, as his father had taught him, which was gone downe to dinner, and fired the Goom, which brake and sheuered the yron barres of the grate, wherof, one strake the Erle so strongly on the hed, that it stroke away one of his eyes and the side of his cheeke, Sir Thomas Garraue was likewise stricken, so that he died within two dayes. The Erle was conueyed to Newm upon Loze, where he lay being wounded .viij. dayes, and then died, whose bodie was conueyed into England, with all funerall pompe, and buried at Bissam by his progenitors, leauyng behinde him an onely daughter named Alice, maryed to Richard Newill, sonne to Raufe Erle of Westmerland, of whom hereafter shall be made mencion. What detriment, what damage, and what losse succeded to the English publike wealth, by the sodeine death of this valiaunt Capteyne, not long after his departure, manifestly appered. For the high prosperitie, and great glozie of the English nacion in the partes beyond the sea, began shortly to fall, and little and little to vanishe away: which thing, although the English people like a valiaunt and strong bodie, at the first tyme did not perceyue, yet shortly after, they felt it growe like a pestilent humoz, which successiuelly a little and little corrupteth all the members, and destroyeth the bodie. For, after the death of this noble man, fortune of warre beganne to chaunge, and triumphant victorie beganne to be darkened. Although the death of the Erle were dolorous to all Englishmen, yet surely it was most dolorous to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, as he which had lost his right hande, or lacked his weapon, when he shoulde fight with his enemy. But seeyng that dead men cannot with sorowe be called agayne, nor lamentation for dead bodies cannot remedie the chaunces of men liuyng: He (like a prudent gouernour and a politike patron) appoynted the Erle of Suffolk to be his Lieutenant, and Capteyn of the siege, & ioyned with him the Lord Scales, the Lord Talbot, Sir John Fastolfe, and diuerse other valiant knightes & squiers. These Lordes caused Bastilles to be made round about the Citie, with the which they troubled their enemies, and assaulted the walles, and left nothing vnattempted, which might be to them any

The Erle of  
Sarisbury  
slaine.



aduantage, or hurtfull to their enemies.

In the tyme of Lent, bitaile and artillerie began to waxe scant in the Englishe armie, wherefore the Erle of Suffolke appoynted Sir John Fastolfe, Sir Thomas Rampsone, and Sir Philip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Parys to the Lord Regent, to enforme him of their scarcenesse and necessitie. Which beyng therof informed, without any delay, or prolongyng, prouided bitaile, artillerie and municions, necessary & conuenient for so great an enterprize, and laded therewith manie Chariots, Cartes, and horses: and for the sure conduite, and sauegarde of the same, he appoynted Sir Simon Morhier, Prionost of Paris, with the garde of the Citie and diuerse of hys awne houtholde seruaunts, to accompanie Sir John Fastolfe, and his Coplices, to the armie lying at the siege of Orleans. The which departed in good order, to the number of fife hundred men of warre, besyde wagoners, out of Parys, and came to Paynuile in Beausse, and in a moornyng earely in a great frost they departed, from the place towarde the siege, and when they came to a towne called Ronuray, in the laundes of Beausse, they perceyued their enemies comyng agaynst them, to the number of. ix. or. x. thousande French men and Scottes: The Capteines whereof was Charles of Cleremont, some to the Duke of Burbon, then beyng prisoner in Englande, Sir William Steward Constable of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of Captiuitie, the Erle of Pardiacke, the Lorde John Wandosme, Vidame of Charters, the Lorde of Touars, the Lorde of Lohat, the lorde of Eglere, the lorde of Beauieu, the Bastarde Tremoile, and many other valiant Capteynes. Wherefore Sir John Fastolfe and his Companions set all their companie in good order of Battaille, and pitched stakes before euery Archer, to breake the force of the horsemen. At their backes they set all their wagons, and cariages, and within them they tied all their horses, so that their enemies could neither assaile them on the backsyde, nor yet spoyle them of their horses, and in this maner they stood still, abiding the assault of their aduersaries. The Frenchmen (by reason of their great number) thinkyng the victorie to be in their handes, egerly lyke Lyons set on the Englishe men, which with great force them receyued, and manfully defended: for it stood them vpon, considering the vnequalitie of the number. And after long and cruell fight, the Englishe men droue backe and vanquished the proude Frenchmen, and compelled them to flie. In this conflict were slaine, Lorde William Steward Constable of Scotland, and his brother, the Lorde Dozwall, the Lord Delabret, the Lorde Chasteaubrian, Sir John Basgot, and other Frenchmen and Scottes, to the number of. xxx. hundreth, and aboue. xi. hundreth taken prisoners, although a French writer affirme the number lesse.

After this fortunate victorie, Sir John Fastolfe and his companie (of the which no man of any reputation was eyther slaine or taken) came with all their cariages, bitaile, and prisoners, to the siege before Orleans, where they were ioyously receyued and welcomed of all the Souldiours. This conflict (because the most part of the carriage was Heryng and Lenten stuffe) the French men call the vnfortunate battaille of Herynges.

The Erle of Suffolke, beyng thus bitayled, continued his siege, and euery day almost skirmished with his enemies, which, being in dyspayre of all succours, began to comon amongst themselves, howe they might render the

The victorie  
of the Eng-  
lish men at  
the towne of  
Ronuray in  
Beausse.

The battaille  
of Herynges.

the towne, to their most honour and profite. After much reasonyng, and long debatynge amongst the Capteines, and the Magistrates of the towne, what way was best to be folowed: Some affirmed it not only to be shameful and dishonourable, but also vnaturall and vnrasonable, to yelde the towne to the Englishe men, beyng neither friendes nor fauourers of the French nation: other, fearyng the victorie of the Englishe men, imagined, that if they by force possessed the Citie, they would do to them as tyrantes be accustomed to serue wilfull and obstinate people, and therefore they thought it a great folly and a notable lightnesse, as well not to beware of the one, as to denie or refuse the other. But when they saw, that their glorie must nedes decline to a shame and reproche, they thought to find a meane way to saue themselves, and their Citie from the captiuitie of their enemies, and deuised to submit their Citie, themselves, and all theirs vnder the obeysance of Philip Duke of Burgoyne, because he was brought out of the stocke & blood royall of the auncient house of France: thinkyng by this meanes (as they did in deede) to breake or minishe the great amitie betwene the Englishe men and him.

After this poynt concluded, they made open and sent to the Duke all their deuises and intentes, which certefied them that he would gladly receyue their offer, so that the Regent of France would thereto agree and consent. And therupon dispatched certeyn Ambassadors to the Duke of Bedford, to whom these newes were straunge and not very pleasant, vpon which poynt, he assembled a great counsaile. Some thought that maner of yeldyng to be both honorable and profitable to the king of England, by reason whereof, so great a Citie, and so rich a Countrie, should be brought out of the possession of their enemyes, into the handes of their trustie friendes, without further coste or bloodshed. The Duke of Bedford and other were of a contrary opinion, thinkyng it both dishonourable, and vnprofitable to the realme of England, to see a Citie so long besieged at the costes and expences of the king of England, & almost brought to the point of yeldyng, to be yelded to any other forein Prince or Potestate, and not to him or his Regent, the example whereof might prouoke other townes hereafter to do the same. This reason tooke place, and the Regent answered the Dukes Ambassadors, that it was not honorable nor yet consonant to reason, that the king of England should beate the Bushe, and the Duke of Burgoyne should haue the birdes: Wherefore sithe the right was his, the warre was his, and the charge was his, he sayde that the Citie ought not to be yelded to no other person, but to him, or to his vse and profite. By this little chaunce, succeeded a great chaunge in the Englishe affayres, for a double mischiefe of this answer arose and sprong out. For first the Duke of Burgoyne began to conceyue a certein priue grudge agaynst the Englishe men for this cause: thinkyng them to enuy and beare malice agaynst his glorie and profite, for the which in continuance of tyme he became their enemy, and cleued to the French king. Secondly, the Englishe men left the siege of Orleans, which by this treatie they might haue had to friend, or to haue continued neuter, till their Lorde the Duke of Orleans, or the Erle of Angulostie his brother were deliuered out of the captiuitie of the Englishe people. But if men were Angels and for saw things to come, they lyke bestes would not runne to their confusion: but fortune which guideth the destenie of man will turne her wheele as shee lusteth, who so ever sayth



sayth nay.

While this treatie of the Orleans was in hande, Charles the Dolphyn daily studied, and hourly laboured, to plucke the fauour and heartes of the Nobilitie of Fraunce, from the Englishe Nation, to the entent, that he might assemble a puyssaunce sufficient, to relieue his friendes, beyng shut vp in the Citie of Orleans. While he was studyng and compassyng this matter, there happened to him a straunge chaunce, of the which I will write a little, because some of the frenche Authours, and especially, John Bouchet wyrteth of it to much.

*Jone a mayde commonly called by the french men la Pucelle de dieu.*

For as he and other say, there came to him beyng at Chynon, a mayde of the age of. xx. yeres, and in mannes apparell, named Jone, bozne in Burgoyne, in a towne called Droymy besyde Vancolour, which was a greatespace a Chamberlein in a common Hostrey, and was a Kampe of such boldnesse, that she would course horses, and ride them to water, and do thinges, that other yong maydens both abhorred and were ashamed to do: yet as some say, whether it were because of her foule face, that no man would desire it, either because she had made a boboe to liue chaste, she kept her maydenhed, and preserved her virginitie. She (as a monster) was sent to the Dolphyn, by sir Robert Wandencort Capteyne of Vancolour, to whome she declared, that she was sent from God, both to ayde the miserable citie of Orleans, and also to restore him to the possession of his realme, out of the which he was expelled and ouercommed: reherlyng to him visions, traunces, and fables, full of blasphemie, superstition, and hypocrisie, that I marueyle much that wise men dyd beleue her, and learned Clerkes would wyrite such phantasies. What should I reherse, howe they say, she knewe and called him her king, whome she neuer sawe before? That she had by reuelation a sworde, to her appoynted in the Church of Saint Katheryn, of fierboys in Torayne where she neuer had bene: that she declared such priuie messegges from God, our Ladie, and other saints, to the Dolphyn, that she made the teares ronne downe from his eyes: So was he deluded, so was he blinded, and so was he deceyued by the Deuilles meanes which suffered her to begin her race, and in cōclusion rewarded her with a shamefull fall. But in the meane season, such credence was geuen to her, that she was honozed as a saint of the religious, and beleued as one sent from God of the Tempozaltie, insomuch that she (armed at all poyntes) rode from Moyters to Bloys, and there founde men of warre, vitaille, and municions, readie to be conueyed to Orleans.

The Englishe men perceiuyng that they within could not long continue for default of vitail & powder, kept not their watch so diligently as they were accustomed, nor scoured not the Countrie enuironed, as they before had ordeyned: which negligence, the Citizens beyng shut in perceiuyng, sent word thereof to the frenche Capteynes, which with Duzell in the dead time of the night, and in great raine and thunder, with all their vitaille and artillerie entered into the City. And the next day the Englishe men boldly assaulted the towne, promisyng to them that best scaled the walles great rewarde. Then men mounted on Ladders couragiously, and with Connes, Arrowes and Pikes, beate their enemyes from the walles.

The Frenchmen, although they marueyled at the fierce fighting of the Englishe people, yet they were not amased, but they defended themselves

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to the darke night; on which day no great priuate feate, worthy of memorie, was eyther attempted or done. The Bastards of Orleans (seing the puyssaunce of the Englishe nation) beganne to feare the sequete of the matter: wherefore he sent worde to the Duke of Alaunson, aduertisyng him in what case the towne then stode; and that it could not long continue without hys hasty speede, and quick diligence. Which delayng no time, nor deserting no space, came with all his army within two leagues of the City, and sent worde to the Capitaynes, that on the next morow they should be ready to receiue them. Which thing the next daye they accomplished, for the Englishe men thought it to be much to their auaille, if so great a multitude entered into the Citie, vexed with famine and replenished with scarcenesse. On the next day in the morning the frenchemen altogether issued out of the towne, and assaulted the fortreffe or Bastile, called the Bastile of Saint Loure, the which with great force, and no little losse they tooke and set it on fyre, and after assaulted the Towre at the bridge foote, which was manfully defended. But the frenche men being more in number, so fiercely assaulted it, that they tooke it: the Lorde Calbot could come to succours, in the which William Gladysdale the Capitayne was slaine, and the Lorde Moyngs, and the Lorde Downyngs also.

The Frenchmen puffed by with this good luck, seing the strong Fortresse was vngotten, which was vnder the defence of the Lorde Calbot, fetched a compasse about, and in good order of battayle marched thatherward. The Lorde Calbot lyke a Capitayne without feare or dread of so great a multitude, issued out of his Bastile, and so fiercely fought with the frenche men, that they not able to withstand his puyssaunce, fled (lyke sheepe before the wolfe) agayne into the Citie, with great losse of men and small artillerie: and of the Englishe men were lost in the two Bastiles sixe hundred persons. Then the Erle of Suffolke, the Lorde Calbot, the Lorde Scales, and other Capitaynes, assembled together, where causes were shewed, that it was both necessary and conuenient eyther to leaue the siege for euer, or to deferre it till an other time, more luckey and conuenient. And to the intent that they should not seme eyther to flie or to be driuen from the siege by their enemyes, they determined to leaue their fortresses and Bastiles, and to assemble in the plaine field, and there to abide all the day, abyding the outcomyng and battayle of their enemyes. This conclusion taken, was accordingly executed. The frenche men weried with the last bickering, held in their heades, and durst not once appere: and so they set fyre in their lodgings, and departed in good order of battayle from Orleans. The next day, which was the eyght day of May, the Erle of Suffolke, ryding to Jargeaux with foure hundred Englishe men, and the Lorde Calbot with an other company returned to Meum. Which towne after that he had fortested, he incontinent assaulted and warne the towne of Lauall and the Castell, soze beyng and punishing the townes men, for their hard hartes, and cancarde obstinacie: and leauing there a garrison, reculed to Meum.

After that the Englishe men were thus retired from the siege of Orleans, and seuered themselves in diuers townes and fortresses, holding on their parte: The Duke of Alaunson, the Bastard of Orleans, Jone the Duzell, the Lorde of Gancort, and diuers other frenche men, came before the towne

*The siege of Orleans broken by.*



towne of Fargeaux, where the Erle of Suffolke, and his two brethren sojournd, the twelue day of June, and gaue to the towne a great and terrible assault, which the Englishe men, (being but a handfull) manfully defended on three partes of the same. Boyton of Sentrailes, perceyuing one part of the towne to be vndefended, scaled the walles on that part: and without any difficultie tooke the towne, and slue sir Alexander Pole brother to the Erle, and many other, to the number of two hundred: but they not much gaped, for they lost three hundred good men and more. Of the Englishe men were taken .xl. beside his brother John. After thys gayne and good luck, the french men returning towarde Orleans, fell in contention and debate, for their captiues and prisoners, and slue them all, sauing the Erle and his brother.

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After the gayning of the towne of Fargeaux, the same armie came to Meun, and tooke the towne at the bridge, and put therein a garrison, and from thence remoued to Banguency. Which garrison being not vittayled rendered the towne, so that they might depart with bagge and baggage, frankly and freely: which desire to them was graunted. At this towne of Banguency met with the Duke of Maunson, Arthur of Britayne the false forsworne Gentleman to the king of Englande, newely made Constable of Fraunce (as you haue heard) with whom was the Lorde Delabret with .xiiij. hundred men, to whome daylie repayed frethe ayde out of euery parte, as the Erle of Wandosme, and other to the number of .xx. or .xxiiij. thousand men. All these men of warre, determined to go to Meun, and to take the towne, but they were informed, that the Englishe men had left the towne desolate, and were returned to the Lorde Talbot to Jeneuille. Then they concluded to passe towarde that towne. But as they marched forward vpon a Saturday, they had perfite knowlege, that the Lorde Talbot with five thousand men, was comming to Meun. Wherfore they intending to stop him a tyde, conueyed their company to a small Village called Patay, which way they knewe that the Englishe men must nedes passe by. And first they appointed their horsemen, which were well and richely furnished, to go before, and sodainely to set on the Englishe men, or they were, epyther ware or set in order. The Englishe men comming forward perceyued the horsemen, and imagining to deceyue their enemies, commaunded the footemen to enuiron and enclose themselves about with their stakes, but the french horsemen came on so fiercely, that the archers had no leysure to set themselves in aray. There was no remedie, but to fight at aduventure. This battayle continued by the space of three long houres. And although the Englishe men were ouerpressed, with the number of their aduersaries, yet they neuer fled back one foote, till their Captayne the Lorde Talbot was sore wounded at the backe, and so was taken. Then their hartes began to faint, and they fled, in which flight, there were slayne about twelue hundred, and taken .xl. wherof the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Seales, the Lorde Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Rampstone, were the chiefe: Howbeit diuers archers which had shot all their arrowes, hauing onely their swordes, defendyng themselves, and with the helpe of some of the horsemen, came safe to Meun.

When the same was blowen abroad, that the Lorde Talbot was taken, all the french men not a little reioysed, thinking surely that now the rule of the Englishe men should shortly asswage and waxe faynt: for feare whereof,

A sore skirmish where- in the Englishe men had great losse.

The Lorde Talbot, the Lord Seales, and the Lord Hungerford taken.

whereof, the townes of Jeneuille, Meun, Fort, and dyuers other, returned from the Englishe parte, and became french, to the great displeasure of the Regent. From this battayle departed without any stroke stricken, s<sup>r</sup> John Fastolfe, the same yere, for hys balyauntnesse elected into the order of the Garter: For which cause the Duke of Bedford, in a great anger toke from hym the Image of saint George, and his Garter: but afterward, by meane of friends, and apparaunte causes of good excuse by hym alleged, he was restored to the order agayne, agaynst the minde of the Lorde Talbot.

Charles, calling himselfe french king, being aduertised of this victoery, thought nowe that all things succeeded, according to his opinion and good hope, which euer was of that high courage and haute minde, that in hys most aduersitie, he neuer dispayred in good lucke at length: so that the Erle of Salisburie being dead, and the Lorde Talbot lying in captiuitie (which were the glory of his enemies) he thought to enterprize great and waighty things, where before he medeled with small and little doings. For fulfilling of his minde and appetite, he determined, first to conuere the Citie of Reynes, to the intent that he being there, might according to the fashyon of his progenitors, with all accustomed Ceremonies, be sacred and annoynted king, that all men might see and perceyue, that he was by all lawes and decrees, a iust and a lawfull king. Wherfore he assembling together a great armie, and hauing in his companie Joan the Duzell, whome he vsed as an Oracle and a Southsayer, passed thorough Champaigne by the Towne of Anzer which he besieged, they within sent to him Messengers, prayeng him of certaine dayes of abstinence of warre, in the which (if they were not rescued) they promised to render the towne. He not wylling to recompence with ingratitude the louing hartes of the Citizens, graunted gently to their petition, and leauing there certain persons, to see that they should not iuggle with hym, departed from thence to Troys, being the chiefe Citie of Champaigne, which he besieged twelue dayes. Sir Phillip Hall Captayne there, b<sup>r</sup>oupyed both of vitayle and men, mistrusting that ayde would not come in time, vpon composition rendered the towne, so that he and his, with all their mouables might in safetie departe the Citie: which demaunde was agreed to. After that Troys was yeilded, the communalite of Chalons rebelled against sir John Awbemond their capitayne, and constrayned him to deliuer the towne vpon like composition, which against his will he was faine to doe: and likewise did the citizens of Reins, desiring him to geue safe conduite to all Englishe men, safely to departe.

When he had thus conquered Reins, he in the presence of all the Noble men of his faction, and the Dukes of Lozayne and Barre, was sacred king of Fraunce, by the name of Charles the sixt, with all tytles and ceremonies thereto apperteyning. They of Anzer which were not rescued within the time appointed, brought the keyes to him, and submitted themselves to hys obeyfaunce: lyke wise did all the Cities and townes adioyning, geuyng thanks to almighty God, which hauyng compassion on their miserie, had restored them to libertie and freedome.

The Duke of Bedford, hearing that these townes had returned to the parte of his aduersaries, and that Charles late Dolphin had taken vpon him the name and estate of the king of Fraunce, and also seing that daylie Cities and

Anzer besieged.

Troys besieged and yeilded to the french men.

Awbemond deliuered to the french. Reins deliuered to the french.

Charles the Dolphin crowned king of Fraunce.



and towne returned from the English part, and became French, as though the English men had nowe lost all their hardie Chiefetaynes and balyant men of warre, espyed and evidently perceyued, that the laste and vttermost point of recouery, was driuen onely to ouercome by battayle, and to subdue by force. By which victorie (as he put his confidence in God) he trusted not onely to scourge and plague the Cities, which were so sodainely chaungeable, but also to asswage and caulme the haute courage of the newe sacred French king and his companions. Wherefore he hauing together ten thousand good English men (beside Normans) departed out of Paris in warlike fashion, and passed through Bre to Monstrell Faultow, and there sent by Bedford his Heralde letters to the French king, alleging to him that he contrary to the lawes of God and man, yea and contrary to the finall conclusion, taken, concoyded, and agreed betweene his noble brother king Henry the fift, and king Charles the fift, father to the sayde now vsurper, leauyng all humane reason and honest communication (which sometime appeareth debates and pacifyeth strifes) onely allured and entyled by a deuillish witch, and a fanaticall Enchaunteresse, had not only falsely and craftely taken vpon him, the name, title & dignity of the king of France: but also had by murder, stealing, craft, and deceitfull meanes, violently gotten, and wrongfully kept, diuers Cities and towne, belonging to the king of England, his most beloued Lorde, and most dearest Nephew. For profe wherof, he was come downe from Paris with his armie, into the Countrey of Beye, by dent of sworde, and stroke of battayle, to proue his wytyng and cause true, willing his enemy to chose the place, and he in the same would geue him battayle.

The newe French Kyng, departyng from his solempne ceremonies at Reins, and remouing from thence to Dampmartine, studyng howe to compass the Parisians, eyther with money, or with promise, was somewhat troubled with this message, howbeit, he made a good countenance, and a French bragge, aunsweryng to the Heralde: that he would sooner seeke hys mayster the Duke, then that the Duke should pursue him. The Duke of Bedford heying his aunswere, marched toward him, and pitched his field in a strong place, and sent out diuers of his raungers, to prouoke the French men to come forward. The French king was in maner determined to abide the battayle, but when he heard saye by his Espialles, that the power and number of the English men were to his army equall in power, he determined that it was more for his profite, to abstaine from battayle without danger, then to enter into the conflict with iopardie: fearing least that with a rashe courage, he might ouerthrowe all his affayres, which so effectuously proceeded. And so well aduised, he turned with his armie a little out of the way. The Duke of Bedford perceyning his faint courage, followed him by Mountaynes and dales, till he came to a Towne in Barre, not farre from Senlis, where he found the French king and his army. Wherefore he ordered his battayle, lyke a man expert in marciall science, setting the Archers before, and himselfe with the noble men in the mayne battayle, and put the Normans on both sides for the winges. The French king also ordered hys battayles, accordyng to the deuise of his Capitaynes. Thus these two armies without any great doing (except a fewe skirmishes, in the which the Dukes light horsemen did very balyantly,) laye eche in sight of other, by

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the space of two dayes and two nightes. But when the French king sawe, and perceyued, how glad, howe diligent and couragious the English men were to fight and geue battayle, he imagined that by his taryng, one of these two things must nedes chaunce: that is to say, eyther he should fight against his will, or lye still like a coward, to his great rebuke and infamie. Wherefore in the dead of the night (as priuely as he could) he brake by his campe and fled to Bray. When this flight was perceyued in the morning, the Regent could scarce refraine his people, from folowynge the French army, calling them cowardes, dastardes, and loutes, and therefore, he perceyuing that by no meanes, he could allure the newe French king to abide battayle, mistrusting the Parisians, and geuing no great credite to their saye, swete, and flattering wordes, returned agayne to Paris, to assemble together a greater power, and so to prosecute his enemies.

In this season, the Bohemians (which belike had espyed the vsurped authoritic of the Bishop of Rome) began to Rebell against his See. Wherefore, Martin the fift, Bishop of Rome, wrote vnto them to absteyne from warre, and to be reconciled by reason, from their damnable opinions. But they (beyng perswaded to the contrary) neyther gaue eare vnto him, nor yet obeyed his voyce. Wherefore the Bishop of Rome, wrote to the Princes of Germanie, to invade the Realme of Beame, as the den of heretykes. Beside this, he appoynted Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinall of Saint Eusebie, a man very well bozne (as you haue heard) but no better bozne then high stomacked, to be his Legate in this great iourney, and to bring out men from the Realme of England, into the Countrey of Beame. And because the war touched religion, he licenced the sayd Cardinall, to take the tenth part of euery spirituall dignitie, benefice and promocion. This matter, was declared in open Parliament in England, and not dissented, but gladly assented to, wherfore the bishop gathered the money, and assembled foure thousand men, and mo, not without great grudge of the people, which daily were with tallages and aydes weried, and soze burdened. And when men, municions, and money were redie for his high enterpryse, he with all his people came to the Sea strand at Douer, redie to passe ouer the Sea into Flaundyrs.

But in the meane season, the Duke of Bedford consideryng, how towne daily were gotten, and Countries hourly wonne in the realme of fraunce, for lacke of sufficient defence and number of men of warre, wrote to his brother the Duke of Gloucester, to relieue him woth ayde, in that tempestuous tyme and troubleous season. When this letter was brought into England, the Duke of Gloucester was not a little amazed, because he had no armie redie to sende at that tyme: For by the reason of the Crewe sent into Beame, he could not sodainly rayse a newe armie. But because the matter was of such importance, and might neyther be from day to day differred, nor yet long delayed, he wrote to the Bishop of Winchester, to passe with all his armie toward the Duke of Bedford, which at that tyme had both nede of men and assistance, consideryng that nowe, all stood vpon losse or gaine: which thing done, and to his honor achieved, he might performe his iourney agaynst the Bohemians. Although the Cardinall was somewhat moued with this counteraund, yet least he should be noted, not to ayde the Regent of fraunce, in so great a cause, and so necessary an enterpryse, he bowed from his former iour-

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ney, and passed the sea with all his companie, and brought them to his Cosin, to the Citie of Parys.

Charles the Frenche King, hauyng knowlege in the meane season by his espials, which went round about the Country, to intise & sollicite townes and Cities, to returne from the Englishe part, and become French, that the inhabitantes of Champaine, and Beuauoys, ought to him great loue and singuler fauour, and gladly coueted to renounce the subiection of England, and to be vnder his protection, and also offered to open him their Gates, so that they should not thereby, be in iopardie of their luyes, and losse of their goodes, with all hast and diligence remoued towarde Champaigne. The Duke of Bedforde beyng aduertised of his progresse, and hauyng his arme augmented, with the newe ayde, which the Cardinall had of late conducted, marched forward with great speede to encounter and geue battayle, to hys mortall enemye the French king. When the Duke was come to Senlis, the Frenchmen were lodged on the Mountpilioll, betwene Senlis and Champaigne. Every army knewe of other, and every host might beholde other. Then the Campes were trenched, and the battayles pitched, and the fieldes ordered.

Thus these great armies laye two dayes, nothyng doyng but wryth skirmitches, in the which the Normanes sore bered the French men. Wherefore the Lord Regent, gaue to them many high laudes and praisynge, and determined surely the next day to set on the French king in his Campe, if he would abyde battaile. But while king Charles did polletikely consider, what a variable Lady, Fortune was, and what a sodein and vnthought chaunce of a small thing, might do in a battaile: for the detrimetes and ouerthrowes, that he and his Nation had taken and tasted by the Englishe men, were to them a learnyng, to auoyd open ioinyng, mutuall conflict, and force to force. And besyde that, he had by his searchers and spyes, plaine and perfect knowlege, that many and diuers Cities and townes in Fraunce, abhorryng the English libertie, and aspyryng to the French bondage and native seruitude, (acordyng to the nature of Asses, which the more they be charged with, the more they desyre) would (when they sawe their tyme) not onely rebell and returne to his faction and part, but also were redie to ayde and assist him, in recovery of his desired realme and auncient dominion, in expellyng also the Englishe nacion out of the territories of Fraunce. And therefore he imagined that the Duke of Bedford, was so hastie to geue him battaile, thinkyng that if he then were overcome, the game had for the Englishmen bene clerely gotten, and to the Frenchmen, a perpetuall checkmate. Wherefore he determined neuer (except very necessitie compelled or constrayned him) to fight in open battaile with the Englishmen, nor by a field to aduenture his realme with them, of whome his predecessors so often tymes had bene vanquished, wherefore like a carpet Capteyne, he in the night, remoued his Campe and fled to Crespie, and yet his number was double to the Englishe armie. The Duke of Bedford seeyng that the French king, was thus cowardly retrayed, and as a man which durst not once assay the stroke of an Englishe arme, shamefully reculed: with all his power and armie, and returned againe to Parys, sore suspectyng the deceitfull fayth of the polletique Parisians. The Bishop of Winchester, after the French kinges flight, went into Beame, and there

there did somewhat, but what it was Authours kepe silence, and so do I: But shortly he without any great prayse, and small gaue, returned into England, more glad of his retraite, then of his aduauuncyng forwarde. Sone after the Bishop of Rome without his agreement, vnlegated him, and set another in his steede and aucthoritie, with which doyng he was neyther content, nor pleased.

On the sixt day of Nouember, beyng the day of Saint Leonard, king Henry, in the eight yere of his reigne, was at Westminster with all pompe and honoz, crowned king of this realme of England.

But to returne to the troubleous warres in Fraunce. After that the French king was fled from the Duke of Bedford (as you haue heard before) and was come to Crespy in Valoys, he was credibly informed, how the Citizens of Champaigne, desired greatly to be vnder his gouernaunce and subiection. Wherefore he mindyng not to lese so fayre an offered pray, ceased not till he came to the towne, where with al reuerence and benignitie, he was repued and welcommed. And after that, were rendered to him the townes of Senlis and Beauoys. And the Lorde Longuenall tooke by stealth, the Castell of Aumerle, and slue all the Englishe men, and in short space, the Lorde Barbason, which long had bene prisoner in the Castell Baylard, so muche, what with fayre wordes and large promises, perswaded his keepers, that he not only deliuered his aboue person, but also caused the towne, to turne from the English men, to the part of king Charles his mayster. Which king although he much reioysed, at the good successe, that Fortune had to hym sent, yet he was somewhat desperate, how to recover his countrie from the possession of the English men, except he vnknuitted the knot and league, betwene the Duke of Burgoyne and them. Wherefore, he sent his Chaunceloz, and diuers Ambassadors to the Duke of Burgoyne, first excusyng himselfe of the death and murther of Duke John his father, and after, declaryng to him, that there could be nothing more foule, more dishonest, nor more detestable, then, for his aboue peculiar cause, and priuate displeasure, to ioyne with hys auncient enemies, and perpetuall aduersaries agaynst his native Countrie and naturall Nation: Not onely requiryng him of concord, peace, and amity, but also promisyng golden Mountaines, and many more benefites, then at that tyme, he was eyther able or could performe. This message was not so secreete, nor the doyng so closely clokod, but the Duke of Bedford, thereof was plainely enformed. Which, beyng sore troubled, and vnquieted in hys minde, because he sawe the power of the Englishe nacion, dayly waxe lesse, he of all thinges first foreseyng, if any losse should of necessitie chaunce, of those townes and Countries, which his noble brother king Henry the fift had conquered, in the very Countrie of Fraunce, for lacke of tuicion or defence: yet for an Ankerholde, he determined to kepe, possesse, and defende, the Duchie of Normandie the olde inheritaunce and auncient Patrimonie of the kinges of England, and from them onely, by force and not by iustice, by violence and not by right, sithe the tyme of King Henry the thirde, (the deuillish deuision then reigntyng in the realme) wrongfully deteyned, and iniutiously vsurped. Wherefore, he diligently prouidyng, for thinges that might chaunce, appointed gouernoz of the Citie of Parys, Lewes of Lurenborough, Bishop of Curwoyne and Ely, beyng Chaunceloz of Fraunce, for the king of England,



a man of no lesse wit, then of birth, leauyng with him a conuenient number of Englishmen to defend both the Citie and territorie of Paris, and the Isle of Fraunce, then beyng in the Englishe mens possession and gouernaunce.

The Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce collecteth a parliament at Roan.

These thinges thus ordered, he departed from Paris, into Normandie, and called at Roan a Parliament, of the three estates of the Duchie, in the which he declared vnto them, the great liberties, the manifolde priuileges, the innumerable benefites, which they had receyued of the kinges of Eng- land, duryng the tyme that they were possessors, and Lordes of the same Duchie, not puttyng in obliuion, the miserie, bondage, and calamitie, which they had susteyned, by the intollerable yoke, and dayly tributes, continually layde in their neckes lyke Asses, by the cruell and couctous Frenchmen: And puttyng them also in remembraunce, how the kinges of England, were not onely brought forth and disceded of the Normans blood and progenie, but were the very true and bndoubtfull heyres, to the same Countrie & Duchie, lineally succeeding, and lawfully descendyng from Rollo the hardie, first Duke and prince of the same Dominion: Requiryng them further, to liue in loue and amitie amongst them selves, to be true and obedient to the king their souerigne Lorde, and to kepe their othe and promes, made and sworne to his noble brother, king Henry the fift, promisyng to them, English libertie, and priueleges royall.

While the Duke of Bedford was thus interteinyng and encouraging the Normans, Charles the newe French king, beyng of his departure aduertised, longyng and thirstyng for to obteyne Paris, the chiefe Citie & prin- cipall place of resort, within the whole realme of Fraunce, departed from the towne of Senlis wel accompanied, and came to the towne of Saint Denise, which he found desolate, and abandoned of all garrison, and good gouernare. Wherefore, without force and small damage, he entered into the boyd towne and lodged his armie at Mountmartir, and Abberuilliers, nere adioyning, and lyng to the Citie of Parys. And from thence, sent John Duke of Alan- son, and his sorceresse Joan (called the Mayde sent from God) in whom, his whole affiaunce then consisted, with three thousand light horsemen, to get a- gaine the Citie of Paris, eyther by force, or by sayre flatteryng, or reasonable treatie, and after them, he without delay or deferryng of tyme, with all hys power, came betwene Mountmartir and Parys, and sodeinly approached the gate of Saint Honore, setting by Ladders to the walles, and casting fag- gots into the ditches, as though he would with a French brag, sodeinly haue gotten the sayre Citie. But the Englishe Capteynes, euey one keepyng his warde and place assigned, so manfully and fiercely, with a noble courage, de- fended themselves, their walles and Towers, with the assistance of the Paris- siens, that they rebuted and draue away the frenchmen, and thre w do bone Jone, their great Goddesse, into the botome of the towne ditche, where she lay behinde the backe of an Ass, sore hurt, till the tyme that she all filthie with mire and dirt, was drawen out, by Gyschard of Chienzone, seruaunt to the Duke of Alaunson. The French king, seyng the great losse, that he had susteyned at this assault, and accompted his pretended conquest in maner im- possible, leauyng the dead bodies behinde him, and takyng with him, the wounded Captaynes, which were of no small number, returned into Berry. But in the meane way, the Citezens of Laignie became his subiectes, and made

Thus the ho- ly mayde or- uerth: ouene.

made to him an othe, promisyng to continue from thenceforth to him, both true and obedient.

The Duke of Bedford commenceth the Citezens of Paris.

The Duke of Bedford, beyng in Normandie, and heeryng of this sodain attempt, lost no tyme, nor spared no trauaile, till he came to Parys. Where he not onely thanked the Capteynes, and praysed the Citezens for their assured fidelitie and good will, towarde their king and souerigne Lorde, but also extolled their hardinesse, and manly doynges, above the Starres, and highe elementes: promisyng to them, honour, fame, and great aduancementes. Which gentle exhortacion, so incozaged and inflamed the heartes of the Pa- risians, that they sware, promised, and concluded, to be friendes euer to the king of England and his friendes, and enemies always to his foes and ad- uersaries, makyng proclamation by this stile. Friendes to king Henrie, friendes to the Parisians, enuemies to England, enuemies to Parys. But if they spake it with their hearts, eyther for feare, that Charles the french king should not punish them, if he once obteyned the superioritie ouer their Citie and towne, or that they flattered the Englishmen, to put themselues in cre- dite with the chiefe Capteines, you shall plailely perceiue, by the sequele of their actes.

Sone after these doynges, came to Parys with a great companie Phi- lip Duke of Burgoyne, which was of the Regent, and the Ladie his wife, ho- nourably receyued, and highly feasted. And after long consultation had, for the recoueryng of the towne, lately by the french king stollen and taken, it was agreed, that the Duke of Bedford, should rayse an armie, for the reco- uerie of the sayd fortresses, and that the Duke of Burgoyne, should be his de- putie, and tary at Parys, for the defence of the same. After this great busi- nesse thus concluded, and appoynted, the Duke of Bedford himselfe, without any great resistance, recouered againe the towne of Saint Denise, and dy- uers other Castels. And after that done, he sent the Bastard of Clarence, to lay siege to the Castell of Coursie, beyng both by the naturall situation, and mannes pollicie, very strong and in maner vnable to be beaten downe. The siege continued six monethes, but in conclusion, the Captaine discomfited of all releue and succor, rendred the fortresse, the life of him and his souldiours onely saued: which offer was taken, and the Castell rased, and cast downe to the ground. Duryng this siege, Sir Thomas Kiriell knight, with foure hundreth Englishmen, departed from Gournay in Normandie, and road by Beauoys, spoliyng, robblyng and wastyng the Countrie, to the Suburbes of Cleremount. Whereof, heeryng the Erle of the same towne, assembled all the men of warre, of the garrisons adioyning, to fight with the Englishmen: and so the french men with all diligence set forwarde, and found their ene- mies in a straight place, nere vnto Beauoys. The Erle of Cleremount seing that he could not hurt them with his men of armes, by reason of the straight, came downe on foote with all his companie, and fiercely set on the Englishe men. The fight was fierce, and the aduantage doubifull. But in conclu- sion, the archers shot so terribly, that the french men not able to abide the smart, and gaules of the arrowes, fled apace, and the Englishmen leauyng the straight, leaped on horsebacke, and folowed the chase. In the which were taken two hundreth prisoners, and thrise as many slaine. The Erle, by the swiftnesse of his horse escaped his enemies, and came to the towne of Bea- uoys:



uoyes : and so Sir thomas Kiriell, with plentie of spoyle and prisoners, returned to Couruay, rendyng to God his hartie thankes for that good chaunce and happie victorie.

Yet fortune sent not this good luck alone, for the Erle of Suffolke at that same very season, besieging the towne of Amacle, whereof was capitaine the Lorde Raumbures (after. xxiii. great assaults geuen to the forresse) had the towne and Castell to him simply rendered. Wherefore, he caused. xxx. of the townes men, for their vntruth to be hanged on the walles, and all the rest he ransomed, and sent the Capitayne into England, where he remayned sixe yerres continually, and after by exchange was deliuered. After this, the Erle fortified the towne with men, munitions and bytaile, and so by a little and little, the English men recovered agayne many townes which before they had lost, without any great losse of their people. Which thing the frenche men well considering, imagined by what meanes, how to get agayne the towne of Laual, which the Lorde Talbot (before as you haue heard) gat by scalpyng in a night. Wherefore to possesse their desired pray, they with money and gay promises, first corrupted a Miller, that kept a Mill adioyning to the wall, so that the Miller suffered the Lorde Homet with three hundred other, to passe thozough his Mill into the towne, in a very darke night. When they were entered, they slue the keepers of the gate, and let in the Lorde Bertrand de la Ferrier, with five hundred men of armes: which eyther slue or tooke prisoners, all the English men within the towne, And shortly after, by Stephin de Vignoles called the Heire, tooke by scaling, the towne of Louiers in Normandy, and did much dammage, to all the townes adioyning.

While these chaunces happened, betwene the English men and French men, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, married the Ladye Isabell, daughter to John King of Portyngall, and great aunt to the King of England. In honour of which mariage, he instituted and beganne an order of. xxxvi. knights without reproche, called the order of the golden fleece, and deuised statutes, Mantels, collers and ceremonies for the same, much lyke to the ordinances of the noble order of the Garter begonne in Englande, almost an hundred yerres before the inuention of this fraternitie and friendship. On the which wyfe, he begat the hardie Duke Charles, father to Marie, after married to Maximilian king of the Romaynes, as (when place requireth) shall be hereafter to you declared.

In thys very season the English men in the colde Moneth of December, besieged the towne of Laigny, in the which was the Duzel and dyuers other good Capitaynes. But the weather was so colde, and the rayne so great and continuall, that they of force compelled, not by their enemies, but by the intemperate season, reysed their siege: and in their returne, the Duzel and al the garrison within the towne, issued out and fought with the English men, where (after long fighting) both parties departed without eyther great gaine or losse. After this enterpryse done, the Duke of Burgoyne accompanied with the Erles of Arundell and Suffolke, and the Lorde John of Luxembzough, wyth a great puyssaunce, besieged the towne of Compeigne: which towne was well walled, manned and bytailed, so that the besiegers must eyther by assault or long taryeng, wearie or famishe them within the towne.

towne. So they cast trenches, and made mynes, and studied all the wayes that they could deuise, howe to compassse their conquest and interpryse. And it happened in the night of the Ascension of our Lorde, that Ponthon of Fentrales, Jone the Duzell, and five or sixe hundred men of armes, issued out of Compeigne, by the gate of the bridge towarde Mowntdedier, intending to set fyre in the tents and lodgings of the Lorde of Baudo, which was then gone to Marigny, for the Duke of Burgoyns affayres. At which time by John of Luxembzough, wyth eyght other gentlemen (which had ridden about the towne to serche and biewe, in what place the towne might be most aptly and conueniently assaulted or scaled) were come nere to the lodging of the Lorde of Baudo, where they espyed the french men, which beganne to cut downe tents, ouerthrowe pavilions, and kill men in their beds. Wherefore shortly they assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgoyons, and couragiously set on the french men. Soze was the fight and great was the slaughter, in so much that the french men, not able lenger to indure, fled into the towne so fast, that one letted the other to enter. In which chase was taken, Jone the Duzell, and diuers other: which Jone was sent to the Duke of Bedford to Roan, where (after long examination) she was brent to ashes. This witch or manly woman (called the mayde of God) the french men grealy glorified and highly extolled, alleging that by her Dzealunce was vitayled: by her king Charles was sacred at Keynes, and that by her, the English men were often times put back and ouerthrowne. O Lorde, what dyspayse is this to the Nobilitie of fraunce: What blot is this to the french Nation: What moze rebuke can be imputed to a renowned Region, then to affirme, wyrite and confesse, that all notable victories, and honorable conquestes, which neyther the king with his power, nor the nobilitie with their valiantnesse, nor the counsaile with their wit, nor the commonaltie with their strength could compassse or obtaine, were gotten and achieved by a shepherdes daughter, a Chamberlein in an hostrie, and a beggers brat: which blinding the wittes of the french nation, by reuelations, dreames and phantasticall visions, made them beleue things not to be supposed, and to geue fayth to things impossible. For surely, if credite may be geuen to the actes of the Clergie, openly done, and commonly helued, thys woman was not inspired with the holy ghost, nor sent from God (as the french men beleue) but an Enchanteresse, an organe of the Deuill, sent from Sathan, to blinde the people, and bying them in vnbeliefe: as by a letter sent from the king of England may appere: But for that the same is long, I thought it sufficient to rehearse the effect thereof, which was as foloweth.

First that she two yerres and moze, contracte to Gods lawe, and the honest estate of womanhood, was clothed in mans apparell, and exercised the office of a Capitayne in the warres.

Also, she affirmed that she was sent of God, and that she had spoken personally with God.

Also, she caused her selfe to be honozed and woꝛshipped of many, as a woman sanctified.

And for a true declaration of the falsitie and lewdnesse of her doing, she being called before the Bysshop and the Uniuersity of Paris, was there with great

Jone the  
Duzell taken  
and brent.

1420

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The order of  
the golden  
fleece.

The towne  
of Laigny  
besieged.

Compeigne  
besieged.



great solemnity adiudged and condemned, a superstitious Sorceresse, and a diuelithe Blasphemer of God, and as an erronyous wretch was consumed with fyre. And at the time of her death, she confessed how the Deuill had deluded and deceaued her.

John Buchet.

Danius Emilius.

Three properties that appertaine to a good woman.

This letter, the king of England, sent not onely to the Duke of Burgoyne and other Princes, to declare the veritie of the matter, and the administration of Justice, but to admonishe all rude and ignorant persons, in all other countries, to refraine from the credite and beliefe of the sayings, of suche prophane prophesies, and craftie imaginers, as this pieuiste painted Puzell was. Yet notwithstanding, this lawfull processe, this due examination and publike sentence, John Buchet, and diuers French wyrters affirme her to be a saint in heauen. But because it is no point of our sayth, no man is bound to beleue his iudgement, although he were an Archdeken. But Paulus Emilius, a famous wyrtter, reherling that the Citezens of Orleans had buylded in the honoz of her an Image or an Idole, sayth that Pius Byshop of Rome, and Anthony Byshop of Florence, much maruayled and greatly wondered at her actes and doings. With which sayng, I can very well agree, that she was moze to be maruayled at, as a false prophetesse, and seducer of the people, then to be honored or worshipped as a Saint sent from God into the realme of Fraunce. For of this I am sure, that all ancient wyrters, as well diuine as prophane, allege these three thinges beside dyuers other, to apperteine to a good woman. First shamefastnesse, which the Romaine Ladies so kept, that seldome or neuer they were seene openly talking with a man: which vertue at this day amongst the Turkes, is highly esteemed. The second is pittie: which in a womans hart, abhorreth the spilling of the bloud of a poore beast, or a siely birde. The thirde is womanly behauiour, aduoyding the occasion of euill iudgement, and causes of shame. If these qualities, be of necessitie, incident to a good woman, where was her shamefastnesse, when she daylie and nightly was conuersant with comen souldiours and men of warre, amongst whome is small honestie, lesse vertue and shamefastnesse least of all exercised or vsed? Where was her womanly pittie, when she taking to her the heart of a cruell beast, slue man woman and childe, where she might haue the upper hande? Where was her womanly behauiour, when she cladde her selfe in a mans clothing, and was conuersant with euery losell, geuing an occasion to all men to iudge, and speake euill of her, and her doings. Then these things, being thus plainly true, all men must needes confesse, that the cause ceasing, the effect also ceaseth: so that if these morall vertues lacking, she was no good woman, then it must needes consequently folow, that she was no saint.

Now leauing this woman, consumed to ashes, let vs returne agayne to the siege of Compeigne, which still continued. During which tyme, the Regent sent to the Duke of Burgoyne, lyeng at the siege, the Erle of Huntington, sir John Robert with a thousand Archers, which daylie skirmished with them of the towne, and made suche Bastiles and fortresses, that the towne must needes be rendered, or else they within famished. But see the chaunce, when victorie was at hande, tydings were brought to the Duke of Burgoyne, that Philip Duke of Brabant, was departed out of this worlde, leauing behinde him no heire of his body: To whome the sayde Duke pre-

tended

tended to be next heyre, wherefore he taking with him, his best Capitaynes, for the recouery of so great a Duchy, departed from the siege, leauing his poore people behinde him, and ordeyned in his place, for his Lieutenant, Sir John Luxemborough, which being of small strength and lesse courage, after the Dukes departing, aduised the English men to depart for that time, till the next Sommer: which thereto at the first, would in no wise agree. But there was no remedy, for he was Capitaine generall, and had the ordinaunce vnder his rule, so that without that, they could nothing doe: Wherefore in great displeasure, they returned into Normandy. After whose departure, the Capitaine set fire in all the Bastiles; and secretly departed, leauing behinde him dyuers peeces of ordinaunce, for lack of of cariage. Wyth which returne, the Dukes of Bedford and Burgoyne, were sore displeased: for if he had continued his siege eyght dayes lenger, the towne had bene rendered, without dent of sword. For pestilence and famine, had almost consumed all the Souldiours, and left the towne without safegard or defence.

After this siege broken by, John Duke of Norfolkke tooke agayne the townes of Dampmartyn, and the Chasse Hongay, & dyuers other townes. And the Erle of Stafford tooke the towne of Brie, in Countie Robert, and from thence, foraged all the Countrey to Sens, and after tooke Queynoy in Brie, Grand Buys, and Rampellon, with many prisoners, as sir Jaques de Hilly, and sir John de la Hay. During which time the French men tooke Louiers, and Willuence. And then the towne of Melune rebelled, and had suche ayde of other townes adioyning, that the English Souldiours, were fayne to leaue Melune, Moxret, and Corbell. Thus, according to the chaunce of warre, the one parte gat, and the other lost. Thus the Englishe affayres (as you haue heard) within the realme beganne to waue, and were variable, which caused the Englishe Capitaynes to be of diuers opinions. For one part being sozie and pensue, adiudged the things present, light and of no moment, in comparison of them which they saw likely to folowe: and another sort, adiudged that present time to be most ieopardous, and perillous: Because they sawe the power of their enemies nowe increased, and their awne strength rather decayed, then conserued. And so every man studyeng on this businesse, aduised secretly with himselfe, what counsayle was best to be taken, and what way was best to be folowed, to remedie these things, thus waueryng in a doubtfull Ballance, did at the last conclude, that it was most apt and mete, for the time present, that king Henry in his royall person, with a new armie, should come downe into Fraunce, partely to comfort and visite his awne subiects there: partly eyther by feare or fauour (because a childe of his age and beautie doth commonly allure to him, the hartes of the eldier persons) to cause the Frenchmen to continue in their due obeyssaunce towarde him. Wherefore after a great host, convenient for that purpose, assembled, and money for the maintenaunce of the warre, redy gathered, and the realme set in order, and the Duke of Gloucester appoynted Gouvernour (which during the kings absence, appeased dyuers riottes, and punished many offenders) the king with a great power, tooke shipping at Douer, and landed at Calice; and there taried a good space, and from thence, he remoued to Roan, where with all triumph, he was receyued, and there sojourned till the middest of August; bys nobles

King Henry the sixt goeth with an armie into Fraunce.

daylie



daylie consulting on their great businesse, and waightie affayres.

In the Month of Nouember, he remoued from Roan to Ponthoise, and so to saint Denice, to the intent to make his entrie into the Citie of Paris, and there to be sacred king of Fraunce, and to receyue the Scepter and Crowne of the realme and Countrey.

There were in his company of his awne Nation, his Uncle the Cardinall of Winchester, the Cardinall and Archebyschop of Poike, the Dukes of Bedford, Poike, and Norfolk, the Carles of Warwike, Salisburie, Orford, Humpyngdon, Ormonde, Mortayn, Suffolke, and of Gascoynes, the Erle of Longuile, and Marche, beside many noble men of Englande, Guyan & Normandy. And the chiefe of the french nation were the Dukes of Burgoyne, and Lewes of Luxembogh Cardinall and Chauncellour of Fraunce for king Henry, the Byschops of Beauoyes and Meyon, both peeres of Fraunce, beside the Byschop of Paris, and dyuers other Byschops, the Erle of Waudemount, and other noble men, whose names were to tedycus to reherse. And he had in a garde about his person, thre thousande strong archers, some on horseback, and parte on foote. And as he was coming, betwene Saint Denice and Paris, he was met at the Chapell, in the meane way, by Syr Simon Mazer Prouost of Paris, with a great company, all clothed in redde Satin, with blewe Whoodes, which did to him due reuerence and love obeyssaunce. After whome came dyuers riche and notable Burgesses of the towne of Paris, all appareled in Crimosyne cloth. After they had done their reuerence, there approched to the king the .ix. worthies, sytting richely on horseback, armed with the armes to them apperteyning. Next after them, came the knight of the watch, for the prouost Marchants, and with him, all the officers of the Courte, appareled in blew, and Pattes redde. And in a long space after, came Master Philip de Nozillier, chiefe president of the Parliament, appareled in a robe of estate: and all the other Presidentes of the Parliament, clothed in robes of Scarlet, and in lyke robes folowed the Lordes of the chamber of accomptes, and of the finaunce, the Masters of the requestes, the Secretaries, and Regesters, and euery company, as their course came, saluted the king with eloquent Oracions and heroicall Verses, and so conueyed him to the gate of Saint Denice, where the Prouost of the Marchauntes, and the Shyefes of the towne receyued him with a Canopy of blew Veluet richely embraudred, with flower Delices of Golde, and bare the same ouer him, through the towne, which on euery side was hanged with riche clothes of Arras and Tapissery. And at euery porte and bridge where he passed, was set a Pageaunt of great hew and small cost, which because they were but trifles, I ouer passe, and speake but of one deuise, made before the gate of the Chastelet, where vpon a stage stood a goodly childe, clothed with habite royall, set full of flower Delices, hauing two crownes on his head, representing the yong king, and on his right hande stood two noble personages, in the armes of Burgoyne and Flaunders: and on the left side of him, stode thre personages clothed in the armes of Bedford, Salisburie, and Warwike, which to him deliuered the sworde of England. This Pageaunt was well regarded, and highly prayesed. From thence he departed to the Palace, and offered in the Chapell, and from thence he departed to the house of Cournelles, and there tooke

1431  
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The coronation  
of king  
Henry the  
Sixt in Paris.

tooke his repast. And the next day he was conueyed to Boys de Vincennes, where he reposed himselfe till the fittene day of December: on which daye, he returned to the Palace of Paris. And on the .xvij. of the sayde Moneth, he departed from the Palace in great triumph, honorably accompanied to our Lady church of Paris: where with all solempnitie he was annoynted and crowned king of Fraunce by the Cardinall of Winchester: (the Byschop of Paris not being content that the Cardinall should doe such a high ceremonie in his Church and iurisdiction.) At the offering he offered Bread and wine, as the custome of Fraunce is. When the diuine seruice was finished, and all ceremonies due, to that high estate accomplished, the king departed towarde the Palace, hauing one crowne on his head, and another bozne before him, and one scepter in his hand, and the second bozne before him. What should I speake of the honorable seruice, the daintie dishes, the pleasaunt conceytes, the costly wyues, the sweete Armony, the Musicall instruments, which were seene and shewed at that feast, sith all men may coniecture, that nothing was omitted, that might be bought for Golde, nor nothing was forgotten that by mans wyt could be inuented. Yet this high and ioyous feast, was not without a spot of displeasure, for the Cardinall of Winchester which at this tyme, would haue no man to him egall, commaunded the Duke of Bedford, to leaue of the name of Regent, during the tyme that the King was in Fraunce: affirming the chiefe ruler being in presence, the aucthoritie of the substitute was cleerely derogate: according to the common saying: in the presence of the high power, the small aucthoritie geueth place. The Duke of Bedford tooke such a secret displeasure with thys doing, that he neuer after fauored the Cardinall, but repugned and disdayned at all things that he did or deuised. And so because the Cardinall would haue no temporall Lorde eyther to him superiour or with him egall, he set forth this proude and arrogant conclusion, thozow which unhappie diuision, the glorie of the Englishe men beganne first to decay, and bade away in Fraunce.

The next day after this solempne feast, were kept triumphant Justes, and Turneys, in the which, the Erle of Arundell, and the Bastard of Saint Poll, by the iudgement of the Ladies, wan the prize, and gat the honor. When he had kept open house to all commers, by the space of .xx. dayes, because the ayre of Paris was somewhat contrariant to his pure complexion, he was aduised by his counsaile, to returne to Roan. But before his departure, he caused all the Nobilitie, the Presidents of the Parliament, the Prouostes of the Citie, and of the Marchauntes, and the chiefe Burgesses of the towne and Citie, and all the Doctors of the Uniuersitie, to be assembled in his presence: to whome the Duke of Bedford made a long and solempne Oracion, perswading the frenchmen to the lone and obedience of king Henry, whom he termed theyr naturall souereigne Lorde and Prince, descended from the Ladie Isabell, daughter & sole inheritrice to king Philip (the sayre) french king.

When the Duke had finished and ended his Oracion, the people beyng glad, and reioysyng at his saynges, cryed: *Vive le Roy: Live king Henry, live king Henry.* After which crie passed, the Noble men, aswell of Fraunce, as of Normandie, did to him homage, and the common people, sware to him fealtie: to whome (although he were a childe) he gaue both pleasaunt and good words, with hartly thanks, to the great admiration of the french people.

After

Homage.

Fealtie.



After he had feasted the Nobles and Commons of Fraunce, within the Citie of Paris, he with a great companie, departed from thence, and by smal iourneyes came to Roan, where he kept with great solemnitie, the high feast of Christmasse. While these noble Ceremonies were thus in doyng, in the Citie of Paris, sundrie chaunces diuersly happened in severall places, to the displeasure of the one part, and to the gaine of the other. For Sir Fraunces Surrien Arragoys, a noble Captaine in Normandie, toke by force and pollicie, the towne of Mounterges, with a great pray of treasure and prisoners, and therein he put a garrison, and bitailed the towne, to the great displeasure of the French king. About the same season, the Erle of Arundell, beyng truly informed, that the Lord Boufcar, Marshall of Fraunce, was come to Beauuoy, intending to do some feate in Normandie, assembled the number of xxiiij. hundreth men, & layd himselfe priuely, in a close place, not farre from the sayd towne, and sent a great number of light horsemen, to ron to the barriers of the Citie. The Frenchmen, like valiant men of warre, issued out, & manfully fought with the Englishmen: which sodainly fled toward the stalle. The Frenchmen couragiously folowed, thinkyng the game gotten on their syde. But when they were entered into the straight, the Erle set freshly on them, so that after long fightyng, there were slain and taken, in maner all the french men, save a few which fled into the towne with the Marshall. Amongest the Captaynes was founde prisoner, the valiant Captaine, called Boynton of Sanctrayles, which (without delay) was exchaunged for the Lord Talbot, before taken prisoner, at the battaile of Patay. There was also taken one called the shepherd, a simple man, and a sely soule, whom the frenchmen reputed, to be of such a holinesse, that if he touched the wall of a towne, of their enemies, that incontinent, it would fall to the ground, and ouerturne. Such false phantasticall sayners, were at that tyme much regarded, and no lesse beleued in fraunce.

Richard  
Beauchamp  
Erle of Warwick  
wite.

This chaunce succeded not fortunately alone: For Richard Beauchamp Erle of Warwick, had a great skirmitish before the towne of Gournay, where he discomfited and repulsed his enemies, and besyde the carions which were left dead on the ground, he tooke prisoners, three scoze horsemen, all Gentlemen of name and armes. Like chaunce of infortune, happened at the same tyme, to Renate or Keyne Duke of Barre, a great friend to Charles the French king, both in lendyng him money, and also in ministryng to him ayde and succors. This Duke bearyng displeasure to Anthonie Erle of Audemont his Cosyn and kinsman, gathered together a great army, and besieged the towne of Audemont. The Erle before the Dukes approchyng, to the entent that he would not be enclosed and compassed aboute by his enemies within a wall, leapyng behynde him a conuenient crew of men of warre, to defende the towne for a tyme, with all diligence rode to the Dukes of Bedford, and Burgoyne, beyng then at the great triumph at Paris, whose parte he had euer taken. After long consultation, it was agreed that Sir John Fastolfe should go with him, hauyng in his companie sixe hundreth Archers, and the Duke of Burgoyne sent to him his Marshall, called Sir Anthonie Doulongon, with, xv. hundreth men.

The Erle of Audemont thus beyng accompanied, marched toward his enemies. Duke Keyne heeryng of his comyng toward him, was somewhat

Audemont  
besieged.

what dismayed, fearyng least if his enemies should approche to the walles, and be espyed by the garrison within the towne, that at one tyme he should be assailed before, by them that would issue out of the towne, and behind, by the Erle and his armie. Wherefore like a hardie Captein, he brake by his siege, and met face to face with the Erle and his companie: betwene whome, was a cruell and mortall battaile. The horsemen endured long, but in conclusion, the Englishe Archers so galled the horses, and so wounded the men, that the Barroys and their friendes were compelled to flie: In which chase was taken, the sayd Duke of Barre, the Bishop of Nies, the Lord of Rodemaque, Sir Euerard of Sasebery, the Vicount Darcy, and two hundreth other, besyde three thousand men, which were slaine. In this lucky tyme also, no lesse occasion of victorie, was offered to the Englishe men, beyng in another part, if when the pigge had bene profered, they had opened the poke: For Robert Lord Willoughby, and Mathew Gough, a valiant Welshman, with, xv. hundreth Englishmen, layd siege to a towne in Anlow, beyng both by situation and pollicie, very strong and defensible, called Saint Seuerpne. The Englishmen assailed it not so couragiously, but they within, with egall audacitie, boldly made defence: so that fortune semed, to way both the parties in egall ballaunce. Charles the French king, beyng thereof aduertised, sent with all speede the Lorde Ambrose de Loze, with many noble and valiant personages, to ayde and relieue his friendes, inclosed in the towne by his enemies. This Lorde de Loze, beyng Capteyne of the towne, made much hast to comfort his Deputie and Capteine within the same, and so marched forward with great speede: but fearyng to be sodainly compassed about, he tarped still at Beaumont, lookyng for the armie and Capteynes that should folowe, and then altogether to set on their enemies, and so to rayse the siege. While he made there his abode, and tooke his leasure, the Englishmen, by their espials were ascertayned and aduertised, what progresse their enemies made, and what they intended. Wherefore they polletikely provided, to fight with the one part, before the whole puyssaunce were ioyned. And so a great part of them departed secretly in the night, toward their enemies, and found the watche so out of order, and ouersene, that a thousand men were entered into the campe before they were espyed. But the sleayng of men, and cuttyng downe of Tentis, awaked the Captaynes, whome this sodaine feare, and vnlooked chaunce so greatly abashed, that no man in maner, eyther could here his felowe or himselfe, or could make signe to expulse or driue out their enemies out of their campe. But when the day begaune to appere that all thing might be seene and percepued, the Englishmen geuen to couetousnesse of spoyle, and desyre of rauine, neither chased, nor folowed their enemies, but beyng content with their pray and gaine, began to retreat toward the siege againe. But see the chaunce: the french men which were comyng after, and heard by the noyse of the people, that some fray was then in hand, put the spurres to the horse, and set on their enemies, beyng laden with bagges and wallettes, of prayes and spoyles. The other part which before fled, returned againe, and assailed their enemies. The frenchmen egetly assailed, and the Englishmen manfully defended, which beyng out of order, were compelled to flie, of whome Mathew Gough and diuerse other were taken prisoners, and yet of the other part many were slaine, and a great number taken, amongest

The Duke  
of Barre taken.

Saint Seuerpne  
besieged.



mongest whom, was the Lozde of Loze, which for all the battaile, was kept and not deliuered.

The Lord Willoughby, heeryng of this chaunce, rayfed the siege and departed, very sore displeasid. Therefore let euery Captain take good heede of victorie, the which as she is harde to obtain, so she is quicke to flie away: for it is dayly sene, that he which thinketh surely, that he hath her in his handes, before he can catche her, is deceyued, and conueth into a great losse and daunger: and on the other side, when she is gotten, (except good watch be hourly kept) she will steale away, with much hurt and detriment, to the first gaper. Thus the Englishemen, for the greedie appetite of gayne, lost the triumphing victorie, which they had in their handes. While the English and French nation thus stroue and contended for preeminence principally, yea, and for superior power of life, by the vnreasonable rage of war in Fraunce, the riche men were spoyled of their goodes, the spirituall persons were taxed and brought low, the common people were slaine, murdered and troden vnder the foote, women were defyled, birgines were rauished, towne were destroyed and wasted, towne dwellers and Citizens were robbed and exiled, bewtifull buyldings, were cruelly bzent, and nothyng was spared, which by fire, blood, or famine, might be catched or destroyed, besyde a hundreth moze calamities, that dayly vexed and troubled the miserable French nation.

Although Fraunce were at this tyme thus miserably afflicted: yet England was not without some trouble: for dayly Englishemen, as well noble as meane personages, were slaine, taken, wounded, or hurt, their substance were continually exacted, and consumed for maintenauce of the warres, so that mischief and calamitie was indifferent to both the nations, and quietnesse and gayne, were expulsed and banished from them both: in so much that the lamentacion and dole of both the Countreies, were heard through the whole west part of the worlde, and of their continuall dissencion, all Europe and Affrike, had their eares and mouthes full, so that all men, not onely marueyled, that Fraunce could so much trouble so long tyme sustaine, but moze wondered that the realme of Englande, being but an Isle, was able so to scourge, plague, and trouble the large French region, for which cause Eugenie the fourth being Bishop of Rome, intending to bring this cruell war to a friendly peace, sent his Legate, called Nicolas, Cardinall of the holie Crosse, into Fraunce, to the entent to make an amitie, and a concord betwene the two princes, and their realmes. This wise Cardinall, came first to the French king, and after to the Duke of Bedford being at Paris: exhortyng concord, and perswadyng vnitie, the byng, declaring, and arguyng peace to be most honourable, and moze profitable to Christian Princes, then mortall warre, or vncharitable dissencion.

When the Legate had thus perswaded the Princes on euery part, they both gently answered, that they were content to come to a reasonable ende. But when the first communication was moued, and by Commissioners treated, their doynge were so farre disagreeable from their wordes, that not onely reasonable and honest condicions of peace, could be neyther heard nor accepted. but moze frowardnesse, pertinacye, and malice, was kindled and strong by in their stomacks, then before that tyme had bene sene. The Cardinall being in bitter dyspayre, of concludyng a peace betwene the two realmes  
(least

(least he should seme to depart empty of al things, for which he had taken so much traualle) desyred a truce for sixe yeres to come, which request, as it was to him by both parties hardly graunted, so was it of the french men sone and lightly broken after his returne: For the Bastard of Orleans, newly made Erle of Daunoys, tooke by treason the towne of Chartres from the Englishemen: affirming by the lawe of armes, that stealing or byng a towne, without inuasion or assault, was no breach of league, amity or truce. In the which towne, he slue the bishop, because he was a Burgonion, through which occasion, new malice increased, and mortall warre began againe to rise and spring.

While these thinges were thus doynge in Fraunce: There chaunced in Englande by certeine light persons (who as some wyte bare no good will to prietees) dwelling in Abyngton, that a tumult and an assembly was made, to the disquietnesse of the realme, but by wisdom of the protectoz, the same was sone pacified, and the chiefe Authour thereof, whose name was William Mundeuile, alias John Sharpe, being apprehended, was put to execution, and so were sundrie other. After these thinges thus quieted, the Cardinal began to common with the Duke of Gloucester, concernyng the affayres and businesse of Fraunce: But the Duke of Gloucester, suspectyng that the truce would not long continue betwene both the realmes, (as it did not in dedde) deuised how to send moze ayde, and men to the Duke of Bedford, and gathered by moze money and treasure, for the further maintenauce of the warres, and resistance of their enemies. Whereupon the Duke of Gloucester called a Parliament, in the which money was assigned, and men were appoynted. Duryng which Parliament, James the king of Scottes sent Ambassadors, to conlude a peace with the Duke of Gloucester, which (because the king was absent) referred the matter to the thre estates. After long consultation, not without great argumentes, a peace was graunted and concluded, which all men iudged should long continue, because king James was then vexed with ciuile warre, and intestine dissencion, and also the Frenchmen had taken truce, as you haue heard for sixe yeres.

When this Parliament was finished, the Cardinall well garnished with men & money, departed out of England, & came to Roan to the king, to whom also resorted from Paris, John Duke of Bedford, to debate and consulte of thinges, not vnlikely to happen and chaunce. Wherefore a great counsaile was celebrate in the Castell of Roan, & many doubts were moued and disputed.

After this disputacion, with many argumentes ended, the Dukes of Bedford and Yorke, and Edmond late Erle of Mortain, and nowe by the death of John Duke of Somerset, (which died without heire male, leauyng behinde him, a sole daughter called Margaret, after Countesse of Richmōd) erected to the name and tytle, of Duke of Somerset, liked and approued, the first argument, and first moued reason: affirmyng best, that warre must be provided for, and that money ought to be disbursed, and to attoyde all doubt, that a greater armie, was necessary to be gathered together and assembled. When all thinges were agreed, king Henry departed to Calice, and from thence to Douer, and so by easye iourneys he came the .xxj. day of February, to the Citie of London, where he was receyued, not only with great pompe and triumph, but also highly presented with giftes and money, as in the Chronicle of Robert Fabian, you may rede at large, which I ouerpasse.

Ccc. ij.

After

A truce taken wth Fraunce for sixe yeres.

A peace concluded with the Scottes.

King Henry the sixt returneth out of Fraunce into England.



Souldiours  
of Calice  
murmour at  
the restraint  
of woolles.

Anne wife of  
the Duke of  
Bedford and  
after to the  
Duke of  
Burgoyne  
deceased.

The Duke  
of Bedford  
married to the  
Lady Jaquet

1432  
11

After that the king was departed into England, the Duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, and Captaine of Calice, tarped behinde in the Marches of Picardie: where he was informed, that certein souldiours of Calice, grudging at the restraint of woolles, began to mutter and murmure agaynst the king and his counsaile, so that the towne of Calice was like to stand in jeopardy. Wherefore the Duke foreseeing the mischief that might insue, and thinking it wisdom to withstand the first mocion, caused the Chiefstaynes of this faction to be apprehended, & after due examinacion had, diuers were put to death, and many banished and exiled the Marches for ever. After that he had purged the towne of that vngenerous and sedicious companie, and had furnished it with new Souldiours and discrete men of warre, he was determined, first to repayre againe to Parys, but his heart would not serue him: for sith his departure, Ladie Anne his wife and Duchies, was departed to God, and honorably enterred in the Celestins at Paris: by whose death, and for other causes, (as partly you haue heard) the sure loue, and approued fidelitie, betwene the Duke of Burgoyne, his brother in lawe and him began to wax faint and colde. For which cause, he being perswaded by the Lorde Lewes of Luxenborough, Bishop of Tyrwine and Ely, and Chaunceloz of Fraunce for king Henry, agreed to marry the Lady Jaquet, daughter to Peter Erle of Saint Paule, and neece to the sayd Bishop, and to Lorde John of Luxenborough, to the intent that by this newe affinity the olde acquaintance and familiaritie, which he had with the noble family of Luxenborough shoulde be renewed and inforced, and with a moze sure knot, knit and confirmed. Whereupon, he departed from Calice to Tyrwyne, where he was highly receyued of the Erle of Saint Paule, and his brethren, and there he maryed the fayre and fresh Ladie Jaquet, of the age of .xxij. yeres, with all triumph and nuptiall solempnitie. After which ceremonie ended, he returned with his new spouse to Calice, and so into England, where he with his wife remayned vntill August next, and then returned againe to Parys. The Duke of Burgoyne, (whose mynde began to incline, a little and little, toward king Charles) was sore grieued and angrie, that the Duke of Bedford was ioyned in affinity with the noble and famous house of Luxenborough: by the which he sawe, that the power of the Englishemen shoulde be greatly aduanced. But the marriage was fully ended, and he could find no remedy.

This yere the Standard of Chepe (at the charges of John Welles a Citezen and Maiour of London) was buyded.

While these things were doing thus, in other places, the French souldiours lacking wages (and amongst them a great number, which in hope of pray, and desire of spoyle, had cast by the Blough, and left their labour) beganne priuely (as time serued, and occasion gaue place) to take both English men and Burgonions, and raunsomed and spoiled them at their pleasures. And although they were prohibited thus to doe (during the time of truce and peace) yet in conclusion they spared not openly to rob, spoyle and burne: yea and to steale townes, which they affirmed to be no breach of truce. The English picked and vexed with these open wrongs and manifest iniuries, prepared for warre, after the sixt Moneth that the truce was taken and concluded. And by this meanes, the warre was renewed and begunne agayne. The vntreue French men breakers of peace, and not keepers of

Saint Valere  
taken by  
the French  
men.

of truce, reysed a crewe of men, and sodainely tooke the towne of saint Valere, standing in Normandy on the Riuer of Some: and another army vnder the conduyt of Sir Ambrose, Lorde of Loze, wasted and destroyed all the Countie about Caen. The Duke of Bedford not minding to lye still in ydelnesse, sent the Erle of Arundell, the Erle of Warwicks soune, the Lorde Lisle, Adame Marshall of Fraunce for king Henry, and twelue hundred men with ordinaunce and municions, to besiege the towne of Laigny, byon the riuer of Marne. Which Erle, with the shot of a Canon, brake the Arche of the bridge, and gat from the french men their Bulwarke, and set it on fire. Dyuers assaults were attempted, but the towne was well defended: for wythin were shut vp eyght hundred men of armes, beside other meane Souldiours.

The Duke of Bedford being thereof aduertised, gathered an armie of six thousand men of warre, and hauing all things necessary, he came to the siege before Laigny. He there made a bridge of Boates, and brought his ordinaunce so neere the towne, that to all people, it seemed not long able to resist. But the Erle of Dumoy's Bastard of Orleans, with dyuers hardie Capitaines, as valyauntly repulsed, as the English men assaulted. Thys siege continued, as fyre agaynst flame, and sometime flame agaynst fyre. For although the English men shue the moze number, yet they gat neyther pray, nor botie: and although the french men kept valyauntly the walles, and defended the loupes, yet they both lost men and Capitaynes, and were long secluded from their ayde and succors, till Charles the french king perceyuing this towne, to be the thre corner key betweene the territories of the English men, the Burgonians, and his awne, and that the losse thereof, shoulde turne him to innumerable dammages and hurtes, sent the Lorde of Rieu, Boyton the Heire, the Lorde Bancort, and six thousand men wyth great plentie of bittayles, to the intent eyther to rayse the siege, or to bittayle the towne. The french Capitaynes made a bragge, as though they would fight with the English men wythin their field and Campe. The English men would not issue out, but kept themselves in good order, euer looking for their entrie and inuasion. The Regent perceyuing, that they approached not, sent to them an Herault of armes, declaring his intent, and the courage of hys company, which nothing moze desired then battayle. And to shewe himselfe as a Capitaine, meaning that which he offered, and not dissimuling that which he spake: he incontinent diuided his men into thre battayles, no moze wisely ordered, then politiquely gouerned: as who would saye, come on french man, if thy hart wyll serue. But hys aduersaries moze craftie then hardy, moze politique then courageous, framed themselves in suche order of battayle, as they were able to doe all thing, and yet in conclusion (concerning martiall feates) they did nothing. For while they made a proud bragge, and a stoute skirmish with the English men, they appointed dyuers rude and rusticall persons, to conuay into the towne .xxx. Dren, and other small bittayle, but thys swete gayne was sowzely payde, for if the losse with the gayne be pondered in one balauce, for hauing regarde to .xxx. leane Dren, in the conflict were slayne, the Lorde Sentrayles brother to Pothon, the valyant Capitayne John, brother to the Lorde Bancort, and fiftie other noble and valyaunt personages, beside other common people, which bought that bar-



gaine, aboute the price of the common Market. The French men perceyving their infortunate chaunce, and not onely considering, the unspeakable heate which then wearied their people, being in the beginning, of the hote month of August: but also perceyving the Englishe men to be planted and settled, in a place unable to be wonne, and in a grounde both dangerous to invade, and hard to assaile, like men desperate of gayne, and without hope of victorie, departed to Fort vnder Perre, where by a bridge of Tonnes, they passed into the Isle of Fraunce.

The Duke of Bedford (like a wise prince) not minding to lease the more for the lesse, nor the accident for the substance, fearing that Paris and other townes more necessarie to the Englishe men, and of more estimation would returne to his adversaries, thinking if the greater power were holden, the lesse should be sone obtayned, reysed his siege and returned to Paris, nothing lesse minding then to try his quarrell with dent of sword agaynst his enemies: and so sent Bedford his herault to the Lorde Gawcort, and other Chiefetaynes of his army, offering him battayle, and a pitched field, within a convenient grounde, where so ever he would, within the Isle of Fraunce, assigne or appoynt. To the which officer of Armes, the Capitaynes answered, that battayle they feared not, nor the Englishe puissance, they not much regarded, but they sayde: that time was to gayne, and time was to lose, of the which two, they doubted not to espie the one, either for their great gaine, or to their apperaunt losse. Whereupon they sent the Lorde Ambrose de Lore with vij. C. horsemen to rob and spoyle the poore people, coming to the fayre, on the day of Saint Michaell the Archangell, kept in the suburbs of the towne of Caen. But when Dauy Hall Esquire, Capitayne of the towne for the Duke of Yorke, issued out to fight with him, he departed by flight, without eyther botie or gayne of the fayre. The Frenchmen perceyving, that neyther power, force, nor pollicie could auayle against the Englishe nation, determined to trip and deceyue them, by their accustomed seruant called Hayster Treason, and so by money corrupted Piers Audesbeuffe, Constable of the Castell of Roan, that the Marshall of Fraunce, and the Lorde Fountaynes, with two hundred persons disguised, entered into the Castell, but they were sone espied, and driuen to the Dungeon, where they were taken and yelded: whereof some were hanged, some headed, and some ransomed at the pleasure of the Regent: and such ende had the Traytors, which would by treason rather then by battayle, obtayne their praye and desired purpose.

Thys Pageaunt played, the Regent sent Peter of Lurenborough Erie of Saint Paule, and Robert Lorde Willoughby, with a competent crewe of men to besiege the towne of Saint Valerie, which the French men a litle before had taken. These valyaunt Capytaines not minding to slepe their businesse, environned the towne with a strong siege. Within the towne were Sir Lewes de Vancort, Syr Philip de la Toure, and Syr Reignold de Versailles Capitaynes, with three hundred good fighting men, which by the space of three weekes, manfully defended the same. But at the .xxi. day, they perceyving the fiercenesse of the Englishe men, and the weakenesse of themselves (having no hope of reliefe, nor confidence in any ayde) rendered the towne, their horse and harness onely saued. The Erie put in the garrison of the

Treason.

Saint Valery recovered againe by the Englishe men.

the towne freshe and valyaunt Souldiours, and appointed Capitaine there, Sir John Wobemonde: in the which towne sodainely, whether it were by infection of the ayre, or by corrupt vittayle by long lying, which the townes men did eate, a great pestilence sprang in the infortunate Countrey. Which after so many calamities and euill chaunces, being two times besieged by the French men, and thise recovered by the English Nation, was now infected and corrupted with the pestilent plague: whereby two partes of the people, within short space were destroyed and consumed.

After this towne gotten, the Erie of Saint Paule, and the Lorde Willoughby returned to the Regent, where they were wel welcomed. And after, the saide Erie departed from Paris, to lay siege to the Castell of Mouchas, but being encamped nere to the towne of Blangy, he by a sodaine Maladie, finished his dayes, and departed the worlde, leauing his seigniozies to Lewes his sonne and heire. For which dead Erie were solempne obsequies kept, both in Paris and in London, because he was father in lawe to the Regent. In the meane season, the French men entered into the costes of high Burgoyne, and vrent, tooke and destroyed townes: for which cause, the Burgonions beyng sore displeased, assembled a great armie, both to reuenge their quarels, and also to recover agayne the townes, from them unustly taken: to whom, as to his friends the Duke of Bedford sent Robert Lorde Willoughby, and Syr Thomas Kiriell, with a convenient company of Souldiours, which entering into the laundes of Laonoy, were encountred with a great number of their enemies: notwithstanding, after long fight, the French men were slayne and disperled: wherof were left dead in the field, an hundred and sixtie horsemen, beside prisoners, which after in a furie, were all killed and put to death.

Whyle these chaunces thus happened in Fraunce, John Lord Calbot gathered together a crewe of chosen men of warre in England to the number of eyght hundred, and sayled into Normandie, and passed by Roan towards Paris, and in his way he toke the strong Castell of Joinge, betwene Beauoy, and Gisors, and caused all the French men within, to be hanged on the walles, and after rased and defaced the Castell, & came to the Duke of Bedford to Paris. The presence of which renowned Capitayne (a maruellous thing it is to see) so encouraged the hartes of the English nation, that they thought nothing able to resist their puissance, and so discouraged the hartes of the French men, that they were in doubt, whether it were better to fight or to flie. And thys was not without a cause: for surely he was a chosen Capitaine, and in martiall feates a man fully instructed, and his courage and practise in warre, was fearefull to the French nation, and to his awne Countrymen an especiall hope, and a sure defence. When this hardye Baron, had commoned with the Regent, & agreed what waye he should take, without long delay or prolonging of tyme, he departed from Paris with his armie, and besieged the Castell of Beaumont vpon Dife, whereof was Capitayne, Syr Amadour de Agnolles brother to the Heire. Which Castell was sone rendered vpon condition. After that he regayned without long siege, the townes of Creille, the bridge of Saint Marens, the newe towne in Cinoy, Crespi in Vallors, and Cleremount in Beauoy: and so with great riches and fatte prisoners, he returned agayne to Paris. Thus prosperous

A great pestilence.

The death of the Erie of Saint Paule.

1433  
12

John Lord Calbot sayled into Fraunce.



prosperous successe happened not to the Lorde Calbot alone : but in the very same season, the Erle of Arundell tooke the Castell of Boreham, and raised it to the grounde, and after tooke by force the Castell of Boreham, and from thence came to Saint Seleryne, where the Lorde Ambrose de Lore was Capitayne, which issued out and fought with the English men. Egerly at the first, that he drove them back an arrow shot by fine force. But the Erle so encouraged his men, that they tooke newe courages to the assault, and set so fiercely on the French men, that they slue a great number, and drove the remnaunt into the towne.

After this victorie he besieged Louiers, whereof was Capitayne, the Heire and his brother, which rendered the towne, without stroke or assault. For all this good luck, the Erle forgat not to returne, to the towne of Saint Seleryne, but assembled a great armie, and environed the towne about with a strong siege. When he had lien there almost thre moneths, every day attempting or doing somewhat, for the perfozmaunce of his enterprise, in conclusion at the thre moneths ende, he gaue so fierce an assault, that by force he entered the towne, and slue John Allemagne and Guillam sent Aubayne, the chiefe Capitaynes, and eyght hundred other men of warre, and the children of the Lorde Lore were taken captiues: he replenished and fortified the towne againe with newe men, and municions, and made there Capitayne Sir John Coznewall. Which act thus accomplished, he departed, and came before the strong towne of Silly, and there pitched hys Campe. The inhabitants of the same, somewhat dismaied with the chaunce, that late happened to the towne of Saint Seleryne, deliuered to him pledges, vpon this condition: that if they were not rescued within thirtie dayes next insuyng, then they (their lyues saued) should render the towne into his possession: which offer was taken. The Capitaynes within the towne sent a Poste to the French king, to aduertise him of their hard chaunce, which incontinent sent to them Arthur Erle of Richmond (but after some wyrters, John Duke of Alaunson) with a great company of men. When the Erle sawe the French succours appere, he restored agayne the pleges to the Governours of the towne, and issued out of his campe, taking a place most mete and comuenient for to abide battayle, for which he soze thirsted and longed. The Duke or the Erle (take which you list) lyeng by a brooke side, which a man might stride ouer, seyng the English men so warlike and strongly embattayled, thought it not for his profite to geue battayle, or to set forward: but in the dead time of the night cowardly fled, and with shame returned: although some French wyrters affirme, that he looked that the Erle of Arundell should haue given him battaile, and because he profered not forward, therefore the French men departed. This appereth to be an apparaunt lye, and a French bragge: for if they came to rescue the towne, why did not they geue battayle, and so driue away the English men from the towne? If they came to fight, why departed they without any stroke stricken? But it seemeth that they came, to make a French face, and for to doe nothing. For they without skirmishe or succouring the towne, departed in the night secretly (as you haue heard.) When they within the towne knew that their succours fayled, they rendered themselves to the mercy of the Erle of Arundell, which gently receiued them, and leauing a garrison in the towne, departed to Hauns, and

and in the meane way, tooke the Castels of Mellay and saint Laurence. About this time the Lord Willoughby, and Syr Thomas Kiriell, returning with great victories out of the parties of Burgoyne, toke in their waye, the towne of Louiers, and furnished it, both with men and municions.

Amongest so many good chaunces, some euill are accustomed to fall, and happen, or else the gayners will not knowe themselves. So it happened, that a great number of rude and rusticall persons in Normandie, dwelling by the sea coast, eyther prouoked or intiled thereunto by the French king, or desprous of alteracion and chaunge (which thing the common people muche couet and desyre) made an insurrection, and put on harnesse, and by force expelled certein garrisons out of their holdes, and tooke certein townes: publishing and proclaimyng openly, that their onely purpose and intent was, to expell and banishe the whole English Nation, out of their Countries and coastes. Wherefore it may evidently appere, that the blacke Ethiopian\* or the blacke coloured Raven, will soner turne their colours, then the vniuersall people bred in Fraunce, will hartily loue, and inwardly fauor an English borne childe. And yet the Normans of long tyme, louingly and gently, haue obeyed to the subiection of England, and haue of the English Nation bene well accepted and regarded, but now they forgetting their dutie, and remembryng theyr hurtes, did not feare to rebell agaynst theyr Prince and soveraigne Lorde.

This mischieuous companie, thus frantikely gathered together, with al speede marched towarde Cane, to the intent there, both to assemble a greater number of people, & also to consult what way they should folow in their newe begon attemptate. But the Dukes of Yorke and Sommerset, which then were liyng in Normandie, heyrng of this vngacious faction, and troubleous commocion, and hauyng knowlege by theyr espyals what iourney they intended to take: incontinent without delay, sent the Erle of Arundell, and the Lord Willoughby, with .viij. thousand Archers, and .xiiij. hundred light horses to stay and kepe them, eyther for setting forth, or makyng further progresse. The Erle of Arundell goyng one way, appoynted the Lorde Willoughby, with two thousand Archers, and a certaine number of horsemen, to go before him, to lie in watche and stale, secretly by the way, to stoppe the iourney and passage of the rebelles, when they should approche. The Lorde Willoughby, couertly couered himselfe and his companie, sendyng worde to the Erle, of the place where he laye, to the entent that he might make a signe and token (when tyme should be most luckey and fortunate) to inuade and set on their enemies. Which thing done, the Erle folowed at the backe, the ragged route, and mischieuous multitude, as a man, that draue the Deere before him into the Buckstalle, or the sely Conies into the secreete Hay. When the ignoraunt multitude approached nere to the place of the stale, the Erle made a token, and shot a Goon for a signe. Then the Lorde Willoughby, set on them before, and the Erle behinde, shotyng so fiercely, that the dastard people partly amased with the sodaine chaunce, and partly galled and wounded with the shot of the arrowes, threwe away their harnesse, desiryng nothyng but death. The Erle of Arundell (moued with compassion) caused his souldiours to leaue of and stay, from farther murthet or bloodsheddyng, and apprehendyng such as he thought to be leaders, and chiefe stirrers of the people, let

An insurrection in Normandie.

\* that is a man of Inde, commonly called a blacke Moopan.

The Rebelles Gaine.



the other retuene home frankely and freely: but yet there were a. M. and more slain, before the souldiours could be brought again vnder their stādards.

After this com. nocion appeased, and the sodeine rage in the beginnyng stayed and bzideled, diligent inquirie was made of the malefactorz, and such as were found guilty, by diuers terrible execucions (accozdyng to their desertz) miserably ended their trayterous liues. Durynge which rebellien, Peter Kokefort and his companie, gat by treason the towne of Depe, and dyuers other holdes, therebnto adioynng. After the Erle of Arundell, had obteyned so many Conquestes, and notable victories (as you haue heard) he attempted another, which was the last worke and extreme labor of his liuyng dayes. For the Duke of Bedford, beyng informed, that his aduersaries, had sodainly surprised and taken the towne of Rue, and therein had put a garrison, which sore bexed the Countreies of Ponthieu, Arthoys, and Bolenors, sent worde to the Erle, that he without delay, should besiege the sayd towne. The Erle obeyed to his commaundement, and incontinent, sent for all the people vnder his gouernance, and in his marchyng forwarde, came to Couerney, where he heard tell, how that there was a certain Castle, nere Beauuoyz, called Gerbozpe, which eyther by force of rasyng, or violence of weather, was sore decayed and defaced. And because this place was oportune and very necessary, to prohibite, let and stop the Englishe men, to make sodein runnynges in, or rodez into the Countreie of Beauuoyz: Charles the French king commaunded Sir Stephen de Neignolles, commonly called the Heire, to see the Castell reedified and fortified. The sayd sir Stephen with a great companie, came to the ground, and lackyng neyther stufte necessary, nor artificers sufficient, in small tyme erected the Castell, and began to defende the fortesse. The Erle of Arundell, beyng credibly informed of their doynge, and perceiuyng that this newe edificacion was verpe prejudiciall to the Englishe part, determined first to take the Castell, supposyng to finde there little or no resistance, but he was deceyued, for there was the Heire, with many good and baleaunt Captaines. The Erle with fīue hundred horsemen, encamped himselfe in a little close, not farre from the Castell: the french men which were three thousand men, perceiuyng that the Erle and his horses were wery, and that his archers were not yet come, determined for their aduantage to set on him, before the comyng of his footemen, which they knewe to be little more, then a myle behind the Erle. Wherefore for a pollicie, they set forth fiftie horsemen, as though there were no mo in the Castell. The Erle perceiuyng that, sent forth Sir Randolfe Standishe, to encounter with them, hauyng in his companie a hundred horse: the Frenchmen fought couragiously a while, and sodainly came out all the remnaunt, and slue Sir Randolfe Standishe, and all his companie, and boldely set on the Erle and his bande, which manfully defended them, so that the Frenchmen gat little aduantage, for all their great number. The Heire perceiuyng the courage and defence of the English people, caused thre Culuerines to be shot amongst them, whereof, one strake the Erle on the Ankle, and so brake his legge, that for paine he fell from his horse, then the French men entered amongst the Englishe armie, and tooke the Erle beyng on the ground, prisoner. and Sir Richard Woodville, and sixe scoze more, and there were slain almost two hundred. The remnaunt saued themselves as well as they might.

The

The Erle was carped to Beauuoyz, where, of this hurt he shortly dyed, and was buried in the Friers Monozs. He was a man of a singuler vertue, con- fancie, and grauitie, whose death in so troubleous a world did sore appall the heartes of his nacion. By this infortune, Rue was not besieged, nor Gerbo- rietaken, such is the chaunce of warre.

The Death of  
the Erle of  
Arundell.

About the Moneth of June, John Duke of Burbon, and Ruene, taken prisoner at the battaile of Agyncourt, xliij. yerz past, (as you before haue heard) nowe payng his ransome, which was. xliij. thousand pound ster- lylng, and hauyng redy prepared all thinges necessary, for his triumphant retuene into his countreie, was taken with a most sore and grievous feuer, whereof shortly he dyed, in the Citie of London, on the day appoynted for his departure into Fraunce: whose corps was enterred in the Gray Friers of the sayd Citie: So by this, euery creature may see: that man purposeth, and God disposeth.

The death of  
John Duke  
of Burbon.

I may not forget a chaunce which happened this yere, to the example of Princes, and a spectacle for gouernozs. For the deuill himselfe, to set further diuision betweene the Englishe and French Nacion, did apparell certeine Clawpoules & Parasites, commonly called Tituils, and tale tellers, to sow discorde and discencion, betweene the Dukes of Bedford, and Burgoyne, not sayng triles nor phantasies, but thinges of reproche, repugnaunt to both their honours, estates, and dignities, with the which, eche of them was as well pricked, as hastily spurred, so that all loue, betweene them ceased, all af- finitie was forgotten, and all olde familiaritie was cast by disdain, into the caue of oblivion. Such a pestilent breath hath flattery, and such mischiefe ensueth of Princes light credence. This grudge was perceyued, by their mutuall friendes, which by charitable exhortacion and Godly aduertisement, exhorted them to renue their olde loue and familiaritie, and to mete and en- teruene, in some place decent and conuenient. The Duke of Bedford gladly condiscended to come to saint Omers, beyng the Duke of Burgoyne's towne, and thither accozdyng to his appoyntment, he in honourable estate came and resorted, and likewise did the Duke of Burgoyne. The Duke of Bedford, beyng Regent of Fraunce, and sonne, brother, and vncl to kinges, thought that the Duke of Burgoyne, should first haue visited and saluted him: Duke Philip on the other part, beyng Lorde and soueraigne of the towne, iudged it not mete, nor to stand with his honour, to go to him, where he was lodged, but was content by intreatie of friendes, to mete him in a place indifferent, be- twene both their harborowes: which offer was not accepted, & so both par- ties departed discontent, and neuer after saw or commoned with other. We hat should I speake of the courage of these two proude princes, the Duke of Bedford myndyng to haue no peere, and the Duke of Burgoyne willyng to haue no superioz, by whose proude disdain, and enuious discorde, shortly England lost, and Burgoyne gayned not long, as you shall perceyue in thys Historie folowynge.

The falling  
out or breach  
of friendship  
betweene the  
Duke of  
Bedford and  
the Duke of  
Burgoyne.

The Bastard of Orleans, called the Erle of Dumoyz, the Lorde Rochford Marshall of Fraunce, with other, in the beginnyng of this. xiiij. yere, tooke the towne of Saint Denise by treason, and skirmished with them of Paris, and leauyng behinde him a great garrison, toke the towne of How- done, and the brydge of Saint Maxence by composition, and at that time

was



was taken the tobone of Mount Meulan, by sodenly scaling of two fishermen: which entered by at a common priuie, standyng on the wall. Thus towncs bntwalled, were prayes to rauinous men of warre, so that the pooze inhabitants within them (not beyng able to keepe their fidelitie or allegeaunce, when shield and defence lacked) were constrayned and compelled to yelde and render themselves to the more power, and byper hande: least they being neddy and innocent people, should be bered and tormented, with the unreasonable men of warre: So that in all Christendom, no region was more bntquiet, more bered, more pooze, nor more to be pitied, then the Countrie of Fraunce. And although the rude and pooze people, suffered many plagues and aduersities: yet the Souldiours prospered not in all thinges. For although pray and spoyle sometyme refreshed their mindes, and did comfort their stomackes, yet at another tyme they were slaine, taken and licked by, or they were ware. For euery Prince studied, and circumspectly compassed, how to keepe defend & releue, the Cities and towncs, of their seuerall faction, and priuate fidelitie. Wherefore when facietie of slaughters, and aboundance of murders, had replenished the stomackes of both the factions, and that both in generall had perceyued their hurtes, pondered their losses, and considered their ruynes, and dayly afflictions: although their stomackes were haute, and their hearts stonie, yet they waxed soft, priuily enclining to peace, and wishyng concozde, and not without an bygent cause: For all thinges necessarie to mannes living, penury shewed her selfe forth, and abundance was hidden in a Caue. The corne fieldes lay bntilled, the medowes were overtroden, the woodes were spoyled, so that all men went to harnesse, and no man to the Plough. The Churches were seldome bled for deuocion, but many times spoyled for desyre of gaine. These and such innumerable mischiefs, caused both the people beyng enemies, to desyre peace, and yet the one part disdeyned openly to offer it, or the other priuately to receyue it.

The crie and noyse of this perillous and insaciabie warre, was blafed through Europe, detested through Christendome, and especially at the counsaile of Basill, where then the Emperour Albert, and all the Princes and Potestates of Christendome, or their Deputies were assembled, for the bntion of that bntgracious Scisme, in the bnturped Sea of Rome. Wherefore, the Emperour and the temporall Princes, supposyng the exhortacion of discrete fathers, should more profite amongst the two highe stomacked nacions of England and Fraunce, desired Eugeny then Bishop of Rome, to be the author and Arbitrer of that great strife & contencion: so that by his meanes, counsaile, and exhortacion, the weapon might be taken out of the handes of two so inuincible nacions, which neuer would yelde or bow, the one to the other, neyther yet once heere of abstinence of fightyng, or refusyng from war: so much were their heartes hardened, and so princely were their stomackes. And one thing put them in good comfort of some good conclusion, because the Duke of Burgoyne was willyng (so that it were not of his awne sute) to returne and reconcile himselfe to Charles, his mortall enemy and auncient aduersarie. Wherefore by auctoritie of this generall Counsaill, two Cardinals came to the towne of Arras in Arthoys, whither were sent for the king of England, Henry Beuford, Cardinall of Winchester, Henry, Archebishop of Pozke, William de la Pole, Erle of Suffolke, and John Holland Erle of

Huntyngdon,

Huntyngdon, with diuers other knightes and Esquiers: and for the French king were there present, Charles Duke of Burbon, Lewes Erle of Gaudome, Arthure of Briteyne, Constable of Fraunce, the Archebishop of Reyns, and Sir Phillip Harcozt. There was the Duke of Burgoyne in proper person, accompanied with the Duke of Gelders, & the Erles of Estamps, Lygny, Saint Paule, Vaudemont, Neuers, and Daniell, sonne to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a galland companie.

Upon the day of the first session, the Cardinall of Saint Crosse, declared to the three parties, the innumerable mischiefs, the multitude of inconueniencies, which had succeeded through all christendome, by their daylie discord and continuall discention: exhorting and requiring them for the honoz of God, for the lone that they bare to the setting forth of Christes religion, and for the aduancement of the publique wealth of all Christendome, that they would laye all rancour aparte, repressse all wyath and anger, and conform themselves to reason, and to godly concozde, by the which, they should receyue honoz, profite, and continuall quietnesse, in the worlde, and of God, areward euerlasting. After which admonition thus to them geuen, and after diuers dayes of communication, euery parte brought in their demaunde, which were most contrary, and hard to come to a good conclusion. The Englishe men required, that king Charles should haue nothing, but at the hande of the king of Englande, and that not as duetic, but as a benefite by him of hys meere liberalitie giuen and distributed, to which the Frenchmen answered that: king Charles would haue the kingdome frankely and freely, without begging it of an other man: requiring the king of England to leaue the name, armes, and tytle of the king of Fraunce, and to be content with the Dukedomes of Aquitayn and Normandy, and to forsake Paris and all the towncs which they possessed in Fraunce, betwene the Ryuers of Loyze and Sone, being no parcell of the Duchy of Normandy. The English men loth to lese so good a botie as Paris, did not esteeme and allowe the demaunds of the French Ambassadors, and they on the other side, couetyng and desyryng to obtayne agayne the renoume and glozpe of their Region, which was Paris, would in no wise condescend, to any parte of the Englishe requestes. Thus the pryde of the one parte, and the ambition of the other letted concozde, peace, and quietnesse. The Cardinales seing the frostie hartes, and hardened mindes of both parties, determined not to dispute the titles, but offered to them honest and reasonable condicions of truce and peace, for a season: which articles both parties, eyther for stowardnes, or for diswayne openly refused: In so much as the English men in great displeasure departed to Calice, and so into England. One wytter affirmeth, that they beyng warned of a secret conspiracie moued agaynst them, sodainely remoued from Arras, and so sayled into their countrey.

Whiles this treatie of peace was thus in communication at Arras, the Lorde Calbot, the Lorde Willoughby, the Lorde Scales, with the Lorde Lille Adame, and five thousand men besieged the towne of Saint Denise, with a strong bande. The Erle of Dunois hearing thereof, accompanied with the Lorde Lohac, and the Lorde Sueill, and a great company of horsemen had thetherward to raise the siege, and in the meane way they encountered with s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Kiriell, and Mathew Goughe, ryding also toward

DDd. j.

S.

S. Denise  
besieged.



S. Denise, betwene whome was a great conflict, and many slayne on both parties: but sodainely came to the ayde of the frenche men, the garrison of Mount Melance, which caused the Englishe men to returne without any great harme or damage, saving that Mathew Gough by fonderyng of his horse was taken and caried to Mount Melance. During which fight, the towne of saint Denise, was rendered to the Lorde Calbot and the other Lordes, which caused all the walles to be rased, and abated downe to the grounde, saving the walles of the Abbay, and a Tower called Uerbyn. After this towne gotten, the Lorde Willoughby left Sir John Ruppelley at Pouthoyse, and departed to gouverne Paris, which then began to smoke, and sone after brast out in flame (as you shall shortly perceiue.) After whose departure the inhabitants of Pouthoyse rebelled, and drove out the Englishe men by very force, and rendered themselues subiectes to king Charles. This towne was small, but the losse was great, for it was the very convenient way betwene Paris and Normandie, so that now the gate betwene them both, was set open and the passage at large.

Let vs now agayne returne to the counsaile at Arras. After the Englishe Ambassadors were departed, the French men and the Burgoyons beganne familiarly to common of a peace, and talke of an amitie, to the which motion, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, was neyther deafe nor straunge: for he in the beginning of his rule, being much desyrous to reuenge and punish the shamefull murther done to his father, and to kepe himselfe in his highe estate, and preheminece, beganne to be associate, and to reigne with the English power, and to serue the king of England, thinking that by his amitie and ioyning, he shoulde neither harme nor hurte the common wealth of the Country, wherof at that time he bare the whole rule, nor yet lose one iote or point of his auctoritie, or gouernaunce. But when it happened contrary to his expectation, that the king of Englande by the right course of inheritance, tooke vpon him the whole rule and gouernaunce, within the realme of Fraunce, and ordered by the aduise of his counsaile, all causes, iudgements, warres and concordies, and that the Duke iudged that he was not had in great confidence, nor in perfite trust, as he thought, because the Duke of Bedford would not suffer the towne of Orleans to be rendered to him, (as you befoze haue heard:) He therefore imagined, and determined with himselfe to returne into the pathe againe, from the which he had strayed and erred, and to take part and ioyne with his awne bloud and Nation: so that some honest meane might be sought by other, and not by himselfe, least peraduenture by his awne seeking, he might binde himselfe in conditions hurtfull and sore inconueniences, to the French king, and also be noted of bruthe and traytorous behauiour toward the king of England and his nation: to whom he had done homage, league, and sworne fealtie. Now this counsaile was to him a cloke for the rayne, as who should say, that he sought not amitie of the french king (which thing in hys hart he most coucted and desyred) but was thereunto perswaded by the generall counsaile, and by the Bishop of Rome, to whome it was reason, in all honest requests that he should submit himselfe, and humblye obey. And so shadowed with this counsaile, wythout long argument or prolonging of time, he toke a determinate peace, and a final conclusion vpon these conditions: that he should haue to him deli-

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uered the Counties of Arthoys, Bonthieu, and Bullondys, & the townes of Amience, Corby, Mondidyer, Peron, Saint Quintine, and Abbeuille, wyth many other seignozies, & superiorities, which be not for my purpose to reherse. Prouyded alway, that the french king paying in redy money to the Duke or hys heyres foure C. M. Crownes, should haue the sayde townes and Countries to be redeliuered againe: and many other things the french king graunted to the Duke of Burgoyne, which after he was not able to performe nor accomplish, for he had no power to make deniall to the Duke, of any demaunde or request, which the Duke eyther phantased or moued: as who would say, that he thought in himselfe, that such an aduersary which desired so honest, and so reasonable condicions (considering the state of the time, and the occasion of concord, most apparauntly offered to him) ought neyther to be refused nor cast away, the which chaunce was to him luckey and fortunat: for surely the thing forescene and looked for, succeeded and tooke place, as you shall perceiue. This concordie was so pleasaunt to the french king, that he not onely sent for him: but as a Swan that swimmeth after her make, mette hym in proper person, at the Citie of Keynes, and forthwith they entered into a league with perfite amitie and friendship.

When thys league was sworne, and this knot knit, the Duke of Burgoyne, to set a bayle befoze the king of Englandes eyes, sent Choison Doz, his king at armes to king Henry with letters: that he being not only wared faint, and wearyed, with continuall warre, and daylie conflictes, but also chased daylie with complaints and lamentation, of his people, which of the french men suffered losse and detriment, embzayding and rebuking him openly, affirming that he onely was the suppozer and mainteiner of the English people, and that by his meanes and power, the moztall warre was continued and set forward, & that he moze diligently studied, and intentiueky toke paine, both to keepe and maintaine the Englishe men in fraunce, and also to aduance and promote their desires and intentes, rather then to restore king Charles his Cosyn, to his rightfull inheritance, by reason of which things and many other, he was in maner compelled and constraigned to take a peace, and conclude an amitie with king Charles, exhorting king Henry when honest and reasonable conditions were offered, to take them, and to make an ende of the warre which so long had continued, to the decaye of both the realmes, and to the effusion of christen bloud, beside the great displeasure of almighty God, which is the auctor of peace and vnitie: promising him his ayde and furtheraunce in that behalfe, with many glosyng and flatterynge wordes, which I passe ouer.

This letter was not a little looked on, nor smally regarded of the king of England, and his sage counsaile: not onely for the waightinesse of the matter, but also for the sodaine chaunge of the man, and for the straunge superscription of the letter, which was: To the high and mightie prince, Henry by the grace of God, king of England his welbeloued Cosyn: Neyther naming him king of Fraunce, nor his soueraigne Lorde, according as (euer befoze that time) he was accustomed to doe. Wherfore all they which were present, being sore moued with the crafty doing and vntreue demeanour of the Duke, whom they so much trusted, could neyther temper their passions, nor yet moderate their yre, nor yet bridle their tongues: but openly called him

Ddd.ij.

Traytoz.

A peace concluded betwene the french king and the duke of Burgoyne.



Traytoz, deceyuer, and most inconstant pzince. But when the rumoz of the Dukes reuerting was published amongst the common people, they lette wordes and went to stripes: for they being moued and pricked with this unhappie tydings, ran fiercely vpon all the Flemings, Hollanders, and Burgonions, which then inhabited within the Citie of London, and the suburbes of the same, and slue and hurt a great number of them, befoze they by the kings proclamation could be prohibited to leaue of and abstayne from suche violence and iniurious doing: for the king nothing moze minded, then to saue innocent bloude, and defend them which had not offended.

After the letter wise red, and wisely brooked, he willed the officer at armes to tell his mayster, that it was not conuenient, noz honorable for him, to be enemie to the English nation, without cause or occasion geuen: but his duetie, all things considered, was to haue kept his auncient truth and olde alleageaunce rather then to be the occasion of newe warre and freshe dissention: aduertising him farther, that it was not the point of a wise man, to leaue and let passe the certaine for the vncertaine, admonishing him also, not to mingle and mixe his safete and surenesse, with the vnstableness and vsuretie of his newe alye and Cosyn king Charles.

When the Messenger was departed, the king of Englande and hys counsaile thought and determined to worke some displeasure to the Duke, and to set some conspiracie against him in his awne Countrey, wherfoze by rewardes, they did suborne and corrupt certaine Gouvernozs and rulers of townes and Citie, within the Dukes countries and dominions (which nations surely be euer procline and readie to commocion and rebellion.) But the Gauntoys, which of that feate euer bare the Bell, and were the common ryfers agaynst their souereigne Lords, some of them imagening that the power of the English men was not long lyke to continue within the realme of Fraunce, moze for feare then loue of their Duke, sat still and moued not, but let other townes alone, which soze troubled the Dukes wittes, and a great whyle did disquiet and bere his senses.

But in this time, and the .xiiij. day of September, died John Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce, a man as politique in peace, as hardy in warre whose bodie was with great funerall solemnitie buried in the Cathedral Church of our Lady in Roan, on the North side of the high aulter, vnder a sumptuous and costly monument: which tombe and sepulture, when king Lewes the .xj. sonne to this king Charles, which recovered agayne Normandie did well aduise and beholde, certaine noble men in his company, hauing moze youth then discretion, and moze enmie in their hartes then considerations of their parents, counsayled him to deface and pluck downe the tombe, and to cast the dead carcasse into the fieldes: affirming that it was a great dishonoz both to the king and to the realme, to see the enemy of his father, and theirs, to haue so solempne and riche memoriazl. King Lewes answered agayne, sayeng: what honoz shall it be to vs, or to you to breake this monument, and to pull out of the ground and take vp the dead bones of him, whome in his lyfe, neyther my father nor your progenitozs with all their power, puissaunce and friendes were once able to make flie one foote backward, but by his strength, wyf, and pollicie, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the realme of Fraunce, and out of this noble and famous Duchy

The death of John Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce.

The sayeng of a wise pzince.

Duchy of Normandy: wherfoze I say, first God haue his soule, and let his body now lye in rest, which when he was alyue, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all: and as for the tombe, I assure you, it is not so decent, noz conuenient for him, as his honoz and actes deserued, although it were much richer and moze beawtifull.

This yere chaunced a maruellous great frost, the which beganne the .xxij. of Nouember and continued vntill the .x. daye of February next folowynge, in the which tyme the Thames was so feruently frosen, that no ship nor other vessel could come within the same. By reason wherof the ships that came from Burdeaux, were forced to vnlade at Douer & other places, and were copelled to bring their wares by land ouer Goters Hil to London.

After the death of thys noble pzince and valyant Captayne, the Duke of Bedford, the bright Sunne that commonly shone in Fraunce fayze and beawtifull vpon the English men, beganne to be cloudie, and daylie to waxe darker: for the French men seing the chiefe Capitaine taken awaye, beganne not onely to refuse their obedience and loyaltie, which they had sworne and promised to the king of Englande, but taking sworde in hande, rebelled, persecuted and openly defyed the English men, yet all these mischaunces, not one point abated the valyaunt courages of the English people: for they nothing mistrusting God, nor good fortune, set by a newe sayle, and beganne the warre newe agayne, and appointed for Regent in Fraunce, Richard Duke of Yorke, sonne to Richarde Erle of Cambridge, although the Duke of Yorke, both for birth and courage, was woerthy of this honoz and preferment, yet he was so disdayned of Edmonde Duke of Somerset beyng Cosyn to the king, that he was promoted to so high an office (which he in very deede gaped and looked for) that by all wayes and meanes possible, he both hindered and detracted him, glad of his losse, and sozie of his well doing, causing him to linger in England without dispatch, till Parrys and the flower of Fraunce were gotten by the French king. The Duke of Yorke perceyuing his euill will, openly dissimuled that, which he inwardly thought, eche working things to the others displeasure. This cancarde malice, and pestiferous diuision so long continued, in the hartes of these two Pzinces, till mortall warre consumed them both, and almost all their lynes and offsprings, as within fewe yeres you shall perceyue.

The Normans of the Countrey of Caux, beyng somewhat hartened, by the death of the Duke of Bedford, beganne a newe rebellion, and slue diuers Englishmen, and robbed many pretie townes, which were of King Henries faction and part, and tooke the towne of Harflew by assault, and diuers other townes. The Lord Talbot beyng aduertised of this rebellion, sent for the Lord Scales, Sir Thomas Kiriell, and the Lord Hoo, which afflicted and plagued the people of Caux, that they slue aboue fise thousand persons, and brent all the townes and billages in the countrey, not beyng walled, so that in that part, was neither habitacion nor tillage, for all the people fled into Briteyn, and all the beastes of the Countrey were brought to Caldeber, where a good sheepe was solde for an English penny, and a Cow for .xij. pence. Dayly was skirmishing and fightyng in euery part, in so much that the Lorde Scales with foure hundreth Englishmen, discomfited at the Kye beside Roan, the Heire and fiftene hundreth valiaunt Frenchmen, and Sir

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Richard Duke of Yorke made Regent of Fraunce.

The Normans rebell.

Good chepe vntill.



Richard Reignold de Fountaynes, Sir Aleyne Gerond, Aleyne de Monsay, and Scoffrey Graine Capteyne of the Scottes, and thre hundred and mo, were taken prisoners, besyde seven fayre and pleasant Couriers. But thys victorie stayed not the hartes of the French nation, for their myndes were so full of treason, and their malice so great agaynst the Englishmen, that many townes turned to the part of king Charles, without conquest or desyre, and diuers were sold for couetousnesse, and many were deliuered by treason, as Depe, Boys de Vincenes, and other.

Thomas Lozde Beainond, which of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, issued out of Paris with six hundred souldiers, onely intending to see and vieue the doynges and number of the French armie, but he was sodeinly espyed, and compassed about: so that within a small space, he was discomfited and taken, and with him foure score prisoners, beside two hundred which were slaine in the fielde, and the remnant chased to the very gates of the Citie. The Parisians, and in especiall the Master of the Hales, and some of the Uniuersitie, and Michaell Laillier, and many notable Burgesses of the towne (which euer with an Englishe countenance covered a French heart) perceiuyng the weakenesse of the Englishmen, and the force and strength of the Frenchmen, signifying to the French Captaynes their myndes and intentes, willed them to come with all diligence, to receiue so rich a pray, to them without any difficultie offered and geuen. The Constable deslayning no tyme, came with his power, and lodged by the Charterhouse: and the Lozde Lisleadam, approching the walles, shewed to the Citizens, a Charter, sealed with the great seale of king Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offences, and graunted them all the olde liberties and ancient priuileges, so they would hereafter be to him obedient, true, and seruiceable: which thing to them declared, they ranne about the towne crying: Saint Denise, lue king Charles. The Englishe men perceiuyng this, determined to kepe the gate of Saint Denise, but they were deceyued, for the Cheynes were drawn in euery strete, & women and children cast downe stones, and scaldyng water on the Englishe mens heades, and the Citizens persecuted them, from strete to strete, and from lane to lane, and slue & hurt, diuers and many of them. The Bishop of Tyrwoine, Chaunceloz there for king Henry, and the Lord Willoughby, and Sir Simon Moruier, tooke great paine to appease the people, and repress their fury: but when they saw that all wayled not, they withdrew themselves, to the Bastile of Saint Anthony, which fortreffe they had well bittayled and furnished, with men and munitions.

Whiles this rumoz was in the towne, the Erle of Dinnoys and other scaled the walles, and some passed the riuer by Boates, and opened the gate of Saint James, at the which the Constable with his Banner displayed entered, at whose entrie the Parisians were very glad, and made great ioy. The Bishop and the Lozde Willoughby, with their small companie, defended their fortreffe, tenne dayes, loking for ayde, but when they sawe that no comfort appered, they yeldd their fortreffe, so that they and theirs with certain baggage, might peaceably returne to Roan, which desire was to them graunted. Then as they departed, the Parisians rayled, mocked, and taunted the English men, with the most spitefull wordes, and shamefull termes, that

could

could be inuented or deuised: so that all men may apparauntly perceyue, that their heartes neuer thought, as their tongues bittered.

After this glorious gaine, the French king besieged the towne of Craile, vpon Oyse, whereof Sir William Chamberlain was Captain, which with five hundred Englishmen issued out of the towne, and after long fight, discomfited his enemies, and slue two hundred, and tooke a great number prisoners: the remnant not likyng their market, departed to Compeigne, and other townes adioinyng. Durynge which season, xij. Burgesses of the towne of Gysoz, solde it for money to Doyton of Kantrayles, but he had not the Castell deliuered. Wherefore with all his power, he besieged the same, whereof the Lozde Calbot beyng aduertised, sent for the Lord Scales, and they both with, cxliij. hundred men, rescued the Castell, tooke the towne, and discomfited their enemies, and slue of them about foure hundred persons. Nowe was the olde proverbes berefied, that he that commeth a day after the fayre, commeth to late, and when the sterde is stolen, it is no boote to shut the stable doore. For when Paris, Saint Denise, Saint Germaines in Lay, and many other townes in Fraunce were taken and betrayed, for lacke of succours and sufficient garrisons, then the Duke of Yorke appoynted at the Parliament before to be Regent of Fraunce, and by the disdeyn and enuy of the Duke of Sommerfet and other, not till now dispatched, was sent into Normandie, with, liij. thousand men, and in his companie the Erles of Sarisburie, and Suffolke, and the Lozde Fauconbridge, and diuers balaunt Capteynes. When he was landed at Harlew, the Erle of Sarisburie besieged the Castell of Chamboys, which shortly was to him rendered. Then the Duke remoued to Roan, where he set good orders, and did great iustice in the Countie, wherefore the Normanes in their Chronicle, highly extoll and much magnifie him, for that poprit: Howbest, they say, that he gate by long siege, the towne and Abbey of Fecampe, and did none other notable act, durynge the tyme of his rule and gouernance.

Phillip Duke of Burgoyne, which (as you haue heard) brake both his othe and promise with the king of England, imagined with himselfe, that the Englishe men were like shortly to be expelled out of all the townes on that syde the sea, and that they had no certain refuge nor place to resort to, out of Normandie, but only the towne of Calice. Wherefore he assembled his counsaile, and the heades of the Cities and townes of Flaundyys, Brabant, Holland, and Zeland, in the towne of Gaunt, where was declared vnto them, the right, title, and interest, that he had to the towne of Calice, and the countie of Guisnes, as a very patrimonie belongyng to his inheritance: shewyng further, that the sayd towne was the golfe and swallower by of all the golde and siluer of his Countie and dominions, for so much as there was the staple of woole, tynne, lead, and other marchandise, for the which the Englishe men would take no common currant money, but onely gold and siluer, to the great impoverishment of his seignories & Regions: sayng further, that Calice only was the common stop, betwene his Countie and Briteyn, and Spaine, so that Southward, nor Westward, his subiectes could not passe, without the daunger of that towne. Wherefore these detrimetes considered, he determined if they would assent, shortly to recouer and conquere that towne and the Countie of Guisnes. To this purpose all the counsaile, and

common

The Parisians  
and rebell.

Paris is  
deliuered to the  
French king.



common people, not onely agreed, but also promised ayde, both of men and money. Lorde howe the Fleminges bragged, and the Hollandys craked, that Calice should be wonne, and all the Englishemen slaine, swearing, and staryng, that they would haue it within thzee dayes at the most: thinkyng verely, that the towne of Calice, could no moze resist their puyssaunce, then a pot of double beere, when they fall to quaffyng.

To tell you what ordenance was new cast, what powder was bought, what engines were deuised, what harnesse was prouided, what bitaile was purueyed for that great enterprize: I will not comber you, in rehercyng euery thyng particularly, because the Flemynges write, that the prouision was moze then tongue could speake, or heart could thinke, yet you may beleue as you list. These doynges were not so priuie, but Sir John Radeliffe Deputy of the towne of Calice, was thereof enformed, and shortly of the same aduertised king Henry, and his counsaile, which incontinent sent thether the Erle of Mortayne, sonne to the Duke of Somerset, and the Lorde Cammeys, with. xv. hundreth men, and great foysen of bitaile, which issued out of Calice, and came befoze Grauelgnyne, where they were encountered wyth a great number of Flemynges, which were shortly discomfited, and foure hundreth of them slaine, and six scoze taken prisoners, and caried into Calice. And within two dayes after, the Englishemen draue by fine force, the Lords of Bauraine and Bado, to the Barriers of Arde, and discomfited the companie, to the number of. xv. hundreth, and slue. vij. balcaunt Captaynes, & toke many Gentlemen prisoners. Philippe Duke of Burgoyne, abidyng still in his high and warlike enterprize, assembled together of Flemynges, Picardes, Hollanders, and Henobiers, a great armie, to the number of. xl. thousand, so well armed, so well bitayled, so well furnished with ordenaunce, and well garnished in all thynges, that they thought in their heartes, and blasted among themselves, that the Calicians, would leaue the towne desolate, and flie for their sauegarde, heeryng onely of the approchyng of the Gauntoys. But they reckned befoze their host, and so payde moze then their shot came to. When this gallant armie was passed the water of Grauelgny, the Duke entenyng to begyn his great conquest, besieged and assaunted the litle and pooze Castell of Oye, which hauyng in it but fiftie souldiers, of the which. xij. solde their liues derely, the remnant compelled by necessity, yelded themselves simple to the Duke, which to please the Gauntoys, beyng of the most puyssaunt companie in his armie, liberally gaue to them both the Castell and the prisoners, as a signe and token of good lucke, and fortunate victorie. Which rude and beastly persons, nothyng expert in warre, or lawes at armes, not onely rased and abated the Castell, but also hanged. xxix. of the captiues, and had so done with all the remnant, if the Duke, (disdaynyng theyr crueltie) had not entreated for the rest.

After this victorie, litle honourable, and lesse profitable, the Picardes besieged the Castell of Marke, and thze times assaunted it, moze to their losse then gain. The English men within, whereof Sir John Geddyng was Capteyn, set out the banner of Saint George, and rang the belles, to the entent to haue succours from the towne of Calice. But the Capteynes there, myndyng not to leaue the moze for the lesse, nor the substance for the accident, wished them good luck, & good fortune without any ayde sendyng. For doubt

of

of the Dukes great armie and power. The souldiers within Marke, beyng but two hundreth and six, seyng no hope of succour, & desperate of comfort, rendered themselves to the Duke vpon condicon that their liues and limmes should be saued, and so they were conueyed in sure custodie to the towne of Saint, and the Castell of Marke was rased and defaced.

After this act done, the Duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the Duke of Cleues, the Erle of Estampes, the Lords of Dantoyne, Croy, Cresquy, Humiers, and many other balcaunt Barons, and Knightes, with his great army, came befoze the towne of Calice, and placed his siege about the same, most to his aduantage, and to the most displeasure of his enemies. He gaue thze great assaultes to the towne, but his people were not so fierce to assault, but the English men were as quicke to defende, so that he gainyng so litle at these thze enterprizes, was content to abstaine from further approchyng toward the walles. At the first assault the Heire, which was come to see the Duke of Burgoyne, was soze wounded and hurt. Besyde this, the Duke had dayly one great eye soze, which was because that at euery tyde, shippes arriued in the Hauen, out of England, openly befoze his face, laden with bitaile, munitions, and men, and also the Calicians would for the nonce, put out cattaille into the marish, vnder the towne walles, to the entent to prouoke the Fleminges to come within their catchyng and daunger, which beyng couctous of pray and gain, often aduentured, and seldome returned againe: for many by this meanes were taken prisoners, but many moe slaine with ordenaunce. The Duke one day rood about, to viue and beholde the situation, and the walles of the towne, to the intent to take his most aduantage, either by assault or shot of ordenaunce. He was quickly espyed, and with the stroke of a Canon, a Trompetoz which rood next befoze him, and thze horses in his companie were slaine out of hand. When he sawe that all thynges succeeded not to his purpose, he first set the Lorde of Croy, and a conuenient number, to besiege the Castell of Guisnes, where the sayd Captain gat litle profite, and did lesse harme: And after deuised howe to stop the Hauen, so that no succours should enter there, and also to prohibite them within the towne to make any egressse or road outward, and so by this meanes to famishe and compell them to yelde and render the towne. This deuice was set forwarde, and nothyng slept: for foure great Hulkes were laded with great square stones, semented and ioyned together with lead, to the intent that they should lye still like a mount, and not to seuer a sonder. These shippes with the remnant of the Dukes nauie were conueyed into the mouth of Calice hauen, and in a full sea by craft and pollicie, were sonke downe to the ground, but whether God would not that the hauen should be destroyed, cyther the conueyers of the Hulkes, knewe not the very Channell, these foure great shippes at the lowe water, lay openly vpon the sandes, without any hurt doyng to the rode or Chanell, which when the souldiers had perceyued, they issued out of the towne, and brake the shippes, and caried both the stones and the tymber into the towne, which serued them well to their fortifications. The seconde deuice was also accomplished, which was a strong Bastell, set on a litle mountaine, furnished with foure hundreth men and much attillcry, which fortresse did let the English men to issue out, when they would, to their great displeasure and disturbance.

Calice besieged by the Duke of Burgoyne.

whiles



Whiles these things were in doing, there arryued into the Dukes armie an Herault of Englande called Pembroke, belonging to the Duke of Gloucester, which declared to the Duke of Burgoyne, that the Protector of England his Mayster (if God would send him wind and weather) would geue battayle to him and hys whole puyssaunce, eyther there, or in any other place within his awne Countrey, where he would appoint: but the day he could not assigne, because of the inconstancie of the winde, and mutabilitie of the aire. The Duke (like a noble man) aunswere the Herault: Sir, say to your mayster, that his request is both honozable, & reasonable, howbeit, he shall not neede to take paine, to seeke me in mine awne Countrey, for God wylling he shall finde me here, till I haue my will of the towne, readie to abide him, and all the power that he can make. After this aunswere made, the Herault was highly feasted, and had a Cup, and a hundred golden Gyldeng to him deliuered for a rewarde, and so returned to Calice. After whose departure, the Duke called a great counsaile in the chiefe Hauilion of the Gauntroys, and there declared both the Heraults message and his aunswere desyring them to regarde his honoz, the estimation of their Countreis, and the honesties of themselves, and like men to receyue their enemies, and balyauntly to defend their aduersaries, promising to them victorie, gaine, and perpetuall glorie.

Whiles this great matter was in consultation, the Calicians, not well contented with the Bastell, which the Duke had newly buylded, issued out of the towne in a great number, part on foote, and part on horseback. The footemen ran to assault the Bastile, and the horsemen went betwene the armie and the assaults, to stop the ayde and succors which might come. The alarmy was sounded, in so much that the Duke in proper person was coming on foote to releue his people, but by the meanes of the horsemen, he was stayed and kept back a space, in the which delay of time, the Englishmen by fine force gat the place, and slue a hundred and sixtie persons, the remnaunt were taken prisoners, and defaced the fortreffe, and set it on fyre: caryeng with them all the ordinaunce and artillerie into the towne of Calice, to the great displeasure of the Duke and his counsaile. The next day after, there sprang a rumoz in the armie (no man could tell how) that the Duke of Gloucester with a great puyssaunce was already embarked and shipped, and would arryue at the next tide, and come downe before Calice, and raise the siege. What was the very cause, I can not truly write: but surely the same night the Duke fled away, and sent in all hast to the Lorde of Croye, to raise his siege before Gypsnes, which tydings were to him very ioyous, for he neyther got nor saued: so these two Capitaines departed leauing behinde both ordinaunce, bitaile and great riches. The french writers, to saue the honoz of the Duke of Burgoyne, say that there was a certaine discord and commocion amongst the Flemings and duche Nation: affirming that the great Lordes and the Picardes, (whome the frenche men greatly extoll) would betray and sell the Flemings and their friends, and that for the same cause, in a great furie they cried home, home, and would not tarrie, for no request the Duke could make, nor no exhortation that could be geuen: and so by their misgouernance, the Duke was enforced to rayse his siege and to departe. The Flemishe authozs affirme the contrary, saying: that they were

The Duke of Burgoyne rayseth his siege before Calice and departeth.

were readie to abide the coming of the Duke of Gloucester, but the Duke of Burgoyne fearing to be trapped, betwene the Duke of Gloucesters armie before, and the garrison of Calice behinde, so that he could escape by no way, fled away in the night, geuing to them no warning before. So that for lack of time, and conuenient space, to lade and cary their stufte, and being commaunded to retire with all speede and diligence, they were compelled to lose, and leaue behinde them their bitaile and tents, to their great losse and detriment. Now it is at your liberties (gentle Readers) whether you will geue credite to the french men (which were absent and no doers in the act) or to the Flemings, which were partakers of the losse and dishonoz. But the infallible veritie is, that he fled the .xxvi. day of July in the night, & the next day in the morning the Duke of Gloucester landed in Calice hauen, and straight went into the Campe, where his enemies the night before were lodged, and there he found many goodly peeces of ordinaunce, and in especially one called Dyeon, named after the chiefe towne of Burgoyne, beside pavillions, wine, Beere, Meale, and innumerable bittaile.

The Duke of Gloucester seing his enemies reculed, hauing in his company .xxv. M. men, entered into Flaunders, burning houses, kylling such as would resist, destroyeng the Countrey on euery parte, setting fyre in the townes of Doyorniche and Baillens, and wasted the suburbes of many faire Cities, and in all this way, they lost no man, nor saue any creature appere to defend the Countrey. After they passed by Newe Castell, and destroyed Rymesture, & Vallon Chapell, and then entred into Arthoys, to Arques and Blandesques, setting fyre in euery part where they came. Thus they passed by Saint Omers, to Gypsnes, and so to Calice at sixe weekes ende, where they were well refreshed: for in all this iozney, they had little plenty of good bread, which caused much faintnesse, and diuers diseases in the armie. When the Duke of Gloucester had sufficiently plagued and wasted the Countreys of the Duke of Burgoyne, and brought great prayes of beastes and spoyle to the towne of Calice, he setting there all things in good order, returned into Englande, where he was aduertised, how James king of Scottes, contrary to his othe, league and promise, had besieged the Castell of Rokesborough, with thirtie thousand men, wherof Sir Raufe Gray was Capitaine which manfully defended it twentie dayes, but the Scottishe king being aduertised, that the Erle of Northumberland was coming to fight with him, fled with no lesse losse, then dishonoz to his towne of Edenbrough.

After this dangerous businesse finished, and for a time ended, by meane of friends, and desire of Princes, a truce or abstinence of warre for a certaine tyme was moued betwene the king of England, and the Duke of Burgoyne, for which cause were sent to Grauelynne for the king of England, the Cardynall of Winchester Henry Beauford, John Lorde Moubrey Duke of Norfolkke, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, and dyuers other well learned and honorable personages: and for the Duke there appered the Duches his wyfe, the Byshop of Arras, the Lorde of Croy, and diuers other. At which treatie, a truce was taken for a small time, and for a lesse space obserued. Which abstinence of warre was concluded betwene the king of Englande, and the Duches of Burgoyne (leauing out the Duke and his name.) Some thinke that the king of England would not enter in league with him, because

The Duke of Gloucester spoyleth Flaunders.

1436  
15

A truce taken betwene the Duches of Burgoyne and the king of England.

he



he had broken his promise, wytyng and fidelity, wrytten, sealed, and sworne to him, and to his father. Other unagened this to be done by a cautell, to cast a mist befoze the French Kings eyes, to the intent he should beleue, that this feat was wrought by the Duches, without assent or knowledge of the Duke or his counsaile, and so he was not bounde to accomplish anye act or thing done in his wyfes treatie.

Katheryn  
mother to  
king Henry  
the sixt de-  
ceased.

Owen Tu-  
ther maried  
unto Kather-  
ryn Quene  
and the late  
wyfe of king  
Henry the  
sixt.

About thys season, Katheryn Quene and mother to the king of Eng- lande departed out of this transitorie lyfe, and was buryed by her husband, in the Chyncher of Westminster. Thys woman after the death of King Henry the sixt her husbnde, beyng young and lustie, following more her owne appetite, then friendly counsaile, and regarding more her private affection, then her open honour, tooke to husband priuely a goodly gentleman, and a beautifull person, garnished with many goodly giftes, both of nature and of grace, called Owen Tuther, a man brought forth, and come of the noble linage and auncient lyne of Cadwoaleder, the last king of the Brytons, by whome she conceaued and brought forth three goodly sonnes, Edmond, Jasper, and another, which was a Monk in Westminster, and liued a smal tyme, and a daughter, which in her youth departed out of this transitorie lyfe: After whose death king Henry, because they were hys brethren of one wombe descended, created Edmond Erle of Richemond, and Jasper Erle of Pembroke, which Edmond engendered of Margaret daughter and sole heyze to John Duke of Somerset, Henry which after was king of thys realme, called king Henry the seauenth, of whome you shall heare more hereafter. This Owen after the death of the Quene hys wyfe, was apprehended and committed to warde, because that contrarie to the statute made in the first yere of thys king, he presumptuously had maried the Quene, with- out the kinges especiall assent and agreement, out of which prison he esca- ped, and let out other with hym, and was agayne apprehended, and after escaped agayne.

The Du-  
ches of Bed-  
ford maried  
to Sir Ri-  
chard Wood-  
ville.

The Duchesse of Bedford, syster to Lewis, Erle of Saint Paule, minding also to mary, rather for pleasure then for honor, wythout counsaile of her fricndes, maried a lustie knight, called Sir Richarde Woodville, to the great displeasure of her Uncle the Byschop of Tyrwyne, and the Erle her brother: but they now could not remedie it, for the chaunce was cast and passed. This Sir Richard was made Baron of Rivers, and after Erle, and had by thys Ladye many noble sonnes, and fayze daughters: whereof one was Lady Elizabeth, after Queene of Englande, maried to king Ed- ward the fourth (as hereafter you shall perceue.)

Jane the  
Quene of  
England de-  
ceased.

Whiles this marriage was celebrating, Jane late Quene of England, and before Duches of Britayne, daughter to the king of Nauerre, and wife to king Henry the fourth, died at the mannoz of Hauering, and was buried by her husbnde at Cauntorbury, in which tyme discaised the Countesse of Warwike, and Henry Archebyschop of Yorke.

And here I may not forget the double dealing, and craftie demeanour, of James King of Scottes: which being (as you haue heard) late prisoner in Engiande, not onely was garnished with learning and ciuilitie (which things were rare and straunge befoze that time, within the realme of Scot- land) but also set at libertie, and honorably sent home. And to the intent that

his amitie might be perpetuall, and that loue might continually succede be- twene both the realmes, by his meane and accorde: first, his great roun- some was abridged, and dimished, and after he was ioyned in mariage with one of the bloud royall, as befoze you haue heard: yet this vngentle prince, and forgetfull friend, putting in obliuion both the duetie of his obeysaunce, towarde his soueraigne and liege Lorde, and the othe and promise that he made to king Henry, when he did to him homage, and fealtie at the Castell of Windsor (as befoze you haue heard) turned his back to his friend and kinsman and loked to the French parte, which neuer did him honor nor pro- fit, not onely sending into Fraunce daylie ayde and succours, agaynst the Englishe nation, but also by newe alliaunce sought and practised wayes and meanes, how to ioyne himselfe with fozein princes, to greue and hurte his neighbours and adioynants of the realme of Englande. And although his owne power were small, to doe them any great damage, yet he thought that he being lincked in suche noble houses, should the lesse feare the malice of his enemies: vpon which feeble foundation, he concluded two mariages, the one with Lewis the Dolphin, sonne to Charles the French king, and the other with Fraunces Duke of Britayne. Which mariages were not de- sired for loue or riches, but onely for ayde to resist and driue out the English men out of Fraunce. For the Lady Margaret maried to the Dolphin, was of such nasty complexion and euill sauored breath, that he abhorred her com- pany, as a cleane creature doth a caryon: whereupon she conceived such an inward grieve, that within short time after, she ended her dayes. Although this Lady had such impediments (as you haue heard) yet her sister Isabell, maried to Fraunces Duke of Britayne, lacked neyther exceeding betwie, nor pleasaunt breath: but as for wyf, womanhood, and ciuile behauior, she neuer had, nor exercised. Wherefoze when the Duke befoze his maryage, was by his counsaile admonished to refuse and forsake so innocent a crea- ture, he more moued with her fayze face, then her womanly wisdome an- swered: that it was ynough for a woman to iudge the difference be- twene the wyte and the doblet of her husbnde, and to knowe him in the darke from another man.

For these mariages, king James demaunded of his commons a great subsidie or tallage, which was sore grudged at, and in maner denied: so that he maried them with fayze promises, and ayde and succour agaynst the Eng- lish men, rather then with bagges of money, or Chestes of Plate. Thys fozein alliaunce little profited or auayled the realme of Scotland, nor this newe amitie defended not king James: for Walter Steward Erle of Athole, which pretended a tytle to the crowne, by reason that he was begot- ten of king Robert the second, by his first wyfe, and by whose occasion, Ro- bert Duke of Albany, murdered David Duke of Rothsay, elder brother to thys king James (as in the story of king Henry the fourth, you haue heard declared) after the coronation of king James the first in Scotland, earnest- ly sollicitated him to put to death Duke Murdoch, and all the offspring of Robert first Duke of Albany, trustyng that after he had destroyed that lyne (which was a stop in his way) to inuent some meane how to destroy the king and his children, and so to obteyne the Crowne and preheminance of the Realme. Wherefoze he perswaded Robert Steward his Nephew, & Robert Craime

See. i.

hys



James king  
of Scottes  
murdered in  
his Chamber

hys Colyn, and diuers other, to murder and slay the king their soueraigne Lozde, which thereto by deuillish instigation incensed and procured, came to the towne of Bertho (commonly called S. Johns towne) and there entered into the kings priuie chamber, and slue first diuers of hys seruauntes, which made resistance, and after kylled the king with many mortall strokes, and hurt the Quene, which in defense of her husband felled one of the Traytors. When this vngacious deede was blown about the towne, the people rose in great plumpes, and found out the princequellers, and them brought to straight prison, which afterward (according to their deserts) were with most terrible torments put to death and executed.

After James the first, succeeded James the seconde, his eldest sonne, which fearing sedicion and ciuile disoord, beyed moze his awne nation, then the Englishe people did.

The Castell  
of Tanker-  
wile taken.

Nowe leauyng Scotland, let vs returne to the businesse of Fraunce. Whiles the Scottes were compassyng how to destroy their king: the Lozde Calbot with a great companie layd siege to the Castell of Tankerwile, which after four monethes was to him simplie rendred and geuen by. This towne was no great gaine to the Englishe men: for in the meane season the French king in his awne person besieged the strong towne of Monstreu Faulzion, whereof Thomas Gerard was Captein: which moze for desyre of rewarde, then for feare of enemies, solde the towne to the French king, and had of him great giftes, and good chere, which afterwarde was well knowen, to hys shame & reproch. This towne had bene reskued oz the French king foughten withall, if one chaunce had not happened: For the Duke of Porke was discharged of his office of Regent, and the Erle of Warwike preferred to the same, so that the Duke of Porke liyng at Roan, would haue gladly rescued the towne, if his aucthoritie had not succeeded, and the Erle could not, for the winde was so clene contrary to him, that he & his armie tarped for the winde aboue ten weekes. And so betwene the discharge of the one, and the charge of the other, this Towne of Monstreu, was deliuered and solde.

The Erle of  
Warwike  
made Regent  
of Fraunce.

A parliament

This present yere was a Parliament kept at Westminster, in the which were diuers notable conclusions ordeyned and taken, aswell for the preservation of peace and con corde at home, as for the maintenance of warre, and hostilitie in outward regions: in the which Parliament, (who so will loke on the actes) shall perceyue that one act made, for buyng and sellyng by straungers, was profitable for the publike wealth of this realme, if it were well kept (as a fewe good actes oz none be, eyther by the negligence of the gouernours, oz by the insolencie and lewdnesse of the people.)

Nowe must we speake somewhat of Charles the French king: which after he had gayned againe the Citie of Paris, and diuerse other townes, was so puffed by with pride, that he thought it but a trifle to conquire Normandie, and expulse all the Englishe nation out of his Countries and seignories. Wherefore he sent Arthure of Briteyne Constable of Fraunce, and John Duke of Alanson, into Normandie with a great army, which besieged the towne of Aranches, standyng bpon the knop of an hill, nere to the Britishe sea, both well walled and well manned. While they lay there long, little gettyng and much spendyng, the Lozde Calbot with a balaunt companie of men approched nere the French men, and encamped themselves in the face

of

of their enemies, to prouoke and intice them to battaile and fight. The french men refusyng this offer, kept themselves within their trenches, dayly fortifyng and reparyng their Campe. The Englichemen perceiuyng their doynges, remoued their armie halfe a Mile farther, geuyng their enemyes rowne to issue out and to fight, but all this little auayled: for the Frenchmen lay still and stirred not. The Lozde Calbot seyng their faint heartes, raysed his field, and in the open sight of them all, entred into the towne, and the next day issued out, and found the french men ridyng abroad, to destroy the plain Countre, whom he enuironed, bet, and discomfited, slayeng many, and takyng diuerse prisoners.

This yere, sayth Cooper, all the Lions in the Towre of London dyed, which before had liued there a long tyme.

On the sixt day of Nouember this present yere, the Erle of Warwike as Regent of Fraunce, passed the sea, after he had bene seuen times shipped and unshipped, and landed at Humblew, with a thousand freshe Souldiers, and came to Roan, and then the Duke of Porke returned into England, neyther wholly pleased, nor half content. For he secretly smelled, that some men priuily dispeyned his aduancement, and enuied his promotion: yet (like a wise man) he kept his tongue close, whatsoener his heart thought. Betwene the chaunge of these two Capteines, the Duke of Burgoyne (which soze enuied the glozy of the Englishe men) besieged the Castell of Croitoy with ten thousand men and mo, haryng with him great plentie of Goonnes, and goodly ordenaunce. The Erle of Warwike hearyng of this feate, sent the Lozde Calbot, the Lozde Fauconbridge, sir Thomas Kiriell, sir John Mountgomery, Thomas Limbrike, Thomas Chandos, Dauid Hall, & diuers other knightes and squiers, and many tall yomen, to the number of fiue thousand men, which passed the riuer of Some, besyde the towne of S. Walery: for the passage of Blaunche Taque was very dangerous to go throug, because the Duke of Burgoyne had layd there ordinaunce, and other engines, to let, trouble, and stoppe the Englichemen to go ouer at that foord. And yet, where the Lozde Calbot passed, his men went in the water by to the Chinne, so glad were the men to rescue their felowes. When the Duke of Burgoyne was informed of the approachyng of the Lozde Calbot and other, he with all his power sayng foure which were left in a Bastile, by him there newly buyded, fled to Abbeuile, which Bastile was sone gayned, and the men within eyther slain oz taken.

After this towne receyued, the Lozde Calbot sent worde to the Duke of Burgoyne, that he would vtterly waste and destroy the Countre of Picardie, except he (like a valiant Prince) would geue him battaile. And accordyng to his promise, he bent townes, spoyled, and slue many people in Picardie, but for all his doynges, the Duke would not appere, but stole away from Abbeuile, & fled to Amias. So the Lozde Calbot was. xx. dayes full in the Countries of Picardie, and Arthoyse, destroyng and brennyng all that they could see oz come to, and after departed. And in the meane season, Sir Thomas Kiriell had gotten all the Dukes cariages, and ordenaunce, and left as much vittaille in the towne of Croitoy, as would serue sixe hundred men a whole yere, and conueyed the remnant in safetie to the Erle of Warwike, which not onely receyued the Capteynes with good semblaunce, and louyng chere, but also highly magnified their actes, and much prayed they

See. ij.

hardy.

1437  
16



hardynesse.

After this enterprize atchieued, Henry Erle of Mortaine, sonne to Edmond Duke of Sommerfet, arriued at Chierburgh with foure hundreth archers, and thre hundreth speares, and passed through Normandie, till he came into the Countie of Mayne, where he besieged a Castell, called Saint Anjan, in the which were thre hundreth Scottes, besyde French men. This Castell he tooke by a strong assault, and slue all the Scottes, and hanged the Frenchmen, because they were once swozne Englishe, and after brake theyr othe: and after he gat also another Castell, two miles from Saint Julians, called Aegerche, which was shortly after recouered, and the Lord Camenis which came to the rescue of the same, in the meane way was trapped and taken. Thus the victorie flowed sometye on the one part, and sometye on the other, but the treason of the Frenchemen farre surmounted in getting, both the polley & strength of the English Capteynes: for by the vntruth and falshode of the very Burgesles and inhabitautes of the towne, of Meaux in Brie, and Saint Susanne, the same yere were solde and deliuered to the French part in the ende of this. xvi. yere.

This yere king Henry caused a solempne obite and terrement to be kept within Paules Church of London, for Sigismond the Emperour, who also was knight of the Garter.

This yere happened many vntemperate stormes, whereof rose suche a skarcitie, that wheate was solde at thre shillynges foure pence the Bushell, wine at. xij. pence the Gallon, Bay salt at. xiiij. pence the Bushell, and maull at. xiiij. shillynges foure pence the quarter, and all other graynes were sold of an excessive price, aboue the olde custome.

In the Moneth of June, the Erle of Hunteyngton (as Steuarde of Guyen) with two thousand Archers, and foure hundreth speares, was sent into Gascoyn, as a supplement to the Countrie, and the Comons of the same. For the king of England and his counsaile, were enformed that the Erle of Dumoys, lay on the frontiers of Tholose, secretly by rewarde and fayre promises, entisyng and prouokynge diuers towne in Guien to become french and leaue the Englishe nacion. Wherefore, this Erle (like a pollitike warrior) altered not onely the Capteynes in euery towne and Citie, but also remoued the Magistrates, and chaunged the officers, from towne to towne, and from rowne to rowne, so that by this meanes at that tyme, the Erle of Dumoys lost both trauaile and cost. In the same moneth also, Sir Richard Wooduile, Sir William Chamberlain, Sir William Deyto, and Sir William Storie, with a thousand men, were sent to stiffe the towne in Normandie, which surely at that tyme had thereof great neede: for the Englishe Capteynes had small confidence in the Normans, and not to much in some of their awne Nation. For that harlot bribery, and her felow couetousnesse, ran so fast abroad with french Crownes, that bnneth any creature, (without an especiall grace) could holde either hand close, or purse shut, such a strong percer is monie, and such a gredie glotton is auarice. You haue heard before, howe that king Charles heart by getting of Paris, was set vpon a merie Minne, and thought dayly that all thinges more and more, would both apply to his vurpose, and solob his appetite. Which inuented imaginacion, sodainly both deceyued him, and also abated his haute courage & proude stomacke.

fo:

For sodainly there arose a straunge storme, and a quick pitie, so mischicuous and so pernicious, that nothing more execrable, or more to be abhorred, could happen in any christian Region. Which sedicious tempest, if wise counsaile had not with all speede repressed, no doubt, but king Charles, and the whole publike welth of Fraunce, had bene turned by, and clene ouerthrowne. For Lewes Dolphyn of Vien, and heye apparant to king Charles, a yong prince of a froward stomacke and euill condicions, despyng libertie, and to be out of ward and rule, with such as were of his nature and condicions, began to conspire agaynst his father, and souereigne Lord. The chiefe of this vngacious faction with him, were John Duke of Alanson, and John Duke of Burbon. These confederates gathered together a great power, and the Dolphyn tooke vpon him, the rule and gouernaunce of the Realme orderynge causes, not in his fathers name, nor by his aucthoritie, but after his awne will, affection, and phantasie. When king Charles his father, had knowlege of this vnnaturall disobedience, and insolent & proude doyngs, he was (and no maruaile) greatly moued with this sodaine commocion: thinkyng himselfe borne, and predestinate to trouble, remembryng that it was no small thing, in his awne Countrey so many yeres, both with straungers, and with his awne Nation, to fight and strue for rule and dignitie, but nowe to be constrained to contend and make warre with his awne sonne, for the Crowne and Regiment of his realme and Dominion. Yet these thinges did not bring him, beyng a man of great wit and counsaile, dayly troubled and vnguided with calamities and displeasures, into vtter dyspayre, or extreme wanhope: but like a pollitike prince, determinyng to withstand and resist the smoke at the beginnyng, befoze the fyze and flame brast out abroad, called together all such as he had eyther in great confidence, or especiall fauour, communicating to them all his inward thoughts and priuie purposes. After long consultation had, it was agreed by the most part, that this fyze was more mete to be cured by polletique and wittie handlyng, rather then by force, and dent of sworde. Wherefore, letters were written, and postes were sent to euery Citie and Borough, straightly prohibityng all and singuler persons, either to heere, or obey, any precept or commaundement, set forth or published by the Dolphyn himselfe, or by other, or in his name, and all offences done in that confederacie, were by open proclamation freely forgoen and remitted. And besyde this, diuerse graue and sage persons, were sent to the Dolphyn, and his alies, to common and conclude a peace, and reconciliation betweene the french king and them, declaryng to them, that their ciuile warre, and inward dissencio, was the very meane to cause their enemies, vtterly to plague and destroy their native Country, which was almost desolate, & brought into subiection, by the continuall practised war befoze. By which meanes and persuasions, the knot of this sedicious faction, was losed and dissolved: and the king with his sonne, and other confederates, openly agreed and apparantly pacified. And so the spring of these mischicuous sect, was stopped and repulsed, or the flood had any thing encreased, or flowen farther.

The English men (which euer sought their aduantage) heying of this domesticall diuision in the realme of Fraunce, rayfed an army, and recouered againe diuers towne, which were stollen from them befoze by the french nation: and made great prouision to recouer againe the Citie of Paris, but

See. iij.

when

Lewes Dolphyn of Vien conspired against king Charles the french king byng his father.

1438  
17Two thousand  
companionz.



when they heard that the Dolphyn was returned againe to his father, and that all his States were ioynded with the French king, they left of from that enterprise, and reuoked their purpose.

The conduyt  
in Fleetstreet.

This yere the Conduyt in Fleetstreet in London was begon to be builded by Sir William Cestfield knight, and late Mayor of London, and the same was finished at his costes and charges, without any charge of the Citie, by the handes of his executors.

1439

18

The Eng-  
lish men take  
Donthoyle.

In the Month of Nouember this present yere, there was such a great frost, and after that so deepe a snowe, that all the ground was couered with white, and al the diches hardened and frosen, which weather put the English men in comfort to recouer againe the towne of Donthoyle, by the French king gotten before, by corrupting with money diuers Burgeses of the towne. Wherefore the Englishmen being clothed all in white, with John Lorde Cliforde their Capitaine, came in the night to the diches, and passed them without daunger, by reason of the frost, and sodaynely scaled the walles, slue the watche, and tooke the towne with many profitable prisoners. When this towne was thus gotten, Lorde Richard Beauchampe Erle of Warwike and Regent of Fraunce, died in the Castell of Roan, and was conueied into England, and with solempne ceremonies was buryed in his College of Warwike, in a very solempne and sumptuous Sepulture.

The death of  
the Erle of  
Warwike  
Regent of  
Fraunce.

Then was the Duke of Yorke agayne made Regent of Fraunce, which accompanied with the Erle of Orforde, the Lorde Burchier, called the Erle of Ewe, Sir James of Ormond, the Lorde Clinton, and dyuers other Noble men, sayled into Normandy: Before whose arryual, the French king beyng sore greued with the taking of the towne of Donthoyle, assembled a great army, and besieged the sayde towne himselfe, and made rounde about it Bastiles, Trenches, and diches, and daylie shot ordynance, and gaue thereunto dyuers great and fierce assautes. But John Lord Clifford, lyke a valyaunt Capitayne defended the towne with such valyauntnesse, that the French men rather losse then gayned. The Duke of Yorke at his landing, hauing true knowledge of this siege, sent for the Lorde Talbot, and a great number of souldiours, and so came nere to the towne of Donthoyle, and there encamped himselfe, and sent worde to the French king, that he was there, readie to geue him battayle, if he would come out of his Campe and Bastiles. King Charles was ruled by his counsaile, which in no wise would suffer him to aduenture his person, with men of so lowe and base degree: bydding him to remember, what losses he and hys auncesters had suffered, by geuing to the English men battayle: which thing they principally desire, wylling him to keepe his ground still, and to bid them enter at their perill, and in the meane season, to stop the passage of the Riuer of Oyse, so that no byttayle could be brought to the English armie by that waye, by which meanes he should not onely obtaine his purpose, but also cause the English men to recule back againe, for lack of bittayle and succours. The Duke of Yorke perceyuing that the French king was nothing minded to fight, determined to passe ouer the ryuer of Oyse, and so to fight with him in his lodging, whereupon he remoued his Campe, and appointed the Lord Talbot and other, to make a countenance as they would passe the Riuer by force at the gate of Beaumont, and appointed another company with boates of

Donthoyle  
besieged by  
the French  
king.

of timber and leather, and bridges made of cordes and ropes (whereof he had great plentie, caried with him in Chariottes to passe ouer the ryuer bene the Abbay. While the Lord Talbot made a cry, as though they would assaile the gate, certaine English men passed the water ouer in boates, and drew the bridge ouer, so that a great number were come ouer, or the French men them espied. When they sawe the chaunce, they ran lyke mad men, to stop the passage, but their labour was lost, and all their paine to no purpose: for the most parte of the English people were sodainely transported, in so much that they chased their enemies by fine force into the towne agayne, and tooke Sir Guiliam de Chastell, Nephew to the Lorde Cantebury, and dyuers other gentlemen prisoners. The French men seying their damage irreuerable, returned to the French king, accompting to hym their euill chaunce and vnlucky fortune, which therewith was not a little displeasaut: and well perceyuing, that if he taried the coming of the English men he was like to be eyther in great reuerdy, or sure to sustayne much dishonor and great damage. Wherefore he remoued his ordynance into the Bastile of Saint Martyne, which he had newly made, and leaueing behinde him the Lorde of Cotigny, Admirall of Fraunce, with three thousand men to keepe the Bastiles, dislodged in the night from Maubuysson and came to Poyse: for if he had taried still in that place, the Lorde Talbot with certaine of his trustie souldiours, which passed the riuer of Oyse in two small leather boates had eyther slayne or taken him in his lodging the same night. The English men the next daye in good order of battayle, came before the towne of Donthoyle, thinking there to haue found the French king, but he was gone, and in his lodging they founde great ryches, and muche stuffe, which he could not haue space to conuey for feare of sodaine inuasion. Then the Duke of Yorke with his company entered into the towne, and sent for newe bittayle, and repayred the towres and bulwarkes about the towne, and dyuers times assailed the Bastile of the French men, of the which he passed not greatly because they were not of power, eyther to assault, or stop the bittayles or succours from the towne. The Duke being thus in the towne of Donthoyle, was aduertised that the French king and the Dolphyn with all the Nobilitie of Fraunce, were lodged in Poyse, wherefore he intending once agayne to offer hym battayle, left behinde him there for Capitayne, Sir Seruays Clifton, with a thousand souldiours, and remoued his armie, and came before Poyse, and set himselfe and his men in good order of battayle, readie to fight. There issued out diuers gentlemen, to skirmish with the English men, but they were sone discomfited, and foure valyaunt horsemen were taken prisoners, and dyuers slayne. The English men perceyuing the faynt hartes, and colde courage of their enemies, which nothing lesse desired, then to encounter wyth the English nation in open field, dislodged from Poyse, and came to Mant, and sone after to Roan.

When the Regent and the Lorde Talbot, were returned agayne into Normandy, the French king (for all his euill luck) forgot not the towne of Donthoyle, and first he considered what charges he had susteyned, both during the time of the siege, and also in making Bastiles, trenches, and other deuises: and after remembered, that his people, and especially the Parisians (to whome this towne was an euill neighbor) would rayle and say, that he was



Donthops  
agayne reco-  
uered by the  
French king.

was not able, or lacked courage to get so small a towne, or to discomfite halie a handfull of armed people. Wherefore these things set in order, he assembled all his puyssaunce, and returned sodainely againe to Donthoise: where he first by assault gat the Church, and after the whole towne, and tooke the Capitaine prisoner, and diuers other Englishe men, and slue to the number of foure hundred, which deerevely solde their lyfes: for one French wypter affirmed, that the French king lost there three thousand men and mo, and the whole garrison of the Englishe men, was onely a thousand: so they garded the towne, but they gat no great bootie of men. When the fame of thys victorie was blowne abroad, the hartes of the townes men wared faynt, in so muche that Melune, Cozbuell, Eureux, and diuers other townes, yeelded and turned at a prowde crake, or a French bragge, without stroke striken, or any blowe geuen.

After these hote rages, the weather beganne to waxe more temperate, for king Henry, and king Charles were agreed to send Ambassadors to common and treat some good peace and conclusion betweene them and their realmes. So the king of Englande sent the Cardinall of Winchester, with diuers other noble personages of his counsaile to Calice, with whome was also sent Charles Duke of Orleans, yet prisoner in Englande, to the intent that he might be both the authoꝝ of the peace, and procurer of his deliuerance. The French king sent the Archebishop of Reyns, and the Erle of Dumnoys: and the Duke of Burgoyne, sent the Lorde Creuecier, and diuers other, because that the Duke of Orleans was passed the sea with the English Ambassadors, they would meete in none other place to common, but in Calice. The French Ambassadors perceyuing their mind, came to Calice, where the Duke of Orleans, gently receyued the Erle of Dumnoys (his Bastard brother) thanking him hartely for his paine taken, in gouerning his countrey, during the time of his captivity and absence. Diuers communications were had, as well for the deliuerance of the Duke, as for a finall peace: in so much, that after much consultancy and little doing, another tyme was appointed for a newe assembly, and euery parte to declare to their soueraigne, the request and desire of the other. So these Ambassadors tooke their leaue and departed, and the Englishe commissioners comeyed agayne the Duke of Orleans into England, which had nothing then to pay hys ransome, and yet he could not be deliuered without payment. The cause why these commissioners did not agree, was (as the French writers saye) that the Englishe men demaunded, not onely to haue and possesse peaceably the two Duchies of Aquitayne and Normandy, to their kinges and princes discharged of all resort, superioritie, and souereigntie, frankly and freely, agaynst the realme of Fraunce, the kinges and Gouvernoꝝ of the same for euer: but also required to be restored to all the townes, Cities, and possessions, which they, within thirtie yeres next before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of Fraunce. The English men thought that they demaunded but right and reason: and the French men, thought their request to be most hurtfull to their realme, and auncient glorie. So both parties, rather minding to gayne or saue, then to lose, departed for that time (as you haue heard). After which diet prozaged for a time, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, partly moued in conscience, to make some amendes and recompence to Charles

Charles Duke of Orleans (then being prisoner in England) for the death of Duke Lewes his father) whome Duke John father to this Duke Philip, shamefully slue, and cruelly murdered in the Citie of Paris) as in the time of king Henry the fourth, is plainly mencioned (and partly intending the aduancement of his niece, Lady Marie daughter to Adolph Duke of Cleue, by the which aliaunce, he trusted surely to knit suche a firme knot, and friendly amitie with the Duke of Orleans, that all olde rancor should cease, and all discord should be forgotten: and in their places concord should be stablished, and perpetuall loue embraced) sent messengers into England, to the sayde Duke, declaring to him his good will, deuise and entent. The which proffer he not onely accepted, but also was most ioyfull thereof. And as some wypters affirme, the sayde Duke of Burgoyne payde for his ransome and deliuerance foure hundred thousand crownes, but other say three C. M. and so he was deliuered out of Englande into Fraunce at that time, both speaking better Englishe then French, and also swearing, neuer to beare armoz agaynst the king of England. After his arrivall in Fraunce, he came to the Duke of Burgoyne his speciall friend, gratifying and thanking him of his libertie and deliuerance: and according to his promise and convention, he maryed the sayre Lady Mary in the towne of S. Omers, on whom he begat a sonne, which after was French king, and called Lewes the xij. After his deliuerance from captiuitie he forgat not hys Uncle John Erle of Angolesme, which had bene as a pledge in Englande for the debt of Duke Lewes of Orleans his father, sithe the last yere of king Henry the fourth (as in his storie is declared): but made friends, borrowed money, and morgaged land, and so set him at libertie, and brought him into his Countrey: This John engendered Charles, father to Fraunces, the first of that name, which after the death of Lewes the. xij. obeyned the crowne of Fraunce.

Here is to be noted, that olde rancor newly appeased, will commonly spring out agayne: for although the vnhappie diuision, betwene the two noble families of Orleans and Burgoyne, were by this great benefite and marriage, for a time geuen ouer and put in oblivion, and so continued by the space of twentie yeres and moze, yet their children and Cosyns, within few yeres after, fell so farre at square, that the house of Burgoyne was spoyled of the sayrest flower of his garlande, as you shall here afterwarde at large declared, and in especiall in the time of king Fraunces the first, the very heire of the house of Orleans, which not onely continually vexed with mortall warre, Charles the fift, Emperoz of that name, lineall successour to Philip Duke of Burgoyne: but also did as much as in him lay, to depriue the sayde Charles of his honoz and possessions (as men wytyng their lyues, will hereafter declare.)

In the beginning of this. xix. yere, Richard Duke of Yorke Regent of Fraunce, and gouernoz of Normandie, remembryng the great charge, and waightie office to him deliuered and committed, determined (after long consultation) to invade the territories of his enemies, both by sundrie armies, and in diuers places, to the entent that the French people beyng vexed within their awne Countrey and peculiar Dominion, should make no rodes nor enterpynges into the Duchie of Normandie, the returnyng whereof, was somewhat suspicious. This deuise for that season, semed both profitable and

The deliuerance  
of the  
Duke of Orleans,  
who  
had bene long  
prisoner in  
England.



necessarie, wherefore, without long delayng of time, he sent Robert Lorde Willoughby, with a great crue of souldiers, to inuade and destroy the Countrie about Anias, and John Lorde Talbot, was appoynted to besiege the towne of Depe, and he himselfe, accompanied with Edmond Duke of Somerset, set forward into the Duchie of Aniou. The Lorde Willoughby, accordyng to his commission, entered into the Countrie to him appoynted, and to the entent that his trauaile should not be espyed nor knowen, he straightly forbade and inhibited all maner of fire and burnyng of townes, which is the most open and plaine token of warre and inuasion. By reason whereof the poore paystantes and rusticall people goyng abroade without feare or suspicion of euill, were ouerronne or taken with the horsmen, or they could attaine to any towne, or forcelet: so that innumerable people were slaine, and taken, or they heard any tidynges of their enemies approchyng. The French men in the garrisons adioyning, astoried at the clamor and crie of the poore people, issued out in good order, and manfully set on their enemies. The fight was sore, and the victorie long and doubtfull: But in conclusion, the French men seeyng their people in the forefront of the battaile, to be killed without mercie, like men desperate turned their backs and fearefully fled, the Englishe men folowed, and slue many in the chase, and such as escaped the sworde were robbed and spoyled, by Lewes Erle of Saint Paule, which was comyng to ayde the Englishe nation. In this conflict were slaine, aboue five hundred men of armes, and a greater number taken: so the Lord Willoughby, like a victorious Captein, with riche spoyle and good prisoners, returned againe to the Citie of Roan. The Dukes of Yorke and Sommer set, likewise entered into the Duchie of Aniou, and Countie of Mayne, destroyng townes, spoilyng the people, and with great pray and profite, repayed againe into Normandie. The Duke of Sommer set, not filled with this gayne, entered into the Marches of Briteyn, and tooke by a fierce assault, the towne of Serche, apperteyning to the Duke of Maunson, and spoyled and brent the same, and after that, departed to Donzay, where he sojourned two monethes, from whence he sent daily men of warre, which destroyed and wasted the Countreys of Aniou, Craonnys and Chatragonnoyes.

The French king in all hast, sent the Marshall of Loyache, with foure thousand men, to resist the inuasions of the Duke of Sommer set, which Capteyne determined to set on the Duke and his people, in the dead tyme of the night. This enterprize was not so secrete, but it was reueled to the Duke, which marched forward, and met the French men halfe way, and after long fight, by fine force they were manfully discomfited, and they slue a hundredth persones and mo, and tooke captiues. Ixij. whereof the chiefe were the Lord Dausigny, Sir Lewes de Buell, and all the other almost, were knightes and Esquiers. After this encounter, the Duke tooke the Towne of Beamothe Vicount, and manned all the fortresses on the frontiers of his enemies, and with riche bootyes, and welthie captiues came againe to the Duke of Yorke.

Durynge these fortunate chaunces and victories, the Lorde Talbot also, the vnwried Chieftain and manly warriour, environed the towne of Depe, with depe trenches, and great mountaynes, and did set by upon the Mount de Poulet, a strong and defensible Bastile, at which tyme was Capteyne of the same towne, Charles de Marez, a man of more force in battaile, then polletike

polletike in defence of a siege: for the Englishe men beyng a small number, had to them deliuered with fayre wordes, and faint strokes, the Castell of Charleinespyll, and diuerse other fortresses adioyning to the towne. Durynge the siege, many encounters were had, and many great assaultes geuen, the Englishe men sometime saued, and sometime gayned, but the most losse lighted on the Frenchmen for a while. But of thre Capteynes sent forth at one tyme (as you before hane heard) all cannot retorne with egall honour, and euen botie. For the Lord Talbot perceiuyng the towne of Depe, to be strongly defended, both with men, vitaille, and ordinaunce, and that he lacked all the sayde furnitures for the accomplishyng of his stout enterprize, deliuered the custodie of the Bastile, with the gouernaunce of the siege, to his Bastard sonne, a baleaunt yong man, and departed to Roan, for ayde, money, and munitions. The French king, was quickly aduertised of the Lord Talbots absence, and of the estate of the Englishe men: wherefore without delay, he meanyng not to lose so great a pray, sent his eldest sonne Lewes Dolphyn of Vien accompanied with the Bastard of Orleans, called the Erle of Dumoy, and diuerse other nobles of Fraunce, to the number of .xv. thousand persons, well armed, & no lesse garnished with all thinges necessary for theyr purpose. Thre dayes they assailed the Bastile, and so many times they were put back, but powder fayled in the fortresse, and weapon wherewith to defend, was very scant, so that in conclusion, the Englishe men were banquished, and the Bastile taken, and in it the Bastard Talbot, Sir William Peytow, and Sir John Repeley, which were shortly after redemed: The other Englich souldiers seeyng the Bastile gayned, stood all day in good order of battaile, and in the night polletikely returned to Roan, without losse or damage. At this assault, the French men say, that they slue two hundredth Englishe men, and denie not, but they lost five hundredth persones, and by this meanes, the one nacion lost the Bastile, and the other saued the towne, to the great displeasure of the Lorde Talbot.

While these thinges were a doynge, Phillip Duke of Burgoyne, hauyng an enuious heart, at the glory and fortunate successe of the Englishe people, intenyng to bereue them of one of their assured friendes, called Lewes of Lurenborough Erle of Saint Paule, made sharpe warre upon his Countreys, and tooke diuers townes and fortresses from him, so that in conclusion more for feare, then for loue, he vtterly refused his fayth and promise, made to the Duke of Bedford his brother in lawe, and turned to the Frenche part, and became a luke warme enemy to the realme of England. The losse of this friend and necessarie neighbour, not a little grieued king Henry and his counsaile: Howbeit they made such puruepaunce and prouision, by discrete counsaile, that if he of euill will, would do to them little good, yet he of malice should do to them no great hurt or damage.

The Englishe Capteynes beyng in Guyen, hauyng knowledge of the baleaunt doynge of their Countreimen in the realme of Fraunce, determined to do some notable and noble enterprize on the French coastes adioyning to Aquitain: and so they besieged the strong towne of Tartas, belongyng to the Lorde Delabreth, their olde and auncient enemy. The Capteynes and gouernours of the towne consideryng their weakenesse, and the force of the Englishe men, tooke this appoyntment with the Englishe Capteynes, that the

Lewes of  
Lurenbo-  
rough re-  
fused  
the Eng-  
lishe and re-  
turneth to  
the French.



the towne should remaine neuter, and for y<sup>e</sup> assurance therof, they deliuered Cadet the sonne of the Lord Delabzeth in pledge, vpon this condicion: that if the Lord Delabzeth would not assent to their agrement, then he should signifie his refusall, to the Englishe Capteynes, within thre monethes next ensuyng: and he to haue his pledge, and they to do their best. The frenche king, at the request of the Lordes of Guyen, which were not able to defende themselves, toke this matter in hande, and caused the Lord Delabzeth to certifie his disagreement to the Erle of Huntingdon, Lieutenant for the king of England, in the Duchie of Aquitaine. And to please the great Lordes of Guyen, he assembled. lx. thousand men, and came to Tholose, and so to Tartas: to whom the Chieftaynes of the towne, seying no succours comyng, rendered the towne, and Cadet Delabzeth, which was left there as a pledge, was deliuered, the french king after the yeldyng of Tartas, remoued to S. Seuer, a strong towne in Gascoyn, but smally peopled with men of warre, which he toke by force, and slue thre hundred persons, and toke Sir Thomas Rampstone prisoner. After this towne gayned, he with all his power besieged the Citie of Arques, and toke the Bulwarke of the same, which was smally defended, and sone gotten. The inhitauntes of the towne, began sore to be afrayed, and came to the Lorde Mountferrand, Capteine for the king of Englande, requiryng him to haue mercie vpon them, and to render the towne to the french king, vpon some honest couenant or composition. The Capteyne perceiuyng the faint heartes of the Gascoynes, and knowyng that without their ayde, he was not able to resist the puissance of the french king, toke an agrement, and departed with all the Englishe crue to Bourdeaux, where he found the Erle of Longuile, Capdab of Bueffe, and Sir Thomas Rampston, which was a little before deliuered.

After this, the fortresses of Rioll and Mermandie, yelded them to the french king. Although these townes thus submitted them to him, yet he had them not long, nor made much taryng in the Duchie of Guyen, for the Englishe men not onely prohibited the Gascoynes to minister to his armie bitaile, and sustenance, but also gat into their handes, and toke such bitailes as were conueyed to him from Tholose and Boyters: So that in maner constrained with famine and lacke of prouision, he retired his armie againe into Fraunce. After whose departure, the English Captaines recouered againe the Citie of Arques, and the other townes by the french king gayned, and tooke prisoner his Lieutenant, called Reignault Guillam the Burgenyon, and many other Gentlemen, and all the meane Souldiours, were eyther slaine or hanged.

While the french king was in Guyen, the Lorde Talbot toke the towne of Couchete, and after marched towarde Gapllardon, which was besieged by the Bastard of Orleans Erle of Dumoys: which Erle heeryng of the English mens approchyng, rayled his siege and saued himselfe. A little before this enterprize, the french men had taken the towne of Curreur, by treason of a fisher. Sir Fraunces Arragonoys heeryng of that chaunce, apparelled sixe strong men, like rusticall people with sackes and baskets, as carriers of cozne and bitaile, and sent them to the Castell of Coznill, in the which diuers English men were kept as prisoners: and he with an imbushment of Englishe men lay in a Ualey nie to the fortresse. These sixe Companions

nions entered into the Castell, unsuspected and not mistrusted, and straight came to the Chamber of the Capteyne, and layde handes vpon him, geuyng knowlege thereof to their imbushment, which sodainly entered the Castell, and slue and toke all the french men prisoners, and set at libertie all the Englishe men, which thing done, they set the Castell on fire; and departed with great spoyle to the Citie of Roan. Thus the Ladie victorie, sometime smiled on the Englishe part, and sometime on the french hyde. Thus one gayned this day, and lost on the next. Thus fortune chaunged, and thus chaunce hapned, accordyng to the olde prouerbe, sayng: in warre is nothing certayne, and victorie is euer doubtfull.

Nowe let vs leaue the Marciall feates, practised betwene the Englishe and french Nation, in the Region of Fraunce, and speake a little of a smoke that rose in England, which after grew to a great fire and terrible flaine, to the destruction of many a noble man. You haue heard before, howe the Duke of Gloucester sore grudged at the proude doynges of the Cardinall of Winchester, and howe the Cardinall likewise, sore enuied and disdayned at the rule of the Duke of Gloucester, and howe by the meanes of the Duke of Bedford, their malice was appeased, & eche was reconciled to other, in perfitt loue & amitie, to al mens outward iudgements. After which con corde made, the Cardinall and the Archebishop of York did many things without the consent of the king or the Duke, beyng (durynge the minoritye of the prince) gouernoz and protectoz of the realme, wherewith the Duke (like a true harted prince) was neyther content nor pleased: and so declared in wrytyng to the king, certein articles, wherein the Cardinall and the Archebishop had offended, which articles were here so long to reherse, and specially for that they were neyther regarded nor tooke any effect.

When the king had read the articles, he committed the hering thereof to his counsaile, whereof the most parte were spirituall persons, so what for feare, and what for fauour the matter was winked at, and dalyed out, and nothing sayde to it: & sayre countenance was made to the Duke, as though no displeasure had bene taken, nor no malice borne eyther in heart or in remembrance agaynst him. But benigne will once breake out, and inwarde grudge will sone appere, which was this yere to all men apparaunt: for diuers secret attempts were aduanced forward this season, agaynst the noble Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, a farre of, which in conclusion came so nere, that they bereft him both of lyfe and lande, as you shall hereafter moze manifestly perceyue. For first this yere, dame Elyanour Cobham, wyfe to the sayde Duke, was accused of treason, for that she by sorcerie and enchaunment, entended to destroy the king, to the entent to aduance and promote her husbände to the crowne: vpon thys she was examined in Saint Stephens Chapell, befoze the Bishop of Canterbury, and there by examination comict and iudged to doe open penance, in thre open places, within the Citie of London, and after that adiudged to perpetuall prison in the Isle of Man, vnder the keeping of Sir John Stanley knight. At the same season were arrested as ayders and counsayers to the sayde Duches, Thomas Southwell priest, and Chanon of saint Stephens in Westminster, John Hum priest, Roger Bolynbroke, a cunning Necromancier, and Margery Jourdayne, surnamed the Witch of Eye, to whose charge it was layde, that

1441  
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A new bar-  
ance betwene  
the Duke of  
Gloucster,  
and the Wy-  
shop of Win-  
chester.

Elyanour  
Cobham wyfe  
to the Duke  
of Gloucester

Margery  
Jourdayne the  
Witch of  
Eye.



they at the request of the Duches, had deuised an Image of ware, representing the king, which by their sozcery, a little and little consumed, entending thereby in conclusion to wast, and destroy the kings person, and so to bring him to death, for the which treason, they were adiudged to dye, and so Margery Joydayne was bzent in Smithfield, and Roger Wolynghbroke was drawen and quartered at Tyborne, taking vpon his death, that there was neuer any such thing by them imagined, John Hum had his pardō, and Southwell died in the towre before execution: the Duke of Gloucester toke all things patiently, and sayde little.

1442  
21

The counsaile of England, forgat not the late enterprize of the french king, done in the Duchie of Guen, wherefoze to fortifie the countrey, least he peradventure would attempt agayne a like tozney, they sent thether Syr William Wooduile, with eyght hundred men, to fortesie the frontiers, till a greater armie might be assembled: And farther made publique proclamation, that all men which would transport, or cary any cozne, cheese, or ether bittayle into the parties of Aquitayne, should pay no maner of custome or tallage, which lycence caused that countrey to be well furnished of all things necessarie and comenient. About this season, the king remembryng the balli-ant seruice, and noble actes of John Lozde Talbot, created him Erle of Shrewsburie, and with a company of thzee thousand men, sent him agayne into Normandie, for the better tuicion of the same, which neyther forgat his duetie, nor forslowed his businesse, but dayly labored and hourly studied, how to molest and dammage his enimies.

John Lozde  
Talbot crea-  
ted Erle of  
Shrewsbury

In thys yere dyed in Guyen, the Countesse of Comyng, to whome the French king, and also the Erle of Arminake pretended to be heire, in so much that the Erle entered into all the landes of the sayde Lady, as very inheritor to her of right, and toke homage of the people of the countrey. But to haue a Rowlande to resist an Oliuer: he sent solempne Ambassadors to the king of England, offering him his daughter in mariage, not onely promising him silver hilles, and golden Mountaynes with her, but also would be bound to deliuer into the king of Englands hands, all such Castels and townes, as he or his auncestors, deteyned from him, within the whole Duchy of Aquitayn or Guyen, eyther by conquest of his progenitors, or by gift or deliury of any french king: offering farther to ayde the same king from him and his auncesters, by the french kings progenitors, the Lozde de Albret, and other Lordes of Gascoyne, vniuersly kept and wrongfully withholden. Thys offer seemed both profitable, and honorable to King Henry and his realme, and so the Ambassadors, were both well heard, and louingly entertayned, and in conclusion, with a gentle aunswere (not without great rewardes) they departed into their countrey: after whome were sent for the conclusion of the sayde mariage into Guyen, Sir Edward Hulle, Syr Robert Roos, and doctor John Grafton Deane of Saint Seuerines with an honorable company, which (as all Englishe Cronographers affirme) both concluded the mariage, & by prorie affied the yong Lady. The french king was not ignorant of all these conclusions, wherefoze he disdeyning that the Erle of Arminack, should both vsurpe agaynst him the Countie of Comyng, and also ioyne himselfe with his mortall enemye the king of England: Core-

court

coner his right, and to punish his rebell, he sent Lewes his eldest sonne Dolphyn of Wyen, into Couergne with a puissaunt army, which sodainely tooke the Erle of Arminack at the Ile in Joydayne, and his yongest sonne, and both his daughters, and by force obteyned the Countries of Arminack, Louerigne, Rouerigne and Houlleston, beside the Cities of Seuerac and Cadenac, and chased the Bastard of Arminack out of his Countrey, and constituted gouernour of all those seigniozies, Sir Theobald de Walpergne, Bailif of Lyon. So by reason of this infortunate chaunce, the mariage concluded was differred, yea, and so long differred, that it neuer tooke effect, as you shall heare moze playnely declared.

This yere the Steple of Paules Church in London, was set on fyze by lightning, and lastly quenched by the great labour of many.

Thus while England was vniquieted, and fraunce sore bered, by spoile slaughter and burning, all christendome lamented the continuall destruction of so noble a realme, and the effusion of so much christian bloud, wherfoze to appease the mortall warre, so long continuing betwene these two puissaunt kings, all the princes of christendome so much labored and trauiayled, by their Oratozs and Ambassadors, that the frostie hartes of both the parties were somewhat mollified, and their indurate stomacks greatly allwaged. So there was a great diet appointed, to be kept at the Citie of Tours in Courayne, where for the king of England appered, William de la Pole Erle of Suffolke, Doctor Adame Wolyns, keeper of the kings priuie seale, and Robert Lozde Roos, and diuers other: And for the french king were appointed, Charles Duke of Orleans, Lewes de Bourbon Erle of Wandoline, and great Master of the french kings household, Sir Diers de Bressell Stewarde of Doyton, and Bartram Beauriau, Lozde of Bricigny. There were also sent thether, Ambassadors from the Empire, from Spaine from Denmarke, and from Hungary, to be Mediators betwene these two princes. The assemble was great, but the cost was much greater, in so much that euery parte for the honoz of their prince, and praise of their countrey, set forth themselves, as well in fare, as apparell, to the bittermost point and highest prick. Many meetings were had, and many things moued to come to a finall peace, and mutuall concozde. But in conclusion, for many doubtles and great ambiguities, which rose on both parties, a finall concozde could not be agreed, but in hope to come to a peace, a certaine truce as well by sea as by lande was concluded by the commissioners for. xviii. monethes, which afterwarde agayne was prolonged to the yere of oure Lozde. 1449. if in the meane season it had not beene violated and broken, as hereafter shall be declared.

In the treating of thys truce, the Erle of Suffolke, extending his commission to the bittermost, without assent of his associates, imagened in hys phantasie, that the next way to come to a perfite peace, was to moue some mariage betwene the french kings kinswoman, and king Henry his soueraigne: and because the french king had no daughter of ripe age, to be coupled in matrimonie with the king his master, he desired to haue the Lady Margaret, Cosyn to the french king, and daughter to Reyner Duke of Aniuw, callyng himselfe King of Sicile, Naples, and Jerusalem, hauing onely the name and style of the same, without any peny profite, or foote of

ff. ij.

posse-

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A truce for  
xviii. monethes.



possession. This mariage was made strange to the Erle a good space, in so much that he repented him of the first mocion, but yet lyke a bolde man, entending not to take a foyle in so great a matter, ceased not still daylie to sollicite and aduance forward his cause. The wily french men perceyuing the ardent affection of the Erle, towarde the conclusion of the mariage, declared to him that this mariage was not like to come to conclusion, as he desired, because the king his Master, occupied a great parte of the Duchie of Anio, and the Citie of Mauns, and the whole Countey of Mayne, apperteyning (as they sayde) to king Reyner, father to the damosell.

The Erle of Suffolke (I can not say) eyther corrupted with bribes, or to much affectionate to this vnprofitable mariage, condiscended and agreed to their mocion, that the Duchie of Anio, and the Countie of Mayne, should be released and deliuered to the king her father, demanding for her mariage neyther penny nor farthing (as who would say) that this newe affinitie excelled ryches, and surmounted Golde and precious stone. And to the entent that of this truce, might ensue a finall concozd, a day of enteruene or meeting was appointed betwene the two kinges, in a place conuenient, betwene Chartres and Roan. When these things were concluded, the Erle of Suffolke with his company, thinking to haue brought ioyfull tydings, to the whole realme of England, departed from Coures, and so by long iorneyes arrived at Douer, and came to the king at Westminster, and there openly before the king and his counsaile, declared how he had taken an honorable truce, for the safegarde of Normandy, and the  $\text{xx}$  of the realme, out of which truce, he thought, yea, and doubted not, but a perpetuall peace, and a finall concozde should shortly proceede and growe out. And much the sooner, for that honorable mariage, that inuincible alliaunce, that godly affinitie, which he had concluded: omittynge nothing, which might extoll and set forth the personage of the Ladie, not forgetting any thing of the nobilitie of her kinne, nor of her fathers high stile: as who would say, that she was of suche an excellent betotie, and of so high a parentage, that almost no king or Emperour was worthe to be her make. Although this mariage pleased well the king, and dyuers of his counsaile, and especially such as were adherents, and fautors to the Erle of Suffolke, yet Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the realme, repugned and resisted as much as in him lay, this newe alliaunce and contriued matrimonie: alleging that it was neyther consonant to the lawe of God nor man, nor honorable to a prince, to infringe and brcake a promise or contract, by him made and concluded, for the vtilitie and profite of his realme and people, declaring that the king by his Ambassadors sufficiently instructed and authorized, had concluded and contracted a mariage betwene his highnes, and the daughter of the Erle of Arminack, vpon conditions both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable. Which offers and conditions, the sayde Erle sithe his coming out of his captiuitie & thraldome is redy to yelde and performe, sayng: that it was more conuenient for a Prince, to mary a wyfe with ryches and friends, then to take a make with nothing, and disherite himselfe and his realme of olde rightes and auncient seignories. The Duke was not heard, but the Erles doings were condiscended vnto & allowed. Which fact engendered such a flame, that it neuer went out, till bothe the parties with many other

other were consumed and slayne, to the great vnquietnesse of the king and his realme. And for the performance of these conclusions, the French king sent the Erle of Wandosme, great master of his house, and the Archebysshop of Reyns, the first peere of Fraunce, and dyuers other into England, which were ioyously receyued, and friendly enterteined. Which Ambassadors, after instruments on both parties, sealed and deliuered (not burrewarded) returned into their Countrey. When these things were thus done, the king both for the honour of his Realme, and to assure to himselfe more speciall friendes, he created Lorde John Holland Erle of Huntynghdon, Duke of Excester, as his father was, and Humfrey Erle of Stafford, was made Duke of Buckingham, and Henry Erle of Warwike, was erected to the tittle of Duke of Warwike, and the Erle of Suffolke, made Marques of Suffolke, which Marques with his wife, and many honorable personages of men and women richely adorned, both with apparell and Jewels, hauing with them many costly Chariots, and gorgeous horselitters, sayled into Fraunce, for the conueyaunce of the nominated Quene, into the realme of England. For king Reyner her father, for all his long stile, had to thort a purse, to send his daughter honorably to the king her spouse.

This noble company came to the Citie of Coures in Courayne, where they were honorably receyued, both of the French king, and of the king of Sicile. Where the Marques of Suffolke, as procurator to king Henry, espoused the sayde Lady, in the Church of saint Martins. At which mariage were present, the father and mother of the bride, the French king himselfe, which was Uncle to the husbände, and the French Quene also, which was Aunte to the wyfe. There were also the Dukes of Orleans, of Calaber, of Maunson, and of Britayne, seauen Erles. xij. Barons. xx. Bishops, beside knightes and gentlemen. There were triumphaunt Justes, costly feastes, and delicate banquets: but all pleasure hath an ende, and euery ioye is not continuall. So that after these high solempnities finished, and these honorable ceremonies ended, the Marques had the Lady Margaret to him deliuered, which in great estate, he conueyed through Normandy to Deepe, and so transported her into Englands, where she landed at Portemouth, in the Moneth of Aprill. This woman excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour, as in wyt and pollicie, and was of stomacke and courage, more lyke to a man, then a woman. Sone after her arriual, she was conueyed to the towne of Southwike in Hamshire, where she with all nupciall ceremonies, was coupled in matrimonie to king Henry the sixt of that name. After which mariage, she was with great triumph, conueyed to London, and so to Westminster, where vpon the .xxx. day of May, she with all solempnitie thereunto apperteyning, was crowned Queene of this Noble realme of Englands.

This mariage seemed to many, both infortunate and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that for many causes. First the king had with her not one pennie, and for the fetchyng of her, the Marques of Suffolke demanded a whole fiftene in open Parliament: also for her mariage, the Duchie of Anio, the Citie of Mauns, and the whole Countie of Mayne, were deliuered and released to king Reyner her father, which Countreies were the very stayes, and backebandes to the Duchie of Normandie. Furthermore



for this mariage, the Erle of Arminacke tooke such great displeasure, that he became vtter enemy to the realme of England, and was the chiefe cause, that the Englishmen were expulsed out of the whole Duchie of Aquitain, and lost both the Countries of Gascoyne and Guyen. But moit of all it should seme, that God with this matrimonie was not content. For after this spousage, the kinges friendes fell from him, both in England and in Fraunce, the Lordes of his Realme fell in diuision among themselues, the Commons rebelled agaynst their souereigne Lorde, and naturall Prince, fieldes were foughten, many thousandes slaine, and finally the king deposed, and his soune slaine, and this Queene sent home againe, with as much miserie and sorowe, as she was receyued with pompe and triumph, such is worldly vnstabilitie, and so waueryng is false flatteryng fortune.

Duryng the tyme of this truce, Richard Duke of Yorke, and diuers other Captaynes, repayred into England, both to visite their wiues, children and friends, and also to consult what should be done, if the truce ended.

This yere, as I finde noted by George Lyle, Henry Chicheley Arch-bishop of Cauntorbury dyed, who in his life time builded two houses, for students in the Uniuersitie of Oxford, the one called all Soules College, and the other Barnard College.

All Soules College. Barnard College.

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And nowe to consult for some good order to be taken for Fraunce, the king called his high Court of Parliament, in the which aboute all thinges, it was concluded, diligently to foresee, that Normandie should be well furnished and strongly defended, before the terme of the truce should be expired: for it was openly knowen, that the French king was redie in all thinges, to make open warre, if no peace or abstinence of warre, were agreed or concluded. For which consideracion, money was graunted, men were appoynted, and a great armie gathered together, and the Duke of Sommer set was appoynted Regent of Normandie, and the Duke of Yorke thereof discharged. In which Parliament, to please the people withal, it was enacted, that when wheate was solde for six shillynges. viij. pence the quarter, and Rye for foure shillynges, and Barlie for three shillynges, it should be lawfull to every man to cary the sayde kindes of corne into the parties beyond the Sea, without licence, so it were not to the kings enemies or rebelles: which Act king Edward the fourth for the vtilitie of his people, approued and confirmed.

The Duke of Sommer set made Regent of Fraunce.

The Marques of Suffolke is highly fauoured of the Queene.

The Marques of Suffolke, beyng in high fauour with the king, and in no lesse grace with Queene Margaret, for concludyng the maryage betwene them two, somewhat infected with the seede of bainglozie, and thinking that his procedynges and doynge in Fraunce (duryng the tyme of his legacion) had as well pleased all men, as they pleased himselfe, the seconde day of June, in the first session of this Parliament, before all the Lordes spirituall and temporall, in the higher house assembled, openly, eloquently, and boldly, declared his paine, trauaile and diligence, which he had taken and suffeyned of late tyme, in the realme of Fraunce, aswell for the takyng and concludyng a truce or abstinence of warre, betwene the realmes of England and Fraunce, as in makyng of the mariage betwene the king his souereigne Lorde and theirs, and the noble Princes Ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Sicile and Hierusalem: Openyng also to them, that the sayde truce should expire the first day of Aprill next comyng, except a finall peace or a further

further truce were concluded in the meane season: aduising them to prouide and foresee all thinges necessary for the warre (as though no concord should succede, nor agreement could take place) least the French men perceiuyng them vnprouided, would take their aduantage, and agree neyther to reason nor amitie: sayng vnto them, that sithe he had admonished the king, & them, accordyng to his dutie and allegeaunce, if any thing quayled, or if daunger ensued, he was thereof innocent and guiltlesse, and had acquitted himselfe like a louyng subiect, and a faythfull counsaylor, prayng the Lordes to haue it in remembraunce. Likewise the morowe after, he with certeyne Lordes, descended into the common house, where he declared agayn all the sayd matters, to the Knightes, Citizens, and Burgeses, omittynge nothing that might soude to his glozie, nor openyng any thing which might redound to his dysprayse: prayng the Commons for his discharge, that aswell all his doynge and procedynges in the kinges affayres beyonde the Sea, as also his aduertisement and counsaile, opened to the Lordes and commons now together assembled, might be by the king and them, enacted and enrolled in the Recordes of the Parliament: whereupon the morowe after, William Burley, speaker for the Commons, and all the compaignie of the neyther house, repayred to the kinges presence, sittynge in his throne, amongest his Lordes in the Parliament Chamber, where the sayde William Burley, by the counsaile of the Commons (whether they did it more for feare then for loue, or were thereunto entised by the Marques friendes, as some men doubted) most humbly commended to the kinges highnesse, the foresayd Marques of Suffolke, and all his actes and notable workes, which he had done, to the pleasure of almighty God, the honour of the king, and the vtilitie of the Realme: as in takyng the truce, concludyng the mariage, and the good admonicion geuen by him in open Parliament, for prouision of warre to be made, duryng the time of truce, least to much trustyng of peace, might encourage the Frenchmen, the sooner to begin warre and inuasion: besechyng the kinges highnesse, in the name of the Commons, to imprint in his heart and remembraunce the sayd Marques, and his labors and actes, to his honour and renoume, which should be an example to all other, which the king should call to like seruice, to employ themselues in like endeuor, faythfully and honourably to serue their king and souereigne Lorde: prayng also the Lordes spirituall and temporall, that they for the consideracions before reherfed, would vouchsafe to make like petition to the kinges Maiestie, and that all the actes and demeanors of the sayde Marques, might by auctoritie of Parliament, be to his honour, and perpetuall fame, in the rolles of the same Parliament, recorded and substantiallyly registred.

At which humble intercession, the Lords, aswell spirituall as temporall, rose from their seates, and on their knees made to the king like request and petition, as they of the commons before were desired: whereupon the king by the mouth of the Archebishop of Cauntorbury his Chaunceloz, made answer, that their requestes were so reasonable and so honourable, that he in no wise could but louyngly accept, & gently allowe the same, sayng also: that their desyres were to him a singuler pleasure, and an especiall comfort: and that he would from thenceforth accept and take the sayd Marques to his benigne grace, and especiall fauour, as a person which hath done both true, faythfull,



faythfull, and notable seruice to him and to his Realme, to the entent that all men put in like trust, should enforce themselves to do like or better seruice to their souereigne Lorde or Maister: agreeyng also (accoyding to their requestes and petitions) that the labors, demeanors, diligences, and declarations of the sayd Marques of Suffolke, and the sayd commendacions and desyzes, not onely of the Lordes, but also of the Commons, aswell for the honour of him and his posteritie, as for his acquittal and discharge, should be enacted, and enrolled in the Records of the same Parliament, which was so done. This Marques thus gotten by into fortunes throne, not content with his degree, by the meanes of the Queene was shortly erected to the estate and degree of a Duke, & ruled the king at his pleasure, in somuch that he obeyned the wardeshippes, both of body and landes of the Countesse of Mar- wike, and of the Ladie Margaret, sole heyre to John Duke of Sommer set, (which Ladie was after mother to king Henry the seuenth) and besyde that, caused the king to create John de Foys, sonne to Gaston de Foys, Erle of Longuile, and Capdawe of Bueffe, Erle of Kendale: which John had married his niece, and by his procurement, the king elected into the order of the Garter, the sayd Gaston, and John his sonne, geuyng to the sonne, towardes the maintenaunce of his degre and estate, landes and Castelles in the Duchy of Guien, amountyng to the somme of one thousande poundes by the yere, which landes, name, and stile, the issue and line of the sayd Erle of Kendale at this day haue, and enioy.

The Mar-  
ques of Suf-  
folke made  
Duke of  
Suffolk.

Here a man may beholde, what securitie is in worldly glory, and what constancie is in fortunes synplyng: for this Duke of Suffolke, in open Par- liament of the Lords praised, of the commons thanked, and into the kings fa- vour entierly receiued, within foure yeres after, was in the same place, by the comynons of the Realme accused of many treasons, misprisions, and offences, done and committed agaynst the king, and the common welth of his realme, and in conclusion, beyng exiled the realme, he was taken vpon the Sea, and made shorter by the head, which chaunce had not happened to him, if he had remembred the counsaile of the Popyngay, sayyng: when thou thinkest thy selfe in Court most surest, then is it high tyme to get the home to rest.

These thinges beyng in doyng, the French king seyng that the towne of Mauns, and diuers fortresses in Mayne, were not to him deliuered, ac- coyding to the appoyntment made, gathered together a great number of peo- ple, for to recouer the same: whereof the king of England beyng aduertised (least the breche of truce should begin by him) caused the towne to be deliue- red, without any force.

A combat  
betwene a  
Maister and  
his seruaunt.

This yere an Armozers seruaunt of London, appeled his Maister of treason, which offered to be tried by battaile. At the day assigned, the frends of the master, brought him Malmesye and Aqua vite, to comforte him with all, but it was the cause of his and their discomfort: for he poured in so much, that when he came into the place in Smithfelde, where he should fight, both his witt and strength fayled him: and so hee being a tall and hardie perso- nage, ouercladed with hote drinckes, was banquished of his seruaunt, being but a cowarde and a wretch, whose body was drawen to Tibozne, and there hanged and beheaded.

In which yere was a great insurrection in Norwiche, against the Pri- or

or of the place, in so much that the Citezens kept the gates, against the Duke of Norfolke, which came thether to appease the matter: but in conclusion, they opened the gates, and submitted themselves. The chiefe offenders, were (accoyding to their desertes) straightly punished, and executed, and the the Prioz was discharged of his office, and sir Thon Clifton was made go- uernour there, till the King had restored the Citezens to their auncient ly- berties, and franchises. This commocion was for certaine newe exactions, which the Prioz claymed and toke of the Citezens, contrarie to their auncient freedoms and vsages: but this was not the drewe meane to come to their right and purpose, and therefore because they erred and went out of the path, they were by punishment brought againe to a very straight trade, and the right way.

In insurrec-  
tion in Nor-  
wiche.

This yere Symon Cyze Alderman of London, whoe also had bene Maioz of the same, builded at his owne costs and charges, the Leaden hall, in the saide Citie, and a faire Chapell ioyning to the same, chesely to haue the same made a store house in Sommer, for wood and Cole to be bought, and there layd by, and in the winter to be solde vnto the pooze people at a reason- able rate, without gaine, the stocke beyng saued, and he left in stocke there one thousand pounde, which after ward was borrowed by King Edward the fourth, and neuer payd againe (as it is said) and so that provision decayed.

During the tyme of this truce or abstinence of warre, while there was nothing to bere or trouble the mindes of men within the Realme, a sodayne mischiefe, and a long discorde, sprange out, by the meanes of a woman: for king Henry, which raigned at this tyme, was a man of a meeke spite, and of a simple witte, preferring peare before warre, rest before businesse, ho- nestie before profite, and quietnesse before labour. And to the intent, that all men might perceiue, that there coulde be none, moze chaffe, moze meeke, moze holpe, nor a better creature: In him raigned shamefastnesse, modesty, integritie, and pacience to be maruayled at, taking and suffering all losses, chaunces, displeasures, and such worldly tormentes, in good parte, and wyth a pacient maner, as though they had chaunced by his owne faulte, or negli- gent ouersight: and he was gouerned of them whome he should haue ru- led: and brided of such, whome he sharply should haue spurred: He cared not for honoz, nor thirsted for riches, but studied onely for the health of his soule: the sauing wherof, he esteemed to be the greatest wisdom, and the losse thereof, the extremest folie that coulde be. But on the other parte, the Queene his wife was a woman of a great witte, and yet of no greater wit, then of haute stomacke, desirous of glory, and couetous of honoz, and of rea- son, pollicye, counsaill, and other gistes, and talentes of nature, she lacked no- thing, nor of diligence, studie, and businesse, she was not buexpert: but yet she had one pointe of a very woman: for often times, when she was behe- ment & fully bent in a matter, she was sodainly like to a wethercock, mutable and turning. This woman perceyning that her husbände did not frankly rule as he would, but did all thing by the aduise and counsaile of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, and that he passed not much on the aucthoritie and go- uernaunce of the realme, determined wyth her selfe, to take vpon her the rule and regiment, both of the king and his kingdome, and to depriue and remoue out of all rule and aucthoritie the sayde Duke, then called the Lord Protectour

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A description  
of king Hen-  
ry the sixt.

The descrip-  
tion of the  
wife of King  
Henry.



Protector of the realme: least men should say and report, that she had neither wyt nor stomach, which would permit and suffer her husband, being of perfite age and mans estate, like a yong Scholer or innocent Pupile, to be governed by the disposition of another man.

This manly woman, this corageous Queene, ceased not to prosecute forthwith, her inuented imagination and purpose, and practised daylie the furtheraunce of the same. And although this inuention came first of her aboue high minde and courage, yet it was furthered and set forward by such as of long time had borne malice to the Duke, for declaring their vnttruth as you before haue heard. Which benemous Serpents, and malicious Tigers, perswaded, incensed and exhorted the Quene, to loke well vpon the expenses and reuenues of the realme, and thereof to call an accompt: affirming plainly that she should evidently perceyue, that the Duke of Gloucester, had not so much aduanced and preferred the common wealth, and publique vtilitie, as his aboue priuate things and peculiar estate. Beside this, Keyner king of Sicile, wrote to his daughter, that she and her husbande should take vpon them the rule and gouernaunce of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, lyke yong wardes and desolate Orphans. The Queene perswaded and encouraged by these meanes, tooke vpon her and her husband, the high power and aucthoritie ouer the people and subiectes. And although she ioyned her husbande with her in name for a countenaunce, yet she did all, she sayde all, and she bare the whole swinge, as the strong Oxe doth, when he is yoked in the plough with a poore sicly asse: and first of all she excluded the Duke of Gloucester, from all rule and gouernaunce, not prohibiting suche as she knewe to be his mortall enemies, to inuent and imagine causes and griefes agaynst him and hys: so that by her permission and fauour, dyuers noble men conspired against him, of the which, dyuers wyrters affirme, the Duke of Suffolke, and the Duke of Buckyngham to be the chiefe, not vntprocured by the Cardinall of Winchester, and the Archebishop of Yorke. Dyuers articles both heynous and odious were layde to hys charge in open counsaile, and in especiall one, that he had caused men adiudged to dye, to be put to other execution, then the law of the land had ordered or assigned: for surely the Duke being very well learned in the law ciuill, detesting malefactors, and punishing their offences, gat great malice and hatred of such as feared to haue condigne rewarde for their vngacious actes and mischieuous doyngs. Although the Duke (not without great laude and prayse) sufficiently answered to all things to him obiected, yet because his death was determined, his wisdome little helped, nor his truth smally auayled: but of this vntquietnesse of minde, he deliuered himselfe, because he thought nextly of death, nor of condemnation to die: such affiaunce had he in his strong truth, and suche confidence had he in indifferent iustice. But his Capitall enemies and mortall foes, fearing that some tumult or comunocion might arise, if a Prince so well beloued of the people, should be openly executed, and put to death, determined to trap and vndoe him, or he thereof should haue knowledge or warning. So for the furtheraunce of their purpose, a parliament was sommoned to be kept at Bury, whether resorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongst them the Duke of Gloucester, which on the second day of the session, was by the Lorde Beaunonde then high Constable of Eng-

lande,

The Duke  
of Gloucester  
remoued  
from all rule  
and gouerna-  
ment.

A parliament  
kept at Bury.

lande, accompanied with the Duke of Buckyngham and other, arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and all his seruants sequestred from him, and xxxij. of the chiefe of his retinue, were sent to diuers prisons, to y great admiration of the common people. The Duke the night after his imprisonment, was found dead in his bed, being the .xxiiij. day of February, and his body shewed to the Lordes and commons, as though he had died of a palsey or impostume: but all indifferent persons well knewe, that he died of no natural death, but of some violent force: some iudged him to be strangled: some affirme that a hote spit was put in at his fundament: other write, that he was stifled or smoldered betwene two featherbeds. After whose death, none of his seruantes (although they were arraigned and attainted) were put to death: for the Duke of Suffolke, when they should haue bene executed, shewed openly their pardon, but this doyng appeased not the grudge of the people, which sayde that the pardon of the seruants was no amends for murthering of their master. The dead corps of this Duke was caried to saint Albons, and there honorably buried. Thus thys noble Prince, Sonne, brother, and Uncle to kinges, which had balauntly and politiquely by the space of .xxv. yeares gouerned this realme, and for his demerites, called the good Duke of Gloucester, was by a bone cast by his enemies, choked and brought to his fatall fine, and last ende. So all men may openly see, that to men in aucthoritie, no place, no not the Courte the chiefe refuge of all, nor the dwelling house, nor yet a mans priue Castell, or his bed ordeyned for his quietnesse, is out of the daunger of deaths dart.

This Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, descending of the blood royal, was not onely noble and valyant in all his actes and doyngs, but sage, pollitique, and notably well learned in the Ciuile lawe. And among other his worthy prayses, this followyng is not to be forgotten, which most liuely and plainly declareth him to be both prudent and wise, & to his great laude and praise is wrytten and set forth by Sir Thomas Moore knight, in a booke of hys, entituled, a Dialogue concerning heresies and matters of religion, and in the .xiiij. chapter of the same booke, in this wise followyng. In the time of king Henry the sixt (sayeth he) as he roade in Progresse, there came to the towne of Saint Albons a certayne begger with hys wyfe, and there was walking about the towne begging fiue or sixe dayes before the kinges coming thether, sayeng that he was borne blinde and neuer sawe in all his life, and was warned in his dreame that he should come out of Berwik, where he sayd that he had ever dwelled, to seke Saint Albons, and that he had bene at his Shyrne, and was not holpen, and therefore he would go seeke him at some other place: For he had heard some saye sence he came, that Saint Albons body should be at Colyn, and in dede such a contention hath there bene. But of truth as I am certainly informed (sayth Sir Thomas Moore) he lyeth here at saint Albons, sauing some reliques of him, which they there shewe shryned. But to tell you shortly, when the King was come, and the towne full of people, sodainely this blind man at saint Albons Shyrne had his sight, & the same was solemnly rong for a miracle, and Te deum songen, so that nothing was talked of in all the towne, but this miracle. So happened it then that Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, a man no lesse wise, then also well learned, hauing great ioy to seee suche a miracle, called the poore man

The Duke  
of Gloucester  
sodainely ar-  
rested of crea-  
son.

The Duke  
of Gloucester  
sodainely  
murdered.

unto



unto him, and first shewing himselfe ioyous of Gods glorie, so shewed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to mekenesse, and to no ascribing of any part of the worship to himselfe, nor to be proude of the peoples praise, which would call him a good & a godly man therby, at the last he looked well vpon his eien, & asked whether he could euer see any thing at al in all his life before. And when as well his wife as himselfe affirmed fastly, no, then he looked aduisedly vpon his eyen agayne, and sayde, I beleue you very well, for me thinketh that ye can not see well yet. Yes Sir quoth he, I thanke God and his holy Martir, I can see now as well as any man: yea can, quod the Duke, what colour is my Gowne? Then anone the begger tolde him, what colour quod he is this mans Gowne? he tolde him also without anye stayeng or stomblyng, and tolde the names of all the colours that coulde be shewed him. And when the Duke sawe that, he bade him walke \* Faytoure, and made him to be set openly in the stocks: for though he could haue sene sodainely by miracle the difference betwene dyuers colours, yet could he not by sight, so sodainely tell the names of all these colours, except he had knowne them before, no more then he coulde name all the men whome he should sodainely see, thus farre mayster Moore. And thus much for the noble prowesse and bertue, ioyned with lyke Ornamentes of knowledge and learning shyning in this Duke: for the which as before hath appered, he was both loued of the commons, and well spoken of of all men, and no lesse deseruing the same, being called the good Duke of Gloucester: so neyther yet wanted he backbiters and priue enuyers, as before hath bene expressed.

When the rumoz of the Dukes death, was blowen through the realme, many men were sodainely amased for feare: many abhorred and detested the fact, but all men reputed it an abhominable crueltie, and a shamefull tyranny. But the publique wealth of the realme of Englande, by the butwoorthy death of this polittique prince, sustayned great losse, and ran into ruine, for surely the whole waight and burden of the realme, rested and depended vpon him, as the experience afterward did declare. For after his death, good and sage men fearing themselves, fled out of the flattering court, into whose places entered such, as desiring their awne promotion, set open the gates to newe factions, which could neuer be extinct, till all the seignories beyonde the sea (except Calice and the Marches) were lost, and king Henry in conclusion spoyled of his realme and lyfe. There is an olde sayde sawe, that a man entending to auoyde the smoke, falleth into the fyre: so here, the Quene minding to preserue her husband in honor, and her selfe in auctoritie, procured and consented to the death of this noble man, whose only deith brought to passe that thing, which she would most fayne haue eschewed, and tooke from her that Jewell, which she most desired: for if this Duke had lyued, the Duke of Yorke durst not haue made title to the crowne: if this Duke had lyued, the nobles had not conspired agaynst the king, nor yet the commons had not rebelled: if this Duke had lyued, the house of Lancaster had not bene defaced and destroyed, which things happened all contrary, by the destruction of this good man. This is the worldly iudgement, but God knoweth what he had predestinate, & what he had ordeyned before, agaynst whose ordinaunce preynteth no counsaile, and agaynst whose wyll auaynteth no stryuing.

And

And it is written of this good Duke of Gloucester, that he bulded the diuinitie Schole in Oxford, which is a rare pece of worke. And at this time also, William Wanyplet a man of great deuocion, wisdome, and iustice, was made Bishop of Winchester, and Chaunceloz of England, who to the furtherance of learnyng, buylded Mary Magdalene College in Oxford.

In this .xxvj. yere of the reigne of this king: But in the first yere of the rule of the Queene, I finde nothing done worthie to be reherfed, within the realme of England, but that Richard Duke of Yorke, beyng greatly ayded by his wife, to the chiefe peres and potentates of the Realme, ouer and besyde his awne progenie and great consanguinitie, perceiuyng the king to be a ruler not rulyng, and the whole burden of the realme to depende in the ordinaunce of the Queene and the Duke of Suffolke, began secretly to breake to his friends of the Nobilitie, and priuately declared to them, his title and right to the Crowne, and likewise did he to certeine wise and sage gouernours and Rulers of diuers Cities and townes: which priue attempt was so polittically handled, and so secretly kept, that his prouision was redie, before his purpose was openly published, and his friendes opened themselves of the contrary part could them espie: but in conclusion time reueled truth, and olde hatred openly sprang out, as you shall hereafter both lament and here.

Duryng these doynge, Henry Beauford, Bishop of Winchester, and called the riche Cardinal, departed out of this worlde, and was buryed at Winchester. This man was sonne to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, descended of an honourable linage, but bozne in Waste, more noble of blood, then notable in learnyng, haute in stomake, and highe in countenance, riche aboue measure of all men, and to fewe liberall, disdainfull to his kinne, and dreadfull to his louers, preferring money before friendship, many thinges beginnyng, & nothyng performing. His couetousnes insatiabie, and hope of long life, made him both to forget God, his Prince, and himselfe, in his latter dayes: for Doctor John Baker his priue counsaylor, and his Chapleyne, wrote, that he lyng on his death bed, sayd these wordes. Why should I die, hauyng so much ryches: if the whole realme would saue my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by riches to bie it. Fye, will not death be hyred, nor will money doe nothyng? when my Nephewe of Wedforde died, I thought my selfe halfe by the wheele, but when I saw mine other nephew of Gloucester diseased, then I thought my selfe able to be equall with kings, & so thought to encrease my treasure, in hope to haue wozne a triple Crowne. But I see nowe the worlde fayleth me, and so I am deceyued: prayng you all to pray for me. Of the getting of this mans goodes, both by power Legantine, or spirituall bribery, I will not speake, but the keepng of them for his ambitious purpose, aspyng to ascend to the Papistcall Sea, was both great losse to his naturall Prince, and native Country: for his hidden riches might well haue holpen the king, and his secrete treasure might haue relieved the Commonaltie, when money was scant, and importunate charges were dayly imminent.

After the death of this Prelate, which was a great stay to the king and the realme, the affayres in Fraunce, were neyther well looked to, nor the gouernours of the Countrie were well aduised. For an Englishe Capteyn, called Sir Francess Surrien the Arragonoy, a man for his wit and activity,

Ggg. i.

admitted

\* Faytoure, is as much to say as loptecet, bagabod, or begger.

A false miracle wisely found out.

1447  
26

The death of Henry Beauford Bishop of Winchester

The fond and foolish talk of the bishop of Winchester



Fongiers  
taken.

admitted to the order of the Garter, tooke by scalyng sodainly in the night, a Towne on the frontiers of Normandie, belongyng to the Duke of Briteyn, called Fongiers, spoilyng the same, and killyng the inhabitauntes to the great destruction of the people, and moze displeasure to the Duke of Briteyn, their soueraigne Lorde. The Duke beyng thereof aduertised, sent worde to the french king, declar yng to him that in the tyme of truce (in the which, he as his allye and bassall was comprehended) he was spoyled and bereued of his towne of Fongiers: besechyng the frenche king, in that cause to see a recompence and amendment: whereupon he sent John Haruart his Caruer, and John Cosinet one of the Maysters of his requestes to the king of England: and to the Duke of Sommer set, he dispatched Peter de Fontaynes Esquier, and one of the chiefe of his stable, to whome by both the Princes, as it was answered, that the fact and enterprize was both done, contrary to their minde, will and knowlege. And for the truce to be kept not onely restitution, but also amendes to be made to the Duke of Briteyn, a day of dyet and assembly was appoynted to be kept at the towne of Louiers. At the tyme appoynted both the parties assembled: the french part demaunded amendes with no little recompence: The English Oratozs answered, that without offence, nothing by iustice ought to be satisfied: affirmyng the doing of Sir fraunces Surrien, to be his onely act, without the consent or counsaile, eyther of the king of England, or the Duke of Sommer set his Lieutenant and Regent. Duryng this dayly comunicacion and long delay, certaine frenchmen, friendes to the Duke of Briteyn, desir yng to be reuenged of the iniurie done to him at Fongiers, and also imagin yng howe to do some newe displeasure to the Englishmen, were aduertised by a wagoner of Louiers, that the towne of Pountlarche, was but meanly manned and slenderly furnished, & the watch was but negligently loked to: with which saynges the frenchmen beyng somewhat encouraged, deuised a way how by pollerie to take the towne: so the wagoner laded his Wagon, and passed forwarde, hauing in his companie two strong barlettes clad like Carpenters, wyth great Axes in their neckes. And for the furtheraunce of their purpose, the Lorde of Bressy with a chosen company of men of Armes, lodged himselfe in a bushement nere to the gate of Saint Andzewe. And Captayn floquet, accompanied with Sir James of Cleremount, and another great companie, priuily lurked vnder a wood toward Louiers. When all things were appoynted, early in the moznyng in the beginning of the moneth of October, the wagoner came to the gate, and called the Porter by name, prai yng him to open the gate, that he might passe to Roan, and returne againe the same night. The Porter (which well knewe the boyce of his customer) tooke little hede to the other two companions, and so opened the one gate, and sent another felowe of his, to open the foremost gate. When the Chariot was on the draw Bridge, betwene both the gates, the Chariotmaister gaue the Porter money and for the nonce, let one peere fall to the ground, and while the Porter stouped to take it vp, the wagoner with his Dagger stroke him in at his throte, so that he cryed for no helpe, and the two great Lubbers flue the other Porters, and with their Axes cut the Areltree of the Wagon, so that the drawe Bridge could not be shortly drawen by. Which thinges done, they made a signe to Captayne floquet, which without delay or tract of tyme, entered the towne,

The  
daughter.

towne, and flue and tooke the English men, which neyther heard nor thought of any such enterprize: amongst whome the Lorde Fauconbridge, Captein of the sayde towne, was apprehended as a prisoner: by this pretie cautele and sleight imposture, was the towne of Pountlarche taken and surprized, which towne was the key and passage ouer the Riuier of Some, from Fraunce to Normandie, beyng distant from Roan, onely foure leagues. Thus wrong was added to wrong, and iniury heaped to iniury, whereby the terme of truce was violated, and mortall warre was reuiued. But because the taking of this fortreffe had a certein colour of breakyng of truce: The Duke of Somerset by Ambassadors, and not by force of Armes, deuised to recouer againe this pretie towne, & sent for the restitution of the same, diuers Ambassadors to the french king and his counsaile, which made aunswere againe, that if the Englishmen restored to the Duke of Briteyn, the towne of Fongiers with condigne amendes, for the damages done and committed within the same, the towne of Pountlarche should againe be rendered and deliuered: for the frenche king and his counsaile begaune nowe to perceyue and smell, that the affayres of England by the death of the Duke of Gloucester, were sore minished and decayed, and that good counsaile began to ware faint and decay, and sedicion freshly began to spring and rise: By reason whereof they thought that Normandie might sone be conquered and recouered, and that the English nation out of that region might easely be expelled and driuen: wherefore they determined to take the good occasion to them openly offered, and to lose no tyme in so good a Bargaine. Whereupon king Charles diuided his armie into threepartes, not doubtyng of victorie, by reason that the fame of the conquest of Pountlarche, was blowen and spread abroad ouer all the Countrie. So after diuers assaults (not without losse of diuers of his men) he had rendered to him by composition, the townes of Louiers and Gerbozy, whereof William Harper was Captaine. Thus prosperous victorie dayly succedyng to the french kinges armie, he augmentyng hys hoste, determined to get the Towne of Uerroy in Perche, and gyde it round about with a strong siege. The inhabitauntes whereof, although with the sodaine chaunce they were somewhat abashed, yet hauyng some succors, and hoppyng of more reliefe, toke to them good courage, and manfully defended the towne. But when their ayde tarried longer then they eyther thought or desired, they were compelled to compound with their enemies, vpon this condicion: that if the siege were not raysed within .xx. dayes, that then they should depart with bagge and baggage, which condicion was accepted: and because no rescues came, the towne, Castell, and the great Tower, were deliuered. The french Historians affirme, the towne to be taken by assault, and the Castell by composition, but all writers agre, that the frenchmen obteyned it. Thus was warre reuiued before the full terme of the truce expired, which was the most detestable and vnprofitable chaunce, that eyther could or might haue happened or come to the realme of England. For by this sodaine damage and losse, without thought arisyng, the English Captaynes were so busied and vnquieted, that with appeasyng dayly rumors within townes, and what with studie how to recouer Castels lost and taken, that they scarce wist what way to take: for while they studied how to kepe and defend one Citie, foure or five other, folowyng fortunes chaunce, turned to the french part,

Pountlarche  
taken by the  
Frenchmen.

Egg. ij.

and



and became their enemies. The chiefe cause of which reuoltyng and turnyng was this: It was blowen throughtout all Fraunce, that the realme of England, after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, by the severall faction of Princes, was divided into two partes, and that William de la Poole, late created Duke of Suffolke, and diuers other, were the occasion of the death of the sayd Duke of Gloucester, which was the very father of the Countrie, and the shield and defence of the pooze Commonaltie, and that the fornamed Duke of Suffolke, onely for lucre of money, vexed, oppressed, and molested the pooze people, so that mens mindes were not intenttue, nor geuen to outward affayres and forzen Conquestes, but all their studie was, howe to driue backe and defende domesticall iniuries, and dayly wronges done at home: by reason whereof men of warre were bnpayed, and no armie for resistance was eyther gathered or assembled together: which mischiefes whyle the king (as thinges of the worlde, and of no great moment) did neglect and omit, as he which preferred and extolled godly thinges, aboue all worldly affayres and mortall cares, and thought them most to be phantasied and labored: And while Queene Margaret his wife, in whome the whole rule of the realme consisted, being a woman of to much credence geuyng to euill and flatterynge counsaylors, that by no meanes after they coulde be eyther overcome or resisted: so that by this meanes, the French Nation knewe in what case the state of the realme of England stood in, which elated and encouraged their heartes, and daunted the courages of the Normanes and Gascoynes, so much, that for lacke of ayde and reliefe, they turned to the French part, and forsoke their very soueraigne Lozde, the king of England in short space, as you shall after here.

1448  
27  
Rebellion in  
Irelande.

It was not enough, the realme of England this season thus to be vexed and vnquieted with the businesse of Normandy, but also a new rebellyon began in Ireland, to the great displeasure of the King and his counsaill: for repressing wherof, Richard Duke of York, with a conuenient number of man, was sent thether, as lieutenant to the king, which not onely appeased the fury of the wilde & sauage people there, but also gat him such loue and fauor of the countrey and the inhabitants, that their sincere loue, and friendly affection coulde neuer be separated from him and his lignage, as in the sequele of this storie you shall moze plainely perceiue.

Englande lozeth all that was gotten in Fraunce.

The Frenchemen hauing perfite vnderstanding of the infirmitye and vnbreadnesse of the realme of Englande, displayed their Banners, and set forth their armies, and in short space gat by yelding, Constaunce, Gisors, Castel Bayllarde, Montean du mere, saint Lo, Feseampe, Nebochastle, Alanson, Conque, Manleon argenton, Lisiaux argenton, and diuerse other townes in Normandy: Likewise in Guien was the towne of Mauliffone rendered to the Erle of Foy. These townes were not yelded voluntarily by the English souldiozs, but they were thereunto compelled by the Citezens and the inhabitants of the townes, which apparantly perceiuing, that the great flame of the English force, was extinct and consumed, rose against the Capitaines, & other opened the gates to their enemies, or constrained them to render vpon a composition. By which enforcement was the rich Citie of Roan deliuered: for surely the Duke of Somerset and the lord Talbot Erle of Shrowesbury, had well kept and defended this Citie, if they had bene no

Roan deliuered to the French.

more

more vexed with the Citezens, then they were with their enemies. For after the french king had once by his Herault summoned the citie, the inhabitants not onely sought wayes and inuented fraude, how to betraye the same, but also put on harnesse and rebelled against their Capitaines, menacing the death, and destruction of all the English people. The capitaines perceiuing their vntrowth, and trayterous demeanour, retrained themselues into the Castell or Palaice, where by a certaine space with arowes and handgonnes, they soze molested & vexed the vnttrue citezens. But when they considered the great puissaunce of the french king, and that they were in dispaire of all aide or reliefe, and that their victaile and artillerie beganne soze to minishe, they thought it better to compounde and agree with their enemies, rather then wilfully to be destroyed or die for famine: and so vpon condicion that all they should safely depart to Caen with all their goods and armure, and that certayne townes should be deliuered by a daye, they were permitted to depart: leauing behinde them for hostages, till the saide townes (which were agreed to be rendred) should be deliuered, the Erle of Shrewsburie and the Lozde Butler, son to the Erle of Ormond, which were sent to the Castel of Eureux, because they soze feared the malice of the Citezens of Roan. The Frenchmen folowing still the steps of victory, & elated with the bruit and fame of getting of Roan, determined, eyther by force or offer to get the towne of Harflew, & shortly assaulted the same, wherof was captain sir Thomas Conelson, a man of a great wit & of no lesse force: which hauing knowlege of the heuy tidings brought from Roan, was therewith nothing abashed, but coragiously set vpon his enemies, & them to their great hurt, manfully repulsed & draue from the walles. The frenchmen learning wit by this great perill, left their scaling, and deuised dayly, how to batter and break the walles & fortifications. This siege long continued, to the great losse of both parties. When sir Thomas saw small likelihode of ayd or gayn, but much apparance of losse & iopardy, he toke a conuencion with his enemies, and so departed with all his goods.

1449  
28

After which towne rendred, the fortreffe of Hunflew, vpon the same composition was yeilded. Thus you may perceiue that fortune is euer without measure. for eyther she to much fauoreth or to much hateth, for beside these townes surrendered in Normandy, the Duke of Britaine recouered againe Fongiers, saint John de Buerne, & diuers other townes. In the meane season, the king of England sent into Normandie with a crue of a M. b. C. men, a valiant Capteyn called Sir Thomas Kiriell: a man of great stomack, if he had had a great army, but his power was to small, eyther to recouer y<sup>e</sup> which was lost, either to saue that which yet remainned vngotten: but surely in him lacked neither good will nor corage, for with his small number, he recouered againe the townes of Lyseaux, and Walongnes. After which feate, he ioyned himselfe with Sir Henry Norbery, Sir Robert Aeere, Mathew Gough, and other Capteynes, so that they were aboue fine thousand men of valiaunt heartes, and haute courages. After long consultacion, they determined to fight with the french men, which were goyng to the siege of Cane, but in their iourney, they were encountered at a place called Forzigny, betweene Carentyne and Bayeux, by the Erle of Cleremont, Lieutenant to the french king, the Steward of Doyton, and the Lord of Rays, Admirall of Fraunce, with six hundzeth men of armes, and six thousand other, which skirmished

Egg. liij.

with



A great dis-  
comfiture  
geuen to the  
Englishmen.

with the Englishe men a great season. Durynge which skirmishe, there arry-  
ued Arthur Erle of Richmond, highe Constable of Fraunce, James of Lux-  
embrough, Erle of Lauall, with a great number of horsemen, and fresh foot-  
men. After his comynge, he and all the Frenchmen set on the Englishmen  
beyng faynt and wery with the long skirmishe. This battail was sore fought,  
but in conclusion the Englishe men were discomfited, and put to flight, and of  
them slaine aboute foure thousand, and. viij. hundred taken prisoners, wher-  
of Sir Thomas Kiriell, Sir Henry Norbery, and Sir Thomas Dreye  
were the chiefe, Sir Robert Ueere and Mathew Gough saued themselves.  
This was the first foughten fielde, that the French men gat on the Englishe  
men in many yeres, wherefore I blame them not though they of a little make  
much, and set forth all, and hide nothing, that may sound to their glozy. They  
declare what number they slue, but they write not howe many of them were  
slaine or destroyed.

After this victorie obtayned, the French king hearing that the Duke  
of Somerset was in the towne of Caen, thought that he had nothing done,  
if he permitted the Duke, still to tarie in Normandy, which by newe ayde  
and freshe succours might turne the whecle of Fortune into a contrary part,  
and peradventure recouer all þe hath bene lost, or put the realme of Fraunce  
in a ieopardie: wherefore like a wise prince, intending to preuent thinges,  
imminent and at hande, assembled an armie royall, and in his awne person,  
hauing in his campe Keyner, called king of Sicile, father to the Quene of  
Englande, the Dukes of Calaber and Maunson, the Erles of Cleremont,  
Richemonde, Mayne, Dumoys, Sent Polle, and Dampmartyne, beside  
many noble Barons and balvaunt knightes, when all things were readie,  
as oportunitie of time serued: He caused the towne to be environed on euery  
side, assigning to his Capitaynes severall places of the towne to be assaulted,  
and there to proue their manhood. The Erle of Dumoys, with more losse  
then gaine entered into a bulwarke, and was beaten back. The Englishe  
men within the towne kept silence, as though they knewe not of their eni-  
mies approchyng, but euery man kept his loupe, and euery Capitayne well  
ouerlooked his warde. The French men with querels, mozispikes, slynges,  
and other engines, begonne to assault the walles: but of the Englishe men  
within, some shot fiercely with long bowes, other cast dartes, and rolled  
downe great stones and barres of Iron: other cast downe Javelyns, spe-  
brands, hote leade, and blockes with pitch and brimstone, lyke burning fyre  
flaming: so that neyther courage lacked in the assault, nor manhood, nor pol-  
licie in the defence: for on the embattlements of the walles were set great  
rolles of timber, so mouing and bnfstedfast, that neyther scaling ladder could  
catche any holde, nor no person that should cline by, could set any sure foot-  
yng. The French king perceyuing that this assault little or naught preuay-  
led him, sent for all his great ordinaunce to Paris, determining neuer to de-  
parte, till he had conquered the towne, eyther with sworde or famine. When  
the ordinaunce was brought, he daylie shot at the walles, and did some hurt:  
but to the Castell, which stood on a rock, and in it a dongeon vnhabable to be  
beaten downe, he did no harme at all. In this towne was the Duke of So-  
merset, his wife and children, but he was not Capitaine, for the Duke of  
Porke owner of the towne, by the kings gift, had appointed there his Capi-  
taine

Caen belie-  
ged by the  
French men.

taine generall, Sir Daup Halle, and of the Castell, Sir Robert Ueer,  
and of the Dongeon, sye Henry Radford. Daylie the shot was great, but  
more terrible then hurtfull. Sauiug one day, a stone shot into the towne, fell  
betwene the Duches of Somerset, and her children, which being amased  
with this chaunce, prayed on her knees her husband, to haue mercy and com-  
passion of his small infants, & that they might be delyuered out of the towne  
in sauegarde. The Duke more piteous then hardie, moued with the dolour  
of his wyfe, and loue of his children, assembled the Capitaines and Magi-  
strates of the towne, declaring to them, the power and puyssaunce of the  
French king, and their debilitie and weakenesse, perswading them rather to  
yeelde and render vpon honest conditions, then obstinately to resist, and foo-  
lishely to perishe. Sir Daup Halle, Capitayne of the towne, answered to  
him, sayng: my Lorde, although you be the kings Lieutenaunt generall,  
within thys countrie and dominion, and may by force of your auctoritie, de-  
liuer, sell or geue, any of the kings townes, to suche persons, eyther friends  
or enemies, as shall please you: yet I am sure that you cut your leather too  
large, to intreate or speake of the rendering of thys towne, apperteynyng to  
my Lorde and mayster, Rycharde Duke of Porke, which thereof hath geuen  
me both the charge and custody, with other of my trusty friends and felowes,  
and which with the helpe of almighty God, I shall well defende, both a-  
gains the French king and all hys puyssaunce, till the Duke my master  
come to succour me, for of men, money and municions, I trust I haue suffi-  
cient. Why sayd the Duke, am not I here the kings Deputie, representing  
his person, and may commaunde all thinges according to my discretion? Pea  
sayde the Capitaine, so that you geue away no mans right but his, whose au-  
thoritie you haue for the same: as for this towne, I assure you, without my  
Lordes assent, you shall neyther render nor yeelde, by my consent or agree-  
ment. The Duke was sore moued with thys saying, and so departed, and  
after sent for the rulers of the towne, and the pooerest people of the same, de-  
claring to them, that their lyues and goodes were in the french kings hands,  
and if they looked not shortly to their sauegarde, of death they were sure, and  
of mercie farre vncertaine: exhorting them to follow his louing monicion,  
rather then the hardened hart, of their to hardie Capitaine. The people of  
the towne thus perswaded (whose harts were rather french then English)  
beganne to rise against sye Daup, boldly affirming, that if he tooke no com-  
position within thre dayes, they would open the gates, and let in the french  
king: and of this opinion were all the common souldiours. What should the  
pooer hare saye, when she is environed with a hundred houndes, or the  
silly Larke crie, when she is in the middle of a hundred Hawks, but take pa-  
cience, and seeke a way to escape: so this Capitaine perceyuing, that neyther  
his wordes serued, nor his truth towarde his Master preuayled, bad the  
Duke of Somerset doe what he list, for he would in no wise be named in  
the composition. Then the Duke partly to please the townes men, but more  
desirous to please the Duches his wyfe, made an agreement with the french  
king, that he would render the towne, so that he and all his, might departe  
in sauegarde with all their goodes and substance: which offer, the french  
king gladly accepted and allowed, knowing that by force, he might lenger  
haue longed for the strong towne, then to haue possessed the same so sone. Af-  
ter

The Castell  
of Caen  
was  
taken  
by  
the  
french.



ter this conclusion taken, Syr Dauid Hall, with diuers other of his trustie friendes departed to Chierburge, and from thence sayled into Irelande to the Duke of Yorke, making relacion to him of all these doings: which thing kindled so great a rancour in his harte and stomack, that he neuer left persecuting of the Duke of Somerset, till he had brought him to his fatall point, and extreme confusion.

After the obtayning of this strong towne of Caen, the Erle of Cleremount besieged the City of Lysseur, wherof was Captein Mathew Gough, with three hundreth Englishe men. The Capteyne perceiuyng that when Caen was not rescued, that pooze Lysseur was in dispayre of all succour, agreed to abandon and deliuer the Citie, so that he and his people might depart to Chierburge, hauyng no yron weapon nor armure, but onely theyr goodes, & whyte stauces in their handes. After the deliuerance of this towne, the frenche men still like good begles, folowynge theyr pray, besieged the towne of Fallayse, appertaynyng to the Lord Talbot, Erle of Shrewsbury: wherof were Capteynes for the sayd Erle, Andrew Trollop, and Thomas Cotton squiers, which beyng desperate of succours, and consideryng the puissaunce of their enemies, agreed to deliuer the towne vpon two condicions, the one was, that the Erle their mayster, which remayned in pledge for certeyne condicions, agreed to be perfourmed at the deliuerance of Roan, (as you haue heard before) should be dismissed and set at libertie: the other, that if they were not rescued within .xij. dayes, that then they and theirs to depart with armure, and all their goods moueable whether it pleased them. After this agreement at the day prefixed, no rescues came, and so the towne was rendered, and incontinent after, the fortreffe of Dampford was deliuered vpon like agreement. For the Frenchmen bragged, that they regarded neyther golde nor siluer, but desired rule, glozy and fame: with which lightnesse, the other townes of Normandie beyng perswaded, voluntarily rendered themselves, bassalles and subiectes to the frenche nation.

¶ The Normans  
were lost.

Nowe rested Englishe, onely the towne of Chierburge, wherof was Capteyn, Thomas Gouille, which surely and baliantly defended the towne as long as vitaille and municion serued: but when these two handes were spent and consumed, he destitute of all comfort and ayde, vpon a reasonable composition yelded the towne, & went to Calice, where the Duke of Somerset and many Englishe men then sojourned: lamentyng their losse, and desperate of all recovery. Thus was the riche Duchie of Normandie lost, the which had continued in the Englishe mens possession .xxx. yeres, by the conquest of king Henry the fift. In the which Duchie were a hundreth strong townes and fortresses, able to be kept and holden, besyde them which were destroyed by the warres, and in the same was one Archebishopske, and sixe Bishopsikes. Some say, that the Englishe men were not of puissaunce, eyther to man the townes as they should be, or to inhabite the Countrie, which was the cause that they could not kepe it: accordyng to the Frenchmens Adage, which sayth: A man can not long holde that, which he cannot grype. Other say, that the Duke of Somerset, for his awne peculiar profite, kept not halfe his number of Souldiours, and put their wages in his purse. These be mens imaginations and coniectures, but surely the losse of it, was the domesticall diuision within the Realme, euery great man desiryng rather to be

be reuenged on his fo at home, then on his outward enemye, as you now shall manifestly see and perceyue.

For while these conquestes were obteyned in the partes beyond the sea, with sword, speare, and target, by the aduersaries of the Englishmen, three mischieuous Captaines, set the people of the realme (as well of the Nobility as of the meane sort) in a ciuile warre and intestine diuision: For among the high Princes and peeres, reigned inward grudge: among the Clergie staterie, and among the Commonaltie disdain of lasciuious souereigntie, which the Queene with her Minions, and vnprofitable Counsayloz dayly tooke and vsurped vpon them. Wherefore they (not myndyng to be moze charged, then their backs would beare, and perceiuyng that by negligent prouision and improuident pollicie, the affayres and businesse in the partes beyonde the sea, dayly decayed, and moze were like to do) began first to make exclamacion agaynst the Duke of Suffolke, affirmyng him, to be the onely cause of the deliuerie of Aniole, and Hain, the chiefe procurer of the death of the good Duke of Glocester, the very occasion of the losse of Normandie, the most swallower by & consumer of the kings treasure (by reason wherof, the warres in fraunce were not mainteyned) the expeller from the king of all good & vertuous counsayloz, and the bringer in & aduancer of vicious persons, common enemies, and apparaunt aduersaries to the publike wealth: So that the Duke was called in euery mans mouth a traytor, a murtherer, a robber of the kings treasure, and worthy to be put to most cruell punishment: By reason of this exclamacion, the Queene somewhat fearyng the destruction of the Duke, but moze the confusion of her selfe, caused the Parliament, before begon at the black Friers in London, to be adiourned to Lyncolne, thynkyng there by force and rigor of the lawe, to subdue and repress all the mallice and euill will, conceyued agaynst the Duke and her: at which place fewe of the Nobility would appere, wherefore it was againe adiourned to Westminster, wher was a whole companie and a full apperaunce. In the which session, the Commons of the nether house, put vp to the king and the Lordes, many articles of treason, misprision and misdemeanour, agaynst the Duke of Suffolke: the effect wherof, with his answers, hereafter ensueth.

1450  
28

The commons  
exclame ag-  
ainst the  
Duke of  
Suffolke.

The parlia-  
ment adio-  
rned from  
Westminster  
to Lyncolne.

Articles pro-  
posed by the  
commons ag-  
ainst the  
Duke of  
Suffolke.

1 first, they alleged, that he had trayterously excited, prouoked, and counsayled, John Erle of Dumoyes Bastard of Orleans, Bertram Lorde Breigny, Wilyam Cosynet, enemies to the king, and friendes and Ambassadors to Charles, calling himselfe french king, to enter into this realme, and to leue warre agaynst the king and his realme, to the entent to destroy the king and his friends, & to make John his sonne king of this realme, marryng him to Margaret, sole heire to John Duke of Somerset, pretending and declaring her, to be next heire inheritable to the crowne, for lack of issue of the kings body lawfully begotten.

2 Item, the sayde Duke, being of the kings pryncie and neere counsayle, allured by great rewardes, and sayre promyses, made by the foresayde Erle of Dumoyes, caused the king to deliuer and set at libertie, Charles Duke of Orleans, enemye to the king, and the kings noble father, which deliuerance, was prohibited by expresse wordes, in the last will of the kings most victorious father.

3 Item, that before the departure of the sayde Duke of Orleans, the afozenamed



aforenamed Duke of Suffolke, traytorously fast cleaving to Charles called the French king, counsailed, provoked and entised the sayde Duke of Orleans, to moue the same king, to make warre agaynst England, both in Fraunce and Normandy: according to which procurement and counsaile, the sayde French king, hath recovered the whole realme of Fraunce, and all the Duchie of Normandie, and taken prisoners the Erle of Shrewsburie, the Lorde Fauconbridge, and many other valiant Capitaines.

¶ These thre articles aforesaid he denied either for fact or thought.

4 Farther, it was alleged, that he being Ambassador for the King of Englande, to Charles calling himselfe French King, promised to Keyner King of Sicile, and to Charles Dangiars his brother, enemies to the King, the relese of Angeow, with the deliuerance of the Countie of Mayne, and the Citie of Maunt or Mauns, without the knowledge of the other Ambassadors, which him accompanied: which promise after his returne, he caused to be performed, to the kings disinheritance, and losse irrecoverable, and to the strength of his enemies and feblishment of the Duchy of Normandy.

¶ To this article he answered, that hys commission was to conclude, and doe all things according to his discretion, for the obtayning of a peace, and because without deliuerie of those Countries, he percepued that truce could not be obtayned, he agreed to the relese and deliuerance of them.

5 Also, they surmised that the sayde Duke being in Fraunce in the Kings seruice, and one of the priuiest of his counsaile there, traytorously declared and opened to the Capitaines and conduites of warre, appertaining to the Kings enemies, the kings counsaile, purueiaunce of his armies, furniture of his townes, and all other ordinaunces, whereby the Kings enemies (enforced by his traitorous informacion) haue gotten townes and fortresses, and the King by that meane depriued of his inheritance.

6 Item, the sayde Duke declared to the Erle of Dunoy, to the Lorde Preligny, and William Colynet, Ambassadors for the French King, being in London, the priuities of the Kings counsaile, both for the provision of farther warre, and also for defence of the Duchy of Normandy: by the disclosing whereof, the Frenchmen knowyng the Kings secretes, prevented the tyme, and obtayned their purpose.

7 Item, that the sayde Duke at such tyme as the king sent Ambassadors to the French king, for the entreating of peace, traytorously before their coming to the French Court, certefied king Charles of their commission, authoritie and instructions, by reason whereof, neyther peace nor amitie succeeded, and the kings inheritance lost, and by his enemies possessed.

8 Item, the same Duke sayde openly in the Starre chamber, before the Lordes of the counsaile, that he had as high a place in the counsaile house of the French king, as he had there, and was as well trusted there as here, and could remoue from the French king, the priuiest man of his counsaile, if he would.

9 Item, when armies haue bene prepared, and souldiours ready waged, to passe over the sea, to resist the kings enemies: the sayde Duke corrupted by rewards of the French king, hath restrayned and stayed the sayde armies to passe any farther.

10 Item, the sayde Duke being Ambassadour for the King, comprised not

not in the league as the kings Allies, neyther the king of Arragon, neither the Duke of Britaine, but suffered them to be comprised on the contrary part, by reason whereof, the olde amitie of the king of Arragon, is estranged from this realme, and the Duke of Britaine become enemy to the same: Gyles his brother the kings sure friend, cast in strong prison, and there like to ende and finishe his dayes.

All these objections he bitterly denied, or faintly auoyded, but none fully excused. Diuers other crimes were laide to his charge, as enriching himselfe with the kings goods, and landes, gathering together, and making a Monopoly of officies, fees, wards, and fermes, by reason whereof, the kings estate was greatly mynished and decayed, and he and his kin highly exalted and enriched, with many other pointes, which, because they be not notable, nor of great force or strength, I omit and ouerpasse.

The Queene which entirely loued the Duke, fearing that some commotion and trouble might rise, if he were let goe unpunished, caused him to be committed to the Towre, where he was kept with as much pleasure, as he that was at large, and out of all captiuitie. But after that a moneth was expired, she imagening the people to be pacified with this open imprisonment, caused him both to be deliuered, and also to be restored to the Kynges fauour and grace, as much as euer he was before that tyme. But thys doing incensed the furye of the mutable commons, muche moze then before: openly denouncing and saying, that it was a shame to all the Realme, to see such a person, infected with so many misdeeds, either to rule aboute a Prince or to be had in honor. Of these wordes sprange dedes, and of this talking, rose displeasure, which had growne to great mischief, if politike provision had not with all celerity resisted the first furye: for the commons in sundrye places of the Realme assembled together, gathered great companies, and elected a Captayne, whome they called, Blew berde: but or they had attempted any enterprize, their heades were apprehended, and so the members sodaynely were dispersed, without any hurt committed.

After this litle rage was asswaged, a new Parliament was holden at Leicester, whither came the King and the Queene in great estate, and with them the Duke of Suffolke, as chiefe counsaillor. The commons of the lower house, not forgetting their olde grudge, beseeched the King, that such persons, as assented to the relese of Angeow, and deliuerance of Maïne, might be extremely punished, and tormented: and to be priuie to this fact, they accused, as principall, the Duke of Suffolke, with John Bishop of Salisbury, and sir James Fynes, Lord Say, and diuers other. When King Henrey perceiued that the commons were thus stomacked & bent, against the queenes darling William Duke of Suffolke, he plainly sawe that neyther glosing would serue, nor dissimulation could appease the continuall clamor of the importunate commons: wherefore to begin a short pacification in so long a broyle: first he sequestred the Lorde Say, beyng threasorer of England, and other the Dukes adherentes, from their offices, and authoritie, and after banished and put in exile the Duke of Suffolke, for the terme of fyue yeres: meaning by this exile, to appease the furious rage of the outrageous people, and that pacified, to reuocate him to his olde estate, as the Queenes chiefe friend and counsaillor. But fortune would not, that he should so escape,

The Duke of Suffolke committed to the Towre.

Wlew beard a Capitaine of rebels.

William Duke of Suffolke.



William de  
la pole Duke  
of Suffolke  
beheaded.

A rebellion in  
Kent, wher-  
of Jack Cade  
who named  
himself John  
Mortimer  
was Chief-  
scene.

for when he was shipped in Suffolke, intending to be transported into Fraunce, he was encountered with a shippe of warre, appertayning to the Duke of Excester, the Constable of the Towre of London, being capitaine of the same barke with small fight, entered into the Dukes shippe, and perceiuing his person present, brought him to Dover Bode, & there on the one syde of a cocke bote, caused his heade to be striken off, & left his body with the heade vpon the sandes of Dover, which corps was there founde by a Chaplayne of his, & conueied to Wingham colledge in Suffolke, and there buryed. This ende had William de la Pole the first Duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Goddes punishment: for aboue all thinges he was noted to be the very organ, engine, and deuiser of the destruction of Humfrey the good Duke of Gloucester, and so the blood of the innocent man was with his dolorous death, recompensed and punished. But the death of this forward person, brought not the realme to quiet, nor deliuered it from all inward grudge and intestine diuision, which to all Realmes is more pestiferous and noysome, then outward warre, dayly famine, or extreme pestilence. For although Richard Duke of Yorke was in person (as the kinges Deputie) in the realm of Ireland, continually resiant ther: yet his breath puffed, and his winde blew dayly, in many partes of this realme. For many of the nobilitie, and more of the meane estate, wisely pondering the estate and condicion of the Realme, perceiuing more losse then encrease, ruine then aduancement, dayly to ensue: remembryng also that Fraunce was conquered, and Normandy was gayned by the frenche people in short space, thought with them selues and imagined, that the fault of all these miserable chaunces happened, either because the king was not the true enheritor to the Crowne, or that he or his counsaile were not able of wit, pollicie or circumspection, to rule and gouerne so noble a Realme, or so famous a Region. Upon this coniecture, the friendes, kinsmen, and allies of the Duke of Yorke, which were of no small number, began to practise the gouernaunce of his title: Insulung and puttyng into mens heades secretly his right to the Crowne, his politique gouernaunce, his gentle behauiour too all the Irishe Nacion, affirmyng, that he which had brought that rude and sauage nation to ciuile fashion, and English maners, would (if he once ruled in the realme of England) depose euill Counsaylors, correct euill Judges, and refozme all matters amisse, and vnamended. And to set open the flood gates of these deuises, it was thought necessary, to cause some great commocion, and risynge of peopie to be made agaynst the king: so that if they preuailed, then had the Duke of Yorke and his complices, their appetite and desyre. And because the Kentishemen be impatient in wronges, disdepyning of to much oppression, and ever desirous of newe chaunge, and newe fanglenesse: The ouerture of this matter was put foorth in Kent, and to the entent that it should not be knowen, that the Duke of Yorke or his friendes were the cause of the sodaine risynge: A certayne yong man of a goodly stature, and pregnant wit, was entyled to take vpon him the name of John Mortimer, although his name were John Cade, and not for a small pollicie, thinkyng that by that surname, the lyne and lineage of the assistent house of the Erle of Marche, which were no small number, should be to him both adherent and fauourable. This Capteine not only suborned by teachers, but also enforced by priuie Scholemasters, assem-

bled

bled together a great company of tall personages: assuryng them that their attempt was both honourable to God and the king, and also profitable to the common wealth, promisyng them, that if either by force or pollicie they might once take the king, the Queene, and other their Counsaylors, into their handes and gouernaunce, that they would honourably entreat the king, and so sharply handle his Counsaylors, that neither flatteres should hereafter be demaunded, nor once any impositions or tax should be spoken of. These persuasions, with many other faire promises of libertie (which the common people more affect and desyre, rather then reasonable obedience, and due conformitie) so animated the Kentish people, that they with their Capteine abouenamed, in good order of battaile (not in great number) came to the plain of Blackheath, betweene Eldham and Greenwich. And to the entent that the cause of this glorious Captaynes commyng thither, might be shadowed from the king and his Counsaile, he sent to him an humble supplicacion, with louyng wordes, but with malicious entent: affirmyng his commyng, not to be agaynst him, but agaynst diuers of his counsaile, louers of themselves, and oppressors of the poore Commonaltie, flatterers to the king, and enemies to his honoz, suckers of his purse, and robbers of his subiectes, parciall to their friendes, and extreme to their enemies, for rewardes corrupted, and for indifferencie, nothyng doynge. This proude Bill, was both of the king, and his Counsaile disdainfully taken, and thereupon great consultation had, and after long debatynge it was concluded, that such proude rebelles should rather be suppressed and tamed, with violence and force, then with fayre wordes or friendly or gentle answer.

Whereupon the king assembled a great army, & marched toward them, which had lyen on black heath, by the space of .vij. dayes. This subtill Capitaine named Jack Cade, intending to bring the king farther within the compasse of his nette, brake by his campe, and retyred backward to the towne of Seuenock in Kent, and there expecting his pray, encamped himselfe, and made his abode. The Queene, which bare the rule, being of hys retraite well aduertised, sent for Humfrey Stafford knight, and William his brother, with many other Gentlemen, to follow the chase of the Kentish men, thinking that they had fled, but verily they were deceaued: for at the first skirmishe, both the Staffordes were slayne, and all their companie shamefully discomfited. The kings armie, being at this time come to black heath, hearing of this discomfiture, begaune to grudge and murmoure amongst themselves, some wishyng the Duke of Yorke at home, to ayde the Capitaine his Cousyn: Some desiring the ouerthrow of the king and his counsaile: other openly cryed out on the Queene and her complices. Thys rumour openly spoken, and commonly published, caused the king and certayne of his counsaile not ledde by fauour, nor corrupted by rewardes (to the intent to appease the furious rage of the inconstant multitude) to commit the Lorde Say, Threasorer of Englande to the Towre of London: and if other agaynst whome like displeasure was borne had bene present, they had likewise bene serued. But it was necessary that one should suffer, rather then all the nobilitie then should perishe. When the Kentish Capitaine, or the notorious Cade, had thus obtained victorie, and slayne the two valyant Staffordes, he appareled himselfe in their riche armure, and so with pompe and

hjh. j.

glorie

John Mortimer showed the cause of his rebellion.



glozie returned agayne towarde London: in the which retraite, dyuers pole and varabond persons, resorted to him from Suffex and Surrey, and from other partes to a great a number. Thus this glozious Capitaine, compassed about, and inuironed with a multitude of euill, rude, and rusticall persons, came againe to the plaine of Blackheath, and there strongly encamped himselfe: to whome were sent by the king, the Archebishop of Caunterbury, and Humfrey Duke of Buckyngham, to comon with him of his greues and requestes. These Lordes found him sober in comunication, wise in disputing, arrogant in hart, and stiffe in his opinion, and by no wayes possible, to be perswaded to dissolue his armie, except the king in person would come to him, and assent to all things which he should require. These Lordes perceyving the wilfull pertinacie, and manifest contumacie of this rebellious Willey, departed to the king, declaring to him his stoute and presumptuous requestes. The king somewhat hearing, and more marking the sayengs of this outrageous losell, hauing daylie repozte of the concurse and accesse of people, which continually resorted to him, doubting as much his familiar seruaunts, as his vnknown subiectes (which spared not to speake, that the Capitaines cause was profitable for the common wealth) departed in all haste to the Castell of Kylyngworth in Warwike shire, leauing onely behinde him the Lorde Scales to keepe the Towre of London. The Capitaine being aduertised of the Kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the whyte Hart, prohibiting to all men, murder, rape, or robbery: by which coulour he allured to him the harts of the common people. But after that he entered into London, and cut the ropes of the drawe bridge, striking his sworde on London stone, sayng: now is Mortimer Lorde of this Citie, and rode in euery streete lyke a Lordly Capitayne. And after a flattering declaration made to the Mayre of the Citie of his thether comming, he departed againe into Southwarke. And vpon the third day of July, he caused syr James Fynes Lorde Say, a Threasorer of England, to be brought to the Gylde hall of London, and there to be arraigned: which being before the kings Iustices put to aunswere, desyzed to be tryed by his peeres, for the lenger delay of his lyfe. The Capitaine perceyving his dilatorie ple, by force tooke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Chepe, and there caused his head to be stricken off, and pitched it on a high pole, which was openly borne before him throught the streete. And this cruell tyraunt not content with the murder of the Lorde Say, went to Hyle ende, and there apprehended syr James Cromer, then Shryefe of Kent, and sonne in lawe to the sayde Lorde Say, and caused him there likewise to be hedded, and his head to be fixed on a Pole, and with these two heades, thys bloody Butcher entred into the Citie agayne, and in dispite caused them in euery streete, to kisse together.

The Lorde Say Treasorer of England, beheaded at the Standard in Cheape.

Philip Malpas Alderman of London.

After this shamefull murder, succeeded open rapyne, and manifest robbery in dyuers houses, within the Citie, and in especiall in the house of Philip Malpas, Alderman of London, and diuers other: ouer and besyde ransoming, and finyng of dyuers notable Marchantes, for the tuicion and securitie of their lynes and goodes, as Robert Horne Alderman, which payed five hundred marks, and yet neyther he, nor no other person was either of life or substance in a suretie or sauegarde. He also put to execution in South-

warke.

warke diuers persons, some for enfringng his rules and preceptes, because he would be sene indifferent, other he tormented of his old acquaintaunce, least they should blase and declare his base birth, and lowly lynage, disparaging him from his vsurped surname of Mortimer, for the which, he thought and doubted not, both to haue friendes and fauours, both in London, Kent, and Essex. The wise Mayor, and sage Magistrates of the Citie of London, perceyving themselves neyther to be sure of goodes, nor of lyfe well warranted, determined with force to repell and expulse this mischieuous heade, and hys ingracious company. And because the Lorde Scales was ordeyned keeper of the Towre of London, with Mathew Gough, the often named Capitaine in Normandie (as you haue heard before) they purposed to make them prmie, both of their entent and enterpryse. The Lord Scales promised to them his ayde, with shooting of ordinaunce, and Mathew Gough was by him appointed, to assist the Mayor and the Londoners: because he was both of manhode, and experience greatly renoumed and noysed. So the Capitaines of the Citie appointed, toke vpon them in the night to keepe the bridge of London, prohibiting the Kentish men eyther to passe or approche. The rebels, which neuer soundly slept, for feare of sodayne chaunces, hearing the bridge to be kept and manned, ran with great haste to open that passage, where betwene both parties was a fierce and cruell encounter. Mathew Gough, more expert in Marciall feates, then the other Chiefes of the Citie, perceyving the Kentish men, better to stand to their tackling, then his imaginacion expected, aduised his company no farther to procede toward Southwarke, till the day appered: to the intent, that the Citizens hearing where the place of the icopardie rested, might occurre their enemies and relieue their friendes and companions. But this counsaile came to small effect: for the multitude of the rebels drawe the Citizens from the stulpes at the bridge foote, to the drawe bridge, and beganne to set fyre in dyuers houses. Alas what sorrowe it was to beholde that miserable chaunce: for some desyring to eschewe the fyre, lept on his enemies weapon, and so died: fearefull women with childzen in their armes, amased and appalled, lept into the river: other doubting how to saue themselves betwene fyre, water, and sword, were in their houses suffocat and smoldered. Yet the Capteynes nothing regarding these chaunces, fought on the drawe bridge all the night balyantly, but in conclusion, the rebels gate the drawe bridge, and drowned many, and slue John Sutton Alderman, and Robert Heylande a hardy Citizen, with many other, beside Mathew Gough, a man of great wyf, and of much experience in feates of chivalrie, the which in continuall warres, had balyantly serued the king, and his father, in the partes beyonde the sea (as before you haue heard.) But it is often seene, that he which many times hath banquished his enemies in straunge Countries, and returned againe as a conquerour, hath of his abone nacion afterwarde bene shamefully murdered, and brought to confusion, as in this skirmishe and bickeryng the sayde Mathewe Gough was. This hard and soze conflict endured on the Bridge till. ix. of the clocke in the moynyng, in doubtfull chaunce, and fortunes balannce: for sometyme the Londoners were bett backe to the stulpes at Saint Magnus corner, and sodainly agayne the rebels were repulsed and driuen backe to the stulpes in Southwarke, so that both partes beyng faynt,

Whh. ii.

werie,



werie and fatigate, agreed to desist from fight, and to leaue battayle till the next day, vpon condition: that neyther Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor the Kentishe men into London.

After this abstinence of warre agreed, the lustie Kentishe Capitayne, hoping on more friends, brake by the gayles of the kings Bench and Marshalsea, and set at libertie a swarme of Gallants, both meete for his seruice and apt for his enterpryse. The Archebishop of Cauntorbury, beyng then Chauncelloz of England, and for his suretie lyeng in the Towre of London, called to him the Byschop of Wynchester, which also for feare, lurked at Halwell. These two prelates seyng the furie of the Kentishe people, by reason of their beating back, to be mitigated and minished, passed the ryuer of Thames from the Towre, into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kings great seale, a generall pardon vnto all the offenders: which they caused to be openly proclaimed and published. Lozde, howe glad the people were of this pardon (ye more then of the great Jubile of Rome) and how they accepted the same, in so much that the whole multitude, without bryding farewell to their Capitaine, retired the same night, euery man to his awne home, as men amased and striken with feare. But John Cade desperate of succours, which by the friendes of the Duke of Yorke were to him promised, and seyng his company thus without his knowledge sodainely departe, mistrusting the sequelle of the matter, departed secretly in habite disguised, into Suffex: but all his Metamorphosis or transfiguration little preuayled, for after a proclamation made, that whosoener could apprehend the sayde Jack Cade, should haue for his paine a thousande Markes, many sought for hym, but fewe espied hym, till one Alexander Iden Esquire of Kent, founde him in a garden, and there in his defence, manfully slue the captiue Cade, and brought his dead bodie to London, whose head was set on London bridge. Thys is the ende of all rebelles, and thys fortune chaunceth euer to traytors. For where men striue agaynst the streamie, their bothe neuer cometh to his pretended porte.

After this commocion, the king himselfe came into Kent, and there sat in iudgement vpon the offenders, and if he had not mitigated his iustice, with mercie and compassion, more then fife hundred by the rigor of his lawe had bene instely put to execution: but he considered both their simplicitie and innocencie, and howe they with peruerse people were sedured and deceyued: and so punished the stubburne heades, and deliuered the ignozant and miserable people, to the great reioysing of all his subiectes.

During this commocion about London, Raufe Bishop of Salisbury, was by his awne tenaunts and seruaunts murdered at Edington, and so from thence forth daylie succeded murther, slaughter, and dissention. And the cause, as some write, was for consenting to the geuing vp of the Duchie of Angebo and Hayne into the handes of the French king.

And about this time Quene Margaret beganne the foundation of the Queenes Colledge in Cambrige.

These variable chaunces in Englande were not vnknowne to the French king, wherfore he making foundation vpon the English discord, determined to get into his possession, the Duchie of Aquitayne, while the princes of England were in controuersie for their titles and superiortie: & therfore

fore lyke a speedy Purueioz, which lacketh not time, he sent the Erles of Bonthieure, & Berigot, with many valyaunt Capitaynes to lay siege to the towne of Bergerac set vpon the ryuer of Dordone, of which towne was capitayne, John Seddyng, which heering of the yeelding of Roan, and conquest of Normandie, considering the pyssaunce of the French armie, vpon reasonable conditions rendered the towne: yet all this notwithstanding, the Lozde Cameyle, sye George Seymour, sye John Arundell, and other valyaunt Capitaynes, which had the gouernance of this countrie, maigned townes, gathered people, and animated the colde stomackes of the fearfull Gascones: requiring them to be constant in their fidelitie, true to their naturall Prince, and vndoubted soueraine Lozde, sending daylie letters to the king of Englande and his counsaile, declaring to him the weaknesse of his subiectes, and the strength of his enimies, assertheyng him for a suretie, that without speedye ayde, and ready succours, the whole Countrey was like to be gotten from his possession. Many letters were sent, and many faire answers were brought, but reliefe neither appered, nor ore man of warre was thether shipped. By reason wherof, the Gascones perceyuing their enemies at hande, intending as well to destroy the countrey, as to subdue the people, beganne euery man for himselfe, to regarde nothing, but the sauing of their townes, goodes, and corne: neglecting defence, and fearefull of assaults, least by small resistance, they might receyue more detrimment, then after they could recouer agayne, eyther with great force, or much labour. But the Englishe men (whose natures are not to be faynt hearted, euen at the very ieopardie of death) with all their wits studied, both how to repulse and conuince their enemies, and to turne away the euill chaunces which they sawe lykely (if pollicie did not helpe) sodainely to fall, and shortly to insue. But all their pollicies little preuayled in conclusion, because succours sayled, and force wanted. For after the Frenchmen had the towne of Bergerac to them rendered, the fortresses of Fonsac, of Bonefoy, and dyuers other places, wyllingly and freely yeelded themselves to the French subiection. During which time, the Lozde Dozual, thirde sonne to the Lozde Delabreth, with a great number of men, as well on horseback as on foote, departed from Basas, to conuere and destroy the Isle of Madore: where of hearing the Maire of Burdeaux, with a conuenient crewe of men, issued out of the Citie, and encountered with his enemies, betwene whome was a harde fight and a deadly battayle: but the French men more with multitude then with force, banquished the Englishe men, and killed and tooke prisoners aboute sixe hundred English men and Gascones, but of the Frenchmen which were in double number, aboute their aduersaries (as wyrters affirme) there were slayne eyght hundred persons. For which cause, the Capitaynes followed no farther the chase, least the Englishe people would agayne returne. Thys slaughter of the Englishe parte, the French wyrters set forth with the most, but of their awne losse they speake not one worde. Such indifferency, is in their Chronographiers. This discomfiture so amased the wits, and daunted the hartes of the meane Gascons, that they offered many townes to the French parte, before the same were of them demaunded.

After this, the Bastard of Orleans, Erle of Dumoys, and Longueville, Lieutenaunt generall for the French king, accompanied with his brother,



ther, John Erle of Angulesme, which had bene long prisoner in England, and many valyaunt Capitaynes, and expert men of warre, besieged the Castell of Montguyon, which to them was rendered. After this, the sayde army besieged the fortreffe of Blay, standing on the ryuer of Gyzond, which towne is the very key of the porte of Burdeaux, and this towne was besieged both by water and by lande, and fiercely assaulted and manfully defended, and in conclusion by very force, for lack of resistance, conquered and gayned. The Bastarde of Kendale Capitayne of the Castell, seeing the towne lost, vpon certayne conditions deliuered his fortreffe, into the possession of the Lorde Lieutenaut.

After this towne gayned, the fortreffes of Bourge & Libourne yelded but not without five weekes besieging. The wittie Capitaynes perceiuing fortunes fauour was not towarde them, thought it necessary to take the tyme while their good planet reigned. Wherefore to prevent the ayde of the Englishe men, whom they daily looked for to come to the succor of their people: they appoynted foure armies, to make warre in foure severall partes. The Lorde Charles Delabreth, accompanied with John Lorde Tartas and Armon, Lord of Dozuall his sonnes, and the Erle of Foys, and the Count La Motte his brother, and many noble men of Guyen, layd siege to the towne of Arques, in the which be diuers hote bathes. The Erle of Arminacke extreme enemye to the realme of England, for breakyng the marriage concluded betwene king Henry and his daughter (as before you haue heard) besieged with a great puyssaunce, the strong towne of Rion. The Erle of Bentheux, with many noble barons, besieged the towne of Chastillon in Perigot, and the Erle of Dumoy, environed with a great puyssaunce the towne of Fronfacke. The Englishemen within this towne, perceiuing the great ordinaunce on the frenche part, and the small provision on their syde, conuanted with the sayd Erle, that if the towne were not succored, & the french men foughte withal, before the feast of the nativity of S. John Baptist next ensuyng, y then the towne of Fronfacke should be yelded to them, which was the strongest fortreffe of all that Country, and the very key of Guen, & their Chamber of Burdeaur: and for performaunce hereof, pledges were deliuered, and writynges autentique sealed. This agreement once blowen through the Countrey, the Citie of Burdeaur and all other townes (except Bayon) made like agreement, and deliuered pledges. So did all the noble men and Gentlemen, which were subiectes and vassalles to the Crowne of England. Mache, alacke, euery day was looking for reliefe, and euery houre was caryng for comfort, but wishyng serued not, nor hoppyng nothing helped: for the pestiferous diuision which reigned in England, so incigled the braynes of the noble men there, that the honour of the Realme was clerely forgotten, and nothing earthly, but their priuate phantasies looked on and remembred. Now to conclude, the day appoynted came, but succor looked for came not: so that all the townes of Aquitaine (except Bayon) deliuered their keyes, and became vassalles to the frenche Nation, yet the Citizens of Burdeaur, hopping of reserues, offered themselves to fight with the frenchmen, and desyred a day of battaile to be appoynted, which request was to them granted. But at the day assigned, they beyng in dyspayre of all refuge and succor, rendered themselves and the towne, to their aduersaries, their liues and

goodes

goodes reserued, with licence and safeconduite to all persons which would depart and sayle into England. When the Cities and townes of Gascoyne were set in good order, the Erle of Dumoy and Foys, with great preparation of vittaille, munition, and men, came before the Citie of Bayon, where with mines and battery, they so disinayed the fearefull Inhabitautes, that neyther the Capitaine nor the Souldiours, could kepe them from yeeldyng: so by force they deliuered the towne, and their Captayne as a prisoner, offered a great somme of money for the sauegarde of their liues and goodes. Besides these agreementes taken with townes, diuers noble men made seuerall compositions, as Gaston de Foys, Capdau of Buess, whom king Henry the first made Erle of Longuile, and knight of the Garter, whose auncestours were euer true to England, which agreed that he, and John de Foys his son, whom king Henry the first created Erle of Kendale, and made also knight of the Garter, should enjoy all their landes in Aquitaine, geuen to them by the kinges of England, or by the Dukes of Aquitaine, And because their entent was still to serue the king of Englands their souereigne Lorde, they agreed, to deliuer into the custodie of the Erle of Foys, their Colyn, the sonne and heyre of the sayd Erle of Kendale, beyng of the age of thre yeres, to the entent, that if he at his full age denied to become subiect and vassall to the french king, or before that tyme deceased, that then after the death of his father, and grandfather, all the sayde landes should wholly remaine to the next heyre of their blood, eyther Male, or female, beyng vnder the obersaunce of the frenche king, or his heyres. Many noble men, whose hartes were good Englishe, made like compositions, and some came into England, and other went to Calice, and were great officers there: as the Lorde Duras, which was Marshall there, and Monsire Wandlere, which was there Deputie, vnder the Erle of Warwike (as after shall be shewed.) Now haue I declared to you, the losse of Fraunce, Normandie, and Aquitaine: wherefore, hauing no more cause yet to speake of them, I will returne to the great trouble, dissencion and diuision, which long was cloaked, and nowe openly set a brode, and burst out in the realme of England.

You haue heard before, howe the Duke of Yorke, as heyre to Lionell Duke of Clarence, pretended priuily, a title to the Crowne, and howe hys friendes commoned secretly with diuers persons of that matter, and excited them to set forward, and aduance that part to the bittermost: and howe the sayde Duke was sent into Ireland, where he was dayly aduertised by hys assured friendes, of all thinges done in England, and by them knew in what estate he stode, both with the Nobilitie, and Commonaltie. Wherefore, he myndyng no lenger to dreame in his waightie matter, nor to kepe secreete his right title, returned out of Ireland, and came to London in the Parliament tyme, where he deliberately consulted, with his especiall friendes: as John Duke of Norffolke, Richarde Erle of Sarisbury, and Lorde Richarde his sonne, which after was Erle of Warwike, Thomas Courtney, Erle of Denonshire, and Edwarde Broke Lorde Cobham, a man of great wit and much experience: requiryng them, both of aduice and counsaile, howe hee might without spot of treason, or colour of vsurpacion, set forth his title, and obteyne his right.

After long consultation, it was thought expedient, first to seeke some occasion



occasion and picke some quarell to the Duke of Somerset, which ruled the King, ordered the realme, and most might doe with the Queene: Whome the commons, for the losse of Normandy, worse then a Code or Scorpion hated, disdained, and abhorred, in so much that diuerse euill ruled persons, brake his house, and spoyled his goods, within the blacke Friers of the Citie of London: which malefactors, according to their desertes, were iustly executed and punished. For well knewe the Duke of Yorke and his adherentes, that if the Duke of Somerset sawe or smelled any point of their purposed enterprize, that hee woulde with speare and shielde, with might and mayne, wythstande and repell the same, to the extreme point of death, and to their bitter confusion. Wherefore to abridge his power, and to minishe his aucthoritie, they determined to bynng him into the hatred of the people, and into the disdayne of the Nobyltie. And to be the stronger in the setting forth of their feate, they, what wyth rewards and faire promises, and what wyth declaration of great enormities, committed by the kyngs counsaillors, agaynst the common wealth, allected and allured to them, lustye bachelars, and actyue persons, of a great number, protesting and declaring, that they ment euill, not thought harne, eyther to the kynges person, or to hys dignitie: but that their intent was, for the reuenging of great iniuries done to the publike wealth, and to persecute and refozme diuers rulers about the kyng, which dayly contrary to right and equitie, beread and pilled the englysh people, without reason or measure: so that no man was in suretie, eyther of his owne goodes, or sure of his proper lands, or possessions. These great enormities, they caused to be published to the intent that their chiefe purpose shoulde not be espied, or perceiued.

When the Duke of Yorke had thus framed the entry into hys long ended iorney, he with helpe of his frendes, assembled a great armie in the Marches of Wales, publishing openly, that the cause of his motion was, for the publike wealth of the realme, and great profite of the commons: which faire tolde tale, allured to him much people, aswell of the chivalrye, as of the mean sort. The king much astounded w this sodain commocion, by the aduise of his counsaill, rayfed a great host, and marched forward toward the Duke: but he being of his approach, credibly aduertised, by his espials, diuerted from the kings wayes, and toke his iorney toward London: and hauing knowledge, that he might not be suffered with his army, to passe through Londen, he crossed ouer the Thamese at Kingston bridge, and so set forth toward Kent, where he knewe that he had both friends, and good willers, and there on Bientheath, a Mile from Berford, and .x miles from Londen, he embattayled himselfe, and encamped his armie very strongly, both with trenches and artillery. The king being therof aduertised, with great diligece brought his army to Blackheath, and there pight his tentes. While both the armies lay thus embattayled, the king by the aduise of his counsaill, sent the bishops of Winchester and Ely to the Duke, both to know, what was the cause of so great a tumult and commocion, and also to make a centrozd, if the requestes of the Duke and his company seemed to them consonant to reason, or profitable to the people. The Duke hearing the message of the two bishops, eyther doubting the variable chaunce of mortall battaill, or loking for a better occasion, or a more luckey daye, answered the prelates, that his coming

was

was neyther to dampnishe the king, neyther in honoz, nor in person, nor yet any good man, but his intent was to remoue from him certaine euill disposed persons of hys counsaile, which were the bludsuckers of the nobilltie, the pollers of the cleargie, and oppresors of the poze people: amongst whom he chiefly named, Edmound Duke of Sommerset, whome if the king would commit to ward, to answer to such articles as agaynst him in open Parliament should be both proponed and proued, he promised not onely to dissolue hys armie and dispatche his people, but also offered himselfe, like an obedient subiect to come to the kinges presence, and to do him true and faythfull seruice, according to his truth and bounden dutie. When the Messengers were returned with this reasonable answer: The king perceiuyng, that without great bloodshed, he could not brydle the Duke of Yorke, nor without war he could not appease the furious rage of the common people, beyng once set on fire, except he folowed their mindes, and graunted their requestes, caused the Duke of Sommerset to be committed to warde, as some say: or to kepe himselfe priue in his alone house, as other wryte, till the furye of the people were somewhat asswaged and pacified. Which thing done, the Duke of Yorke the first day of Marche, dissolued his armie, and brake by his campe, and came to the kinges tent, where besyde his expectation, and contrary to the promise made by the king, he found the Duke of Sommerset set at large and at libertie, whome the Duke of Yorke boldly accused of treason, of bribery, oppression, and many other crimes. The Duke of Sommerset not onely made answer to the Dukes obiections, but also accused him of high treason toward the king his soueraigne Lorde, affirmyng, that he with his fauourers, and complices had consulted together, how to obteyne the Crowne and Scepter of the Realme. By meane of which wordes, the king remoned straight to London, and the Duke of Yorke as prisoner rode before him, and so was kept a while. The king assembled together a great counsaill at Westminster, to heere the accusations of the two Dukes, the one obiectyng to the other, shamefull actes, and detestable crimes. But the Duke of Sommerset, which nowe conceiued in his minde the thing that shortly folowed, incessantly exhorted the Counsaile, that the Duke of Yorke, by compulsion or otherwise might be compelled to confesse his offence, and so beyng attaynted of treason, to be put to execution, and his children to be taken enemies and aduersaries to their native Countrie: to the entent that by the losse of this onely Prince and his sequele, all ciuile warre, and inwarde diuision might cease and be repressed: beseechyng almightie God, that so great an enemy to the king and his blood, might neuer escape punishment, nor continue long in life. The Duke of Sommerset set forth this matter the more behemently, because he knewe perfectly, that the Duke of Yorke dayly studied, how to get the Crowne, and obteyne the gouernaunce, and to depose and destroy both the king and him. But the necessitie of destinie cannot by any mans deuise, be eyther letted or interrupted: for many thinges (to common iudgements) declared the Duke of Yorkes truth and innocencie in this case. First, his free and voluntary commyng to the king, when he with his power was able to encounter with the kinges puissaunce, which was an open token and manifest argument, that he neyther ment treason, nor yet fraude. Secondly, his humble submission, his reasonable requestes, and profitable petitions for the

One Duke  
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The Duke  
of Yorke re-  
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claymeth sp-  
all: to the  
Crowne.

Brent heath.

Black heath.



poore commons, were iudged no poyntes of a man, that desyred souereigntie or rule aboue other, which thinges he did onely for a cautele (as afterwarde openly appered.) While the Counsaile treated of sauyng or losyng of thys Duke of Yorke, A rumoz sprang throughout London, that Edward Erle of Marche, sonne and heyre apparaunt to the sayde Duke, a yong Prince of great wit and much stomacke, accompanied with a strong armie of Marchemen, was comyng towarde London, which tydings soze astonyed the Queene and the whole counsaile. Beside this, the same very day came Ambassadors from the heddes and Magistrates of the City of Burdeaux, wherof the chiefe were, the Erle of Kendale, and the Lorde Lespar, which signified to the Counsaile, that if they would send an armie into Gascoyn, the Gascoynes would reuert and turne againe to the Englishe part: aduertisyng them, that there was in those partes no puyssaunce or garrison of Frenche men, to withstand them, and theretore there was no doubt of the regainyng or reconquest: requiryng them with all diligent celeritie, to take so sayre a pray so openly to them offered, and to minde nothing before the regainyng of so fruitfull a Countrie. These two thinges soze troubled the heades of the Kinges counsaile, which least this dissencion betwene two persons, might be the let of outward conquest, they first agreed to set the Duke of Yorke at libertie, and permitted him to returne to his sayre Castell of Wigmore in the Marches of Wales, where he studyed, both howe to displeasc his enemies, and to obteyne his purpose: And so by meanes of the absence of the Duke of Yorke, which was in maner banished the Court, and the Kinges presence, the Duke of Sommerset rose bp in high fauour with the king and the Queene, and his worde onely ruled, and his voyce was onely heard.

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The Counsaile of Englarde, not forgetting the offer of the Gascons, and that they might nowe haue the Citie of Burdeaux, with the Countrie round about, by offer and request, which with great charge and long warre they could scant againe recouer or repossesse, appointed the noble souldiour, and balyaunt Capitayne John Lorde Talbot, and Erle of Shrewsburie, to be Chiefetaine of the armie, which should in all haste be transported and conueyed into Aquitayne. The Lordes of Gascoyne, both well pleased and glad of their aunswere, returned into their Countrie, in as secret maner as they from thence departed, declaring to their Nation, the Capitaynes and the power, that was to them comyng: exhortyng euery man to be firme and stable to the king of England and his heyres, vnder whose liberty and freedom they had prospered and reioysed, aboue thre hundred yeres, rather then now to fall into the French captiuitie: whose taxes were vncasonable, and whose daylie exactions were to them importable.

When all thinges were shipped, and winde and weather serued, the Erle of Shrewsbury toke his chaunce, and sayled into Gascoyne, where without resistance, he peaceably arryued in the Isle of Madie, where he reposed his armie, being scant thre thousand men, and destroyed all the Countrey, betwene Burdeaux and Blay, and toke the strong towne and Castell of Frontac, and diuers other townes and fortresses. The inhabitants of Burdeaux hearing of the Erles arriual, sent to hym messengers in the darke night, thanking and congratulating him for his thether comyng, and also requiryng him to hasten, and speede his iourney towarde their Citie, enformyng

him,

him, that now the time serued for his purpose: and time not taken, was laboz mispent. This auncient Fox, and pollitique Capitayne losse not one houre, nor spared one minut, till he came befoze the Citie of Burdeaux. The Citizens glad of his comyng, made not the French Capitaynes, which had the gouernance of the towne, eyther parties or priues of their intent: yet some of them would, that the French men, in securitie both of lyues and goodes should departe out of the towne, but their wyll was no will: for the multitude, abhorring the French seruitude, and embracing the Englishe libertie, which they and their auncestors of many yeres had tasted, opened one gate, and let in a great parte of the Englishe armie. The French Capitaynes intending to escape secretly by a posterne, were slayne and taken by the Lorde Lesper, and other of the Englishe army. After the regainyng of Burdeaux, arrived at Blay the Bastarde of Sommerset, Sir John Talbot Lorde Lile, by his wyfe sonne to the sayde Erle of Shrewsbury, the Lorde Montgomerie, Syr John Vernon with .xxij. C. men with bittayles and munitions. When the Erle of Shrewsbury was thus according to his entent of all thinges furnished and adorned: first he fortified Burdeaux with Englishe men and bittayle: after that he rode into the Countrey abroad, where he obteyned Citie, & gat townes without stroke or dent of sworde: for the poore and needie people being weryed with the oppzession of their new Landlords rendered their townes, befoze they were of them requyred, and beside thys the townes and Citie farre distaunt from Burdeaux, sent messengers to the Erle, promisyng to him both service and obeyssaunce. And among other the towne and Castell of Chastillon in Perigot, was to him deliuered by the Frenchmen vpon composition, that they might with their liues safely depart: which towne, the Erle strongly fortified both with men and ordinaunce. The French king lyeng at Towerns in Towrayne, being of the Erles actes in Gascoyn credibly enformed, was not a little exasperate and quickned: wherfore he minding to resist the first stroke, & repulse the first surge, assembled a great army to the number of .xxij. thousand men, and entering into Aquitayne came to Lusigneum, and from thence accompanied with the Erle of Ponthuyre, the Lordes of saint Seuer and Borcat, marched towarde Calice in Gascoyn, and with sayre promyses obteyned the towne. And after that towne gayned, the French king diuided his armie into two parties, wherof the one was gouerned by the Erle of Cleremont, sonne in lawe to King Charles, and heyre to the Duke of Burbon, in the which were .xv. thousand men, in whom consisted the waight and peyse of the whole enterpryse. This army he appointed to take the next way toward Burdeaux: the other armie wherof he was Capitayn and leader himselfe, accompanied with the pceres and noble men of his realme, he kept and reteyned still beside Caley, and sent the two Marchalles of Fraunce with .xxij. C. men of armes, beside Archers, to besiege the towne of Chastillon in Perigot, & in going thether, they gat a forresse, which they manned, and so departed to Chastillon, which they emproned with a strong siege, and cast high trenches, and made deepe ditches on euery side: and in a place where their enemies must come, they layde ordinaunce both great and small, wherof so great a number was neuer before seene in Fraunce. The Erle of Shrewsbury hearing of these newes,

and

The Citie of Burdeaux recouered by the Englishe men.



and perceyuing that he must of necessitie encounter and fight with two armies, determined with himselfe, first to assay the least power and weaker puissance: wherfore without longer delay, he assembled together eight. C. horsemen, whereof the Lorde Lisle his sonne, the Lorde Holyns, the Lorde Cameus, Syr Edward Hull, syr John Haward, and Syr John Vernon were chiefe, and so marched forward toward Chastillon, appoynting. v. M. foote men vnder the conduyt of the Erle of Kendalle, and the Lorde Lespar to followe him with all speede. In his way he assauted the Towre, which the French men had taken, and by force entered, and slue all that he found within, and by the way he met five hundred frenchmen, goyng a forragyng, of whome he slue the greatest parte, and chased the other to the campe. The french men knowing by these good runners away of the Erles approaching, with all diligence left the siege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with ordinaunce. They within the towne seing the siege remoued, sent out worde to the Englishe men that the french men fled. The courageous Erle hearing these newes, and fearing least through long taryng the birdes might be flowne adraye, not taryng till his foote men were come, set forward toward his enemies, which were in minde surely to haue fled, as they confessed afterward, if the feare of the french kings rebuke, which was not farre of, had not caused them to tarie, and yet in this armie were present, the Marshalles and great Master of Fraunce, the Erle of Douthyeure, the Senescal of Poythiew, the Lorde Bessire, and many valyaunt Barons and knights. When the Englishe men were come to the place where the french men were encamped, in the which (as Eneas Siluius testifieth) were three hundred peeces of Brasse, beside diuers other small peeces, and subtil engines to the English men unknowne, and nothing suspected, they lighted all on foote, the Erle of Shrewsburie onely except, which because of his age, rode on a little Hackeny, and fought fiercely with the french men, and gat the entrie of their Campe, and by fine force entered into the same. Thys conflict continued in doubtfull iudgement of victorie two long houres: during which fight, the Lords of Montamban and Humadayre, with a great company of french men entered the battayle, and began a newe fielde, and sodainely the Gonners perceyuing the English men to approach neere, discharged their ordinaunce, and slue three hundred persons, nere to the Erle, who perceyuing the imminent ieopardie, and subtle labirynt, in the which he and his people were enclosed and trapped, dispising his awne sauegarde, and desiring the lyfe of his entierly and welbeloued sonne the Lorde Lisle, willed, aduertised, and counsayled him to departe out of the fielde, and to saue himselfe. But when the sonne had answered that it was neyther honest nor naturall for him, to leaue his father in the extreme ieopardie of his lyfe, and that he would taste of that draught, which his father and Parent should assay and beginne: The noble Erle and comfortable Capitaine sayde to him: Oh sonne, sonne, I thy father, which onely hath bene the terroz and scourge to the french people so many yeres, which hath subuerted so many townes, and discomfited so manye of them in open battayle, and marciall conflict, neyther can here die, for the honour of my Countrey, without great laude and perpetuall fame, nor flie or depart without perpetuall shame and continuall infamy. But because this is thy

first

first iourney and enterpryse, neyther thy flyeng shall redounde to thy shame, nor thy death to thy glozie: for as hardie a man wisely flyeth, as a rashe person foolishly abiderth, therefore the flyeng of me shall be the dishonour, not onely of me and my progenie, but also a discomfiture of all my company: thy departure shall saue thy lyfe, and make thee able another tyme, if I be slayne to reuenge my death, and to do honoz to thy pzince, and profue to his realme. But nature so wrought in the sonne, that neyther desire of lyfe, nor thought of securitie, could withdraw or pluck him from his naturall father: he considering the constancie of his childe, and the great daunger that they stood in, comforted his souldiours, cheared his Capytaynes, and valiantly set on his enemies, and slue of them more in number then he had in his company. But his enemies hauing a greater company of men, and more abundaunce of ordinaunce then before had bene sene in a battayle, first shot him through the thighe with a handgonne, and slue his horse, and cowardly kylled hym, lyeng on the ground, whome they neuer durst looke in the face, while he stode on his feete, and with hym there dyed manfully his sonne the Lorde Lisle, his bastard sonne Henry Talbot, and syr Edward Hull, elect to the noble order of the Garter, and. xxx. valyaunt personages of the Englishe nation, and the Lorde Holyns was there taken prisoner with. lx. other. The residue of the Englishe people fled to Burdeaux and other places, whereof in the flight, were slayne, aboue a thousand persons. At this battayle of Chastillon, fought the. xiiij. day of Julij, in this yere ended his lyfe John Lorde Talbot, & of his progenie the first Erle of Shrewsburie, after that he with muche fame, more glozie, and most victorie had for his Prince and Countrey, by the space of. xxxiij. yeres and more, valyauntly made warre, and serued the king, in the partes beyonde the sea, whose corps was left on the ground, and after was found by his friendes, and conueyed to Whitchurch in Shropshyre, where it is intumulate. This man was to the french people a very scourge, and a daylie terroz, in so much that as his person was fearefull and terrible to his aduersaries present: so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadfull to the common people absent, in so much that women in fraunce to feare their yong children, would crie, the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth. After this discomfiture, diuers Lordes fled to Burdeaux, but the Erle of Kendall, the Lordes of Montferrant, of Rosayne, and of Bangladas, entered into the Castell of Chastillon, which they by the space of. x. dayes manfully defended, but in conclusion being desperate of all succours rendered the fortreffe, and came safe to Burdeaux. After thys towne was yeilded, the townes of Saint Million, Bybourne and all other, which the Erle of Shrewsbury had conquered, rendered themselves to the french obedience, Burdeaux onely except. The which City being the last refuge, and onely consolation of the Englishe people in Gascoyn, the french king in person with all his puissance strongly besieged and daylie assauted, in the which he more lost then gayed: beside thys, the Englishe men issued out, and courageously fought with their enemies: lykewise did the Citizens, which looking for no fauour at the french kings hande, because of their late commutation agaynst him, manfully defended themselves, and soze noyed and hurt their enemies. But in conclusion both garrisons and the inhabitants oppressed with much penurie, & extreme famine were enforced to render the

John Lorde  
Talbot Erle  
of Shrews-  
bury Game.

Attaile of  
Chastillon.

A. j.

Citie



Citie vpon reasonable conditions, to them by the French king sent and offered: the effect whereof was that no offence, before time committed or done by any of the Citezens should hereafter be imputed, or layde to the charge of any of them. Also that all Englishe men and Gascons might safely depart into Englande, or to Caleys with all their substance, and that the Lordes Lespar Duras, and xxx. other, should neuer vpon payne of death, be found within any of the french kings dominions, which Lord Lesparre after being taken disguised in Gascoyne, was made shorter by the head. When this composition was agreed and sealed, the Englishe men had their shippes and all things necessary for their iourney to them deliuered, which, when winde and weather serued, were shortly transported into Englande, in the month of October this present yere.

Thus was the Duchy of Aquytaine, which had continued in the English possession from the yere of our Lorde. M. lb. which is .iii. C. and odde yeres, by the maryage of Clynor, daughter and heyre to Wyllyam Duke of Aquytaine, wife to king Henry the seconde, finally reduced, and brought agayne to the french obedience and seruitude. The keeping of which duchy was neyther costly, nor troublesome to the Realme of Englande, but both pleisant and profitable: for by the soueraigne of that country, yong gentlemen learned the experience of warre, & expert men were promoted to many ryche offices, and great liuinges within the same. For within that onelic Duchye, are foure Archebishops, xxiii. Bishops, .xv. Erledoms, two. C. and two Barones, and aboue a Thousande Capytaineshippes and Baylywickes.

Although this great losse chaunced, this yere to the English nacion, yet a greater detryment hapned the same season to the whole flocke of christen people. For Mahomet, called the great Turke, beseged the Citie of Constantynople in Greece, wyth an innumerable number of Turkes, and fifty daies together gaue to it a continuall assault, and on the fourth daye of June, toke it perforce, sleiung man, woman, and chyldren, except the Emperour Paleologus, and diuers other of the bloode Royall, whome he toke prisoners, and after caused them to be beheaded. If I shoulde write the detestable murder of men, the abhominable and cruell slaughter of chyldren, the shamefull rauishment of women and Virgins, which were perpetrate and done by the vnnmercifull Pagans and cruell Turkes, I assure you that your eares would abhorre the hearing, and your eyes would not abyde the readyng, and therfore I passe them ouer.

In this troublous season on the .xiiij. day of October, was the Queene deliuered at Westmyster of a fayre sonne, which was christened and named Edward, and after grew to a goodly and perfite man, as you shall here: whose mother susteyned not a little slander and obloquye of the common people, sayeng that the king was not able to get a childe, and that this was not his sonne, with many slanderous wordes, to the Queenes dishonour, which here neede not to be rehersed. After the birth of this childe, the king highly aduanced his two brethren, on his mothers side. For Edmond he created Erle of Richemond, which was father to king Henry the seuenth, and Jasper he created Erle of Penbroke, which died without issue.

Now when fozen warre and outward battailes were brought to an ende,

and small conclusion: domesticall dyscorde, and euill discencion began againe to renewe and aryse, within the Realme of Englande, for when the care of outward hostilitye (which kepte the myndes of the Princes, in the realme occupied, & in exercise) was taken away and banished, desire of sovereignty & ambition of preheminance, sodainely sprang out so farre, that the whole Realme was diuided into two severall factions, and priuat parts. For kyng Henry, descended of the house of Lancastre, claimyng the crowne from king Henry the fourth, his graund father, first aucthor of this diuision: and Rycharde Duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionell, the thirde sonne to kyng Edward the thirde, wresteled for the game, and stroue for the wager. By reason whereof, the Nobles, aswell as the common people, were into parts diuided, to the destruction of manye a man, and to the great ruine and decay of this regyon. For whyle the one parte studied to banquishe and suppress the other, all common wealth was set asyde, and iustice & equitie was cleerely eriled. For the Duke of Yorke, which sore gaped and more thirsted for the superioritie and preheminance, studied, deuysed, and practised all wayes, and meanes, by the which he myght attayne to hys pretended purpose, and long hoped desire. And amongst all imaginations, one seemed most necessarye for his purpose, which yet againe was to stirre and prouoke the malice of all the people, against the Duke of Somerset, who onely ruled the kyng, and ordered all things at hys pleasure and will: Imaginyng, that he beyng made out of the way, hys purpose shoulde shortly come to a good conclusion. Wherefore, to the nobles of the Realme he complayned, & lamented the miserable state and dayly ruine of this noble countrey: noting and affirming, the Duke of Sommer set to be the very roote, & cause of the same, whome he named, and called, an vniust man, a mischeuous person, a tyrannicall gouernour, and a couetous counsaillor: layng also great offences to king Henry, sayng, that he was a man, neyther of wit, nor stomacke, neyther meete to be a king, nor apt to gouerne a common wealth, and therfore it was the dutie of the noble men, and great Princes, not onely to thinke on this weightie matter, but speedely to prouide a remedy, and to set the Realme in an other stay. By which complaints, and perswasions, the Duke of Yorke, so altered the myndes of many persons of highe estate, that they liked not the worlde, as it then waered, nor approued the actes of the king or his counsaile. And because that ambition and auarice was newly entred into their hartes, they studied sodainly to chaunge all things, and tourne the worlde vpsedowne. When the Duke saw mens appetites, and felt well their myndes, he chieflie entertayned two Richardes, and both Neuelles, the one of Salisburie, the other of Werwike beyng Erles, the first the father, the second the sonne. This Erle of Salisburie was second sonne to Raufe Neuell, Erle of Westmerland, whose daughter the Duke of Yorke had married, and the sayde Rycharde was espoused to Lady Alice, the only childe and sole heire of Thomas Montacute Erle of Salisburie, slaine at the siege of Orleans (as before I haue declared) of which woman he engendered Richard, John and George: Rycharde the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the sister and heire of the entire blood to Lorde Henry Beauchampe Erle, and after Duke of Warwike, in whose right and tytle he was created and named Erle of Warwike, and not by his aboue progeny or parentage. This Richard was not only a man of excellent

The diuision betweene the two houses of Lancaster and yorke.

Tit. ii.

qualities,

The losse of the whole Duchy of Aquytaine.

A declaracion of the dignities in the Duchy of Aquytaine.

The winning of Constantinople by the great Turke.

The birth of prince Edward, sonne to king Henry the sixt.

The kinges two brethren created erles.

1454

32



qualities, but also from his youth, by a certaine practise or naturall inclination, to set himselfe forward with wittie and gentle demeanour, to all persons of high and of lowe degree, that among all sortes of people, he obtained great loue, fauour and credence: which things daylie more and more increased, by his abundant liberalitie, and plentifull house keeping, then by his riches, aucthoritie, or high parentage: by reason of which doings, he was in suche fauour and estimation amongst the common people, that they iudged him able to doe all things, and that without him, nothing to be well done. For which causes his aucthoritie shortly so fast increased, that which way he bowed, that way ranne the streame, and what parte he aduanced, that side gat the superiortie.

When the Duke of Yorke had fastened his Chaine, betwene these two strong pillers, he with his friendes, so seriously wrought, and so politiquely handled his businesse, that the Duke of Sommerfet was arrested in the Quenes great Chamber, and sent to the Towre of London, where he without great solempnitie kept a heauie Christmalle: agaynst whome in open Parliament, were layd diuers & heynous articles of high treason, aswell for the losse of Normandie, as for the late mischaunce which happened in Guien. The king at this tyme was sicke at Clarendon, and so conueyed to London, by reason whereof, no finall determination proceeded, in this great & waigh- tie cause, but it was put in suspence, till the next assemble of the high Court of Parliament. During which tyme the king either of his awne minde, or by the Quenes procurement, caused the Duke of Sommerfet, to be set at libertie: by which doyng, grewe great enuy and displeasure, betwene the king and diuers of his Lordes, and in especiall, betwene the Duke of Yorke and the kinges linage. And to aggravate more the malice newe begon, the Queene, which then ruled the rois, and bare the whole rule, caused the Duke of Sommerfet to be preferred to the Captainship of Calice, wherewith, not onely the Commons, but also many of the Nobilitie, were greatly grieued and offended, sayng: that he had lost Normandie, and so would he doe Calice. The Duke of Yorke and his adherentes perceiuyng, that neyther exhortacion serued, nor accusament preuayled agaynst the Duke of Sommerfet, determined to reuenge their quarrell, and obteyne their purpose, by open warre and Marciall aduenture, and no lenger to slepe in so waigh- tie a businesse. So he beyng in the Marches of Wales, associate with his speciall friendes, the Erles of Sarisbury, and Warwike, the Lorde Cobham, and other, assembled an army, and gathered a great power, and like warlike persons, marched toward London. The Londoners, heeryng of so great a multitude, commyng toward the Citie, were greatly astonied and much abashed: for euery person considered his awne part, that eyther with holdyng with the one side, or beyng contrariant to the other, or medlyng with no part, he should incurre indignacion or displeasure. The king beyng credibly enformed, of the great armie commyng toward him, assembled an host, intendyng to mete with the Duke in the North part, because he had to many friendes aboute the Citie of London, and for that cause with great speede and small lucke, he beyng accompanied with the Dukes of Sommerfet and Buckingham, the Erles of Stafford, Northumberland, and Wilshire, with the Lorde Clifford, and diuers other Barons, departed out of Westminster, the .xx. day of May,

toward

toward the towne of Saint Albones: of whose doynges the Duke of Yorke beyng aduertised by his espials, with all his power coasted the Countreys, and came to the same towne, the third day next ensuyng. The king heeryng of their approachyng, sent to him messengers, straightly chargyng and commaundyng him, as an obedient subiect, to kepe the peace, and not as an enemy to his naturall Countreie, to murder and slea his awne Countrymen and proper Nation. While king Henry, more desyrus of peace than of warre, was sendyng forth his Orators, at the one ende of the towne: the Erle of Warwike with the Marchemen, entered at the other ende of the towne, and fiercely set on the kinges forward, and them shortly discomfited. Then came the Duke of Sommerfet, and all the other Lordes with the kinges power, which fought a sore and cruell battaile, in the which many a tall man lost his life: but the Duke of Yorke sent euer fresh men, to succor the werie, and put new men in places of the hurt persons, by which onely pollicie, the kinges armie was ouerthrowne and dispersed, and all the Chieftaynes of the fielde almost slaine and brought to confusion. For there dyed vnder the signe of the Castel, Edmond Duke of Sommerfet, who long before was warned to eschew all Castelles, and besyde him, lay Henry the second Erle of Northumberlande, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, sonne to the Duke of Buckingham, John Lord Clifford, and .viii. thousand men and more. Humfrey Duke of Buckingham beyng wounded, and James Butler Erle of Wilshire and Ormond, seyng fortunes lowzyng chaunce, left the king post alone, and with a great number fled away. This was the ende of the first battaile at Saint Albones, which was fought on the Thursday before the feast of Pentecost, beyng the .xiiij. day of May. In this .xxxiiij. yere of the kinges reigne, the bodies of the noble men were buried in the Monasterye, and the meane people in other places. This Edmond Duke of Sommerfet left behinde him thre sonnes, Henry, Edmond, and John, which to the extremitie of death, tooke part with the line of King Henry.

After this victorie obteyned by the Duke of Yorke and his companions, he remembred that he had oftentimes declared and published abroad, the on- ly cause of his warre to be, for the aduancement of the publike wealth, and to set the realme in a more commodious estate, and a better condicion. Where- fore, he vsyng all lenitie, mercie, and bounteousnesse, would not once touch or apprehende the body of King Henry, whome he might both haue slaine, and utterly destroyed, considering that he had him in his warde and gouernance. But with great honour and due reuerence conueyed him to London, and so to Westminster, to the which place was sommoned and appoynted a great assemble of the thre estates, commonly called a Parliament, which beganne the .iiij. day of July, in the which session, the Duke of Gloucester was open- ly declared a true Prince, both to the king and the realme. Besyde this it was enacted, that no person should eyther iudge or reporte, any poynt of vntruth, of the Duke of Yorke, the Erles of Sarisbury, and Warwike, for commyng in warlike maner agaynst the king at Saint Albones, consideryng that their attempt and enterpryce, was onely to see the kinges person in safegarde and sure keepyng, and to put and aliene from him, the publike oppressors of the common wealth: by whose misgouernance, his life might be in hazard, and his aucthoritie hang in a very small threed. In which Parliament also the

J. iiij.

Duke

The first  
battaile at  
S. Albones.Parliament  
holden at  
Westminster.1455  
33  
The Duke  
of Sommer-  
fet arrested  
of Treason.The Duke  
of Sommer-  
fet againe re-  
leased.



Duke of Yorke was made Protector of the Realme, and the Erle of Sarisbury was appoynted to be Chaunceloz, & had the great Seale to him deliuered: and the Erle of Warwike was elected to the office of the Capteyne of Calice, and territories of the same. As this device was polittiquely inuented and so was the sequele therof to the first aucthoz, both honourable and profitable, if fortunes ship had sayled all one way. For by this practice, the rule and regiment of the whole realme, consisted onely in the heades and orders of the Duke and the Chaunceloz, and all the warlike affayres and businesse, rested principally in the Erle of Warwike, and so among them it was agreed that king Henry should stil reigne, in name & dignity, but neyther in dede, nor in aucthoritie: not myndyng eyther to depose or destroy the sayde king, least they might sodainely prouoke and stirre the fury and yre of the common people against them: which for his holinesse of life, and abundant clemencie, was of the simple sort much fauoured, and highly esteemed. After which aucthoritie geuen, these thre persons ruled the realme, and did all thinges after their awne discrecions (which without battail or manslaughter, might haue easely depriued the sayde king both of life and land.) And first they amoued from the priue counsaile, all such persons as the King loued, or the Queene fauored, puttyng in their places men of their sect and confederacie, & chaunging officers throughtout the realme at their will and disposition: so that the olde spoken prouerbe here tooke place: New Lordes, newe lawes: such lippes, such lettuce. And yet in all their rule, I finde no mencion made of differryng iustice, or of their pollyng, or their bybery, as was openly proued by suche as gouerned before their time: sayyng that they toke out of y<sup>e</sup> Sanctuary of Westminster, John Holland Duke of Excester, being repugnant to the order taken and concluded, in the last Parliament, and conueyed him to Pomfret Castell. Which takyng out, was accoumpted an execrable and a dampnable offence, of diuerse of the spiritualtie, and especially of the Abbot of Westminster, and his Monkes, and this is the most spot that was (as I could read) euer most to be cast in the Dukes fame, duryng his Protectorshippe, or of his counsaile.

But that benemous woyme, that dreadfull Dragon, called disdain of superiozitie, which hath consumed the blood of so many noble Princes, and destroyed the linage of so many gouernozs, in all Realmes and kingdomes, aswell Pagan as Christian, could not abstaine from incensyng the hartes of Lorde Henry Beauford, newly come to the Duchie of Sommerset, by the death of Duke Edmond his father, which at the battaile of Saint Albons, (as you haue hearde before reherfed) lost his life, and of Humfrey Duke of Buckingham, whose sonne and heyre named Humfrey, Erle of Stafforde, tasted the same cup, at the fozenamed conflict, and of other Lordes and men of authoritie, fauouryng and solowyng the part of King Henry, whiche not onely bewayled and had compassion of the vnshure condicion, and waueryng estate of hys rule and Lordshippe, perceiuyng openly, wherunto the cloaked gentlenesse, and subornate fashon of the Duke of Yorke tended and crept bype: But also thought it necessarye and conuenient, to puruey for a remedy, or the mischiese happened. Wherefore with open mouthes and fierce courages, they came to Quene Margarett, informing her that it was not honozable, but a reproche and infamy to the king, to haue

one to be a Protector and gouernoz of him and his realme, as who wouide say: that he was eyther a childe, which had neede of a Roice to feede him with pappe, or an innocent creature, which must be ruled by a Tutor, after teyning her father, that the Duke of Yorke onely intent was, vnder the colour of his Protectorship, sodainely to destroy and depose the king, when he least thought of it, and therefore willed her in so quick a mischiese, to prouide a hastie remedie, if she loued the safegarde of her husbände, or the tuition of her selfe. The Quene hauing a wit, more then the common sort of women haue, and considering the estate of her husband, the condition of her selfe, and the perill of her onely sonne, thought it necessarye to plucke the sworde of aucthoritie out of their handes, which vnder colour of rulyng vnder others, desired to be gouernozs, and superioz themselves. Wherefore, a great counsaile was called at Grenewich, where the Duke of Yorke was discharged of his Protectorship, & the Erle of Sarisbury also, was dismissed of his office: which malicious mutacion among the Nobilitie, caused sodaine alteracions and sedicious commocions to spring and aryse in the commonaltie, and in especiall within the Citie of London.

For a yong Marchaunt, which before tyme had bene in diuers Cityes, within the Countrie of Italy, and there prohibited by the Magistrates and rulers, to vse or weare any weapon, eyther inuasyue or defensiu, chalenged an Italian in Chepeside, for wearing of a dagger, confutyng him with the lawes of his abone Countrey, which like a colerick knaue and presumptuous person, so disdainefully and with suche tauntes and checkes answered the Marchaunt, that he not wylling to suffer so open a reproche, in so publique a streete, and that of so proude a villeyne, toke by force from him his dagger, and with the same a little cut his crowne, and cracked his pate. This Italian in great haste, complayned to the Mayre of this offence, which at the next Courte, holden at the Cuyldhall, by the consent of the whole senate, sent for the offender, and declaryng to him his cryme, commaunded him to warde, whereof diuers other light Marchauntes within the Citie, soze abhorring the Italian nation, for licking the fat from their beardes, and taking from them their accustomed lyuing, by reason that the sayde straungers imported and transported into and out of this realme, all such marchandises, commodities, and necessaries, as the Englishe men onely were accustomed to doe, assembled together in great plumpes, and by force compelled the Mayoz to deliuer the prisoner out of Newegate: and yet this multitude, with thys doyng nothing faciate nor appeased, like madde persons and frantique foles, ranne to the seuerall houses of dyuers Venecians, Lucases, and Florentines, and them spoyled, robbed and rifled, without reason or measure. The Mayre perceiuyng this great enozmitie, assembled a great number of substantiall & graue Citezens, which not without great bloodshed, & mayming of sundrie persons, finally appealed their rage, and caused the people to depart to their houses. The beginner of this commocion, and sodaine bypzoze, eyther perswaded by his friendes or fearing his chaunce, which for his first fact might sodainely ensue, departed to Westminster, and there registred himselfe as a sanctuary man. The Quene which ruled all things, hearing of this great riote and vnlawfull misdemeanour, sent the Dukes of Excester and Buckyngham, accompanied with many other noble men to London,

A lewde riot  
in the Citie  
of London.

witly



with a commission of oyer and determiner, for the punishment of thys outrageous offence, and sedicious crime. When the Maior of the Citie, the two Dukes, and the two chiefe Justices, were set in Gylldhall for the performance of their commission, and began to call the empanels for the enquire, as the use and order is, diuers light witted, and lesse brayned persons of the citie, priuely armed them, and by the ringing of Bow bell, thought to assemble together a great multitude of their minde and opinion, and so by force and might to take from the keepers all such prisoners, as were before apprehended, for the late committed robbery and riot, as they were goyng to their triall or arreignment. But thys great tumult and sodaine furie was by discrete and sage Citezens a little and little appeased, and finally quenched, but in the meane season, the Dukes and other commissioners, beyng vntruly aduertised, that they were in ieopardie of their lyfes, sodaynely departed from the Gylldhall, and left their inquire for that day. The Maior on the next day perceyuing how the grudge rose, called a common counsaile, where of the number was, one hundred, foure scoze and odde persons, and by auctoritie of the same, ordeyned that all Wardeyns of misteries should assemble their felowship in their particuler Hales, where they should exhort them to the obseruation of the kings peace, and keeping of good order within the Citie: and if they espied any man, eyther prone or redie to rayse a rumour or desirous of the deliuerance of such as were accused, and in captiue custody, that their names should be secretly wozitten, and couertly deliuered to the Lorde Maior: which pollitique doyng, finally ended the outrageous doing of the insolent people, after which appeasing the commissioners returned to the Gylldhall, where many of the robbers were attainted, and after condignely put to execution, beside diuers great fynes and raunsomes payde, which were set vpon many Marchaunts, for winking at these doings, or assenting to the same.

The french nacion, hearyng of this domesticall diuision, and ciuill dissension, within the realme of Englande, much desiryng to be reuenged of old displeasures, and great damages, which they had so many yeres borne, and sustayned by the englishe people, appointed two Hauies to inuade and destroy the townes and portes, adioyning to the riuage of the Sea. The Captayne of the one armye was William Lorde Bomiers, and of the other, sir Piers Bressy, a great ruler in Normandy. These two Captaynes, when oportunitie of wether serued, set by their sayles at the mouth of Sayn, & there secured themselves, the one Westward, & the other Eastward, which was sir Peter de Bressy. This lusty captayne sailyng al the coast of Suffer, and Kent, durst not once take lande, till he arriued in the dovnnes, and there hauing by a certayne espial perfite notice, that the towne of Sandwich was neyther peopled, nor fortified, because that a litle before, the chiefe rulers of the towne, were fromthence departed, for to auoyde the pestilenciall plague, which soze there infected, and slew the people, entred the haven, spoyled the towne, and after such poore stufte as he there founde, rifled and taken, he fearing an assemble of the countrey, shortly returned. The Lorde Bomiers likewise took his course Westwarde, and by night bent certayne houses in Foulney, and with a litle pillage retired into Brittain. These two aduentures and fortunate chaunces, which to them in comparison of their great expences, in their

ioyneys were scant worth one poore mite, or single farthing: The French writers delate, setfoorth, and paint with penne, as though they had gotten Crelus riches, and Alexanders kingdoms: forgetting how many hundred thousande pounds they had lost in few yeres before preceding, as to all men, being indifferent readers of this History, playnely appereth. But verely some breade is better to the hungrye persone, then no breade, and a small gayne of him, which desireth recouery, is a great pleasure, and therefore the French aucthors make of a litle, much, and yet theit much, (all things considered) is in effect nothing at all.

The Scottes also not degenerating from their olde mutabilitie, nor altering their auncient conditions, from their accustomed and vsuall vntruth, entered into Northumberland, king James the second, then beyng there in person, and burned small houses, & little cotages: but in the very middes of their great enterpryse, they hearing of the Duke of Yorke, marching towarde them with a great armie, with much paine, and no gaine in all haste reuerted to their Countrey. Let vs passe ouer for a time all outward inuasions, and returne to our owne domesticall debate and daylie discorde.

First not forgetting, that whyle foreyn enimies inuaded the outwarde partes, and extreme confines of thys troublous realme, a great conflict was attempted betweene the Lorde Egremond, and the sonnes of the Erles of Salisburie: in the which fray, many persons were slayne, and a great number hurt. The Lorde Egremond in thys great tumult could not escape, but by force was taken and brought before the kinges counsaile, and there the king and the Quene to shew themselves to all persons indifferent, adiudged him to pay to the Erle of Salisburie a great summe of money, and for his heynous offence, done agaynst the kinges lawes, he was committed to the Bayle of Newgate, within the citie of London, out of the which prison, by helpe of his fautozs, he secretly escaped, and sodainely departed, to the great beration of the Shziefes of London, at the time being.

Quene Margaret whose breath ruled, and whose word was obeyed aboue the king and his counsaile, wythin the realme of Englande, entending the destruction of the Duke of Yorke and his friends, which deuise shee thought not meete to be practised neere to the Citie of London, because she well perceyued the Duke of Yorke to be had in moze estimation among the Citezens and commonaltie, then the king her husband, or her atone person: caused the king to make a progresse into Watwikesshire, for hys health and recreation, and so with Hawking and hunting, came to the Citie of Couentre, where were diuers wayes studied priuely, to bring the Queene to her hartes ease, and long desired purpose: which was the death and destruction of the Duke of Yorke, the Erles of Salisburie and Warwick. And for the furniture of thys matter, all these three noble men were sent for to Couentre by the kings letters vnder his priuic seale, to which place the foresayde Lordes, suspecting no treason, nor putting diffidence in any creature, obediently resorted, but in the Serpent lurking vnder the grasse, and vnder sugred speche, was hid pestiferous poyson, so that if these noble men admonished by their friends, had not sodaynely departed, they lyues had bene shortned, but by secret admonicion of their good wyllers (to whom no earthly treasure is comparable) they auoyded this net, and narrowly escaped the

The Scotts  
inuade Eng-  
lande.

1457

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The French  
men inuade  
the coastes of  
England.



snare, whereupon for the securitie and tuition of their lyues, the Duke of Yorke departed to Wygmore in the Marches of Wales, the Erle of Salisburie resorted to his tayne Castell of Widdelham in the Northcountrie, and the Erle of Warwike sayled to the towne of Caleys. Although the bodie of these noble personages were by this seditious and fraudulent meanes a sunder separated as ye haue heard: yet their hartes were knit and coupled in one, neuer forgettyng, but daylie studyng, both howe to be reuenged of the olde dispites and malicious attempts, agaynst them committed and imagined, and also howe to compasse their purposes, and to get the superiortie and ouer hand aboue their euill wyllers, and apparaunt enemies: for which causes their letters neuer ceased, their messengers neuer slept, nor their purses were at no time shut, what for entertayning of olde friends, and obtayning of newe confederates, till king Henry and his alyes were driuen away, and expelled clerely out of this realme, as after shall appere.

1458  
35

Because you haue bene long troubled with reding of diuers diuisions and seditions w<sup>ch</sup> in the realme, among the temporaltie, I will now a little digresse from my continued purpose, to declare to you an ouerthwart iudgement geuen among the fathers of the spiritualltie agaynst Reynolde Perocke, then Bishop of Chichester. This man somewhat learned, but better stomacked, began to moue questions, not priuately, but openly in the Uniuersities, concerning the Annates, Peterpence, & other iurisdiccions and authorities, apperteyning to the Sea of Rome, and not onely put forth the questions, but declared his minde and opinion in the same: wherefore he was for this cause abiured at Paules Crosse, and all his bookes bzent, and he himselfe kept in his awne house, durynge his naturall lyfe. Some say that his opinion was that spirituall persons by Gods law, ought to haue no temporall possessions. Other write, that he sayd, that personall tythes were not due by Gods lawe: But whatsoener the cause was, in suche sorte as before I haue declared, he was bsd. Thus much Hall.

Reynold Perock, byshop of Chichester, abiured at Paules Crosse.

King Henry and his adherentes, perceiuyng that the Duke of Yorke lay still, and made no open apparaunce of assemble or commocion, returned to London, and there called a great counsaile, openly declaring how the french king perceiuyng the realme of England bereed, and troubled with ciuile disencion, and mutuall discord, was not afeard to sende his Admiralles on the coastes of Kent, and Deuonshire, and there to spoyle towones, burne houses, and murder the Englishe people: which cause also animated the Scottes to make Rodes and incursions, into the confines and Marches of the realme, to the great losse and detriment of the kinges liege people: which two Nations were set continually to grieue and bere this his realme of Englande, till they perceyued a perfite concorde, and an vnfayned amitie to be concluded and knit together, betwene him and his consanguinitie, and the other sort of the contrary part and confederacie. And to the entent that he would be the chiefe author of peare, and principall styrer of this vertuous concorde, he promised so gently to entertaine the Duke of Yorke, and his fauozers, that all olde grudges, beyng not onely inwardly forgotten, but also outwardly forgiven, should be the cause of perpetuall loue, betwene them & their friendes: of which concorde should ensue familiaritie among the Lordes, and concorde among the Commons, which to all vtter enemies should be an inwarde grudge,

The deuise for the con-cord and vni-tye of the realme.

grudge, and to this realme a great glozie and profite. This deuise was of all men present well taken and adiudged, both honourable to the king, and profitable to his realme. Whereupon diuers graue and sad persons were sent to the Duke of Yorke, and al other the great estates of the realme, which sence the battaile of Saint Albones neuer met, came, nor commoned together, commaundyng them for reasonable causes, and great considerations, to resort vnto the kinges Palayce, without delay. At this commaundement came to London Richard Duke of Yorke, and Richard Erle of Sarisburie, accompanied with a great number of meniall seruauntes, and friendes, least peradventure they for lacke of ayde, might haue bene betrapped, or they had knowlege, or were warned. After them came from Calice to London, the Erle of Warwike, whose seruitures were apparailled in red Cotes, embzauered with white ragged staues. These three Lordes were lodged within the Citie: the Duke, at Baynardes Castell, the Erle of Sarisbury at the Herber, and the Erle of warwike at his place besyde the Gray friers. About the same season, with no lesse companie of men, came to the Citie, the yong Duke of Sommerset, the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford, whose fathers were slain at S. Albons: and after them resorted the Dukes of Brester and Buckingham, the Lorde Egremond, and most of all the nobilitie of this realme. The Duke of Yorke and his mates were lodged without the Citie, and the Duke of Sommerset and all his friendes, soiourned without Temple barre, Holborne, and other places of the Suburges: as who sayde, that as the Jewes disdaind the company of the Samaritans, so the Lancastrians abhorred the familiaritie of the Yorkishe linage. After the coming of these Lordes to the Citie, the king, the Quene, with all their familie shortly folowed, & were lodged in the Bishoppes Palayce of London. These Lordes had such great companies attendyng on them (for one had fine hundreth, other had fine hundreth, and diuers foure hundreth persons in a band) that continuall watch was kept by the Maior and senate of London, aswell by day as by nyght, for the preseruacion of the peare, and continuance of good order. The Lordes which lodged within the Citie, kept a dayly countaile at the black friers, within the Citie. The other part soiourning without the walles, assembled likewise in the Chapter house of Westminster. Thus euery part both studyed his awne profite and aduancement, and also howe to reuenge thinges done to them, by their foes and aduersaryes. But the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and other vertuous prelates, so exhorted, apolyed, and perswaded both the parties (although a great while they were neyther heard, nor regarded) that in conclusion, they brought them to a communication, where after long altercation, aswell of olde iniuries, and newe displeasures, by the one faction, agaynst the other comitted, the feare of outward hostilitie, and frozen inuasion so mollesyed their indurate hartes, that they outwardly promisyng to forget all olde rancors, and auuncient displeasures, sealed and signed writynges, the one euer after to be friend to the other, and altogether to be obedient to the king, and fauozers to his friendes, and enemies to his enemies. This concorde was so ioyfull to the superiours, and so embraced of the common people (who euer beare the burthen when Princes be at controuersy) that for the open apparaunce, and demonstracion of this godly conroz, publike Processions were appoynted, to be solempnly celebrate

The moste hatred betwene the two linages of Lancaster and yorke.



A general  
procession at  
Paules by  
the King,  
and his  
Peeres  
of the realme.

A dissimu-  
ling processio

John Duke  
of Blainson  
executed in  
France.

1459

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celebrate within the Church of Saint Paule, in the Citie of London, on the day of the Conception of our Ladie, in the Moneth of Marche. At which solempne feast, the king in habite royall hauyng his Diademe on his heade, kept his estate in Procession, before whome went hande in hande, the Duke of Sommerfet, the Erle of Sarisburie, the Duke of Excester and the Erle of Warwike, and so one of the one faction, and another of the other sect, and behinde the king the Duke of Yorke led the Queene, with great familiaritie to all mens sightes: But wo worth dissimulacion, and false flattering countenance: eye on double entendement, and cloked adulation, which hath bene the common seruitures in all Palaces, both Imperiall, and Regall, and by their onely pestiferous venime, and secrete malice, hath bene the destruction of many a noble man, and the confusion of a great number of true meanyng and faythfull persons. But the wise man, whiche sayth: wo to the that hast a double heart, meant, that dissimulacion once espyed, should be the arrowe wherewith the dissembler should be wounded. As by this cloked Pageant, and disseimbling Procession, hereafter shall plainly be declared. For their bodies were ioyned by hande in hand, whose heartes were farre asunder: their mouthes louingly smyled, whose courages were enflamed with malice: their wordes were swete as suger, and their thoughtes were all enuened: but all these dissimulyng persons, tasted the vessell of wo, as the wise man sayd: and fewe or none of this companie were vnblotted, or vnder destroyed by this dolorous drinke of dissimulacion. But this cancard worne and pestiferous Cocatrice, not onely at this tyme reigned in England, but also did much harme in the Court of France: for John Duke of Blainson, which before had bene prisoner, and well enterteyned in the realme of England, and after Captain generall of the warres in France against the Englishe men, highly fauoured, and of great estimation in the Frenche kinges house, was by such as he most trusted, and bled most familiaritie withall, and whom he had greatly promoted, and highly exalted, accused of high treason, as enemye to his king, and traytor to his Countrey, allegyng that he long before that tyme had conspired with the Englishe men, to cause them once againe to recouer the Duchie of Normandie: whereupon by the order of the lawe, he there suffered death very vniustly, as diuers Authours affirme, whereof one sayth: that kinges seekyng treason, shall finde lande, and the deniall of a princes desyre, was the inuented destruction of the innocent Fa-both. Well let vs now leaue the cloked collusion, that remayned in France, and retorne to the open dissimulacion, which now appered in England.

As fier being enclosed in a straight place, will by force vtter his flame, and as the course of water astricted and letted, will flow and burst out in continuance of tyme: so this cancard Crocodile, and subtile serpent, could not long lurke in malicious heartes, but in conclusion she must (acordyng to her nature appere and shewe her selfe. For after this apparant concord (acordyng to the very nature of dissimulacion) diuerse noble men of birth, but not stable of woorde, puttyng from them honour, truth, and honestie, forgot their oth, and brake their promise, and aduanced forth the Banner of displeasure, and the flagge of malice. So a man may see, that such persons regard neyther their awne peculiar profite, nor the publique wealth of their natie Countrey, nor yet passe of an othe, or promise breakyng, to whome dis-

corde

A fray made  
vpon the  
Erle of War-  
wikes ser-  
uaunt.

corde is pleasant, and dissencion is dilectable. For not long after this dissimulacion, a certeine fray, eyther by chaunce, or of a thing prepered, was made vpon a yoman of the Erles of Warwike, by a seruiture of the kings, in the which the Assaylant was sore hurte, but the Erles man fled. The kings mayniall seruantes, seing their fellow hurt, and the offendor escaped, assembled in great number, and watched the Erle, returyng from the Cou- saile toward his Barge, and sodainly set on him the yomen with swordes, and the Blacke garde with spittes, and fyre forkes. After long fight and many of the Erles men maymed and wounded, by helpe of his friendes, he toke a Wherry, and so escaped to London: whome the Queene incontinent commaunded to be apprehended, and as a captiue and prisoner, to be sent to the Tower of London, where (if he had bene then taken) he had shortly ended his dayes. By this vnhappy fray, and sodaine chaunce of malice, there arose such dayly and terryble warre, that euery man was in trouble, and no person was in quiet. For after this displeasure done to the Erle, and the Queenes good munde toward him, by his secrete friendes priuily reueled, he with all diligence, tooke his iourney to Warwike, and after into Yorke shire, where he found the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Salisbury, declaring to them the assault of the kings seruantes, and the pretended purpose of the fraudulent Queene. After which complaint made, he fearyng least by long absence, he might be deposed or defrauded of his Captainship of Calice, wyth great speede embarked himselfe, and sayled thither, dayly expectyng and looking, what waye the Duke of Yorke would take, for atchieuyng his long intended purpose. After whose departure, the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Salisbury, somewhat styred and moued with this double dealyng, began to grudge and murmure: assyrmynge that in the Queene rested nothing but fraude and feminine malice, which rulyng the king at her pleasure and will, studeyed nothing so much, as the destruction of the nobilitie, and peeres of the realme. After long consultation had, it was agreed, that the Erle with a warlike company, should march toward the king, & complaine both to him of the manifest iniury done to his sonne, and also of the vnkinde breache of the sworne amitie and late agreement, in which sute, if he did preuaile, he then should not omit the occasion to him geuen, in reuengyng the displeasures to him done, by the Queene and her sinister Counsaylozs, which euill and vngodly ordered the subiectes of the whole Realme.

After this deuise made and concluded, the Erle of Salisburie remoued from Hiddelham castell, accompanied with foure or fiue thousand men, and toke his way through Lancashire, and Shropshire, toward London. In the meane season the Queene, which was assisted and ruled, by the Dukes of Sommerfet and Buckingham, hauing the vigilant eie and circumspect braine, of a pollytique gouernor: imagyned that the Erle of Warwike had kindled this fire, and begun this tumult, to the entent (acording to his pretended purpose) to set the Duke of Yorke in the siege royall, and high throne of the realme: For which causes, she beyng a woman of no small wit, nor litle pollecie, conceiuyng in her opinion, that it was no boote to make any farther concord or league with her aduersaries, and hearyng of the Erle of Salisburies setting forward, wyth a company of armed men and archers: assembled together a great counsaile, to prouide a remedie, for that imminent mischiefe, and

kkk.j.

(as



A generall  
procession at  
Paules by  
the King,  
and 4 Peres  
of the realme.

A dissimu-  
ling processio

John Duke  
of Blaunfon  
executed in  
Fraunce.

1459  
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celebrate within the Church of Saint Paule, in the Citie of London, on the day of the Conception of our Ladie, in the Moneth of Marche. At which solempne feast, the king in habite royall haupng his Diademe on his heade, kept his estate in procession, before whome went hande in hande, the Duke of Sommerfet, the Erle of Sarisburie, the Duke of Excester and the Erle of Warwike, and so one of the one faction, and another of the other sect, and behinde the king the Duke of Yorke led the Queene, with great familiaritie to all mens sightes: But wo worthy dissimulacion, and false flattering countenance: eye on double entendement, and cloked adulation, which hath bene the common seruitures in all Palaces, both Imperiall, and Regall, and by their onely pestiferous benime, and secrete malice, hath bene the destruction of many a noble man, and the confusion of a great number of true meanyng and faythfull persons. But the wise man, whiche sayth: wo to the that hast a double heart, meant, that dissimulacion once espyed, should be the arrowe wherewith the dissembler should be wounded. As by this cloked Pageant, and dissemblyng procession, hereafter shall plainly be declared. For their bodies were ioyned by hande in hand, whose heartes were farre asunder: their mouthes louingly synled, whose courages were enflamed with malice: their wordes were swete as suger, and their thoughtes were all enuened: but all these dissimulynge persons, tasted the bestell of wo, as the wise man sayd: and fewe or none of this companie were vnblotted, or vn-destroyed by this dolorous drinke of dissimulacion. But this cancard worne and pestiferous Cocatrice, not onely at this tyme reigned in England, but also did much harme in the Court of Fraunce: for John Duke of Blaunfon, which before had bene prisoner, and well enterteined in the realme of England, and after Captain generall of the warres in Fraunce against the Engliche men, highly fauoured, and of great estimacion in the Frenche kinges house, was by such as he most trusted, and bled most familiaritie withall, and whom he had greatly promoted, and highly exalted, accused of hightreason, as enemie to his king, and traytor to his Countrie, allegyng that he long before that tyme had conspired with the Engliche men, to cause them once againe to recouer the Duchie of Normandie: wherebpon by the order of the lawe, he there suffered death very vniustly, as diuers Authours affirme, whereof one sayth: that kinges seeking treason, shall finde lande, and the deniall of a princes desyre, was the inuented destruction of the innocēt Paboth. Well let vs now leaue the cloked collusion, that remayned in Fraunce, and returne to the open dissimulacion, which now appered in England.

As fier being enclosed in a straight place, will by force vtter his flame, and as the course of water astricted and letted, will flow and burst out in continuance of tyme: so this cancard Crocodile, and subtile serpent, could not long lurke in malicious heartes, but in conclusion she must (accoording to her nature appere and shewe her selfe. For after this apparant concord (accoording to the very nature of dissimulacion) diuerse noble men of birth, but not stable of worde, puttyng from them honour, truth, and honestie, forgat their oth, and brake their promise, and aduanced forth the Banner of displeasure, and the flagge of malice. So a man may see, that such persons regard neyther their awone peculiar profite, nor the publique wealth of their native Countrie, nor yet passe of an othe, or promise breakyng, to whome dis-

corde

A fray made  
vpon the  
Erle of War-  
wikes ser-  
uaunt.

corde is pleasant, and dissencion is dilectable. For not long after this dissimulacion, a certeine fray, eyther by chaunce, or of a thing pzepered, was made vpon a yoman of the Erles of Warwike, by a seruiture of the kings, in the which the Assaylant was sore hurte, but the Erles man fled. The kings meynall seruantes, seing their fellow hurt, and the offendor escaped, assembled in great number, and watched the Erle, returnyng from the Cou- saile towarde his Barge, and sodainly set on him the yomen with swordes, and the Blakke garde with spittes, and fyre forkes. After long fight and many of the Erles men maymed and wounded, by helpe of his friendes, he toke a Whirry, and so escaped to London: whome the Queene incontinent commaunded to be apprehended, and as a captiue and prisoner, to be sent to the Tower of London, where (if he had bene then taken) he had shortly ended his dayes. By this vnhappy fray, and sodaine chaunce of malice, there arose such dayly and terryble warre, that euery man was in trouble, and no person was in quiet. For after this displeasure done to the Erle, and the Queenes good munde toward him, by his secrete friendes priuily reueled, he with all diligence, tooke his iourney to Warwike, and after into Yorke shire, where he found the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Salisbury, declaring to them the assaile of the kings seruantes, and the pzetensed purpose of the fraudulent Queene. After which complaint made, he fearyng least by long absence, he might be deposed or defrauded of his Captainship of Calice, wyth great speede embarked himselfe, and sayled thither, dayly expectyng and looking, what waye the Duke of Yorke would take, for atchieuyng his long intended purpose. After whose departure, the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Salisbury, somewhat styred and moued with this double dealyng, began to grudge and murmure: assyrmynge that in the Queene rested nothing but fraude and feminine malice, which rulyng the king at her pleasure and will, studeyed nothing so much, as the destruction of the nobilitie, and peeres of the realme. After long consultacion had, it was agreed, that the Erle with a warlike company, should march toward the king, & complaine both to him of the manifest iniury done to his sonne, and also of the vnkinde breache of the sworne amitie and late agreement, in which sute, if he did preuaile, he then should not omit the occasion to him geuen, in reuengyng the displeasures to him done, by the Queene and her sinister Counsaylors, which euill and vngodly ordered the subiectes of the whole Realme.

After this deuise made and concluded, the Erle of Salisburie remoued from Hiddelham castell, accompanied with foure or five thousand men, and toke his way through Lancashire, and Shropshire, towarde London. In the meane season the Queene, which was assisted and ruled, by the Dukes of Sommerfet and Buckingham, hauing the vigilant eie and circumspect braine, of a pollytique gouernor: imagyned that the Erle of Warwike had kindled this fire, and begun this tumult, to the entent (accoording to his pzetensed purpose) to set the Duke of Yorke in the siege royall, and high thzone of the realme: For which causes, she beyng a woman of no small wit, nor litle pollecie, conceiuyng in her opinion, that it was no boote to make any farther concord or league with her aduersaries, and hearyng of the Erle of Salisburies setting forward, wyth a company of armed men and archers: assembled together a great counsaile, to prouide a remedie, for that imminent mischiefe, and

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(as



Blowe heath  
field.

(as in a multitude often times it happeneth), so many heades, so many wilts: so dyuers were in opinion, that neyther people nor weapon should be stirred, till the Erle approached: doubting whether he came to demaunde warre or peace, or to aske iustice, and to refozme wrong. Other, otherwise thought, and were of a contrary opinion, making the foundation of their argument, that the rayeing of pryces, and assemble of Souldiours by him, could signifie no peace, nor treatise of con corde: except a man should saye, that intreating for fauour with naked sworde in hande, were an humble submission and a meeke request: which onely consideration, moued them to say, that as force with force, ought to be repelled, so he with a great power, or he came into the middest of the realme, should of necessitie be encountered and (if fortune would serue) utterly destroyed. This sentence toke place, and without delay, Syr James Twichet Lorde Wodeley, because his seignorie and power lay in those partes, where the Erle should passe, was appointed to meete with him, and to geue him battayle, if he sawe cause or place conuenient, and the Queene followed after. The Lorde Wodeley, according to his commission, assembled aboute ten thousand men, and knowyng by his Espials, which way the Erle kept, approached neere to him on a faire plaine, called Blowe heath, within a myle of the towne of Drayton, in the countye of Salope, commonly called Shropshire. The Erle perceyuing by the liuerie of the Souldiours, that he was circumvented and likely to be trapped by the Queenes power, determined rather there to abide the aduenture with fame and honoz, then farther to flie, with losse and reproche: and so encamped himselfe all the night, on the side of a little brooke, not very brode, but somewhat deepe. In the moznyng early, beyng the day of Saint Tecla, he caused his Souldiours to shoote their flightes, toward the Lorde Wodeleys company, which lay on the other syde of the sayd water, and then he and all his company made a signe of retraite. The Lord Wodeley, remembryng not onely the trust that he was put in, but also the Queenes terrible commaundement, (which was to bring to her presence the Erle of Salisbury, quicke or deade) blew by his trumpet, and did set forth his batward, and sodainly passed the water. The Erle of Salisbury which knewe the sleightes and pollicies of warlike affayres, sodainly returned, and shortly encountered with the Lorde Wodeley and his chiefe Captaynes, or the residue of his armie coulde passe the water. The fight was soze and dreadfull. The Erle desiryng the sayuyng of his lyfe, and his aduersaries couetyng his destruction, fought soze for the obteinyng of their purpose, but in conclusion, the Erles army, as men desperate of ayde and succoz, so egerly fought, that they slue the Lorde Wodeley, and all his Captaynes, and discomfited all the remnant of his people. In this battaile were slaine .xxiiij. hundreth persons, but the greatest plague lighted on the Cheshire men, because one halfe of the shire, was on the one part, and the other on the other part, of the which number were sir Thomas Dutton, sir John Dunne, & sir Hugh Wenables. But the Erles two sonnes, the one called sir John Neuell, and the other sir Thomas, were soze wounded, which soberly iourneyng into the North Countrey, thynkyng there to repose themselves, were in their iorney apprehended by the Queenes friends, and conueyed to Chester: but their keepers deliuered them shortly, or else the Marche men had destroyed the Gayles. Such fauour had the Commons of

Wales,

Wales, to the Duke of Yorke's band and his affinitie, that they could suffer no wrong to be done, nor euill worde to be spoken of him or his friends.

Also this yere one named Johannes Faucius, a German, first found out the noble science of Imprinting in the Citie of Mentz. But Polidore sayth, it was first inuented by one Johannes Guthenbergius, a knight, who also within .xviij. yeres after did inuent the ynke which the Printers now vse.

After this battayle, the Duke of Yorke not only perceyuing that the destruction of him and his friendes was intended (as by this last conflict was apparantly declared) but also remembryng, that all his counsailes and priuie intents, were nowe opened to the king and the Queene, thought it meete neyther lenger to dissimule, nor farther to keepe seilence: did therefore with a courageous hart, as well for the obteinyng of the crowne, as for the tuition and safegard of him & his friendes, determine no lenger to sleepe in hys den, but with all diligence to set forth his businesse and auance forth his banner. And therefore sending for the Erle of Salisbury his felow and compere in all his doings, counsailes, and fortunes (after long communication had of the Queenes misgouernance, and how she without their assent, did all things at her will and pleasure) determined to raise a great armie, and by fine force eyther to die or win their purpose. What should I say, men were assembled, friends were sent for, and a pryssaunt armie was gathered, both of Northren men and Welshmen, which in good order came into the Marches of Wales, adioyning to Shropshire, where they determined eyther to abide their enimies, or to meete them if they marched forward.

The king was not ignorant of this assemble, nor yet vnaduertised of the Dukes intent: wherefore to resist the mischief at the beginning, he caused commissioners to be made, and sent into euery parte of the realme, where he suspected eyther to haue assured friendes, or indifferent fauozers, for men and money: by reason of which commaundement, a great number was assembled. Many for the loue they bare to the king, but more for the feare that they had of the Queene, whose countenance was so fearefull, and whose looke was so terrible, that to all men, agaynst whome shee tooke a small displeasure, her frowning was their vndoing, and her indignation was their death. The king accompanied with the Dukes of Sommer set & Excester, and other of the lyne of Lancaster, determined cleerely to set on the Duke of Yorke and his confederates, and them by force eyther utterly to banquish, or by pollicie to attrap, and bring to confusion, whereupon in hope of good luck, the king with his armie by long marching, came neere to the Duke of Yorke, which was strongly incamped, a little from the towne of Ludlow, neere adioyning to the confines of Wales, to whome not long before, was come his trustie friend Richard Erle of Warwike, with a great number of expert men in marciall feates, whom he had brought with him from Calice, wherof two were men of approued pollicy, in the warres of Normandie and Guyen, the one called Andrew Crollop, and the other John Blunt. These armies thus lyeng, the one in the beue and sight of the other, studied all meanes and pollicies, how to take aduantage eche of other, and how with lesse ieoperdy, the one might set on the other. The Duke perceyuing by reason of his expert Capitaynes, away how he might easely dampnie and discomfite his enimies, thought no lenger to sleepe his purpose,

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pose, but manfully to geue the onset and so with his secret friends and Capitaines, determined the next morning early to beginne the battayle, and set on the king and his armie, or he were readie or in aray. But of this deuise succeeded nothing, nor of this imagination proceeded any effect: For Andrew Crollop and other the Calicians, which were men of great knowlege and of much experience, and had liued by the kings wages, more then a few yeres, perceyuing now y they should fight agaynst their soueraine Lorde himselfe (whose friend they esteemed before that time, the Erie of Warwike euer to haue bene taken and reputed, and not his enemy or destroyer) in the dead of the night, before the day of battayle secretly departed from the Dukes Campe, & submitted themselves to the king, aduincing him of all things prepared and deuised, for his losse and destruction. If these auncient Capitaynes were welcome to the king, or if he ioyously them receyued, I reterre that to all men, which haue reliefe in their destresse, or haue a sodaine good chaunce, when they thinke least vpon it. When the Duke of Yorke was aduertised of their departing, no maruayle though his senses were moued, and his wittes disturbed, as a man that sodainely ryseth out of a traunce, woteth not what to doe or say: For he first considered the power and auctoritie of the king, and sawe that Andrew Crollop of his friend was sodainely transformed into the image of his extreme enemy, whose force and pellicie, as muche nowe discomforted hym, as by the trust which he put in hym, he was before encouraged: wherefore he euidently perceyuing, that all his counsaile and purpose, was by the foze named Andrew, reueled and disclosed thought it better for him and hys to depart in surety, then to abide the chaice, of mutable Fortune, which turneth the wheele at her wyll and pleasure: wherupon he with his yonger sonne Edmond Erie of Rutlande, secretly departed into Wales, and so passed into Irelande, where he was with all ioy and honoz gladly receyued. The Erie of Marche, sonne and heire apparant to the foresayde Duke, accompanied with the Erles of Salisbury and Warwike, and s<sup>r</sup> John Wenlock, stole away the same night, and came into Devonshire: where by the meanes of John Dinham Esquire (which after was high Treasorer of Englande, in the time of king Henry the. vii.) they bought a ship, which cost. C. x. Markes at Ermouth, and sayled to Serisay, and after came to Calice, and were let in at the posterne, and ioyfully welcomed of their friendes.

The next day in the morning, the king beyng aduertised of the departing of the Duke of Yorke and his partakers, caused all his horsemen to follow them by euery passage, but they were neyther seene nor espied, as they that folowed made report. The king perceyuing that the Lordes were escaped, pardoned all the poore souldiours, sauing certaine Rynge leaders, whereof some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this, he remoued to Ludlowe, and there dispatched his hoste, and spoiled the towne and the Castell, and sent the Duches of Yorke, with her two yonger sonnes, to be kept in ward, with the Duches of Buckyngham her sister, where she continued a certayne space. After this, he proclaimed these Lordes traytors to him, enemies to their Countrey, and rebels to the Crowne: confiscating all their landes, goodes and offices, committing the gouernance of the North partes, to the Erie of Northumberland, and the

Lorde

Lorde Clifford, as to his trustie and most faithfull friends, and of his towne of Calice, he made Capitaine Henry the newe Duke of Sommerset: but the olde husband man sayeth, that as to hastie sowing often time deceaueth, so to late, neuer well proueth. For in this businesse, protracting of time onely, hurted and harmed the king and his sequele. For if he at the beginning, had dispossessed his aduersaries of that refuge and hold, no doubt but that he had eyther tamed or vanquished them, with little laboz and small daunger.

The Duke of Sommerset, reioysing much in his newe office, elected dyuers hardie and valyant souldiours, and with great pompe sayled toward Calice: and when he thought surely to haue entred into the Hauen, the artillerie shot so fiercely, both out of the towne and Rifebanke, that he suffering there a soze repulse, was faine to lande at Whitlandbay, and sent worde to the Capitaynes of the towne, to receyue him as the kings Lieutenaut, and shewed to them his letters patents, but neyther he nor hys wyrtung was once regarded or looked on: so of necessitie he resorted to the Castell of Guynes, daylie skirmishing with the garrison of Calice, more to his losse than gaine. After his arriual, as is aforesayde, diuers of his Mariners, obuyng more good wyll to the Erie of Warwike, than to this yong Duke, conueyed their shippes into the Hauen of Calice, and in them diuers of the Erie of Warwikes enemies, as Janyn Fendill, John Felowe, and dyuers other, and presented them to the sayde Erie, which incontinent caused their heades to be striken off. Thys daylie conflict, still continuing betweene the Lordes, which soioined at Calice, and the Duke of Sommerset, lying at Guynes. no small number of the commonaltie, daylie resorted to the Erie of Marche and his confederates: by reason whereof, although they daylie lost people, and had slaine many, yet their number was restored, and the gap euer filled, which was the continuall losse, and daylie detriment to the Duke of Sommerset. Yet he like a valyant Prince, nothing lesse minding, then for lacke of ayde to be expelled from the great office and renouued auctoritie, which the king had to him giuen, in the partes beyonde the sea, sent letters to the king, and messengers to the Queene, desiring of them ayde and succoz, in defence of the quarell and lawfull assistance. His postes were not vheard, nor hys requestes vnprouided. For without delay Richarde Lorde Rivers, and s<sup>r</sup> Anthony Wooduile his balyant sonne, which after was Lorde Scales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike persons, were appointed to passe the Seas, and to be coadiutors to the Duke of Sommerset. These martiall Capitaynes endeuoring themselves to the point, for the which they were assigned came to the Porte of Sandwicke, and there abode the winde and the weather, which obeyeth neyther king, nor serueth Emperour.

The Erles of Marche and Warwike, and other being at Calice, had knowledge of all these doings, and secret conuenticles: wherefore to preuent the Dukes purpose, they sent John Dinham the balyant Esquire, with a small number of men, but with a multitude of courageous hartes, to the towne of Sandwicke, which sodainely entred the same, and tooke the Lorde Rivers in his bed, and his sonne also: robbing houses, and spoiling shippes of great ryches and marchaundise, and beside this, they tooke the principall shippes of the kings nauy then lying at the Port, wel furnished with ordinance & artillerie, but not without the fauoz of the Mariners, which fauozed more

The towne  
of Sandwicke  
with certayne  
Lordes is  
taken.

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the one parte then the other. But although John Dinham, Capitaine of the Lordes parte, was sore hurt and maymed on his legge, by reason whereof he euer after halted, and somewhat limped: yet his courage and pollecy was so much, that he vanquished his enimies, and brought the Shippes royall laden with pray and prisoners, to the towne of Calice, and them presented to the Erle of Marche, not knowyng then that the Lorde Riuers daughter should be the Erles wife, which then had an husband lyving, nor thinking that her father for her sake, should after be destroyed. But who can knowe the secrets of God, or without him, declare the chaunce that after shall ensue.

After this bootie gotten, and good luck obteyned, diuers of the best Shippes taken in the haven of Sandwich, were wel victualled and manned, and with them the Erle of Warwike, transfreted and sayled into Ireland, to comon with the Duke of Yorke, of his great affayres and businesse. The weather was so fayre, and the winde so fauourable to the Erles purpose, that within lesse then. xxx. dayes, he passed and repassed from Calice to Deueline, and asserteyned the Erles of Marche and of Salisbury, what was the Duke of Yorkes devise and intent, both for his entrie and theirs, into the realme of England. The Erle of Warwike had come to short home to tell these tydings, if the Duke of Excester, which being admirall of the sea, laye in the west Countrie to stop the Erles passage, might haue had his owne will: but the Capitaines of his Nauie murmoured agaynst him, and the Mariners disprayed and disdayned him, glad to heare of the Erle of Warwikes good successe, by which occasion he neyther would nor durst once meddle or cope with the Erles Nauie.

A Parliament holden at Conuentry.

During thys tyme, the king called a Parliament, in the Citie of Conuentre, in the which the Duke of Yorke, and all his confederates were attaynted of high treason, and their goodes and landes confiscate and forfeted: and to prohibite their landing in al portes, haven townes were watched, and the sea costes were garnished with Bekons. And for Simon Montfort with a great crew was appointed to keepe the downes, and the fiue Portes, and all men passing into Flaundrys, were upon payne of death prohibited to passe by Calice, least the Lordes there should borowe of them any money, as they did prest of the Marchaunts of the staple. xliij. M. pound late before, which was a great displeasure to the king, and a more corrosey to the Queene. The Lordes lyng at Calice were not ignorant of all these doynges and provisions, but dayly were asserteyned what was done in the kings priuy chamber: wherefore first they sent a companie to Sandwicke, which conquered the towne, and apprehended sir Simond Montfort, and brought him with all his Mates to the haven of Calice, where incontinent he with. xij. of his chiefe felowes, lost their heades on the sandes, before Risebanke. After the Kinges nauie gayned, and his Capitaines on the arriuall of the Sea taken and destroyed, the Lordes lyng at Calice, hoppyng in their friendes within the Realme, determined to passe the sea, and to lande in England. And after they had put the Castell and towne of Calice, in sure and safe custodie to their onely vse, they passed the sea and landed at Sandwicke. And so passyng thorough Kent, there came to them the Lorde Cobham, John Guildefforde, William Beche, Robert Horne, and many other gentlemen, which conueyed them to the Citie of London. But the fame of their landyng once knowne,  
gentlemen

gentlemen repayred, and yomen resorted out of all the South partes of the Realme: upon which rumoz, Thomas Lorde Scales, a man in great fauor with the King and Queene, accompanied with the Erle of Kendall a Gasconne, and the Lord Louell, resorted to London, with a great company of armed men: declaring to the Maior of the Citie, that their repayre onely was to defende, and kepe the Citie, from the spoyle and robbery of such traytors, as the king was credibly informed, would thether make accesse: to whome the Maior answered, that he well knewe both his othe, and bounden dutie toward his souereigne Lorde and Prince, and neded neither of prompter: nor yet of coadiutor, eyther to defende or gouerne the Citie, to him committed in charge. With which aunswere, the Lorde Scales and his associates not a little displeased, entered into the Towre of London, dayly with new inuencions, doyng displeasures and domages to the Citizens of the Citie, whome they sore suspected, rather to fauor then to hate, the Erles of Marche, and Warwike, and other of their band and affinitie. Which Erles with a great armie came shortly to London, and were of the Maior and Citezens ioyously receyued, to whome resorted the Archbishop of Cantorbury, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Excester, with many Prelates and religious persons. These Lordes nothing slackyng the purpose, that they came for, dayly consulted and assembled together in the house of the gray Friars within the Citie. And after long debating, and secret consultation had, it was agreed, that they with theyr whole puissance should marche forward, toward the King: determining eyther by force or fayre meanes, to bring their purpose to a conclusion. When this counsaile was dissolved, the Erles of Marche & Warwike, Thomas Lord Fauconbridge, Henry Lord Borchier, called Erle of Ewe, with a great nuber of men, which came out of Kent, Essex, Surrey & Suffex, to the number as some wyters affirme of. xxv. M. persons departed from London, toward the King, lyng at Conuentre, then called the Queenes secreete arbor, leauyng behinde them to kepe the Londoners in their fidelitie, from reuerting from theyr part the Erle of Salisbury, the Lorde Cobham, and Sir John Wenlocke: which Lorde Cobham, with certaine Aldermen of the Citie so kept the west syde against the Towre, and Sir John Wenlocke with other, so bigilantly watched the East part toward Saint Katherynes, that no person eyther could issue out, or enter in, to the great displeasure of the Lorde Scales and his companie, which dayly shot their ordonaunce out, and had likewise great ordonaunce shot at them, to the hurt, and no pleasure of both partes. The king not ignorant of all these doynges, assembled a great armie, and accompanied with the Duke of Sommerset, which was lately come from Guisnes, and the Duke of Buckingham, and diuers other great Lordes of his part and faction, came to the towne of Northampton, where the Queene encouraged her friendes, and promised great rewardes to her helpers: for the king studied nothing but of peace, quiet and solitarie lyfe.

When the Kinges hoste was assembled, and that the Queene perceyued that her power was able to matche with the force of her aduersaries, shee caused her armie to issue out of the towne, and to passe the river of Sene, and there in the newe field, betwene Harsyngton and Sandiforde, the Capitaines strongly emparked themselves with high bankes, and depe trenches. The Erle of Marche beyng lustie, and in the flower of his couragious youth,  
lyng

The battails of Northampton.



lyng betwene Towcester and Northampton, determined to set on the kings armie, without longer protractyng of tyme. And in the night season he removed his campe towarde Northampton, and in marchyng forwarde set hys men in good order of battaile, whereof the bakewarde was conducted by the Erle of Warwike, which either by strenght or stealth Hauger the Lord Beaumont, which kept a straitte goyng towarde the kinges campe, entred freshely, and began the battaile about. vij. of the clocke, the. ix. day of Julye. After whome folowed the Erle of Marche, with the banner of his father. This fight continued in doubtfull iudgement, till the houre of nine, at which tyme the kinges armie was scattered, and discomfited, and of the same slain, and drowned in the river, fewe lesse then ten thousand tall Englishe men, and the king himselfe left alone disconsolate, was taken and appzehended, as a man borne, and predestinate to trouble, miserie, and calamitie. At this battaile were slaine, Humfrey Duke of Buckingham, John Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury, a valiant person, and not degeneratyng from his noble parent: Thomas Lorde Egremont, John Viscont Beaumont, and Sir William Lucie, which made great hast to come to part of the fight, and at his first approche was striken in the head with an Axe. Divers other Gentlemen were slaine in this ciuil battaile, whose names are not remembred nor published by any authoz that I have read. Beside these dead persons, many were taken prisoners, because they left their hoxses, and disconded to fight onfoote. The Duke of Sommerset and other, which narrowly escaped, fled with the Quene and prince Edward, into the Bishoprike of Durham, in which place they determined to gather a newe armie and power, and if no hope were of recovery, then they agreed to flie into Scotland: there to abide a time of better lucke. The Erles beyng victors in this bloody battaile, conueyed the king that night againe to the towne of Northampton, and the next day with great solemnitie and small comfort, they set forwarde the king, and by easie journeyes brought him to London the. xvj. day of July, where he was faintly receyued, and feebly welcomed, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace. After whose commyng to the Citie, the Tower of London was deliuered to the Erle of Marche, vpon a certaine composition. But the Lorde Scales, suspectyng the sequele of the deliery of the same, tooke a whirry priuily, intending to haue fled to the Queene. But he was espyed by diuers watermen belongyng to the Erle of Warwike, which wayted for his footcomyng on the Chamys, and sodainly taken, and shortly slaine with many dardes and daggers, and his bodie left all bloody and naked at the gate of the Clynke, which after was buryed in the Church adioinyng. Then were diuers persons appzehended, and endited of treason, whereof some were pardoned, and some executed: But Thomas Thorpe, seconde Baron of the Exchequer, great friend to the house of Lancaster, and extreme enemy to the familie of Yorke, was taken disguised in a Monkes apparell, with a shauen crowne, and so brought to the Erle of Warwike, which sent him to the tower of London, where he long remayned. Duryng this trouble was a Parliament summoned to begin at Westminster in the moneth of October next following. Before which tyme, Richard Duke of Yorke beyng in Ireland, by swift curreys, and flyng postes, was aduertised of the great victory, gayned by his part at the fielde of Northampton, and also knewe that the king was

A parliament holden at Westminster.

nowe

nowe in case to be kept, and ordered at his pleasure and will: wherefore losing no tyme, nor sluggyng one houre, he sayled from Deuelyn to Chester with no small companie, and by long iourneys came to the Citie of London, which he entered the friday next before the feast of Saint Edward the Confessor, with a sword borne naked before him, and tooke his lodgyng in the kinges awne Palace, wherupon the comunon people babbled, that he should be king, and that King Henry should no longer reigne. Duryng the time of this Parliament, the Duke of Yorke, with a bolde countenance, entered into the Chamber of the peeres, and satte downe in the trone royall under the cloth of estate (which is the kinges peculier seate) and in the presence aswell of the Nobilitie, as of the spiritualtie (after a pause made) sayde these wordes in effect. My singuler good Lordes, maruaile not that I approche vnto this throne. For I sit here as in the place to me by verye iustice lawfully belongyng, and here I rest, as he to whome this Chayze of right apperteyneth, not as he, which requyrez of you fauor, parcialitie, or bearyng, but egall right, friendly indifferencie, and true administration of iustice: for I beyng the partie grieved, and complaynant, can not minister to my selfe the Medicine, that should helpe me (as expert Leches and Chirurgians may) except you be to me both saythfull ayders, and also true Counsaylers. For yet this noble realme, and our naturall Countrie shall neuer be vnbuckeled from her dayly feuer, except I (as the principall Physicion, and you as true and trusty Appothecaries) consult together, in makyng of the porcion, and trie out the cleane and pure stuffe, from the olde, corrupt and putrified drugges. For undoubtedly, the roote and bottome of this long festured canker, is not yet extirpate, nor the feble foundation of this fallible buyldyng, is not yet espyed, which hath bene, and is, the dayly destruction of the Nobilitie, and the continual confusion of the pooze Commonalty of this realme and Kingdome. For all you knowe (or should knowe) that the high and mightie Prince King Richard the seconde, was the true and vndoubted heyre, to the valiant Conquerour, and renoumed Prince King Edward the thirde, as sonne and heyre to the hardy knight and couragious Captain, Edward prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitain and Coznewall, eldest sonne to the said king Edward the thirde, which king was not onely in deed, but also of all men reputed and taken, as the very true and infallible heyre, to the wise and politique prince king Henry the thirde, as sonne and heyre to king Edward the second, sonne and heyre to king Edward the first, the very heyre and first begotten sonne of the sayde noble and vertuous prince, king Henry the thirde. Which king Richard of that name the second, was lawfully and iustly possessed of the Crowne, and Diademe of this Realme and Region, till Henry of Darby, Duke of Lancaster, and Herforde, sonne to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, the fourth begotten sonne, to the sayde king Edward the thirde, and yonger brother to my noble auncester Lyonell Duke of Clarence, the thirde begotten sonne of the sayde king Edward, by force and violence, contrary both to the duetic of his allegiaunce, and also to his homage, to him both done and swozne, raysed warre and battaile, at the Castell of Flynt in Northwales agaynst the sayde king Richard, and him appzehended and imprisoned within the Tower of London. Duryng whose life and captiuitie, he wrongfully vsurped and entred vpon the royall potner, and high estate of this realme and region, taking

The Duke of Yorke's oration made to all the Lords of the Parliament.

king



kyng on him the name, stile, and aucthoritie of king & gouernoꝝ of the same. And not therewith satisfied and contented, compalled and accomplished the death and destruction of his naturall Prince, and most worthy souereigne Lord, not as a common homicide and butcherly murderer, but as a regicide and destroyer of his king. After whose piteous death and execrable murder, the right and tytle of the Crowne, and superiourtie of this realme, was lawfully reuerted and returned to Roger Mortimer, Erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to Lady Philip, the onely childe of the aboue rehearsed Lionell, Duke of Clarence, to which Rogiers daughter called Anne, my most dearest and welbeloued mother, I am the very true and lyneall heyre, which discent all you cannot iustly gayne say, noꝝ yet truely denie. Then remember thys, if the tytle be mine, why am I put from it: if I be true heyre to the crowne (as I am in dede) why is my right withholden: if my clayme be good, why haue I not iustice: foꝝ surely learned men of great science and knowledge, say and affirme, that lyneall discent, noꝝ vsurped possession can nothing preuaile, if continuall clayme be lawfully made, oꝝ openly published. Foꝝ an opening of which scruple & ambiguity: Edmond Erle of Marche, my most welbeloued Uncle, in the time of the first vsurper, in dede, but not by right, called king Henry the fourth by his Colyns, the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde Percy, he being then in captiuitie with Owen Glendore, the rebell in Wales, made his tytle and righteous clayme, to the destruction of both the noble persons. Likewise my most dearest Lorde and father, so farre set forth that right and tytle, that he lost his lyfe and worldly toyce, at the towne of Southampton, moꝝe by power, then indifferent iustice. Sithe whose death, I coming to my full age, haue neuer desisted to pursue my tytle, and require my right, which by meanes of sinister counsaile and iniust detention, I can neyther obtayne noꝝ recouer. So that of fine force, I am compelled to vse power in stede of prayer, and force in stede of request (not as I sayde before) foꝝ my priuate emolument and peculiar profite, but to restore peace, loue, and quietnesse to this our naturall region: which ener sythe the first vngodly vsurpation of the fozenamed Henry, vntreuly called king Henry the fourth, hath bene cleerely banished, and out of the same iniustly exiled. What murders and manslaughters hath bene perpetrated and committed within this Countrey, sythe the beginning of that vngacious vsurpation: what number of noble men haue bene slayne, destroyed, and executed, sithe that vnforsunate day: it is to lamentable and to manifest. Foꝝ although Henry of Lancaster Erle of Derby, tooke vpon him the Scepter and the crowne, and wrongfully beare the name and stile of a king, and was not much tyckeled with mine Uncle, the Erle of Marche, at that time being within age: yet was hee neuer in suretie of himselfe, noꝝ had, oꝝ enioyed any perfite quietnesse, eyther in minde oꝝ in body: foꝝ surely a coꝝrupt conscience feeleth neuer rest, but looketh when the sword of vengeance will discent and strike. His sonne also called king Henry the fift, obtayned notable victories, and immortall prayes, foꝝ his noble actes done in the realme of Fraunce: yet God foꝝ the offence of his vntreue parent sodainely touched him, vnbodiyng his soule in the flower of his youth, and in the gloꝝie of his conquest. And although he had a fayre sonne, and a yong apparant heyre: yet was this Orphan suche a one, as preachers saye, that God threatned to sende, foꝝ a punishment,

nishment, to hys vnrulye and vngacious people: sayng by his prophet Esay: I shall geue you children to be your princes, and infants without wisdom, shall haue the gouernance of you. The prophet lyed not, if you note all things in an order: foꝝ after this Henry the fift (whose fame no man can iustly repute oꝝ deface) succeeded his sonne whom all we haue called our naturall prince, and obeyed as his heyre: in whose time and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligently to consider, with what great torments and afflictions God hath whyped and scourged this miserable Isle, yea, with such and so many scourges and plagues, as no nation (the Egyptians onely except) were euer tormented, oꝝ afflicted withall. I will not speake of rebellious murders and oppressions, which of late haue bene done, and exercised here among vs: but I will declare and manifest to you how the crowne and gloꝝie of this realme, is by the negligence of this silly man, and his vnrulye counsaile, minished, defaced, and dishonored. Is not Normandy, which his father gat, regayned and conquered agayne, by the insolencie of him, and his couetous counsaile: Is not the whole Duchy of Aquitayne by two hundred and odde yeres, peaceably possessed by the kings of this realme, in one yere and a little moꝝe, gotten out of our hands and seignioꝝie: What should I speake of Angeou & Mayne, oꝝ the losse of the Isle of Fraunce, with the riche Citie of Paris. Alas it is to apparaunt, neither will I molest you with the recitall of all the perticulers thereof: But nowe in the middes of this affliction, and to make an ende of the same, God of his eneffable goodnesse, looking on this countrey, with his eyes of pitie and mercie, hath sent me in the truth to restore againe his decayed kingdome, to his auncient fame and olde renoume. Whereof here in open parliament, according to my iust and true title, I haue and do take possession of this royal throne, not putting diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his deuine ayde, & the assistance of you the peeres of this realme, I shall beuotifie and maintaine the same, to the gloꝝie of hym, honoꝝ of my blood, and to the publique wealth, as well of you all here present, as of all the pooꝝe commons and subiectes, of thys kingdome and Regiment.

When the Duke had thus ended his Oration, the Lordes sate still lyke Images grauen in the wall, oꝝ dumme Gods, neither whispering noꝝ speaking, as though their mouthes had bene solued by. The Duke perceyuing none answer to be made to his declared purpose, not well content wyth their sober silence, aduised them well to digest and ponder the effect of that which he had sayde, and so neyther fully displeased, noꝝ all pleased, departed to hys lodgyng in the kings Palace.

Whyle he was thus declaryng his tytle in the Chamber of the Peeres, there happened a straunge chaunce in the very same time, amongst the commons in the nether house, then there assembled: foꝝ a crown which did hang in the middle of the same to garnishe a braunche, to set lights vpon, without touch of any creature oꝝ rigoz of winde sodainely fell downe, and at the same tyme also fell downe the crowne, which stode on the toppe of the Castell of Douer: as a signe and pronostication that the crowne of the realme should be deuided and changed, from one line to another, such was the iudgement of the common people.

The Lordes of the realme, foꝝgate not the Dukes demaunde, noꝝ long protracted



protracted the time, to see some good ende, in so waightie a cause: wherefore diuers Lordes, as well spirituall as temporall, with many graue and sage persons of the commonaltie daylie assembled at the black Friers and other places, to treat and comunon of this matter, being of no small importance. During which time, the Duke of Yorke, although he and the king, were both lodged in the Palace of Westminster, yet for no prayer or intercession, he would once visite or see the king, till some perfite conclusion were taken, in this great and waightie purpose, sayng and affirming, that he was subiect to no man, but onely to God, and he was his Lord and superiour, and none other, I will a little space leaue the Lordes consultyng together, and speake of outward attemptes and forreyn doings.

This ciuill discention within the realme of Englande, did much animate and incourage James the seconde of that name, king of Scottes, to make warre on the Englishe nation, partly for the displeasure which he conceyued for the death of Edmond Duke of Sommer set hys mothers brother, and partly to shew himselfe amongst his people, to be both valyaunt and courageous. Thys king James from his first rule, beganne to enter into suspition with Wylliam Erle Douglas, a man both of great kinne and more power, euer mistrusting that he nothing more desyred, then to depriue hym from his auctoritie, and to vsurpe the same. This cancard suspicion was so rooted in the kings harte, that sodainely it branched out, in so much that the king sending for the Erle (which trusting on his awne innocencie, humbly came to his presence) caused him shamefully to be slayne and murdered, with which iniury, his two brethren, Archibald Erle of Murray, and Hugh Erle of Dumont, not a little pricked and incouraged with the Erles of Angus and Northone, being all of one line and surname, made open warre on the saide king James: but in conclusion he prevailed, and suppressed the great power of the Douglasses. And then thinking himselfe a king, without eyther peere or fere, assembled a great armie, and entred into the Marches of Northumberlande, and besieged the Castell of Roxborough, and there caused his newe Bumbard lately cast in Flaunders, called the Lyon and dyuers other peeces to be shot agayn the Castell, whereof one being weak and slender, brake in peeces, and one of the fragmentes slue the king, standing amongst a great compaigne of his people, and wounded the Erle of Angus. The Scottes not dismayed with the death of their king, serng the Castell easie to be wonne, manfully assaulted and with much paine gat it, and the same long defended, till Rychard Duke of Gloucester it conquered and destroyed. This king James of Queene Mary his wyfe left three sonnes, James which succeeded him, Alexander Duke of Albany, and John. This yong king James, was put vnder the tuition of James Kenede, Bysshop of Saint Andrewes, which during his noneage, ruled the realme to the kings great honoz, but more to his awne profite and peculiar gayne: for he made sumptuous houses, and builded Colleges, which this yong pupill king James, neyther could, nor was able to do.

About this very season, and during this bnnaturall controuersie within the Realme of Englande: Charles the french king, which onely by trouble and calamitie gat to him a perpetuall name, and amongst his Nation aboute the starres exalted, ended the point of his fatall sine, which Prince in

Wylliam Erle Douglas was murdered.

King James of Scotland slayne with a peece of a Sonne.

The death of Charles the french King.

his youth, neuer regarded wanton pastyme, nor lasciuious dalliaunce, for his wittes were set, and his industrie onely applied, to recouer agayne hys princely inheritaunce: So that moze plainely then in a Glasse, all men may perceiue that paine often profiteth, and laboz commonly auayleth, but ydle- nesse sildome, and dalliaunce neuer. To this Charles succeeded king Lewys, of that name the .xj. of whose doings you shall heare after: and shall both study and marueile, at the straungenesse of his demeanour, and the craftie policie of his secret compasses. Now I will retorne to the great counsaile of the Lordes, celebrate about London, for the Duke of Yorkes claime.

After long arguments made, and deliberate consultation had among the Peeres, Prelates, and commons of the realme: vpon the bigile of all Saintes, it was condescended and agreed, by the three estates, for so much as king Henry had beene taken as king, by the space of .xxviiij. yeres and moze, that he should enioy the name and tytle of king, and haue possession of the realme, during his life naturall: And if he eyther died or resigned, or forfeited the same, for intringing any point of this conorde, then the sayde Crowne and auctoritie royall, should immediatly dissende to the Duke of Yorke, if he then liued, or else to the next heyze of his line or linage, and that the Duke from thenceforth should be Protector and Regent of the land. Provided alway, that if the king did closely or apertly studie or go about to breake or alter this agreement, or to compasse or imagine the death or destruction of the sayde Duke or hys bloud, then he to forfeit the crowne, and the Duke of Yorke to take it. These articles with many other, were not onely written, sealed and swozne by the two parties: but also were enacted in the high court of Parliament. For ioy whereof, the king hauing in his company the sayde Duke, rode to the Cathedrall Church of saint Paule, within the Citie of London, and there on the day of all saintes, went solempnly wyth the Diademe on his head in procession, and was lodged a good space after in the Bishops Palace, nere to the sayd Church. And vpon the Saturday next ensuyng, Richard Duke of Yorke, was by the sound of a trumpet, solempnly proclaimed heyze apparaunt to the crowne of Englande, and Protector of the realme.

After thys, the Parliament kept at Couentry the laste yere, was declared to be a deuillische counsaile, and onely celebrate for the destruction of the nobility, and no lawfull Parliament, because they which were returned, were neuer elected, according to the due order of the law, but secretly named by them, which desired moze the destruction, then the aduancement of the publique wealth and common profite. When these agreements were done and enacted, the king dissolved his parliament, which was the laste parliament that euer he ended. Such was the pleasure of almightie God, that king Henry being a good and verteous man, which had tasted innumerable aduersities and calamities of the worlde, should be depriued of his terrestrialall crowne, to be recompensed with an heauenly garlande, and a ioyfull place: for surely a perfite good man, although he be plagued with a thousand displeasures cannot be but blessed.

The Duke of Yorke well knowyng, that the Queene would spurne and impugne the conclusions, agreed and taken in this Parliament, caused her and her sonne, to be sent for by the king: but she being a manly woman, being

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Articles of agreement betweene King Henry the sixt, and Rychard Duke of Yorke.



to rule and not to be ruled, and thereto counsayled by the Dukes of Excestre and Sommerfet, not only denyed to come but also assembled together a great armie, intending to take the king by fine force, out of the Lordes handes, and to set them to a newe schoole. The Protector lying in London, hauing pefite knowlege of all these doynges: assigned the Duke of Norffolke and the Erle of Warwike, his trustie friendes, to be about the king, and he with the Erles of Salisbury, and Rutland: with a conuenient companie, departed out of London the second day of December, Northwarde, and sent to the Erle of Marche his eldest sonne to folowe him with all his power. The Duke by small iourneys came to his Castell of Sandall, besyde Wakefielde on Christmasse eue, and there began to assemble his tenants and friendes. The Queene beyng therof asserteyned, determined to couple with him while his power was small, and his ayde not come: And so hauing in her companie, the Prince her sonne, the Dukes of Excestre and Sommerfet, the Erle of Denonshire, the Lorde Clifford, the Lorde Rosse, and in effect all the Lordes of the Northpart, with. xliij. thousand men, or as some write, xli. thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefielde, and bad base to the Duke, euen before his Castell, he hauing with him not fully fiue thousand persons, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies, and although sir Daup Hall, his olde seruaunt and chiefe Counsaylor, aduised him to kepe his Castell, and to defend the same with his small number, till his sonne the Erle of Marche were come with his power of Marchmen and Welthe soldiers, yet he would not be counsayled, but in a great fury sayde, a Daup, Daup, hast thou loued me so long, and nowe wouldest haue me dishonoured? Thou neuer sawest me kepe fortreffe when I was Regent in Normandie, when the Dolphyn himselfe, with his purssauce came to besiege me, but lyke a man, and not lyke a birde inclosed in a Cage, I issued and fought with mine enemyes, to their losse euer (I thanke God) and to my honour: If I haue not kept my selfe within walles, for feare of a great and strong Prince, nor hid my face from any man liuyng, wouldest thou that I for dread of a scoldyng woman, whose weapon is onely her tongue, and her nayles, should enclose my selfe, and shut my gates? Then all men might of me wonder, and all creatures may of me report dishonour, that a woman hath made me a dastard, whom no man euer to this day could yet proue a coward: and surely my mind is, rather to die with honoz, then to liue with shame, for of honoz cometh fame, and of dishonour ryseth infamie: Their great number shall not feare my spirites, but encourage them, for surely I thinke that I haue there, as many friendes as enemyes, which at ioinyng, will eyther sic or take my part: Therefore auance my Banner, in the name of God and saint George, for surely I will fight with them, though I should fight alone. The Erle of Salisbury and other his friendes, seying his courage, resolved themselves to his opinion, and ordered their men, and set them forth in warlike fashion, for their most aduantage. The Duke of Sommerfet and other of the Quenes part, knowing perfectly, that if the Duke gat the victorie, their dayes were ministred, and their liuyngs left bare, like men quickned and pricked forward, for the safegarde of their lyues, and defence of their goodes, determined to abide the chaunce, and to espie their most aduantage and so appoynted the Lorde Clifford to lie in the one skale, and the Erle of

Wiltshire

Wiltshire in the other, & they themselves kept the maine battaile. The Duke of Yorke with his people, disconded downe the hill in good order and array, and was suffered to passe forward, toward the maine battaile: but when he was in the plaine ground, betwene his Castell and the Towne of Wakefielde, he was environed on euery syde like a fishe in a net, or a Deere in a Buckstall: so that he manfully fightyng, was within halfe an houre slaine and deade, and his whole army discomfited, and with him dyed of his trustie friendes, his two bastard Uncles, sir John and sir Hugh Mortimer, sir Daup Hall his chiefe Counsaylor, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Heuel, William and Thomas Alparre, both brethren, and two thousand and eight hundred other, whereof many were yong Gentlemen, and heyres of great parentage in the South part, whose linages reuenged their deathes, within foure Monethes next and immediately ensuing. In this conflict was wounded and taken prisoner, Richard Erle of Salisbury, sye Richard Limbrike, Raufe Stanley, John Harow, Capitaine Hauison, and diuers other. While this battaile was in fightyng, a priest called Sir Robert Aspell, Chaplaine and Scholemaister to the yong Erle of Rutland, the second son to the abouenamed Duke of Yorke, scarce of the age of. xli. yeres, a fayre Gentleman, and amaydenly person, perceiuyng that flight was more sauegard, then taryng, both for him and his Mayster, secretly conueyed the Erle out of the field, by the Lorde Cliffordes bande, toward the Towne, but or he could enter into a house, he was by the sayde Lorde Clifford espied, folowed, and taken and by reason of his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yong Gentleman dismayde, had not a worde to speake, but kneeled on his knees crauyng mercy, and desirng grace, both with holdyng by his handes, and makyng a dolorous countenance, for his speeche was gone for feare. Saue him sayd his Chapleyn, for he is a Princes sonne, and paradicuture may do you good hereafter. With that worde, the Lorde Clifford marked him and sayde: by Gods blood, thy father slue mine, and so will I do thee and all thy kinne, and with that worde, strake the Erle to the hart with his Dagger, and had his Chapleyn beare the Erles mother and brother worde what he had done and sayde. In this act the Lorde Clifford was accompted a tyrant, and no gentleman, for the propertie of the Lion, which is a furious and an vnreasonable beast, is to be cruell to them that withstand him, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate themselves before him. Yet this cruell Clifford, not content with this, came to the place where the deade corps of the Duke of Yorke lay, and caused his head to be stricken off, and set on it a Crowne of Paper, and so fired it on a pole, and presented it to the Queene, not liyng farre from the fielde, in great despite and muche derision, sayng: Madame, your warre is done, here is your kinges raunsome, at which present was much ioy, and great reioysing, but many laughed then, that soze lamented after, as the Queene her selfe, and her sonne: And many were glad then of other mens deathes, not knowyng that their awne were nere at hande, as the Lorde Clifford, and other.

But surely, mans nature is so fraile, that thinges passed be sone forgotten, and mischiefes to come, be not foresene. After this victorie by the Quene and her part obtayned, she caused the Erle of Salisbury, with all the other prisoners, to be sent to Bomfret, and there to be beheaded, and sent all their

All. ij.

heddes,

The battaile  
of Wakefielde.

The duke of  
Yorke slaine.



heddes, and the Dukes head of Porke, to be set vpon poles, ouer the gate of the Citie of Porke, in despyte of them, and their linage: whose children shortly reuenged their fathers quarrell, both to the Queenes extreme perdition, and the vtter vndoing of her husband and sonne. This ende had the valiant Lorde, Richard Plantagenet Duke of Porke.

The Erle of Marche so commonly called, but after the death of his father in dede and in right very Duke of Porke, lying at Gloucester, heeryng of the death of his noble father, and louyng brother, and trusty friendes, was wonderfully amased, but after comfort geuen to him, by his faythfull friends and sure allyes, he remoued to Shrewesbury, and other townes vpon the Riuer of Seuerne, declaring to them the murder of his father, the ieopardie of himselfe, and the vnstable state and ruine of the Realme. The people on the Marches of Wales, which aboue measure fauored the linage of the Lorde Mortimer, more gladly offered him their ayde and assistance, then he it eyther instantly requyred, or hartily desyred, so that he had a pryssaunt armie, to the number of .xxiiij. thousand, redy to go agaynst the Queene, and the murderers of his father. But when he was setting forwarde, newes were brought to him, that Jasper Erle of Penbroke, halfe brother to king Henry, and James Butler, Erle of Ormond and Wilshire, had assembled together a great number, both of welthe and Irishe people, sodainly to surpryse and take him and his friendes, and as a captiue to conuey him to the Queene. The Duke of Porke called Erle of Marche, some what spurred and quickned with these nouelties, retired backe, and met with his enemies in a fayre plaine, neere to Mortimers crosse, not farre from Herford East, on Candlemasse day in the moornyng, at which tyme the Sunne (as some write) appered to the Erle of Marche like thre Sunnes, and sodainly icyned all together in one, and that vpon the sight thereof, he tooke such courage, that he fiercely set on his enemyes, and them shortly discomfited: for which cause, men imagined that he gaue the Sunne in his full brightnesse for his Cognisaunce or Badge. Of his enemyes were left deade on the ground, thre thousand, and viij. hundreth. The Erles of Penbroke and Wilshire fled, and Sir Owen Tewther, father to the sayde Erle of Penbroke, which Owen had maryed king Henryes mother (as you haue heard before) with David floyde, Mortogan ap Reuther, and diuers other were taken and behedded at the Citie of Harfforde. Duryng this season the Queene was greatly encouraged with the victorie, obteyned late at Wakefelde, partly because the Duke of Porke, her vtter enemye was rid out of the worlde, and partly, because she perceyued the Lordes of the North Countrie to adhere and cleue to her part and faction: wherefore with a great multitude of Northzen people, she marched toward London, of whose approche the Londoners were nothyng glad: for some affirmed that she brought that rustie companie, to spoyle and rob the Citie: other sayde that she would be reuenged, of such as fauored the Duke of Porke. So the pooze Citizens hangyng betwene the water and the fire, were much amased, but the Magistrates and gouernours caused great watches to be kept, and good order to be obserued. The Queene still came forwarde with her Northzen people, entending to subuert and defaict all conclusions and agreementes, enacted and assented to, in the last Parliament. And so after her long iourney, she came to the towne of Saint Albones: whereof

Mortimers  
Crosse.

whereof the Duke of Northfolke, the Erle of Warwike, and other whom the Duke of Porke had left to gouerne the king in his absence, beyng aduertised, by the assent of the king, gathered together a great host, and set forward toward Saint Albons, haupyng the king in theyr company, as the heade and chieftain of the warre, and so not myndyng to deferre the tyme any farther, vpon Shrouetuesday early in the moornyng, set vpon their enemyes. Fortune that day so fauored the Queene, that her part preuayled, and the Duke & the Erle were discomfited, and fled: leauyng the King accompanied with the Lorde Bonuile, and Sir Thomas Kirpell of Kent, which vpon assurance of his promise, tarped still and fled not, but theyr trust them deceyued. For after the victorie obteyned, and the King brought to the Queene, they two were deteyned as prisioners, and so continued till the Kinges departing from that towne. In this battaile were slaine .xxiiij. hundreth men, and not aboue, of whom no noble man is remembred, saue Sir John Gray, which the same day was made knight, with .xij. other at the Village of Colney. Happy was the Queene in her two battayles, but vnforsunate was the King in all hys enterpryses, for where his person was present, there victorie euer fled from him to the other part, and he commonly was subdued and vanquished. When Queene Margaret had thus well sped, first she caused the King, to dubbe Prince Edward his sonne knight, with .xxx. other persons, which in the moornyng fought on the Queenes syde, agaynst his part. After she sent to the Mayor of London, comaundyng him without delay, to send certaine Cartes, laden with Lenten vitail, for the refreshing of her and her army. The Mayor, or, incontinent made prouision, laded Cartes, and sent them toward the Queene. But the moueable Commons, which fauored not the Queenes part, stopped the Cartes at Cripplegate, and boldly sayd, that their enemyes which came to spoyle and robbe the Citizens, should neyther be relieved, nor victayled by them. And notwithstanding gentle aduertisement to them geuen, of the mischiefes which might ensue of their doyngs: yet they remained still in one obstinate minde and wilfull will, not permytting the carryages to passe or go forwarde. Duryng which controuersie, diuers of the Northzen horsemen came and robbed in the Suburbes of the Citie, and would haue entred at Cripplegate, but they by the Commoners were repulled, and beaten backe, and thre of them slaine: wherevpon the Mayor sent the Recorder to the Kinges Counsaile to Barnet, to excuse the matter, and the Duchesse of Bedford, and the Ladie Scales, with diuers sad fathers of the Spirituallie, went to the Queene to mollifie her rancoz, and asswage her melancoly, which she had conceyued agaynst the Citie. At this humble request, the Queene and her Counsaile appoynted certaine Lordes and knightes, with foure hundreth tall persons, to ryde to the Citie, and there to victwe, and see the demeanour and disposition of the people: and diuers Aldermen were appoynted to mete them at Barnet, and to conuey them to London. But whatsoeuer man purposeth, God disposeth: for all these deuises were shortly transmuted into an other forme, because true report was brought, not onely to the Citie, but also to the Queene, that the Erle of Marche had vanquished the Erles of Penbroke and Wilshire, and that the Erle of Warwike, in whome rested the chiefe trust of that faction, after the last conflict had at Saint Albones, had met with the sayde Erle of Marche at Chipping Norton, he

The battaile  
of Saint  
Albons.



Cottesolde, and that they with both their powers were comyng to worde London. These true tales turned the Queenes purpose, and altered all her long deuised entents, insomuch that the little trustyng Essex, and lesse Kent, but London least of all, with her husband and sonne, departed from Saint Albones, into the North Countrie, where the roote and foundation of her ayde and refuge onely consisted. But at the day of her departyng, she caused the heades of the Lorde Bonuile, and Sir Thomas Kiriell, to be cut of, in the presence of her sonne, contrary to the minde and promise of her husband, but amongst men of warre, sayth or othe, seldome is performed.

Philip was taken.

The Duches of Yorke, seying her husbände and sonne slayne, and not knowyng what should succede of her eldest sonnes chaunce, sent her two yonger sonnes, George and Rycharde ouer the sea, to the Citie of Mtrechte in Almayne: where they were of Philip Duke of Burgoyne well receyued and feasted, and so there they remayned till their brother Edward had obteyned the realme, and gotten the regiment. During which time diuers Marchaunts mistrusting the mutation of the worlde, fled out of the realme, amongst whome, one Philip Malpas a man of great ryches, sailyng into Flaunders, was taken by John Columme a french man, and payde foure thousand Markes for his raunsome. The Erles of Marche and Warwike, hauing perfite knowlege, that the king and Quene with their adherentes, were departed from saint Albones, determined first to ryde to London, as the chiefe key and common spectacle to the whole realme, thinking there to assure themselves of the East and West parte of the kingdome, as king Henry and his faction nestled and strengthened him and his allies, in the North partes: meaning to haue a bucklar against a sword, and a southrene Byll, to counteruaile a Northren bastard. And so these two great Lordes, resolyng themselves vpon thys purpose, accompanied with a great number of men of warre, entred the Citie of London, in the first weeke of Lent. What should I declare how the Kentishmen resorted: howe the people of Essex swarmed, and how the Counties adioyning to London, daylie repayed to see, ayde, and comfort this lustie Prince and flower of Chiuallrie, as he in whome the hope of their ioy, and the trust of their quietnesse onely then consisted. Thys wise and prudent noble man, perceyuing the most parte of the Realme, to him friendly and adherent, minding to take time when time serued, called a great counsaile both of Lordes spirituall and temporall, and to them repeated the tittle, and right that he had to the realme, and dignitie royall: rehering the articles of the agreement, not only concluded betwene King Henry, and hys Noble father, Rycharde Duke of Yorke, by their writings signed and sealed: but also corroborated and confirmed by auctoritie of the high Courte of Parliament: the breaches whereof, he neither forgat, nor omitted vndeclared. After the Lordes had considered and weighed his tittle and declaration, they determined by auctoritie of the sayde counsaile, for as much as king Henry contrary to his othe, honoz and agreement, had biolated and infringed the order taken and enacted in the last parliament, and also because he was insufficient to rule the realme, and vnprofitable to the common wealth, he was therefore by the aforesayde auctoritie, deprived and delected of all kingly honoz, and regall souereintie. And incontinent, Edward Erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to Richard Duke of Yorke, was

was by the Lordes in the sayde counsaile assembled, named, elected, and admitted, for king and gouernour of the realme: on which day, the people of the Erles parte being in their muster in saint Johns field, and a great number of the substantiall Citezens there assembled to beholde their order: so dainely the Lorde Falwconbridge which tooke the Musters, wisely declared to the multitude, the offences and breaches of the late agreement done and perpetrated by king Henry the sixt, and demaunded of the peöple, whether they would haue the sayde king Henry to rule and reigne any longer ouer them: To whome they with a whole voyce, answered nay, nay. Then he asked them, if they would serue, loue, and obey the Erle of Marche, as their earthly prince, and soueraigne Lorde. To which question they answered, yea, yea, cryng king Edward, with many great showtes and clapping of handes. The Lordes were shortly aduertised of the louing consent which the commons frankly and freely of their free will had geuen, wherupon incontinent, they all with a conuenient number of the most substanciall commons, repaired to Baynardes Castell, making iust and true reporte to the Erle of their election and admission, and the louing assent of the saythfull commons. The Erle after long pausing, first thanked God of his great grace and benefite, then to him declared and shewed, and the Lordes and commons also, for their hartie fauor, and assured fidelitie, and notwithstanding that like a wise prince, he alleged his insufficiencie for so great a roime and weyghy a burden, as lacke of knowlege, want of experientie and diuers other qualities to a gouernour apperteyning: yet in conclusion he beyng perswaded by the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, the bishop of Excester and other Lordes, then being present, graunted to their petition, and toke vpon him the charge, and vpon the next day, beyng the fourth day of Marche, he as king rode to the Church of Saint Paule, and there offered. And after Te deum song, with great solempnitie, he was conueyed to Westminster, and there sat in the Hall, with the Scepter royall in his hand, where to all the peöple which there in great number were assembled, his tittle and claime to the crowne of England was declared by two maner of waies: the first, as sonne & heyre to Duke Richard his father, right enheritor to the same: the second, by auctoritie of Parliament and forfeiture committed by king Henry. Wherupon it was againe demaunded of the commons, if they would admit and take the sayde Erle as their prince and soueraigne Lorde, which all with one voyce cryed, yea, yea. Which agreement concluded, he entred into Westminster Church vnder a Canapy, with solempne procession, and there as king offered and after the homages taken of all the nobles there present, he returned by water to London, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace: daylie making prouision to go Northwarde agaynst his aduerse faction and open enemies, and on the morow he was proclaymed king, by the name of king Edward the fourth, throughtout the Citie. While these things were in doyng in the Southpart, King Henry being in the Northcountrie, thinking because he had slayne the Duke of Yorke, the chiefe Capitayne of the contrary lynage, that he had brought all thing to purpose and conclusion as he would, assembled a great armie, trusting with little paine, and small losse, to destroy the residue of his enemies, whome he esteemed to be of no force. But he was sore deceyued: for out of the dead stock, sprang a strong and mighty braunch, which

King Edward the fourth proclaymed king of England.



which by no meanes could either be brokē, or made sere: which was this king Edward the fourth, which was so beloued and fauored of the people, that no man was spoken of, no person was remembred but onely he: for he was so much esteemed, both of the nobility & commonalty, for his liberality, clemency, integrity, and courage, that aboue all other, he was extolled & praised to the very heauen. By reason wherof men of al ages & of all degrees to him dayly repayed, some offering themselves and their men to iopard their lifes with him, & other plenteously gaue him money, to suppozt his charges and maintaine his war. By reason wherof, he assembled together a purssant army, to the intent to geue to his enimies a fierce and a sharpe battaile, & so in one day to obtēin his purpose, & make an ende of al his trouble. When his army was redy, & al things prepared, he departed out of London the .xij. day of March, and by easy iourneis came to the Castel of Pomfret, where he rested, appointing the Lord Fitzwater to kepe y<sup>e</sup> passage at Ferybridge, with a great number of talle personages. Let no man thinke or yet imagine, y<sup>e</sup> either the counsaile of king Henry, or his bigilat Quene, either neglected or forgat to know or serch what their enimies did, but they prepared to their powter al the men, that they eyther could perswade or allure to their purpose to take their part. And thus thinking themselves furnished, comitted the gouernance of the armie to the Duke of Sommerset, the Erle of Northumberland, & the Lord Clifford, as men desiring to reuenge y<sup>e</sup> death of their parents slain at the first battaile of S. Albons. These noble Captaines, leauing king Henry, his wife & sonne, for their most safegard in y<sup>e</sup> City of Yorke, passed the riuer of Wharfe with all their power, intending to prohibite king Edward to passe over the riuer of Ayre, & for the moze expedition & exployt of their purpose (after many comparisous made betwene the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford, both being in lusty youth, & of franck courage) the Lord Clifford determined with his light horsemē, to make an assay to such as kept the passage of Ferybridge, & so departed from the great armye on the Saturday before Palmsonday, & early or his enimies were ware, gat the bridge, and slue the keepers of the same, & all such as did withstand him. The Lord Fitzwater hearing the noise, sodainly rose out of his bed, and bnarmed, with a Dolar in his hand, thinking that it had bene a fray amongst his men, came down to appese the same, but or he eyther began his tale, or knew what the matter ment, he was slaine, & with him the bastard of Salisbury, brother to the Erle of Warwike, a baliant yong gentleman, & of great audacity. When the Erle of Warwike was informed of this feat, he like a man desperate moited on his hackney, & came blowing to king Edward, sayng: syr, I pray God haue mercy of their soules, which in y<sup>e</sup> beginning of your enterprize haue lost their liues, and because I see no succours of the world, I remit the vengeance & punishment to God our creator and redemer, & with that lighted down and slue his horse with his sword, sayng: let him flie y<sup>e</sup> wil, for surely I will tary with him that wil tary with me. The lusty king Edward, perceiuing the corage of his trustie friend the Erle of Warwike made proclamation that al men, which were afraid to fight, should incontinent depart, & to al them that taried the battaile, he promised great rewards with this addition, that if any Souldiour, which voluntarily would not abyde, & in or before the conflict flye, or turne his back, that then he that could kyll hym, should haue a great rewarde, and double wages.

wages. After this proclamation ended, the Lord Fawconbridge, sir Walter Blunt, Robert Horne wyth the foreward, passed the ryuer at Castelforde three myles from Ferebridge, intending to haue enuyroned, and enclosed the Lord Clyfforde, and hys company, but they being thereof aduertised, departed in great haste towarde kyng Henryes armye, but they met with some that they looked not for, and were attrapped or they were ware. For the Lord Clyfforde, eyther for heate or payne, putting of his Gorget, sodaynely wyth an arrowe (as some say) wythout an hedde, was striken into the throte and incontinent rendered his spirite, and the Erle of Westmerlandes brotch and all his company almost were there slayne, at a place called Dintingdale, not far from Cowton. This ende had he which slew the yong Erle of Rutlande, kneelyng on his knees: whose yong sonne Thomas Cliforde, was brought by with a Shepperd, in pooze habite, and dissimuled behauiour euer in feare, to publish his linage or degree, till king Henry the .vij. obtayned the Crowne, and gatte the diademe: by whome he was restored to hys name and possessions. When this conflict was ended at Ferebridge, the Lord Fawconbridge, hauing the forewarde, because the Duke of Northfolke was fallen sick, valiantly vpon Palmsonday in the twylyght, set forth his army, and came to Sarton, where he myght apparauntly perceyue the host of his aduersaryes, which were accompted .lx. M. men, and thercof aduertised kyng Edward, whose whole armye; they that knewe it, and payed the wages, affirme to be, xlviij. M. .vj. C. and .lx. persons, which incontinent with the Erle of warwike set forward, leanyng the rereward vnder the gouernance of Sir John Wenlock, and Syr John Dynham and other. And first of all he made proclamation, that no prisoner should be taken, nor one enemye saued. So the same day about nine of the clock, which was the .xxix. day of Marche, beyng Palmsonday, both the hostes approached in a plaine fielde, betwene Cowton and Sarton. When eche parte perceyued other, they made a great showte, and at the same instant time, there fell a small suite or snow, which by violence of the winde was driuen into the faces of them which were of king Henryes parte, so that their sight was somewhat blemished and minished. The Lord Fawconbridge, which led the foreward of king Edwardes battaile (as before is reherfed) being a man of great pollicie and of much experience in marciall feates, caused euery archer vnder his standard, to shoote one flight (which before he caused them to proude) and then made them to stand still. The Northren men feeling the shot, but by reason of the Snowe, not well bewyng the distaunce betwene them and their enimies, like hardy men shot their sheafe arrowes as fast as they might, but all their shot was lost, and their labor vaine, for they came not nere the Southren men, by .xl. Taylozs yardes. When their shot was almost spent, the Lord Fawconbridge marched forward with his archers, which not onely shot their whole sheues, but also gathered the arrowes of their enimies, and let a great parte of them flie agaynst their awne Maisters, and another part they let stande on the ground, which soze noyed the legges of the owners, when the battail ioyned. The Erle of Northumberland, and Andrew Crollop, which were chiefetaynes of king Henryes Watogard, seyng their shot not to preuaile, hasted forward to ioyne with their enimies: you may be sure the other parte nothing lacked, but valyauntly fought with their enimies.

This

The conflict  
at Fere-  
bridge.The conflict  
at Sarton on  
Palmson-  
day.



This battaile was sore foughten, for hope of lyfe was set on side on euery parte, and taking of prisoners was proclaimed as a great offence, by reason wherof euery man determined, eyther to conquere or to die in the field. This deadly battaile and bloudy conflict, continued ten houres in doubtfull victorie. The one part sometime flowing, and sometime ebbing, but in conclusion king Edward so courageously comforted his men, refreshing the werie, and helping the wounded, that the other part was discomfited and overcome and like men amased fled toward Cadcaster bridge to saue themselves: but in the meane way there is a little brooke called Cock, not very broad, but of a great deepnesse, in the which, what for haste of escaping, and what for feare of folowers, a great number were drent and drowned, in so much that the common people there affirme, that men alvye passed the ryuer vpon deade carcasses, & that the great riuer of Warfe, which is the great sewer of that brooke, & of all the water comming from Cowton, was coloured with blood. The chase continued all night, and the most parte of the next daye, and euer the Northren men, when they sawe or perceyued any aduantage, returned againe and fought with their enemies, to the great losse of both parties. For in thys thre dayes were slayne (as they that knew it wrote) on both partes xxxvij. M. vij. C. lx. and. xvi. persons, all Engliche men and of one Nation, whereof the chiefe were the Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, and the Lorde Dakers, the Lorde Welles, sye John Beuel, Andrew Trolop, Robert Horne, and many other knightes and Esquiers, and the Erle of Deuonshire taken prisoner, but the Dukes of Sommerset and Excester fled from the field and saued themselves. This conflict was in maner vn-naturall, for in it the sonne fought agaynst the father, the brother agaynst the brother, the Nephew agaynst the Uncle, and the tenant agaynst his Lorde, which slaughter did sore and much weaken the puyssance of thys realme, considering that these dead men, when they were liuyng had force ynough to resist the greatest princes power of all Europe: But also gaue a courage to outward enemies, and forreyn Potentates, to invade and make warre in this realme, which thing was not vnlikely to haue ensued, if eyther Lewys the french king had bene at this time quiet in his realme, or James king of Scottes had bene of age and Maister of himselfe, yet thanked be God, for although the gate of a conquest were opened, yet it was shut againe or it was espyed.

After this great victorie, king Edward rode to Porke, where he was with all solempnitie receyued: and first he caused the heades of his father, the Erle of Salisbury, and other his friendes to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodyes. And there he caused the Erle of Deuonshire and thre other to be beheaded, and set their heades in the same places. After that, he sent out men on light horses, to espie in what part king Henry lurked, which heering of the discomfiture and losse of his friendes, departed incontinent with his wyfe and sonne, to the towne of Barwike, and leaving the Duke of Sommerset there, came to the Kinges Court of Scotland, requiring of him and his counsaile, ayde, succour, reliefe and comfort. The yong king hauing compassion on the miserable fate and great mischance of this sorowfull man, not onely comforted him with fayre words and friendly promises, but also assigned to him a competent pencion to liue on, during the

The battaile  
of Cowton  
or Sher-  
borne.

A great  
slaughter of  
Englishmen.

the time of hys abode within the Realme of Scotland. King Henry considering the great humilitie, shewed to him by the Scottish king, in whome onely now consisted the whole hope and especiall trust of his ayde and succour, thought to binde the sayde king with some great benefite to his parte, and for y cause deliuered to him the towne of Barwike vpon Tweede: which towne the Scottes manye yeres had desired, but yet they neyther by force nor fayre promises, could obteyne their desire or purpose before that time. Some wyters affirme that he not voluntarily, but constrained by necessitie, rendered the same towne, or else he could not be permitted once to enter, or haue any succour in the realme of Scotlande. But whatsoeuer the cause was: after king James had taken possession of the towne, he friendly entertained and faytfully supported the part and faction of king Henry, and concluded a marriage betwene his sister and the yong prince of Wales, which marriage, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, enemye to Quene Margarets father, labored much to breake and interrupt: but by the consent of both the friends the matrimony was agreed, but it was neuer solempnised, as after you shal heare. When king Henry was somewhat setteled in the realme of Scotland, he sent his wyfe and hys sonne into fraunce, to king Keyner her father, trusting by his ayde and succour to assemble a great armie, and once agayne to possesse his realme and dignitie, and he in the meane season determined to make his abode in Scotlande, to see and espie, what waye his friendes in Englande woulde studie or inuent for his restitution and aduancement. But whether it were his destinie or his follie, he so imprudently demeaned himselfe, that within short space, he came into the handes of his mortall enemies. Quene Margaret thus being in fraunce, did obteyne and impetrate of the yong french king, that all fautors and louers of her husband and the Lancastreall bande, might safely and surely haue resoorte into any part of the realme of fraunce, prohibiting all other of the contrary faction, any accesse or repaire into that Countrie.

Thus you haue hearde the variable chaunce and lamentable history of king Henry the sixt, which had reigned ouer this realme .xxxviij. yeeres and odde Monethes, which the tenth yere after his deposicion, was agayne erected to his throne and estate royall, as after shall be declared. Now leaving kyng Henry with the Princes of his faction, consultyng together in Scotland, and Queene Margaret his wyfe gathering men together in fraunce, I will returne to the actes of King Edward.

King Henry  
the sixt deli-  
uered the  
towne of  
Barwike in-  
to the handes  
of James  
king of Scot-  
lande.







After this great victory by King Edward obteyned at the battaile of Towton, as aforesayde, he returned lyke a triumphant Conquerour, with great pompe vnto the Citie of London, where, the fourth day of Marche. 1460. by sound of Trumpet he was proclaymed king of this Realme, and the .xxix. day of June next folowing, he was at Westminster with all solempnitie crowned, and annoynted king, by the name of king Edward the fourth.

And in this yere he called his high court of Parliament, wherby the estate of the Realme was wholly set in good order, and specially such thinges as apperteyned to the common wealthe, which befoze were to much neglected and decayed. Durynge the tyme of this ciuill and intestine warre, he caused all statutes and ordinaunces made by king Henry the sixt, (which eyther touched his title or his profite) to be adnihilate and frustrate. In the which Parliament the Erle of Oxforde farre stricken in age, and the Lorde Wobrey were his sonne and heyre, whether it were for malice of their enemies, or they were suspected, or had offended the king, they both, and diuerse of their counsaylors, were attainted and put to execution, which caused John Erle of Oxford euer after to rebell. And afterwarde he created his two yonger brethren Dukes, that is to say: Lorde George, Duke of Clarence, Lorde Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and Lord John Beuell brother to Richard Erle of Warwike, he first made Lorde Mountacute, and afterwarde created him Marques Mountacute. Beside this, Henry Bourchier, brother to Thomas Archebishop of Cantorbury, was created Erle of Essex, and William Lorde Fatowconbridge, was made Erle of Kent. To this Lord Henry Bourchier beyng a noble man in martiall actes, highly approued and renoumed, Richard Duke of York, long befoze this tyme, had geuen his sister Elizabeth in mariage: Hauyng: firme hope, and a sure confidenc, that he and his generation should be a perpetuall ayde to the Duke and his sequele, aswell in prosperitie as aduersitie, associate together in all chaunces of fortune, which trust he did not defraude, as afterward appered to this king Edward the fourth, sonne to the sayde Duke Richard, which for his assured fidelitie, made him Erle of Essex: to the ende that both he the father, and his sonne should euer be to him, both an ayde and a bulwarke. This Erle Henry, begat of Ladie Elizabeth his wife, foure sonnes, William, Thomas, John, and Henry, and one daughter named Isabell, which liued but a small season. In the which sonnes, in compassyng and bringyng great thinges to passe, there lacked no industrie, nor prouidence: and they were hardye, strong, and courageous: But in Lorde William, the eldest sonne of Henry, all these vertues were surely planted and ingrauen: which William espoused Ladie Anne Woodwile, discended of an highe parentage, whose mother Jaquet was daughter

1461

The Erle of Oxforde and his sonne put to death.

George duke of Clarence and Richard Duke of Gloucester.

daughter to Peter of Lurenborough, Erle of Saint Paule, by whom he had Lorde Henry afterwarde Erle of Essex, and Cicile, and Isabell, which dyed vnmayed: Cicile was mayed, to Walter Lord Ferrers of Chartley. But nowe to retorne to the purpose.

Ye haue heard befoze in the .xxviii. yere of the reigne of king Henry the sixt, that the Lordes borowed of the Marchantes of the Staple. xliii. thousand pound, the which money the Staplers did nowe sue for vnto king Edwarde to be repayed vnto them, for that they sayde they disbursed the same in his affayres: But their sute was finally regarded, and shortly after they were willed to silence and to demaunde it no more.

And this yere in the ende of September, the king sent the Erle of Kent and other into Briteyn, who shortly after wonne the Isle of Conquet.

When all these chaunces thus luckily happened to king Edwarde, and all thinges in maner were framed as he would haue them: Henry Duke of Sommerfet, sir Raufe Percie, & diuers other, beyng in dispayre, and out of hope of all good chaunce, that might happen to king Henry the sixt came humbly & submitted themselves, whome he gently entertained & lovingly receyued. Of which dede, the duke shortly repented him, & so did some of the other.

All this season was king Henry the sixt in Scotland, which to haue the more ayde and comfort of the Scottische king, he deliuered vnto him the towne of Barwike, (as you befoze haue hearde) which had bene continually in the possession of the English men, from the tyme of king Edward the first, which with hardie courage, manfull assautes, and slaughter of many thousandes of Scottes, valiantly conquered the same. This same season also, Queene Margaret beyng in Fraunce, by the meanes of her father & friends found such friendship at the french kings hands, that she obteyned a crue of five hundred frenchmen, which was but a small number for her purpose, and yet a greater number then her husband or she were able to enterteyne in wages, of their awne Coffers. She thus beyng accompanied, with these boastyng frenchmen, of whome syr Piers Bzacy, a Briteyne Knight was Capitaine, set by her sayles, and with a prosperous winde arryued in Scotland, where she and her company were welcome to her husband and sonne. Then the Queene and her company thinkyng to doe some great enterpryse, sayled towarde New Castell, and landed at Cimmouth. But whether shee were afrayed of her awne shadowe, or that the frenchmen cast to manye doubt, the truth is, that the whole army returned to their Shippes, and a tempest rose so sodainly, that if she had not taken a small Caruel, and arryued safe at Barwike: she had neuer bered king Edward after, as she did with a new inuasion, nor yet she had not liued all her olde age in misery, wretchednesse, & calamity, as she did, lesyng both her husband, her sonne, her realme, and her honoz. And although at that tyme fortune was so fauozable to her, yet her companie were with stormie blastes driuen on the shore befoze Banborough Castell, where they set theyr Shippes on fyre, and cowardly fled to an Island, called holy Island, where they were so assayled by the bassard Ogle, an Esquier called John Hammers, with other of king Edwardes retinue, that many of them were slaine, and almost foure hundred taken prisoners, and put to ransome. But the Captain Bzacy more coward then corageous, happened by chaunce of a fisherman, and so came to Barwike to Queene

1462

The duke of Sommerfet and sir Raufe Percie submitted theselues vnto king Edward the fourth.

Queene Margaret with her companye arryued at Cimmouth.

Hum. i.

Margaret



Margaret his Mistres: whether she gaue him thanks or no, I doubt, but sure I am, he none deserued, yet she made him Capiteyn of Alnewike Castell, which he with his freshe men kept till they were rescued. This chaunce little amased the Queene, nor in any thing abated her haut courage. For incontynently she obteyned a great companie of Scottes, and other of her friendes and so bringyng her husband with her, and leauyng her sonne called Prince Edward, in the towne of Barwike, entred Northumberland, and tooke the Castell of Bambrough, and stuffed it with Scottes, and made therof Capitaine s<sup>r</sup> Raufe Grey, and came forwarde towarde the Bishoprike of Durham. When the Duke of Sommerset heard these newes, he without delay refused king Edward, and rode in poste to his kinsman king Henry the sixt: verifiyng the olde prouerbe: kinne will creepe where it may not go: Refusi- syng the surety of his estate, which king Edward did promise him, for the un- certaine gaue which he hoped to get, by supportyng king Henry: with him fled also s<sup>r</sup> Raufe Percy, and many other of the kinges friendes, but many mo followed him, for couetousnesse of spoyle and rapyne: insomuche that the puyssaunce of king Henry, was thought to be of as muche force, as the strength & armie of his enemy king Edward. The which armie was iudged to be the greater, because he spoyled, & burned townes, and destroyed fieldes where soeuer he came. King Edward (as you coulde not blame him) was with these doyngs nothing content: wherefore like a wise Prince, intending to stop the gut of king Henryes power, or it made any further issue: prepara- red all munitions, conuenient for the warre, riged and apparailled a great nauye of shippes, of which some were bitayled at Lyn, and some at Hull, and they were furnished with Souldiours. When his army by the sea was thus warlikely set forward: he sent the Lorde Montacute (whome both for his hardinesse and sage conduite in marciall affayres, he much trusted and bele- ued) into Northumberland, there to rayse the people to withstande his ene- mies. And after this, he in his royall person, accompanied with his brethren, and a great part of the nobilitie of his Realme, not without a great and puyssaunt armie, marched towarde his enemyes, and came to the Citie of Yorke, sendyng a great quantitie of his faythfull subiectes, to the ayde of the Lorde Montacute, least peradventure he geuyng to much confidence to the men of the Bishoprike and Northumberlande, might by them be deceyued and surprised. The Lorde Montacute, forgat not the office of a good Cap- itaine, and beyng well furnished with such as he knewe would neyther flye backwarde, nor stande still lookyng on, thought no lenger to tract the tyme, but with a baliant courage marched forwarde towarde his enemyes, and en- countered with the Lorde Hungerford, the Lorde Roos, s<sup>r</sup> Raufe Percy, and diuers other, at a place called Hegely More. Where sodainly the sayde Lorde, in maner without stroke strikyng fled, and onely s<sup>r</sup> Raufe Percy abode, and was there manfully slain, with diuers other, sayyng, when he was dyng: I haue saued the birde in my bosome: meanyng that he had kept, both his promise and othe to king Henry the sixt. The Lorde Montacute seyng fortune thus prosperously leadyng his sayle, was aduanced with har- die courage towarde his enemyes, and then in passyng forwarde, he had by his espialles perfect intelligence, that king Henry with all his powe, was encamped in a sayre plaine called Liuels, on the water of Dowill in Exham- shire.

The duke of  
Sommerset  
refuseth king  
Edward and  
diseynt  
king Henry.

Hegely  
More.

shire. It was no neede to bid him haste haste, as he that thought not to leese the occasion to him so manifestly geuen, & therfore in good order of battaile, he manfully set on his enemyes in their awne campe, which like desperate persons, with no small courage receiued him. There was a soze fought field, and no partie by a long tract, could get any aduantage of the other, till at the last, the Lorde Montacute cryng on his men to do valiauntly, entred by plaine force the battaile of his enemyes, and brake their array, which like men amased, fled hether and thether, desperate of all succor. In which flight and chase, were taken Henry Duke of Sommerset, which before was reconciled to king Edward, the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Holyns, the Lorde Hunger- ford, s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Wentworth, s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Huse, s<sup>r</sup> John Fynderne, and many other. King Henry was this day the best horseman of his company: for he fled so fast that no man could ouertake him, and yet he was so nere pur- sued, that certaine of his Henchmen and folowers were taken, theyr horses beyng trapped in blew beluet: wherof one of them had on his head, the said king Henryes Helmet. Some say his high Cap of estate, called Abococket, garnished with two riche Crownes, which was presented to king Edward, at Yorke the fourth day of May. The Duke of Sommerset, was incontynently for his great mutabilitie and lightnesse, behedded at Exham, the other Lodes and knightes were had to Newe Castell, and there after a little re- spite, were likewise put to execution. Besyde these persons, diuers other to the number of. xxv. were executed at Yorke, and in other places: whereby o- ther fautoz of king Henryes partie, should be out of all trust of all victozy, consideryng that theyr Capitaines had hopped hedlesse. From this battaile escaped king Henry the sixt, s<sup>r</sup> Humfrey Neuell, William Taylboys, calling himselfe Erle of Kent, s<sup>r</sup> Raufe Grey, and Richard Tunstall, and dyuers other, which beyng in feare of takyng, hid themselues and lurked in denes and holes secretly. They were not so closely hid, but they were espyed: for the Erle of Kent was taken in a close place in Riddesdale, and brought to Newe castell, and there with an Axe lost his head. Sir humfrey Neuell after long lurkyng in a Caue, was taken in Holdernesse, and at Yorke behedded. Thus euery man almost that escaped, was after taken and scorged: so that it should seeme that God had ordeyned all such persons as rebelled agaynst king Edward, to haue in conclusion, death for there rewarde.

After this battaill called Exham fielde, King Edward came to the cy- tie of Duresme, to the intent to be moze neerer to his enemyes, if they would make any farther attempt: and sent from thence in Northumberlande the Erle of Warwicke, the Lorde Montacute, the Lodes, Faluconbridge and Scrope, and diuers other, to recouer such Castels and fortresses as his ene- mies, there helde, and wyth force defended. These Lodes first besieged the castel of Alnewike, which sir Piers Bracy and the frenchmen, by force and strong hande kept, & in no wise woulde yelde, sending for ayde to the Scots, whereupon sir George Douglas, Erle of Angus, with. xiiij. M. men well chosen, in the day time rescued the frenchmen out of the castel, the English- men looking on, which thought it much better to haue the castel, without losse of their men, then to leese both the castel and their men, considering the powe of the Scottes, and their small number: and so they entred the castel and manned it, and after the sayde lodes, besieged the castel of Dunstanbrough,

Ann. ij.

and

The battails  
at Liuels, on  
the water of  
Dowill in  
Exham shire.

Exham fielde.

The duke of  
Sommerset  
behedded.



The disgra-  
ding of a  
knight.

and by force tooke it, and John Goy, seruaunt to the Duke of Sommerset capytaine of the sayde castle, was taken and brought to Porke: where, wyth a Hatchet he was behedded. These Lordes also tooke by force, the strong Castle of Samberough, & in it sir Raufe Gray, which was before swoorne to King Edward, for the which perurie to both the Princes, he was disgraded of the high order of knighthoode at Dancastre, by cutting of his guyll spurre, rentyng his Cote of armes, and breaking his swoorde ouer his hed: and finally, there his body was thortned, by the length of his hed.

After this victorie, king Edward returned to Porke, where, in despite of the Erle of Northumberlande, which then lurked in the realme of Scotlande, he created sir John Neuell, Lorde Montacute, Erle of Northumberlande, and in reproofe of Jasper Erle of Penbrooke, he created William Lord Herbert Erle of the same place: but after when by mediacion of friends the Erle of Northumberlande, was reconciled to his fauor, he restored hym fully to his possessions, name, and dignitie: and not intending thereby to dimynish the honor of his friend, he preferred sir John Neuell, to the stile of Marques, Mountacute, & so by that meanes, he was in estate and degree higher, then the Erle of Warwicke his elder brother, but in power, polletie, and possessions, farre baser and lower.

Although King Edward might now thinke, all things to be in a good case, and himselfe also to be of puissance sufficient against all his enemyes, (for that he had obtayned so great a victorie:) yet did he prouide with all diligence, that neyther king Henry, nor Queene Margaret his wife, shoulde by any meanes remayne in Englande: least the sight, with the perswasions of them, and especially, with olde friendes and allies, might alter and chaunge the mindes, and also wyne the hartes of the mutable commonaltie. Wherefore he edified bulwarkes, and builded fortresses on euerie side and parte of his realme, where might be any place apt and meete, for an armie to arrive or take lande. Beside this, he wrote to all them in the South partes of his realme, that in no wyse they shoulde receiue the sayde Queene, nor any thing should helpe or minister to her: and if any did presume or attempt, priuately or openly, to infringe his wil and commaundement, the offenders shoulde be taken as his aduersaries, and punished as his vtter enemyes. And on that part that marcheth vpon Scotlande, he layde watches and espyalles, that no person shoulde go out of the realme, to king Henry and his company: which then lay sojournyng in Scotlande. But whatsoeuer ioperdy or perill myght be construed or deemed, to haue ensued by the meanes of kyng Henry: all such doubtles, were now shortly resolved and determined, and all feare of his doings were clerely put vnder and extinct. For he himselfe, whether he were past all feare, or was not well stablished in his perfite minde, or coulde not long keepe himselfe secret, in a disguised apparell, boldly entred into Englande. He was no soner entred, but he was knowen and taken of one Cantlowe, and brought toward the King, whome the Erle of Warwicke met on the way, by the kings commaundement, and brought him through London, to the towre, and there he was layde in sure holde. Queene Margaret hys wife hearing of the captiuitie of hir husband, mistrusting the chaunce of her some, all desolate and comfortlesse, departed out of Scotlande, and sayled into fraunce, where she remayned with Duke Keyner her father, till shee tooke

King Henry  
the first taken  
and commite-  
ted to the  
Tower of  
London.

1463

3

take her infortunate iorney into Englande agayne: where she lost both husbande and sonne, and also all her welth, honoz, and worthy felicitye. The new Duke of Sommerset & his brother John, sailed into Flaunders, where they also lyued in great miserye, till Duke Charles, because he was of their kinne, and descended of the house of Lancastre by his mother, succored them with a small pencion, which to them was a great comfort. The Erle of Penbrooke went from countrye to country, not alwayes at his hartes ease, nor in securitie of lyfe, or surety of lyuing. Such an vnstable and blynde goddesse is fortune: for when he that sitteth highest on the wheele falleth to the ground all that be vnderneath fall also, and can neyther haue ayde nor helpe of her, nor yet of themselves.

After the taking of king Henry the. vi. and the departing of his wife, this Realme was in more quietnesse, and tranquilytie, because that men of the contrary part and faction, durst not once attempt nor yet mooue any new tumult or conspiracie, considering that both the hed was fallen, and the chiefe members fled, and banquished. Wherefore king Edward, beyng cleerely out of doubt, of all hostilitye and daunger, set all his minde the whole foure yeres following, for both amending things preiudiciall to the common welth and also for stablishing of things, meete and necessarye, for the people of hys Realme and Dominion. And first of all, following the olde auncient adage which sayeth, that the husbandman ought first to taste off the newe growen fruite: he distributed the possessions, of such as tooke part with king Henry the. vi. to his souldiours and capitaynes, which he thought had well deserued it. And beside, he left no poynt of lyberalitie vnshewed, by the which hee might allure to him, the beneuolence and louyng heartes of his peoples: and in especiall to his nobilitie, he gaue both large and precious giftes and rewardes. And because that he would gladly haue the loue of all men, aswell noble as ignoble, aswell of riche as of poore, he shewed himselfe more familiar, both with the Nobilitie & the Commonalty, then (as some men thought) was convenient eyther for his estate, or for his honoz: which gentlenesse and friendly familiaritie he euer after bled. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newly augmented. The coyne both of Gold & of Siluer, which yet at this day is currant, he newly deuised and deuided: For the Golde he named Royals, and Nobles, and the Siluer he called Grotes, and halfe grotes. After this he caused open Proclamation to be published, that all persons which were adherent to his aduersaryes part, and woulde leaue their armure, and submit themselves wholly to his grace and mercye, should be clerely remitted, pardoned, and released: and they that obstinately would so refuse, should haue such paynes, as by the lawe to suche transgressors was assigned and appoynted. What profite this gentle entertaynyng of his people brought him to, and what good will and fixed heartes of the people, he obteyned by this kinde and friendly handlyng, all men may easely coniecture. For onely by the fauor and ayde of the people, euer after in all his warres, he was a victor and a conqueror: so that all enterpryses afterwarde against him attempted, had eyther euill successe, or were soone refelled, as afterward you shall perceyue. When he had brought his realme into thys estate, he surely thinkyng, and no lesse trustyng, but that he was set in the sure stall, stable thzone, and immouable Chayre of the crowne of his realme

The libra-  
irie of king  
Edward.

King Ed-  
ward the  
fourth deu-  
ised y names  
of the coynes

Mm. iij.

and



and kingdome, was not onely desyrous of himselfe, beyng a prince of haute courage, yong, lustie, and sanguine of complexion, to haue a wyfe, but was also dayly sollicitid, requyred, and mocioned of the peeres and nobilitie of the realme, to ioyne with such a Duke, as should be both to his honour, and contentacion, and also for the securitie and establishment of the royall succession, and continuance of his progenie, in his newe possessed Countrie, and late recovered kingdome. Whereupon like a wise and circumspect Prince, very desyrous of a Quene, but more thirsting for such a Duke, by the ayde of whose parentes, allyes, and confederates: he beyng ioynd with them in perfect affinitie, might little or nothyng doubt the attemptes of his aduersarie king Henry, nor yet the malice of his secret friendes and priuie fauours. This matter (as it was of great waight and unportance) hangyng long in consultation: Amongest other it was moued, to sende to James the thirde king of Scottes, for the obtayning of the fayre Ladie Margaret his sister, to the intent, that on that syde, king Henry his aduersarye, should be destitute of all ayde, refuge, succor, and comfort: but whether it were for a priuie sicknesse, or an open impediment, to him and his Counsaile declared, or by them spyed, this mocion banished, and tooke no farther effect. Then (as many men haue sayde, and fewe or none haue writen) it was farther consulted, that the Ladie Elizabeth, sister & heyre apparant, to Done Henry king of Castell (which afterward was his heyre in deede, and maryed to Done Fernando, king of Aragon) was a maryage for him most conuenient, and them that should finally succede him, consideryng that if he might obteyne the kingdome of Castell, of the which his great Grandmother was one of the heyres, as daughter to Done Peter, late king of Castell, (by the balaunt knight, Edward Prince of Wales, restored to his Seignorie, Realme, and Kingdome, then were he in case, not only able to defend himselfe and his realme of England, agaynst all foreyn enemies, and bitter inuasions, but also he should be of puyssance sufficient to inuade, and likely to recover the Duchie of Guien, yea and whole Aquitain, beyng his awne true and lawfull inheritance, with the ayde onely of the Castillians, putting the Englishe men to little traualle and lesse charge. This mocion thus set forwarde, seemed highly to redounde, both to the honor of the king, and the high aduancement of, the estate of the Realme: Consideryng the high parentage of the woman. And this mariage agreed vpon (which semeth more likely to be intreated of then concluded.) The Erle of Warwike was sent into Spaine, well instructed, & no lesse accompanied for the conclusion of the said mariage. But who so wil diligently consider, the youth and appetite of king Edward, & the tender age & minority of this noble Damofell: may evidently perceyue, & it was neyther decent nor conuenient for him nor his realme, to abide and tarie the maturitie and decent full age of this noble princes, nor that he being a prince, wel cherished, of lusty courage, and apt to generation, would or could liue sole & unmarried without a wyfe, till she were of age, meete and conuenient for his bed. For it appereth on her goodly Sepulture, in the Citie of Granada (where she is buried) and also dyuers famous and notable Historiographers, both of Spaine and other regions write and affirme, that she changed this transitorie lyfe, in the yere of our Lord. 1506. being fiftie yeres of age, one moneth lacking. By which report she should be bozne in the yere of our Lord. 1456.

And

And when the Erle of Warwike was sent for the mariage of king Edward, in the beginning of the thirde yere of his reigne, the yere of our Lord was 1463, so that then she was sixe and not fully seuen yeres, at which time king Edward had fully accomplished. xxiiij. yeres and more. The treaty of which mariage although it be not vnpossible, yet for the causes aforesayde, it seemeth not a little vnlikely. But admit that this mariage was moued, as it peradventure might be, and that the Erle of Warwike sayled into Spaine (as he did not in deede) of lykelihood his legation was frustrate, and came to none effect: but sure it is that the same yere, he came to king Lewys the xi. then being french king, liyng at Tours, and with great honor was there receyued, and honorably enterpyned: of whome, for king Edward his mayster, he demaunded to haue in mariage the Lady Bona, daughter to Lewys Duke of Sauoy, and sister to the Lady Carlot then french Quene, being then in the french court. This mariage seemed politiquely deuised, and of an high imagination to be inuented, if you will well consider the state and condition of king Edwards affayres, which at this time had king Henry the first in safe custodie, in the strong Tower of London, and the most parte of his adherentes, he had as he thought, eyther ouerthrowne or destroyed, Quene Margaret onely except, and Prince Edward her sonne, which were then sojourning at Angiers with olde Duke Keyner of Aniuow her father, wytyng himselfe king of Naples, Sicile, and Jerusalem, hauing as much profites of the letters of his glozious stile, as rentes and reuenues out of the sayde large and riche Realmes and dominions (because the King of Aragon tooke the profites of the same, and would make no accompt thereof to Duke Keyner.) King Edward therefore thought it necessary to haue affinitie in Fraunce, and especially by the Queenes sister: trusting that by the sayde mariage, Queene Margaret whome the same Queene Carlot little or nothing regarded, although her father was called a king & she a Quene, and none of both hauing subiectes, profites nor dominions, should haue no ayde, succour, nor any comfort of the french king, nor of none of his friends nor allies, wherfore Quene Carlot much desirous to aduance her bloud and progenie, and especially to so great a prince as king Edward was, obteyned both the good will of the king her husband, and also of her sister, so that the matrimony on that side was cleerely assented to, and the Erle of Dampmar-tine appointed with other to sayle into Englande, for the cleere finishing of the same. After these things thus concluded, the Erle of Warwike was dismissed and highly rewarded, and for the great and noble courage that was in him, he obteyned such fauor of the king, the Queene, and the Nobles of Fraunce, that when he fled out of England, he was there honorably receyued, friendly mainteyned, and louingly succoured, as you shall perceyue hereafter.

But now consider the old prouerbe to be true that saith: that mariage is destiny. For during the time & the Erle of Warwike was thus in Fraunce, and had concluded a mariage for king Edward: The king being on hunting in the Forest of Wythwood beside Stonnystratford, came for his recreation to the manor of Grafton, where the Duches of Bedford sojourned, then wife to Syr Richard Wooduile, Lorde Ryuers, on whome then was attending a daughter of hers, called dame Elizabeth Grey, wydow of Syr John Grey knight,

The treatie  
of a mariage  
for king Ed-  
ward the  
fourth.

The mariage  
concluded for  
king Ed-  
ward the  
fourth.



King Edward falleth in love with the Duchesse of Bedfordes daughter, and after married her,

knight, slaine at the battayle of Saint Albons, by the power of king Edward. Thys wydow hauing a sute to the king, eyther to be restored by him to some thing taken from her, or requiring him of pittie, to haue some augmentation to her lyuing, found such grace in the kings eyes, that he not onely fauored her sute, but much more phantased her person, for she was a woman moze of foymall countenance, then of excellent bewtie, but yet of such bewtie and fauor, that with her sober demeanour, louely loking, & feminine smiling, (neyther to wanton nor to humble) beside her tongue so eloquent, and her wit so pregnant, she was able to rauishe the minde of a meane person, when she allured and made subiect to her, the hart of so great a king. After that king Edward had well considered all the knyaments of her body and the wise and womanly demeanour that he sawe in her, he determined first to attempt, if he might prouoke her to be his soueraigne Ladye, promising her many gites and fayre rewardes, affirming farther, that if she would thereunto condiscend, she might so fortune of his pe remour and Concubine, to be chaunged to his wyfe and lawfull bedfelow: which demaunde she so wisely, and with so couert speeche answered and repugned, affirming that as she was for his honour farre vnable to be his spouse and bedfelow: So for her awne poze honestie, she was to good to be eyther is Concubine or soueraigne Ladie: that where he was a little before heated with the dart of Cuppydo, he was now set all on a hote burning fire, what for the confidence that he had in her perfite constancie, and the trust that he had in her constant chastitie, and without any farther deliberation, he determined with himselfe clerely to mary with her, after that asking counsaile of them, which he knew neyther would, nor once durst impugne his concluded purpose.

But the Duchesse of Yorke his mother letted it as much as in her lay, alleging a precontract made by him with the lady Lucy, and diuers other lettes: all which doubtres were resolued, and all things made clere and all cauillations auoyded. And so priuily in a morning he maryed her at Grafton, where he first phantased her visage.

And in the next yeere after, shee was with great solemnitye crowned Queene at Westminster the .xviij. day of May. Her father also was created Erle Rivers, and made high Constable of Englande: her brother Lord Antony, was maryed to the sole heire of Thomas Lord Scales, and by her hee was Lord Scales. Syr Thomas Grey, sonne to Syr John Grey, the Queenes first husbände, was created Marquess Dorset, and maryed to Cicilie, heire to the Lord Bonville. Albeit this marriage, at the first apparence was very pleasaunt to the king, but moze ioyous to the Queene, and profitable to her blood, which were so highly exalted, yea, and so sodainly promoted, that all the nobilitie, moze maruayled then allowed, this sodayne rising. Yet who so will marke the sequele of this Stozy, shall manifestly perceiue, what nurther, what mystery, and what trouble ensued by reason of this marriage, for it cannot be denied, but for this marriage king Edward was expelled the Realme, and durst not abyde: And for this marriage was the Erle of Warwicke, and his brother miserably slayne: By this marriage were king Edwardes two sonnes declared bastardes, and in conclusion priued of their lyues: And finally by this marriage, the Queenes blood was confounded and in a maner vtterly destroyed.

Incommodities that sp. 3 of king Edwardes marriage.

The

The french king and his Quene were not a little discontent (as I can not blame them) to haue their sister first demaunded, and then graunted, and in conclusion reiected and apparantly mocked, without any cause reasonable. Wherefore shortly to appease her dolor, they married her to John Gaule, Duke of Millayne, where she lyued in great felicitie. But when the Erle of Warwicke had perfite knowledge by the letters of his trusty friends, that king Edward had gotten him a newe wyfe, and that all that he had done with king Lewys in his ambassade for the conioyning of this newe affinitie, was both frustrate and vaine, he was earnestly moued and sore chafed with the chaunce, and thought it necessarie that king Edward should be depofed from his crowne and royall dignitie, as an inconstaunt Prince, not worthy of suche a kingly office. All men for the most part agree, that this marriage was the onely cause, why the Erle of Warwicke bare grudge, and made warre on king Edward. Other affirme that there were other causes, which added to this, made the fyre to flame, which before was but a little smoke. For after that king Edward had obteyned his kingdome (as it was then thought) by the only helpe and meane of the Erle of Warwicke, he beganne to suspect, yea, and to doubt him, fearing least he being in such authority and estimation of the people, as he well might worke him pleasure or displeasure, when he thereunto were minded, wherefore he thought it conuenient a little, & a little to pluck away and minishe the power and auctoritie, which he and his predecessors had geue to the Erle, to the entent that he then might doe at his pleasure, both at home and in outwarde parties, without feare or dread, without check or taunt, whatsoeuer to his awne mind seemed most conuenient. By thys a man may see that often it chaunceth, that friends for one good turne will not render another, nor yet remember a great gratuitie and benefite in time of necessity to them shewed and exhibited: But for kindnesse they shewe vnkindnesse, and for great benefites receyued, with great displeasure they doe recompence. Of this the Erle of Warwicke was nothing ignorant, which although he looked for better thankes and greater benefites at king Edwards handes: yet he thought it best to dissimule the matter tyll such a tyme were come, as he might finde the king without strength, and then to imbrayd him with the pleasure that he had done for him. And farther it erreth not from the truth that king Edward did attempt a thing once in the Erles house, which was much against the Erles honesty (whether he would haue deflowred his daughter or his Neece, the certaintie was not for both their honors openly knowne) but surely such a thing was attempted by king Edward. But whether the iniurie that the Erle thought he had taken at king Edwardes handes, or the disdayne of auctoritie that the Erle had vnder the king, was the cause of dissolution of their amitie and league, truth it is, that the priuy intentions in their harts brake into so many small peeces, that England, Fraunce, and Flaunders, could neuer ioyne them agayne, during their naturall lyues.

The Erle of Warwicke being thus moued, inflamed, and set agaynst the king, least in hys furie, hys purpose might be eyspyed and brought to nought, determined hymselfe, couertly dissimulyng, so long to suffer all such wrongs and iniuries, as were to him done, tyll he might spie a tyme conuenient, and a woerde after hys awne appetite, for the setting forth of his enterprise,

The displeasure betwene king Edward the fourth, and the Erle of Warwicke.



terprise, and accomplishing of hys purpose: wherupon he sayled into Eng-  
lande, and with reuerence saluted the king, as he was wont to doe, and de-  
clared hys Ambassade & the exployt of the same, without any spot of grudge  
to be perceyued, as though he were ignorant of the newe matrimonie.  
And when he had taried in the Court a certaine space, moze for to shew that  
he was the same person, and of the same good minde toward the king, as he  
was before the time of his Ambassade, then for any great affection that he  
bare, eyther to the king or to the Queene, he obteyned lycence of the king to  
depart to his Castell of Warwike, both for his helth and recreation, whe-  
ther with great honour he was accompanied with diuers of the kings fami-  
lier seruitors, as though none inwarde grudge or couert dissimulation had  
bene hidden betwene them, where he remayned tyll all his priuie imaginati-  
ons were made open, and all hys enterpryses were readie to be set forward.  
And in the ende of thys yere, that is to say, the .xj. daye of februarye, the  
Queene was deliuered of a yong and fayre Lady, named Elizabeth, which  
afterward was wyfe to the noble Prince king Henry the seauenth, and mo-  
ther to king Henry the eyght.

The birth of  
the Lady E-  
lizabeth wyfe  
to king Hen-  
ry the seuenth  
and mother  
to king Hen-  
ry the eyght.

1465

5

King Ed-  
ward lycen-  
ced a certaine  
number of  
Sheepe to be  
transported  
vnto Spaine.

When king Edward had reigned thys, full the terme of fīue yeres, not  
all in pleasure, nor yet so in displeasure, but eyther by pollicie or friendship,  
he euer was superiour, and had the vpper hande of his enemies: He daylie  
studied and applyed hys whole minde with all labor and diligence to obteyne  
the loue, fauour, and amitie of outward princes. First to haue a Rotolande  
for an Olyuer, for the French king whome he knew not to be his friend, by  
reason of the refusall of his Quenes sister, he procured an amity with Hen-  
rie, king of Castell, and John king of Arragon. At the concluding of which  
amitie he graunted lycence and libertie for certayne colfolde Sheepe to be  
transported into the Countrie of Spayne (as people report) which haue so  
there multiplied and encreased, that it hath turned the commoditie of Eng-  
lande muche to the Spanishe profite, and to no small hynderaunce of the  
lucre and gayne which was before times in Englande, raysed of wolle and  
fell. Beside this to haue an amitie with his next neighbor the king of Scots,  
he wynting at the towne of Warwike, was content to take a truce for fif-  
tene yeres.

But Lorde what happie chaunce and good luck had king Edward, for  
beside these newe friendes and confederates (of the which, some were moze  
farther off, then he could call to for helpe with a whistle, when he stode in  
most daunger and distresse) Fortune beside all his expectation prouided him  
euen at his elbowe, a brother in lawe, a perpetuall ally and friendly neygh-  
bour: which offered allpance and newe amitie, if he had eyther refused or mis-  
sed. Surely of all his other supposed friends, for al their league, in his extreme  
necessitie, had cleerely left him without comfort. This happie chaunce came  
by this occasion. In this same season was Lorde and Prince in Flaunders,  
Brabant and Zelande, and other the lowe Countries there about, Philip  
Duke of Burgoyne, a man as he was of great age and yeres, so was he had  
in muche honoz, great estimation and high reuerence amongst all kings and  
Princes in his dayes: which Duke as you haue heard before, was enemye  
mortall to king Henry the sixt. This Duke had onely one sonne legitimate,  
called Charles Erle of Charoloyse, a man of such haute courage and auda-  
citie,

Philip Duke  
of Burgoyne.

citie, as fewe or none was in his time: For how he discomfited king Leuoyse  
the .xj. then the French king at the battayle of Montleherrie, the French-  
men hath not yet forgotten. The lande of Luke also hath in freshe memorie  
his sore scourge and cruell plague. This Erle Charles was at thys time a  
widower, hauing only a sole daughter, & no sonne, wherfore both by his fa-  
ther and himselfe and the companions of the order of the golden fleece, being  
of their counsaile, it was thought not onely expedient but much moze neces-  
sarie, that he should take a wyfe, yea and in such a place, as they might by that  
matrimony haue both alliaunce and ayde against all their outward enemies,  
and especially agaynst the French king, whome they knew daylie to wayte,  
and watch lyke a Serpent, how he by fraude might swallow or catch them  
or their possessions: vpon which communication it was declared by certayn,  
there being present, that king Edward of Englande had a fayre Virgin  
to his sister, called Lady Margaret, a Lady of excellent bewtie, whose good  
qualities, beside the giftes of nature, grace and fortune, were so serious-  
ly set forth to Duke Philip, and the Erle of Charoloyse his sonne, that both  
the father and the childe iudged that mariage to be the most meetest matri-  
mony in Christendome, not onely for the excellent vertues imprinted in the  
person of the noble Virgin, but also for the great profite, alliaunce and conti-  
nuall friendship that should growe and rise betwene the realme of England,  
and the Dukes landes.

After this mariage was fully resolved vpon, the Duke appoynted his  
bastard sonne Lord Antony, commonly called the bastard of Burgoyne, chiefe  
Ambassadoz for this purpose: a man of great wit, courage, valiantnesse and  
liberalitie, which beyng richly furnished of plate, and apparell, necessary for  
his estate, hauing in his companie gentlemen and other expert in all feates  
of chivalry, and martiall prowesse, to the number of foure hundred horses,  
(as the Brabanders write) tooke his ship, and with prosperous winde arri-  
ued in England, where he was of the Nobilitie receyued, and with all hono-  
rable entertainment conueyed to the kinges presence, which like a Prince,  
that knewe what apperteyned to his degree, louyngly welcomed, and fami-  
liarly embraced him, and other Nobles that came with him. And after his  
Commission seene, and his message declared, the king gaue to him a gentle  
answere for that tyme, and so the Ambassadors departed to their lodgyng,  
where they kept a great household, and made triumphant cheare. You may  
thinke that king Edward was not so vnwise, nor yet so vnpruiced of coun-  
saile, to forsake this beneficiall alliaunce, thus frankly to him profered and  
graunted, but that he and all his counsaile endeuoured themselves to byng  
the same to passe (the Erle of Warwike onely except) which bearyng his  
hartie fauour to the French king by euill reportes, did as much as in him lay  
to hinder this mariage and affinitie, of whose good will the Erle Charles  
was well enformed.

But for all his opinion at a certain day, the king sent for the Ambassadors,  
and there declared to them how he gladly did both accept & graunt theyr lo-  
uyng request & demaund, promising them in the word of a prince, & he would  
be durying his lyfe friend to the friendes of the Duke and the Erle, and ene-  
mie to their aduersaries and enemies, which wordes much pleased the Bur-  
gonions. After this he caused the Ladie Margaret his sister to be sent for,  
which

1466

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Anthony the  
Bastarde  
sonne of Phi-  
lip Duke of  
Burgoyne.



A mariage concluded betweene Charles the son of Philip Duke of Burgoyne and Ladye Margaret sister to king Edward the fourth.

which being richly apparelled, accompanied with a great multitude of Ladies and gentlewomen, entered into the kinges great Chamber with so sober a demeanour, so fayre a visage, so louyng a countenance, and so princely a port, that she was esteemed for her personage and qualities, both of the Burgonions and other, not to be unworthy to matche in matrimonie, with the greatest Prince of the worlde. And after the king, she and the Ambassadors, had communed a good tract of tyme, the Lorde Anthonie Bastard of Burgondie, contracted openly the sayd Lady Margaret, for and in the name of his brother the Erle Charles, and there in the name of the Duke his father, and the Erle his brother, he presented to the Ladie Margaret a riche and a costly Jewell, which she toyously receyued with great thankes given, both to her father in law, and her newe contracted husband.

A Chalenge.

After this mariage thus concluded and contracted. The Bastard of Burgoyne, a man of a haute courage, challenged Anthonie Lorde Scales, brother to the Queene, a man both egall in hart and balauntnesse with the Bastard, to fight with him both on foote and on horseback, the Lorde Scales gladly receyued his demaunde, and promised him on the othe of a Gentleman, to aunswere him in the field at the daye appoynted: Like chalenges were made by other Burgonions, to the gentlemen of England, which were not refused. The king entending to see this martiall sport, and balaunt challenge performed, caused listes royall for the Champions, and costly Galleries for Ladies to looke on, to be newly erected in West Smithfield in London. And at the daye by the king assigned, the two Lordes entred within the Listes well mounted, richly trapped, and curiously armed. On which day they ranne together certaine courses with sharpe Speres, and so departed with egall honoz. The next day, they entred the fielde, the Bastarde sitting on a baye courser, being somewhat dimme of sight, and the Lorde Scales had a graye courser, on whose schaffron was a long and a sharpe pyke of steele. When these two balaunt persons coped together at the Cornay, the Lorde Scales horse by chaunce or by custome, thrust his pike into the nosethilles of the horse of the Bastard, so that for very paine he mounted so high, that he fell on the one syde with his mayster, and the Lorde Scales roade rounde aboute him, with his sworde thakng in his hande, till the king commaunded the Marshall to helpe by the Bastard, which openly sayd, I cannot holde by the Clondes, for though my horse fayled me, surely I will not fayle my counterpanion. And when he was remounted, he made a countenance to assaile his aduersary, but the king eyther fauouryng his brothers honour then gotten, or mistrustyng the shame which might come to the Bastard, if he were againe foyled, caused the Heraldes to crie, a Lostel. and euery man to depart. The Morowe after, the two noble men came into the fielde on foote, wyth two Polares, and there fought balauntly like two coragious Champions, but at the last, the poynt of the Axe of the Lorde Scales happened to enter into the sight of the helmet of the Bastard, and by fine force might haue plucked him on his knees, the king sodainly cast downe his warder, and then the Marshalles them seuered. The Bastard not content with this chaunce, being desirous to be reuenged, trustyng on his cunnynge at the Polare (the which feate he had greatly exercised, and therein had a great experiment) required the king of iustice, that he might perfoyme his enterprize: the Lorde Scales

not

not refused it. The king sayde he would aske counsaile, and so calling to him the Constable, and Marshall, with the officers of Armes, after long consultation had, and lawes of armes reherfed, it was declared to the Bastarde for a sentence diffinitue, by the Duke of Clarence, then Constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolke Erle Marshall, that if he would prosecute farther hys attempted challenge, he must by the lawe of Armes be deliuered to hys aduersary in the the same case and lyke condicion, as he was when he was taken from hym, that is to saye, the poynt of the Lorde Scales Axe to be fixed in the sight of his helme, as depe as it was when they were seuered. The Bastarde heeryng this iudgement, doubted much the sequele, if hee should so proccede againe, wherefore he was contented to relinquish his challenge, rather then to abyde the hazarde of his dishonour. Other Chalenges were done, and balauntlye atchieued by the Englishe men, which I passe ouer. When all these couragious actes were thus wyth ioye accomplished, sorowfull tidynges were brought to the Bastard, that Duke Philip his father was passed this transitorie lyfe, of which tidynges he was not a little sorowfull, and thereupon takyng hys leaue of king Edward and his sister, the newe Duches of Burgoyne, liberally rewarded with Plate and Jewelles, with all celeritie he returned to the newe Duke Charles his Nephew, accompyting to him what exploit he had made in his Ambassade & message, which aunswere was to the great contentacion and accomplishment of the desyre of the sayde Duke, and thereof most hartly thanked the Lady for her consent, as for the thing that he most desired, not forgettyng to gratifie king Edward for his preferment and furtheraunce in his louyng request.

Now to returne to Charles Duke of Burgoyne, which with great victory, and triumph, returned from the conquest of the land of Luke to Bruselles, he not forgetting the contract, which his bastard brother the Lorde Anthonie had made in his name, wyth the noble Princesse Lady Margaret, sister to Edward King of Englande, deuised alwayes howe he might with all honoz and royalty, haue her receyued into his countrey. And first he wrote to the king of Englande, to sende her ouer the sea with all diligence, according to the pact and league betwene them concluded, which being nothing slacke, and especially in such a cause, as so highly magnified his blood, prepared shippes and all things necessarye, for the honorable conduite of her and her company, and so accompanied with the Dukes of Excester, and Southfolke, and their wives, being both her sisters, and a great company of Lords, and Ladies, and other to the number of five hundred horses, and in the beginning of June departed out of London to Douer, and so sayled to Schuce, where shee and her company were receyued, and from thence conueyed to Bruges, where mariage was celebrate and Solempnized.

After the departure of this Lady Margaret. Sir Thomas Cooke late Mayor of London, which before had bene accused of treason by a seruaunt of the Lorde Wenlockes, called hawkins, and at the request of the saide Ladye Margaret, was suffered upon suretie to go at large, was nowe arrested, and sent to the Tower, and his goods seased by the Lorde Rivers, then treasurer of Englande, and his wife put out of his house, and she was committed to the charge of the Mayor, where she laye a great while after. And after

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the

Philip Duke of Burgoyne dead.

1467

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the sayde sye Thomas was brought from the Tower to the Guldhall and there arreigned of treason, and was quit by sondy enquestes, and yet after was committed to the Counter in Bredstrete, and from thence to the Kings bench in Southwarke, where he lay vntill his friendes did agree with Sir John Brandon, then keper of the sayde prison, to take him home to his place, where to his great charge he remayned prisoner long after. In which time he lost great riches, and two places, the one in the country, the other in London, besides a great value of Jewelles, Plate, and money, with sondy riche merchaundises, as cloth of Gold, Syluer, Veluet, Satten, and other silkes. And finally after many persecutions, and losses, he was compelled by a fyne set vpon him for misprison of treason to paye vnto the king eyght thousande pounde, and so set a large. But shortly after he was newly troubled by the Queene, who demaunded of him of euery thousande pounde that he paid to the king for his fine, one hundreth marke that was due to her, for the which he was compelled also to agree, to his exceeding charges, beside his great and long vexacion.

But now let vs retorne to the History of the Erle of Warwicke, who at his retorne from beyonde the sea, for the continuall grudge that lurked in his stomacke, towarde king Edwarde, ye must thinke that of very necessity it would at length eyther burst the vessell, and by some meanes issue out, as it did now euen at this tyme: he beyng at his towne of Warwicke, accompanied with his two brethren the Marques Mountacute, and the Archebishop of Yorke, framed communication to make them mery and to passe forth the time two or thre dayes, at the last hauyng occasion to speake of the king and his doings and proceedings, he then first moued and excited them by all waies possible to helpe and ayde, and to restore king Henry the sixt, to the Crowne and royall dignitie againe.

And after the Erle of Warwicke had bittered a number of flattering and glosing wordes, the Archebishop consented vnto him, but the Lorde Marques could by no meanes be reduced to take any part against king Edwarde, till the Erle had both promised him great rewardes and high promotions, and also assured him of the ayde, and power of the greatest Princes of the Realme. Euen as the Marques vnwillingly, and in maner constrained, gaue his consent, to this unhappy coniuration, at the intisement and procuring of the Erle, so wyth a faynt harte, and lesse courage, he alwayes shewed himselfe enemy to king Edwarde, except in his last day: which luke warme hearte, and double dissimulation, was both the destruction of him, and his brethren. The Erle of Warwicke beyng a man of a great wit, farre castyng and many things foreseeing, eyther perceyued by other, or had perfite knowledge of himselfe, that the Duke of Clarence, bare not the best will to kyng Edward his brother, (as he did not in deede) thought first to proue him a far off, as it were in a probleme, and after to open to him (if he saw him flexible to his purpose) the secret imaginations of his stomacke: thinkyng that if he might by pollicie, or promise, allure the Duke to his partie, that king Edward should be destitute, of one of his best Hawkes, when he had most neede to make a flight. So at tyme and place conuenient, the Erle began to complayne to the Duke, of the ingratitude and doublenesse of king Edward, sayyng that he had neither handled him like a friend, nor kept promise with him,

according

according as the estate of a Prince required. The Erle had not halfe tolde his tale, but the Duke in a great fury answered, why my Lorde, thinke you to haue him kind to you, that is unkind, yea, and vnaturall to me beyng his owne brother, thinke you that friendship wil make him keepe promise where neyther nature nor kindred, in any wise can prouoke, or moue him, to fauour his owne bloode? Thinke you that he will exalte and promote his Cousin or Alic, which little careth for the fall or confusion, of his owne line and lineage? This you know well enough, that the heyre of the Lorde Scaces he hath married to his wiues brother, the heyre also of the Lorde Beuile and Harrington, he hath geuen to his wiues soune, & the heire of the Lord Humberford, he hath graunted to the Lord Hastings: thre marriages more meete for his two brethren and kynne, then for such new foundlings, as he hath bestowed them on. But by sweete Saint George I sweare, if my brother of Gloucester woulde toyne with me, we woulde make him knowe, that wee were all thre one mans sonnes, of one mother, and one lineage descended which should be more preferred and promoted, then straunges of his wyfes bloode.

When the Erle of Warwicke had harde the Dukes wordes, he had that which he both fore thirsted, and lusted for, and then began boldly to disclose to the Duke, his intent and purpose, euen at the full, requiring him to take parte with him, and to be one of the attempted confederacy. And least the Duke might thinke, that the matter was lightly, and vncircumspectly begun, he declared to him, how warily, how secretly, how speedily all things concerning this purpose, had bene compassed, studied, and foreseene, requiring him in so great, and vrgent a cause both to take paine and trauayle, and also to study with all circumspection and foresyng, how these things thus begun might be brought to a certayne and finall conclusion. And the rather to wyne the Dukes hart, the Erle beside diuers and manye sayre promises made to the Duke, offered hym his eldest daughter (beyng of ripe age, and elegant stature) in marriage with the halfe dele of his wiues inheritance. The Duke at the perswasion and request of the Erle, promised to doe all thinges which he woulde or coulde, in any manner require, or desyre. After that the Duke and the Erle had long consulted, concerning their straunge and dangerous affayres, they first determined to sayle to Calice, of the which towne the Erle was chiefe captaine, where his wife and two daughters then sojourned, whom to visite, the Duke of Clarence beyng in amoures had no small affection. But the Erle continually remembryng the purpose that he was set on, thought to begyn and set forward the same, before his departure: wherefore he appointed his brethren the Archebishop, and the Marques that they shoulde by some meane in his absence, stirre vp some newe Commotion or Rebellion, in the Countie of Yorke, and other places, nere therabouts, so that this ciuill warre should seeme to all men, to haue begun without his consent or knowledge, he being in the partes beyonde the Sea.

When all these thinges were thus determined, and in graue counsaile allowed, the Erle and the Duke sayled directly to Calice, where they were solempnly receyued, and toyously interteyned of the Countesse, and of her two daughters. And after that the Duke had swozne on the Sacrament to kepe his promise and pact inviolate, made and concluded with the

Ann. ij.

Erle

The duke of Clarence entrench into a confederacye agaynst his awne brother King Edward.

1468  
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Erle of Warwike, he married the Ladie Isabel, eldest daughter to the sayde Erle, in our Ladie Church at Calice, with great pompe & solempnity. After which mariage so solemnized, the Duke & the Erle consulted sadly together, by what meanes they should continue the warre, (which as it was by them appoynted) was quickly and within fewe dayes begon in Yorke shire, not without great rumoz and disturbance, of all quietnesse in that Countrie.

Comotion.

The mother of this pernicious commocion, was uncharitie, or very impietie, for there was in the Citie of Yorke, an olde and a riche Hospitall, dedicated vnto saint Leonard, in the which Almshouse the poore and indigent people were harbored and refreshed, and the sick and impotent persons were comforted and healed. For this good purpose and charitable intent, all the whole prouince of Yorke, gaue verely to this Hospitall certeine measures of cozne, in maner as an oblation of the first frutes of their newe grayne, thin- kyng theyz gyft geuen to so good a place, and for so good a purpose, should be to them meritorious, and befoze God acceptable. Certaine euill disposed persons, of the Erle of Warwikes faction, entending to set a broyle in the Countrie, perswaded a great number of husbandmen, to refuse and denie to geue any thing to the sayde Hospitall, affirmyng and sayyng, that the cozne that was geuen to that good intent, was not expended on the poore people, but the Maister of the Hospitall wared riche with such almose, & his priests wared fat, and the poore people lay leane without succoz or comfort. And not content with these sayyngs, they fell to doyns, for when the Proctors of the Hospitall, accordyng to theyz vsage went about the Countrie, to gather the accustomed cozne, they were soze beaten, wounded, and very euill intreated. Good men lamented this vngodly demeanoz, and the peruerse people much at it reioysed, and tooke such a courage, that they kept secret conuenticles, and priuie communications, insomuche that within fewe dayes, they had made such a confederacie together, that there were assembled to the number of. xv. thousand men, euen redie prest to set on the Citie of Yorke. When the fame of this commocion and great assemble, came to the eares of the Citizens of Yorke, they were first greatly astonied: but leauyng all feare ashyde, they were in a great doubt and vncerteinty, whether it were best for them to issue out of theyz walles, and to geue battaile to the rebelles, or to keepe theyz Citie, and repulse the violence of theyz enemies, by the manfull defendyng of theyz walles and portes. But the Lorde Marques Mountacute, gouernoz and president of that Countrie for the king, did shortly put the Citizens out of all feare and suspicion of inuasion, for he takyng spedie counsaile, consideryng the oportunitie of the tyme, with a small number of men, but well chosen, encountered the rebelles befoze the gates of Yorke: tohere after a long conflict, he tooke Robert Hilderne theyz Capitaine, and befoze them commaunded his heade there to be smitten off, and then he caused all his souldi- ors (because it was darke, to enter into the Citie of Yorke) and after theyz long labor to refresh the them.

Robert Hilderne a rebell  
beheaded.

Here is to be marueyled why the Marques thus put to death, the Cap- tayne and ruler of the people, stirred and raysed by by him, and the felowes of his conturation and conspiracy. Some saye he did it to the intent, that he would seme faultlesse and innocent of all hys brothers doings and priuie ima- ginations: But other affirme and saye, that he for all his promise made to  
his

his brother, was then fully determined to take part with king Edward, with whome (as it shall after appere) he in small space entred into great grace and high fauour. The people beyng nothing abashed at the death of their Capitayne, but rather the moze eger and fierce, by sayze and gentle speche and craftie perswasions: founde the meanes to get to them Henry, sonne and heire to the Lorde Filz Hugh, and Sir Henry Neuell, sonne and heire to the Lorde Latimer, the one being Nephew, and the other Cousyn Germaine to the Erle of Warwike. Although that these yong Gentlemen, bare the names of Capitaynes, yet they had a Tutor and gouernour called Sir John Conyers a man of suche courage and balauntnesse, as fewe was in his dayes, in the North partes. And first considering that they could not get Yorke for want of ordinaunce and artilerie, which they did lack in deede, they determined with all speede to marche toward London, intending by the way to rayse suche a phantasie in the peoples hartes, that they should thinke that king Edward was neyther a iust Prince to God, nor profitable to the common welth of the realme.

Sir John  
Conyers a  
chiefe Cap-  
tayne of the  
rebelles,

When king Edward (to whome all the doings of the Erle of Warwike and the Duke his brother were manifest) was by diuers letters sent to hym, certefied that the great armie of the Northzen men, were with al speede comming toward London. Therfore in great haste he sent to William Lord Herbert, whom within two yeres befoze, he had created Erle of Penbroke, that he should wythout delay encounter with the Northzen men, with the ex- tremitie of al his power. The Erle of Penbroke, commonly called the Lord Herbert, was not a little ioyous of the kings letters, partly to deserue the kings liberalitie, which of a meane gentleman, had promoted him to the e- state of an Erle, partly for the malice that he bare to the Erle of Warwike, beyng the sole obstacle (as he thought) why he obteyned not the Wardship of the Lorde Bonuilles daughter and heire, for his eldest sonne. Whereupon he beyng accompanied with his brother Sir Richard Herbert, a balyaunt knight, and aboue sixe or seauen thousand Welshmen well furnished, mar- ched forward to encounter with the Northzen men. And to assist and furnish him with archers, was appointed Humffrey Lorde Stafforde of South- wike (named, but not created) Erle of Deuonshire, by the King in hope that he balyantly would serue him in that iozney, and with him he had eight hundred archers. When these two Lords were met at Cottishold, they made diligent inquiry to here where the Northzen men were, and so by their espi- als they were asserteyned, that they were passing towarde Northampton, whereupon the Lorde Stafforde, and Sir Richard Herbert with two thou- sand well horsed Welshmen, sayde: they would go betwe and see the demea- nour and number of the Northzen men, and so vnder a woodes side, they couertly espied them passe forward, and sodainely set on the rereward: but the Northzen men with such agillitte so quickly turned about, that in a mo- ment of an houre the Welshmen were cleane discomfited and scattered, and many taken, and the remnaunt returned to the armie with small gaine.

King Edward being nothing abashed of thys small chaunce, sent good wordes to the Erle of Penbroke, encouragyng and bydding hym to be of good chere, promisyng him not al only ayde in short time, but also he himselte in person royall, would folow him with all his puyssaunce and power. The

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Yorke



Yorkshire men being glad of this small victory, were well cooled and went no farther Southward, but tooke there way toward Warwike, looking for ayde of the Erle, which was lately come from Caleis, with the Duke of Clarence his sonne in lawe, and was gathering and raising of men, to succour his friends and kinsfolke. The king likewise assembled people on euerie side, to ayde and assist the Erle of Penbrooke and his company. But before or any part receyued comfort or succour, from his friend or partaker, both the armies met by chaunce, in a fayre playne, nere to a towne called Hedgecot, thre myle from Banbery, wherein be thre hils, not in equall distaunce, nor yet in equall quantitie, but lying in maner, although not fully triangle; the Welshmen gat first the West hill, hoping to haue recouered the East hill: which if they had obteyned, the victorie had bene theirs, as their vnwise prophesiers promised them before. The Northren men incamped themselves on the South hill. The Erle of Penbrooke and the Lorde Stafforde of Southwyke, were lodged at Banbery the day before y<sup>e</sup> field, which was S. James day, and there the Erle of Penbrooke, put the Lord Stafford out of an Inne wherein he delighted much to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: contrarie to their mutuall agreement by them taken, which was, that whosoener obteyned first a lodging, should not be deceyued nor reuened. After many great wordes and crakes, had betwene these two Captaynes, the Lorde Stafforde of Southwyke, in great despite departed with his whole company and band of archers, leauing the Erle of Penbrooke almost desolate in the towne, which with all diligence returned to hys helle, lying in the field vnprotected of archers, abiding such fortune as God would sende and proude. Sir Henry Denell sonne to the Lorde Latimer, tooke with him certaine light horsemen, and skirmished with the Welshmen in the evening, euen before their campe, where he did diuers balyarnt feates of armes, but a little to hardy, he went so farre forward that he was taken & yeldded, and yet cruelly slayne: which vnnecessfull act, the Welshmen sore rued the next day or night. For the Northren men being inflamed and not a little discomfited, with the death of this noble man, in the morning balyarntly set on the Welshmen, and by force of archers caused them quickly to defende the hill into the baley, where both the hostes fought. The Erle of Penbrooke behaued himselfe like a hardy knight, and an expert Capitaine, but his brother syr Richard Herbert so ballyauntly acquitted himselfe, that with his pollax in his hande (as his enemies did afterward report) he twice by fine force passed through the battaile of his aduersaries, & without any mortall wound returned. If every one of his felowes and companions in armes, had done but halfe the actes, which he that day by his noble prowes achieved, the Northren men had obteyned neyther safetie nor victorie.

Beside this, beholde the mutabilitie of fortune, when the Welshmen were at the very voynt, to haue obteyned the victorie (the Northren men being in maner discomfited) John Clappam Esquire, seruaunt to the Erle of Warwike, mounted by the syde of the East hill, accompanied enely with five C. men gathered of all the rascall of the towne of Northampton & other Villages about, hauing borne before them the standard of the Erle, with the white Beare, crying a Warwike a Warwike. The Welshmen thinking that the Erle of Warwike had come on them with all his puyssaunce, sodainly as

men

men amazed fled: the Northren men them pursued and slue without mercy, for the crueltie that they had shewed to the Lorde Latimers some. So that of the Welshmen there were slaine aboue fise thousand, besyde them that were fled and taken.

The Erle of Penbrooke, syr Richard Herbert his brother, and diuers Gentlemen were taken, and brought to Banbery to be beheaded, much lamentacion, and no lesse entreatie was made to saue the lyfe of syr Richard Herbert, both for his goodly personage, which excelled all men there, and also for the noble chualtrie, that he had shewed in the fieldes the day of the battaile, insomuch that his brother the Erle, when he should lay downe his head on the blocke to suffer, sayde to sir John Coniers and Clappam: Masters, let me die, for I am olde, but saue my brother, which is yong, lustie, and hardie, mete and apt to serue the greatest prince of Christendome. But syr John Coniers and Clappam, remembryng the death of the yong knight syr Henry Denell, cosyn to the Erle of Warwike, could not heare on that syde but saued the Erle and his brother, with diuers other Gentlemen, to the number of ten, to be there beheaded. The Northamptonshyre men, with diuers of the Northren men by them procured, in this fury made them a Capitaine, and called him Robin of Kiddelisdale, and sodainly came to the mannoz of Grafton, where the Erle Riuers, father to the Queene then lay, whome they loued not, and there by force toke the sayd Erle, and syr John his sonne, and brought them to Northampton, and there without iudgement stroke off theyr heddes, whose bodie were solemnly interred in the blacke friers at Northampton. When King Edward was aduertised of these vnforsunate chaunces, he wrote in al haste to the Shyrefes of Sommersetshyre, and Devonshyre, that if they could by any meane take the Lord Stafford of Southwyke, that they vpon paine of theyr lyues, shoulde without delay put him in execution, which accordyngly to the Kinges commaundement, after long inquiry and serche made, found him hid in a billage in Brentmarche, called

where he was taken and brought to Bridge water, and there cut thorow by the head. This was the order, maner, and ende of Hedgecot field, commonly called Banberie fiede, foughten the morow after Saint James day, in the. viij. yere of King Edward the fourth, the which battaile euer syce hath bene, and yet is a continual grudge betwene the Northren men, and the Welshmen. After this battaile the Northren men resorted toward Warwike, where the Erle had gathered a great multitude of people, which Erle gaue high commendacions to syr John Coniers, and other Capitaines of the North much reioysyng, that they had obteyned so glorious a victorie, requiryng them to continue as they had begon. The King likewise sore thyrstyng to recouer his losse late susteyned, and desyrous to bee reuenged of the deathes and murders of his Lordes and friendes, marched toward Warwike with a great armie, and euer as he went forward his company encreased, because he commaunded it to be noysed and published to the common people, that his onely intent was to destroy, and vtterly to confound the vnhappy flock of such pernicious persons as would disturbe and bring in thraldoms, the quiet commons and peaceable people. The Erle of Warwike had by his espials perfect knowledge how the king with his armie was bent toward him, and sent in all haste possible to the Duke of Clarence (which was

not

Banbery  
field.A great  
slaughter of  
Welshmen.Robin of  
Kiddelisdale.Hedgecote  
fiede com-  
monly called  
Banbery  
field.



not farre from him with a great power requirynge him that both their hostes might ioyne in one, for as farre as he could imagine, the tyme of battail was very neere. The Duke heeryng these newes, in good order of battail, came and incamped himselfe with the Erles host. When all things were redie prepared to fight: by the meanes of friends, a meane was found how to common of peace, for the which letters were written from eche parte to the other, declaryng their griefes and the very bottomes of theyr stomackes: Heraultes spared no horsefleshe in ridyng betwene the king and the Erle, nor in returnyng from the Erle to the king: The king conceiuyng a certeine hope of peace in his awne imaginacion, toke both lesse heed to himselfe, and also lesse feared the outward attemptes of his enemies, thinkyng, and trustyng truly that all things were at a good poynt, and should be well pacified. All the kinges doyngs were by espyals declared to the Erle of Warwike, which like a wise and pollitique Capitaine entendyng not to leese so great an advantage to him geuen, but trustyng to bring all his purposes to a small ende and determination, by onely obteynyng this enterprize: in the dead of the night, with a chosen companie of men of warre, as secretly as was possible set on the kinges fielde, killyng them that kept the watche, and oz the king were ware (for he thought of nothing lesse then of that chaunce that happened) at a place called Wolney, foure mile from Warwike, he was taken prisoner, and brought to the Castell of Warwike. And to the entent that the kinges friendes might not knowe where he was, nor what was chaunced of him, he caused him by secrete iourneys in the night to be conueyed to Middelham Castell in Yorke shire, and there to be kept vnder the custodie of the Archebishop of Yorke his brother, and other his trustie friendes, which enterpyned the king, like his estate, and serued him like a Prince. But there was no place so far off, but that the takyng of the king was shortly knowen, which newes made many men to feare, and greatly to dread, and many to wonder and lament the chaunce.

King Edward beyng thus in captiuitie, spake euer fayre to the Archebishop, and to the other keepers (but whether he corrupted them with money oz fayre promyses) he had libertie diuers dayes to go on huntynge, and one day, on a plain there met with him syr William Stanley, syr Thomas of Brough and diuers other of his friendes, with such a great band of men, that neither his keepers would, nor once durst moue him to returne to prison againe.

Thus as you haue heard was king Edward deliuered: Some say that he was set at large by the Erles consent and commaundement, as who say I had him in my keeping, and might haue destroyed him, but yet of mine awne free will and gentlenesse, without pact oz raunsome, I am contented to set him at libertie and to deliuer him. This doing might seeme to be some countenance of truth, if the Erle after this had left of from prosecuting the warre by him newlye begon: But for a truth this good chaunce hapned to king Edward, by the yll luck of king Henry, for surely by this yll fortune a man may plainely coniecture, that the extreme poynt of decay of his house and estate was apparauntly at hande, considering that neyther by mannes pollicie, nor by worldly riches his unhappie predestinate chaunce could not be put by, such was Gods pleasure, for if you consider how that the Erle of Warwike and his friendes, onely to the intent to ayde, conserue and defend

king

king Henry the sixt haue dispended their substances, aduentured their liues, and taken paynes intollerable, hauing a sure determination, fixed in their mindes, that as long as king Edward liued, that king Henryes faction should neuer prosper, and yet now when he was by the Erle taken prisoner and in captiuitie, he by fortune escaped, oz was wilfully deliuered. By thys you may plainely perceyue that the luck of king Henry was infortunate, and that all that was done for him, and in his quarell, euer redounded to his misfortune and detriment, euer noting thys, that when thinges contriued and imagined come to an vnlucky successe, all the senses of our bodies are there by anger, feare, oz madnesse rauished, & in maner distract from themselves. But to returne to the purpose.

When king Edward had escaped the handes of his enemies, he went straight to Yorke, where he was with great honor receyued of the Citizens and there taried two dayes to prepare some small armie, to accompany him in his iorney, but when he perceyued that he could haue no hoste meete and conuenient to passe to London, through the middest of his enemies (as he was appointed to doe) he returned from Yorke to Lancaster, where he found the Lorde Hastings his Chamberlayne well accompanied. He then wyth the ayde of the Lorde Hastings, and such other as drew to him, beyng well furnished, with speedy iourneys, came safe to his Citie of London.

When the Erle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, had knowledge howe the king by treason of them that they put in trust, was escaped their handes, and that in one moment of tyme, all their long studies and forecastes were brought to none effect oz conclusion, they wared angrie, and chafed without measure, & by and by calling together all their chiefe friends began to consult agayne of newe, and to enquire the state of their enemies, to the intent that they might make a beginning of a new warre, which they coniectured to haue taken an ende when the king was brought into captiuitie. The mindes of these Princes were much satisfied, and their courage greatly kindled, by reason that a great number of men hauing moze pleasure in discord then in concord, louing better strife then vnitie, offered themselves to begin newe warre of their awne desire and request. King Edward tooke euen lyke studie for the warres as his enemies did, minding eyther to bring them to conformitie oz reason, by dent of sword, oz else by power of battail utterly to destroy and extirpate them and their affinitie, to the intent that all men might lead a more quiet lyfe, and liue in more safetie and rest: for Churches and Temples were euery where robbed and spoiled, houses burnt, and men slaine in euery place, all the realme was replenished with blood, slaughter, sorrow, and lamentation. Cornefields were destroyed, Citie & townes were made desolate and languished with famine and dearth, beside many other things, which happen by the crueltie and furie of warre and rebellion. This tumult and trouble in the common wealth of thys realme soze vexed and troubled many, but in especiall the nobilitie much lamented and pittied the state of the commonalty, which with all diligence rode betwene the king, the Erle and the Duke to reconcile them eche to other, and exhorted them rather to deserue the loue of all men, by keeping of peace and vnitie, then by fighting and vnnatural warre to destroy the realme, and winne the hatred and malice of all the nation: The aucthoritie first of the Nobilitie of the realme,

King Edward the fourth taken prisoner by the Erle of Warwike.

King Edward the fourth rescued out of prison.



realme, and secondarily their charitable motion, so mitigated the mindes, both of the king, the Duke and the Erle, that eche gaue sayth to other to go and come, safely without ieopardy. In which promise the Duke and the Erle hauing perfect trust and confidence, came both to London, accompanied with to small a number of men, in comparison to the great daunger that they were in. And at Westminster, the king, the Duke and the Erle had a long communication together, for some ende to be taken or made betweene them: But they fell at such great words with such imbraydings and casting in the teeth of olde benefites shewed, or of olde vnthankfulnesse receyued, that in a great furie, without any conclusion they departed, the king to Canterburie, and the Duke and the Erle to Warwike, where the Erle of Warwike prepared a newe hoste to ryse in Lyncolnshire, and made thereof Capitaine Syr Robert Welles, sonne to Richard Lorde Welles, an expert man in armes, and very pollitique in warre.

These newes sodainely brought to the King, did not a little bere and tickle hym, because he euer feruently hoped that his aduersaries would rather come to some honest conditions of concoorde, then so rashly and so sodainely to renue the warre. And the more rumoz that was spread (contrary to his expectation) of thys newe begon battayle, the sooner he gathered together an hoste for the resistance of the same, and out of hande he sent to Richard Lorde Welles, wylling him vpon the sight of his letters with all haste to repayre vnto him, which oftentimes he had excused by sicknesse and debilitie of hys body. But when that excuse serued not, he thinking to purge hymselfe sufficiently before the Kings presence, toke with him Sir Thomas Dymock, which had married his sister, & so together came to London. When he was come vp, hys friendes certified hym that the King was with hym highly discontented. Wherefore for very feare, he with his brother in lawe tooke Senuarie at Westminster, intending there to abide till the Princes yre were somewhat asswaged & mitigate. King Edward which thought to pacifie all thys busie tumult, without any farther bloodshed, promysing both those persons their pardons, caused them vpon his promise to come out of Senuary to his presence, and calling to him the Lorde Welles, wyllid him to write to Syr Robert his sonne to leaue of the warre, and not to take the Erles parte. And in the meane season, he with his armie went forward toward his enemies, hauing with him the Lorde Welles, and Syr Thomas Dymock, and being not passe two dayes iorney from Stamford, where his enemies had pitched their fielde, had perfect knowledge that Syr Robert Welles nothing moued with hys fathers letters, still kept his campe, abiding the king and his power. The king hauing high indignation at his presumption, and minding to be reuenged in parte, contrary to his sayth and promise caused the Lorde Welles, father to the sayde Sir Robert, and Syr Thomas Dymock, to be beheaded there, to the terrible example of other, which shall put their confidence in the promise of a Prince. When Syr Robert Welles harde that the King drew nere, and that hys father and Syr Thomas Dymock were beheaded, he stode first in a great perplexitie, studying whether he should geue battayle or no, because it was both perillous and doubtful to fight with so great an armie, before the Erle of Warwike with hys power were assembled, but yet hauing a yong and a lustie courage, and with

A great drs  
honor to a  
Prince.

manly boldnesse stirred and pricked forward, he set on his enemies,

The battayle was soze fought on both partes, and many a man slayne, and in conclusion, whyle Syr Robert was exhorting and prouoking his men to tarie, which were in maner discomited, and readie to flye, he was enuyroned and beset about wyth his enemies, and so was taken, and with him Syr Thomas Delaund Knight, and many mo. After hys taking, the Lyncolnshire men amased, threwe away their coates, the lighter to runne away and flye, and therefore thys battayle is yet there called Loscote field. The king glad of this victorie, commaunded out of hand Syr Robert Welles and diuers other, to be put to execution in the same place. The same was, that at thys battayle were slaine ten thousand men at the least.

Loscote field.

The Erle of Warwike lay at this tyme at his Castell of Warwike, and was commyng with a honge host the next day towarde his armie in Lyncolnshire, but when he harde say that they had fought soner then he thought epyther they could or would, and that his partie was ouerthrowne and vanquished: Although he might nolwe be discouraged, yet he thought it necessarie to dissimule the case, because oftentimes in battaile, vaine thinges be regarded before true, and to the entent to comfort certaine of hys companie (being in dispayre and redie to flie) both in word and dede, he gathered together and prepared a newe hoste, and with all the studie and industrie that he could practise or vse, he imagined how to compasse Thomas Lord Stanley, which had married his sister, that he might be one of the confederacie and conuiration: which thing when he could not bring to passe, for the Lorde Stanley had answered him plainely, that he would neuer make warre against king Edward, he thought to spend no lenger tyme in waste, and mistrustyng that he was not able to meete with his enemies, he with the Duke of Clarence his sonne in lawe, departed to Excester, and there taryng a fewe dayes, and perceyuing that all thinges lacked, which were apte and necessarie for the warre, determiend to sayle to king Lewys the French king, to renewe the familiar acquaintaunce, which he had wyth him, when he was there of Ambassade for the marriage of King Edward as you haue heard, hauing a sure confidence and hope, epyther to haue a great ayde of the French king, or else to incense him earnestly to make battayle against king Edward. And resting vpon thys opinion, they hyred shippes at Dartmouth in Devonshyre, well armed, and at all points trimmed and decked. And when wind and weather serued them, the Duke and the Erle with thair wyues, and a great number of seruaunts plucked by the sayles, and toke their way first toward Caleys where the Erle of Warwike was chiefe Capitayne, and thought there to haue left hys wyfe and daughters, tyll he had returned out of Fraunce.

This sodaine departyng of King Edwardes aduersaries, did not onely bere and bite him at the very stomacke, but also did kindle and quicken him to looke the more diligently to his affayres and businesse, and especially, because that the absence of the Erle of Warwike, made the common people daily more and more to long and be desyrous to haue the sight of him, and presently to beholde his personage. For they iudged that the Sunne was clerely taken from the world, when he was absent; In such highe estimacion among the people, was his name, that neither no one man, they had in so much honor, neyther no one person they so much prayed, or to the Cloudes so highly

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highly extolled, what shall I say? His onely name sounded in euery song, in the mouth of the comon people, and his person was represented with great reuerence, when publique playes, or open triumphes should be shewed, or set forth abroad in the stretes: which hartie fauor, was the apparaunt occasion why his faction and companie within a few days, merueylously increased and augmented. For the which cause, the King was vexed with a double mischiefe, for he doubted much, whome he should most feare of two, eyther the familiar enemies abyding at home, or the outwarde foes, linyng beyond the sea: but chiefly he prouided to withstand the Erle of Warwikes landing. And first he wrote to Charles Duke of Burgoyne, which had married the Ladie Margaret his sister, to helpe that y<sup>e</sup> Erle nor his companie, should haue neyther ayde nor refuge in any part of his, nor his friendes territorics, or Dominions. These tidyngs were ioyfull to the Duke of Burgoyne, as to him which (accozdyng to the olde prouerbe) hated the Erle of Warwike, worse then y<sup>e</sup> curre dog, or serpent: partly, because he was the ouerthrower and confounder of the house of Lancaster, of the which the Erle was lineally descended, by the Duchesse his mother, partly because the Erle had suche high offices, and was so renowned in Englande, that King Edward the Dukes brother in lawe, might not do liberally all thinges in his Realme, as he himselfe would (which the Duke esteemed to be a great bondage.) And partly, because the Erle withstood with all his power and might, the conclusion of the marriage, betwene the Kinges sister and the sayd Duke: But the chiefe rancor was, because the Erle of Warwike fauoured the French king, whom the Duke loued not, for at his last beyng in Fraunce, he promised the French King to be friend to his friendes, and vtter enemy to his foes and aduersaries. This rooted hatred, and cankerd malice, which the Duke bare to the Erle, caused him to attempt mo displeasures, and to inuent mo mischiefes against the Erle, then eyther King Edward could imagin, or was of the Duke requyred, as you shall plainly perceyue, by the sequele of this Historie.

Now let vs speake of the Erle of Warwikes doynge. The Erle as you haue heard before, sayled from Dartmouth towarde Calice, where he was Capitaine generall, and with a prosperous winde came before the towne, in which fortreffe was deputie for the Erle, the Lorde Watclere a Gascoyne, besyde dyuers of the Erle of Warwikes seruantes, which bare great offices and aucthorities in the towne. This Watclere, whether he did it by dissimulation, or bearyng his good minde to King Edward (as by the sequele hereof I doubt whether he did or no) In steede of receiuyng of his maister with triumphe, he bent and discharged agaynst him, diuers peeces of ordinaunce, sendyng him worde, that he should there take no lande. This nauye thus linyng before Calice at anker, the Duches of Clarence was there deliuered of a fayre sonne, which childe the Erles Deputie bnneth would suffer to be christened within the towne, nor without great entreatie, would permit two wagons of wine to be conueyed aborde to the Ladies linyng in the haue. This was a great rygor and extremitie, for the seruant to vse agaynst the maister, or the inferior to vse agaynst the superior, for the Erle hoped, and nothing lesse mistrusted, then to be assured and purueyed in that place: But he was faine to keepe the Seas, without comfort or ayde of any of his seruantes.

The Duches of Clarence deliuered of a sonne upon the sea, before the towne of Calice.

uantes. The King of England was quickly aduertised of the refusall that Monsieur de Watclere made to his Capitaine the Erle of Warwike, which manfull doynge, so much pleased the King, that incontinent he made him chiefe Captain of y<sup>e</sup> towne of Calice, by his letters patents, which were sent to him out of hand, and therof discharged clerely the Erle, as a traytor, and a rebell. Duke Charles of Burgoyne, linyng at Saint Hoiners (which would nedes haue an owre in the Erle of Warwikes boate) beyng aduertised also of Monsieur de Watcleres refusall made of his maister, sent to him his trustie seruant, Philip de Comines (which wrote all these doynge in a Chronicle) and gaue to him yerely a thousande Crownes in pencion, (a small rewarde God wote, for so high a seruice, as vntruly to kepe his maister from his office) prayng and requiryng him, to continue in truth and fidelitie towarde King Edward, as he had shewed and begon. The Messenger found him so towarde, and of such conformitie, that he was content to swere in his presence, truely to take King Edwardes part agaynst all men, and onely to his vse to keepe and defend the strong towne of Calice. But the sayde Philip de Comines soze mistrusted Monsieur de Watclere, because he sent worde to the Erle of Warwike priuily, linyng at Whitsandbay, y<sup>e</sup> if he landed he should be taken and lost, for all England (as he sayde) tooke part agaynst him, the Duke of Burgoyne and all the Inhabitanes of the towne, were his enemies, the Lord Duras the Kinges Marshall, and all the retinue of the garison were his aduersaries: so that for a finall conclusion, his only sauegard and comfort, were to withdrawe him and his companie into Fraunce, where he knewe he should be highly receyued, and better welcomed, and as for the towne of Calice, he should take no thought, for the sayde Monsieur de Watclere promised thereof to make him a good reconyng, when time and oportunitie should serue. This counsaile was profitable to the Erle of Warwike, but not to the king of England, and lesse pleasant to the Duke of Burgoyne: which Princes might very well thinke both the office of the Capitainship of Calice, and the pencion of the thousand Crownes (if it were payed) on such a deepe dissembler, to be euill employed.

The Erle of Warwicke as he was both before his departure oute of Englande, determined, and also now by Monsieur de Watclere, newly counsailed and aduised, with his nauie sayled towarde Normandy, and in the meane way, robbed, spoyled, and toke many riche ships of the Duke of Burgoynes countreies, (which soze netted the Duke, and caused him to prepare a strong, and a great armie on the sea, to take the Erle prisoner, as he returned homewarde) and at the last with all his nauie, and spoyle, he toke lande at Deepe in Normandy, where the gouernor of the countrey for the French king, friendly welcomed him, and lauingly entertayned him, certifying King Lewys of his landing and arriual.

King Lewys a great season before, had so much maruayled at the publique fame, and common renoume, of the noble actes, and high prowes, of the Erle of Warwicke, and he thought nothing might more pleasauntly happen, or chaunce towarde him, then to haue a cause, or occasion to hym ministered, whereby he might doe the Erle some profite or pleasure. Which long lust according to his desire, was nowe lykely to take effect, to his contentacion, and the Erles great commodity: wherfore beyng ioyous of his landyng in

Doo. j.

Fraunce.

Philip de Comines the writer of this Historie.



Fraunce, he sent vnto him certayne Princes, which declared to him on the kings behalfe, that as the king had long tyme sought wayes, and meanes, howe to doe him pleasure, ayde, and comfort: So seying that nowe the tyme was come, that the Erle had necessitie of all those things, he assured him that he would neyther forget him, nor yet desist to doe for him anye thing, which might be consonant to his request and friendly desire, requiring him with the Duke his sonne in law, to take paine to come to his Castell of Amboys, set on the Riuer of Leyre, affirming that they should neither lose their laboz, nor thinke their iorney to haue euill successe in the conclusion.

When Duke Charles knewe that the Erle was landed in Normandy, he sent in all haste a Post to King Lebys, with whome he was then ioynd in a league, requiring him neyther to helpe with men nor money, the Erle of Warwicke, nor the Duke of Clarence, open enemies to King Edward, his fellow, friend, and brother in lawe, and his perpetuall alye, and trusty confederate, adding therto sharpe wordes, and threates, if he woulde in any case, be to them a refuge or succoz.

The French king did not only contempne his proud wordes, and laughed at his threating, and bolde bragging, but soberly aunswere, that without breaking of any league, or treatie, he lawfully might and woulde helpe his friendes: Of which number, he affirmed the Erle of Warwicke to be one, which thing if he did, he sayde, it should be neyther cost, charge, nor burthen to the Duke of one blanke. When the Duke had certified the king of Englande of this aunswere, he was sodainely in a dompe, and began earnestly, to imagyne and consyder who were his friendes, and who were his foes, apprehended some, whom he thought guiltie, and began with them to question, who were friendes to his enemyes, and of their coniuration (which was the occasion that many fearyng themselves, fled vnto Sanctuary) and manye trustyng the kings pardon, submitted and yeelded themselves to the Kings clemency. Amongst whome, John Marques Montacute, humbly yeelded himselfe, and bowed to be euer true to the kyng (as he had done before tyme) whome he with much humanity and fayre wordes, did receiue and entertaine, to the intent to draw and allure the hartes of other men, to ioyne and knit with him, against all hostility and bitter enemyes.

Whyle these things were thus treated in Englande, the Erle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, rode wyth great pompe toward Amboys, where the frenche King laye, and by the way, the people gathered together, and in great number flocked, to see and beholde, the person and visage of hym of whose valiaunt actes, and wonderfull doynges, their eares had manye times bene fylled and replenished. When he came to the kings presence, hee was with all kindnesse of curtesie and humanity receyued and welcomed. To whome by long tract of tyme, he declared the causes, and considerations of his comyng into Fraunce. King Lebys aswell hauing nowe delectation, with the presence of his friende, as he was accustomed to reioyce and be ioyous, when he hard eyther laude or prayse of him in his absence, promised him hys power, his ryches, and all things that he might, or coulde doe, to helpe hym in his trouble, and to refresh him in his aduersitie.

When Queene Margaret, which sojourned with Duke Keyner her father, called king of Sicile, &c. Harde tell of the Erle of Warwicke and the Duke

Duke of Clarence, had abandoned Englande, and were come to the French Court, hoping of newe comfort; with ail diligence came to Amboys, wyth her onely sonne Prince Edward, and with her, came Jasper Erle of Penbrooke, & John Erle of Orenfozde, which after diuers long imprisonments, lately escaped, fledde out of Englande into Fraunce, and came by fortune to this assemble. After that they had long comuned, and debated diuers matters, concerning their suretie and wealth, they determined by meane of the french king, to conclude a league and a treatie betwene them. And first to be- gynn with all, for the moze sure foundation of the new amitie, Edward prince of Wales, wedded Anne seconde daughter to the Erle of Warwicke, which Lady came with her mother into Fraunce. This mariage seemed very straunge to wisemen, considering that the Erle of Warwicke, had first disherited the father, and then to cause his sonne to mary wyth one of his daughters, whose syster the Duke of Clarence before had married, which was euer extreme enemye to the house of Lancaster: whereupon they deuined that the mariage of the Prince, should euer be a blot in the Dukes eye, or the mariage of the Duke, a mote in the eye of the Prince, eche of them looking to be exalted, when the Erle on him synled, and eche of them againe thinking to be ouerthrowne, when the Erle of him lowred. After this mariage, the Duke & the Erle toke a solempne othe, that they should neuer leaue the warre, vntill such tyme as king Henry the sixt, or the Prince his sonne, were restored to the full possession and Diademe of the realme, and that the Queene and the Prince, should depute and appoynt the Duke and the Erle, to be gouernors and conseruators, of the publique welth, till such tyme as the Prince were come to mans estate, and of habilitie, meete and conuenient, to take vpon him so high a charge, and so great a burden. There were many other condicions concluded, which both reason, and the weightinesse of so great a businesse, required to be set forwarde.

Whyle these Lordes were thus in the french Courte, there landed at Calice a damosell, belonging to the Duches of Clarence, (as she sayd) which made Monsire de Wadclere beleue, that she was sent from king Edward to the Erle of Warwicke, with a playne ouerture and declaration of peace. Of the which tidynge, Wadclere was very glad for the Erles sake, whome he thought (by this peace) to be restored to all his olde possessions, romes, and dignities. But he was sore by this damosell deceiued for her message (as it after proued) was the beginning of the Erles confusion. For she perswaded the Duke of Clarence, that it was neyther naturall, nor honorable to him eyther to condiscende or take parte against the house of Yorke, (of which he was lineally discended) and to set by agayne the house of Lancastre, which lineage of the house of Yorke, was not onely by the whole Parliament of the realme declared to be the very and indubitate heires of the Kingdome, but also kyng Henry the sixt and his blood affirmed the same, and thereupon made a composition, which of recorde appereth. Furthermore she declared, that the mariage of the Erles daughter with prince Edward, was for none other cause but to make the Prince king, and clerely to extinguishe all the house of Yorke, of whome the Duke himselfe was one, and next heire to the Crowne, after his eldest brother, and his children. These reasons, and the mariage of the Prince to the Erles daughter, so sancke in the Dukes stomacke, that he pro-



missed at his returne, not to be so extreme an enemy to his brother, as he was taken for, which promise afterwarde he did not forget. With this answer the damosell departed into Englande, the Erle of Warwicke thereof being clerely ignorant.

When the league was concluded (as you before have heard) the French King lent them ships, money, and men, and that they might the surer sayle into Englande, he appointed the Bastard of Burgoyne Admirall of Fraunce with a great Flaue, to defend them agaynst the armie of the Duke of Burgoyne, which was stronger then both the French Kings Flaue, or the English flete. King Reynier did also help his daughter to hys small power, with men, and munitions of warre. When this armie (which was not small) was gathered and come together to Harflete, at the mouth of the river of Seyne, abiding winde and weather. The Erle of Warwicke receyued letters out of Englande, that men so much daylie and hourly desired and wished for hys arrivall and returne, that almost all men were in harnesse, looking for hys landing: wherefore he was requyred to make haste, yea, haste more then haste, although he brought no succor with hym. For he was farther assured, that as soone as he had once taken lande, there should meete him many thousandes (as after it proved in deede) to doe him what service or pleasure they could or might: When the Erle had receyued these letters, he not a litle regarding suche an offer, and so many great benefites to hym even at hande apparantly proffered, fully determined with the Duke, and the Erles of Orenford and Benbroke (because Queene Margaret and her sonne, were not fully yet furnished for suche a journey) to go before with parte of the Flaue, and part of the armie, and to attempt the first brunt of fortune and chance, which if it well succeeded, then should Queene Margaret and her sonne, with the residue of the Flaue and people followe into Englande. The Erle of Warwicke thinking this weightie matter, not worthy to be lingered, but to be applyed with all diligence possible, taking his leaue of the French King Lewys, geving him no small thanks, both on the behalfe of King Henry, and also for his owne part, and so being dismissed, came where his Flaue laye at Anker, commaunding his men to go on ship boarde, minding to take his course toward England.

The Duke of Burgoyne which was not content that the Erle of Warwicke and hys company was succoured and ayded of the French King agaynst his brother in lawe, King Edward of Englande, to withstande that armie, and to take the Erle of Warwicke prisoner, if it were possible. He prepared suche a great Flaue, as lightly hath not bene sene before, gathered in maner of all Nations, which armie lay at the mouth of Seyne, ready to fight with the Erle of Warwicke, when he should set out of his harborow.

See the worke of God, the same night before the Erle departed, there rose suche a sodayne winde and a terrible tempest, that the Dukes shippes were scattered one from another, some drowned, some weather driven into Scotlande, so that two of them were not in companie together in one place. In the morning next following, the weather waxed fayre, and the winde prosperous, whereupon in hope of a bone voyage, the Erle and his company hoysed by their sayle, and with good speede landed at Dartmouth in Devonshire, from which place he passed into Fraunce, almost the sixt Moneth last past.

The Erle of Warwicke returneth into England.

Before this time the Duke of Burgoyne Charles, which more hated the Erle of Warwicke, and envied his prosperie, then he loved King Edward, saving for hys ayde that he trusted of in time of necessitie, wrote to King Edward, both of the doings of the Erle of Warwicke in Fraunce, and of hys armie and power, & also certefied him by his trustie seruauntes of the place, where the Erle purposed with all his people to take lande, King Edward passed little on the matter, trusting to much to the moueable comunons of hys Realme, and without any army layde, eyther to kepe the Erle from landing, eyther to encounter with him at the first arrivall, to the intent that his friends should not drawe in heapes to him for his strength, lest all purveyance for defence alone, and rode on huntynge, hawking, and vsing all maner of pastimes, with Ladyes and Damosells, for his disport and solace that could be imagined or invented. When the Erle of Warwicke had taken land, he made a proclamation in the name of King Henry the sixt vpon high paynes, commaunding and charging all men apt, or able to beare armoure, to prepare themselves to fight agaynst Edward Duke of Yorke, which contrary to all right, iustice, and lawe, had vntreuly vsurped the crowne and imperiall dignitie of this realme. It is almost incredible to thinke how sone the fame of the Erles landing was blowen ouer, thozow all the whole realme, and how many thousand men of warre, at the very first tydings of his landing, were sodainely assembled and set forward to welcome him. When he was thus, according to hys desire, fully furnished on euery side with his kindred and friendes, he tooke his way toward London, where he iudged and saythfully beleueed, to finde more open friendes then priuie enemies.

When King Edward knew of the Erles landing, and of the great repaire of the people, that to him incessantly without intermission did resorte, he then began to thinke on hys businesse, and studied howe to finde a remedie for a mischief (but this was to late.) And first he wrote to the Duke of Burgoyne, requyring him to haue a bigylant eye to the sea, and so to see the streames kept and scoured with hys Flaue, that the Erle neyther shoulde nor might returne agayne into Fraunce, if he should be agayne propulsed out of the realme. And as for the doings in England he bade let him alone, for he was both of pryssaunce and abilitie, sufficient to ouercome and defende all his enemies and rebels, within his owne realme and countrie. Chys sayng little or nothing pleased the Duke of Burgoynes messengers, for they thought that it had bene much more profitable to King Edward to haue circumspectly forsene afoze, and provided to stop his landing, then now sodainly to abyde the fortune of battayle, which is euer doubtfull and vncertaine. King Edward accompanied with the Duke of Gloucester hys brother, the Lorde Hastings hys Chamberleyn, which had married the Erles sister, and yet was euer true to the King hys Mayster, and the Lorde Scales brother to the Quene, sent out Curriers to all hys trustie friendes, for the furniture of able persons, meete for the warre & conuenient for the defence of his owne royall person, entending if he might by any pollicie, or subtile engine to circumuent or trap the Erle of Warwicke, knowing perfetely that if he had once maistred the chiefe Belwether, the flock would sone be disperced.

Of them that were sent for, fewe in effect came, but the greatest heddes wincked and sayde they could not, but they ment they would not come. King



King Edward  
for feare of  
the Erle of  
Warwike.

Edward beyng in perplexitie, and in diffidence of rasyng any army, with such trustie friendes as he had departed into Lincolneshire, consulting what was best to be done, but sodainly or he was fully determined on any certayne purpose, newes were brought to him, that all the towne, and all the Countreis adjoining was in great roze, and made fiers and sang songes, calling King Henry, King Henry, a Warwike, a Warwike: King Edward was much abashed with these newe tidynges, and more and more his espials and Messengers declared and accompted to him, that all the Realme was by, and by open Proclamation commaunded to make warre agaynst him, as enemy to King Henry and the Realme: wherefore his neere friendes aduised and admonished him to flie ouer the sea to the Duke of Burgoyne, his brother in lawe, there to tary tyll God and fortune shoulde sende him better lucke and chaunce, he beyng somewhat ruled by his counsaill, but much more quickned by hauing knowlege, that some of the Erle of Warwikes power, was within halfe a dayes iourney, and lesse of his tayle, with all hast possible passed the washes (in greater iopardie then it becomed a Prince to be in) and came to the towne of Lynne, where he founde an English ship and two Hulkes of Holland redy (as fortune woulde) to make sayle and take theyr iourney, whereupon beyng in a maruaylous agonye, and doubtyng the mutabilitie of the towne men, takyng no farther leysure for his sure succor and sauegard, with his brother the Duke of Gloucester, the Lorde Scales, and diuers other his trustie friendes entred into the ship, without bagge or baggage, without cloth sacke, or ma's, and perchaunce with a great purse and little treasure, for he nor his had no leysure to prouide, accordyng to their degrees and estates. Thus the King beyng accompanied with one small ship of his owne, and two Hulkes, and. viij. or. viij. hundreth persones with him hauing no prouision, and but small stoze of money, sayled towarde Holland. At which tyme the Easterlynges were mortall enemies, aswell to the Englishmen, as to the French nacion, and had done the last yeres past much preiudice and domage to the English marchauntes, both in taking and spoylynge of Shippes.

And as the King with sayle and ower was makyng his course as fast as he could possible, the Easterlynges, which had many Shippes of warre on the sea, him espyed (accordyng to the olde prouerbe) one yll cometh neer alone, and with. viij. or. viij. gallant Shippes, began to chase the king and his companie. The Kinges Ship was good with sayle, and so much gat of the Easterlynges, that she came on the coast of Holland, and so discented lower, before a towne in Holland called Alquemare, and there cast Ancker as nere the Towne as was possible, because they conlde not enter the Hauen at an ebbing water. The Easterlynges also approached the English ship as nere as their great Shippes could come at the lowe water, entending at the flood to haue obteyned theyr pray, and so they were likely to do, if Poulre de Gronture, gouernour for Duke Charles in Holland had not at that season bene personally present in those parties.

What a miserable chaunce and straunge lucke was this to happen so sodainly to a King, and in especiall to such a King, as by his owne valiantie and prowesse had overcome his foes, and destroyed his enemyes in more then fife or sixe great and mortall battayles. First to be persecuted, criled,

A strange  
chaunce hap-  
pening to  
King Ed-  
ward.

and expulsed his owne Realme and Kingdome, by his owne seruants, subiectes, and kinsmen. Secundarily, beyng destitute of all helpe and comfozt, flyng to his onely friend and brother in law Duke Charles, for refuge and succor, to be chased on the sea by his mortall enemyes and deadly foes, and like to be taken prisoner, and brought into captiuitie, which thing, if it had happened (as God would that it should not) he had lien long bntaunfomed, (King Henry beyng restored to his pristinate estate and dignitie royall) or else he had died prisoner in great wretchednesse and misery. These sower saueres he tasted as a penaunce for his wanton liuyng, and negligent ouerleyng of thinges, that he might well haue forescene and preuented, but his minde was so geuen to pastyme, daliaunte, and sensuall pleasure, that he forgat the olde adage, sayng in tyme of peace, prouide for war, and in the tyme of war, prouide for peace, which thing if he epyther had well remembred, or polittically prouided for, he had not bene chased and expulsed his Realme within. xi. dayes as he was in deede.

King Edward thus liyng at Ancker in great feare of the Easterlynges, was by great chaunce comfozted and relieued, or he wist howe, for the same tyme lay in the towne of Alquemare the Lorde Gronture, chiefe gouernour of Holland for Duke Charles of Burgoyne, which beyng incontinent aduertised of the Kinges arrivall, and also of the great iopardie that he was in, prohibited first the Easterlynges in no wise on paine of death, to intermit or meddle with any Englishmen, which were both the Dukes friendes and allyes: which commaundement so bered and troubled the Easterlynges, makyng sure reconyng to haue had theyr pray and pryse, a King, a Duke, dyuers Barons, and riche gentlemen, that they cryed out of God, rayled and cursed the Duke and his officer, and in a rage hopled by theyr sayles, and without more expectacion of good lucke, departed home to theyr Countrey. The Lorde Gronture came aborde the ship where King Edward was, and him honourably saluted, and required him to come to lande, offeryng him his seruice with all pleasures that he coulde do or imagine to be done. The King him hartily thanked, and was well reuiued and comfozted with his wordes, and so he with all his company were set on lande, and well refreshed. The Lorde Gronture like a noble man, consideryng in what pooze estate and necessitie the King and his people were in, ministred to them abundantly all thinges conuenient and necessary, accordyng to euery mans estate and degree, at the Dukes charge and cost. And after they had bene well refreshed, and newly apparayled, he conduyted them to the Hage, a riche towne in Holland where they arriued on the Churche holy day, not long after Michaelmasse. The Lord Gronture, of all this aduenture wrote to the Duke bys Hayster, which thereat, was at the first so abashed and amased, to see the Erle of Warwike, whome he hated more then a Crocodile, to haue the byper hande of his brother, that he had rather heard of King Edwardes death, then of his discomfiture, and in especially by the Erle of Warwike, whom he more feared and disdayned, then any one man liuyng, yet he willed the Lorde Gronture, to see him and his companie well enterteyned at the Hage, tyll he sent for them.

Now let all Englishmen consider (as before is reherfed) what profite, what commoditie, & what helpe in distresse, the mariage of the Ladie Margaret,



garet, King Edwardes wife, sister to the Duke Charles, did to him in hys extreme necessitie: and but by that meane incurable extremitie, for his allies and confederates in Castell and Arragon, were to farre from him, either speedily to flie to, or shortly to come fro with any ayde or armie. The frenche king was his extreme enemy, and friend to King Henry, for whose cause, in the King of Scottes (for all the league betwene them) he did put little confidence and lesse trust. The Stebes and all Castland were with him at open warre, and yet by this marriage, God provided him a place to flie too, both for refuge and for reliefe.

When the fame was spred of King Edwardes flyng, innumerable people resorted to the Erle of Warwike to take his part, but all King Edwardes trustie friendes went to diuers Sentuarjes, dayly lookyng and hourly harknyng, to heere of his helth and prosperous returne, who afterwarde serued him manfully and truly. Amongest other, Queene Elizabeth his wife, almost desperate of all comfort, tooke Sentuarie at Westminster, and there in great penury forsaken of all her friendes, was deliuered of a faire sonne called Edwarde, which was with small pompe, like a poore mans childe christened and baptised, the Godfathers beyng the Abbot & Prior of Westminster, and the Godmother, the Ladie Scrope.

The Kentishemen this season, whose wittes be euer moueable at the chaunge of Princes, came to the Suburbes of London, and spoiled houses, robbed berehouses, & by the counsaile of sir Geoffrey Gates and other Sentuary men, they brake by the kinges Benche, and deliuered prisoners, and at the last fell at Radclife, Lynchouse, and saint Katheryns, to burnyng of houses, slaughter of people, and rauishyng of women: which small sparck had growen to a great flame, if the Erle of Warwike with a great power had not sodainly quenched it, and punished the offenders: which benefite by hym done, caused him much more to be praised and accepted among the Commons than he was before. When he had settled and put an order in all thinges, according as he thought most conuenient, upon the, xii. day of October he rode to the Tower of London, which was to him without resistance deliuered, and there tooke King Henry the sixt out of the warde, where he before was kept, and brought him into the kinges lodgyng, and there was serued, according to his degree. And the, xxv. day of the sayd moneth, the Duke of Clarence accompanied with the Erles of Warwike, Shrewsbury, and the Lord Stanley, and other Lords and Gentlemen, some for feare, and some for loue, and some onely to gale at the waueryng worlde, resorted with a great companie to the Tower of London, and from thence with great pompe brought King Henry the sixt apparayled in a long Gowne of blewe Weluet, through the high streetes of London, to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, the people on the right hande and on the left hande, reioysyng and cryng, God saue the King, as though all thing had succeeded as they would haue it, and when he had offered as kinges vse to do, he was conueyed to the pallace of the Bishop of London, and there kept his householde like a king.

King Henry the sixt thus againe recoveryng (by the meanes onely of the Erle of Warwike) his Crowne and dignitie royall, began newly to reigne, likely within short space to fall againe, and to tast more of his accustomed captiuitie, and vsuall miserie. This ill chaunce and misfortune, by many

Prince Edward the son of King Edward the fourth, borne in the Sentuarie of Westminster.

The Kentish men rebell.

King Henry the sixt againe restored to his kingly estate.

mens opinions happened to him, because he was a man of no great wit, such as men commonly call an innocent man, neyther a foole, neyther very wise, whose studie alwayes was more to excell other, in Godly liuyng and vertuous example, then in worldly regiment, or temporall dominion, in somuche, that in comparison to the study and delectacion that he had to vertue and godlinesse, he little regarded, all worldly power and temporall aucthoritie: But his enemies ascribed all this to his coward stomach, affirmyng that he was a man apt to no purpose, nor meete for any enterpryse, were it neuer so small: But whoso euer dyspyleth or dysprayseth, that which the comon people allow and maruayle at, is often taken of them for a mad and vndiscreete person, but notwithstanding the vulgar opinion, he that foloweth, & embraceth the contrary, doth proue both sad and wise (verifying Salomons Proverbe) the wisdom of this worlde, is foolishnesse before God. Other there be that ascribe his infortunite, only to the stroke and punishment of God, affirming that the Kingdome, which Henry the fourth his Grandfather wrongfully gat, and vniustly possessed agaynst King Richard the seconde and his heyres, could not by very deuine iustice, long continue in that iniurious stocke: And that therefore God by his diuine prouidence, punished the offence of the Grandfather, in the sonnes sonne.

When King Henry had thus obteyned agayne, the possession and dominion of the realme, he called his high Court of Parliament to beginne the, xxvj. day of Nouember at Westminster, in the which King Edward was declared a Traytor to his Countrey, and vsurper of the realme, because he had vniustly taken on him, the crowne and Scepter, and all hys goods were confiscated and adiudged forfayt: and lyke sentence was geuen agaynst all his partakers and friendes. And beside this, it was there enacted that extreme punishment should be done without delay ouer such persons, as for his cause were taken or apprehended, and were eyther in captiuitie, or went at large vpon trust of their sureties, amongst whome Lorde John Tiptoft, Erle of Worcester Lieutenaunt for King Edward in Irelande, exercysing there more extreme crueltie (as the same went) then princely pitie, or charitable compassion, and in especiall on two infantes, beyng sonnes to the Erle of Desmond, was eyther for treason to hym layed or malice agaynst hym conceyued, attempted and behedded. Beside thys, all estatutes made by King Edward were clerely reuoked, abrogated, and made frustrate. The Crownes of the Realmes of Englande and Fraunce, was by the aucthoritie of the same Parliament entayled to King Henry the sixt, and the heyres Males of hys body lawfully begotten, and for default of such heyre Male of his body begotten, then the sayde crownes and dignities were entayled to George Duke of Clarence, and to the heyres Males of his body lawfully engendred, and farther the sayde Duke was by aucthoritie aforesayde enabled to be next heyre to hys father, Richard Duke of Yorke, and to take by descent from hym all hys landes, dignities, and preheminences, as though he had bene his eldest sonne and heyre, at the time of his death. Jasper Erle of Penbroke, and John Erle of Orenford, and diuers other by King Edward attaynted, were restored to their olde names, possessions, and auncient dignities (kepe them euen as long as they might.) Beside thys, the Erle of Warwike as one to whome the comon welth was much beholdyng, was made

A parliament called by King Henry the sixt where King Edward is declared a traytor.



made ruler and gouernoz of the realme, with whom as felow and companion was associated, George Duke of Clarence hys sonne in lawe. So that by these meanes the whole estate, both of the realme, and the publique welth of the same, were newly altered and chaunged. To thys parliament came the Lorde Marques Montacute, excusing hymselfe that onely for feare of death, he declyned to king Edwards part, which excuse was so accepted that he obteyned hys pardon, which after was the destruction of hym and hys brother: For if he had manfully and boldly taken king Edwards part, surely he being an open enemy, had much lesse hurted, then being a fayned & coloured friend: for suche things as we see before our eyes, we be well ware off, and seldome things before knowne, doe vs any hurt.

Queene Margaret kept from landing in England by cruell tempestes.

Queene Margaret, after that the Erle of Warwicke was sayled into Englande, euer forecasting and doubting the chaunce that might happen, did neuer cease to pray to God, to send victorie to her friends and confederates: which when she knewe by her husbandes letters to be obteyned, shee wyth Prince Edward her sonne and her trayne, entred their shippes, to take their voyage into Englande: but the wynter was so sore, the weather so stormy, and the winde so contrary, that she was fayne to take lande againe, and deterrc her iorney tyll another season. Her enemies sayde, that it was Gods iust prouision, that she which had bene the occasion of so many battayles, and of so much manslaughter in Englande should neuer returne thither agayne, to doe more mischief. Her friendes on the other side, sayd that she was kept away, and her iorney emperched by Sorcerers and Spectromancers: thus as mens imaginations ranne, so their tongues clacked.

In thys season Jasper Erle of Penbroke, went into Wales, to visite hys Countie of Penbroke, where he founde Lorde Henry, sonne to his brother Edmond Erle of Richmond, hauing not fully ten yeres of his age complete, which was kept in maner like a captiue: but well and honozably educated, and in all kind of ciuillie brought vp, by the Lady Harbert, late wife to Wylliam Erle of Penbroke, beheaded at Banbery, as you before haue heard, This Lorde Henry was he, that after king Richard, brother to king Edward, was banquished and ouerthrowne, obteyned the crowne and regalitie of thys realme, whome we ought to beleue, to be sent from God, and of him onely to be prouided a king, for to extinguishe both the factions and partes, of king Henry the sixt, and of king Edward the fourth (which had almost brought the Nobilitie of thys realme to a finall destruction, and an bitter decay.) And thys Jasper Erle of Penbroke as aforesayd tooke this child being hys Nephew, out of the custodie of the Ladie Harbert, and at hys returne brought the same childe to London, to king Henry the sixt, whome when the king had a good space by himselfe, secretly beholden and marked, both hys wyt and hys lykely towardnesse, he sayed to such princes, as were then wyth him: Lo, surely this is he, to whome both we and our aduersaries leauing the possession of al things, shal hereafter geue rome and place. So this good man: he wedd before, the chaunce that should happen, that this Erle Henry so ordeyned by God, should in time to come (as he did in deede) haue and enjoy the kingdome, and the whole rule of the realme.

This was king Henry the seuenly.

As I haue shewed to you before, what things were done in Englande after that king Henry had obteyned the new possession of hys olde kingdome, thinking

thinking surely to haue possessed and enioyed the same lenger season then eyther he did, or could by his aduersaries be permitted or suffered to doe: so must I of necessitie declare vnto you, what great perplexitie, what sodaine trouble, and what great store of immaginations, the landing of king Edward in Friseland, brought to and encombered with all, Charles Duke of Burgoyne: and how deceitfully for his owne aduantage he dissimuled, first with king Edward, and after with his partie aduersc, and how that he openly denied ayde to king Edward, when he priuily ministered great and large succours to him and his. I thinke you would not, that these things should be forgotten: And first call to your remembraunce, howe that Duke Charles had before this (as you haue heard) great intelligence or conference wyth Monsire de Wawclere, as he list himselfe to be called, cyther chiefe Capitaine of Caleys, or else deputie Capitayne to the Erle of Warwicke, which had promised to him by the Duke, a pencion yerely of a thousand Crownes, to the intent to stand still true to king Edward, and to relinquish the king Henry, but in especiall to abandon the Erle of Warwicke. The Duke although that he had small confidence, but rather great diffidence in the othe and promyse of Monsire de Wawclere: thought it necessarie to know in what case Caleys stode, and what alterations were there, because it was his nexte neighbor (for that time Bulleyn, and Bullenoy, and all Artoys, were in the handes of Duke Charles) as a pledge deliuered to hys father, as is before reherfed. Wherefore in all haste (before he sent for king Edward or spake with him) he sent his trustie counsayler Philip de Comines Lorde of Argenton, accompanied with two gentlemen to Caleys, which two gentlemen fauored more the partie of Lancaster then of Porke. The Lorde of Argenton met with the people of the Countrey of Bullenoy, flyng from euery parte lyke wyld Dere: for the Erle of Warwicke had now lately sent to Caleys, foure hundred Archers on horseback, which forayed and spoiled all the Countrey of Bullenoy. The Dukes messengers, which had not sene so sodaine a chaunge of worldly things, durst not kepe on their iorney, but the same night taried at Turnoham, and sent to Monsire de Wawclere for a safe conduyt, and also wrote to the Duke of the feare that they were in. The Duke sent worde to Philip de Comines, that he and his with all speede, should passe towarde Caleys, and if they there were taken, he would shortly for a ransome, buye or redeeme them agayne. For he passed little eyther of the payne of his seruaunt, or of his charge and expence, so that his purpose might be serued. When this word was brought to the messengers at Turnohan, at the same tyme they receyued a letter from Monsire de Wawclere, wyth louing wordes and gracious termes, declaring that they might safely come, and freely depart, as before they were liberally accustomed: so that sir Philip and his companions came to Caleys, wythout any meeting or solemne entertaintment contrary to the olde fashion that he had sene. When they entred into the towne, they might perceyue euery man did weare the Erle of Warwikes badge, and on euery doze were set white Crosses, and ragged staves, with times and poesies, which purposed the french king, and the Erle of Warwicke were all one. These things seemed very straunge, and nothing pleasaunt to the Burgonions. The Lorde Wawclere sent for them to dinner the next day being well accompanied, and did weare on hys

Cap,



Cap, a whyte ragged staffe of Golde enamyled, and so did many other, and he that could haue it neyther of Golde nor of Siluer, had it of silke or cloth. Thys badge was taken by within one quarter of an houre, after the newes came out of Englande: suche is the mutation of the common people, lyke a reede with euery winde bowing and bending. While these Burgonions lay thus in Caleys, they had knowledge that the Erle of Warwike had prepared foure thousande valyaunt men, to make frontier warre on the Dukes Countries, whereof by poste they certified the Duke, which so fumed and smoked at the matter, that he wist neyther well what to doe, nor of whome to aske comfortable or wholesome counsaile. For warre he was compelled to haue with the French King, which had taken from him certayne townes: and if he succoured king Edwarde, he was sure that with the Erle of Warwike, he should haue no peace: and if he left king Edward his confederate and allye, in the time of hys tribulation, destitute of ayde and succour, all the worlde of him might speake shame, vnfaithfulnesse and dishonor. When the Duke had well aduised thys matter, he wrote to hys messengers, that they should require to haue the league made betwene the two realmes, kept and obserued, with dyuers other priuy instructions. Philip de Comines, being wise and well learned, declared to the counsaile of Caleys, that the Duke hys Maister not a little marueyled why the Englishe men should ouer runne, and destroy his Countries, hauing a league so sure, so strong, and with so many wordes of efficacie enforced, lately made betwene the two Countries, their territories and dominions, affirming that the mutation of the Prince, is no dissolution of the league: For although the princes be named, as chiefe contractors in euery treatie and amitie concluded, yet the Countries are bounden, and the subiectes shall make recompence, if any thing be altered wrongfully out of his course. And the rather to obtaine their desire, they caused all the Marchauntes goodes of Englande, being in the Dukes Countries, to be attached for the redresse of the spoyle, that the Englishe men had done in the Dukes Countrie. Which sore grieved the Marchauntes, and much hindered their voyages: beside thys, the Marchauntes of the Staple of Calice, wrote to the king, and to the Erle of Warwike: how, if their wolle and fell at Calice, were not solde and htered, as it was wont to be (the greatest parte whereof, was bought by the Dukes subiectes and Vassals for readie money) the Souldiours of the garrison, should lack their wages, the King should not be payde his custome, and the Marchaunt in conclusion should stande in aduerture both of losse of stock and credence. These perswasions mollified the Erle of Warwikes minde, and especially, because the King had no great store of money to furnishe Caleys withall, which store if he had had, surely the Duke of Burgoyne for al the league, had bene a little disturbed, and greuously molested. But considering that all thinges were not correspondent at thys time to the Erles appetite: he was content that it should be thus condescended and agreed, that the alyauce made betwene the realme of Englande and the Dukes deminions, should still remayne inuolated, sauyng in the steede of Edwarde, should be put for the king, this name Henry. This conclusion thus brought to an ende, came (euen as a man would wishe) to passe, for the Duke of Burgoyns purpose, for at this same time, the French king had wonne from him, the fayre towne

of

of Amias, and saint Quintines, so that if the Duke should haue had warre both with Fraunce and Englande, he had bene lykely to haue bene shortly a poore Duke, or else vtterly vndone and brought to destruction. And to pacifie and please the Erle of Warwike, whome he neuer loued and lesse fauored: he wrote louingly to hym, declaring that as he was lineally descended, and naturally procreated of the noble stocke and familie of Lancaster, by his Graundmother, being daughter to the high and mightie Prince John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: so was he by nature bound, and by alliance enforced to maintaine and defende the sayde noble house and linage, during his lyfe, as euer he hath done, both in worde and deede, agaynst all maner of persons and estates: furthermore, promising to beare hys good hart, louing minde, and friendly fauor, to king Henry the sixt and his sequele, before all other Princes and Potentates, wyth many other flattering termes and glosing wordes: which fayre promises, I thinke neyther the Duke himselfe inwardly minded, nor yet the Erle outwardly beleued.

Nowe to returne to king Edwarde, being in the Duke of Burgoyns lande, which, although he were out of his countrey, yet did he neuer dispayre but had a firme hope, to haue a iust and ready occasion to him geuen, howe to obtayne his kingdome, and dominion, and that in short space. For partlye, he hoped of a great helpe, of his brother in lawe, the Duke of Burgoyne, and partlye he was dayly solicited, by the letters, and messages of men of his faction in Englande, to returne with all speede, promising him company and comfort. Many other there were which eyther for feare of the rigor of the lawe, which they had offended, or else disdainyng that the worlde was so altered: or else being brought into king Edwardes fauor, had hope to erre cyse their pollyng roomes, as they did before his flying out of Englad, dayly came to him from Englande, and prouoked him more and more, to take his iorney homeward. King Edwarde in maner rauished with their golden promises, came to the Duke of Burgoyne, to the towne of Saint Doll, and there declared to him what great intelligence he had in the realme of Englande, and what assured friendes he had in the same, requiryng him to ayde him by thys speede, as his onely trust, and sole hope of reliefe was in him, being not onely his brother in lawe, but eche being companion of others order: for the king wore the golden fleece, and the Duke wore the Garter. The Duke of Somerset, which was cosin germaine remoued to the Duke of Burgoyne, and brought by and had a pencion in the Dukes house. (For surely the Duke of Burgoyne loued better the house of Lancaster, then the house of Yorke) sore labored to the contrary, affirming that it was both vngodlye, and vnnaturall, to exalte and set by a straunger, hauing no ryght, and to depose and depyue his naturall kinsman, hauing a iust title descended to hym, from the king his father, and the king his Grandfather, from his scepter and regalitic. Duke Charles was in a great perplexitie, not knowyng well what to say, whether consanguinitie should preuaile more, or affinitie, or nature before fauor, not willing if he might, to displease any of both the partyes. But because the war was ouert at his nose, with the French kyng: he concluded openly (but intending another thing secretly) to ayde the Duke of Somerset, and other that were with him, takyng of them certayne promises, for thinges to be done agaynst the Erle of Warwicke: when they should espie their tyme, most apt

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and



and conuenient: The Duke of Sommerfet ioyous of these newes, sailed into Englande, and made report to king Henry. King Edward was present, and hearde all this determination, which brought him into a great heauinesse and a deepe perplexitie: howbeit he was priuily aduertised by a friende, that these cloked dissimulations, were onely for this cause, that Duke Charles would in no wise, haue warre with both the realmes at once, and further, if the saide Duke were put to the worse, or vanquished by the French king, then he were not able, neyther to ayde, nor to succor king Edward. Wherfore to blind withall the French king, which sore desired, that the Duke might haue warre with England: for then he knewe that his enterprise, were more then halfe gotten. The Duke declared openlye, that he would in no wyse minister any succors to king Edward, streightly charging and commaunding, vpon payne of the hart, that no man should once passe the sea with him, or in his armie. But all this proclamation notwithstanding when the Duke saw that king Edward, vpon hope of his friends, would needes repaire into Englande agayne (he hauyng compassion of his vnfortunate chaunce) caused priuily to be deliuered to him fiftie. M. florence, of the crosse of Saint Andrew, and further caused foure great shippes to be appoynted for him, in the haven of Vere in Zelande, which is free for all men to come to, and the Duke hyed farther for him. xiiij. shippes, of the Esterlinges, well appoynted, and for the more suretie, tooke bond of them to serue him truelye, till hee were landed in Englande, and. xv. dayes after. Of which returnyng, the Esterlinges were glad, trusting that by that meane, if he obtained agayne the possession of the realme, they should the soner come to a concozde and a peace, and to the restitution of their liberties, and franchises, which they claimed to haue within England. The Duke of Burgoyne as men reported, cared not much on whose side the victorie fell, sayyng for payment of his money. For he would oft say, that he was friend to both parts, and eche part was friendly to him.

In this yere, Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus was bozne in Hollande, in a towne called Roterdame, as saith Carion, and he died in the yere of our Lorde 1536. So it appereth that he liued. lxxij. yeres.

Here Polidore noteth as foloweth. This present yere saith he, Sixtus, the fourth of that name, Bishop of Rome, beyng enformed by James the thirde king of Scotlande, that the Scottish Bishops had no Metropolitane within his realme of Scotlande, for at that tyme, and long before, the Archebishop of Yorke was Metropolitane and primate of Scotlande. And nowe saith he, forasmuch as there are in a maner continuall warres betwene England and Scotlande, or else Ciuile warres in their severall realmes, by reason wherof his Clergie could not resort nor haue free accesse in causes and matters of religyon, to conferre with their Primate, & Metropolitane, that therefore the Pope would assigne him a Metropolitane within his owne realme and dominion: And the saide Sixtus appoynted the Bishop of Saint Andrewes to be Metropolitane of Scotlande, and so the Archbisshoppe of Yorke lost his iurisdiction in the realme of Scotlande, wherewithall George Beuill, then beyng Archbisshop of Yorke was not a little offended, for he had vnder his obedience. vii. Bishops, that is to say,

The Bishop of Glasco.  
The Bishop of Rosse,

The Bishop of Breichyn.  
The Bishop of Dunkeld,

The

The Bishop of Dunblan.  
The Bishop of Alerdyne.  
The Bishop of Catnes.  
The Bishop of Galoway.  
The Bishop of Orkeney.

The Bishop of Murray.  
The Bishop of the Isles.  
The Bishop of the Isle of Man  
which is thought to be of the Diocesse of Yorke.

King Edward hauing nowe in a readinesse onely, two thousande men of warre, beside mariners, in the spring of the yere, sayled into England, and came on the coast of Yorkechire, to a place called Raucenspur, and there setting all his men on lande, he consulted with his Captains, to knowe to what place, they should first for succor resort vnto: for he imagined that no waye could be for him sure, hauing so small a company of souldiours.

After long debating, it was concluded, that diuers persons hauing light horses, should skoure the countrey on euery side, to see if by any perswasions, they might allure the hartes of the rusticall and bylandishe people, to take king Edwards part, and to weare harnesse in his quarell: which with all diligence, folowed their commission. It seemeth somewhat to leane to the truth, that king Edward beyng a wise and circumspect Prince, would not haue bene so foolish hardy, as to enter Englande with halfe a handfull of men of warre, except he had bene sure of speedy succor and faithfull friendship: In which argument there is no doubt, but that the Duke of Clarence and he, were secretly agreed before, and that the Marques Montacute, had secretly procured his fauor, of which priuy signes, and cloked workings, open tokens, and manifest doynge, afterwarde appered. The light Horsemen, which were sent about, after they had felt the minds and intents, of the rude people (as much as they might) they returned to king Edward the next daye, making relation that all the townes round about, were permanent and stiffe on the part of king Henry, & could not be remoued: and that it was but a folly farther to sollicite or attempt them, considering that when they were moued and exhorted to be true to king Edward, not one man durst speake for feare of the Erle of Warwicke.

Which aunswere, when king Edward had perfectly digested, of very necessitie he chaunged his purpose: for where before his clayme was to be restored to the Crowne and kingdome of England, nowe he caused it to be published, that he onely claymed the Duchie of Yorke, to the entent that in requirynge nothing, but that which was both iust and honest, he might obteyne the more fauor of the common people. It was almost incredible to see what effect this newe imaginacion (although it were but fayned) sorted and tooke vpon the first openyng (such a power hath Justice euen amongst all men) when it was blowen abroad that king Edwards desyre was not for the kingdome, but onely requyred his iust patrimonie and inheritance of the Duchie of Yorke. By reason wherof, all men moued with mercy and compassion, began out of hande either to fauor him, or else not to resist him, so that he might obteyne his Duchie of Yorke. When he had found these meanes to pacifie mens mindes, and to reconcile their hartes, he determined to take his iorney toward Yorke, and so went to Beuerley. The Erle of Warwicke which then lay in Warwikechire, beyng informed that king Edward was landed, and goyng toward Yorke, with all haste wrote to the Marques Mountacute his brother, which had lyeen at the Castell of Pomfret all the

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King Edwardes landing.

The Archbisshop of Yorke was Metropolitane of Scotland.



last winter, with a great company of Souldiours, geuing him warnyng, and aduertisyng him in what perill they whole affayres stode in, if their enemy should obteyne the possession, or enter into the Citie of Yorke, willyng and commaundyng him to set on king Edward with all expedition, and bid him battaile, or else to kepe the passage, that he should passe no farther, till he himselfe had gathered a greater host, which with all diligence, he was assembling to come and ioyne with his brother the Marques. And because that the Erle knew not by what way his enemies would take their iourney, he wrote to all the townes of Yorke shire, and to the Citie also, commaundyng all men on the kinges behalfe, to be redie in harnesse, and to shut their gates agaynst the kinges enemies. King Edward without any wordes spoken to him, came peaceably nere to Yorke, of whose commyng, when the Citizens were certified, without delay they armed themselves, and came to defend the Gates, sendyng to him two of the chiefest Aldermen of the Citie, which earnestly admonished him on their behalfe to come not one foote nerer, nor rashly to enter into so great a leopardie, considering that they were fully determined, and bent to compell him to retract with dent of sworde. King Edward well marking their message, was not a little troubled and vnquieted in his minde, and driuen to seeke the furthest poynt of his witte, for he had both two mischionous and perillous chaunces, even befoze his eyes, which were hard to be aduoyded, one was, if he shoulde go backe againe, he feared least the rurall and common people for couetousnesse of pray, and spoyle, would fall on him, as one that fled away for feare and dread. The other was, if he should proceede any farther in his iourney, then might the Citizens of Yorke issue out with all their power, and sodainly circumuent him, and take him: wherefoze he determined to set forward, neyther with armour nor with weapon, but with lowly wordes, and gentle entreatynges, requiring most hartly the messengers that were sent, to the Citizens, that he came neyther to demaund the realme of England, nor the superioritie of the same, but onely the Duchy of Yorke, his olde inheritaunce, the which Duchy, if he might by theyr meanes reconer, he would neuer let passe out of his memorie their friendship and gentlenesse. And so with fayre wordes and flatterying speche he dismissed the Messengers, and with good speede he and his folowed so quickly after, that they were almost at the gates as sone as the Messengers. The Citizens heeryng his good answer, that he ment nor intended nothing prejudicial to king Henry, nor his royall aucthoritie, were much mitigated and cooled, and began to comon with him from their walles, willyng him to conuey himselfe into some other place without delay, which if he did they assured him, that he should haue neyther hurt nor dammage, but he gently speaking to all men, and especially to such as were Aldermen, whome he called worshipfull, and by their proper names them saluted, after many fayre promises to them made exhorted and desired them that by their favourable friendship, he might enter into his awne towne, of the which he had both his name and title. And thus all the whole day was consumed in doubtfull communication. The Citizens partly wonne by his fayre wordes, and partly by hope of his large promises, fell to this pact and conuention, that King Edward would swere to entertaine his Citizens of Yorke after a gentle sort and fashion, and hereafter to be obedient, and saythfull to all king Henryes commaundementes and preceptes.

King Edward  
swore oth of

that

that then they would receyue him into their Citie, and ayde and comfort him with money. King Edward (whom the Citizens called only Duke of Yorke) beyng glad of this fortunate chaunce, the next moornyng entred in at the gate where the Mayor and Aldermen stode redie to receyue him, and there they ministred vnto him a solompne othe, which he tooke vpon the holy Gospels, which was to obserue the two Articles aboue mentioned and agreed vpon, when it was farre vnlike, that he eyther entended or purposed to obserue any of them, which plainly afterwarde was to all men manifest, euidently perceiuyng, that he tooke no more studie or diligence for any one earthly thing, then he did to persecute King Henry, and to spoyle him of his Kingdome. So it is dayly seene that aswell Princes, as men of lesser reputacion, led by blinde auarice, and deuillish ambition, forgetting the scruple of conscience, and the ende of all honestie, vse to take an othe by the immortal God, which they know perfectly shal be broken & violate hereafter, befoze the othe be first made or sworne: yet these persons (as examples thereof be not very straunge to finde) at one time or other be worthily scourged for their perjury, inso much oftentimes that the blot of such offence of the parentes is punished in the sequele and posteritie as shall appere hereafter in the lyfe of Richard the thirde.

obedience to  
king Henry  
the first.

When King Edward had appesed the Citizens, and that their fury was past, he entred into the Citie, and clerely forgetting his othe, he first set a garison of Souldiours in the towne, to the entent that nothing should be mooued agaynst him by the Citizens, and after he gathered a great host by reason of his money. When all thing was redie, accor dyng as he desired, because he was informed that his enemies did make no great preparacion to resist him, he thought it necessary therfoze, with the more speede and diligence to make haste toward London: and as it were for the nonce, he left the right way toward Donfret, where the Marques Montacute with his armie lay and tooke the way on the right hande, not fully foure myle from the campe of his enemies. And when he saw that they made no stirryng, nor once shewed themselves in sight, he returned into the common high way againe, a little beyond their campe, and came safely to the towne of Rottyngham, where came to him sir William Parre, sir Thomas a Borough, sir Thomas Montgomerie, and diuers other of his assured friends with their aydes, which caused him at the first commyng to make Proclamacion in his awne name King Edward the fourth, boldly sayng to him, that they would serue no man but a King. This Proclamacion cast a great shame and dolor into the heartes of the Citizens of Yorke, for that they might apparantly perceyue, that they were seduced, and for their good will vnjustly (if it might be sayd) deluded and mocked. But when the fame was blowen abroad, that King Edward, without any detriment was in safetie come to Rottyngham, Princes and noble men on all sydes began to fall to him, firmly beleuyng, that either the Marques Montacute, beyng fauor to King Edward, would not once with him encounter, or that he was astrayde to set on or to geue battaile, knowing not to what part his Souldiours would incline. But whatsoever the occasion was, the most part thought it more for the securitie and auantage of themselves, to take part and ioyne with King Edward, beyng at all poyntes furnished with men of warre, rather then to cleue to King Henry, and to be al-

King Edward  
swore oth.

Opp. iii.

wayes



wayes in ieopardy both of life and land. King Edward (as you can not blame him) beyng with these good fortunes encouraged, and with his armie furnished at all pointes, came to his towne of Leicester, and there heeryng that the Erle of Warwike, accompanied with John Erle of Orford, were together at Warwike with a great power, and were both determined to set on him, hee politiquely imaginynge to prevent their inuencion, determined in great haste to remoue his whole armie, hoppng surely, either to geue them battaile, either to allure and bring to his syde his brother George Duke of Clarence, and to common with him in some priuie place, before he came to his confederates: least peraduenture he should be by them trapped and compassed, knowynge that the Duke was in nothing constant.

In this very season, to tell you how the Erle of Warwike was displeas- ed, and grudged against his brother the Marques, for letting king Edward passe, it were to long to write: for where he himselfe had politiquely prouid- ed and foreseene all things, the Marques neuertheless where the power of their enemies first began together, neuer moued foote, nor made resistance as he was commaunded, but besydes this, suffered them with so smal a num- ber of Souldiours, before his eyes, and in his open sight, without any bat- taile to passe by: wherefore the Erle considerynge that king Edward did day- ly encrease his power (as a runnyng ryuer by goynge more and more aug- menteth) thought it most necessary for him, to geue him battaile with speede, and thereupon he called together his armie, and in all hast sent for the Duke of Clarence to ioyne with him, which had gathered and assembled together a great hoste about London. But when he perceyued that the Duke lingered, and did all thinges negligently, as though he were in doubt of war or peace, he then began somewhat to suspect that y<sup>e</sup> Duke was of his brethren corrup- ted and lately chaunged, and therefore without delay marched forwarde to- warde Couentrie, to the entent to set on his enemies. In the meane season, king Edward came to Warwike, where he found al the people departed, and from thence with all diligence aduanced his power toward Couentrie, and in a plaine by the Citie he pitched his fielde. And the next day after that he came thether, his men were set forwarde, and marshalled in arraye, and he valiantly bade the Erle battaile: which mistrustynge that he should be decey- ued by the Duke of Clarence (as he was in dede) kept himselfe close with- in the walles. And yet he had perfect worde that the Duke of Clarence came forwarde toward him with a great armie, king Edward beyng also there- of informed, rayfed his campe, and made toward the Duke. And least that there might be thought some fraude to be cloked betwene them, the king set his battayles in an order, as though he would fight without any lenger de- lay, the Duke did likewise. When eche hoste was in sight of other, Richard Duke of Gloucester, brother to them both, as though he had bene made Ar- bitrer betwene them, first rode to the Duke, and with him commoned very secretly: from him he came to king Edward, and with like secretnesse so bled him, that in conclusion no vnaturall warre, but brotherly friendship was concluded and proclaymed, and then leauynge all armour and weapon asyde, both the brethren louingly embraced, and familiarly commoned together. It was no maruaile that the Duke of Clarence, with so small perswasion, and lesse exhortynge, turned from the Erle of Warwikes parte, for as you haue

The Duke of Clarence reconciled himselfe to his brother king Edward.

haue heard before, this marchandice was labored and concluded by a Dam- sell when the Duke was in the frenche Court, to the Erles bitter confusion, After this King Edward caused to be proclaimed, that the Duke and all that came with hym, should be taken as hys true friendes, wythout fraude or yll suspicion. But this notwithstanding, it seemeth that God did neyther forgeue nor forget to punishe the Duke wyth condigne punishment, for bio- layng and breaking his othe solempnely, and aduisedly taken and made to the Erle of Warwike, for God not many yeres after, suffred him lyke a per- iured person to die a cruell and a straunge death.

Then was it concluded amongst the thre brethren to attempt the Erle of Warwicke, if by any fayre meanes he might be reconciled or by any pro- mise wonne to their parte: To whome the Duke of Clarence sent dyuers of his secret friendes, first to excuse him of the act that he had done, secondarily to require hym to take some good ende, nowe whyle he myght wyth King Edward.

When the Erle had hard patiently the Dukes message, Lorde, how he detested and accursed him, cryng out on him, that he contrary to hys othe, promise, and fidelitie, had shamefully turned hys face from hys confederates and allies: But to the Dukes Messengers he gaue none other answer but thys, that he had liefer be alwayes lyke himselfe, than lyke a false and a periured Duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leaue warre till epyther he had lost his aboue naturall lyfe, or utterly extinguished and put vnder hys foes and enemies.

From thence King Edward thus being furnyshed of a strong hoste, went wythout any maner of diffidence or mistrust toward London (where after it was knowen that the Duke of Clarence was come to hys brethren, and that all they came together in one knot to the Citie, such a feare rose sodain- ly amongst the Citizens, that they were driuen to their wits ende, not know- yng epyther what to doe or to say, but at the last very feare compelled them to take King Edwardes parte. The selfesame season, the Erle of Warwike sent Letters to King Henry, to the Duke of Sommerset, the Archebyschop of Yorke, and other of hys counsaile, that they should keepe the Citie from their enemies handes, by the space of two or thre dayes after the comynge of their enemies, and that he shortly would be at hande, wyth a puyssaunt armie. They as they were commaunded defended the Citie strongly, but it was to small purpose, for the Citizens in the same time began earnestly to consult, what part they should folow for their most indemnitie: and in con- clusion, when they considered that King Henry was such an innocent person, as of hymselfe was not most apt to rule and gouerne the publique welth of the realme. And that on the other side, King Edward by no other mens tea- chyng, but onely by hys aboue pollicy and wytt could order the realme and go- uerne the Kingdome. And farther that King Edward was such a person as was able both to defende himselfe and also all hys, from iniurie and hosti- litie: whereupon all men were glad to leane to him, and to take hys parte, wherefore they concluded to receyue him into the Citie: which determinati- on being blowen abroad (as the nature of the people is euer to delight in no- uelties) the commonaltie could not be compelled by no commaundement to tarye at home, but ranne in heapes out of the City to meete him, and saluted him

Periurie is punished by almightie God.

The Erle of Warwicke a man of great courage.



King Henry  
the sixt again  
taken and  
committed to  
prison.

him as their king and souereigne Lorde. When the Duke of Sommerfet and other of King Henries friendes sawe the worlde thus sodaynly chaunged, euery man fled, and in haste shifted for himselfe, leauing King Henry alone, as an host that should be sacrificed, in the Bishops Palace of London, adioyning to Paules Church, not knowyng of whome, nor what counsaile to aske, as he which with trouble and aduersitie was clerely dilled, in which place he was by king Edward taken, and agayne committed to prison.

Thys was a sodayne chaunge, for the same daye the Archebysshop of Yorke to the intent that the people might more firmly stick on hys syde, caused hym to ryde about London, appareled in a gobone of blew Weluet, with a great companie cryng king Henry, king Henry (which sight as much pleased the Citizens, as a fyre paynted on the wall warned the olde woman) not knowyng that or night, his triumphing should be turned to tremblyng, and his solempnitie conuerted into mourning, such chaunce was to him prouided.

King Edward returned to London agayne the .xj. daye of Aprill, sixe Moneths after that he had sayled into Flaundyrs, and first calling befoze him a great assemble of people, highly commended the fidelitie of the Citizens, which they constauntly bare vnto hym, rendring to the Aldermen most hartie thanks for that, that they had kept, and caused the people to continue, and be permanent in their good mindes and loyaltie towarde hym, blaming farther and rebuking as well Marchaunt straungers as Englishe men, whom he knewe to haue prested, and lent money to king Henry, for the arraiyng and setting forth of a new armie agaynst him. But when he had grieuouly with terrible wordes declared to them their seditious cryme and trayterous offence, he bade them be of good comfort, and to expell all feare, for he released to them both the punishment of their bodyes and losse of goodes, and graunted to them pardon for their faultes and offences, by which gentle meane, he reconciled to hym the hartes of the whole multitude, obeyning that by fayre and louing wordes, which he coulde not haue achieved wyth sharpe strokes, and bloody woundes.

The Erle of Warwike pondering that the gayne of the whole battayle stood in making hast, with all diligence folowed hys enemies, hoping (that if they were let neuer so little, with any stop or taryng by the waye) to fight wyth them befoze they shoulde come to London: the which he thought, shoulde be muche to hys aduantage, consideryng that he perfectly knewe the Cytie to be destitute of men of warre for defence, and to haue no maner of municions, to set on the walles or Towres, so that they were not able to abide a siege, and for that cause, euer they enclined to the victorious and stronger part. But when he folowynge his enemies, had passed a great part of his iourney, he was informed that king Edward peaceably was entred into London, and had taken, and sent King Henry to prison againe: which things deeply considered, he sawe that all cauillacions of necessitie, were now brought to this ende, that they must be committed to the hazard and chaunce of one battaile, wherefoze, he rested with his armie, at the towne of Saint Albons, partly to refresh his Souldiours, and partly to take counsaile what was best to do. In the Erles armie were John Duke of Excester, Edmond Erle of Sommerfet, John Erle of Drenford, and John Marques Montacute, whome the Erle his brother well knewe, not to bee well minded (but

foze

foze agaynst his stomacke) to take part with these Lordes, and therfoze stode in a doubt, whether he at this time, might trust him or no, but the brotherly loue betwene them, washed away and diminished all suspicion: But whatsoeuer opinion the Erle conceyued of him or any other, the Erle as a man past all feare, determined couragiously to set on his enemyes. And from Saint Albones, he remoued to a village in the meane way, betwene London and Saint Albones, called Barnet, beyng ten mile distant from both the townes. This towne standeth on an hill, on whose top is a faire plain for two armies to ioyne together. On the one part of this plaine, the Erle of Warwicke pitched his fielde, taryng for his enemies. The rumoz of the Erles comyng, was spred in an instant ouer all London, which quickned King Edward not a little: wherefoze with all speede he adioyned to that hoste, that he brought with him first to London, a company of picked, and chosen persons, strong, yong, and mete for all assayes, besyde other new aydes, that were then come to him: Harnesse, weapons, horse, and all other engines and instrumentes mete for the warre, he neyther forgat nor slackly furnished. What shall I say more, he determined clerely to spende all his riches, yea, and all that he could imagine vpon the chaunce of this battaile: firmly beleuyng, that this conflict should knit by the knot of all his labor, and bring hym to quietnesse. So with a pupysant armie, he marched forwarde, and to put his people in bre, that they might be the more redie to fight, whensoever they should encounter with their enemies, he deuided them in foure partes, and he brought with him also King Henry the sixt. On Easter eue at after noone he came to Barnet, and there not farre from his enemyes, he encamped his armie, and least his enemies should compell him to fight that night, he enuironed his campe with newe fortifications, and trenches, for taryng that night was to him a singuler profite, and to his enemies a great dammage, considering the lenger he taryed, the more people came to his ayde. Thus both the armies lodged that night on the plaine, but not out of their harnesse, for their tentes were so nere together, in the which, what for neyng of horses, & talkyng of men, none of both the hostes could that night take any rest or quietnesse. At the breaking of the day, the Erle of Warwicke set his men in array, in this maner: in the right wing he set the Marques Montacute, and the Erle of Drenford, with certaine horsemen, and he with the Duke of Excester, tocke the left wing, and in the middelt betwene both, he set Archers, and to them hee appoynted the Duke of Sommerfet to be Capitaine. And when he had set his men in an order, he encouraged his men to fight, with many comfortable wordes, willing them to striue with a good and fierce courage, and to remember that they fight, not onely for the libertie of the Countrie, agaynst a tyrant, which wrongfully and against all right, had invaded and subdued this realme, but that they fight in the quarell of a true & vndoubted king, against a cruell man, and a tyrannous vsurper, in the cause of a Godly, and a pitifull Prince, agaynst an abhominable manqueller, and bloodie butcher: In which cause beyng so good, so godly, and so iust, God of very iustice must needes be their shield and defence.

King Edward likewise ordred his battayles. In the foreward he set the Duke of Gloucester, the middle ward, he himselfe with the Duke of Clarence hauyng with them king Henrye, did rule and gouern, the Lorde Hastings

Barnet field.

The wife  
dome of King  
Edward.



tynges led the rewarde, and besides these three battayles, he kept a company of fresh men in store, which did him great pleasure, and this done, he encouraged his men, saying: that their aduersaries were onely Traitors to the realme, spoylers of the poore commonalty, and people destitute of all grate, good fortune, and good liuyng. Which mischeuous persons, if they shoulde preuaile through the faintnesse of your heartes, all you gentlemen and richmen, were in ieperdye of your lyues, all meane men in doubt of robbing and spoyling, and all inferiour persons in hazard of perpetuall bondage and seruitude.

When the day began to spring, the trumpets blew by coragiously, and the battaile fierly began, Archers first shot, and bill men folowd them. King Edward hauing y greater number of men, valiantly set on his enemies. The Erle on the other side, remembreing his auncient fame and renoume, manfully withstode him. This battaile on both sides was sore fought, and manye slayne, in whose roomes succeeded euer fresh, and fresh men. In the meane season, while all men were together by the eares, euer loking to which way fortune woulde encline. The Erle of Warwicke after long fight, wisely did perceiue his men to be ouer pressed, with the multitude of his aduersaries: wherfore he caused new men to relieue them that fought in the foreward, by reason of which succors, king Edwards part gaue a little backe (which was the cause that some lokers on, and no fighters, galloped to London, saying: that the Erle had wonne the fielde) which thing when king Edwarde byd perceiue, he with all diligence sent fresh men to their succors.

If y battail were fierce & deadly before, now it was crueller, more bloody, more feruent, and fiery, & yet they had fought from morning almost to noone, without any parte getting auantage of other. King Edwarde beyng wery of so long a conflict, & willing to see an ende, caused a great crew of fresh men (which he had for this onely pollicye, kept all day in store) to set on their enemies: but although the Erle sawe these new succors, of fresh men to enter the battayll, beyng nothing a fraide, but hoping of the victoery (knowyng perfectly that there was all king Edwardes power) comforted his men beyng wery, sharply quickning, and earnestly desiring them with hardy stomakes, to bere out this last and finall brunt of the battail, and that the fielde was euen at an ende. But when his souldiers beyng sore wounded, wcried wyth so long a conflict, did geue litle regarde to his wordes, he beyng a man of a mind inuincible, rushed into the middest of his enemies, where as he (aduentured so farre from his owne company, to kill and slay his aduersaries, that hee coulde not be rescued) was in the middest of his enemies, stricken doone and slayne. The Marques Mountacute, thinking to succor his brother, which he saw was in great ieperdye, and yet in hope to obtayne the victoery, was likewise ouerthrowne and slain. After the Erle was dead, his part fled, and many were taken, but not one man of name, nor of nobilitie.

Some aucthors write, that this battaile was fought so neere hand that king Edwarde was constrained to fight his owne person, and fought as sore as any man of his partie, and that the Erle of Warwicke, which was wont euer to ride on horsebacke, from place to place, from ranke to ranke, comforting his men, was now aduised by the Marques his brother, to relinquish his horse, & trie the extremitie by handie strokes, which if he had bene on his horsebacke,

horsebacke, might fortune to haue escaped.

This ende had Richarde Neuell, Erle of Warwicke, whose stoute stomacke, and inuincible corage, after so many straunge fortunes, and perilous chaunces, by him escaped, caused death before he came to any olde age priuily to stele on him, and with his darte to take from him all worldly affections: but death did one thing, that lyfe coulde not, for by death he hadde rest, peace, and quietnesse, which his lyfe euer abhorred, and coulde not suffer nor abide. On both partes were slaine at this battaile, more than ten. Th. men. Of pri-soners, the number could not be certainly knowne: On the Kings part were slaine sy Humfrey Burchier, sonne to the Lord Barnes, else no man of estimation. The occasion of this great slaughter was, because that where King Edwarde was wont, after the battaile obtayned, to crye: saue the commons, and kil the Captaynes, now he spared them not, because they not only so highly fauored the Erle of Warwicke, but also because they came with the Erle, against him in battaile. After this fielde ended, the Duke of Sommerset, with John Erle of Orenforde, were in all poste haste, flyng towarde Scotlande, but fearyng the ieperdies, that might chaunce in so long a iorneye, altered their purpose, and turned into Wales, to Jasper Erle of Penbrooke, euery man fledde whether his minde serued hym. The Duke of Excester wyth much difficultye, escaped into Westmynster dysguised, and there tooke Sen-uarpe.

King Edwarde after this victoery, although he wanne it not wythout great effusio of blood, aswell on his owne part, as the part of his enemies was greatly retoyced, & comforted: and after the maner of a victorious conquerer leadyng with him king Henrye like a captyue, in most triumphant maner, on Easter day at after noone, made his entry solemnly into the City of London, and at the Church of saint Paule, offered his standerd, and rendred to almighty God, for his great victoery, most humble and hartie thanks. The dead bodies of the Erle, and the Marques, were brought to London in a coffin, and before they shoulde be buried, by the space of thre dayes, they lay open bisaged, in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, to the intent that all men might evidently perceiue, that they vnsaynedly were dead, least perad-venture the common people hereafter, heeryng of some dissimulyng person, to take on him the name of the Erle of Warwicke, thinking him to be liuyng, might stire a new sedicion, and rebellion.

The common people sayde, that the king was not so ioconde, nor so ioyous, for the destruction of the Erle, but he was more sorowfull, for the death of the Marques, whome both he knewe, and it appered to other, to be inwardely his faythfull friende. For whose onely sake, hee caused both their bodies, to bee wyth their Ancesters, solempnly buried at the Priory of Bissam.

In the meane season, Queene Margaret hauing knowledge, that all thinges in Englande, were nowe altered and brought into trouble & broyle, by reason of king Edwardes late returne into the realme: gathering together no small company of hardy, and valiaunt souldiours, determined with al hast and diligence, with Prince Edwarde her sonne, to sayle into Englande, but yet once agayne (such was her destinie) beyng letted for lacke of prosperous wind, and encombered with too much & rigorous tempest, a day after the faire

The death of  
the Erle of  
Warwicke.



faire as the common prouerbe saith, landed at the Poynte of Weimouth, in Dorset shire. When she had passed the sea and taken lande, it was to her declared, how that king Edward had gotten agayne the Garlande, and that king Henry her husbände, was desolately left post a lone, and taken prisoner, how the Erie of Warwicke and his brother were both slaine, and deade, and all their armie destroyed, scattered, or taken, and in conclusion, that her parte had susteined, the most bitter plague, and scourge, considering both the chaunce and the tyme, that in many yerres befoze, had beene reade or seene. When she harde of these miserable chaunces, and misfortunes, so sodainely one in anothers necke, to haue taken their effect, she like a woman all dismated for feare fell to the grounde, her harte was pierced with sorowe, her speche was in a manner passed, all her spirites were tormented with Malencholy. The calamitie and misery of her tyme, she detested, and abhorred her vnstable and contrariant fortune, she stedfastlye blamed and accused her painefull laboz, her care of minde, turned into infelicitie she much lamented, and bewailed the euill fate and destinie of her husbände, which iminentlye befoze her eyes shee sawe to appzoch, she accused, repzoued, and reuiled, and in conclusion, her senses were so bered, and she so afflicted, and cast into such an agony, that she preferred death befoze life, rather desiring soner to die, then longer to liue, and peraduenture for this cause, that her enterioz eye sawe priuily, & gaue to her a secrete monicion of the great calamities, and aduersities, which then did hang ouer her head, and were likely incontinent to fall and succede, which other persons, neither looked for, nor regarded.

This Quene Margaret might well consider and thinke, that these euill aduentures chaunced to her for the most part, for the vnwoorthy death of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, Uncle to her husbände: Of the which mischaunce, although she were not the very occasion and prouoker, yet she greatly offended in that she consented thereto, and did not saue hys lyfe, when she ruling all other, might conueniently haue stayed and letted it. For surely he beyng a lyue, and hauing the moderation and gouernaunce of the common welth, king Henry had neuer wauered in so many hasardes, and ieopardies of hys lyfe as he did. I would desire of God that all men would in egall Balance ponder and indifferently consider the causes of these misfortunes and euill chaunces, the which being eleuate in aucthoritie, doe meete and measure, iustice and iniury, right and wrong, by high powter, blinde aucthoritie, and vnbridled will.

But nowe to the purpose, when Quene Margaret sawe, that to bid battayle was to no purpose, and in maner in dispaire of the welth of her selfe, and her sonne: she with the Prince and her company, departed to a Sentuarie there by called Beaulieu in Hamthyre (where was a Monasterie of Honkes, of the order of Cisterciens) and registered her selfe and hers, as persons there priuiledged. When it was knowne that shee was landed, Edmond Duke of Somerset with Lord John hys brother, Thomas Courteney Erie of Devonshire, the which befoze euer toke the contrary part, whose sodaine chaunging, shortly turned to his awne confusion, Jasper Erie of Penbroke, John Lorde Wenlocke (a man made onely by King Edward) and John Longstrother, Prior of saint Johns in Englande, came in great haste to Beaulieu, and presented themselues to the Queene. Although that she

The Quene taketh heauily the death of the Erie of Warwicke and his misfortune of her husbände.

Beaulieu in Hamthyre.

she were almost drowned in sorow and plunged in payne, yet when she sawe and beheld these noble and princely personages to resozte vnto her presence, she was somewhat comforted and greatly reuiued.

And first, least it should be layed to her charge, that she had done any thing misaduisedly: shee declared and shewed the cause, why she could not come to them in tyme, as she gladly would haue done, and for what purpose and intent, she had then taken the priuilege of Sentuarie: Beseeching them all to studie, and prouide with all diligence, for the welth and conseruation of her onely Jewell the Prince her sonne, and where for thys tyme, shee dispaired to doe anye thing by force of armes, that might be to her profite, shee thought it most conuenient for her (if the time of yere and her enemies did not let or stop her) to sayle agayne into Fraunce, and there to tarie till God would sende her better luck.

After that the Duke and other with comfortable wordes, somewhat had eased the dolorous harte of thys vnfortunate Quene: the sayde Duke began wyth a long processe to enter communication of warre to be renewsed, and wyth all haste possible, and extreme diligence, least their company by tariyng might be diminished, and king Edwardes powter encreased and augmented, considering that all thys time, he had no army gathered together, for so much that at the laste battayle, the very strength of his chiefe souldiours, was weakened: And that notwithstanding, that fortune shone on hym in obteyning the victorie agaynst the Erie of Warwicke, yet now it was not lykely that he should obteyne agayne a lyke victorie: affirming farther, that the more number of the nobilitie, bare toward king Henry her husbände, their good minds and fired hartes, and would helpe him both wyth men and money. And of hys awne free wyll, if she would take vpon her, the name of Capitayne agaynst her enemies, as she befoze that often tymes had enterprised: he offered a great power of able men, at hys awne expence and charge, promising that the two Eries should assure her of a farre greater number of valyaunt and expert warriors, then she would esteeme. And when he had shewed that, the victorie was now (if they list) in their handes, he merily required them all, to be of hardie harte and good cheere, and because the matter required great expedition, he thought it not necessarie farther to reason the cause of battayle, but determined out of hande how the battayle should be geuen and ordered.

The Quene whose minde gaue her, that thys mocion, should come to no good conclusion, answered: that she could well allowe thys sentence, if she thought that there might happen no great losse to some other, then the losse of her awne lyfe. But she suspected that whyle they would helpe things that they most phantasped and affected, the lyfe of Prince Edward her sonne, in wjome, all the whole hope of that familie stode and remayned, should be in perill and ieopardy: and therefore shee either thought it necessary to deferre the battayle till another time, or else to conuey her sonne into Fraunce agayne, there to lye sure and secret, till the chaunce of the first battayle were tryed and assayed. And no maruayle, although the naturall mother, much minded and studied for the sauegarde and tuition of the life of her sonne, pondering that next her husbände, whome shee reputed for cleene vndone, and vtterly cast away, she had nothing moze to be beloued, nothing moze derer, nor nothing to be made moze off.



Thus this prudent and politique Quene required the Chiefteynes expert in martiall feates, that they should before hande consider with themselves, discretely and advisedly of these thinges by her first moued, and after that done, if they thought it conuenient to geue battaile, she would to there agreement with all her heart be conformable: But there was no longer disputation of the matter, for the Duke sayde that there was no neede to waste any more wordes, for all they were determined (while their liues lasted) still to kepe warre agaynst their enemies, and therefore that thing which wryth great counsaile and deliberacion is concluded, ought to be aduanced and set forward with a whole consent and agreement.

Thus euery man together clerely bent and encouraged to the battaile, gathered his power by himselfe. The Duke through all his dominions, raysed a chosen companie of men of warre: likewise did the Erle of Devonshire, the Erle of Penbrooke, who went into Wales to his Erledome, to prepare his people with all diligence. The Quene, at the last was brought into this hope of good fortune, that she sayd, well be it, and so as the Duke had aduised her, she with her companie departed to Bathe, entending there to make her abode, till more of her asmitie were together assembled. But whether soeuer she went, fewe or none had therof knowledge, mistrustyng least her counsaile should by some Carptale, be published and opened to her aduersaryes, before she came to the place appoynted.

When king Edward knew that Quene Margaret was landed in England, & that the Duke of Somerset with her complices had prepared a newe armie, out of hand he dispatched certaine Currozs on light horses, into euery part to see what number his enemies were, and what way they entended to take. The Spyes, accordyng to their instructions, searched and sought the partes by West, and made relation diligently at their returne, what they had knowen and seene. The king beyng in a great agonie, because he knewe not what way his enemies tooke, determined, surely to encounter them at some one place before they came to London. And vpon this conclusion, with such an armie as he had gotten about London, he set forward into Oxfordshire, and there seekyng a place apt and meete to pitche his tentes, was conducted to Abyndon, where he encamped himselfe, commaundyng all men appoynted for the warre, with all diligence to folowe him to that place. All the Kinges hoste there beyng assembled and gathered into one companie, newes were brought to him, that his enemies were come to Bathe, and there did soiozne and tary purposely to augment and encrease their number of such as dayly to them did resorte: wherefore the king without delaye remoued straight to Marleborough, beyng distant from Bathe. xv. miles, makyng hast and great diligence, if by any possibilitie he might to geue them battaile before they returned into Wales, whether he thought (as they entended in dede) that they would take their iourney to ioyne themselves with the Erle of Penbrooke, which had gathered a great hoste in those parties.

When the Quene knewe that king Edward was come so nere to her, she taried not long at Bathe, but remoued in great hast to Bristow: and sent out certeine horsemen, to espie whether she might safely passe over the riuer of Seuerne by Gloucester into Wales, whether she determined first to go to augment her armie, and then without any delay, with spere and shield, courageously

to set on her enemies, wheresoeuer they would abyde. They that were sent, returned to her agayne, declaring that the towne of Gloucester was vnder the obeyfance of Richard Duke of Gloucester, the Kinges brother, and that although they had solicited the Lord Beauchampe of Wobike, which lay there in the Castell, and had the rule of the towne, and the townes men first by rewardes, after by manacing, eyther to take their part, or peaceably to suffer her to passe over their bridge, they were therewithall, neither once moued, nor once would speake comfortably to the Messengers. When she hard these newes, she shortly departed from Bristow with her armie, to a proper towne on Seuerne syde, called Tewkesbury, leauyng Gloucester vnbassaulted, least peradventure she might there spend her tyme with much losse and litle gaine, but in her passage towarde Tewkesbury, the Lorde Beauchampe tooke from her rereward more ordinaunce then she might haue well spared, which did to her no small prejudice. When the Quene was come to Tewkesbury, and knewe that king Edward folowed her with his horsemen at the very backe, she was sore abashed, and wonderfully amased, and determined in her selfe, to flie into Wales, to Iaspur Erle of Penbrooke: But the Duke of Somerset, willyng in no wise to flie backward, for doubtes that he casted might chaunce by the way, determined there to tary, to take suche fortune as God would sende, and beyng fixed in a fayre Parke, adioynyng to the towne, he pitched hys fielde agaynst the will and consent of many ether Capitaines, which would that he should haue drawne asyde, for a while till the Erle of Penbrooke with his armie were with him associate, but his will serued for his reason, and so the chaunce folowed. The Duke of Somerset entending to abyde the battaile, like a politique warrour, trenched hys campe rounde about of such an altitude, and so strongly, that his enemies by no meanes easily could make any entry, and farther perceiuyng that his part could neuer escape without battaile, determined there to see the finall ende of his good or yll chaunce: wherefore he marshalled his hoste in this maner: he and the Lorde John of Somerset his brother led the foreward: The middle ward was gouerned by the Prince, vnder the condypte of the Lorde of Saint Johns, and Lorde Wenlocke (whome king Edward had highly before preferred, and promoted to the degree of a baron.) The rereward was put in the rule of the Erle of Devonshire.

When all these battayles were thus ordered and placed, the Quene and her sonne Prince Edward rode about the field, encouragyng their soldiers, promisyng to them (if they did shew themselves valiaunt against their enemies) great rewardes and high promotions, innumerable gaine of the the spoyle, and bootye of their aduersaries, and aboue all other fame and renoume through the whole Realme.

King Edward likewise which the day before was come within a mile of Tewkesbury, put his brother the Duke of Gloucester in the foreward, and himselfe in the middleward, the Lorde Marques, and the Lorde Hastings led the reregard. The Duke of Gloucester, which lacked no pollicy, valiantly with his battaile assaulted the trenche of the Quenes Campe, whome the Duke of Somerset with no lesse courage defended, the Duke of Gloucester for a very politique purpose, with all his men reculed backe. The Duke of Somerset, perceiuyng that: lyke a knight more couragious then circum-



spect, came out of his trench with his whole battaile, and folowed the chase, not doubtyng but the prince and the Lorde Wenlocke, with the middlewarde had folowed iust at his backe. But whether the Lorde Wenlocke dissuuled the matter for King Edwardes sake, or whether his hart serued him not, still he stode looking on. The Duke of Gloucester takyng the aduantage that he aduentured for, turned againe face to face, to the Duke of Sommersets battaile, which (nothing lesse thinkyng on, then of the returne) were within a small season shamefully discomfited. The Duke of Sommerset seeyng hys unfortunat chaunce, returned to the middleward, where he seeyng the Lorde Wenlocke standyng still, after he had reuled him, and called him Traytor, with his Axe strake the braynes out of his head. The Duke of Gloucester entred the trench, and after him the King, where after no long conflict, the Queenes part went almost all to wrecke, for the most part were slaine. Some fled for succor in the thicke of the Parke, some into the Monastery, some into other places. The Queene was found in her Chariot almost dead for sorow, the Prince was apprehended and kept close by sir Richard Crofts: the Duke of Sommerset, and the Lorde Prior of Saint Johns, were by force taken prisoners, and many other also. In the field and chase were slain Lorde John of Sommerset, the Erle of Deuonshire, sir John Belues, sir Edward Hampden, sir Robert Wychingham, and sir John Lewkenor, and thize thousand other.

After the field ended, King Edward made a Proclamation, that who so euer could bring Prince Edward to him alive or dead, should haue an annuall of an hundred pound duryng his life, and the Princes lyfe to be saued. Sir Richard Crofts, a wise and a valiant knight, nothing mistrustyng the kings former promise, brought forth his prisoner prince Edward, beyng a goodly feminine, and a well featured yong Gentleman, whom when King Edward had well aduised, he demaunded of him, howe he durst so presumptuously enter into his realme with banner displayed. The prince beyng bold of stomack, and of a good courage, answered sayng, to recouer my fathers Kingdome and enheritage, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him, after him, to me lineally descended. At these wordes King Edward sayde nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him, (or as some say, stroke him with his gauntlet) whom incontinent, they y<sup>e</sup> stode about, which were George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marques Dorset, and William Lord Hastings, sodainly stroke & cruelly murdered him. The bitterness of which murder, some of the doers, after in their latter dayes tasted and assayed by the very rod of Justice and punishment of God. His bodye was homely entred with the other simple corfes, in the Church of the Monastery of blacke Monkes in Tewkesbury. This was the last ciuile battaile that was fought in King Edwardes dayes, which was foughten the thirde day of May, then beyng Saturday. And on the Monday next ensuyng was Edmond Duke of Sommerset, John Longstrother Prior of saint Johns, sir Garuays Clifton, sir Thomas Cressham, and xii. other knightes, and Gentlemen behedded in the Market place of Tewkesbury.

Quene Margaret lyke a prisoner was brought to London, where shee remayned till King Reynet her father ransomed her wyth money, which summe (as the French wyrters affirme) he borrowed of King Lewys the xi. and

A terrible  
stroke.

Quene  
Margaret  
brought pri-  
soner to  
London.

and because he was not of power nor abilitie to repay so great a duty, he solde to the French king and hys heyres the kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sicilies, with the Countie of Prouynce, which is the very tytle that king Charles the seauenth made, when he conquered the realme of Naples. After the ransome payde, she was conueyed into Fraunce with small honor, which with so great triumph & honorable enterteynment, was with pompe aboute all pride, receyued into thys Realme. xxiiij. yeres before. And where in the beginning of her tyme, she lyued lyke a Queene, in the middle she ruled lyke an Emperesse, toward the ende she was vexed with trouble, neuer quyet nor in peace, and in her very extreme age she passed her dayes in Fraunce, more lyke death then lyfe, languishing and mourning in continuall sorowe, not so much for her selfe and her husbnde, whose ages were almost consumed and wome, but for the losse of prince Edward her sonne (whome she and her husbnde thought to leaue, both ouerlyuer of their progeny, and also of their kingdome) to whome in thys lyfe nothing could be eyther more displeasunt or grieuous.

After thys battaile, King Edward rendred to God hys most humble thanks, and with good diligence returned toward London, for he was enformed how one Thomas Neucl, Bastard sonne to Thomas Lorde Fauconbridge the valyaunt Capitayne, a man of no lesse courage then audacitie (who for hys euill conditions was such an apt person, that a more meeter could not be chosen to set all the world in a broyle, and to put the estate of the realme in an yll hazarde) had of newe begon a great commocion. Thys Bastarde was before thys tyme appoynted by the Erle of Warwike to be Viceadmirall of the sea, and had in charge so to keepe the passage betwene Dover and Calice, that none which either fauored King Edward or his friends should escape vntaken or vnderwound. And when by the death of the Erle of Warwike, he was brought into pouertie, he robbed both on the Sea and the lande, as well hys enemies as also his friendes: By reason whereof he gat together a great flauie of shippes, and spoiled on euery side, and at the laste tooke lande in Kent, and gathered together a great company of Kentish men, suche as were most meete for hys purpose, and so marched toward London, where the Essex men hauyng wyldc whay woymes in their heades, ioyned them wyth him, sayng that their comming and quarell was to deliuer out of captiuitie King Henry the sixt and to bring him to his wife, but whatsoeuer their outward wordes were, their inward cogitations were onely hope of spoyle, & desyre to rob and pill. For the Bastard himselfe assaulted the Drawbridge of London, and a Capitayne of his called Spisyng scaled Algate with the Essex men, harnessed in their wyfes Cheesecloutes, which assaults were deadly geuen, and manfully resisted, in so much that on both partes manye were slayne and hurt, but at the last the Citizens put back the rebelles, and slue and wounded a great number of them, and draue the Bastard from all hys pray to hys shippes, lying at Radclyffe, which hauing a good and prosperous winde, made sayle with all haste, and roued on the Sea, as before he was accustomed.

Thys stirring, although it were but little to thinke on at the first, yet if it had begon not long afoze, it had brought all King Edwards businesse into a doubtfull difference: for King Edward in these his last battayles was twice

Qqq.iii.

more

Thomas  
Neucl Bast-  
ard to the  
Lorde Fau-  
conbridge re-  
bellyeth.



more then fortunate for that, that he at sundry and severall times (and not all at one time) was persecuted and invaded of hys enemies: for surely, at the time when the Erle of Warwike with hys pitched armie was comming towards London, if Quene Margaret with her company had taken lande (which enterprize she thys in great ieopardy coragiously attempted.) Then if she had set on behinde, whyle the Erle of Warwike gave the onset before both at one moment, or if Edmond Duke of Sommerfet had not geuen battayle at Tewkesburie, before Jasper Erle of Penbroke was come with hys trayne, or if Bastard Fauconbridge had bered the Londoners even at that time: One or the other of these two things should consequently have followed, that king Edward must of necessitie once againe flie out of the realme, or else with shame and rebuke yeelde hymselfe, eyther to slaughter or captiuitie: But as in all meane chaunces and small gaynes, good luck is desired and prayed, so much more in battayle, is good fortune to be most made off, and chiefly to be aduanced.

Bastarde  
Faucon-  
bridge taken  
and beheaded

Now to retorne to Bastard Fauconbridge, wauering hether & thether in the doubtfull surges of the Sea, as sure of hys lyfe on the water as on the lande, which eyther thinking that no man would see him, or that all men were blinde, and could not espie him (and especially in so secret a place) came into the open hauen of Southampton, and there tooke lande, where he was not long butaken, but shortly beheaded.

When Jasper Erle of Penbroke was credibly assertheyned that Quene Margaret had lost the battayle at Tewkesburie, and that there was no more trust of any comfort or reliefe to be had for the part of pooze king Henry, he with such men of warre as he was bringing to his confederates, returned back out of the way to the towne of Chepstow, where he tariyng, bewayling and lamenting, that haste to much hasted, and that vnperceyued and blinde wyll had at the small conclusion, not onely destroyed and brought to naught all king Henries estate, ryches and preheminance, but farther had left all his friendes readie to tolle the waues of fortune, and to seeke their lyuing where they might safely get them, beganne to thinke and prouide what waye was best to take.

Roger  
Vaughan so-  
dainely taken  
and beheaded

King Edward at thys season, not beyng out of feare of the Erle of Penbroke, sent priuily into Wales, Roger Vaughan, a man there both strong of people and of friendes, to the intent by some guyle or engyne sodainely to trap and surprize the Erle: but he hauing intelligence of certaine friendes, how that the watch was priuily layde for him, sodainely in the same towne, tooke Roger Vaughan, and without delay stroke of his head, so Roger Vaughan, by Gods prouidence, receyued the death hymselfe, which he by decept prepared for the other.

The Erle in good haste departed thence to Penbroke, whome incontinent Morgan Thomas, by king Edwards commaundement so strongly besieged, and so enuironed his Castell with a ditche and a trench, that he could not lightly flie or escape thence: but he was after eyght dayes deliuered, and the siege rayled by his faythfull and trusty friends David Thomas, brother to the foresayde Morgan, and from thence conueyed to Tynbye, a Hauen towne in Wales, where he getting conuenient shippes for to transport him and his ouer the Sea into Fraunce, with his Nephew Lozde Henry Erle of

of Richemond, and a few of his familiers toke ship, and by fortunes landing landed in Britaine.

After his arriual, he first went to Duke Fraunces of Britayne, and him reuerently saluted, expounding to him the cause, the case, and the necessitie of their thether comming, committing the lynes, the goods, and al the chaunces both of him and his Nephew, wholly to the Dukes discretion and ordynance. The Duke receyued both the Erles with all benignitie, and shewed to them no lesse honoz, fauoz, and humanitie, with suche entertainment as if they had bene his naturall brethren, and geuing to them his fayth, that being with him, they should sustayne no maner of wrong, nor no iniurie should be to them by any creature offered: assuryng them, that they might within hys dominions, at all times, and in all places, go in safe and good suretie.

When King Edward had appealed, by the meanes afoze reherfed, his kingdome and people, to the intent that there shoulde insurge hereafter, no newe commocion within the realme againe: he made a iorney into Kent, and there sat in iudgement on such, as in the last tumultuous businesse, tooke part with bastard Fauconbridge, where many were, (not vnworthy) straightly punished and ransomed, which businesse once perourmed, to the entent that all men might see apparantlye, that vndoubted peace was come into the realme, and that all feare of exterior hostilitie, was banished, and exiled for euer: Dooze King Henry the sixt, a litle before deperied of his Realine, and Imperiall Crowne, was nowe in the Tower of London, spoyled of his life, and al worldly felicity, by Richard Duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ranne) which, to the entent that king Edward his brother should be cleere out of all secret suspicion, of sodayne inuasion, murdered the sayde king with a Dagger. But whosoever was the manqueller of this good man, it shal appeere, that both the murtherer, and the consentor, had condigne and not vnderferued punishment, for their bloodye stroke, and butcherly act: and because they had nowe no enemies risen, on whome they might reuenge themselves, as you shall hereafter perceiue, they exercised their crueltie, against their owne selues, and with their proper blood, imbrued and polluted their owne handes, and members.

The Erle of  
Penbroke  
with the erle  
of Richemond  
fle into Brit-  
taine.

King Henry  
the sixt slain  
in the tower.

The dead corps of king Henry, with billes and gleues pompeously (if you call that a funerall pompe) was conueyed from the Tower, to the church of Saint Pauls, and there layed on the Beere, where it laye the space of one whole daye, and the next daye, without Priest or Clarke, Torch or Taper, singyng or sayyng, it was conueyed to the Monastery of Chertsey, beyng distant from London. xv. mile, and there was buried, but after he was removed to Windsor, and there in a newe babote, newlye buried. This King Henry reigned full. xxxiiij. yeres, and xvij. dayes, and after that he repossessed his kingdome sixe monethes, and so he lyued in all. xlix. yeres and three monethes, hauyng by his wyfe one onelye sonne, called Edward Prince of Wales.

King Henry was of stature goodlye, of body slender, to which proporti- on, all other members were correspondent: his face beautifull, in the which continually was resident, the bountie of minde, with which he was inwardly endued. He did abhorre of his owne nature, all the vices, as well of the body, as of the soule, and from his very infancie, he was of honest conuersation

The discre-  
tion of King  
Henry the  
sixt.

AND



and pure integritie, no knower of euill, and a keeper of all goodnesse: a despiser of all things, which be wont to cause, the myndes of mortal men to slide, fall, or appaie. Beside this, pacience was so rooted in his hart, that of all the iniuries to him committed, (which were no small number) hee neuer asked vengeance nor punishment, but for that rendered to almighty God, his hartie thanks, thinking that by his trouble, and aduersitie, his sinnes were to him forgotten, and forgiven. What shall I saie, that this good, this gentle, this meeke, this sober, and wiseman, did declare and affirme, that these mischiefes, and miseries, partly came to him for his owne offence, and partly for the heping of sinne vpon sinne, wretchedly by his aunceters and forefathers: wherfore, he little or nothing esteemed, or in any wise did torment or bere himselfe, what so euer dignitie, what honoz, what state of lyfe, what childe, what friende he had lost, or missed, but if it did but sounde an offence toward God, he looked on that, and not without repentaunce, and both mourned and sorrowed for it: This king Henry was of a liberall mind, & especially, to such as loued good learning, and them whom he saw profite in any vertuous science, he hartlye fauored and imbrazed: wherfore he first holpe his owne yong scholars, to attaine to discipline, and for them he founded a solempne schoole at Eton, a towne next vnto Wyndsoze, in the which he hath stablished, an honest Colege of sad Priestes, with a great numbze of Children which be there, of his cost frankly, and freely taught, the rudiments and rules of Grammer. Beside this, he edified a Princely Colege, in the Uniuersitye of Cambridge, called the Kings Colege, for the further erudicion, of such as were brought by in Eton, which at this day so flourisheth, in all kindes, as well of literature, as of tongues, that aboue all other, it is woorthye to bee called, the Prince of Colleges

Colleges of Eton.

The Kings Colege.

1471

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But nowe to returne to king Edward, which was releued of the most part, of his pricking feare, and inwarde suspision, to the intent that no print, or shadowe, shoulde remayne of the aduerse faction, in his realme. He diligently inquired, and searched out, all the fragmentes and leauings, of his enemies part, intending to expresse, and vtterly to extinguishe them. And first to begyn with all, he sent George Deuell, brother to the Erle of Warwicke, and Archbyschop of Yorke, vnder a strong conduite, to the Castle of Guines there to be kept in extreme captiuitie, where he long continued, and at the last by friendship deliuered: which of very pensiuenesse and grudge of minde, shortly after deceaied, whom Laurence Bathe, and after him Thomas Rotheram, in the See of Yorke, did ordinarily succede. Besyde this, John Erle of Orenford, which after Barnet field, both manfully gat, & valiantly leut, Saint Michaels Mount in Cornewall: eyther for lacke of ayde, or persuaded by his friendes, gaue by the Mount, and yelded himselfe to King Edward (his life onely saued) which to him was graunted: but to be out of all doubtfull imaginacions, King Edward sent him ouer the sea, to the Castell of Hammes, where, by the space of .xij. yeres, he was in strong prison, miserably kept, and diligently looked to. Many other besyde these, in diuers partes of the realme, beyng very little or nothing suspected: were either committed to prison, or grieuouly fined and taxed. Besyde this, least his neighbors Countie, might be an harborough, or receptacle of his foes and aduersaries, he concluded a newe league, with James the thirde King of Scots,

John Erle of Oxfords committed prisoner to the Castell of Hammes.

for the terme of .xx. yeres. And yet, whatsoeuer he thought, by his imagination, for all his buste deuises, and polletique forswarages: his minde and phantasie, was not clerely exhorozate and dispatched, of all feare and inwarde trouble: For tidynes were brought to him, that the Erles of Penbroke and Richemond, were arriued in Briteyn: and there of the Duke, highly cherished and entertayned.

The Erle of Richmond &amp; Penbroke arriued in Briteyn.

This thing nipped King Edward hardly at the very stomach, as though his minde casting some euill to come after: did signifie befoze, that the Erle of Richemond, shoulde once attaine to the Crowne and diademe of the realme: which mischiefe, when he had well digested, he secretly sent wise and close Messengers to the Duke of Briteyn, the which shoulde not stricke, to promise the Duke great and sumptuous rewardes, (knowyng that meede manye thinges corrupteth) so that he would deliuer, both the Erles into their handes and possession. The Duke gladly heard them that were sent, but when he knewe the two Erles to be a pray, of such a great value, he determined not to deliuer them, but rather to entertaine them with him more diligently, then they were accustomed. The Duke answered the Ambassadors, that it stood not with his honoz, nor he would not deliuer the two Erles, to whom he was bound and obliged, by his sayth and promise: but this he promised to doe for the Kinges pleasure, that they shoulde be kept, and with such bigilant persons continually watched, that the King shoulde haue no maner of cause, once to thinke, that they could or shoulde attempt any thing, that might sounde, either to his displeasure or prejudice. When the Messengers sawe, that they could not obteyne that which they desired, like wise men held themselves contented with that, which by the Duke was offered, and so returned into Englande. The King wrote to the Duke of Briteyn, louyngly requiryng him, to accomplithe with all speede, that which he of his awne motion offered, promisyng him not onely, men and great rewardes, but yerely to rewarde him wyth a full hande, and a well stuffed purse. The Duke perceiuyng the swete gaine, which rose to him, by the abode of the two Englishe Erles, in his Countie: least they for any cause, shoulde abandon his Dominions, and seeke succors in some other foreyn Region, caused the one to be seperated from the other: and remoued from them such Englishe men, as were dayly on them attendant, and came with them into Briteyn, and in their places appoynted Britons, to be theyr seruitors, to minister, and continually to attende and waite on them.

1472

12

When King Edward had thus pollitiquely (as he thought) compassed the Duke of Briteyn: he thinkyng nothing lesse, then to take a damage at the Duke of Burgoynes hande, yea, and such a damage, as by all similitude, was both like, continually to grieue the realme of England: and further to be an occasion, of a common stoppe, and puttyng backe of the commodities, growen within this realme, to be transported into outward partes, North, Eastwarde, was yet eftsones brought into a newe doubt and perplexitie. For the declaration wherof, you must vnderstand, that Lewis the Frenche king, had a brother called Charles, which was not the wisest, nor yet a man of the greatest experience: and of a certaine curtisie, loued better to haue other men to rule him, then he to take vpon him to rule other. And although that the king at this tyme had no soune, nor other brother, but him, his open

here



heyrre apparant: he little fauored, and lesse loued him, nothing geuyng him of his good will, for his part and portion, of his fathers landes, but that to the which he was compelled by his counsaile, and that he gaue him this Honeth, in the next Honeth, he would by flattery, or by threathynge, by warre or corruption of his brothers seruautes, obteyne and bring to his handes, and possession againe. For first he gaue him the Duchie of Berry, and after that whole Normandie, whereof in no long time, he bereft him the possession, regiment, and title, without any cause geuen, on the partie of yong Charles. And when the sayde Charles, had after ward departed with the Countreies of Bze, and Champaigne, by a fraudulent feate: King Lewys caused him to relinquish the same, and to take for his parentage, the Duchie of Guien, and so was called and named the Duke of Guyen. This euill entreating of the Duke of Guyen, by the frenche King his brother, caused diuers other princes, of no small puyssaunce, to fauor, ayde, and succor the sayde Duke, of the which the chiefe were, Charles Duke of Burgoyne, Fraunces Duke of Briteyn, and Lewys Erle of Saint Poll, Constable of Fraunce. This Duke of Guyen, by the sollicitynge of his adherentes, soze labored to haue in maryage, the sole daughter and onely heyrre, of Charles Duke of Burgoyne, by whom he hoped to be Lord and souereigne, of all Duke Charles inheritaunce. To the furtheraunce of this maryage, holpe with all his powere, the Duke of Briteyn, as who sayd, that it should be onely his acte. The Constable of Fraunce on the other part, thought that he alone, was able to compasse this maryage, and to haue onely the thankes of the Duke of Guyen. The French King did all that he coude, to let and stop this maryage: for if his brother had obtained the yong Lady with all her possessions, then he saw wel enough, that y Duke of Guien, beyng ioynd with the Duke of Briteyn, should be strong enough, or at the least of puyssaunce to encomber the French king and his children. But King Edward of England, soze smoked, when he heard first tell of this maryage, & not without a cause: for he considered, that the frenche King had no heyrre male, but one weake boy, and that the Duke of Guyen, was likely to weare the crowne of Fraunce, after his brother or nephewe. And if this maryage should proceede, all Burgoyne, Brabant, Holland, Feland, Flaunders, and all the lowe Countreies, where the Englyshe men for the most part, made their martes, and vttered there their marchandice, should be vnited and annexed to the Crowne of Fraunce, and in the handes of the olde and auncient enemies of the realme: for so had pooze England, and little Calice, beene continually in the daunger of their enemies, almost with them enuironed round about. These thinges considered, king Edward and his Counsaile, tooke the matter in great earnest, and seriously wrote to Duke Charles, that if he would conclude any maryage in Fraunce, to the hurt and prejudice of the realme of Englande: that he should knowe that he had, not onely broken his league and amitie, but also finde, that he had beene better to haue dissimuled, with the best friend that he had, then priuily without reason, to haue inggelled with the realme of England. The Duke of Burgoyne made reasonable answers, and honest excuses, but the Counsaile of England, in no wise would geue credite thereto: ever surmisyng that the maryage should take effect. And certainly at this season, the Englysh men had rather haue taken part, with the French King then with the Duke of Burgoyne: if it had

not

not bene onely, to empeche and stop this maryage, so much the Englyshmen disdayned, to haue the house of Burgoyne, conioyned and vnited to the crowne of Fraunce. But the Duke of Burgoyne dailed, and dissimuled with all parties, in this matter, geuyng them sayze wordes, and makynge large promises, by the which he first deceyued other, and in conclusion himselfe. He promised his daughter, to Nicholas Duke of Calaber, with whom, he had rather haue had her buried, then bedded. Duke Philbert of Sauoy, had an outward answer assuredly, when nothing was so minded inwardly. Maximilian Duke of Austriche, and after king of Romaynes, some to the Emperour Frederick, could neuer obteyne during the lyfe of Duke Charles, but onely glosyng and paynted promises; but all wordes, writings and promises, what soeuer they were, clerely set asyde, he was surely fixed and determined (as Comines his Counsaillor doth write) that no maryage as long as he liued, should soze to any effect, at the least by his consent.

Nowe let vs leaue the Duke of Burgoyne about hys affayres for a while, and returne to king Edward: which in the. xiiij. yere of hys reigne called hys high Court of parliament, at his Palace of Westminster, in the which, all lawes and ordinaunces, made by hym before that day were corroborated and confirmed: and suche Lawes made by him, as King Henry the sixt, had caused to be abrogated and adnichilated, he agayne reuued and reuued. He made farther lawes as well for the confiscation of the goodes of the rebelles to his person, as also for the restoring of suche as fled out of the realme, for the quarell and occasion: which by his aduersaries, as traytors to their king and Country, a little before were of high treason attaynted, and to death condemned. Toward hys charges of late susteyned, a competent somme of money was demaunded, and frankly graunted: and in conclusion, all inward grudges and open discordes, the which had of long continued, in the hartes of the Nobilitie, which now were very fewe (the more part being consumed in the warres) he cleerely extirped, and brought to vnitie and concord. King Edward holpe to this agreement, as much as in him lay: And to the intent that other men should forget iniuries to them done, and put away all rancor and malice: followyng hys good and godly example, he clerely pardoned almost all offences, and all men then being within the realme, he frankly discharged, although they had taken part with his aduersaries agaynst hym, of all high treasons and crimes.

Whyle King Edward was thus setting an order, and pacifyng of all things, which were out of square: Charles Duke of Burgoyne, whose spiritie was neuer in quiet, desyryng as well to amplifie, and enlarge his territories and dominions, lying on the syde of the ryuer of Ryne, toward high Burgoyne, as also to recouer agayne Amias and other towne, which the French king more by fraude, than by feates of warre, had from him wrongfully vsurped: and further about all things, couetyng to haue the French king to haue some great shame, losse, or hinderaunce, could not inuent no one waye so apt and meete for his imagined purpose, as to entise and persuade the king of Englande by his Ambassadors, to make warre vpon the sayde king and hys Countreie: for the recouering of his olde right and auncient tytle in the same, by the French king and his father, agaynst all right and equitie, withholden and deteyned. King Edward began a litle to harken on

that

Comines  
Counsaillor  
to Duke  
Charles.1473  
13A general  
pardon.



that side, not so much for to helpe the Duke of Burgoyne (to whome he was much bounde, for his ayde in the time of hys exile, as you before haue heard) as for to be reuenged of king Lewys, whom he reputed for his mortall enemy. First for ayding the Erle of Warwike and hys complices agaynst him: secondarily, for the long maintayning and fostering of Queene Margaret, and her sonne Prince Edward (whome for a farther affinitie, he made Godfather to hys sonne Charles the Dolphyn) within hys Countreyes and dominions. Wherupon, when he had consulted with the Nobilitie & the chiefe and sage persons of þe realme (which in maner haue a certain naturall inclination to make warre in Fraunce, eyther for hope of great spoyle and gaine, or of a certayne priuie canker engendred in the hartes of their forefathers, in time long past, and after by lyneall succession descended into the stomacks of their Nephewes) he answered the Dukes messenger, that in the beginning of the yere, he would land at Calice with such a puylsaunt army, that the french king should well perceyue that he lacked neyther men, nor þe hys men lacked stomacks, both for to reuenge their souereignes quarel, & also to recouer his right. And for a truth, at thys season there was mortall warre betwene king Lewys and the Duke of Burgoyne: And moze lykely to fall betterene hym and other, for king Lewys of nature was hard of spech, and churlishe in answer, froward and bngentle as wel to his friends as to his foes. By reason wherof many great men within the realme of Fraunce, not content with hys grosse rudenesse, and rude dissimulation began to haue intelligence, and to cleue to the Duke of Burgoyne, amongst whome was Lewys of Luxemborough, Erle of Saint Paule, and Constable of Fraunce, which being confedered wyth the Duke and other noble men, determined so to bere & scourge king Lewys with some plague, by the which eyther he should be transformed into a man, clere altered from hys olde qualities, or else should be in jeopardy both of losse of life and realme, for it was determined that Fraunce should be set on and assaulted both with outward enemies, and inward dissimulers. All these things the Duke of Burgoyne with king Edward, did communicate, to the intent the sooner to allure and prouoke him, to enterprise the warre, according to hys desire. These things as tokens of victorie before, encouraged king Edward, and enforced him in maner to make warre on Fraunce, and so with all expedition prepared all things necessarie, both for water and lande. And because no small summe of money was sufficient for so great a charge, and that the money the yere before to him auanced by the realme, was consumed in his household, and other necessarie affayres, he conceived a newe deuise in hys imagination, by the which engine he might couertly perswade and entise hys riche friends to geue and graunt him some conuenient summe of money toward his great charges, and incredible costs, which thing if they did not wyllingly assent to, he then would impute to them much unkindnesse, wherupon he caused hys officers to bring to him the most riche persons, one after another, and to them he explained the cause, and the purpose, and the necessitie of the warre begon, and the faintnesse and weakenesse of hys treasure, and the great importunate lack of money, hartly requiring them for the loue and affection that alwaies they had borne to him, being their naturall Prince, of their aboue gratuitie and free wyll to geue to him some aide of money, for maintenaunce of hys warre and armie: what should

should I saye moze? Thys inuention came to thys effect, that some calling to their remembraunce, the benefites of hym receyued, some wyth shame, some wyth feare moued and encouraged, gaue to hym liberally both of their substance and treasure, which wythout grudge he could not haue otherwise obteyned. But here I will not let passe a pretie conceyt that happened in thys gathering, in the which you shall not onely note the humilitie of a king, but moze the phantasie of a woman. King Edward had called before him a Widow, much abounding in substance, and no lesse growen in yeres, of whom he merily demaunded what shee gladly would geue him towarde hys great charges? By my truth quoth she, for thy louely countenance thou shalt haue euen. xx. pound, the king looking scarce for the halfe of that summe, thanked her and louingly kyst her, whether the flauoz of his breath did so comfort her stomack, or she esteemed the kisse of a king, so precious a iewel, shee swore incontynently that he should haue. xx. pounde moze, which she with the same will payde that she offered it. The king wylling to shewe that thys benefite was to him much acceptable, and not woorthy to be put in obliuion, called this graunt of money a beneuolence, notwithstanding that many with grudge and maleuolence gaue great summes toward that new found beneuolence. But the blessing of suche gentle fashions toward them, with friendly prayer of their assistance in his necessitie, so tempted them that they could no other wise doe, but frankly and freely yeelde and geue hym a reasonable ayde.

And here I finde noted that Doctor Woodlarke, Prouost of the kings College in Cambridge, did at this time builde Katheryn Hall in Cambridge.

When all things conuenient for such an enterprise were in a readinesse. King Edward with his armye went to Douer, where he founde fine hundred shippes and Hoyes, readie to transport him and his armie ouer the sea. And so he himselfe with his nobilitie warlikely accompanied, passed ouer betwene Douer and Calice, the fourth day of July, and landed at Calice wyth great triumph, his armie, horses, and munitions of warre scarce passed ouer in. xx. dayes (whome the French men bragged shoulde haue bene taken if they had well considered the chaunce before, as they knew it after.) When king Edward with all his armye royall, was without any trouble landed, and in suertie, he caused euery man according to his degree, to be ordered and lodged. This armie by the wyting of Comines, was the fayrest and the strongest armie that passed out of Englande into Fraunce manye yeres before, for the men were so well armed, and so surely in all things appointed, and prouided, that the French nacion were not onely amased to behold them, but much moze praysed them, and there order. In this armye, were. xx. C. men of armes, well horsed, of the which the most part were barbed and richlye trapped, after the most Galiarde fashion, hauing manye horses decked in one luyte. There were farther. xx. M. Archers, bearyng bowes & arrowes, of the which a great part were on horseback. There were also, a great number of fightyng men, and other, as well to set by tents & Pavillions (where of the Englishmen had great plenty) as to serue their artillery & to enclose their campe, or other wise to labor. And in all this army there was not one page.

The King of Englande was at his arriual highlye displeased with the Duke of Burgoyne, which in the worde of a Prince, promised him to meete him at his landyng with two. M. men of armes, and light horsemen, besyde

Rrr. j.

a great

A mercy note.

A beneuolence

1474  
14King Edward passeth  
ouer with an  
armie into  
Fraunce.A great  
armie.



The Duke  
of Burgoyne  
besiegeth the  
towne of  
Auyce.

a great number of Launcelknightes, and Halberders, and that he would haue begonne the warre thre moneths befoze the kings transporting, the more to bere and greue the French king, and to cause him to seeke his wittes. The Duke of Burgoyne at this season, laye at seerge befoze the strong towne of Auyce, with a puissant army, against whome were of Auyce assembled the Emperoz Frederike, and almost the whole Empire, for the rescue of the towne, to whome the king of Englande sent the Lorde Scales in post, requirynge him to leaue his boyde seerge befoze the strong towne of Auyce, and to returne in all haste with his people and armie to make warre in Fraunce, according to his promise, and othe, declaryng farther that the time passed and the Sommer would be lost, with this charge the Lord Scales departed in all haste toward the Duke, whom we will leaue, ridyng towarde Auyce for a while.

O Fraunce, Fraunce, how much art thou bound to laude and prayse thy Sauour, for thy deliuerance, in the time of thy affliction. For if God had not permitted the cankered hart of the Duke, to be indurate, nor his weake brain to be bered, nor yet his ambitious affection to be enflamed, so that he with all his power had ioyned with the army of Englande on the one side, hauing on the other side, the Duke of Britaine with his power: These thre princes had bene like to haue made Fraunce, either to bow, or to breake.

King Edward  
sendeth  
a letter of de-  
fiance vnto  
the French  
king.

Before king Edward departed from Douer, he sent to the French king an officer of armes (whome Comines vntrelye calleth Garter bozne in Normandy, for the roome of Garter was neuer geuen to no straunger) which herault deliuered to the French king with all due reuerence, a letter of defiance, both for the stile and the penning excellently endited, which the Frenchmen would scant beleue to be framed by an Englishman. The letter required the French king, to render to the king of Englande, the realme of Fraunce to him of right, and by lineall enheritance, appertaining, and belonging, to the intent that he might put agayne the church, the Nobilitie, and the commons, into their auncient estates, and liberties, and to disburden, and exonerate them of the great charges, trauailes, & labors, that they nowe were in. And in case that he did refuse so to doe, then he dyd protest the harme that should ensue, in the forme and maner, that in such a case is requisite, and accustomed to be done. King Lewys red the letter secretly to himselfe, and after all alone in a great study withdrew himselfe into his warderobe, and sending for the English Herault, sayde to him, sye, I knowe, and well wot, that the king of Englande your maister, is neither descended in these partes of his owne free mocion, nor yet of vs required, but onely entised and prouoked by the Duke of Burgoyne, & somewhat enforced by the commons of his realme. But nowe you may see that the season of the yere passeth, and the Duke of Burgoyne is in pooze estate, returning from Auyce all most discomforted. The Constable also, with whome the king your soueraigne Lorde, I am sure hath some intelligence, for fauour that your mayster hath married hys Dece, is not so sure a friend as he is taken for, and if all the worlde knewe how I haue promoted him, and what I haue done for him, they would little thinke, that he would so vntrely handle me as he doth, for I assure you, he is a deepe dissimuler, and in continuall dissimulation entendeth to lead his lyfe, enter tayning all men for his awne profite. And although the king your  
maister

maister be vnshure of all his other promises, yet of one thing he shall be sure, that is, he shall be euer dissimuled withall, & therefore I saye to you, and not to your maister, that he were better haue a peace with an olde enemye, then the promises and familiaritie of a newe dissimuling friend, which peace most pleaseth God, and is the thing that I most doe desyre. When he had sayde, he gaue to the Herault thre hundred Crownes, promising him a thousande crownes, if any good appointment came to passe. The Herault being more couetous of the crownes, then secret, according to the dutie of his office, promised to doe all things that in him laye, not doubting but that the king hys maister would be conformable to any reasonable offer, aduysing the French king (after king Edward were once landed) to send hym a Herault, to fetch a saueconduyt and pasport, for such as should labor and trauaile in that treatie. And that the sayde Herault should first resort to the Lord Standley, or to the Lorde Haward, for the conducting of him to the kings presence, when the Herault should departe, the king gaue him a peece of Crimosen velvet of .xxx. yardes long, commaunding and straightly charging, that no man should be so hardie once to commen with hym, but to let him passe in all gentle fashion. When the Herault was gone, king Lewys calling to hym, vij. or. viij. of his familiers, caused the letter to be red, of the which he was but a little afrayd and lesse abashed, considering the English Herault had shewed hym playnely how to enter into the port of the treatie, and in maner howe to gayne and conquer the fortreffe, of which information he was not a little ioyous, and wisely and secretly according to the same, when he saw his time, he prosecuted his purpose. In this very season, the Lorde Scales came to the Duke of Burgoyne befoze Auyce, accompting to hym his message, as he was commaunded. The Duke of Burgoyne, being so sore set to conquer the towne of Auyce, answered the Lorde Scales, that his honor was lost, and shame should be spoken of him throught all christendome, if he should raise his fieelde and breake his siege, but he hoped shortly to gayne the towne, and then with triumphant victorie, to come to ayde king Edward with hys whole army: with this answer the Lorde Scales departed, which onely answer was commen without any other augmentation, to all such as king Edward sent, to haue the Duke to kepe hys promise. What a folly was thys in Duke Charles, to besiege a towne impregnable, even at the same time when the English men at his request had passed the sea, which thing all the time of his regiment, he had both trauailed in, and sore required, and neuer could compasse till thys season, and also all things being well disposed for his purpose, both in Britayne & in other places, except he more regarded to conquer a newe towne, then to defend all hys olde possessions and seigniories. But shortly after by the Byshop of Romes aucthoritie, he left Auyce vnto the French, but leeing a great number of hys people, and the remnaunt he sent into Lozayne and Barrois, there to lye and trouble Duke Keyner of Lozayne, which a little befoze had defied him, lying befoze Auyce. And he himselfe wyth a small company came to king Edward befoze Calice, wyth whome king Edward at the first comming began somewhat to be grieved, laying to hys charge that at hys mocion, request, and desyre, he with all hys armie had passed the Seas onely to the intent wyth mortall warre, to plague and scourge the proude realme of Fraunce. And that he leauing all things  
Rrr. ij. (which)



(which should molest or trouble the French king) a part, applied himselfe to matters of Lozayne, and externe Nations, more then to reuenge the open iniuries to hym done by hys neighbour the French king. The Duke excused himselfe wth ieoparding the losse of hys honoz, if he had returned from Auyce, and also that of necessitie, he was compelled to leaue his armie in Lozayne, to be reuenged ouer Duke Reyner, which had him before Auyce with spitefull wordes and rayling termes defied and detested: affirming farther, that nowe in the beginning with a small companie, a great enterpryse might be gayned. In proufe whereof he deliuered to the king letters of credence, sent from the Constable of Fraunce, which wyllled the king to geue credite and perfite fayth to the Duke, in making relation of such secrets as were to him geuen in charge to declare to the kinges aboue person. First he shewed that although the Constable had promised to the king and the Duke, to render hp to them the towne of Saint Quintines, yet it had not come to so good effect, if it had bene yeilded, the Duke beyng in Germany, as it now shall, the King and the Duke being both personally present, at the deliuerance. Wherefore he exhorted the king to set forwarde, and to display hys Banner, and to set forth his standard. And so by hys moction, the king accompanied wth the Duke, hys armie departed out of Calice, and passed by Boleyne to Perone, where the Englishe men thought themselves of the Duke, more lyke enemies then friendes to be enterteyned, for at the gates entred but a fewe that were appointed, the remnant lodged in the fieldes, better purueyed of their aboue, then of the Dukes prouision.

The king of England thinking surely that the Constable ment all truth, and the sooner endured to that credence, because the Constable was great Uncle to the Quene hys wyfe, where in very deede, he nothing lesse minded then trouth, remoued hys Campe from Peron, the Duke of Burgoyne beyng in hys armie, and marched towarde Saint Quintines: certayne Englishe men ranne before the towne, against whose comming they thought that the belles should haue bene rong, and the gates set open. But when they approached the towne, the artillarie began to shote, and they of the towne came out both on foote and horseback, and skirmished with the Englishe men, of which two or thre were slayne. This welcome seemed very straunge to king Edward, pondering together yester dayes promise, and thys dayes doing. The Duke would not that the king should desist from his purpose, because the towne was not yeilded at the sight of a handfull of people, which thing he sayde, although the Constable would gladly haue done, at the first, yet he would haue a couler to doe it, as though it should appere that he did it by very compulsion and force: and therefore if the King would make but semblance to besiege the towne, he would warrant, that incontinent it should be rendred. The king of England perceyuing that he was deluded in his first enterpryse, thought it more surer to heare the sayre wordes of the Constable, and the Duke, then to geue credite to their vntrue and deceptfull doings. The Englishe men returned to their campe, verie yll content, murmuring against the Constable, calling him Traytor, periured and vntrue Gentleman. Beside thys anger, there came the next day another cossep, that smarted a little sozer, for Duke Charles of Burgoyne, by whose meanes king Edward had taken vpon him thys warre, either perceyued that all the Constables

The Constable of France, a deepe dissembler.

Constables promises were but faire sunne shynng, sweetely spoken, and soverly performed, or else he sawe that he himselfe lacked men or money, to proceede farther with King Edward in his iorney: tooke his leaue sodainely of the king of Englande, sayng that he must needes visite, and see his armie in Bercoys, promising shortly with all puyssaunce to returne agayne to the great aduantage and commoditie of them both, and so in haste departed.

This departyng was both displeasent and straunge to the king of England, consideryng that in hope to haue the Duke his continuall fellow in armes, and to haue his counsaile in the order of his people (which of late had not frequented the warre of Fraunce, nor yet perfectly knewe the force, the agilitie and the maner of the French nation) had passed the Seas, rayfed hys Standard, and by the Dukes procurement entred into the lande of his enemies, and nowe to be left alone without guyde or leader, without ayde or succoz, in the middle of his foes, he could no lesse thinke, but that the Duke neuer bled him like a Prince, nor yet kept his promise like a true man, which vnstable & dissimuling working, caused, yea, & rather enforced king Edward both to thinke that he neuer thought, and to do that he neuer intended to doe. The Englishe men soze murmured agaynst the Constable, & no lesse against the Duke, sayng they determined neuer to geue confidence to y<sup>e</sup> Constables wordes, and greatly doubted, whether they might geue any credite to the Dukes promise. Thus lay the Englishe men in the fieldes, when the colde nightes began to wax long, without any gaine of conquest, which caused the common people, which be not alwayes content with hardnesse, rather to desire to turne homewarde, then to proceede any dayes iourney forwarde. The French king which was both willie and wittie (and especially for his awne purpose) knewe by his espials, the vntrue refusall made by the Constable, the vnfriendly departyng of the Duke of Burgoyne, and the dayly murmuring of the Englishe men, agaynst them both: wherefore he thought now, that it was very expedient, to folow the counsaile of the Englishe Herault, in sendyng for a safeconduite, for metyng of Ambassadors, to comon of a treatie, if it might be well compassed. But yet to auoyde all doubttes, he rayfed an armie, and the more he perceyued the power of his enemies to encrease, the more he studied how by powet to resist them, and ouer that armie he made Capitaine, Monsire Robert de Estoteuile, a valiant man, whome, he sent into Arthoys, to defende the frontiers there, agaynst the king of Englandes entrie and inuasions: and he himselfe tarped still at Senlis. The French king beyng thus priuily desirous of peace, although he outwardly shewed the countenance of Mars: meanyng quietnesse, and settyng foorth warre, caused a barlet to be suborned, in a cote armure of Fraunce (which for haste, was made of a Trompet banner) because king Lewys was not much desirous, nor greatly passed on honour, and seldome had in his Court, eyther officer of Armes or Trompet: which barlet was wel encouraged, and no lesse instructed, howe to do his message (which was deliuered to him in wytyng) both with a bolde countenance, and a sober demeanure. This counterfette Herault, although he was but a barlet in dede, was both wittie and well spoken, and so rode in sad maner, nere to the Englishe armie, and there put on his cote of Armes. The Englishe outscourers perceyuing by his cote, that he was an officer of Armes, gently saluted him, and enquired of him, whether



ther his iourney lay: he sadly answered, that his message was from the French king, to the King of Englande. Then was he conueyed to the tent, where the Lord Haward, and the Lord Stanley, with other were at dinner, where he was highly enterteyned, and no lesse welcomed. And after dinner, he was brought before the King, in whose presence, with a bolde audacitie, and no fearefull speche, he declared first his credence, because he was an officer of Armes, (to whome, credite by the law of all nacions ought to be geuen) and secondarily, he published the thinges, to him geuen in charge and commaundement, sayng.

Right high and mightie Prince, if your excellent wisedome did perfectly knowe: what inward affection, and feruent desyre, the King my Master hath alwayes had, to haue a perfect peace, a sure bunitie, betweene your noble person, and your Realme, and his honourable personage, and his Dominions, you would (and for truthes sake) should confesse & say, that neuer Christian Prince, more thirsted for an amitie, to the entent that the subiects of both the Realmes, quietly liuyng vnder two Princes, confederate and combined together, in an indissoluble confederacie and league, may mutually embrace eche other in their heartes, and frequent eche others Princes, territories, and Dominions, with their Marchandises and wares: And finally, the one to liue with the other, as friend with friend, and brother with brother, in continuall lone, rest, and tranquillitie. And for his part he doth affirme and saye, that sith he receyued first the Crowne of his Kingdome, he neuer attempted nor yet once imagined, any warre, or thing preiudiciall towarde your royall person, your realme, or your people. If you peradventure will say, that he supported, and mainteyned the Erie of Warwicke, agaynst your Maestie, he surely that doth and will denie: For he ayded him agaynst the Duke of Burgoyne, whom, he knewe not onely to be his extreme enemy, but also to lay in waite, both by sea and lande, eyther to take him, or bitterly to destroye him. Which Duke of Burgoyne, onely for his awne cause, hath excited and sollicited your highnesse, to come ouer the troublous Seas, to the entent to cause (yea, in maner to compell) the King my maister, to condescend to suche treatie and appoyntment, as should be to his onely profite, and neyther to your honour, nor yet to your gaine. For if he and such other, as daily flattered him for their peculiar profites, (as he had many in dede, that daily sucked at his elbow) had once obeyned the thing, that they breathed for, all your affaires were put in oblivion, and left at large for them, or their assistance, euen as they be at this day. Hath not the Duke of Burgoyne caused you, first to come into Fraunce: after to set forwarde your armie, and in conclusion, for lacke of his promise, to leese the fayre season of the yere, and to lye in the fieldes in Winter: which warre if it continue, shall neyther be profitable to you, nor yet to your nobilitie: And finally to both the Realmes, and especially to Marchant men, shall bring both miserie, pouertie, and calamitie. Came the Duke of Burgoyne from Ruce to Calice, onely to visite you: Rode he all that poste haste, onely to blinde you: Returned he backe into Lozeyn againe for any cause, but onely to leaue you desolate, and to abandon you: Did he or the Constable kepe any one promise with you: Why do you then beleue, and yet still trust them, in whom you neuer founde fayth nor fidelitie: But if God will it so ordaine, that you and my Master, may ioyne in a league and amitie,

tie, I dare both say and swere, that the fine Steele neuer cleued faster to the Adamant Stone, than he will strike and claspe with you, both in welth and wo, in prosperitie and aduersitie: And if it shall please you, to harken to any reasonable treatie, I beyng a poore man, shall on teopardie of my lyfe (which is my chieftest treasure) vnder take, that this communication shall sozt, and come to such an effect, that both you and your Nobilitie, shall be glad and reioyce, and your Commons shall be contented and pleased, and they that haue deceyued you, shall be both abashed and ashamed: Most humbly beseechynge your highnesse, if your pleasure shall encline this waye, that I may haue a sure safeconduyte, for one hundred hozes, for such personages as the King my Master shall sende to you, with farther intimation of his minde & purpose. And if your pleasure shall be, to haue the communication in any place, indifferent betwene both armies, then I shall warrant you, a like safeconduit for your men, as you do send for ours.

When he had accomplished his message and instructions, the King of England and his counsaill, highly commended his audacitie, his tongue, and his sobernesse, geuyng to him in rewarde, a faire gylt cuppe, with a hundred aungelles: Deliuering him a safeconduit, according to his request, and demaunde, with the which, he with speede departed, hauyng with him an English Herault, to bryng a like safeconduite, from the French king. After both the Princes had diligently consulted on this matter, and that the safeconduites, were deliuered on both partes. The Ambassadors mette at a vilage beside Amias, where were sent by the king of Englande, the Lorde Hawarde, sir Thomas Sentliger, Doctor Horton, after Chaunceler of Englande, and Cardinall. For the French king were sent, the Bastard of Burbon Admirall of Fraunce, the Lorde of saint Pierre, the Bpshop of Eureux called Heberge.

It may of some be not a litle maruailed at, why the French king thus labored, and sought for peace, and did make so humble, and large offers as he did: But if they consider in what case, the realme of Fraunce stode in at that tyme, hauyng the king of England, the Duke of Burgoyne, the Duke of Britaine, their enemies, and all furnished to set vpon them at one instaunt: They may say, that the French king was both wise and circumspect, to humble himselfe for auantage, or else if God had not holpen: the realme of Fraunce had bene troubled, and tossed in great teoperdie, and dangerous extremitye. The Ambassadors met at the place appoynted, the English men demaunded, the whole realme of Fraunce, or at the least Normandie, and whole Aquitaine, the allegations were well proued by the Englishmen, and pollytically defended by the French men, so that with argumentes, without conclusion the day passed, and the Commissioners departed, and made relation to their Masters. The French king and his counsaill, woulde in no wyse consent, that the king of Englande, should haue anye part, or parcell of lande, within the realme of Fraunce: but rather fully determined, to put himselfe, & his whole realme in hazarde, and aduenture: so loth, yea moze aferde, then loth, he was to haue the Englishmen, to be his next neighbors. The Commissioners at the next meting, concluded & agreed vpon certayne articles, which were by both the Princes, accepted and allowed. It was couenanted and agreed, that the French king should pay to the king of Englande without delaye



by the king  
of England  
& the French  
king.

laye. lxxv. M. Crownes of the sunne, & yerely fiftie M. Crownes to be payd at London, during king Edwardes life. And farther it was agreed, that Charles the Dolphin, shoulde marry the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to king Edwarde, and they two to haue for the maintenaunce of their estates, the whole Duchy of Guyen, or else fiftie Thousande Crownes, yerely to be paid within the towre of London, by the space of .ix. yeres: and at the ende of the sayde terme, the Dolphin and his Dolphines, peaceably to enioye the whole Duchie of Guyen, and of that charge the French king against the king of Englande, then to be cleerely exonerate. And further, it was agreed and appointed, that the two Princes, both for the increase of loue, and for the continuance of amitye shoulde enteruew eche other, in some place most expedient, and mete, for so great a purpose: and after their metyng eche of them to take a corporall othe, in presence of the other. This peace to endure .ix. yeres betwene both the realmes, and inuolably to obserue and kepe all thinges, concluded, agreed, and appoynted. And on the king of Englandes part, were comprised as alyes in the league, the Dukes of Burgoyne, and Briteyne, if they woulde assent. And that after the whole summe aforesayde, was to king Edwarde payed: he shoulde leaue in hostage the Lorde Haward, and sir John Chepney maister of his hores, till he with all his armie, was passed ouer the sea. This peace much reioyced the French king, to whome, nothing could be either more pleasaunt, or more acceptable, then to haue the Englishmen in short space (how shortly he cared not) cleerly auoyded, and transported out of his Realme: imaginynge euer that by their tariyng, they would so like the wholesome and sweete ayre of his fruitfull Countrie, that a great number would be continually sicke and bered till they returned: wherefore, to rid them with all hastie speede, he borrowed the saide summe of. lxxv. M. Crownes, of euery man that might lend a porcion.

King Edward likewise, although he was of puyssaunce strong enough, to atchieue a great enterprize on his enemies, and farther encouraged, because he was renoumed for the famous actes, by him befoze time brought to passe, in so many battayles: Desiring also, rather to haue warre, with the frenche nacion beyng the olde and auncient enemye, to the English name and blood: yet when he called to his remembrance, that the ciuil warre had so consumed and wasted his substaunce and treasure, that if bzgent necessitie should requyre, he were of scant abilitie to furnishe and set forth a new army: knowyng his treasure at home, to be so boyde and faynt, that it was not able long to wage his Souldiours, thought it both reasonable and profitable, to obey to necessitie, and to abstaine from battaile, seyng both honourable offers was to him offered, and agreementes of auantage to him morioned: Considering chiefly beside all this, that neyther the Duke of Burgoyne, nor the Constable of Fraunce, did, nor would obserue or perforce the promises by them made and swozne. Whereupon he and the most of his counsaile agreed to this conclusion and concord. But the Duke of Gloucester and other, to whome the frenche nacion, was more odious then a tode, whose swordes thyrted for frenche blood, detested, abhorred, and cryed out on this peace, sayng: that all their trauaile, paine, and expences, were to their shame losse and employed, and nothing gayned, but a continuall mocke, and dayly derision of the French king, and all his Minions. This imagination toke effect

without

without delay, for a Gentleman of the Frenche Kinges Chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demaund of an Englishman, how many battayles king Edward had banquished, and he answered nine: wherein he himselfe personally had bene. A great honoz sayd the Frenche man: But I pray you, quod he, similyng: how many hath he lost: the English man perceuyng what he ment, sayd: one which you by pollicie and by no strength haue caused him to leese. Well sayd the French man, you may ponder in a payze of Ballance, the gaine of the nine gotten battayles, and the rebuke of this one in this manner lost: for I tell you, that we haue this sayng, the force of England hath, and doth surmount the force of Fraunce: but the engenious wit of the French men, excell the dull bzaynes of Englishmen. For in all battayles you haue bene the gayners, but in leagues and treaties, our wittes haue made you losers: so that you maye content your selues, with the losse in treaties, for the spoyle that you gat in warres and battayles. This communication was reported to the French king, which priuily sent for the English man (as saith Hall) to supper, and not onely made him good cheere, but also gaue him a thousand Crownes, to prayse the peace, and to helpe to maintaine the same: yet neuerthelesse, he beyng not a little moued with these bragges, declared all the communication to the Duke of Gloucester, which swore, that he would neuer haue set foote out of England, if he had not thought to haue made the frenchemen, once to haue assayed the strength and puissaunce of the English men: But whatsoeuer he thought, all thinges were transformed into another kinde, then he could imagine.

The Duke of Burgoyne beyng enformed, that there was a peace entreating betwene the two kings: came in no small hast from Luxenborough onely accompanied wyth sixtene hores, into the king of Englandes lodgyng, whereof the king being not a litle abashed, seyng both his sodaine coming, and his fierce countenance, like one that woulde rather bite than whyne, demaunded of him the cause, of his so sodaine coming. The Duke sharply answered, to knowe whether he had, eyther entred into any communication, or onely had absolutely concluded a peace, betwene the French king and him. King Edward declared, how that for sondry, and diuerse great and bzgent causes, touching aswell the vniuersall publique wealth, of the whole Christianitie as their owne priuate commoditie, and the quietnesse of their realmes, he and the French king had concluded a peace and amitie, for terme of. ix. yeres, in the which were comprised, as felowes and friendes, both he and the Duke of Britayne, requiring him to condescende, and agree to the same. Oh Lorde, quoth the Duke of Burgoyne, haue you thus done in dede: haue you passed the seas, entered into Fraunce, and without killing of a poore sie, or burnyng of a siely shepe cote, haue taken a shamefull truce: did your noble auncester, king Edwarde the thirde, euer make armie into Fraunce (as he made many) in the which he did none either gayne victory in battaile, or profite in conquering, Cities, Townes, Countreys. That victorious Prince, as dere kinne to mee, as to you king Henry the fift, I meane whose blood you haue, eyther rightfully or wrongfully, God knoweth, exsirate and destroyed, with a small puissaunce entred into Fraunce, conquered whole Normandy, and not alonly conquered it, but peaceably kept it, and neuer woulde either common, or agree to anye league, till he had the whole

realme



realme of Fraunce offered him, and was thereof made Regent and heire apparant, & you without any thing doyng, or any honoz, or profit gainyng, haue condiscended to a peace, both as honozable, and as profitable to you, as a Pomegranat, and not so holesome as a Pomegranat: think you that I either moued you, or once entised you, to take this iorney for my peculiar aduantage, or commodity (which of my power am able, to reuenge mine owne causes, without helpe of other) but onely to haue you recouer, your olde rightes, and possessions, which were from you both vniustlye, and wzongfullye withholden. And to the entent that you shall know, that I haue no neede of your ayde, I will neyther enter into your league, nor take truce with the French King, till you be passed the sea, and haue bene there thzee monethes. When Duke Charles had sayde, he furiously thzew downe his Chayze, and would haue departed. But the king him stayed and sayde: Brother Charles, sith you haue spoken at leysure, what you would, you must and shall heere again what you would not: And first, as concernyng our entrie into Fraunce, no man liuyng knoweth that occasion, neither so well, nor hath cause halfe so wel to remember it as you: For if you be not to forgetfull, ye remember howe the Frenche king for all your power, tooke from you the faire towne of Amias, and the strong Pile of Saint Quintines, with diuers other townes, which you neither durst, nor yet were able, either to rescue or defende. Sith which time, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your friends, yea, of your priuie Chamber, and seeret counsaile (by whom all your secretes be to him reueled and made open) you knowe or haue better cause to remember, and not to forget them. And when you determined, to besiege the towne of Reuse, you thought your selfe, in a great doubt, whether you should leese more at home, by your absence (the Frenche King dreamyng, and waityng like a Fox for his pray) or else gaine more in Germanie, by your power and presence, and to kepe the Wolfe from the folde, that is the French King, from your Castels and Dominions, was the chiefe and principall cause, why you so faire prayed me, and so soze laboured and entised me to passe ouer the sea, promisyng Mountaynes of Golde, which turned into snowe, and wasted into water, boastyng that ye would send horsmen and footemen, and yet becomyng neither Lackey nor Page. If we had made our enterprize for our selfe solye, and in our owne quarell, thinke you that we would haue tarped your comyng: Nay, nay, you should haue well knowne, if we had entended a conquest, that we would haue so strongly inuaded, and set on the Realme of Fraunce, that your Countries of Flaunders, and Brabant, should haue had cause enough to wonder at, trustyng that, that which wee had gotten, we would haue kept as well as any of our auncestours haue done: But because the very occasion of the warre was yours, and that you did not prosecute the same, the French King, which neuer offended me nor my subiectes (except in mainteinyng the Cite of Warwicke, for the displeasure that you bare him agaynst me) offered me, beyng destitute of all your succoz and ayde, both honozable and honest condicions of peace, which offers I was in maner enforced by very reason to accept, and so haue concluded a truce, which God willyng I will both kepe and obserue. God send you ioy, quod the Duke, and sodainly tooke his horse, and rode againe to Lurenborough. After this day the king and the Duke, neuer loued, and neuer sawe eche other, such is the ende  
of

of vntrustinesse and promise bzeakyng.

The Constable of Fraunce, tearing lest that by this conclusion he might be reputed of the French king vnttrue, as he had well deserued it: Wherefore he sent his confessor to King Edward, with letters of credence, requirng him hartely little to regarde the French kings wordes, and lesse to trust to his promise, affirming that the French king would no lenger kepe promise then king Edward were on that side of the sea: and rather then he should agree with the French king, for a small summe of money, he offered to lend him fiftie thousand crownes, with many other faire proffers. The king of England made answer that the truce was concluded, and that he would nothing chaunge, concerning the matter, and that if he had kept promise wyth hym, he would not haue made that appointment nor agreement.

Then was the Constable in maner on all sides in dispayze, but yet he wrote to the French king by his messengers, beseeching hym to geue no credite or beliefe to any tale tolde or sayned agaynst hym, without heering hys answer, affirming that the king had alwayes knowne hys truth and fidelitie towarde the crowne of Fraunce, and so should he still finde him tyll his dying daye, promisyng and warranting hym, if that it should stande with hys pleasure, that he would so compass the Duke of Burgoyne, that they two should vterly destroy the king of Englande and his armie or they returned.

The Counsaylers of the French king made answer, that their maister and the king of England were ioyned and confedered in a sure amitie: wherefore they would in no wise knowe or condiscend to any thing that might be prejudiciall, or once sounde to the detriment of the English men: But they sayde, that the king their maister much trusted the Constable, and that for his sake he would talke with them in his priuie Chamber. The French king before their entrie into his chamber, caused the Lorde of Countay seruant to the Duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the Lorde of Argenton, one of his priuie counsaile, to stand seeretly behinde a seeling or a hanging in his chamber, and he himselfe sat in a Chayze, directly before that place, so that whatsover were purposed to him, they standing behinde the cloth, might easely see and here the same. Lewys de Creuell and his felow entred into the Kings Chamber of nothing thinking lesse then of the spirites enclosed: they declared what payne their maister had taken for the French kings sake, to send, mooue, and entise the Duke of Burgoyne to leaue, and cleerly to forsake the king of Englande, which Duke they founde in suche a rage and furie against the English men, that at their request, he was not onely vterly determined to forsake and refuse their amitie, but also would sende out aduenturers and Launceknights, to rob and spoyle them in their returning. And in speaking these wordes (thinking surely much to please the king) the saide Lewys counterfeited the fashion and gesture of the Duke of Burgoyne, and began to stampe with his foote on the ground, and beate with hys fist on the table, swearing by Saint George that the King of Englande was not extracted of any noble house, but was a yomans sonne, and that when he was not worth one halfpenny, he was restored to hys kingdome, and made king onely by his ayde, reproouing and reuiling him with such yll wordes, and so shamefull termes, that all the hearers abhorred it. The French king sayning that he was thicke of hearing, caused him to reherse his sayng agayne,



gayne, which so counterfeyted the very gesture of the Dukes angry countenance and rozing boyce, that no man hath seene a better counterfayture or Player in any Comedie or Tragedie. The Lorde of Contay was soze displeased to see hys maister made a testing stock, but he kept all these things secret, tyll his returne to his master.

When the Bagiaunt was played, the king bad the messengers of the Constable, to haue him commended to hys brother their maister, and to declare to him that as newes rose and grewe, he would thereof aduertise him, and so gaue them licence to departe to their maister, who thought himselfe now to be in great suretie of his estate, when in deede he was neuer so nere his fall and perdition: Esteeming the Duke of Burgoyne to be hys assured friend, which hated him more then a Panyme, or a Turke, accompting also the French King to haue no yll suspicion in him, which neyther trusted nor yet beleued any worde, writing or message that was epyther wrytten or sent from him: Such ende hath all dissimulation, such fruite springeth of double dealing and craftie conueying: for if epyther the Constable had bene fapthfull to the King his maister, as of bounden duetic and allegeaunce he ought to be, or else had kept his promise, made to the king of Englande and Duke of Burgoyne, and had not dalyed and dissimuled with them, he had surely in his extremitie bene ayded, succoured and comforted of one of these thre at the last, where now he was of all thre forsaken, and yet not forsaken, but fought for, looked for, and watched for, not for his profite or promotion, but for his vndoing and destruction: Now let vs leaue of the Constable, and returne to the conclusion of the peace.

When all thinges were appointed, wrytten and established, the peace was proclaymed in both the campes, and the king of Englande, the soner to consumate the amitie by othe as it was agreed, came within halfe a league of Amias, where the french king was, which to the entent to obtayne the more fauor of the Englishmen, sent into their armie a hundred Cartes laden with Wyne, the best that might begotten. And farther, because the English men resorted to the towne of Amias, both for their pastime and busines, he ordayned at the very entrie of the gate of the towne, two great and long tables, to be set on euery side of the streate, where the Englishmen shoulde passe, and euery table was abundantly furnished with all sortes of delycate byand, and especially of such as woulde prouoke an appetite to drinke, there lacked no wine of no sorte, seruitours were readye to serue and minister all things necessary. And farther to accompany and familiarly to entertayne the English nation, at euery table were appointed fiue or sixe gentlemen, of the best companyons of the whole countrey, not onely to see them serued wythout lacking, but also to drinke and make good cheere, and keepe company with them, and euer as they entred into the towne, they were taken by the bydles and in maner enforced to drinke, wheresoeuer they came, they payde no money, but were set scot free, which there lasted thre or foure dayes, to the french kings cost, and in conclusion to hys no small vniquieting. For one day they entred into the towne of Amias. ix. M. English men well armed, so that no frenche man durst once forbid them to enter. Their occasion of entring into the towne was onely to refreshe them, and to buy things necessary for their busineses and affayres. When the french King was thereof enforced,

enforced, he was somewhat bered and more amased, fearing either the losse of his towne or hurt of his people: he sent to the English Capitaynes requiring them to withdraw their souldyers to their campe, the Capitaynes performed the kings desire, as much as in them lay, but if they sent out twenty, ten came back agayne, and brought more company with them. The french king sent Monsieur de Guye, Marshall of Fraunce, and other into the towne to see the Englishemens behauiour, they found some drinke, some singing, and some sleeping, so that they might perceyue, that they ment neyther deceit nor vntreuth: yet the french king which of hys nature was very suspicious, & especially towarde the English men, came to the gate of Amias, strongly accompanied, and caused thre hundred men of armes to be kept secretly in their Capitaynes houses, and other company he set on the Portall, where the English men entred, a small number God wot, to haue resisted the great companye of English men, if they had epyther intended any thing towarde the french king or his towne. The king of England was prouidly enforced of the french kings doabtfull imagination and vntreue suspicion: wherfore he sent worde to him, that he should make a proclamation, that no English man should enter into the towne vpon a paine. The french king made answer, that it neyther stood wyth hys honor, nor yet with any princely humanitie, that he should forbid his friends (as he called them) to take their pleasure in hys towne, but if it might please the king of Englande, to appoint certayne of the yomen of hys crowne, to stande at the gate, and to appoint, not onely who should enter, but also the number of them, he thought that this moderation should be both suretie and pleasure to both the parties. Which request the king of Englande wyth quick speede caused to be performed, to the great quietnesse of the french king and his counsaile, casting farther perilles then reason required.

You haue still in your remembrance, how an article of the treatie was, that the two princes should enteruiew, and meete in a place by both parties to be appointed. The king of Englande appointed the Lorde Haward, and sye Thomas Sentliger, and a Herault: for the french king were assigned the Lorde Bonchace, and the Lorde of Argenton. When they had bewed the ryuer, they agreed the most conuenient and surest place to be at Picquegny, on the water of Some thre leagues fro Amias. The towne standeth lowe, and the ryuer passeth through. On that syde the french King should come, the Countie laye and open, and so likewise the other part was very pleasant: but toward the riuer there was a caluise of two arrow shots in length, which was enuironed with marshes, surely it was a dangerous passage to carry a prince in a straunge realme, by such a strayte, if the french men had ment any fraude, but verily the king of Englande had so great a trust and confidence in the honor and promise of the french king and his nobilitie, that he would vpon their assuraunce haue aduentured farther then thys, if his will might haue bene performed. Then it was concluded by these foure commissioners, that a large bridle should be made over the ryuer of Some, in the middle of which bridle was made a great strög grate of timber, like to the grate where the Lyons be kept, the holes of which grate did extende into no longer quantitie, then that a man might easely put through hys arme, which bridle was made and covered wyth bozdes, onely to keepe of the weather,



that vnder the couerture, there might stande twelue persons on euery side of the grate, which extended from the one side of the bridge, euen directly to the other, so that there was no way for one prince to come to the other (as was in the grate, where John Duke of Burgoyne was slayne) and ouer the riner was onely one ferie Bote. When the bridge and all other things necessary were ended and performed for so great a purpose, and well and diligently beved on both the sides, there were appointed twelue noble personages to be attendant on euery prince to the barres, and foure Englishe men were assigned to stand with the French men on the bridge, to see their doing and behauiour, and likewise foure French men were limited to the English men for that same cause and pollicie. At the day appointed, which was the. xxiij. day of August, eche king approached the riner syde with his armie, so that eche armie might see other. The Frenchmen say and write, that the armie of the Englishe men was greater and much fairer then their battayle, but they excuse it (in thys case as they doe in all other) sayng that the fourth parte of their armie was lacking, you may allow their excuse if it please you. When the token of meeting by the shot of the Artillerie was knowen, the French king with twelue noble men entred the bridge, and came to the closure, with whome was John Duke of Bourbon, and the Cardinall hys brother, a prelate more meete for a Ladies Carpet, then for an Ecclesiasticall Pulpet, and ten other, amongst whom the Lord of Argenton was in like apparell, as the French king ware, for so was hys pleasure that day to haue him adourned. The king of England came all a long the causey that I haue spoken of well accompanied that he seemed well to be a king, and with hym was hys brother the Duke of Clarence, the Erle of Northumberland, the Bisshop of Ely his Chauncelour, the Lorde Hastings his Chamberlayne, and eyght other Lordes. King Edward and foure other were appareled in cloth of Golde frised, hauing on his bonet of black Veluet a floure deluce of Golde, set with very riche and orient stones, he was a goodly, sayre, and a bewtiful Prince, beginning a little to grow in fleshe, and when he approached neere the grate, he tooke of his Cap, and made a lowe and solempne obeysance: the French king made to him an humble reuerence, but after his fashion somewhat homely. King Lewys embrased king Edward through the barriers sayng: Cosyn you be right hartely welcome into these parties, assuring you that there is no man in the world that I haue more desired to see and speak with, then with you, and now lauded be almightie God, we be here met together for a good and godly purpose, whereof I doubt not, but that we shall haue cause to reioyse. The king of England him thanked and answered to hys wordes so soberly, so grauely, and so princely, that the French men there at not a little mised.

The Chauncelour of England made there a solempne oration, in laude and prayse of peace, concluding on a propherie, that sayde that at Pyrcuegny should be concluded a peace, both honorable and profitable to the realmes of England and Fraunce. The Chaunceler opened the letters of both their agreements to the treatie, demanding of them if they therewith were contented, they answered yea, then eche Prince layd his right hand on the Alfal, and hys left hande on the holy Crosse, and tooke there a solempne othe, to obserue and keepe the treatie of the truce for. ii. yeres concluded betwene them,

them, with all their confederates and allies comprised, mencioned and specified in the same, and farther to accomplish the marriage of their children, with all things thereon depending, according as it was agreed and concluded betwene their ambassadors: when the othe was taken and sworne, the French king sayde merily to King Edward, brother if you will take payne to come to Paris, you shall be feasted and entertayned wyth Ladies, and I shall appoint you the Cardinall of Bourbon for your confessor, which shall gladly asfoyle you of such finnes, if any be committed. The king of Englande tooke these wordes pleasauntly and thankefully, for he was informed that the Cardinall was a good companion, and a Chaplayne meete for suche a dallyng pastyme. When this communication was merily ended, the French king intending to shewe himselfe like a maister amongst his seruants, made all his companye to drawe backe from him, meaning to common with the king of Englande secretly, the Englishe men withdrew them without any commaundement, then the two kinges commoned alone secretly, I thinke not to the profite of the Constable of Fraunce. The French king demanded of King Edward, whether the Duke of Burgoyne would accept the truce, King Edward answered that he would once agayne make an offer, and then by on the refusall, he woulde referre and report the truth to him. Then king Lewys began to speake of the Duke of Britayne, whome he would sayne haue excepted out of the league. To whom the king of England answered: Brother I require you to moue no warre to the Duke of Britayne, for on my fidelity, in the time of my neede and aduersitie, I neuer found a more friendlye, sure and stedfast louer then he.

Then king Lewys called his company againe, and with most lowly and amiable comendations, toke his leaue of the king of England, speaking certain friendly wordes to euery Englishman. King Edward doying likewise to the Frenchmen, they both at one tyme departed from the barriers and mounted on horse backe, and departed the French kyng to Amias, and King Edward to his army, to whome was sent out of the French kings house all things necessary for a Prince, in so much that neither Torchis nor Torchettes lacked vnent. When the French king was departed from Picquegny, he called to him the Lord of Argenton, sayng, by the peace of God, the king of England is an amorous and a faire prince, he at the first beck would gladly see Paris, where he might fortune to fynde such pleasaunt or talkatue Dames, which with sayre wordes, and pleasaunt pastimes might allure him to their fantasies, that it might breede an occasion in him to come ouer the sea agayne, which I woulde not gladly see, for his progenitors haue bene to long and to often both in Paris and Normandy (on this side the sea) therefore I loue neither his sight, nor his companye, but when he is at home, I loue him as my brother, and take him as my friende.

The French king after this departyng, sore desirous to make warre on the Duke of Britayne, which he could not do, except he were left out of the treatie: wherefore he sent the Lorde Bouchage, and the Lord of S. Pierre, to the king of England, entreatyng him by all wayes and mocions possible, to leaue the Duke of Briteyn for his alie, and not to haue him comprehended in the league: the king of England heeryng them so seriously, and so feruently speake agaynst the Duke of Briteyne, with an earnest countenance answered,

Sll. ii.

swered,



swered, sayng: My Lordes I assure you, if I were peaceably at home in my realme, yet for the defence of the Duke of Briteyne and his Countrey, I woulde passe the Seas againe, agaynst all them that either woulde doe hym iniurie, or make warre vpon him. The French Lordes nothing farther sayng, much maruelled why the king of Englande, so surely claue to the Duke of Briteynes partie: But they knewe not (or else at the least remembered not) that Henry Erle of Richmond, was within the power and Dominion of the Duke of Briteyne, whom king Edwardes phantasie ever gaue him, would make once a title to the Crowne of England, as next heire to the house of Lancaster: For he knewe well, that if the Duke of Briteyne, would transport him into England, where he had both kinnsfolke and friends, with neuer so small an ayde (yea, although it were but a shadowe of an armie) then were he enforced, newly to begin againe a conquest, as though he had neuer wonne the Crowne, nor obteyned the possession of the Realme, which was the very cause, why he stakke so soze on the Duke of Briteynes part. The same night the Lordes returned to Amias, and reported to their Maister king Edwardes aunswere, which therewith, was not the best pleased, but pleasure or displeasure, there was no remedie, but to dissimule the matter. This same night also, there came the Lord Haward, and two other of the king of Englandes Counsaile (which had bene helpers forwarde of the peace) to the frenche king to suppur. The Lord Haward sayde to the frenche king, secretly in his eare, that if it stode with his pleasure, he coulde perswade the king of England, to come to Amias, yea, peradventure as farre as Paris, familiarly and friendly to solace himselfe with him, as his trusty friend and faythfull brother. The frenche king, to whom this mocion was nothing pleasaunt, callyng for water, washed and rose without any answere makyng: but he sayde to one of his Counsaile, that he imagined in his awne conceipt, that this request would be made: the Englishe men began againe, to conuision of that matter, the frenche men pollitiquely bzake their communication, sayng: that the king with all speede must marche forward, agaynst the Duke of Burgoyne. Although this mocion seemed, onely for to encrease loue, and continuall amitie betwene the Princes, yet the Frenchmen hauyng in their perfite remembrance, the innumerable dammages & hurtes, which they of late dayes had susteyned by the Englishe nacion: wherby cotinually hatred encreased, agaynst him in fraunce, thought by pollicie and wisdom, with faire wordes, and friendly countenaunce, to put by this request, and to mocion them rather, to depart homeward, then to pricke them forward to Paris. This peace was sayde to be made, onely by the holy Ghost, because that on the day of meeting, a white Doue sat on the berie top of the king of Englandes Tent: whether she sat there to drie her, or came thether as a token geuen by God, I referre it to your iudgement. At this treatie and meeting, was not the Duke of Glocester, nor other Lordes, which were not content with this truce, but the Duke came afterwarde to Amias, with diuers other Lordes of England, to the frenche king, which both highly feasted them, and also presented them with plate and horses, well garnished. King Lewys consideryng, what gaine the Englishe men had gotten, by makyng warre in fraunce, and what miserie, and what pouertie, the French nacion had suffered, by reason of the sayd warres, determined clerely, rather to pac-

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fic and enterteine the Englishe nacion, by fayre wordes, and great rewarde, (although it were to his great charge) then by to muche hardinesse, to put himselfe, his nobilitie, and realme, in a hazarde, by geuing them battaile, as his predecessors, had vnwisely done at Doyters, and at Agincort: wherfore, to buy peace, he graunted to king Edward, for a yerely tribute fiftie thousand Crownes, as is mencioned before, to be payde at London, which accompting a Crowne at foure shillings, amounteth to ten thousande pounde. And to haue the fauor and good will, of his chiefe counsayloz, he gaue great pensions, amountyng to the somme of .xvi. thousand Crownes a yere, that is to say: to his Chaunceloz, to the Lorde Hastynge, his chiefe Chamberleyn, a man of no lesse wit, then vertue, and of great aucthoritie with his Maister, and that not without a cause: For he had aswell in time of aduersitie, as in the faire flatteryng worlde, well and truly serued him, and to the Lorde Hawarde, to sir Thomas Mountgomerie, to sir Thomas Sentliger, to sir John Cheuney, maister of the kinges horses, to the Marques Dorset, sonne to the Queene, and diuers other, he gaue great and liberall rewarde, to the entent to kepe himselfe, in amitie with England, while he waime and obteyned his purpose and desire in other places.

These persons had geuen to them great giftes, beside yerely pensions: For the lord of Argenton his Counsaile, affirmeth of his awne knowlege, that the lord Haward, had in lesse then the terme of two yeres, for rewarde in money and plate, .xxiiij. M. Crownes, & at the time of his meeting, he gaue to the Lorde Hastynge, the kinges chiefe Chamberlaine, as the Frenchmen write, a hundreth Markes of siluer made in Plate, whereof euery Marke is .viiij. ounces sterlyng: but the Englishe writers affirme, that he gaue the said Lorde Hastynge, .xxiiij. dosen boules, that is to say, .xii. dosen gylte, and .xii. dosen vngilte, euery Bolle wayyng .xviij. nobles, which gift, either betokened in him, a great liberall nature, or else a great and especial confidence, that he had in the sayd Lorde Chamberleyn. Beside this, he gaue him yerely, two thousand Crownes pension, the which somme he sent to him, by Piers Cleret, one of the Maisters of his house, geuyng him in charge, to receyue of him an acquittance, for the receipt of the same pension, to the entent that it should appere in time to come, that the Chaunceloz, Chamberleyn, Admirall, Maisters of the horses, to the king of England, and many other of his counsaile, had bene in fee and pensionaries, of the frenche king, whose yerely acquittances (the Lorde Hastynge onely except) remaine of recorde to be shewed, in the Chamber of accomptes, in the Palace of Paris. When Piers Cleret had payed the pension to the Lorde Hastynge, he gently demaunded of him an acquittance, for his discharge, which request when he denied, he then onely required of him a letter of three lines, to be directed to the king, testifyng the receipt of the pension, to the entent that the king his Maister, should not thinke the pension to be imbeisled. The Lord Hastynge although he knewe, that Piers demaunded nothing but reason, answered him: Sir this gift cometh onely, of the liberall pleasure of the king your maister, and not of my request: if it be his determinate wil, I shal haue it, then put you it into my sleue, and if not, I pray you render to him his gift againe: for neither he nor you, shal haue either letter, acquittance, or scrow, signed with my hande, or the receipt of any pension, to the entent to brag another day, that the kings

Sh. iij.

Cham-



Chamberlain of England, hath bene pencionarie, with the French king, and shewde his acquittance, in the Chamber of accomptes, to his dishonor. Piers left his money behinde, and made relacion of all thinges to his maister, which although that he had not his will, yet he muche moze praysed the wiledome and pollicie of the Lord Hallynges, then of the other pencionaries, commaundyng him yetely to be payed, without any discharge demaundyng.

When the King of Englande had receiued his tribute, and his nobilitie their rewardes of the French King: he trusted by his tentes, and laded al his bagage, and departed toward Calice, but or he came there, he rememberyng the craftie dissimulation, and the vnttrue dealing of Lewis Erle of S. Poule, high Constable of Fraunce, entending to declare him, to the French King, in his verie true likenesse, and portrature: sent vnto him two letters of credence, written by the sayde Constable, with the true report of all suche words and messages, as had bene to him sent, and declared by the said Constable & his Ambassadors, which letters, the French King gladly receiued, and thankfully accepted, as the chiefe instrument, to bring the Constable to his death: which he escaped no long season after, such is the ende of dissimulers.

The returne  
of King Ed:  
ward into  
Englande.

When King Edward was come to Calice, and had set all things in an order, he toke ship, & sailed with a prosperous winde, into England, and was receyued by the Maior of London, and the Magistrates clad in Scarlet, and b. C. commons, apparelled in Hurry, the xxij. daye of September, in the xiiij. yere of his reigne, vpon blacke Peath, and so receyued with a great triumph, through the Citie of London vnto Westminster, where after hys long labor, he reposed himselfe a while: euery daye almost talking with the Queene his wife, of the maryage of his daughter, whom he caused to be called Dolphynesse: thinking nothing surer, then that marriage to take effect, according to the treatie. The hope of which marriage, caused him to dissimule and doe things, which afterward chaunced greatly to the French kings profite, and smally to his.

When King Edward was arrived in England, the French King thinking by no meane possible, to haue his will on the Constable, but onely by the Duke of Burgoyne, determined to conclude a truce, for ix. yeres, vpon covenant, euery man to haue his owne: but the Ambassadors, would not haue the truce proclaimed, thinking therby, to saue the Duke from perurie, which had sworne, neuer to conclude a peace, till the King of Englande had bene thre monethes in his realme, after his returne from Calice. The King of Englande, was of all these doyngs, ascertained by his friendes: wherefore, in all hast he sent hys Thomas Mountgomerie, a wise, and a sage knight, to the French King, being then at Veruyns, concluding with the Duke of Burgoyne's Ambassadors, requiryng him to take none other truce, with the Duke Charles, then that which was by them concluded, desiryng him farther, in no wyse to depart with saint Quintines, to the Duke: Offering that if he woulde, any longer continue the warre, against the sayde Duke, that he woulde for his pleasure, and the Dukes displeasure passe the seas again, the next Sommer: so that the French King, shoulde paie to him fiftie thousande Crownes, for the losse which he should sustaine, in his custome by reason that the wolles at Calice, because of the warre, coulde haue no bent, nor be bitted, and also paye halfe the charges, and halfe the wages of his Souldiers, and men of warre.

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The French King, most hartly thanked the King of Englande, of hys kynde offer, and faithful friendship, excusing hym, that the peace was already assented to: howbeit, it was the verye same peace, that was betweene them concluded, sauyng onely, that the Duke woulde be a contractor in the league, and not comprehended in the same, as another Princes alie. This matter was thus answered, and faintlye excused, and with the same, hys Thomas Mountgomerie dispatched, which was with plate convenientlye rewarded: and wyth him returned, the Lorde Hawarde, and hys John Cheiney, which were hostages wyth the French King, tyll King Edward were returned into Englande. The French King marvelled not a litle, at King Edwardes offers, and thought it perilous to cause the Englishmen to passe the sea again, and to ioyne with the French men, whome they neuer loued, coniecturyng farther, that the Englishmen, and the Burgoyne, would sone agree, by reason of their olde acquaintaunce and familiaritie, and by chaunce, both become enemies to the French men: wherefore, in auoyding of all ambiguities, hee determined to conclude the truce.

When King Edward had after this maner established, as well his affaires of outwarde warre, as hys priuate and perticuler businesse at home: not withstanding, that he beyng the most valyaunt, & fortunate victor, of such and so many terrible and bloody battailes, myght thynke to leade his life, in perfect quietnesse, and sure safety: Yet considering, that Henry the yong Erle of Richmonde, one of the offsprings, of the blood of King Henry the sixt, was yet liuyng and in good health, he iudged hymselfe, to be farre from hys purpose, and that onely thing, did so bere and trouble hys ioye and felicitie, that he thought hymselfe neuer to be in a sure estate. Wherefore, he determined yet once agayne, to sollicite and moue, Fraunces Duke of Britayne, eyther for gittes, promises, or prayers, to deliuer the Erle into his handes. Wherefore he sent Doctor Stillington, & two other, his Ambassadors, well laden wyth no small somme of Gold, with al haste to the Duke of Briteyn: And to the content y their desire shoulde appeere more honest, in the open face of the world, he willed them to declare to the Duke, that their request, to haue the Erle deliuered to them, was only for this purpose, to ioyne with him aliance by marriage, & so to extirpate & pluck by, all the dregges and leuyngs of the aduerse part, and contrary faction. The Duke gently harde the Ambassadors, and first he began to deny, and after to excuse, why he might, nor ought not agree to their request: but in conclusion, what with prayers requiring, and monies sollicitryng, the Duke beyng weryed and overcome, deliuered the Erle to the Ambassadors, whom in his letters he highly commended, to King Edward, not thinnyng that he deliuered the shepe to the wolfe, but the sonne to the father, beleuyng surely, without scruple or doubt, that King Edward would geue in marriage to him Lady Elizabeth his eldest daughter, whome in deede he married, after her fathers death, as you hereafter shall here. When the Ambassadors had the pray that they so much desired, they departed to the towne of Saint Malo, standyng on the sea syde, where they reckned to haue taken shippyng, and so to haue sayled into England. The Erle of Richmond knowyng, that he was goyng toward his death, for verye pensiuenesse, and inwarde thought, fell into a freuent and soze ague. In this verye season, one John Cheulet, so esteemed among the Princes of Briteyn, as fewe were in all the Countrey

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Henry Erle  
of Richmond



Coumtry, and in much credite, and well accepted with the Duke, was when these thinges were thus concluded, for his solace in the Countrey, but being thereof certified, being chased with the abhominacion of the fact: resorted to the Court, and familiarly came to the Dukes presence, and there stood so sadly, and so pale, without any worde speakyng, that the Duke was much amazed, and sodainely maruayled at his sad and frownyng countenance, and demaunded of him what should signifie, that dumpishenesse of minde, and inward sighing, the which by his countenance manifestly appered: he modestly answered, most noble and redoubted Lorde, this palenesse of visage, and deadly looke, doth prognosticate the tyme of my death to approche and be at hande, whiche if it had chaunced to me, before this day, I assure you, it had much lesse hurted me. For then had I not bene preserved, to seele the dolorous pagues which a fact by you done (that I thought impossible to be obtained) hath imprinted in my stomacke: so that I well perceiue, that either I shall leese my life, or else liue in perpetuall distresse, and continuall miserie: For you my singuler good Lorde, by your vertuous actes, and noble feates, haue gotten to you, in maner an immortall fame: which in euery mannes mouth, is extolled and eleuated, aboue the high Clowdes, but alas me seemeth (I pray you pardon me my rudenesse) that now that you haue obteyned, so high a laude and glozie, you nothing lesse regarde then to keepe and preserve the same inuiolate, considering that you forgetting your faith and faythfull promise, made to Henry Erle of Richmond, hath deliuered the most innocent yong gentleman, to the cruell tormentors, to be afflicted, rent in pieces, and slain: wherfore all such as loue you, of the which number I am one, cannot chose but lament and be sozie, when they see openly the fame and glozy of your most renoumed name, by such disloialtie & vntyruth against promise, to be both blotted and stayned, with a perpetuall note of slaunder and infamie. Peace mine awne good John, quod the Duke, I pray the beleue me, there is no such thinge like to happen to the Erle of Richmond: for King Edward hath sent for him, to make of him, being his suspectt enemy, his good and faire sen in lawe. Well, well, quod John, my redoubted Lorde, geue credence to me: the Erle Henry is at the very brinke to perishe, whome if you permit once to set but one foote, out of your power and dominion, there is no mortall creature able hereafter to deliuer him from death. The Duke being moued with the perswasions of John Cheulet, which either little beleued, or smally suspected King Edward, to desire the Erle, for any fraude or decept, or else seduced by blinde auarice and loue of money, more then honestie or wisdom would require, did not consider, what he aduisedly did, or what he aduisedly should haue done. Wherfore, with all diligence, he sent forth Peter Landoyse, his chiefe treasurer, commaundyng him to stay the Erle of Richmond, in all hast possible. Peter not sluggyng, nor dreamyng his businesse: came to the Englishe Ambassadors, to Saint Malos, there abidyng the winde. And first he inuented a cause of his coming, and kept with them a long communication, to protract the time, till his men in the meane season, had conueyed the Erle (almost halfe dead) into a sure Sanctuarie, within the towne, which in no wise might be violat: where he being deliuered, from the continuall feare of dreadful death, recouered his health, and in good plight was brought to the Duke.

Henry Erle  
of Richmond  
taken by  
the Duke.

Here

Here a man maye evidently perceiue the olde Greeke Proverbe to be very true, which is that a man, to a man shall sometime be as a God, for the yong Erle Henry without desert deliuered to his death, todaynely by the labor of John Cheulet, and the fauour of the good Prince was preserved, saved and deliuered. God graunt that suche examles maye be a doctrine and myrror to such as be rulers aboue other, lacking counsaylors to monish and warne them of their duety and office. That they remembryng thys good act, may learne to take into their counsayle and family, such as will well and truly admonishe and warne them, and they likewise with good minde and glad intent to be followers of the same.

The Englishe Ambassadors complayned and murmured, that they were both spoyled of their money and marchaundise, requiring Peter Landoyse that they in no wise should returne so deluded without pray or penny. The treasurer effectuously promised them, that y Erle either should be surely kept in the Sentuary, into the which he escaped (by their negligence as he layed to their charge) or else should be againe in the Dukes house put in prison, so that they should not neede no more to feare him then his shadowe. And so the king of England for his money, purchased the keeping of his enemy by the space of thre dayes and no more.

King Edward in the meane season, sore longing, and desiring to knowe what effect his Ambassage toke with the Duke of Britaine, was therefore euery houre troubled and vniquieted with harkening and looking, and at the last was certified from thence, how the Erle of Richmond was deliuered, and at a point to be brought home to him as prisoner in captiuitie: but that he escaped, which newes he tooke most grieuouly, but after being somewhat appeased, when he had heard that he should be safely kept in prison, determined clerely hereafter to banishe that care out of his minde and phantasie, and to employ all his whole studie and diligence for the keeping of his house, after a more bountifull and liberall propoztion, then before he was accustomed. And when he had sufficiently stored his Chesse with treasure, remembryng hys honor, least he peradventure should be noted with the spot of Negardship, he shewed himselfe lyke a liberall and beneficiall Prince to hys commons, and lyke a good and a profitable king to the common wealth, and to the poore people of his realme and dominion.

Now as this good king Edward sought & studied daylie and hourly to bring himselfe to quietnesse & rest, and hys realme to a continuall amitie, and a perpetuall peace, so likewise at the same tyme Charles Duke of Burgoyne, whose wytt neuer loued peace, nor yet was weary or abhorred trouble, whose intollerable paines in the warres were to him pleasure, & especially where he thought to obteyne any newe seignorie, or else to be reuenged of auncient enemies, for olde griefes and displeasures to him done. So that desyre of rule mixte with hatred and malice, ioynd with couetousnesse, kindled and prouoked so his courage this yere, that he partly to be reuenged of the Duke of Lozayne & the Swytchers, and partly for the couetous desire that he had to certayne landes, lying betwene his low countreies of Brabant and Flaunders and his Duchye of haute Burgoyne, assembled a great army and a mighty puyssaunce, & besieged a towne called Granson in Lozayne, which when he had receyued, without mercy lyke a tyraunt he caused all the inhabitants

cruelly

1476  
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Charles  
Duke of  
Burgoyne  
had many  
wonderful  
deeds,  
and at the  
last slaine.

truelly to be put to death, wherof hearing the Switchers manfully encountred w<sup>th</sup> him, and discomfited his whole armie, where the Duke lost both honor, prayse, and such abundaunce of ryches, that fewe princes in his time were able to shewe such Jewels, and so many, and of such high price and value. And after not content w<sup>th</sup> these chaunces, but ever in hope of renewing, he fought with the Switchers agayne at Moxrot, where of. xliij. M. good men of warre, he lost ten thousande, beside them that were wounded and hurt: yet this fierce and couragious Capitayne, more couragious then circumspect, gathered agayne a newe armie, and contrarie to the mindes of hys whole counsaile, in the deepe of wynter, besieged the towne of Nancy, belonging to the Duke of Lozayne, where he was encountred with the said Duke and the Switchers, and there by them agayne overcome, discomfited and slayne.

Grantson,  
Moxrot,  
Nancy.

Thus in one yere he lost three great battayles, the first at Grantson, where he lost honor, and all hys ryches: the second at Moxrat, where he lost honor, and almost all hys men: the thirde at Nancy, where he lost life, honor, ryches, men, and all wordly felicitie, on the Vigile of the Epiphany.

This ende had the valyaunt hart and stonite courage of Duke Charles of Burgoyne, who in hys time could neuer agree with peace and concord, till death more puyssant then life may resist, brought his bodie to quietnesse, which bodie is interred in the Church of saint George in Nancy, leaving behinde him one sole daughter lawfully begotten to be his heire, which afterward was married to Maximilian Archduke of Austriche.

At this battayle were taken Anthony and Bauldwoyn, bastard brethren to Duke Charles, whome the French king bought of the Duke of Lozayne, to the intent that they should not withstand his pretended purpose in Flaunders. If any man were sozie of the Duke of Burgoyne's death, you may be sure that he was not so inwardly sozie, as the French king was in hart joyous and glad: for nowe having peace with Englande, he knew no creature that was able to matche with him, in earnest or in game, & because he would leese no time, he vnder couler that women be not able to enioye any thing, that is or hath bene apperteyning to the Crowne of Fraunce, tooke of the yong damosell of Burgoyne the townes of Moundedier, Perone, Abbeuile, Moustreul, Roy, and all the townes on the ryuer of Some: Beside this, he with no great paine obeyned Hesdyng, Arras, and the towne of Bulleyn, with the Countie of Bullonoyes, which king Charles his father had before engaged, and empledged to Duke Philip of Burgoyne, as before is mentioned. But this wylie and wittie king Lewys, comming to the towne of Bullern, perceyved that if it were fortifed with a garrison, it should not onely be an ill neighbor to the townes of Calice and Gynnes, but also a port necessarie and conuenient for all hys subiects, when they should be, eyther by enemies assailed, or by stormie tempestuous weather driuen on the narrow Seas: wherefore to cast a sure Ancker, knowing the Lorde Bartrame de la Cour, Erie of Flanderie, to be the verie true and vndubitate heire of the said towne and Countie: He first obeyned of him his right and tytle in the same, rewardyng hym with a greater summe, and a more yereley value of reuenues, in the Countie of Forest and other places. And after to the intent to haue a port cuer open vpon Englande, he annexed the same towne of

of Bulleyn, and the Countie of Bullonoyes, with the partes adiacent to the crowne and regalitie of Fraunce. And because the forenamed towne and Countie were holden of the Erledome of Artoys, he chaunged the tenure, and solemnly auowed to hold the same towne & Countie of our Lady of Bulleyn, and therefore did homage to the Image in the great Church called our Lady Church in Bulleyn, offering there a Harte of Golde, waiyng two thousand Crownes, ordcyning farther, that all his heyres and successors, at their entrie into the estate and dignitie royall, by themselves, or their depute should offer a Hart of like waight and value, as a reliefe and homage done, or made for the same towne and Countie.

You may be sure that the kyng of Englande woulde not haue suffered the French kyng to haue buylded such a couert nest so nere his towne of Calice, and the territories of the same, except hys league had bound him, or that he had to much affiaunce in the French king, whose hart was double, & whose wit was euer inconstant, but surely the hope of the preferment of his daughter, both brought him to blindness, and dotage. Let these doyngs ouer passe and see how politikely the French king wrought for his aduantage. During these doings in the lowe partes, he caused the Duke of Lozayne to enter into high Burgoyne with a great army, which by policie and promises brought the whole Duchie vnder obedience of the French kyng, which then claymed to haue the order and mariage of the yong Ladye, as a pupille, warde, and orphan, apertayning to the Crowne of Fraunce, for the which title after rose no small mischiefe and trouble in Flaunders, and the countreyes there about. Let vs leaue a whyle to speake of outward businesse, and retourne to our owne.

In this yere, then beyng Mayor of London syr Raufe Jossyn draper, the wall of the Citie of London, that is to say, from Creplegate to Bishopsgate, was buylded, at the costes, and charges of the Citizens.

In the. xvij. yere of kyng Edwarde, there fell a sparckle of priuie malice, betweene the kyng, and his brother the Duke of Clarence, whether it rose of olde grudges before time passed, or were it newly kindled, and set a fire by the Queene or her bloud, which were euer mistrusting and priuily barking at the kings linage, or were he desirous to reigne after his brother: to men that haue thereof made large inquisition, of such as were of no small authority in those dayes, the certaintye therof was hid, and could not truely be disclosed, but by coniectures, which as often deceyue the imaginacions of fantastical folke, as declare truth to them in their conclusion. The same was that the king or the Queene, or both, sore troubled with a folishe Prophecie, and by reason thereof began to stomach and greuously to grudge against the Duke: The effect of which was, after king Edwarde should reigne, on whose first letter of hys name should be a G. and because the Deuill is wont with such witchcrafts, to wrap and entangle the myndes of men which delite in such deuillish fantasies, they sayde afterwarde that that Prophecie lost not his effect, when after kyng Edwarde, Gloucester vsurped his kyngdome.

Other allege this to be the cause of his death: That of late, the olde rancor betweene them beyng newly reuined (the which betweene no creatures can be more behement then betweene brethren, especially when it is firmlye fixed



fixed and rooted) the Duke being destitute of a wyfe, by the meanes of Lady Margaret, Duchesse of Burgoyne, his sister, procured to haue the Lady Marye, daughter, and heyre to Duke Charles, her husbande, to be geuen to him in matrimony: which maryage king Edwarde (enuyng the felicitie of hys brother) both agayne sayde and disturbed. This priuie displeasure was openly appeased, but not inwardly forgotten, nor outwardly forgotten, for that, notwithstanding a seruaunt of the Dukes was sodainely accused (I can not say of truth, or vntrely suspected by the Dukes enemyes) of poisoning, sorcery, or inchantment, and there of condemned, and put to tast the paynes of death. The Duke which might not suffer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in hys conscience adiudged) nor yet forbere, nor patiently suffer the vniust handling of hys trusty seruaunt, dayly did oppugne, and wyth ill wordes murmur at the doing thereof. The king much greued and troubled with his brothers dayly complayntes, and continuall exclamation, caused him to be apprehended, & cast into the Tower, where he being taken and adiudged for a traytor, was priuily drowned in a Butte of Walmesey.

George Duke  
of Clarence  
drowned in  
a Butte of  
Walmesey  
in the tower.

But sure it is, that although king Edward were consenting to his death, and destruction, yet he much did both lament hys infortunate chaunce, and repent hys sodayne execution. In as much, that when any person sued to him for pardon or remission, of any malfactor condemned to the punishment of death, he would accustomably say and openly speake, O infortunate brother, for whose lyfe not one creature would make intercession, openly speakyng, and apparantly meaning, by the meanes of some of the nobility he was succummented, and brought to his confusion.

This Duke left behinde him two yong infantes, engendered of the bodie of the daughter to Richard late Erle of Warwicke, which children by destiny, or by their awne merites, folowing the steppes of their auncestors, succeeded them in like infortune, and semblable yll chaunce. For Edwarde hys heire, whome King Edward had created Erle of Warwicke, was. xxiii. yeres after in the time of King Henric the seventh, attainted of treason, and on Tower hill behedded. Margaret his sole daughter was married to sir Richard Pole knight, being much bound to king Henry the seventh, for her aduancement in marriage, beside manifold benefites, by her of him receyued: But most of all obliged to that excellent Prince king Henry the eighth, for restoring her aswell to the name and title of Countesse of Salisbury, as to the possessions of the same: He forgetting the miserable chaunce of her father, and lesse remembering the kindnesse and kindred of her sayd soueraigne Lorde, committed against his maiestie and his realme, abhominable and detestable treason, for the which she was in open Parliament, adiudged and attainted, and sixtie and two yeres after her father was put to death in the Tower, she on the greene within the same place, with an Axe suffered execution. In whole person died the very surname of Plantagenet, which from Geoffrey Plantagenet, so long in the blood roiall of this realme, had flourished and continued. After the death of this Duke, by reason of great heate and butemperate aire, happened so fierce and so quicke a Pestilence, that fiftene yeres warre past, consumed not the thirde part of the people, that onely foure monethes miserably and pitifully dispatched, and brought to their sepulture.

Edward erle  
of Warwicke.

Margaret  
Countesse of  
Salisbury.

A greete  
pestilence.

1478  
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You haue heard not long before, howe the frenche king not onely claymed

med the rule, gouernaunce, and mariage of the yong Princesse, and Damofell of Burgoyne, but also howe he, what with pollicie, and what with force, had plucked from her the fairest feathers of her taile, that is to meane, whole haute Burgoyne, and the strong townes of Picardie, which in time to come might (as they were very like) happen to proue yll neighbors to the English nation. All these thinges were polittically pondered, and ripely digested by the wise counsaylors of England, which first considered the olde amitie, betwene the house of England and Flaunders, and the dayly entercourse, trafficke and cominutacion, which no small season had bene practised, frequented, and exercised, mutually and friendly betwene the subiectes, and all nations hauyng resort to either of the sayd Countries, save it open before their eyes, that if the french king, either by force or by coniunction of mariage to Charles Erle of Angulesme (to whome he promised his good will, for the obeyning of the yong Princes) should get the bypper hande of the Damofell or of her seignories and dominions, that then damage might ensue to the whole realme of England, both for uttering of their commodities in those partes, and also for the impediment or stop of their entercourse, beside new imposition and gabels, to be set within the sayde Countries, vpon the Marchaunts, their goodes and wares. Wherefore the whole Nobilitie and sage fathers, made humble request to king Edward to helpe and ayde the yong Ladie and Princes of Burgoyne, alleging that as farre as they could perceyue, the mariage of his daughter with the Dolphin, was but dissimuled and fayned, for in the treatie concluded at Picquegnie, betwene him and king Lewys, it was appointed, agreed, and openly sworn, that the french king, within a yere folowing, should send for the Lady Elizabeth, entituled Dolphine of France, to be conueyed into Fraunce, which yere with foure more were passed and gone, without any worde speakyng of her sendyng for, or goyng into Fraunce.

The Queene of Englande also had written in this season to the Ladye Margaret, Duchesse of Burgoyne, for the preferment of her brother Anthoine Erle Riuers, to the mariage of the yong Damofell, but the counsaile of Flaunders, considering that he was but an Erle of a meane estate, and she the greatest enheritricke of all Christendome at that time, gaue but deafe heeryng to so vnnete a request: the which desire, if the Fleminges had but geuen good eare to, or with gentle wordes delayed the suite, shee had both bene succoured and defended with a good number, and not sustained so great losse as shee did. Whether king Edward were not content with this refusall, or that he trusted more the frenche kinges promise, then all his Counsaile coulde see cause, or that he was loth to leese his yerey tribute of fiftie thousande Crownes, he would in no wise consent to sende any armie into Flaunders against the frenche king: But he sent Ambassadors to king Lewys with louing and gentle letters, requiring him to conclude some reasonable peace, or else at the least to take a certaine truce with her at his request.

The Ambassadors of England, were highly receyued, bountifully feasted, and liberally rewarded: But aunswere to their desire had they none, but that shortly the french king would send Ambassadors, hostages, and pledges to the king of England their Maister, for the concluding and performance of all thinges, depending betwene them two: So that their soueraigne Lorde and they, should haue good cause, to be contented and pleased. All

¶ ff. j.

these



these faire wordes, were onely delays to protract time, and in the meane season, to winne towne and countries, from the Damofell, or any ayde or succor could be to her administrated.

A great offer made by the French king to king Edward the fourth.

And beside this, to stave king Edward, from taking parte with her. He wrote to him, that if he would toyne with him in ayde, or personally make warre, in any part of the Ladies territories, or dominions, that then king Edward, shoulde haue, and enioye, to hym and hys heyres, the whole Countye, and Contrey of Flaunders, discharged of all homage, superioritie, and ryght to be claymed by the French kyng, and hys heires and successors, and farther, he shoulde haue the whole Duchie of Brabant, whereof the French kyng offered, at his owne charge and cost, to conquere foure, the chiefe and strongest towne, within the sayde Duchie, and them in quiet possession, to deliuer to the king of Englande, graunting farther to paye to him, tenne thousand Hun- gelles, towarde hys charges, besides municions of warre and Artillerie, which he promised to lende hym, with men and cariage, for the conueyance of the same.

The king of Englande answered, that the towne of Flaunders were of no small strength, nor of no little quantitie, verie vncasie to be kept, when they were conquered: and of no lesse force was the Duchie of Brabant, with whome his subiectes were both loth, and not verie wylling to haue warre there, considering that thether was one of their common traffiques and ventes, of all their Marchandise: But if the French king would make him partener of his conquest in Picardy, rendering to him part of the towne, already gotten and gaped, as Bolcine, Thounstrell, and Abbeville, then he would surely take hys part, and aide him with men at his owne costes and charges. While this matter was in answering, and repliing againe, the French king spoiled the pong Princes of towne and Regions, and of the best Capitaines that her father lett, as the Lorde Cordes and other: wherefore for pure necessitie of aide and strength, shee married with Maximilian, sonne to Frederike the Emperoz, which to his power, sore resisted the French king, for making any inuasions into Flaunders, or other his wifes landes and seignories. This Princesse conceived of her husbände, in the first yere of her marriage, a faire Ladie called Margaret, whome king Lewys so phantised, eyther to haue a publique peace with Maximilian her father, by the which he might stay all warre and hostilitie betwene them, and so by that meane peaceably to enioy the Countries and towne, by him stollen and faintly conquered, or else imagining by that onely damofell, in conclusion to conuey the whole Countrey of Flaunders, and the other dominions thereunto apperteyning to the crowne of Fraunce, (as he had no fewe times, before attempted and assayed.) That he cleerely forgetting his promise made, written, and sworne to the King of Englande, for the marriage of his daughter, solicited priuily the Lordes of Flaunders, to haue the sayde Lady Margaret to be conioyned in matrimonie with the Dolphin his sonne, wytyng and sending to the king of Englande faire promises and flattering letters, when his purpose was cleerely banished out of England and fixed in Flaunders, as you shall hereafter well vnderstande.

King Edward in the xix. yere of his reigne, forgetting as well all exterior inuasions, as ciuill warre, and intestine trouble: which before that

time,

1479  
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time, he had abundantly tasted, and more then he was wylling had both felt and had in continuall experience, began first more then he was before accustomed, to serch out the penall offences, as well of the chiefe of his Nobilitie, as of other Gentlemen, being proprietaries of great possessions, or abundantly furnished in goods, beside Marchaunts and other inferior persons. By the reason whereof, it was of all men adiudged more then doubted, considering his new fame of ryches, and his greedy appetite of money and treasure, that he would proue hereafter a sore and an extreme prince amongst his subiectes, and this imagination in especiall, wandred through the heades of all men, that after his brother the Duke of Clarence was put to death, he should say, that all men should stande and liue in feare of hym, and he to be byrdeled and in doubt of no man. But his newe inuented practise, what for other forrein and outwarde affaires, and what for the shortening of his dayes in this transitorie worlde (which were within two yeres after consumed) toke some, but no great effect. Howbeit experience teacheth, that profperitie often times is as great a trouble as a mischief, and as vniquiet a profite to the possessioners of riches and such as haue the fruition of the same: as pouertie and aduersitie are profitable & laudable, in other persons which can with patient stomach, and meeke hart, beare and suffer the stormes and surges of euill fortune, and peruerse mischaunce.

Here I finde noted that about thys tyme, that one Thomas Iland a Shrieve of London, builded of his owne costes the great Conduyt in Chepe in London.

After this king Edward hauing all things brought to that effect, which he had long desired, except the marriage of his daughter with Charles the Dolphyn, much studied and no lesse desired to haue this affinitie, according to the appoyntment made and concluded, to be accomplished and solemnized, and therefore not only wrote, but sent diuers messengers to the French king for the perfozmaunce of the same. The French king which neuer intended to haue that marriage take effect, considering that the Dolphin, was muche yonger then the Ladie Elizabeth, and for other causes sent Ambassadors to the king of England with faire wordes, and triuolous delays, making hys excuse that he had not sent for the kings daughter to be married to his sonne the Dolphin, according to the league and treatie concluded by the occasion of his great troubles, and busie warres enterprised in high Burgoyne, and the lowe countries, so that he was disgarnished as well of his nobilitie, as of other men of honour to receiue her into his realme, according to her estate and degree: promising faythfully, shortly to sende for her, and to conuey her with such a pompe and royall traine, that it should be to both their honors and laudes, and to the high contentation of the king of England and hys Quene, which he no lesse then her husband desired, and sore longed to see the conclusion of the sayde marriage take effect.

These Ambassadors were well feasted, and lykewise rewarded, and so toke their leaue. And wythin a conuenient season after, he sent other Ambassadors, which were neuer in Englande before, to the entent that if their predecessors, had sayde or concluded any thing, (although they were authorized so to doe) yet if it myght tourne, to the French kings preiudice or damage, they might without blame, excuse themselves by ignorance, of that matter,

¶ t. ij.

affirmynq

1480  
20



affirming that they had no commission to common, or else once to enterpryse, to meddle wyth that matter. Or if he perceiued that any thing was like to be concluded, which sounded not to his pleasure or profite, he woulde sende for his Ambassadoz, in great hast, and after sende another, with new instructions nothing depending on the olde.

This fashion kyng Lewys, bled with all Princes, to whome he sent anie Ambassadoz, by the which he compassed many things, to his purpose and to their losse: But most of all, he thus dalyed with the king of Englande concerning this marriage, onely to the entent, to keepe him styll in amytie, aboue all other Princes. And for a truth the king of Englande beyng of no suspicious nature, so much trusted, and gaue to hym so much confidence, that hee thought the Sunne, would soner haue fallen from his circle, than that kyng Lewys, eyther would haue dissimuled, or broken his promise wyth him.

But who soner breaketh promise, then he that is most trusted, or who soner deceiueth, then he to whome most credence is attributed. And on the other part, who is so sone beguiled, as he that least mistrusteth, and who soner falleth, then he that casteth no perill, but as in nothing, mistrustynge, is no small lightnesse, so into much trustynge, is to much folly: wherefore if king Edward had eyther not to much trusted, or mistrusted the French kings sayre promises, (as I woulde he had done in dedde) the Crowne of Fraunce, had not so increased in possessions and dominions, to the great glozy, and strength of that realme, nor the Princes of Burgoyne, had not so bene plucked, harried, and spoyled, of her sayre towncs and Castles as she was, which chaunce, she being destitute of friends, and without comfozt of defenders, by patience perforce, was compelled to suffer and susteyne.

Thus is the league made with Lewys the French king, fraudulently glofed and dissimuled. Thus is the oth made, and swozne vpon the holy Euangelistes, violated, and contrary to the worde, and honor of a Prince, broken and falsified: by which vntreue dealing, and couert dissimuling, with his especiall and trustie friende, all men may easely see, and more apparauntly then in a glasse beholde that the verie naturall condicion of the French nation, is pleasauntly to flatter, plentifully to reward, and gloriously to glorie, till they haue once obteyned, their pretended purpose, and haue their ambitious desire accomplishd and satisfied, and that game once gotten on their side, neither othe holdeth, nor friendship continueth, nor yet humanity and kindnesse before they wed, is once regarded, or of them remembred: wherefore (sayth Hall) mine aduise is, let all men trust them, as they finde them.

And in this verie season, James the thirde of that name king of Scottes, sent into England a solempne Ambassage, for to haue the Lady Cirile, king Edwardes second daughter, to be married to his eldest sonne, James prince of Scotlande, Duke of Rothesay, and Erle of Caricke. King Edward and his counsaile, thinking that this affinitie should be as well honorabile as profitable to the realme, did not onely graunt to his desire and demaund, but also before hande disbursed certaine summes of money, to the onely intent, that the marriage should hereafter neither be interrupted nor broken, vpon this condition that if the sayd matrimony by any fortune or chaunce should in time to come, take no successe nor perfection: or that king Edward would notefie to the king of Scottes or his counsaile, that his pleasure was determined to

haue

haue the sayd marriage, to be infringed and dissolued: Then the Princes and Marchaunts of the towne of Edenborough, should be bound for the reparation of the sayde somme agayne. All which things were with great deliberation concluded & sealed, in hope of continuall peace. But this king James being a man of a sharpe wit, more wedded to his awne opinion then reason would scarce beare, would neither here nor geue credite to them, that spake contrarie to his awne phantastie, or his imagined opinion: And to the intent that no man should finde fault with his doings, or reprehende his actes, he promoted and made counsaylers, men of base linage and lowe bloud, and in especiall Cochzane and his company, by whose euill aduise and mischievous instigation, he so punished and grieued his nobilitie, both with imprisonment, exactions and death, that some of their voluntarie will went into exyle, and other sayning cause to depart, fled into other landes, and strange Countries. For the Duke of Albanie called Alexander, brother to king James, was exiled into Fraunce, but passing through Englande, he taried with king Edward as you shall here. The Erle of Mar a wise and polittique counsayler, was in Edenborough behedded: And beside this he forgetting his othe, promise and affinitie, concluded with king Edward, caused armies to be made into England, spoyling, burning, and kyllyng the kings saythfull subiectes: at the which vnprincely doyng, the king of Englande being not a little moued and chafed, determined to be reuenged on him by battayle and dent of warde. Yet notwithstanding, because king James craftily excusing himselfe, alledging the mischief late committed to be attempted & done without his consent, knowledge, or counsaile, this matter had bene lightly pacified and blowen ouer, if the Duke of Albany being with king Edward, had not incensed and prouoked him to make warre on the Scottish king his brother, both to reuenge the iniuries of late, to the sayde king done, contrarie to all lawes of armes and princely demeanure, and also to helpe to restore the sayde Duke to his possessions and dominions agayne: out of the which he was by the king his brother dispossessed and reiected, promising to king Edward great ayde and assistance, when his armie was once entered into the confines of Scotland.

King Edward beyng thus perswaded by the Duke, and trustynge on his aide, was somewhat agreeable to this: but the inwarde remembraunce how that king James, had supported against him, with men and money, his olde enemy king Henric the sixt: and also trustynge, that if Alexander Duke of Albanie by his ayde should vanquish his brother, and obtaine the Crowne of Scotland, he would be alwayes to him, sure, faithfull, and trustie: whiche did so enflame his courage, and set his heart on fire, that he determined with all diligence, with an armie royall, to inuade the Countrie of Scotland, and make the king to knowe that he had neither honourably nor truly kept his league and promise: wherefore, all the winter season, he mustred his souldiours, prepared his ordinaunce, rigged his shippes, and left nothing apperteyning to the warre vnprucied or vnloked for: so that in the begynnyng of the yere, all thinges were prepared, and no thing was missed.

And when all thinges apperteyning, to the furniture of suche an enterpryce, were put in a redinesse, and redie to be set forwarde: King Edward appointed, to be chieftaine of his host, and Lieutenant generall, his brother

Edw. iij.

Richard



The king  
senoeth a  
great army  
to invade  
Scotland.

Richard Duke of Gloucester, and to him associated, Henry the fourth Erle of Northumberland, Thomas Lorde Stanley, Lorde Steward of his household, the Lorde Louell, and the Lorde Greystocke, and diuers other noble men and knightes. These valiaunt Capitaines set forward in May, and made such diligence, with pollitique conuepaunce of their souldiours: beside the troubleous cariage of their ordinaunce, that they came to the towne of Alnewicke, in Northumberland, about the beginnyng of July, where they first encamped themselues, and marshalled their hoste. The forward was led by the Erle of Northumberland, vnder whose Standard were, the Lord Scrope of Bolton, sir John Middleton, sir John Richfield, and diuers other knightes, Esquiers and Souldiours, to the number of sixe thousand, and seuen hundred men. In the middle warde was the Duke of Gloucester, and with him the Duke of Albanie, the Lorde Louell, the Lorde Greystock, sir Edward Wooduile, and other, to the number of fiue thousand, and eight hundred men. The Lorde Neuell was appoynted to folowe, accompanied with thre thousand men. The Lorde Stanley, led the wing on the right hand of the Dukes battaile, with foure thousand men, of Lancashire, and Cheshire: The left wing was guided by the Lorde fitz Hewe, sir William a Parre, sir James Harryngton, with the number of two thousand men, & beside all these, there was a thousand men appoynted to geue attendaunce on the ordinaunce. This royall army, not entending to slepe, but to geue the Scots knowlege of their arriual in those parties, came sodainly by the water syde, to the towne of Berwicke, and there what with force, and what with feare of so great an armie, tooke and entered the towne: But the Erle Bothwell, being Capitaine of the Castell, would in no wise deliuer it, neither for flatterynge wordes, nor for manacing bragges: wherfore, the Capitaines deliberately consultyng together, planted a strong siege, and enuironed it round about. When this siege was thus layde, the two Dukes, and all the other Souldiours, except the Lorde Stanley, sir John Clrington, treasurer of the kinges house, sir William a Parre, and foure thousand men, that were left behinde to keepe the siege before the Castell, departed from Barwicke toward Edenborough: And in marchyng thitherward, he burnt and destroyed in Scotland more then .xlviij. townes.

While these thinges were in doynge, King James of Scotland, hauing small confidence in his Commonaltie, & lesse trust in his Nobilitie, did voluntarily enclose himselfe into the strong Castell of Maydens in Edenborough, perfectly trustyng there to be out of all doubts and daunger, except famine, or treason should cause him violently to open the portes or gates: wherfore the Duke of Gloucester entred into the towne, and at the especiall request & desire of the Duke of Albany, saued the towne, & the inhabitants of the same, from fire, blood, and spoyle, takyng onely such presentes as the marchaunts gently offered him, and his Capitaines: Causyng Garter, principall king at armes, to make a publike Proclamacion at the high Crosse, in the Market place of Edenborough, in the which he warned and admonished, James king of Scottes, to keepe, obserue, and performe all such promyses, compactes, couenauntes, and agreementes, as he had concluded and sealed to, with the high and mightie Prince Edward, by the grace of God king of England. &c. And also to make condigne and sufficient recompence to his Subiectes, for the

the great tirannie, spoyle, and crueltie, that he and his people had perpetrate, and committed contrary to his league, within the marches and territories of his Realme of Englande, before the first day of August next ensuyng.

And farther without delay to restore the high & mighty Prince Alexander, Duke of Albany, hys naturall brother to hys estate, and all hys offices, possessions, and authorities, in as ample and liberall maner, as he before occupied and enioyed the same: or else the high and balaunt prince Richard Duke of Gloucester, Lieutenant generall, and chiefetain for the kyng of Englande, was redy at hande to destroy hym, his people and country with slaughter, fyre, and famine.

King James would make no aunswere, neyther by woerde nor by wrytyng, knowyng that his power nowe fayled, either to performe the request demaunded, or to defende his countrie beyng with such a puissant armye invaded. The Lordes of Scotlande, lyng at Haddington wyth a great puissance, hearynge the kyng of Englandes reasonable desire, determined first to prattise wyth the Duke of Gloucester for a peace, and so to haue the castle of Berwicke to their parte and after by some meanes to allure the Duke of Albanie, from the English amitie, and vpon this motion, the .ij. day of August, they wrote to the Duke of Gloucester, that the maryage betwene the Prince of Englande should be accomplished in all poyntes, according to the conuantes agreed, and the instrumentes therof engrossed, requiring farther that a peace from hence forth might be louingly concluded betwene both the Realmes. The Duke of Gloucester wisely and circumspectly certified them agayne, that as touchyng the article of mariage, to take effect betwene their Prince and the Lady Cicilie of England, he knew not the determinate pleasure of the kyng his maister and brother, cyther for the affirmance or denyance of the same, but he desired full restitution of all such summes of money, as for the said mariage before time had bene disbursed, or prested out in loane. And where the sayde Lordes desyred to haue a peace concluded from thenceforth, betwene both the sayde realmes. He first required to haue the Castell of Barwicke to him deliuered, at the least if he did agree to the sayde peace, that then his siege lyng about the sayde Castell, should be hereafter in any wise, neither troubled, vexed, nor molested, nor the king of Scottes, nor none of his subiectes, nor any other by his procurement or prouoking, should ayde, comfort, or assist with bittaille, ordinaunce, or other wyse the Capitaine, Constable, or souldiours of the sayd Castell, duryng the siege.

The Lordes, Prelates, Barons, and estates of the realme of Scotland, perceiyng and well pondering, both the aunswere and the demaundes of the Duke of Gloucester, sent to him sufficiently instructed with these conclusions the reuerend father Andrew, Erle of Murray, and the Lord John Darnell, which thus aunswered, that where the sayde Duke desired repayment of the summes of money deliuered in part of payment for the contract of mariage, to be made betwene the Prince of Scotland, and the kinges daughter of England: the time of lawfull contract of mariage is not yet come, because of the minozitie of the sayde Prince and Princesse. And the fault hereof is, that no day was appoynted for the money, to be payde before the contract began. And if the king your brother would demaund farther assurance, either for the contract to be made, or for the payment of the money, they promise thereunto,



unto, according to reason to agree. Secondly as touching the Castell of Barwicke, they sayde, all we knewe well enough, that it is the olde enheritance of the Crowne of Scotland, of many hundreth yeres past, and that our soueraigne Lord hath right therunto. And if it be alleged, that it belonged to the realme of England by conquest, it is well knowen that it standeth in Scotland, and ouer the Scottishe ground. The Duke notwithstanding their sayings, would condescend to no peace, without the Castell of Barwicke were rendered to the king of Englande, and so the Messengers departed, and on the same daye the Archebyschop of Saint Andrewes, the Byschop of Dunkelle Colyn, Erle of Argyle, Lorde Cambell, and Lorde Andrewes, Lorde Auandale, Chauncelour of Scotlande, wrote vnto the Duke of Albanie a solempne and autentical Instrument, signed and sealed wryth their seales, bindyng their bodies, landes, and goodes, to the sayde Duke, that if he would hereafter be obedient to the king of Scottes, and keepe and obserue his fayth and promise to be made to the sayde Lordes, that he should not onely bee restored to all his landes, hereditamentes, offices and possessions, whiche he enioyed at the daye of hys departure out of Scotlande, but also should haue and enioy to him, and his seruantes and familiers, a free and a generall pardon, which restitution and pardon, they likewise promised to be ratified and approued by the King and the three estates assembled at the next Parliament. The Duke beyng glad to be restored againe to his olde estate and possessions, and especially in his aboue native Countre, receyued their offer, which was truly performed, and so tooke his leaue of the Duke of Gloucester, thanking him (as he was no lesse bound) for the great labor, trauaile and paine, that he had taken in his aboue person for his restitution. And promised both by worde, and by wrytyng of his aboue hand to doe and performe all such thinges, as he before that tyme had sworn and promised to king Edward, notwithstanding any agreement, now made or to be made with the Lordes of Scotland: and for the performance of the effect of the sayde Scedule, he againe tooke a corporall othe before the Duke of Gloucester, and sealed the wrytyng the thirde day of August, in the Englishe campe at Lewington, besides Haddington, & departed to his aboue possessions. After he was thus restored and reconciled, the Lordes of Scotland proclaimed him great Lieutenant of Scotland, and in the kinges name made Proclamation, that all men shoulde be readie, vpon paine of death within .viij. dayes at Crauthanes, both to raise the siege before the Castell, and for the recovering againe of the towne of Barwicke. The Duke of Albanie wrote all this preparacion to the Duke of Gloucester, humbly requiring him to haue no mistrust in him, promisyng to keepe his othe and promise, made to King Edward and to him. The Duke of Gloucester wrote to him againe, that it should neither be honozable nor comendable in him, to helpe to raise the siege, at the layng whereof he was counsaylor and partener, nor yet to reward the king of England with such a displeasure for his kindenesse, costes, and expences, to him in his extreme necessitie, louyngly shewed, and liberally exhibited. But he assured him in the worde of a Prince, that if he and all the power of Scotland attempted to come to raise the siege, planted before the Castell of Barwicke, that he himselfe with his armie would defende the besiegers, or else die in the quarell.

The

The counsaile of Scotlande sagely and politiquely sawe before, that if they shoulde come to raise the siege, that the Duke of Gloucester would with them shortly encounter, and that if they lost the fielde, both the strength of the realme was brought to an imbecillitie, the nobles soze minished, and the Castell lost and taken. And on the other side, if they obteyned victoize, nothing was gotten but the poze towne of Barwicke, & they were likely soone to be inuaded wryth a greater powze shortly agayne, wherfore they sent Lyon king at very reasonable, the one was, that if he would promise on hys honoz, to subuert and cast downe the towne walles of Barwicke, they would likewise race, and cleuely deface the walles, Towres, and portes of the Castell, or else the Duke of Gloucester to put in a capytayne, and a garrison of men of warre into the towne, and the Duke of Albanie, likewise to doe with the Castell, for the Tuticion of the same. And farther the forsayde Lion desired an abstinence of warre to be taken, till the two Dukes might haue communication, of thys and other graue matters, concerning the welthes of both the Realmes. The Duke of Gloucester refused both the offers, sayng, that he had long maintained the siege before the Castell of Barwicke, to no small wast and consuming of hys brothers treasure and riches, and to the great trauaile & payne of the Lordes, Gentlemen, and men of warre, that continuallye made there abode and dayly residence, at the sayde siege: wherfore he said, that he in this poynt was firmly resolved, not to departe tyll the castell were yelded by apoyntment, or taken by force, or else his siege were by the power of Scotlande rayled, or he and his armie vanquished: wherfore hee would by no meane harken to the petition of the Scottishe Lordes, concerning the abstinence of warre, tyll he were eyther vanquished or possessed of the Castell of Barwicke. With which aunswere the Herald departed, and thereof made relation to the Lordes and counsaile of Scotlande. When the Dukes aunswere was of them well digested, they evidently perceiuyng that the Castell of Barwicke was the onely maker of the peace, and that the not deliuerie of the same, should be the nozice and continer of warre and hostilitie: consyderyng farther, that the nobilitie nor commons of Scotlande, did not draw together by one line, nor were sorted in one leuell, electyng and chosing the better parte, and reiectyng and auoyding the worse, agreed and determined to deliuer the Castell of Barwicke to the Englishe partie, so that there should be truce or abstinence of warre taken and concluded for a determinate season. And thereupon they sent to the Duke of Gloucester a league indented, which was dated the .xxiiij. day of August, in the yere of our Lorde a .M .CCCC .lxxiiij. in the which it was contracted and agreed betwene the Duke of Gloucester, lieuetenaunt generall for the king of Englande, and Alexander Duke of Albanie, lieuetenaunt for James kyng of Scottes, that an especiall abstinence of warre shoulde be kept and obserued betwixt the realmes of Englande and Scotlande and the people of the same, aswell by sea, as by lande, to begyn the .iiij. day of September next ensuing, & to endure till the fourth day of Nouember, next folowynge. And in the meane season, the towne and Castell of Barwicke, to be occupied, and bee in the reall possession of such as by the kyng of Englandes deputie shoulde be apoynted and assigned with all and singuler such boundes, limites, and territories as the Englishe nacion, last

hsed



used and possessed, when the Castell and towne were in the subiection of the Englishmen, and all other marches & boundes, beyng in difference betwene the sayde realmes, to stande and to be holden in lyke case and condicion, as they were before the last truce concluded. The Duke of Gloucester, which well perceived that the Scottes more graunted to his demaunds, for reliefe of their owne necessitie, then to gratitie him or the kyng his brother in any poynt: lyke a wise counsayler, toke his aduantage when it was offered, and especially because these things made for his long desired purpose.

The recon-  
struction of the  
towne & the  
Castell of  
Barwicke.

First the deliuey of the Castell of Barwicke, he voluntarilye without counsayle (as a praye priuily gotten) both accepted and alowed, and for that only cause he did not refuse the abstinence of warre but to that gently agreed. As touching the possession, to be kept in the landes dependyng in variance betwene the realmes (commonlye called the batable ground) he woulde not, nor durst not conclude wyth the Duke of Albanie, without hauing farther intelligence of the king hys soueraigne Lordes pleasure and counsaile, meynyng thereby euer to keepe them, as suiters to him, and he no farther to seke on them, and in the meane season to let that matter be in suspence. When he had sealed to the first two Articles, & that they were sent againe to the Lords of Scotlande, they them gladly receiued, and with good will embraced, and lykewise truly performed the same: for the Castell of Barwicke was incontinent deliuered to the Lorde Stanley, and other thereto appointed, which therein put both Englishe men and Artillerie, sufficient for the defence of all Scotlande for .viij. monethes. By this meanes as you haue harde, the Englishmen repoussed agayne the towne and castell of Barwicke, which .xxj. yeres before by kyng Henry the sixt was to the Scottes, as you haue hard, given by & deliuered. And lest peradventure the Duke of Gloucester might thinke that the Duke of Albanie did not in all things set forwarde, preferre, and auance his first requestes, and demaundes, made and required of the Lordes of Scotland, and in especiall one which was for the assurance to be made for the repaiment to the king of Englande, of all such summes of money, as he had before hande prested and disbursed to the kyng of Scottes for the mariage to be solempnised and consummate betwene their childre, as before is reherfed. Therefore the sayde Duke of Albanie caused the Prouost and Burgesles of Edenborough to make a sufficient instrument obligatoye, to kyng Edward, for the true satisfaction and contentation of the same money, which he also sent by the sayde Prouost to the Duke of Gloucester to Alnewyke.

When the Duke of Gloucester had thus obtained his purpose, and receiued writings signed and sealed for the performance of the same, he sent the instruments to kyng Edward his brother, which much comended both his valiant manhood, and also hys prudent pollicy in conueying his businesse, both to his aboue purpose, and also to the profite of the realme. King Edward not a litle mused, and much more debated with his counsayle, whether it were more profitable and honorable to him and his realme, to suffer the sayd mencioned mariage to take effect, and proceede to a conclusion, or else to require a repayment and redeliuey of the summes of money layde out for the same purpose. After long consultation had, and it was considered in what case the realme and the king of Scottes stood in, for it was well known that he and hys

hys Nobilitie were at great disorde as you before haue heard: it was considered farther, that if the nobilitie preuayled and gat the souereignie, the lyne and succession of James the thirde were likely to be vtterly extirpate, and disinherited for euer: It was also alleged that the Prince of Scotlande neuer condiscended, nor as he himselfe sayde would agree to this motioned mariage. These things thus debated, the king by great aduise, refused and reuoked all things to be done for the more forwardnesse of the sayde matrimonie, and elected and chose the repayment of all such summes of money, as for the occasion of the sayde betruisted mariage was payde, and before hande contented and deliuered. And according to the wordes of the obligation, made by the towne of Edenborough, he sent Garter hys principall king at Armes and Northumberlande Herault, to declare and intimate to the Prouost and Burgesles of Edenborough, the determinate refusall of the matrimonie, and the election and choise of the repayment of the money and duety. And for the farther ouerture of the whole conclusion, Garter was instructed by wytyng what he should saye and declare: and so by conuenient iourneys came to the towne of Edenborough, eyght dayes before the feast of all Saintes, where he openly sayde as foloweth: I Garter king at armes, seruaunt, protectour and messenger vnto the most high and mightie prince, my most dread soueraigne Lorde, Edward by the grace of God, King of Englande and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Ireland, by vertue of certaine letters of procuracie here redie to be shewed by mee, by my sayde soueraigne Lorde made and geuen, make notice and geue knowlege vnto you Prouost, Burgesles, Marchauntes and communalte of the towne of Edenborough in Scotland, that where as it was sometime commoned & agreed, betwene my sayde soueraigne Lorde on the one partie, and the right high and mightie prince James king of Scottes on the other party, that mariage and matrimonie should haue bene solempnised and had betwene James the first begotten sonne of the sayd king of Scottes, and Ladie Cicilie daughter to my sayde soueraigne Lorde the king of England. And for the sayde mariage to haue bene performed, certain and diuers great summes of money, haue bene payde and contented by my sayde soueraigne Lord: which summes of money in case of refusall of the sayde mariage, by my sayde soueraigne Lorde to be made and declared, ye the said Prouost, Burgesles, Marchauntes and communalte, and euery one of you are bounde and obliged by your letters vnder your common seale of your towne of Edenborough, to repaye vnto hys highnesse vnder like forme, and at such termes as they were first payde. So that the king my soueraigne Lorde woulde make notice and knowlege of his pleasure and election, in taking or refusing of the sayde mariage, of the repayment of the sayde summes of money, before the feast of Allhalowes next to come, lyke as in your sayde letters, bearing date at Edenborough the fourth day of August last past, it was conteyned all at large. The pleasure and election of my sayde soueraigne Lorde, for diuers causes and considerations him moouing, is to refuse the accomplishment of the sayde mariage, and to haue the repayment of all such summes of money, as by occasion of the sayde betruisted mariage, his highnesse had payde. The sayde repayment to be had of your Prouost, Burgesles, Marchauntes, and communalte, and euery of you, your heires and successours, according to your bond and obligation

The message  
of Garter  
King at  
Armes.



gation afore rehearsed. And therefore I geue you notice and knowlege by this wryting, which I deliuer to you within the terme in your saide letters lymitted and expressed to all entents and effects, which thereof may ensue.

When Garter had thus declared all things geuen to him in charge, the Brouost or other Burgeses made aunswere, that they nowe knowing the kings determinate pleasure, would accordyng to their bonde, prepare for the repayment of the sayde summes, and gently entertayning Garter conueyed him to Barwike, from whence he departed to newe Castell, to the Duke of Gloucester, making relation to him of all his doings, which Duke with all speede returned to Sheryhutton, and there abode. Shortly after Garters departing, the Duke of Albanie, thinking to obteyne agayne the high fauour of the king his brother, deliuered him out of captiuitie and prison, wherein he had a certaine space continued (not without the Dukes assent, which besieged him in the Castell of Edenborough a little before) and set him at large, of whome outwardly he receyued great thanks, when inwardly nothing, but reuenging and confusion was in the kings stomach incorporate, so that shortly after in the kings presence, he was in leopordie of his life, & all improuided for dread of death enforced to take a small Balinger & to saile into Fraunce, where shortly after ryding by the men of armes, which encountered at the Tilt, by Lewys then Duke of Orleans, after French king, he was with mischarging of a speare, by fortunes peruerse countenance pittifully slayne and brought to death, leauing after him one onely sonne named John, which being banished Scotlande, enhabited and married in Fraunce, and there died. How sorrowfull is it to wryte, and to remember the chaunces and infortunites that happened within two yere in England and Scotlande, betweene naturall brethren. For king Edward set on by such as enuid the estate of the Duke of Clarence, forgetting nature, and brotherly friendship, consented to the death of hys sayde brother. James king of Scottes, putting in obliuion that Alexander his brother was the onely Organe and instrument by whome he obteyned libertie and freedom, seduced and led by hyle and malicious persons, which maligned at the glory and indifferent iustice of the Duke of Albanie, imagined and compassed his death and exiled him for euer: what a pernicious Serpent, and what a pestiferous Scorpion is that deuillish whelp, called priue Enuie? Agaynst it no fortreffe can defend nor caue can hide, no wood can shadowe, nor foule can escape, nor no beast can auoyde, her payson is so strong.

Wherefore let euery indifferent person searche histories, read Chronicles, looke on authours, as well holy as prophane, and they shall apparantly perceyue, that neyther open warre, daylie famine, nor accustomed mortalitie, is not so much an enemy, nor so great a Malice to destroye, and ouerthrowe high power and Nobilitie, as is rooted malice, inward grudge, and dissimuled hatred.

Although that king Edward were glad & ioyous of all the prosperous successe of all enterprizes in the realme of Scotlande, yet euen now hys feuer tercian, of the which he had languished sore, sithe hys boyage royall into Fraunce, was sodainely turned into a vncurable quartain: For where he was before tossed betweene hope and dispaire, that the matrimonie of hys daughter and Charles the Dolphyn, should come to the solempnization, ac-

cordyng

cordyng to the league, betwene him & the french king, concluded at Picquene: Now he was out of all doubt. For the Lorde Haward which was returned out of Fraunce, with many faire wordes & painted promises but without tribute or conclusion of the mariage, certified the king of his awne knowlege: howe that he beyng present, sawe the Ladie Margaret of Austriche, daughter to Duke Maximilian, sonne to the Emperour Fredericke, receyued into Fraunce, with pompe more then Emperiall, by the Duke of Bourbon, the Lorde Delabret, and many other Lords and magistrates of the realme, and so with great triumph, conueyed to Amboise, where the Dolphyn laye, and there was to him contracted and espoused.

King Edward now beyng certein, how the French king had with pleasant language, & colourable aunsweres, foded him forth, and allured him to geue credence, to his dissimulyng wordes, neither meanyng as he sayde, nor shewyng what he ment, determined with himselfe, no longer to suffer so apparant wrong, nor so intollerable an iniurie. Wherefore, he called his Nobilitie together, and declared to them the manifolde wrong, which he had receyued of late at the handes of the French king, and howe he vntreuly and vnprinckly, had broken the league and amitie, aswell in denyng the paymēt of the tribute, as also in refusyng the accomplishment of the mariage of his daughter, accordyng as in the treatie was concluded. Requiryng them therefore to studie how to reuenge and punish so great a villanie, offered to their native Countrie. The nobilitie not a little glad of this mocion, aunswered: that their whole desyre was to fight with the French men, whome they often times had banquished, and ouercome in battaile, and that for the dignitie and fame of their Countrie, they would let nothing be vnattempted, offering him in an instant, to be redie in harnesse, to fulfill his minde and desire. When the king knewe the towarde myndes of his subiectes of the Temporalitie, he moued the Spiritualitie (because by the ecclesiasticall lawes, they be prohibited to weare armure) to ayde him with money, for maintenaunce of his warres, & suppressyng of his enemies, who also condiscended to his request.

And in this yere I find noted that Edmond Shaw Goldsmith who had bene Mayor of London, of his awne costs redefied Cripple gate in London.

But now behold, while king Edward was intentiue, & employed his whole labor diligence, and industerie, to furnishe & set forward this warre, which he newly had attempted & begon: whether it was with the melancholy, & anger that he toke with the French king, for his vntreuth and vnkindnesse, or were

it by any superfluous surfet (to the which he was much geuen) he so-

dainly fell sicke, and was with a grievous maladie taken, yea,

so grievously taken, that his liuely spirites began to faile,

and was feble, which weakenesse when he perceyued,

he called together all his nobles, which that time

were about London, and sayd vnto them as

in the historie of king Edward the fift

shall be at large declared, and so

shortly after departed vnto

God, and was buried at

Windsoze.

U b b. j.

King

The Duke of Albanie in danger of his life, is forced to flee into Fraunce and shortly after was there slaine.



1483

This story from the beginning of this king, and a part of Richard the third as shall appear by a note in the margin was written by Sir Thomas Moore when he was under Shrike of London, and now of late corrected by his own copie.

The buriall of King Edward the fourth.

The description of King Edward the fourth.

**K**ing Edward of that name the fourth, after that he had liued .liij. yeres and .viij. monethes, and .viij. dayes, and had reigned king .xiiij. yeres, one moneth & .viij. daies, as is afore expressed, died at Westminster the .ix. day of April, the yere of our redemption .1483. leauing much sayre issue, that is to witte. Edwarde the Prince .xiiij. yeres of age: Richarde Duke of Yorke two yeres yonger, Elizabeth whose fortune and grace was after to be Queene, wyfe vnto King Henry the .viij. and mother vnto King Henry the .viii. Cicilie not so fortunate as sayre: Biget, which representyng the vertue of her, whose name she bare, professed and obserued a religious life in Dertforde a house of close Nonnes: Anne that was after honorablye maryed vnto Thomas then Lorde Hawarde, and after Erle of Surrye, and Katheryn which long tyme tossed in eyther fortune, sometyne in wealth, and often in aduersitie, at the last, if this be the last (for yet she lyueth) is by the beningtye of her fephewe king Henry the eyght in very prosperous estate, and worthy her birth and vertue.

After that this noble Prince was deceased at Westminster as afore sayde, he was wyth great funerrall honor and heauynesse of his people from thence conueyed and enterred at Windsor. A kyng of such gouernance and behauior in tyme of peace (for in warre each part must be others enemye) that there was neuer any prince of this lande attayning the Crowne by battayle, so heartily beloued with the substance of the people: nor he himselfe so specially in any part of his lyfe, as at the tyme of his death. Which fauour and affection yet after his death, by the crueltie, mischief and trouble of the tempestuous worlde that folowed, highly towarde him more encreased. At such tyme as he dyed, the displeasure of them that bare him grudge for King Henries sake the sirt, whom he deposed was well asswaged, & in effect quenched, in that that many of them were dead in more then .xx. yeres of his reigne (a great part of a long lyfe) and many of them in the meane season growen into his fauor, of which he was neuer straunge. He was a goodly personage and very princely to beholde: Of hart couragious, pollitique in counsayll, in aduersitie nothing abashed, in prosperitie rather ioyful then proude, in peace, iust and mercifull, in warre, sharpe and fierce, in the felde, bolde and hardye, and nathelasse no farther then wisdom would, aduenturous, whose warres whoso well consider, he shall no lesse commend his wisdom where he boyded, then his manhood where he banquished. He was of bisage louely, of body mightie, strong and cleane made, howbeit in his later dayes with ouer liberal diet, somewhat corpulent and bowzelye, and nathelasse not vncomelye. He was in youth greatly geuen to fleshy wantonnesse: From which health of bodye in great prosperitie and fortune without a speciall grace hardlye refrayneth. This faulte not greatly greued the people: for neyther could any one mans pleasure, stretch and extende to the displeasure of very many, and was

without

without violence, and ouer that in hys later dayes blessed and well left. In which tyme of his later dayes, this realme was in quiet & prosperous estate, no feare of outward enemyes, no warre in hande, nor none towarde, but such as no man looked for. The people towarde the Prince not in a constrained feare, but in a willyng and louyng obedience among themselves, and the commons in good peace. The Lordes whome he knew at baryaunce, himselfe in his death bed appeased. He hadde left all gatheryng of money (which is the onely thyng that wythdraweth the hartes of the Englishe men from the Prince) nor any thing entred he to take in hand by which he should be dyuen thereto: for his tribute out of fraunce hee had before obtayned. And the yere fore goyng his death he had obtayned the towne of Bartwike, And albeit that all the tyme of his reigne, he was with his people so benigne, courtesie, and so familiar, that no part of his vertues was more esteemed, yet that condicion in the ende of his dayes (in which many princes by a long continued souereintye decline to a proude port from debonayr behauior of their begynnynge) inuicelouslie in him grew and encreased: so farforth that in the Sommer last that euer he sawe, his highnesse beyng at Wyndsoz in hunting sent for the Maior and Aldermen of Londo vnto him, for none other arrand but to haue them hunt, and to be mery with him, where he made them not so stately, but so friendly & so familiar cheere, & sent venison from thence so frely into the Citie, that no one thing in many dayes before gat him moe harts, or more hartie fauor among the common people, which oftentimes more esteem, and take for great kindnesse a little courtesye then a great benefite. So deceased as I haue saide, this noble kyng, in that tyme, in which his lyfe was most desyred, whose loue of hys people and entier affection towarde hym, had bene to his noble chyldren (hauing in themselves also as many giftes, of nature, as many princely vertues, as much goodlye towardnesse as theyr age could receiue) a merueilous fortesse and sure armor, if deuision, and dissension of their friendes, had not vnarmed them, and left them destitute, and the execrable desyre of souereintie; prouoked him to their destruction, which if either kind, or kindnesse had holden place, must nedes haue bene their chiefe defence. For Richarde the Duke of Glocester, by nature their vncle, by office their protectoz, to their father beholden, to themselves by oth and allegaunce bounden, all the bandes broken, that bindeth man and man together without respect of God or the worlde, vnaturally contruyed to bereue them, not onely of their dignitie, but also of their lyues. But forasmuch as this demeanoz ministreth in effect all the whole matter, whereof this speciall storye shall intreate, it is therfore conuenient somewhat to shewe you ere we farther go, what maner of man this was that coulde fynde in his hart so much mischief to conceiue.

Richard Duke of Yorke, a noble man and a mightie, began not by warre but by lawe to chalenge the Crowne, puttyng his clayme into the Parliament, where his cause was either for right or fauor so farforth aduanced, that king Henry his blood (albeit he had a goodly Prince) vtterly reiected, the Crowne was by auctoritie of Parliament entayled vnto the Duke of Yorke and his issue male in remainder immediately after the death of king Henry. But the Duke not induryng so long to tary, but entending vnder pretext of dissention and debate arising in the realme, to preuent his tyme, and

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to

Cribnte.

A noble and gentle prince.

Richard Duke of Yorke how he chalenged the Crowne.



Richard  
Duke of  
Yorke name  
at Wakefield.

This was  
King Ed-  
ward the  
fourth.

George Duke  
of Clarence.

The descrip-  
tion of King  
Richard the  
thirde.

The death of  
King Henry  
the first.

to take vpon him the rule in king Henryes life, was with many Nobles of the realme at Wakefelde slaine, leauyng thre sonnes, Edward, George, and Richard. All thre as they are great states of birth, so were they great & stately of stomacke, gredie, and ambitious of aucthoritie, and impacient of partners.

Edward reuengyng his fathers death, depriued king Henry, and attayned the Crowne.

George Duke of Clarence was a noble Prince, and at all poyntes fortunate, if either his awne ambition had not set him agaynst his brother, or the enuy of his enemyes, his brother agaynst him. For were it by the Queene and the Lordes of her blood, which highly maligned the kinges kindred (as women commonly not of malice, but of nature hate them tohome theyr husbandes loue) or were it a proude appetite of the Duke himselte entenyng to be king: at the last heynous treason was there layd to his charge, and finally were he faultie or faultlesse, attainted was he by Parliament, and iudged to the death, and therebpon hastily drowned in a Butte of Malmesie (as is aforesayde) whose death king Edward (albeit he commaunded it) when he wist it was done, pitifully bewayled it, and sorrowfully repented it.

Richard the thirde sonne, of whome we nowe intreate, was in wit and courage egall with either of them, in bodie and prowesse farre vnder them both, little of stature, euill featured of limnes, crooke backed, his left shoulder much higher then his right, hard fauoured of visage, and such as is in states called warlike, in other men, otherwise, he was malicious, wrathfull, enuyous, and from afoze his birth euer froward. It is for truth reported, that the Duches his mother had so much a do in her trauaile, that she could not be deliuered of him bncut: and that he came into the world with the feete forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the same runneth) also not vntoethed: whether men of hatred report about the truth, or else that nature chaunged her course in his beginnyng, which in the course of his life many thinges vnaturally committed, I cannot tell. None euill Capitaine was he in the warre, as to the which his disposicion was moze meetly then for peace. Sundry victories had he, and sometyme ouerthrowes, but neuer in default as for his awne person, either of hardinesse or of pollitique order: free was he called of dispence, and somewhat about his power liberall: with large giftes he gate him bnfedfast friendship, for which he was faine to pill and spoyle in other places, which gat to himselte stedfast hatred: He was close and secret and a depe dissimuler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly compisable where he inwardly hated, not lettynge to kisse whome he thought to kill: despiteous & cruell, not for euill will alway, but oftener for Ambicion, and either for the suretie or the encrease of his estate: friend and foe was much what indifferent vnto him: where his aduantage grew, he spared no mannes death, whose life withstoode his purpose. He stue with his awne handes king Henry the first beyng prisoner in the Tower of London, as men constantly say, and that without commaundement or knowlege of the king, which would vndoubtedly, if he had entended that thing, haue appoynted that Butcherly office to some other then to his awne borne brother. Some wyle men also weene that his drift couertly conueyed, lacked not in helpyng forth his brother Duke of Clarence to his death: which he resisted openly, how be it somewhat (as men demed) moze faintly then he that were hartily mynded to his

to his welth. And they that thus deeme, thinke that he long time in king Edwardes life foze thought to be king, in case that his brother (whose lyfe he looked that euill diet should shorten) should happen to decrease (as in dede he did) while his children were yong. And they deme that for this intent, he was glad of his brothers death the Duke of Clarence, whose life must nedes haue hindered him so entenyng, whether the same Duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephew the yong king, or enterprised to be king himselte. But of all this matter concernyng the Duke of Clarence, there is no certeinie, and whoso deuineth vpon coniectures, may as well shote to farre, as to short. Howbeit this I haue by credible informacion learned, that the selfe night in which king Edward died, one Hittlebrooke long before morning came in great haste to the house of one Pottier, dwelling in Redcrose streete without Crepelgate: And when he was with hastie rapping quickly letten in, he shewed vnto Pottier that king Edward was departed: by my troth man quod Pottier, then will my maister the Duke of Gloucester be king. What cause he had so to thinke, hard it is to say, whether he beyng towards him any thing knewe that he such a thing purposed, or otherwise had any inckelyng therof: for he was not likely to speake it of naught.

But nowe to retorne to the course of this historie, were it that the Duke of Gloucester had of olde fozenynded this conclusion, or was now at earst therevnto moued, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the yong Princes his nephewes (as oportunitie and likelihood of speede, putteth a man in courage of that he neuer entented) certeinie it is that he contriued their destruction, with the vsurpacion of the Regall dignitie vpon himselte. And forasmuche as he well wylled, and holpe to maintaine a long continued grudge and heart brennyng betweene the Queenes kindred and the Kings blood, either partie enuyng others aucthoritie, he now thought that their deuision should be (as it was in dede) a fortherly beginnyng to the pursuite of his entent, and a sure ground for the foundation of all his buyldyng, if hee might first vnder the pretence of reuengyng, abuse the anger and ignorauce of the one partie, to the destruction of the other: and then winne to his purpose as many as he could: and those that could not be wonne, might be lost ere they looked therfore. For of one thing was he certaine, that if his entent were perceyued, he should soone haue made peace with both the parties, wylth his awne blood.

King Edward in his life albeit that this discention betweene his friends somewhat pzed him, yet in his good health he somewhat the lesse regarded it, because he thought whatsoener businesse should fall betweene them, himselte should alway be able to rule both the parties. But in his last sicknesse, when he perceaued his naturall strength so fore enfeebled, that he dispaired of all reeuery, then he considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted then that which happened, yet well foze seing that many harynes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lack discretion of themselues, and good counsayle of their friends, of which either party would counsayle for their awne commoditie, and rather by pleasant aduise to winne themselues fauour, then by profitable aduertisement to doe the children good, he called some of them before him that were at variance, and in especiall the Lozde Marques Dorset the Queenes sonne by



her first husbnde, and Richard the Lorde Hastings a noble man, then Lorde Chamberleyn, agaynst whome the Quene especially grudged, for the great fauour the king bare him, and also for that she thought him secretly familiar with the king in wanton company. Her kindred also bare him sore, as well for that the king had made him Capitaine of Calice, which office the Lorde Ryuers, brother to the Quene claymed of the kings former promise, as for diuers other great giftes which he receyued, but they looked for. When these Lordes with diuers other of both the parties were come in presence, the king lifting by himselfe, and vnder set with pillowes, as it is reported, sayde on thys wise vnto them.

The exhortation of king Edward in his death bed

My Lords, my dere kinsmen and alies, in what plight I now lye, you see, & I well fee: by which the lesse while I loke to liue with you, the more deeply am I moued to care in what case I leaue you, for suche as I leaue you, such are my children lyke to finde you. Which if they should as God forbid, finde you at variaunce, might hap themselues to fall at warre, ere their discretion would serue them to set you at peace. See see their youth, of which I reckon the onely suretie to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all you loue them, if eche of you hate other. If they were men, your faithfulness would happily suffice: but childhood must be mainteyned by mens auctoritie, & slipper youth vnder propped with elder counsaile, which neither can they haue, but you geue it, neither can you geue it, if ye agree not. For where eche laboureth to breake that the other maketh, and where hatred is of eche others counsaile, there must it needes be long ere any good conclusion go forwarde. And also while eyther partie laboureth to be chiefe, flatterie shall haue more place, then plaine and faithfull aduise, of which must needes ensue the euill bringing by of the Prince, whose minde in tender youth infect, shall redily fall to mischief and ryot, and draw downe this noble realme to ruine, but if grace turne him to wisdom: which if God send, then they that by euill pleased him before best, shall after fall farthest out of fauour, so that euer at the last, euill drifts driue to naught, and good playne waies prosper. Great variaunce hath there long bene betwene you, not alway for great causes. Sometime a thing right well entended, oure misconstruction turneth it to worlde: or a smal displeasure done vnto vs, either our awne affection or euill tonges maketh it much more grieuous. But this wot I wel, & ye neuer heretofore had so great cause of hatred, as ye haue now of loue. That we be al me and all christen men, this will I leaue vnto preachers to tell you (& yet I wot not whether any preachers words ought more to moue you, then his that is by and by goyng to the place that they all preach off.) But this shall I desire you to remember that the one part of you is of my bloud, the other of mine alies, & ech of you with other eyther of kindred or affinity, which spiritual kindred of affinity, if the sacraments of Christes church beare that weight with vs, that I would God they did, should no lesse moue vs to charitie, then the respect of fleschly consanguinitie. Our Lorde forbid that ye loue together the worlde for the selfe same cause that ye ought to loue together the better. And yet that happeneth sometime: and no where finde we so deadly debate as among them which by nature and lawe, ought most best to agree together: Such a pestilent Serpent is ambition, and desire of vaine glorie and soueraigntie, which among states where he once entereth, creepeth so farre forth,

Ambicion.

till

till with diuision and variaunce he turneth all to mischief. First longing to be next to the best: Afterward egall with the best, and at the last chiefe and aboue the best. Of which immoderate appetite of worship, and thereby of debate and discention, what losse, what sorowe, what trouble hath within these fewe yeres growen in this realme, I praye God as well to forget, as we well remember. Which things if I could as well haue foreseene as I haue with my more pain then pleasure proued: By Gods blessed Ladie (that was euer his othe) I would neuer haue wonne the curtesie of so many mens knees with the losse of so many mens heads. But sithence things passed cannot be called agayne, much ought we the more to beware, by what occasion we haue taken so great hurt before, that we eftsones fall not into that occasion of daunger againe. Now be those griefes passed, & al is (God be thanked) quiet, and likely right well to prosper in wealthfull peace vnder your Cousins my children, if God send them lyfe and you loue. Of which two things the lesse losse were they, by whome though God bid his pleasure, yet should the realme alway finde kings, and paradiuenture as good kings. But if you among your selues in a chilles raigne fall at debate, many a good man shall perishe, and happily he to, and ye to, or this land finde peace agayne: wherefore in these last wordes that euer I looke to speake to you or with you, I exhort and require you all for the loue that ye haue euer borne to me, for the loue that I haue euer borne to you, and for the loue that our Lorde and sauiour Christ beareth to vs all, from this time forward, all griefes forgotten, eche of you loue other. Which I verily trust you wil, if you any thing earthly regard, either God or your king, affinity or kindred, this realme your awne Countrie, or your awne suretie. And therewithall the king not able to endure any lenger to sit by, layd him downe on his right side, his face toward them: and none was there present that could refrain from weeping. But the Lordes comforting him with as good wordes as they could, and answering for the time, as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence, as by their wordes appered, eche forgave other, and ioyned their hands together, when (as it after appered by their deedes) their hartes were farre a sunder.

Asone as the king was departed, Edward the Noble Prince his sonne drewe towardes London, which at the time of his fathers decease, kept his house at Ludlow in Wales: which Countrie being farre of from the lawe and recourse to iustice, was begonne to be farre out of good rule and wahren wynde, so that Robbers and Ryuers walked at libertie vncorrected. And for this encheason the Prince was in the life of his father sent thether, to the ende that the auctoritie of his presence, should refraine euil disposed persons from the boldnesse of their former outrages. And to the gouernaunce and ordering of this yong Prince at his sending thether, was there appointed Syr Anthony Wooduile Lorde Ryuers and brother to the Quene, a right honorable man, as balyaunt of hande as pollitique in counsaile. And there were adioyned vnto him other of the same party, and in effect euery one as he was neere of kinne vnto the Queene, so was he planted nere about the Prince. That drift was by the Queene not vntwisely deuised, whereby her bloud might in the youth of the Prince be rooted in his fauour. But all thys the Duke of Gloucester turned vnto their destruction, and vpon that ground he set the foundation of all his vnhappy building. For whome soeuer he perceaued

Edward the Prince cometh toward London.

Syr Anthony Wooduile Lorde Ryuers, brother to the Quene

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ued cyther at variance with them, or bearing himselfe their fauour, he brake vnto them, some by mouth, some by wytyng and secret messengers, that it neither was reason, nor in any wise to be suffred, that the yong King their maister and kinsman should be in the hands and custody of his mothers kindred, sequestred in maner from their company and attendance, of which euery one of them ought him as faithfull seruice as they, and many of them of farre moze honorable part of kinne then his mothers side: whose bloud (quod he) sauing the kinges pleasure, was full vnmeete to be matched with hys: which now to be as who saye remoued from the king, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quod he) neither honorable vnto his maiestie, nor vnto vs, and also to his grace no suretie to haue the mightiest of his friendes from him, and vnto vs no little ieopardie to suffer our well proued euill willers to growe in ouer great aucthoritie with the Prince in his youth, namely which is light of beliete and sone perswaded. Ye remember I trow King Edward himselfe, albeit he was a man of age & discretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the bende, moze then stode cyther with his honoz or our profite, or with the comodity of any man else, except only the immoderate aduancement of themselves: which whether they thurst after their awne weale, or our woe, it were hard I wene to gesse. And if some folkes friendship had not holden better place with the king then any respect of kindred, they might easely haue trapped and brought to confusion some of vs or thys: and why not as easely as they haue done some already, as nere of his royall bloud as we are? But our Lorde hath wrought his will, and thanks be to his grace that perill is past. Howbeit, as great is growyng, if we suffer thys yong king in our enemies hande, which wythout his witting might abuse the name of hys commaundement to any of our vndoing, which thing God and good prouision forbid. Of which good prouision none of vs hath any thing the lesse neede for the late made attonement, in which the kinges pleasure had moze place, then the partie willes. Nor none of vs I beleue is so vnwise or ouersene, to trust a newe friend made of an olde foe: Or to thinke that an hourely kindnesse, sodainely contract in one houre continued, should be deeper settled in their stomackes, then a long accustomed malice many yeres rooted.

With these wordes and wytynges, and such other, the Duke of Gloucester soone set on fire them that were of themselves ethe to kinde, and in especially twaine, Edward Duke of Buckingham, and Richard Lorde Hastings and Chamberlanie, both men of honour and of great power. The one by long succession from his auncestrie, the other by his office, and the kinges fauour. These two not veryng eche to other so much loue, as hatred both vnto the Quenes part: in this poynt accorded together with the Duke of Gloucester, that they would bitterly amoue from the kinges companie all his mothers friendes, vnder the name of their enemyes. This beyng concluded, the Duke of Gloucester vnderstandyng that the Lordes which were about the king, entended to bring him by to his coronacion, accompanied with suche power of their friendes that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gatheryng and assemble of people, and in maner of open warre, whereof he wist the ende was doubtfull, and in which the king beyng on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a rebellion: He secretly therefoze by diuers meanes, caused the Queene to be perswaded and brought

brought in minde, that it neither was neede, and also shoulde be ieopardous the king to come by so strong. For where as now euery Lord loued other, and none other thing studied vpon, but about the coronacion and honoz of the king: If the Lordes of her kindred should assemble in the kinges name much people, they should geue the Lordes an occasion, betwene whome had bene before some debate, to feare and suspect, least they should gather this people, not for the kinges sauegard, whome no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauyng moze regarde to their olde variaunce, then to their newe attonement: For which cause they should assemble on the other partie much people againe for their defence, whose power she wist well stretched farre, and thus should all the realme fall on a roare. And of all the hurt that thereof should ensue, which was likely not to be little, and the most harme there like to fall where she lest would, all the world would put her & her kindred in the wight, and say that they had vnwisely and vntuly also broken the amitie and peace that the king her husband had so prudently made betweene his kin and hers in his death bed, and which the other partie faythfully obserued.

The Queene beyng in thus wise perswaded such woerde sent vnto her soune, and vnto her brother beyng about the king, and ouer that, the Duke of Gloucester himselfe and other Lordes the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the king so reuerently, and to the Quenes friendes there so louingly, that they nothing earthly mistrustyng, brought the king by in great haste, but not in good speede, with a small companie. Now as the king passed towarde London, from the towne of Northampton, leauyng behinde him the Lorde Ryuers, the kinges vnckle, who thought the next day to be with the king at Stony Stratforde, ten miles from thence, thether came the Dukes of Gloucester, and Buckingham. So was there made that night much friendly cheere betwene these Dukes, and the Lorde Ryuers, a great while. But incontinently that they were openly departed with great courtisie, and the Lord Ryuers lodged, the Dukes secretly, with a fewe of their most priuie friendes, set them downe in counsaile, wherein they spent a great part of the night. And at their risyng in the dawnyng of the day, they sent about priuily vnto their seruantes in their Innes and lodgynges, geuing them commaundement to make them selues quickly redie, for their Lordes were redie to horsebacke. Upon which Messages many of their folkes were attendant, when many of the Lord Ryuers seruantes were vnreadie. The Dukes also at that tyme, had taken the keyes of their Inne into their custodie, that none should passe forth without their license. And also in the highway towarde Stonie Stratforde, where the king lay, they had bestowed certaine of their folke to stoppe the passage, that no person shoulde passe from Northampton towarde Stonie Stratforde, but should be either stayed, or compelled to retorne againe, vntill they shoulde geue other licence: because sayd they, that the Dukes themselves entended for the shewe of their diligence, to be the first that should attend that day vpon the kinges highnesse out of that towne: thus bare they folke in hande.

But when the Lorde Ryuers vnderstode the Gates to be closed, and the wayes on euery syde beset, neither his seruantes, nor himselfe suffered once to go out, and perceuyng well that so great a thing without his knowledge could not be begon for naught, comparvng also with himselfe this maner of doynge present, with the last nightes cheere, in so fewe houres, so great  
a change,



a chaunge, which he maruclously misliked. Howbeit, sith he could not get away, and to keepe himselfe close he would not, least he should seeme to hide himselfe for some secreete feare of his awone fault, whereof he saide he had cause in himselfe, he determined vpon the suretie of his awone conscience to go boldly vnto them, and to inquire what this matter did meane. Whom assone as they saw, they began to quarrell with him, and sayde, that he extended to set distaunce betwene the king and them, and to bring them to confusion, but it should not lie in his power. And when he began, as he was a verie well spoken man, in goodly wise to excuse himselfe, they taried not the ende of his answer, but shortly tooke him and put in ward, and that done went forthwith to horsebacke, and tooke the way to stonie Stratford, where they found the king with his companie readie to scape on horsebacke, and to depart forward and to leaue that lodgyng for them, because it was to streight for both companies. And assone as they came in his presence, they light downe with all their companie about them. To whome the Duke of Buckingham sayde, go afoze Gentlemen, and yomen, kepe your rowmes. And thus in a goodly aray they came to the king, & on their knees in humble wise saluted his grace, which receyued them in verie ioyous and amiable maner, nothing earthly knowyng nor mistrustyng as yet: But euen by and by in his presence, they picked a querell to the Lorde Richard Gray the kinges other brother by his mother, sayng that the Lorde Marques his brother, and the Lorde Ryuers his Uncle, had compassed to rule the king and the realme, and to set variance among the states, and to subdue and destroy the noble blood of the realme. Toward the accomplishyng whereof, they sayde that the Lorde Marques had entred into the Tower of London, and thence taken out the kinges treasure, and sent men to the sea. All which thinges these Dukes wist well, were done for good purposes, and necessary by the counsaile at London, sayng that somewhat they must say. Unto which wordes the king answered, what my brother Marques hath done, I cannot tell: But in good fayth I dare well answer for my Uncle Ryuers, and my brother here, that they be innocent of any such matters. Yea my leege, quod the Duke of Buckingham, they haue kept their dealyng in these matters farre from the knowlege of your good grace. And forthwith they arrested the Lorde Richard Gray, and sir Thomas Vaughan knight, in the kinges presence, and brought the king and all backe vnto Northampton, where they tooke againe further counsaile. And there they sente away from the king whome it pleased them, and set newe seruautes about him, such as liked better them then him. At which dealyng the king wept, but it booted not. And at dinner the Duke of Gloucester sent a dishe from his awone table to the Lorde Ryuers, prayng him to be of good cheere, all should be well enough. And he thanked the Duke, and prayed the messenger to beare it to his Nephew the Lorde Richard Gray, with the same message for his comfort, as one to whom such aduersitie was straunge: But himselfe had bene in all his dayes imbred therewith, and therefore could beare it the better. But for all this comfortable curtise of the Duke of Gloucester, he sent the Lorde Ryuers, and the Lorde Richard, with sir Thomas Vaughan into the North Countrie to diuers places into prison, and afterwarde, they were all sent to Pomfret Castell, where in the ende they were beheaded.

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In this wise the Duke of Gloucester tooke vpon him selfe the order and gouernance of the yong kyng, whome with much honoz and humble reuerence, he conueyed vnto the Citie of London. But auone the tidyngs of this matter came hastily to the Queene a litte before the midnight followyng, and that in the sozest wise, that the kyng her sonne was taken, her brother, her sonne, and her other friends arested, and sent, no man wist whether, to be done wyth, God wot what. With which tidynges, the Queene in great flight, and heauinesse, bewailyng her childes reigne, her friends mischaunce, and her owne infortune, cursyng the time that euer shee was disswaded the gatheryng of power about the king, gotte her selfe in all the hast possible wyth her yong sonne and her daughters out of the palaice of Westminster, in which she them lay, into the Sanctuarie, lodgyng her selfe and her company there in the Abbots place.

The Queene  
sakech sanc-  
tuarie.

Now came there one in likewise not long after midnight from the Lord Chamberleyn, vnto the Archebishop of Yorke, then Chaunceloz of England, to hys place not farre from Westminster. And for that hee shewed his seruantes that he had tidynges of so great importaunce, that his maister gaue him in charge not to forbear his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admitte this messenger vnto his bed syde. Of whome hee heard that those Dukes were gone backe with the kinges grace from Stony Stratford vnto Northampton: Notwithstanding, Syr quoth he, my Lord, sendeth your Lordship worde, that there is no feare: For he assureth you that all shall be well. I assure him quod the Archebishop, be it as well as it wil, it will neuer be so well as we haue seene it. And therupon by and by after the messenger was departed, he caused in all the hast, all his seruautes to be called by, and so with his owne household about him, and euerye man weaponed, he tooke the great scale with him, and came yet before daye vnto the Queene. About whome he founde much heauinesse, rouble, hast and businesse, cariage, and comeyng of her stuffe into the Senuary, Chestes, Cofers, Packes, Ferrels, Trusses, all on mens backes, no man vnoccupied, some lading, some goyng, some discharging, some comyng for moze, some brekyng downe the walles to bring in the next way, and some yet drew to them that holpe to carrie a wrong way. The Queene her selfe sate alone alowe on the rushes all desolate, and dismayed, whome the Archebishop comforted in the best maner he coude, shewyng her that he trusted that the matter was nothing so soze as shee tooke it for, & that he was put in good hope, and out of feare by the message sent him from the Lord Chamberleyn. Ah, wo worth him quoth she, for he is one of them that laboureth to destroy me and my blood. Madam quoth he, be ye of good cheere, for I assure you, if they crowne any other king then your sonne, whome they now haue with them, we shall on the morow crowne his brother, whome you haue here with you. And here is the great Seale, which in likewise as that noble Prince your housbande, deliuered it vnto me, so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behofe of your sonne, & therewith he toke her the great Seale, and departed home agayne, yet in the dawning of the day: By which time he might in his chamber window se al the Chamis full of boates of the Duke of Glocesters seruautes, watching that no man shoulde go to the Senuary, nor passe vnserched, and examined. Then was there great commocion, and murmoz aswell in other places about, and specially



ally in the Citie, the people diuerslye deuinyng vpon this dealing. And some Lordes, knights, and gentlemen, either for fauor of the Queene, or for feare of themselues, assembled in sundry companies, and went flocking in harness: and many also, for that they reconed this demeanour attempted, not so specially against the other Lords, as against the king himself in the disturbance of his coronation: therefore they assembled by and by together, to comen of thys matter at London: At which meeting, the Archebishop of Yorke fearing that it woulde be ascribed (as it was in dedde) to his ouermuch lightnesse, that he so sodainely had yelded by the great seale to the Queene, to whome the custody thereof nothyng appertayned, without especiall commaundement of the king, secretly sent for the great Seale agayne, and brought it with him after the customable maner. And at this meting the Lord Hastings, whose troth toward the king no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, perswaded the lords to beleue that the Duke of Glocester was sure & fastly faithfull to his prince, and that the Lord Ryuers, and Lord Richard with the other knights were for matters attempted by them against the Duke of Glocester, and Buckingham put vnder arrest for their suretie, not for the kinges ieopardie: and that they were also in safegarde, and there no longer to remaine, then till the matter were, not by the Dukes onely, but also by all the other Lords of the kings counsaile indifferently examined, and by their discrecions ordered, and either iudged or appeased. But one thing he aduysed them to beware, that they iudged not the matter to farre forth, ere they knewe the truth, nor turning their priuate grudges into the common hurt, irritating and prouoking men into anger, and disturbing the kings coronacion, toward which the Dukes were comyng by, that they might peraduenture bring the matter so farre out of ioynt, that it should neuer be brought in frame agayne. Which strife if it should hap, as it were likely to come to a fiede, though both parties were in aliother thinges egall, yet shoulde the auctorite be on that side, where the kyng himselfe is: with these perswasions of my Lorde Hastings, wherof parte himselfe beleued, of part he wist the contrary: these commocions were somewhat appeased, but specially, by that that the Dukes of Glocester and Buckingham, were so nere and came so shortly on with the kyng, in none other maner, nor with none other boyce or semblaunce, then to his coronacion, causing the fame to be blownen about, that these Lords & knightes that were taken, had contrived the destruction of the Dukes of Glocester & Buckingham, and of other the noble blood of the realme, to the ende that themselues woulde alone demeane and gouerne the king at their pleasure. And for the colorable prooffe therof, such of the Dukes seruaunts as rode with their cartes of their stuffe, which were taken, among the which stuffe no marueyll though some were harness, which at the breaking by of such an housholde must nedes be brought away, or cast awaye, they shewed to the people all the way as they went and sayde: lo, here be the barrelles of harness, that these traitours had priuilye conueighed in their cariages to destroy the noble Lordes wythall. This diuerselye, (although it made the matter to wise men more vnlkely) well perceiuyng that the entendours of such a purpose woulde rather haue hadde their harness on their backes, then to haue bounde them by in barrelles, yet many of the common people were therewith right well satisfiied, and saide it were almoste to hang them.

when

When the king approached nere the City, the Shaior, and Aldermen and five hundred commoners receiued his grace reuerently at Barnesay Parke, and so conueyed him to the Citie, where he entred the fourth day of May, in the first and last yere of his reigne, and was lodged in the bishop of Londons Pallace: but the Duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reuerently, sayng to all men as he rode, beholde your Prince and souereigne Lorde, and made suche semblaunce of lowlynesse to his Prince, that from the great obloquy that he was in so late before, he was sodainely fallen in so great trust that at the counsaile next assembled, he was made the onely chiefe ruler, and thought most mete to be Protector of the king and his realme: so that, were it destenie, or were it folly, the Lambe was betaken to the Wolfe to kepe. At which counsaile the Archebishop of Yorke was sore blamed for deliuering the great seale to the Queene, & the seale taken from him and deliuered to Doctor John Russell Bishop of Lincoln, a wise man and a good, & of much experience, and one of the best learned men vndoubtedly that Englande had in his time, & diuers lords & knights were apointed to diuers rowmes, the Lord Chamberlaine & some other kept the rowmes that they were in before, but not many.

Now were it so that the Protector (which alwayes you must take for the Duke of Gloucester) sore thirsted for the achieuyng of his pretended enterprise, and thought euery daye a yere till it were perfourmed, yet durst he no farther attempt, as long as he had but halfe his praye in his hande, well witting that if he deposed the one brother, all the realme woulde fall to the other, if he remayned eyther in Sanctuarie, or should happily be shortly conueyed to his farther libertie. Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the Lordes in counsell, he purposed to them that it was a heynous dedde of the Queene, and proceeding of great malice toward the kings counsellors, that she should kepe the kings brother in Sanctuarie from him whose special pleasure and comfort were to haue his brother with him, and that to be done by her to none other intent, but to bring all the Lordes in an obloquy and murmour of the people, as though they were not to be trusted with the kings brother, which Lordes were by the whole assent of the Nobles of the Realme appointed as the kings nere friends to the tuition of his royall person, the prosperitie whereof (quod he) standeth not alonely in keeping from enemies and euill dyet, but partly also in recreation and moderate pleasure, which he can not take in his tender youth in the company of old and auncient persons, but in the familiar conuersation of those that be not farre vnder nor farre aboue his age, and neuerthelesse of estate conuenient to accompany his noble maiestie, wherfore with whome rather then with his aboue brother: and if anye man thinke this consideration light (I am sure no man so thinketh that loueth the king) let him consider that sometime without small thinges, greater cannot stande, and verily it redoweth greatly to the dishonour both of the kinges highnesse, and of all bys that be about his grace to haue it runne in euery mans mouth, not in this realme onely, but also in other landes (as euill wordes walke farre) that the kings brother should be faine to kepe sanctuarie. For euery man will iudge that no man wil so do for nought, & such opinion once fastened in mens harts, hard it is to be wrested out, and may growe to more grieffe then any man here can diuine. Wherefore me thinketh it were not the worst to send to the Queene some honozable

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and



and trustie personage, such as tendereth the kings weale and the honour of his counsell, and is also in credite and fauour with her: for all which considerations none seemeth moze meetely to mee, then the reuerend father here present, my Lorde Cardinall Archebysshop of Yorke, who may in this matter doe most good of all men, if it please hym to take the payne, which I doubt not of hys goodnesse he will not refuse for the kings sake and oures, and wealth of the yong Duke himselte the kinges most honozable brother, and for the comfort of my souereigne Lord himselte my most deare Nephew, considering that thereby shall be ceassed the slaunderous rumour and obloquy now going abrode, and the hurtes auoyded that thereof might ensue, and much rest and quietnesse growe to all the realme. And if thee percase be so obstinate and so precisely set vpon her aboue will and opinion, that neither his wise and faythfull aduertisement can moue her, nor anye mans reason satisfie her, then shall we by mine aduise by the kings authoritie fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his noble presence, in whose contynuall company he shall be so well cherished and so honozably intreated, that all the worlde shall to our honour and her reproche, perceyue that it was onely malice, frowardnesse, and foly, that caused her to keepe him there. Thys is my mynde for thys tyme, except that any of you my Lordes any thyng perceyue to the contrary, for neuer shall I by Gods grace so wced my selfe vnto mine awne wyll, but I shall be ready to chaunge it vpon your better aduises.

When the Protectour had sayde, all the counsayle affirmed that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the king and the Duke hys brother honozable, and a thing that should cease great murmur in the realme, if the mother might by good meanes be induced to delyuer him: which thing the Archebysshop of Yorke, whome they all agreed also to be most conuenient thereunto, tooke vpon him to moue her, and thereto doe his vttermost endeavour. Howbeit, if she could in no wise be intreated with her good wyll to delyuer him, then thought he and suche other of the spiritualtie as were present, that it were not in anywise to be attempted to take him out against her wyll, for it would be a thing that should turne to the great grudge of all men and high displeasure of God, if the priuilege of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many yerres beene kept, which both kings and Popes so good had graunted, so many had confirmed, and which ground was moze then fife hundred yerres ago sanctified by saint Peter himselte, in his awne person (sayth Sir Thomas Moore) in spirite accompanied, with a great multitude of Angells by night so specially halowed and dedicate to God, for the prooffe whereof they haue yet in the Abbey, saint Peters Cope to shewe, and from that time hetherward, was there neuer so vnderoute a king, that euer enterprised the sacred priuilege to violate, nor so holy a Bysshop that durst presume the Church of the same to consecrate: and therefore, quod the Archbishop, God forbid that any man should for any earthly enterpryse breake the immunitie and libertie of that sacred Sanctuarie, that hath bene the safegarde of so many a good mans lyfe, and I trust quod he we shall not neede it, but for any maner of nede I would we should not do it, I trust y<sup>e</sup> the with reason shall be contented, and al thing in good maner obteyned. And if it hap that I bring it not so to passe, yet shall I further it to my best power, so that you all shall perceyue my good wil, diligence and endeour: But the mothers

dread

dread and womanish feare shall be the let, if any be.

May womannish frowardnesse, quod the Duke of Buckingham, for I dare take it on my soule, that she well knoweth that she nedeth no such thing to feare, either for her sonne or for her selfe. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with women, would God some of the men of hir kinne were women to, and then should all be sone in rest. Howbeit there is none of her kinne the lesse loued for that they be of her kinne, but for their owne euill deseruyng. And put the case that we neyther loued her nor her kinne, yet there were no cause why we should hate the kinges noble brother, to whose grace we our selues be of kinne, whose honour if she as much desired as our dishonour, and as much regarde toke to his welth, as to her awne will, shee would be as loth to suffer him to be absent from the king as any of vs be, for if she had any wit, as would God she had as good will, as she hath frowarde wit: she would thinke her selfe no worse then some that are here, of whose faythfull myndes she nothing doubterh, but verily beleueth and knowlegeth, that they would be as soye of his harme as her awne self, and yet they would haue him from her, if she abyde there.

And we all I thinke be content that both her childzen be with her, if she come from thence, and abide in such place where they may be with their honour. Nowe then, if she refuse the deliurance of him to folow the wise dome of them, whose wisdom she knoweth, whose truth she well trusteth: it is easie to perceyue that frowardnesse letteth her, and not feare. But go to, suppose that she feareth (as who may let her to feare her awne shadow) the moze she feareth to deliuer him, the moze ought we to feare to leaue him in her handes, for if she cast such fond doubties that she feare his hurt, then will she feare that he shall be fet thence, for she will sone thinke that if men were set (which God forbid on so great a mischief) the Sanctuarie will little let them, which Sancturay good men as me thinketh might without sunne, somewhat lesse regard then they do. Nowe then, if she doubt least he might be fetched from her, is it not likely enough, that she will sende him somewhere out of the Realme: verily I loke for none other. And I doubt not but she nowe as sore mindeth it, as we minde the let thereof. And if she might hap to bring that purpose to passe, as it were no great maisterie to doe, we lettynge her alone, all the world would say that we were a sort of wise counsaylozs about a king, to let his brother be cast away vnder our noses. And therfore I ensure you faythfully, for my minde, I will rather mauer her stomack fetche him away, then leaue him there till her feare or fond frowarde feare conuey him away, and yet will I breake no Sanctuarie, for verily sith the priuilege of that place and other of that sort haue so long continued, I woulde not go about to breake it, and in good fayth if they were nowe to begin, I would not be he that should go about to make them: yet will not I say naye, but it is a dede of pittie that such men as the chaunce of the sea, or their euill debtors haue brought into pouertie, should haue some place of refuge to kepe their bodies out of daunger of their cruell creditours. And also if it fortune the Croume to come in question as it hath done befoze this tyme, while eche part taketh other for traytozs, I thinke it necessary to haue a place of refuge for both. But as for theues and murderers, whereof these places be full, and which neuer fall from their craft, after they once fall thereunto, it is pittie,

Ex. ij.

that

Of Sanctuarie men.



that euer Sanctuary should serue them, and in especiall wilfull murderers, whome God commaundeth to be taken from the Altar, and to bee put to death. And where it is otherwise then in these cases, there is no uede of sanctuaries, appoynted by God in the olde lawe. For if necessitie of his owne defence, or misfortune driue him to that neede, then a pardon serueth him, which eyther is graunted of course, or the king of pitie & compassion geueth. Then looke me now how fewe sanctuary men there be whome necessitie or misfortune compelleth to go thither? And then see on the other syde, what a sort there be commonly therein of such, whom wilfull buthristnesse hath brought to naught? what a rable of theues, murderers, and malicious heynous traytors be there? and that in two places speciallly, the one at the elbowe of the Citie, and the other in the very bowels. I dare well auowe it, if you wey the good that they doe, with the hurt that cometh of them, ye shall finde it much better to lesse both, then to haue both. And this I say, although they were not abused (as they nowe be, and so long haue bene) that I feare me euer they will be while men be ascarde to set to their handes to the amendment, as though God and Saint Peter were the Patrones of vngodly liuyng. Now buthristes riott and runne in debt vpon boldnesse of these places, yea, and riche men runne thether with proze mennes goodes, there they builde, there they spende and byd their creditors go whistle. Mens wyues runne thether with their husbandes plate, and say they dare not abide with their husbandes for beatyng, thercres bring thether stolne goodes and liue thereon. There they deuise newe robberyes nightly and steale out and rob, rye, and kill men, and come againe as though those places gaue them not onely a sauegarde for the harme that they haue done, but a licence also to doe more mischiefe: howbeit much of this great mischiefe (if wise men would set their handes therevnto) might be amended, with great thankes of God, and no breche of the priuilege. The conclusion is, sith it is so long a go, I wote not what Pope, nor what Prince, more piteous then polittique, hath graunted it, and other men since of a certeine religious feare haue not broken it, let vs take a paine with it, and let it stande a Goddes name in his force, as farre forth as reason will, which is not fully so farre forth as may serue to let vs of the fetching forth of this noble man to his honour and welth, out of that place in the which he neither is nor can be a sanctuarie or priuiledged man. A sanctuarie euer serueth to defende the bodie of that man that standeth in daunger abroad, not of great hurt onely, but also of lawfull hurt: for agaynst vnlawfull hurtes and harmes, no Pope nor king entended to priuilege any one place, for that priuilege hath euery place. Knoweth any man any place wherein it is lawfull for one man to do another man wrong? That no man vnlawfully take hurt that libertie the king, the lawe, and very nature forbiddeth in euery place, and maketh to that regarde for euery man euery place a Sanctuary, but where a man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth he the tuition of some speciall priuilege, which is the onely ground and cause of all Sanctuaries, from which necessitie this noble Prince is farre, whose loue to his king, nature, and kindred proueth, whose innocencie to all the worlde his tender youth affirmeth, and so Sanctuary as for him is not necessary, nor none he can haue. Men come not to Sanctuary as they come to baptisme, to require it by his Godfathers, he must aske it himselfe that must haue it, and

The abuse of  
Sanctuaries

reason,

reason, sith no man hath cause to haue it, but whose conscience of his owne fault maketh him haue neede to require it. What will then hath yonder babe which if he had discretion to require it if neede were, I dare say would be now right angry with them that kepe him there? And I would thinke without any scruple of conscience, without any breche of priuilege, to be somewhat more homely with them that be there Sanctuary men in deede; for if one go to Sanctuary with another mans goodes, why should not the king leauyng his bodie at libertie, satisfie the partie of his goodes euen within the Sanctuary, for neither king nor Pope can geue any place suche a priuilege that it shall discharge a man of his debtes beyng able to pay.

And with that diuerse of the clergie that were there present, whether they sayde it for his pleasure, or as they thought, agreed playnly by the lawe of God, and of the church, that the goods of a sanctuary man, should be deliuered in payment of his debtes, and stolen goods to the owner, and onely libertie reserued to him to get his liuyng with the labour of his handes. Verily, quod the Duke, I thinke you saye verie truely. And what if a mannes wife will take sanctuary, because she list to runne from her husband, I would thinke if she can allege none other cause, he maye lawfully without any displeasure done to saint Peter, take her out of saint Peters church by y arme. And if no body may be taken out of sanctuary because he saith he will abyde there, then if a Childe will take sanctuary, because he feareth to go to schole, his maister must let him alone. And as simple as that example is, yet is there lesse reason in our case then in it, for there, though it be a childish feare, yet is there at the least some feare, & herein is no feare at all. And verily I haue often hard of sanctuary men, but I neuer heard befoze of sanctuary choldren: and therefore, as for the conclusion of my minde, whosoeuer may deserue to haue neede of it, if they thinke it for their surety let them kepe it, but he can be no sanctuary man that hath neither discretion to desire it, nor malice to deserue it, whose lyfe nor libertie can by no lawfull processe stande in ioperdy, and he that taketh one out of sanctuary to doe hym good, I saye playnly he breaketh no sanctuary.

When the Duke had done, the temporall men wholly, and the most part of the spirituall men also thinking no hurt earthly ment toward the prying Babe, condiscended in effect, that if he were not deliuered, he should be fetched out. Howbeit, they thought it all best in aduoyding of all maner of rumour that the Lorde Cardinall should first assay to get him with her good wyll. And thereupon all the counsaill came to the Sterre chambze at Westminster, and the Cardinall leauyng the Protector & other Lords in the Sterre chamber, departed into the sanctuary to the Queene, accompanied with certaine Lords, were it for the respect of his honoz, or that she should by the presence of so many, perceiue that this arrand was not onely one mans mind, or were it for that the protectour entended not in this matter to trust one man alone, or else if she finally were determined to kepe him, some of the company had peradventure some secret instruction incontinent maugre her will to take hym and to leaue her no respite to conuey hym, which shee was likely to minde after this matter broken to her if time in any wise would haue serued her.

When the Queene, and these Lordes were come together in presence, the Cardinall shewed vnto her, that it was thought to the lorde protector and

xx. iij.

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the whole counsaile that her keepyng of the king his highly sounded, not onely to the grudge of the people and also to the importable grieffe and displeasure of the king to whose grace it were a singuler comfort to haue his naturall brother in companie, and it was their dishonoures and theirs and hers also to suffer him in Sanctuary, as though the one brother, stode in daunger, and perill of the other. And he shewed her farther, that the whole counsaile had sente him to require of her the deliuerie of him, that he might bee brought to the king his presence at his liberty, out of that place which men reckoned as a prison, and there should he be demeaned according to his estate and degree, and she in this doyng shoulde both doe great good to the realme, pleasure to the counsaile, profite to her selfe, succour to her friendes that were in distresse, and ouer that which he wist well she specially tendered, not onely great comfort and honour to the kyng, but also to the yong Duke himselfe, whose both great wealth it were to be together, aswell for many greater causes, as also for their both disport, and recreation, which things the Lordes esteemed not light, though it seemed light, well pondering that the youth without recreation and play cannot endure, nor any estraunger for the conuenience of both their ages and estates so metely in that point for anye of them, as the eyther of them for the other.

The queene  
answereth.

My Lorde (quod the Queene) I say not nay, but that it were very conuenient that this gentleman whome you require were in the company of the king his brother, and in good faith me thinketh it were as great commoditie to them both, as for yet a while to be in the custody of their mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but in especiall the yonger, which besides his infancie that also nedeth good loking to, hath a while bene so sore diseased with sicknesse, and is so newly rather a lytle amended then well recovered, that I dare put no person earthlye in trust with his keeping, but my selfe onely, considering that there is as the physicians say, and as we also find, double the perill in the resoluacion that was in the first sicknesse, with which disease, nature beyng sore laboured, forewried, and weakened, wereth the lesse able to beare oure a newe surfet. And albeit, there might be founden other that woulde happily doe their best vnto him, yet there is none that eyther knoweth better how to orde him then I, that so long haue kept him, or is more tenderly lyke to cherish him then his owne mother that bare him.

No man denieth good Madame, quod the Cardinall, but that your grace of all folke were most necessary about your children, and so would all the counsaile not only be content, but also glad that you were, if it might stand with your pleasure to be in such place as might stande with their honor. But if you appoint your selfe to tarie here, then thinke they it more conuenient the Duke of Yorke were with the king honorably at his libertie to the comfort of them both, then here as a Sanctuarie man to their both dishonour and obloquie, sith there is not alway so great necessity to haue the childe to be with the mother, but that occasion sometime may be suche that it should be more expedient to kepe him else where, which in this well appeareth, that at such time that your most dearest sonne, then Prince, and now king, should for his honor and good order of the Countrie kepe household in waales, farre out of your keping, your grace was well content therewith your selfe. Not  
very

very well content (quod the Quene) and yet the case is not like, for the one was then in helth and the other is now sick, in which case I maye greatly why my Lorde Protectour is so desirous to haue him in keeping, where if the childe in his sicknesse miscaried by nature, yet might he run into slander and suspicion of fraude. And they call it a thing so soze agaynst my childs honor and theirs also, that he abideth in this place, it is all their honors there to suffer him to abide where no man doubteth he shall be best kept, and that is here while I am here, which as yet entend not to come forth and iopard my selfe after my friendes, which would God were rather here in suretie with mee, then I were there in iopardie with them. Why Madame (quod the Lorde Haward) knowe you any thing, why they should be in iopardie? Nay verily, (quod she) nor why they should be in prison neyther, as they now be, but I trowe it is no great maruell though I feare least those that haue not letted to put them in duraunce without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause. The Cardinall made a countenance to the Lorde Haward that he should harpe no more vpon that string: and then sayde he to the Quene, that he nothing doubted but those Lords of her kinne the which remayned vnder a rest, should vpon the matter examined doe well ynough, and as towarde her noble person, neyther was, nor could be anye maner of iopardie. Whereby should I trust that (quod the Queene) in that I am guiltlesse, as though they were guiltie, in that I am with their enemies better beloued then they, when they hate them for my sake, in that I am so neere to the king, and how farre be they of that would helpe, as God send grace they hurt not. And therefore as yet I purpose not to depart hence: as for this gentleman my sonne, I mind he shall be where I am till I see further, for I assure you for that I see some men so greedy without any substantiall cause to haue hym, this maketh me much more further and scrupulous to deliuer him. Cruely Madame (quod the Cardinall) the further that ye be to deliuer hym, the further be other men to suffer you to kepe him, least your causelesse feare, might cause you farther to conuey him, and many be there that thinke he can haue here no priuilege, which can haue neyther wyll to aske it, nor yet malice nor offence to neede it. And therefore, they recon no priuilege broken, although they fetch him out of Sanctuarie, which if you finally refuse to deliuer him, I thinke verily the counsaile will enfranchises hym, so much dread hath my Lorde his Uncle, for the tender loue that he beareth him, least your grace should sende him away. Ah Syr, quod the Quene, hath he so tender a zeale to him, that he feareth nothing, but least he should escape him? Thinketh he that I would send him hence, which is neyther in the plight to sende out: and in what place could I recon hym sure, if he be not sure in this Sanctuarie: whereof was there neuer tyraunt yet so deuiliche, that durst attempt to breake the priuilege, and I trust God is now as strong to withstande his aduersaries, as euer he was. But my sonne can deserue no Sanctuarie you say, and therefore he can not haue it, forsooth the Lorde Protectour hath sent a goodly glose, by the which that place that may defende a Theefe, may not saue an innocent: but he is in no iopardie nor hath no neede thereof, I would God he had not. Troweth the Protectour (I pray God he may proue a Protectour, rather then a destroyer, wherevnto his paynted processe draweth) that it is not honourable, that the  
Duke

The Quene.



Duke bide here? it were more comfortable to them both that he were with his brother, because the king lacketh a play felow, yea be you sure, I praye God send them both better play felowes then him that maketh so high a matter vpon such a trisleyng pretext, as though there could none be found to play with the king, but if hys brother which had no lust to play for sicknesse, must come out of this sanctuary, & out of his safegard to play with him, as though that Princes so yong as they be, could not play without their peeres, or children could not play without their kindred, with whom for the moze part they agree much worfe then with straungers. But the childe you say cannot require the priuilege, who told the Protector so? Aske him and you shall heare him aske it, and so shall he if he wyll. Howbeit, this is a straunge matter, suppose he could not aske it, and thinke he would not aske it, and imagine he would aske to go out, if I say he shall not: Note if I aske the priuilege but for my selfe, I saye, that he that agaynst my will taketh out him, breaketh Sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my person onely, or for my goods to? you may not from hence take my horse from me, if I stole him not, nor owe you nothing: then foloweth it, that you may not take my childe from mee, he is also my ward, for as farre as my learned counsayle the woeth mee, he hath nothing by dissent holden, by knightes seruire, but by forage, then the lawe maketh me his garden, then maye no man lawfully (I suppose) take my warde from me out of this place, without the breche of Sanctuarie, and if my priuilege could not serue him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet sith the lawe committed to me the custodie of him, I maye require it for hym, except the lawe geue the infant a garden onely for his goods, discharging him of the cure and safe keeping of his bodye, for which onely both goodes and landes serue. And if examples be sufficient to attaine priuilege for my childe, I neede not farre to seeke: For in this place in which we now be, and which is now in question, whether my childe may take benefite of it? Mine other sonne now king, was bozne and kept in his Cradell & preserued to a moze prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as you all know, this is not the first time that I haue taken Sanctuarie: For when my Lorde my husband was banished and thrust out of his kingdome, I fled hether being great with childe, and here I bare the Prince, and when my Lorde my husbände returned safe agayne, and had the victorie, then went I hente to welcome him home. And from hence I brought my babe the Prince vnto his father, when he first tooke him in his armes: And I pray God that my sonnes Palace may be as great a safegarde to him now reingning, as thys place was sometime to the kings enemy: In which place I entend to kepe his brother, sith mans lawe serueth the garden to keepe the infante, and the lawe of nature wylleth the mother to keepe the childe, and Gods lawe priuilegeth the Sanctuarie, and the Sanctuarie priuilegeth my sonne, sith I feare to put him to the Protectors handes, that hath hys brother already, which is (if both sayled) inheritor to the crowne as heire Male, as he sayth. The cause of my feare no man hath to doe to examine, and yet feare I no farther then the law feareth, which as learned men tell me, forbiddeth every man the custody of them, by whose death he may enherite lesse lande then a kingdome. I can say no moze, but whosoever he be that breaketh this holie Sanctuarie, I praye God send him shortly neede of Sanctuarie, when he may

may not come to it, for I would not that my mortall enemy should be taken out of Sanctuarie.

The Cardinall perceyued that the Queene wared euer the longer the farther o, and also that she began to kindle and chafe, and speake soze byting words agaynst the Protector, and such as he neither beleued, and also was loth to heare, he sayde to her, for a finall conclusion, that he would no moze dispute the matter, & if she were content to deliuer the Duke to him and to the other Lordes there present, he durst lay his awne body & soule both in pledge, not onely for his suretie, but also for his estate, and surely he knew no suspected cause but he might so doe, (but he knewe not all.) And further he sayde, if she would geue him a resolute answer to the contrary, he would therewith depart incontinent, and thyst who so would with this businesse afterwarde, for he neuer intended further to mooue her in the matter, in the which she thought that he and all other also, saue her selfe, lacked eyther wit or truth. Wyt if they were so dull that they nothing could perceiue what the Protector entended, and if they should procure her sonne to be deliuered into his handes, in whom they should perceiue towards the childe any euill will entended, then she might thinke all the counsaill both euill advised and of little fidelitie to their Prince.

The Queene with these wordes stode a good while in a great studie, and forasmuch as she sawe the Lorde Cardinall moze redier to depart then the remnant, and the Protector himselfe redie at hande, so that she verilye thought that she could not kepe them there, but he should be incontinent taken thence: and to conuey him else where, neither had she time to serue her, nor place determined, nor persons appoynted to conuey him, and so all thing was vnredie, when this message came so sodainly on her, nothing lesse loking for, then to haue him out of Sanctuarie, which she knewe now men to be set in all places about, that he could not be conueyed out vntaken, and partly as she thought it might fortune her feare to be false: so well she wist it was either nedelesse or bootelesse. Wherfore if she should nedes go from him, she demed best to deliuer him, and specially of the Cardinalles sayth she nothing doubtyng, nor of some other Lordes whome she sawe there, which as she feared least they might be deceyued, so well was she assured, that they would not be corrupted: then thought she that it would make them the more warily to looke to him, and the moze circumspectly to see his suretie, if shee with her awne handes betoke him to them of trust, and at the last shee tooke the yong Duke by the hand, and sayde vnto the Lordes, my Lord quod she, and all my Lordes, neyther am I so vnwise to mistrust your wittes, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truthes: of the which thing I purpose to make you suche a prooffe, that if either of both lacked in you, might turne both me to great sorrow, the realme to much harime, and you to great reproche. For lo, here is quod she thys Gentleman, whome I doubt not but I could keepe safe if I would, whatfoeuer any man saye, and I doubt not also but here be some a-brode so deadly enemies vnto my bloud, that if they wist where any of it laye in their awne body, they would let it out: we haue also experience that the desire of a kingdome knoweth no kindred, the brother hath beene the brothers bane, and may the Nephewes be sure of the Uncle: eche of these children are others defence, while they be a sunder, and eche of theyr lyues ly-

The desire of  
a kingdome  
knoweth no  
kindred.

eth



eth in others body: kepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing to both more perillous then both to be in one place: for a wise Marchant neuer aduenu- reth all his goodes in one ship. All this notwithstanding here I deliuer him and his brother in him, to keepe to your handes, of whome I shall aske them both before God and the worlde. Faithfull you be and that I wote well, and I knowe you be wise and of power and strength to keepe him, if you list to keepe him, for you lack no helpe of your selues, nor neede to lack no help in this case, and if you cannot elsewhere, then may you leaue him here: But onely one thing I beseeche you, for the trust that his father put you in euer, and for the trust that I put you in nowe, that as farre as you thinke that I feare to much, ye be well ware that you feare not as farre to little. And therewithall she sayde to the chylde, farewell mine awne sweete sonne, God sende you good keeping, let mee once kisse you or you go, for God knoweth when we shall kisse together againe, and therewith she kissed him, and blessed him, and turned her back and wept, going her waye, leauing the poore innocent childe weeping as fast as the mother.

Whene an  
wretched dis-  
simulation.

When the Cardinall and the other Lordes had receyued the yong Duke, they brought hym into the starre Chamber, where the Protector tooke him into his armes and kissed him with these wordes: nowe welcome my Lorde euen with al my very hart, & he sayd in that of likelihood euen as he inwardly thought, & thereupon forthwith brought him to the king his brother into the Bishops palace at Paules, and from thence through the Citie honorably into the tower, out of which after that day they neuer came abzode.

When the Protector had both the children in his handes, he opened himselfe more boldly both to certaine other men, and also chiefly to the Duke of Buckyngham, although I know that many thought that thys Duke was priue to all the Protector's counsaile, euen from the beginning: and some of the Protector's friends sayde, that the Duke was the first mouer of the Protector to thys matter, sending a priue messenger vnto him streight after king Edwardes death: But other agayne which knew better the subtile wit of the Protector, denied that he euer opened hys enterpryse to the Duke, vntill he had brought to passe the things before reherfed. But when he had imprisoned the Quenes kinfolk, and gotten both her sonnes into his awne hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with lesse feare to them whom he thought meete for the matter, & especially to the Duke, who being worne to his purpose, he thought his strength more then halfe increased. The matter was broken vnto the Duke by subtile folkes, & such as were their craftes maisters in the handelyng of suche wycked deuyfes, who declared vnto him that the yong king was offended with him for his kinfolkes sakes, and that if he were able he would reuenge them: who would prick him for ward ther- vnto, if they escaped (for they would remember their imprisonment) or else if they were put to death, the yong king without doubt would be carefull for their deathes, whose imprisonment was grievous vnto him. And that both repenting, the Duke should nothing auayle, for there was no way left to redeeme his offence by benefites: but he should soner destroy himselfe then saue the king, who with his brother and kinfolkes he sawe in such place impriso- ned, as the Protector might with a beck destroy them all, and that it were no doubt, but that he would doe it in deede, if there were any new enterpryse attempted,

The Pro-  
tector dis-  
closeth nowe  
all his pur-  
pose.

attempted, and that it was likely, that as the Protector had prouyded a priuy garde for himselfe, so had he espialles for the Duke, and traynes to catche him, if he should be agaynst him, and that peradventure from them whome he least suspected. For the state of things, and the dispositions of men were then such that a man could not tell whome he might well trust, or whome he might feare. These things & such lyke, being beaten into the Dukes minde, brought him to that point, that where he had repented the way that he had en- tred, yet would he go forth in the same. And sithence he had once begonne, he would stoutly go thowoe, and therefore this wicked enterpryse which he be- leued could not be aduoyded, he bent himselfe, and went thorough, and de- termined that sithence the common mischief could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his awne commoditie.

Then it was agreed that the Protector should haue the Dukes ayde to make him king, and that the Protector's onely lawfull sonne should marry the Dukes daughter. And that the Protector should graunt him the quiet possession of the Erledome of Hertford, which he claymed as his inheritance and could neuer obteyne it in king Edwardes time. Beside these requestes of the Duke, the Protector of his awne minde promised him a great quan- titie of the kings treasure and of his household stuffe. And when they were thus at apoint betwene themselves, they went about to prepare for the coro- nation of the yong king, as they would haue it seeme: And that they might turne both the eyes and mindes of men from perceyuing of their driftes, they had caused the Lordes beyng sent for from all the partes of the realme, to come thicke to that solempnitie. But the Protector and the Duke, after that they had set the lord Cardinall the Archbishop of Yorke, then lord Chaunce- lour, the Bishop of Ely, the Lorde Stanley, and the Lord Hastings, then Lorde Chamberleyn, wyth manye other noble men, to comen and deuyse about the coronation in one place, as fast were they in another place con- tryuing the contrarie, and to make the Protector kyng. To which coun- saile albeit there were called verie fewe, and they verie secret: yet then began there, here and there some maner of mutterung amongst the people, as though all thing should not long be well, though they wist not what they feared nor wherefore: were it, that before such great thinges mennes hartes (of a secret instinct of nature) misgeneth them, as the sea without winde some- time swelleth of himselfe before a tempest: or were it that some one man hap- pily somewhat perceiuyng, filled many men with suspicion though he shew- ed fewe men what he knewe: howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the counsaile were close, for little and little all folke drewe from the Tower where the king was, and drewe to Crofoies place in Bishops gate streete, where the Protector kept his hous- houlde. The Protector had the resort, and the king in maner desolate. While some made sute vnto them that had the doying, some of them were by their friendes secretly warned, that it might happely turne them to no good to be to much attendant on the king, without the Protector's appoyntment, which remoued diuerse of the king his olde seruautes from him, and set newe in their rowmes about him.

Thus many things comming together, partly by chaunce, and partlye by purpose caused at length, not common people onely, which wauer with the wynde,

The pollicy  
of the Pro-  
tector.

The en-  
trance into  
one mischief  
prouoketh  
the going for-  
ward wyth  
more.

A compact  
made be-  
twene the  
Protector  
and the Duke  
of Buckyng-  
ham.

A subtile  
practise.



wynde, but wise men also and some Lordes, to marke the matter, and muse thereupon: in so much that the Lord Stanley, which afterwarde was Erie of Darby, wisely mistrusted it, and sayd to the Lord Hastings, that he much mislyked these two seuerall counsailes, for while we, quod he, talke of one matter at the one place, litle wote we whereof they talke in the other: peace myn Lozde, quod the Lord Hastings, on my life neuer doubt you, for while one man is there, which is neuer thence, neyther can there be any thing once minded that shoulde sounde amisse toward me, but it shoulde be in mine eares or it were well out of their mouthes. This ment he by Catesby which was nere of his secret counsaile, and whom he familiarly vsed in hys most weightie matters, putting no man in so speciall trust as him, recoming him selfe to no man so lief, sith he wist well there was no man to him so much beholding as was this Catesby, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this lande, and by the speciall fauour of the Lord Hastings in good aucthority, and much rule bare in the counties of Leicester, and Northampton, where the Lord Hastings power lay. But surely great pitie was it that he had not had either more truth, or lesse witte, for his dissimulation onely, kept all that mischief by, in whome if the Lord Hastings had not put so speciall trust, the Lord Stanley and he with diuerse other Lordes had departed into their countries, & broken all the daunce, for many euill signes that he sawe, which he now construed all for the best, so surely thought he that there coulde be no harme toward him in that counsaile entended where Catesby was. And of truth the Protectour and the Duke of Buckingham made very good semblance vnto the Lord Hastings and kept him much in their company. And vndoubtedly, the Protectour loued him well, and loth was to haue lost hym, sauing for feare, lest his life shoulde haue quayled their purpose, for y<sup>e</sup> which cause he moued Catesby, to proue with some worde, cast out a farre off, whether he coulde thinke it possible to winne the Lord Hastings to their part. But Catesby, whether he assayed him, or assayed him not, reported vnto them that he founde him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible wordes that hee durst no farther breake, & of a truth the Lord Hastings of very trust shewed vnto Catesby the mistrust that ether began to haue in the matter. And therefore, he fearing lest their motions might with the Lord Hastings minish his credence, wherevnto onely all the matter leaned, procured the Protectour, hastily to ryd him, and much the rather, for that he trusted by his death to obayne much of the rule which the Lord Hastings bare in his countrie, the onely desire whereof, was the thing that enduced him to be the procurer and one of the speciallest contriners of all this horrible treason. Whereupon the Lord Protectour caused a counsaile to be set at the Tower on the Friday, the thirtene day of June, where was much commonyng for the honourable solemnitie of the coronation, of the which the time appointed apzoched so nere that the pageauntes were a making day and night at Westminster, and by-falle killed, which afterwarde was cast away.

These Lordes thus sitting, commonyng of this matter, the Protectour came in among them first about nine of the clocke, salutyng them curteously, excusing himselfe that he had been from them so long: sayng merily that he had bene a sleper that day. And after a litle talking wyth them, he said to the Bishop of Ely, myn Lozde you haue very good strawberries in your Garden at

Holborne,

Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of them. Gladly (my Lozde quod he) I would I had some better thing as redie to your pleasure as that, and with that in all haste he sent his seruaunt for a dishe of Strawberies. The Protectour set the Lordes fast in commonyng, and thereupon prayng them to spare him a litle, and so he departed and came againe betwene .x. and .xi. of the clocke into the Chamber, all chaunged with a wonderfull sorwe angry countenance, knittynge the browes, frownyng and stettyng and gnawynge on his lippes, and so set him downe in his place. All the Lordes were dismayed, and soze marueyled of this maner and sodaine chaunge, and what thing shoulde him ayle. When he had sitten a while, thus he began: What were they worthy to haue that compasse and ymagine the destruction of me beyng so nere of blood to the king, and Protectour of this his royall realme? At which question, all the Lordes sate soze astonied, musyng much by whom the question shoulde be ment, of which euery man knewe himselfe clere.

Then the Lord Hastings as he that for the familiaritie that was betwene them, thought he might be boldest with him, answered and sayd, that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors whatsoener they were, and all the other affirmed the same, that is (quod he) yonder Sorceresse, my brothers wife and other with her, meanyng the Queene, at these wordes many of the other Lordes, were soze abashed which fauoured her, but the Lord Hastings was better content in his minde that it was moued by her then by any other that he loued better, albeit his hart somewhat grudged, that he was not afoze made of counsaile of this matter, as well as he was of the takyng of her kindred, and of their puttyng to death, which were by hys assent befoze deuised to be behedded at Bomfret, this selfe same daye, in the which he was not ware that it was by other deuised, that he himselfe shoulde the same day be behedded at London: then sayd the Protectour, ye shall all see in what wise that Sorceresse and other of her counsaile, as Shozes wife wyth her affinitie haue by their sorcerye and witchecraft wasted my bodie, and therewith plucked by his Doublet sleue to his elbow on his left arme, where he shewed a werithe withered arme, and small, as it was neuer other. And thereupon euery mans minde soze misgaue them, well perceiuyng that this matter was but a quarell, for well they wist that the Queene was both to wise to go about any such folly, and also if she would, yet would she of all folke make Shozes wife least of her counsaile, whome of all women she most hated, as that Concubine whome the king her husband most louted.

Also there was no man there present, but knewe that his arme was euer such sith the day of his birth. Neuerthelesse the Lord Hastings, which from the death of king Edward kept Shozes wife, whom he somewhat docted in the kinges life, sayng as it is sayde, that he, that while forbare her for reverence toward his king, or else of a certaine kinde of fidelitie toward his friend: yet now his heart somewhat grudged, to haue her whome he loued, so highly accused, and that as he knewe well vntruely, therefore he answered and sayde, certainly myn Lozde, if they haue so heynously done, they bee worthy of heynous punishment, what quod the Protectour, thou seruest me I wene with if and with and, I tell thee they haue so done, and that will I make good on thy bodie traytor. And therewith (as in a great anger) he clapped his fist on the boorde a great rappe, at which token geuen, one cried

¶ p. j.

treason,

Catesby.

The counsaile  
in the tower.



The Lorde  
Hastynge  
arrested.

The Lorde  
Stanley  
wounded.

The Lorde  
Hastynge  
beheaded  
in hait.

The Lorde  
Stanley  
dreams.

treason, without the Chamber, and therewith a dooze clapped, and in came rushing men in harnesse as many as the Chamber could holde. And anone the Protector sayde to the Lorde Hastynge, Arrest thee traytor, what me, my Lorde quod he: yea, thee traytor quod the Protector. And one lett sitte at the Lorde Stanley, which shonke at the stroke and fell vnder the Table, or else his head had bene cleft to the teeth, for as shortly as he shanke, yet ranne the blood about his eares. Then was the Archebishop of Yorke, and Doctour Morton bishop of Ely, and the Lorde Stanley taken, and diuers other which were bestowed in diuers Chambers, saue the Lorde Hastynge (whom the Protector commaunded to speede and thriue him apace) for by Saint Paule (quod he) I will not dine till I see thy head off, it booted him not to aske why but heauily he toke a priest at aduerture, and made a horse christ, for a longer would not be suffered, the Protector made so much haste to his dinner, which might not go to it till this murder were done, for sauynge of his vngacious othe. So was he brought forth into the greene besyde the Chappell within the Tower, and his head layd on a logge of Tymber, that lay there for building of the Chappell, and there tyrannously stricken off, and after his bodie and hed were enterred at Windsor by his maister king Edward the fourth.

A marueylous case it is to heare, eyther the warnynge that he shoulde haue boyded, or the tokens that he could not boyd. For the next night before his death, the Lorde Stanley sent to him a trustie and secret messenger at midnight in all the hast, requiryng him to rise and ryde away with him, for he was disposed vtterly no lenger for to abyde, for he had so fearefull a dreame in the which he thought that a Boze with his tuskes, so rased them both by the heads that the blood ranne about both their shoulders, and forasmuch as the Protector gaue the Boze for his Cognisaunce, he imagined that it should be he. This dreame made such a fearefull impzeccion in his heart, that hee was thoroughly determined no lenger to tarie, but had his horse redie, if the Lorde Hastynge would go with him: So that they would ryde so farre that night, that they should be out of daunger the next day. Ah good Lorde (quod the Lorde Hastynge) to the messenger, leaneth my Lorde thy maister vnto such tryfles, and hath such fayth in dreames, which either his awone feare phantastick, or do ryse in the nightes rest, by reason of the dayes thought. Tell him it is plaine witchcraft to beleue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of thinges to come, why thinketh he not that we might as likely make them true by our goyng, if wee were caught and brought backe, (as friendes faile flyers) for then had the Boze a cause likely to rase vs with his tuskes, as folkes that fled for some falschoode, wherefore either is there perill, nor none there is in deede, or if any be, it is rather in goyng then abidyng. And if we should nedes fall in perill one way or other, yet had I liefer that men shoulde see it were by other mens falshead, then thinke it were eyther our awone fault or faint feble heart, and therefore go to thy maister, and commend me to him, and pray him to be mery & haue no feare, for I assure him, I am assured of the man that he wotteth of, as I am sure of mine awone hand. God send grace (quod the messenger) and so departed. Certaine it is also, that in ryding toward the Tower the same moznyng, in which he was beheaded, his horse that he accustomed to ryde on stumbled with him twyse or thirse almost to the fallyng, which thing although it happeneth to them dayly to whome no

mischauce

mischauce is toward, yet hath it bene as an olde euill token obserued as a goyng toward mischiese. Now this that foloweth was no warnyng but an enuious scozne, the same moznyng ere he were bp from his bed where Shores wife lay with him all night, there came to him sir Thomas Haward sonne to the Lorde Hawarde (which Lorde was one of the priuieft of the Lorde Protector's counsaile and doynge) as it were of curtesye to accompanie him to the counsaile, but of truth sent by the Lorde Protector to hast him thetherward. This sir Thomas, while the Lorde Hastynge stayed a while commonyng with a priest whome he met in the Towerstrete, brake the Lorde's tale, sayng to him merrily, what my Lorde? I pray you come on, wherefore talke you so long with that priest, you haue no nede of a priest yet, and laughed vpon him, as though he would say, you shall haue nede of one sone: But litle wist the other what he ment (but or night these words were well remembred by them that heard them) so the true Lorde Hastynge litle mistrusted, and was neuer merier, nor thought his life in moze suretie in all his dayes, which thing is often a signe of chaunge: but I shall rather let anye thing passe mee then the bayne surety of mans minde so neare his death, for vpon the berye towre wharffe, so nere the place where his head was of not so farre of as a man might wel cast a balle, a Pursuaunt of his awone called Hastynge mette with him, and of their meting in that place he was put in remembraunce of another tyme, in which it happened them to mete before together in the same place, at which other tyme the Lorde Hastynge had bene accused to king Edward by the Lorde Ryuers the Queenes brother, insomuch that he was for a while, which lasted not long, highly in the kinges indignation, forasmuch as he now mette the same Pursuaunt in the same place, the ieoperdy so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him thereof with whome he had talked in the same place of that matter, and therefore he sayde: Ah Hastynge, art thou remembred when I met thee here once with an heauy hart. Ye my Lorde (quod hee) that I remember well, and thanked be to God they gat no good, nor you no harme thereby, thou wouldest say so (quod he) if thou knewest so much as I do, which fewe knowe yet, and mo shall shortly, that meant he that the Erie Ryuers and the Lorde Richard, and Syr Thomas Waughan shoulde that day be beheaded at Dounstret, as they were in deede which act he wist well shoulde be done, but nothing ware that they are hong so nere his awone heade. In faith man (quod he) I was neuer so sozry nor neuer gooder in so great daunger of my life as I did, when thou and I mette here, and lo the worlde is turned now, now stande mine enemies in the daunger as thou maist happe to heare moze hereafter, and I neuer in my life merier nor neuer in so great suretye, I pray God it proue so (quod Hastynge, proue quod he: doubttest thou that) nay may I warrunt thee, and so in manner displeased, he entered into the Towre, where he was not long on lyue as you haue heard. O Lord God the blindnesse of our mortall nature, when he most feared, he was in most suretie, and when he reconed himselfe most surest, he lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man a good knight and a gentle, of great auctority with his Prince, of luyng somewhat dissolute, plain and open to his enemies, and sure and secret to his friend, easie to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage forsaue no perilles, a luyng man and passyng well beloued, very faythfull and

Py. ij.

trusty

The description  
of the  
Lorde Hastings.



trusty enough, but trusting to much was his destructiō as you may perceiue. Now fiewe the fame of this Lozdes death throught the Citie and farther about, like a winde in euery mans eare, but the Protector immediately after dinner (entending to set some colour vpon the matter) sent in all the hast for many substanciall men out of the Citie into the Tower, and at their coming himselfe with the Duke of Buckyngham stode, harnessed in olde euill fauored Briganders, such as no man would wene that they would haue bouchsafed to haue put on their backes, except that some sodeine necessitie had constrained them. Then the Lozde Protector shewed them, that the Lord Hastings and the Duke of Buckyngham there the same day in counsaile, & what they entended farther, was yet not well knowen, of which their treason he had neuer knowlege before ten of the clocke the same forenoone, which sodeine feare draue them to put on such harnesse as came next to their handes for their defence, and so God had holpen them, that the mischief turned vpon them that would haue done it, and thus he required them to report. Euery man answered fayre, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beleued. Yet for the further appeasynge of the peoples mindes, he sent immediately after dinner an Herald of armes with a Proclamacion to be made throught the Citie of London which was proclaymed in the kings name, that the Lord Hastings with diuers other of his trayterous purpose had before conspired, the same day to haue slain the Protector, & the Duke of Buckyngham sitting in counsaile, and after to haue taken vpon them the rule of the king, and the realme at their pleasure, and thereby to pill & spoyle whome they list vncoutrilled, and much matter was there in the Proclamacion deuised to the slaunder of the Lozde Hastings, as that he was an euill Counsaylor to the kinges father, entisyng him to many thinges highly redounding to the diminishyng of his honour, and to the vniuersal hurt of his realme by his euill company & swifter procuring and vngacious example, as well in many other thinges, as in vicious liuing & inordinate abusion of his body, both with many other and especially with Shozes wife, which was one also of his secret counsaile of this heynous treason, with whome he lay nightly, and namely the night passed next before his death, so that it was the lesse maruaile if vngacious liuyng brought him to an unhappie ende, which hee was now put to by the commaundement of the king his highnesse, and of his honourable and faythfull Counsaile, both for his demerites beyng so openly taken in his false contriued treason, and also least the delayng of his execution might haue encouraged other mischionous persons parteners of his conspiracie, to gather and assemble themselues together, in makynge some great commocion for his deliuerance, whose hope now being by his well deserued death pollitikely repressed, al the realme shall by Gods grace rest in good quiet and peace. Now was this Proclamacion made within two houres after he was beheaded, and it was so curiously endited, and so fayre wrytten in Parchement in a fayre set hande, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euery childe might perceyue that it was prepared and studied before, (& as some men thought by Catesby) for all the time betwene his death & the Proclamacion proclaymyng, could scant haue suffised vnto the bare wrytynge alone, albeit that it had bene in paper, and scribled forth in hast at aduenture.

So

The Protector  
receiues pro-  
clamacion.

So that vpon the proclaymyng thereof, a certayne Scholmayster standing by and comparynge the shortnesse of the time with the length of the matter, sayde to them that stode about him, here is a gaye goodly cast, foule cast away for hast: And a Marchaunt that stode by him sayde that it was wrytten by inspiration and prophesie. Now then by and by, as it were for anger and not for couetous, the Protector sent Sir Thomas Hawarde to the house of Shozes wyfe (for her husband dwelt not with her) which spoiled her of al that euer she had, about the value of two or thre thousand markes, and sent her bodie to prison. And the Protector had layde for the maner sake that she was a counsaile with the Lozde Hastings to destroy him. In conclusion, when no colour could fasten vpon these matters, then he layde heynously to her charge that thing that she coude not denie, for all the worlde knewe that it was true, and that notwithstanding euery man laughed to here it then so sodeinly, so highly taken, that she was naught of her bodie. And for this cause as a godly continent prince cleane and faultlesse of himselfe, sent out of heauen into this vicious worlde, for the amendment of mens maners, he caused the bishop of London to put her to open penance, goyng before a Crosse on a Sunday at Procession with a taper in her hand. In the which she went in countenance and pace so womanly, and albeit she was out of all array sayng her kytell onely, yet was she so fayre and louely, and namely, when the woding of the people cast a comely red in her chekes, of the which she before had most misse, that her great shame wanne her muche prayse amongest them that were more amorous of her bodie, then curious of her soule, and many good folke that hated her liuyng, and were glad to see sinne corrected, yet pitied they more her penance, then reioyced in it, when they considered that the Protector did it more of corrupt minde, then of any vertuous affection.

This woman was bozne in London, well friended, honestly brought vp, and very well married, sauing somewhat to sone, her husbände an honest and a yong Citezen, godly, and of good substance, but forasmuch as they were coupled or she were well type, she not verye feruently loued for whome she neuer longed, which was the thing (by chance) that the more casely made her to encline to the kings appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the respect of his royaltie, the hope of gaye apparell, ease, pleasure, and other wanton welth was able sone to pierce a soft tender hart: but when the king had abused her, anone her husbände beyng an honest man, and one that could his good, not presuming to touch a kinges concubyne left her by to hym altogether. When the king dyed, the Lozde Hastings took her, which in the kings dayes albeit that he was sore enamoured with her, yet he forbore, eyther for a Princely reuerence, or for a certayne friendly faithfulness. Proper she was, and fayre, nothing in her body that you coude haue chaunged, but if you would haue wished her somewhat higher. This say they that knewe her in her youth, some sayde, & iduged that she had becne well fauoured, and some iudged the contrary, whose iudgement seemeth like as men gesse the beautie of one long before departed, by a skalpe taken out of a charnel house, and this iudgement was in the time of king Henrre the eight, in the eightene yere of whose reigne she dyed, when she had nothing but a reuyled skynne and bone. Her beautie pleased not men, so much as her pleasaunt behauiour, for she had

P p. ij.

a proper

Shozes wife

The description  
of Shozes  
wifes.



The description of King Edwardes three Concubines.

a proper witte, and could both reade and write, merry in company, redy and quick of answer, neither mute, nor full of bable, sometime taunting without displeasure, but not without disport. King Edward woulde say that he had three concubines, which in diuerse properties diuersely excelled, one, the meriest, the other the boyliest, the thirde the holiest harlot in the realme as one, whom no man coulde get out of the Church to any place lightly, but if it were to his bed, the other two were somewhat greater personages then myltes Shore, and neuerthelesse of their humilitie were content to be namelesse and to forbear the praise of these properties. But the meriest was Shores wife in whome the king therfore toke great pleasure, for many he had, but her he loued, whose fauour to say the truth (for it were sinne to lye on the deuill) she neuer abused to any mans hurt, but to many mens comfort, and reliefe. For where the king toke displeasure, she would mitigate and appeare his munde, where men were out of fauour, she would bring them into his grace, for manie that had highlie offended, she obtayned pardon, & of great forfeitures she gat remission, & finally, in many weightie suites she stode many men in great steade, either for none, or for very small rewarde: and those rather gaye then riche, either for that she was content with the deede well done, or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, and to shewe what shee was able to doe with the king, or for that that wanton woman, and welthie be not allwayes couetous, I doubt not some man will thinke this woman to be to slight a thing to bee written of, among so graue and weightie matters, which they shall specialy thinke that happily salve her in her age, and aduersitie, but me semeth the chaunce so much moze worthy to be remembred, in howe much after wealth she fell to pouertie, and from riches to beggery vnfriended, out of acquaintance, after great substance, after so great fauour with her Prince, after as great suite and sekynge to with all those, which in those dayes had businesse to speede as manye other men were in their tymes, which be nowe famous onely by the infamy of their euill deedes, her doynges were not much lesse, albeit they bee much lesse remembred, because they were not euill, for men vse to write an euill turne in marble stone, but a good turne, they write in the dust, which is not worst proued by her, for after her welth, shee went begging of manye that had begged themselves, if shee had not holpen them, suche was her chaunce.

The Lordes Riners and other beheaded

Now was it so deuised by the Protector and his counsaile, that the same day that the Lord Chamberlayne was beheaded in the Towre of London and about the same houre should be beheaded at Poumfred the Erle Ryuers and the Lord Rycharde the Quenes sonne, Syr Thomas Vaughan, and Syr Richard Haute, which as you heard were taken at Northampton and Stony Stratford by the consent of the Lord Hastings, which execution was done by the order and in the presence of Syr Richard Ratcliffe knight, whose seruice the Protector specially vsed in the counsaile, & in the execution of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had bene long secrete with hym, hauyng experience of the worlde, and a shrewde wyf, short and rude in speech, rough and boysterous of behauiour, bolde in mischief, as farre from pittie as from all feare of God.

This knight brought these foure persons to the Scuffolde at the daye appointed, and shewed to all the people that they were Traytors, not suffering

Richard Ratcliffe knight.

ring the Lordes to speake, and to declare their innocencie, least their words might haue enclined men to pittie them, and to hate the Protector and hys part, and so wythout iudgement and processe of the lawe caused them to be beheaded, wythout other earthly guilt, but onely that they were good men and true to the king and to nie to the Queene, in so much as Syr Thomas Vaughan goyng to his death, sayde: Al woe worth them that tooke the prophetic that G. should destroy king Edwardes children, meaning that by the Duke of Clarence Lord George, which for the suspicion is now dead, but now remaineth Richard G. Duke of Gloucester, which nowe I see is he that shall and will accomplishe the prophetic, and destroye king Edwardes children and all their alyes and friends, as it appereth by vs thys day, whom I appeal to the high tribunall of God for his wrongfull murder and oure true innocencie. And then Ratcliffe sayde, you haue well appealed, lay downe your head, yee quod Syr Thomas, I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong, and so that good knight was beheaded and the other three, and buried naked in the Monastery at Poumfred. When the Lord Hastings & these other Lordes and knights were thus beheaded and rid out of the waye, then the Protector caused it to be proclaymed that the coronation for diuers great and bigent causes should be deferred till the second daye of Nouember, for then thought he, that whyle men mused what the matter ment, and whyle the Lordes of the realme were about him, out of their awone strengthes, and whyle no man wiste what to thinke, nor whome to trust, or euer they should haue time and space to digest the matter, and make parts, it were best hastily to pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of the Crowne, or men could haue tyme to deuise any waye to resist. But now was all the studye, thys matter beyng of it selfe so heynous might be first broken to the people in such wise as it might well be taken. To thys counsaile they tooke diuers suche as they thought meete to be trusted and likely to be enduced to that part, and able to stande them in stead, eyther by power or by policie. Among whome they made a counsaile Edmond Shaa then Maior of London, which vpon trust of his awone auancement, where he was of a proude hart highly desirous, tooke on him to frame the Citie to their appetite. Of spiritual men they tooke such as had wyf, and were in auctoritie amongst the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Amongst these had, they tooke Raufe Shaa Clarke, brother to the Maior, and Fryer Wynkynne prouinciall of the Augustine Fryers, both Doctors in diuinitie, both great preachers, both of moze learning then vertue, of moze fame then learning, and yet of moze learning then truth. For they were before greatly esteemed among the people, but after that, neuer none of these two were regarded. Shaa made a Sermond in prayse of the Protector before the coronation, and Wynkynne made one after the coronation, both so full of tedious flatterie, that no good mans eares could abyde them, Wynkynne in his Sermond so losse his voyce, that he was fayne to leaue off and come downe in the middelt, Doctor Shaa by his Sermond losse hys honestye, and sone after his lyfe, for very shame of the worlde, into the which he durst neuer after much come abroad, but the Fryer forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the lesse. Howbeit, some doubt and manye thinke that Wynkynne was not of counsaile before the coronation, but after the common maner fell

Edmond Shaa maior of London

Doctor Shaa named Raufe.

Fryer Wynkynne.



to flatterie after, namely because his Sermonde was not incontinent upon it, but at Saint Mary Spittle the Easter after. But certaine it is that Doctor Shaa was of counsaile in the beginning, in so much that they determined that he should first breake the matter in a Sermond at Paules crosse, in which he should by the aucthoritie of his preaching, induce the people to encline to the Protectours ghostly purpose. But now was all the labour and studie in the deuise of some conuenient pretexte, for which the people should be content to depose the Prince and accept the Protector for King. In which diuers things they deuised, but the chiefe thing, and the weight of all that inuention rested in thys, that they should allege bastardy in King Edward himselfe, or in his children, or both, so that he should seme disabled to inherite the crowne by the Duke of Yorke and the prince by him. To lay bastardy in King Edward, sounded openly to the rebuke of the Protector his owne mother, which was mother to them both. For in that point could be none other colour, but to pretende that his owne mother was an auentresse, but nevertheless he would that point should be lesse and moze finely and closely handled, not euen fully playne and directly, but touched a slope craftily, as though men spared in that point to speake al the truth for feare of his displeasure. But that other point concerning the bastardie, they deuised to surmise in King Edward his children, that would he should be openly declared and enforced to the vttermost. The colour and pretext whereof cannot be well perceyued, except we first repete some thinges long before done about King Edward his mariages.

After King Edward the fourth had deposed King Henrie the sixt, and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determining himselfe to marry (as was requisite) both for himselfe and for the realme, he sent ouer in Ambassade the Erle of Warwike, and diuers other noble men to the French King to intreat a mariage betweene the King and the Ladie Bona sister to the French Quene, then being in Fraunce, as before in the storie of King Edward the fourth ye haue heard. In which thing the Erle of Warwike founde the parties so toward and willing, that he speedily without any difficultie according to his instructions, brought the matter to a good conclusion. Now happeneth it in the meane season, there came to make a sute to the King by petition Dame Elizabeth Gray (which after was his Quene) then a widow, borne of noble bloud, specially by her mother, which was Duchesse of Bedford, which was married to Sir Richard Woodville, Lorde Rivers, her father.

Howbeit this dame Elizabeth being in seruice with Queene Margarete, wife to King Henry the sixt, was married to one John Gray Esquire whome King Henry made knight at the last battayle of Saint Albones, but little whyle he enioyed his knighthood, for at the same fielde hee was slayne.

After when that King Edward was King and the Erle of Warwike being on his Ambassade, this poore Lady made sute to the King to be restored to such small lands as her husbande had geuen her in ioynture, whom when the King beheld and heard her speake, as she was both fayre and of good fauour, moderate of stature, well made, & very wise, he not all onely pittied her, but also waxed enamored on her, and taking her after ward secretly aside, began

Dame Elizabeth Gray.

gan to enter into talking more familiarly, whose appetite when she perceyued, she vertuously denied hym, but that shee did so wisely and that with so good maner & words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire then quenched it. And finally after many a meeting and much woynge and many great promises she well espied the King his affection toward her so greatly encreased, that she durst somewhat the moze boldly say her minde, as to him whose hart she perceyued moze feruently set then to fall of for a worde. And in conclusion she shewed hym playne, that as she wist her selfe to simple to be his wyfe, so thought she her selfe to good to be his Concubine. The King much marueyling of her constancie, as he that had not bene wont else where so stiffly sayde nay, so much esteemed her continencie and chastitie, that he set her vertue in stead of possession and ryche: And this taking counsaile of his owne desire, determined in all possible haste to marry her. And after that he was thus appointed, and had betwene them twayne ensured her, then asked he counsaile of his secret friends, and that in such maner that they might easily perceyue that it booted not to say nay.

Notwithstanding the Duchesse of Yorke his mother was so sore moued therewith, that she dissuaded that mariage as much as shee possibly might: alleging that it was his honor, profite and suretie, to marry in some Noble progeny out of his realme, whereupon depended great strength to his estate by that affinitie, and great possibilitie of increase of his dominions. And that he could not well otherwise doe, considering the Erle of Warwike had so farre forth entred into the matter all ready, which was not like to take it well if all his boyage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointment deluded. And she sayde farther, that it was not princely to marry his owne subiect, no greater occasion, leading thereto no possessions, nor other commoditie depending thereupon, but only as a riche man would marry his mayden onely for a little wanton dotage upon her person. In which mariage many men commended moze the maydens fortune then the mans wisdom, and yet she sayd that there was moze honesty then honor in this mariage, for as much as there is not betwene a Marchant and his mayde so great a difference as betwene a King and his subiect, a great Prince and a poore widow. In whose person, although there were nothing to be misliked, yet was there saide shee, nothing so excellent but that it might be found in diuers other that were moze discreetly (quoth she) for your estate: yea and maydens also, the onely widowhed of Dame Elizabeth Gray (although she were in all other points and things conuenient for you) should suffice as me thinketh to refraine you from her mariage, sith it is an vnfitting thing & a great blemish to the sacred maiestie of a Prince, that ought as nere to approach priesthood in cleanness, as he doth in dignitie, to be defiled with bygamy in his first mariage. The King made his mother an answer part in earnest and part in play merily, as he that wiste himself out of her rule: & albeit he would gladly that she should take it well, yet was he at a point in his owne minde, toke she it well or otherwise. Howbeit somewhat to satisfy her he said, & albeit mariage being a spiritual thing it ought rather to be made for the respect of God, where his grace inclineth, the parties ought to encline to loue together (as he trusted it was in his case) rather then for the regarde of any temporall aduantage: yet nevertheless him seemed that this mariage well considered not to be vnprofitable,

The Kinges mother.

The Kinges answer to his mother.



table, for he reconed the amitie of no earthly nacion to be so necessary for him as þ friendshipp of his awne, which he thought likely to beare him so much the moze hartly fauor, in that he disdeined not to marry with one of his awne land: and yet if outwarde aliaunce were thought so requisite, he would finde the meanes to enter therinto much better by other of his kinne where all þ parties could be contented, then to marry himself wherin he should neuer happily loue, and for the possibilitie of possessions, lese the fruite and pleasure of thys that he had alredie. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that euer he hath besyde, if he be wined agaynst his appetite, and I doubt not (quod he) but there be as you say other that be in euery poynt comparable with her, and therefore I let not them that like them to marry them, no moze is it reason that it mislike any man that I marry where it liketh me. And I am sure that my Cousyn of Warwicke, neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that that I loue, nor is so vnreasonable to looke that I should in choyse of a wife, rather be ruled by his eye then by mine awne, as though I were a warde that were bounden to marry by the appoyntment a guarden. I would not be a king with that condition to forbear mine owne libertie in choyse of mine awne marriage. As for possibilitie of moze inheritaunce by newe affinitie in straunge landes, is oft the occasion of moze trouble then profite. And we haue alredie title by that meanes, so much as suffiseth to get and keepe well in one mans dayes. That she is a widdowe and hath alredie children: By God his blessed Lady, I am a Bachelor and haue some to, and so eche of vs hath a prooffe, that neyther of vs is like to be barren. And therefore Madame, I pray you be content, I trust to God she shall bring forth a yong Prince that shall please you. And as for the bigamye, let the Bischoppe hardly lay it to my charge when I come to take orders, for I vnderstand it is forbidden a priest, but I neuer wist that it was forbidden a Prince. The Duchesse with these wordes nothyng appeased, and seyng the king so set on that she coulde not plucke him backe, so highly she disdeyned it, that vnder pretext of her dutie to Godward, she deuised to disturbe this marriage, & rather to helpe that he should marry one dame Elizabeth Lucy, whome the king not long befoze had gotten with childe: wherfore þ king his mother objected openly against this marriage (as it were in discharge of her conscience) that the king was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucy, and was her husband befoze God, by reason of which wordes such obstacle was made in that matter, that eyther the Bischop durst not, or the king would not proceede to the solemnization of the marriage, till his fame were cleerely purged, and the truth well and openly testified. Whereupon Dame Elizabeth Lucy was sent for, and albeit she was by the king his mother and manye other put in good comfort to affirme that shee was assured to the king, yet when shee was solemply swozne to say the truth, shee confessed shee was neuer ensured. Howbeit she sayde, his grace spake suche louyng wordes to her, that she verily hoped that he woulde haue maryed her, and that if such kinde of wordes had not bene, she woulde neuer haue shewed such kindenesse to him, to let him so kindly get her with childe. This examination solempnly taken, when it was cleerely proued that there was no impediment to let the king to marrie, wherfore he shortly after at Grafton besyde stonie Stratford maryed the Ladie Elizabeth Gray very priuily, which was his enemies wife, and had prayed hartily for his losse, in the which God

Elizabeth  
Lucy.The kings  
marriage.

loued

loued her better then to graunt her her bone, for then had she not bene hys wife: And after that she was crowned Quene, then her father was created Erie Riuers, and her sonne created Marques Dorset. But when the Erie of Warwike vnderstoode of this marriage, he tooke it so highly, that thereof ensued much trouble and great bloodshed as is declared befoze in the stoye of king Edward the fourth.

I haue reherfed this marriage somewhat the moze at length, because it might thereby the better appere vpon howe slipper a ground the Protector builded his colour, by which he pretended king Edward his children to be bastardes, but the inuencion, as simple as it was liked them to whome it suffiseth to haue somewhat to saye, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger prooffe then themselves list to make.

Nowe to retorne where I left, as I began to shewe you, it was by the Protector and his counsaile concluded that this Doctor Shaa should in a sermon at Paules Crosse signifie to the people, that neither king Edward himselfe, nor the Duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor were the very children of the Duke of Yorke, but begotten vnlawfully by other persons, by aduoutery of the Duches their mother. And that Dame Elizabeth Lucy was the very wife of king Edward, and so Prince Edward and all the children begotten on the Queene were bastardes. And accordyng to this deuise, Doctor Shaa the Sunday after at Paules crosse in a great audience (as alway a great number assembled to his preaching) came into the Pulpit takyng for his Theme. Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas. Sapien. 4. that is to say, Bastard slippes shall neuer take depe rootes: whereupon when he had shewed the great grace that God geueth and secretly in foundeth in right generation after the lawes of matrimonie, then declared he that those children commonly lacked the grace (and for the punishment of their parentes) were for the most part vnhappy which were gotten in haste, and speciallye in aduoutrie, of which, (though some by the ignorance of the worlde and the truth hid from knowlege) haue enherited for a season other mens landes, yet God alway so prouideth that it contineth not in their blood long, but the truth comyng to light, the rightfull enheritors be restored, and the bastard slippes plucked vpon it can be rooted depe. And when he had layde for the prooffe and confirmation of this sentence, examples taken out of the olde testament and other auncient Hystories, then began he to discende to the prayse of the Lord Richard, late Duke of Yorke, calling him father to the Lord Protector and declared his title to the crowne by enheritaunce, and also by entaile authorized by Parliament after the death of king Henry the sixt. Then shewed he that the Lord Protector, was onely the right heyre, of his bodie lawfully begotten. Then declared he that king Edward was neuer lawfully maryed to the Queene, but his wife befoze God was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children were bastardes. And besydes that, that neyther king Edward himselfe, nor the Duke of Clarence (amongst them that were secret in the Duke of Yorke's household) were neuer reconed surely to be the children of the noble Duke, as those that by their fauors moze resembled other knowen men then him, from whose vertuous condicions he sayde also that king Edward was farre off. But the Lord Protector (quod he) that very noble prince, the speciall patrone of knightly prowesse, as well in all princely behauior, as in the li-

Doctor  
Shaa's  
sermon.

niamentes



liaments and fauour of his visage representeth the very face of the noble Duke his father. This is (quod he) the fathers awne figure, this is his awne countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image, the plaine expresse likenesse of this noble Duke. Nowe was it before deuised, that in the speaking of these wordes, the Protector should haue come in amongst the people to the Sermond ward, to the ende that these wordes, so meetyng with his presence, might haue bene taken amongst the hearers, as though the holy ghost had put them in the preachers mouth, and should haue moued the people euen there to haue cried king Richard, king Richard, that it might haue bene after sayde, that he was specially chosen by God, and in maner by miracle: but this deuise quayed, eyther by the Protector's negligence, or the preachers ouer hasty diligence. For while the Protector staied by the way, sayyng, least he should haue preuented these wordes, the Doctor fearyng that he should come or his sermon could come to those wordes, hastyng his matter therto, he was come to them, and past them, and entred into other matters or the Protector came, whome when he behelde commyng, he sodainly left the matter which he had in hand, and without any deduction therevnto out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repete those wordes agayne. This is the very noble prince, the especiall patrone of knightly prowesse, which aswell in all princely behauiour, as in the liaments and fauour of his visage, representeth the very face of the noble Duke of Yorke his father. This is the fathers awne figure, this is his awne countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure and vndoubted image, the plain expresse likenesse of that noble Duke, whose remembraunce can neuer die while he liueth. While these wordes were in speaking, the Protector accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, went through the people by into the place where the Doctors commonly stand in the upper stoye, where they hearde out the Sermon: but the people were so farre from cryyng king Richard, that they stode as they had beene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull Sermon: after which once ended, the preacher gate him home, and neuer after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight as an Owle, and when he asked any of his olde friendes, what the people talked of him, although that his awne conscience well shewed him that they talked no good, yet when the other answered him, that there was in every mans mouth of him much shame spoken, it so strake him to the heart, that in fewe dayes after, he withered and consumed away.

Then on the tuesday after next folowing this sermond, beyng the .xxij. day of June, there came to the Gyld hall of London, the Duke of Buckingham and diuers Lordes, and knightes mo then happily knewe the message they brought. And there in the east ende of the hall, where the hoystinges be kept, the Duke and the Mayor, and the other Lords sate downe, and the Aldermen also, all the commons of the Citie beyng assembled and standing before them. After silence comaunded vpon a great payne in the Protector's name. The Duke stode vp, and as he was well learned, and of nature mercifully well spoken, he sayde to the people, with a cleare, and a lowd voyce: friendes, for the zeale, and hartye fauour that we beare you, we be come to breake of a matter right great, and weightie, and no lesse weightie, then pleasing to God, & profitable to all the realme, nor to no parte of the realme moze profitable,

The oration  
of the Duke  
of Bucking-  
ham made to  
the Citizens  
of London.

profitable, then to you the Citizens of this noble Citie. For why, the thyng that you haue long lacked, and as wee well knowe soze longed for, that you woulde haue geuen great good for, that you woulde haue gone farre to fetch: that thyng be we come hether to bring you, without your labour, paine, coste, auenture, or ieoperdie. What thyng is that? Certes, the suretye yo your owne bodies, the quiet of your wyues & daughters & the sauegarde of your goods, of all which things in tyme passed you stood in doubt. For who was there among you all that could recon himselfe Lord of his owne good, among so many gynes, & traps as were set therfore, among so much pilling and polling among so many taxes & tallages, of the which there was neuer ende, or oftentimes no nede or if any were, it grew rather of riote, or of vnreasonable wast, then any necessary or honozable charge, so that there was daily plucked, & pilled from good & honest men great substance of goods, to be lashed out among vnyusts so far forth y fiftenes suffised not, nor any vsuall termes of knowen taxes, but vnder an easy name of beneuolence & good will, the commissioners so much of euery man toke, as no man would with his good will haue geuen. As though the name of beneuolence had signified, that euerie man should pay not what he of himselfe of his good wyll lust to graunt, but what the kyng of his good will lust to take, who neuer asked tittle, but euery thyng was haunfed aboute the measure, amerciamentes turned into fines, fines into ransomes, final trespasses, into mesprisyon, mesprisyon into treason, whereof I thinke that no man loketh y we shal remeber you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten which was for a worde spoken, in hast cruelly behedded. This Burdet was a Merchant dwelling in Chepeside, at y signe of crowne, which now is y signe of the flower de luse ouer against soper lane: This man merily in the ruffling tyme, betwene king Edward the fourth, and king Henry the sixt, said to his owne sonne, that he woulde make him inheritor of the crowne, meaning his owne house: but these wordes king Edward made to be misconstrued, and enterpreted, that Burdet ment the Crowne of the realme: wherefore within lesse space then foure houres, he was apprehended, iudged drawn and quartered in Chepeside, by the misconstruing of the lawes of the realme for the princes pleasure, with no lesse honour to Werham chiefe Justice then, which lost his office, rather then he woulde assent to that iudgement: then to the dishonestie of those, that either for feare, or flattery, gaue that iudgement. What nede I to speake of sir Thomas Cooke Alderman, and Mayor of this noble Citie, who is of you either for negligence that woteth not, or so forgetfull, that he remembreth not, or so harde harted that he pitieth not that worshopfull mans losse? What speake I of losse, his wonderfull spoyl, and vnderferued distruction, onely because it happened those to fauour him, whome the prince fauoured not. We nede not reherse of these any mo by name, sith I doubt not that here be many present, that either in themselves, or nigh friendes haue knowen aswell their goodes as their persons greatly endaugered, either by fained quarels or small matters aggrauated with heinous names, and also there was no crime so great, of which there coule lacke a pretext. For sith the king preuentyng the tyme of his inheritance attayned the crowne by battaile, it suffised in a riche man for a pretext of treason, to haue bene of kindred or aliaunce, nere of familiaritie, or longer of acquaintaunce with any of those, that were at any tyme the kings enemies

A a a . j.

which

Beneuolence

Burdet.

Werham  
chiefe JusticeOf this sir  
Thomas  
Cooke ye  
may reade  
afoze in  
the seuenth  
yere of king  
Edward the  
fourth.



Open warre. which was at one time or another more then halfe the realme. Thus were neither your goods, neither lands in surety, and yet they brought your bodies in ieopardie, beside the common auenture of open warre, which albeit, that it is euer the well and occasion of much mischief, yet is it neuer so mischeuous as where any people fall in deuision, and at distaunce among themselues, and in no realme earthly so deadlye, & so pestilent, as when it happeneth amongst vs. And among vs neuer continued so long discention nor so many battailes in any season, nor so cruell, nor so deadly foughten, as were in the kinges his dayes that dead is. God forgeue it his soule. In whose time, and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the garlande, keping it, lesing, and buyning agayne, it hath cost more English blood, then hath the twise winnyng of Fraunce. In which inward war amongst our selues hath bene so great effusion of the auncient noble blood of this realme, that scarcely the halfe remaineth, to the great enfebling of this noble lande, beside manye a good towne ransaked and spoyled by them that haue bene going to the fieldes, or returning from thence, and peace long after, not much surer then warre. So that no tyme was there in the which rich men for their money, & great men for their landes, or some other, for some feare or for some displeasure were out of peril, for whom trusted he, that mistrusted his owne brother? Whome spared he, that killed his owne brother? Or who coude perfectly loue him, if his owne brother coude not? What maner of folke that he most fauoured (we shall for his honour spare to speake of) howbeit, this ye wot well all, that whoso was best, bare euer the lest rule, and more suite in his daies was to Shores wife, a vile and abhominable strompet, then to all the Lordes in Englande, except vnto those that made her their protectour, which simple woman was yet well named, and honest, till the king for wanton lust, and sinful affection, bereft her from her husbande, a right honest yong man, and substanciall amongst you. And in that point which in good faith I am sorry to speake of, sauing that it is in bayne to kepe counsaile in that thing, that all men knoweth, the king bys greedy appetite was insatiabile, and enery where ouer all the realme intolerable. For no woman was there any where yong or olde, poore or riche, whome he set his eie vpon, whome hee any thing liked, either for person, or beautie, speche, pace or countenaunce, but without anye feare of God, or respect of his honour, murmure or grudging of the worlde, he woulde importunately pursue his appetite and haue her, to the great destruction of manye a good woman, and great doloure to their husbandes and friendes, which being honest people of themselues, so much regarded the cleanness of their houses, the chastitie of their wiues, and children, that them were liefer to lose all that they haue beside, then to haue such a vilany done to them. And albeit that with this, and other importable dealing, the realme was in euery place annoyed, yet speciallye you the Citezens of this noble Citie, as for that amongst you is most plentie of all suche thinges as minister matter to suche iniuries, as for that you were nereest at hande, sith that nere here about was his most common abiding. And yet be ye the people whome he had as singuler a cause well and kindly to entreat, as any part of his realme: not onelye for that the prince by this noble Citie, as of his speciall chamber, and renoumed Citie of this realme, much honourable fame receiveth amongst all other nations, but also for that, yea not without your great cost & sundry perilles and

London is  
the speciall  
Chamber of  
the Prince.

ieopardies

ieopardies in al his warres bare euer your especiall fauor to his part: which your kinde mindes borne to the house of Yorke, sith he hath nothing worthily requited you, there is of that house now, which by God his grace shall make you full recompence, which thing to shew you, is the whole some and effect of our arrande. It shall not I wote well neede, that I reherse vnto you agayn that you already haue heard of him that can better tell it, and of whome I am sure ye will better beleue it (and reason it is that it so be) I am not so proud to loke therfore that you should receiue my words of so great authority as the preachers of the worde of God, namely a man so cunning, and so wise, that no man wotteth better what he should doe & say, and thereto so good and vertuous he would not say the thing, which he wist he should not say in the pulpit, namely, into the which no honest man cometh to lie: which honourable preacher ye well remember, substancially declared to you at Paulies Crosse on Sunday last paste, the right and tytle of the most excellent Prince Richard Duke of Gloucester now Protector of this realme, which he hath vnto the crowne of the kingdome of the same. For that worshipfull man Edward the fourth were neuer lawfully begotten, for as much as the King (liuing his berie wyfe dame Elizabeth Lucie) was neuer lawfully married to the Queene their mother, whose blood, sauing that he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honour, was full vnnaturally to be matched with his (the mingling of which two bloodes together hath bene the effusion of a great part of the noble blood of this realme, whereby it maye well be seene, that mariage was not well made of which there is so much mischief growen. For lack of which lawfull copulation, and also of other things which the said worshipfull Doctor rather signified then fully explained, and which thing shall not be spoken for me, as the thing that enery man forbearth to say that he knoweth, in aduoyding the displeasure that my noble Lorde Protector bearing as nature requireth a reuerence to the Duches his mother. For these causes before remembred I saye, that for lacke of issue lawfully coming of the late noble Prince Richard Duke of Yorke, to whose royall blood the crownes of Englande and of Fraunce, are by the high auctoritie of a parliament entayled, the right and title of the same is by iuste course of inheritance according to the common law of this land, dissended and come vnto the most excellent prince the Lorde protector, as to the berie lawfull begotten sonne of the fore remembred noble Duke of Yorke. Which thing well considered, and the knightly prowesse of him pondered, with many vertues which in his noble person singularly do abound: The nobles and commons also of this realme, and specially of the North partes, not mylling anye bastard blood to haue rule of the lande, nor the abusions in the same before used and exercised any longer to continue, haue fully condiscended and vnterly determined to make humble petition vnto the puyssaunt prince the Lorde protector, that it maye like his grace at our humble request, to take vpon him the guyding and governaunce of this realme, to the welth and increase of the same, according to his berie right and iust tytle, which thing I wote well he will be loth to take vpon him, as he whose wisdom well perceyeth, the labour and studie both of minde and body that shall come therewith to him, whosoener shall occupie that roome. I dare say he will if he take it (for

Ala a. ij.

I warrault



I warrunt you that rome is no childes office ) and that the great wise man well perceyued, when he sayd *Væ regno, cuius Rex puer est*, woe to that realme whose king is a childe, wherefoze so much the more cause haue we to thanke God, that this noble personage, which is so righteously entituled thereto, is of so sad age, and thereto of so great wisdom, ioyned with so great experience, which albeit, he will be loth as I haue sayde to take vpon him, yet shall he to our petition in that behalfe the more graciously encline, if ye the worshipfull Citizens of thys Citie, being the chiefe Citie of the realme, ioyne with vs the Nobles in our sayde request, which for your awne weale we doubt not but that ye will. And yet neuerthelesse we pray you so to do, whereby ye shall doe great profite to all this realme: Beside that, in chosing them so good a King, it shall be to your selfe a speciall comoditie, to whome his maiestie shall euer after beare so much the more tender fauour in howe much he shall perceyue you the more prone and beneuolently minded towarde his election: wherein deare friendes, what minde you haue we require you p'aynely to shewe vs?

When the Duke had sayde and looked that the people whome he hoped that the Maior had framed befoze, should after this flattering proposition made, haue cryed king Richard, king Richard, all was still and muete, and not one worde answered to: wherewith the Duke was maruellously abashed, and taking the Maior neere vnto him, with other that were about him priuie to the matter, sayde vnto them softly. What meane thys, that the people be so still? Sir quod the Maior, percase they perceyue you not well, that shall we amende quod he, if that wyll helpe, and therewith somewhat louder rehearsed the same matter agayne, in other order and other words so well and ornately, and neuerthelesse so euidently and plaine, wyth voyce, gesture, and countenance so comely and so comenient, that euery man much marueyled that heard him, and thought that they neuer heard in their lyues so euill a tale so well tolde. But were it for wonder or feare, or that eche looked that other should speake first, not one worde was there answered of all the people that stood befoze, but all were as still as the midnigh, not so much as rouning among them, by which they might seme once to common what was best to doe. When the Maior sawe thys, he wyth other parteners of the counsaile, drewe about the Duke and sayde that the people had not bene accustomed there to be spoken to, but by the Recorder, which is the mouth of the Citie, and happily to him they will answer. With that the Recorder called Thomas Fitz William, a sadde man and an honest, which was but newly come to the office, and neuer had spoken to the people befoze, and lothe was with that matter to beginne, notwithstanding thereto commaunded by the Maior, made rehersall to the commons of that which the Duke had twise proponed himselfe, but the Recorder so tempered his tale, that he shewed euerything as the Duke his wordes were, and no part of his awne, but all this no chaunge made in the people, which alway after one, stood as they had bene amased. Wherbyon the Duke roured with the Maior and sayde, this is a marvellous obstinate scilence, and therewith turned to the people agayne with these wordes. Deare friendes we come to moue you to that thing which paraduventure we so greatly needed not, but that the Lords of this realme and commons of other partes might haue suffe-

Thomas  
Fitz William  
Recorder of  
London.

ffed, sauing such loue we beare you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladly do without you, that thing in which to be parteners is your weale and honour, which as to vs seemeth you see not or way not: Wherefoze we require you to geue vs an answer, one or other, whether ye be minded as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue thys noble Prince now Protector to be your king. And at these wordes the people beganne to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voyce was neyther loude nor base, but lyke a swarme of Bees, tyll at the last, at the nether ende of the hall a bushment of the Dukes seruants & one Paschfield, and other belonging to the Protector, with some prentices and laddes that thrust into the hall amongst the prease, began sodainely at mens backs to cry out as loude as they could, King Richard, King Richard, and there threw by their Cappes in token of ioy, and they that stood befoze cast back their heads maruaillyng thereat, but nothing they sayde. And when the Duke and the Maior sawe this maner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and sayd it was a goodly cry, and a ioyfull, to here euery man with one voyce & no man sayng nay. Wherefoze friendes (quod the Duke) sithe we perceyue that it is all your whole mindes to haue this noble man for your king, whercof we shall make his grace so effectuell report, that we doubt not but that it shall redownde to your great welth and comoditie. We therfoze require you that to morowe ye go with vs, and we with you to hys noble grace, to make our humble petition and request to him in maner befoze remembred. And therewith the Lords came downe and the company dissolved and departed the more part all sadde, some with glad semblaunce that were not bery meris, and some of them that came with the Duke, not able to dissemble their sorowe, were fayne at hys backe to turne their face to the wall, whyle the dolour of their hartes brast out of their eyes.

Then on the morow the Maior and Aldermen, and chiefe Commoners of the Citie in their best maner apparelled, assembled themselves together at Paules, and resorted to Bainerds Castell where the Protector lay, to which place also accordyng to the appointment repayred the Duke of Buckingham and diuers Nobles with him, besydes many knightes and gentlemen: And therebpon the Duke sent worde to the Lorde Protector of the beyng there of a great honourable companie to moue a great matter to his grace. Wherebpon the Protector made great difficultie to come to them, except he knewe some part of their errand, as though he doubted and partly mistrusted the comynug of such a number to him so sodainly, without any warnyng or knowlege, whether they came for good or harme. Then when the Duke had shewed this to the Maior and other, that they might thereby see howe little the Protector loked for this matter, they sent agayne by the messenger such louyng message, and there so humbly besought him to bouchesafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their entent of which they would to none other person any part disclose. At the last he came out of his Chamber, and yet not downe to them, but in a Galozy ouer them, with a Bishop on euery hand of him, where they beneath might see him and speake to him, as though he would not come nere them, till he wist what they ment. And therebpon, the Duke of Buckingham first made humble petition to him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them



to purpose vnto his grace the entent of their comynge without his displeasure, without which pardon obteyned, they durst not be so bolde to moue him of that matter. In which, albeit they ment as much honour to his grace as welth to all the realme besyde, yet were they not sure howe his grace would take it, whom they would in no wise offende. Then the Protector, as he was very gentle of himselfe, and also longed soze apparauntly to know what they ment, gaue him leaue to purpose what him liked, verily trusting for the good mind that he bare them all, none of them any thing would entend to himward wherewith he ought to be grieued. When the Duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then wered he bolde to shewe him their entent and purpose, with all the causes mouyng them therunto, as ye befoze haue heard. And finally, to besech his grace that it would like him of his accustomed goodresse, and zeale vnto the realme, nowe with his eye of pitie to beholde the long continued distresse and decay of the same, and to set his gracious hand to the redresse and amendment thereof, by takyng vpon him the Crowne and gouernance of the realme, accor dyng to his right and title lawfully descended vnto him, and to the laude of God, profite and suretie of the lande, and vnto his grace so muche the moze honour and lesse paine, in that that neuer Prince reigned vpon any people that were so glad to liue vnder his obeysaunce, as the people of this realme vnder his.

When the Protector had heard the proposition, he looked very straungely thereat and made aunswere, that albeit he knew partly the things by them alleged to be true, yet such entier loue he bare to king Edward and his children, & so much moze regarded his honour in other Realmes about, then the Crowne of any one, of which he was neuer desirous, so that he coulde not finde in his heart in this poynt to enelyne to their desire, for in all other nations where y truth were not well knowen, it should peradventure be thought that it were his awne ambitious minde and deuise to depose the Prince, and to take himselfe the Crowne, with which infamie he would in no wise haue his honour steyned for any Crowne, in which he had euer perchaunce perceued much moze labour and paine, then pleasure to him that so would vse it as he that would not and were not worthe to haue it. Notwithstandyng, he not onely pardoned them of the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartie fauour they bare him, prayyng them for his sake to geue and beare the same to the Prince, vnder whome he was and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counsaile as farre as it should like the king to vse it, he would doe his vttermost deuoyer to set the realme in good estate which was alredie in the little tyme of his protectorship (lauded be God) well begon in that the malice of such as were befoze the occasion of the contrary, and of newe entended to be, were now partly by good pollicie, partly moze by God his speciall prouidence, then mans prouision, repressed and put vnder.

Vpon thys aunswere geuen, the Duke of Buckyngham by the Protector his licence a little rounded, as well with other noble men about hym as with the Maior and Recorder of London. And after that (vpon lyke pardon desired and obteyned, he shewed aloude vnto the Protector, for a finall conclusion that the realme was appointed that king Edward his line should no longer reigne vpon them, both for that they had so farre gone that it was

now

now no suretie to retreat and for that they thought it for the weale vniuersal to take that way, although they had not yet begon it. Wherfoze if it would lyke his grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humbly beseeche hym therunto, and if he would geue them a resolute aunswere to the contrary (which they would be loth to here) then must they seeke and should not sayle to finde some other noble man that would. These wordes much moued the Protector, which as euery man of small intelligence may weete would neuer haue enclined thereto: but when he sawe there was none other way but that eyther he must take it, or else he and his both to go from it, he sayde to the Lordes and commons, sithe it is we perceue well that all the realme is so set (wherof we be very sozy) that they wyll not suffer in any wise king Edward his line to gouerne them, whom no man earthly can gouerne against their wys: And we also perceue that no man is there to whom the crowne can by so iust tytle appertayne as to our selfe as verie right heire lawfully begotten of the body of our most dread and dere father Richard, late Duke of Yorke, to which tytle is now ioyned your election, the nobles and commons of the realme, which we of all tytles possible take for most effectuell, we be content and agree fauourably to encline to your petition and request, and according to the same, here we take vpon vs the royall estate of prehemynence and kingdome of the two noble realmes, Englande, and Fraunce, the one from this day forward by vs and our heyres to rule, gouerne and defend, the other by God his grace and your good helpe to get agayne, subdue and establish for euer in due obedience vnto this realme of England, the auancement wherof we neuer aske of God longer to liue then we entende to procure and set forth. With this there was a great cry and shoute, cryyng king Richard, king Richard, and so the Lords went by to the King. But the people departed talking diuersly of the matter, euery man as his phantasie gaue him, but much they maruelled of this maner of dealing, that the matter was on both partes made so straunge, as though neuer the one parte had communed with other part thereof befoze, when they wold that there was no man so dull that hearde them, but he perceiued well ynough that all the matter was made betwene them. Howbeit, some excused that agayne, sayyng: all thinge must be done in good order, and men must sometime for the maner sake not be a knowen what they knowe. For at the consecration of a Bishoppe, euery man perceiuech by payment of his Bulles, that he entendeth to bee one, yet when he is twise asked whether he will be a Bishop, he must twise say naye, and at the thirde time take it vpon him, as compelled thereto by his awne wil. And in a stage playe, the people know right well that he that playeth the sobdaine, is percase a sowter, yet if one of acquaintance perchaunce of little nurture should call him by his name, while he standeth in his maisterie one of his tormentours might fortune breake his heade for marring of the play. And so they saide, these matters be kynges games, as it were stage playes, and for the most part plaid vpon scaffoldes, in which poore men be but lokers on, & they that wise be, wil meddle no farther, for they that steppe by with them when they cannot play their partes, they disorder the play and doe themselues no good.

After

The Protector  
to take  
vpon him the  
royall estate  
and King-  
dome of this  
realme.





After that the Protector had taken upon him the royal estate, preheminnence and kingdome of this realme, as is aforesaid in the historie of king Edward the fift, he the next day folowynge with a great traine, went on foote to Westminsterhall, & there when he had placed himselfe in the Court of the kings Benche, he declared to the audience, that he would take vpon him the crowne there in that place where the king himselfe sitteth, & ministereth the lawe, because he considered, that it was the chiefest duty of a king to minister the

lawes. Then with a pleasaunt oracion as he coude, he went about to wyne the hartes of the nobles, the merchautes, & artificers, and in conclusion all kinde of men, but speciall the Lawyers of this realme. And finally to the entent that no man should hate him for feare, and that his deceptfull clemency might get him the good will of the people, when he had declared the discommoditie of discorde, and the commoditie of concord, and vnitie, he made an open proclamation, that he did put out of his minde all enimities, and that he there did pardon all offences committed against him. And to the entent that he might shew a prooffe thereof, he commaunded that one fogge, whome he had deadly hated, should be brought before him, who being brought out of the Sanctuarie, for thether had he fled for feare of him. In the sight of the people he took him by the hand, which thing the common people reioysed at, and prayesd: But wise men tooke it for a banitic. And in his retourne homeward, whom so euer he met, he saluted: for a mind that knoweth it selfe guilty, is in a maner delected to a scruple flattery.

When he had begonne his reigne the .xix. daye of June, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1483. after this mockish election, then was he proclaymed king openly by sounde of trompet the next day folowing, and the sixt day of Julye next ensuyng, was solemnly crowned at Westminster. And that solemnitye was furnished for the most parte with the selfe same prouision that was appointed for the coronacion of his nephew. But forasmuch as the maner of the same coronacion came vnto my hands, & also for that no mention is made of the maner of the Coronacion of any prince in al this Chronicle, I thought it not amisse in this place to expresse the same.

The fourth day of July he came to the tower by water with his wyfe, and there he created Edward, his onely begotten sonne, a childe of ten yeres olde, Prince of Wales, and John Harwarde, a man of great knowlege, and vertue, (aswell in counsaile, as in battaile) he created Duke of Norffolke, and sir Thomas Harward his sonne, he created Erle of Surrey, & William Lord Barkley was then created Erle of Nottingham, and fraunces Lord Louell was then made vicount Louell and the kings chamberleyn, and the Lord Stanley, was deliuered out of ward for feare of his son the Lord Strange which was then in Lancasthire gathering men (as it was saide) and the sayd

Lord

Lord was made stewarde of the kings housholde, and likewise the Archebischop of Yorke was deliuered. But Morton Bischop of Ely was deliuered to the Duke of Buckingham to kepe in ward, which sent him to his manor of Brecknock in Wales, from whence (as ye shall after here) hee escaped to kyng Richardes confusion. The same night the king made .xxij. knights of the Bath, whose names were these.

Sir Edmonde the Duke of Suffolkes sonne.

Sir George Gray the Erle of Kentes sonne.

Sir William the Lorde Souches sonne.

Sir Henry Burgany.

Sir Christopher willoughby.

Sir William Barkley.

Sir Henry Banington.

Sir Thomas Arondell.

Sir Thomas Boleyn.

Sir Brews of Clifton.

Sir William Say.

Sir Edmond Bedingfield.

Sir William Enderby.

Sir Thomas Lekenoz.

Sir Thomas of Urmon.

Sir John Brovane.

Sir William Barkley.

The next day beyng the fift day of July the king roade through the Citie of London toward Westminster with great pompe, beyng accompanied with these Dukes, Erles, Lordes, and knightes, whose names folow.

Edward Prince of Wales the kinges onely sonne.

Dukes.

The Duke of Norffolke.

The Duke of Buckyngham

The Duke of Suffolke.

Erles.

The Erle of Northumberland

The Erle of Arondell

The Erle of Kent

The Erle of Surrey

The Erle of Wilshire

The Erle of Huntingdon

The Erle of Nottingham

The Erle of Warwicke

The Erle of Lyncolne.

Lordes.

The Lorde Lisle Vicount

The Lorde Louell Vicount

The Lorde Stanley.

The Lorde Auddeley

The Lorde Bakers

The Lord ferrers of Chertley

The Lorde Powes

The Lorde Scrope of Upsale

The Lorde Scrope of Bolton

The Lorde Gray Cotener

The Lorde Gray of Wilton

The Lorde Sturton

The Lorde Cobham

The Lorde Mozley

The Lorde Burgany.

The Lorde Sobolche

The Lorde ferrers of Croy

The Lorde Welles

The Lorde Lomney

The Lorde Hatreuers

The Lorde Harbert

The Lorde Becham.

Knightes.

Sir James Tyrrell

Sir William Knyuet

Sir Thomas Aborow

Sir William Standley

Sir William Apartre

Sir George Brovane

Sir Robert Middleton

Sir John Heningham

Sir Nicholas Latimet

Sir Thomas Honghonzey

Sir Thomas Delamer

Sir Gilbert Debnam

Sir Terry Robsart

Sir William Brandon

Sir John Sauell

Sir Henry Wentfoord

Sir Edward Standley

Sir Henry Seyntmonte

Sir



Sir William Pong	Sir Richard Hodylston
Sir Thomas Bobser	Sir John Conyas
Sir Henry Winkfelde	Sir William Stoner
Sir Thomas Wortley	Sir Philip Courtney
Sir John Seyntlowe	Sir William Galkopn
Sir Charles of Pilkinton	Sir Richard Amedylton
Sir James Haryngton	Sir Roger Fynes
Sir John Acheley	Sir George Vere
Sir Thomas Barkley	Sir Henry Percye
Sir Richard Becham	Sir John Wood
Sir William Hopton	Sir John Sparre
Sir Thomas Percye	Sir John Gray
Sir Robert Dinock	Sir John Danby
Sir John Cheyne	Sir Richard Taylebuche
Sir Richard Ludlow	Sir John Ridet
Sir John Eldryngton	Sir John Heryng
Sir William Sandes	Sir William Stoner
Sir Richard Dudley	Sir Richard Enderby
Sir William Seyntlowe	Sir John Barkeley
Sir Thomas Twaighes	Sir James Strangwithie
Sir Edmond of Dudley	Sir Raufe Carubzke
Sir Raufe Ashton	Sir John Constable
Sir Richard Charlyngton	Sir Robert Elyard
Sir Thomas Grape	Sir Richard Derell
Sir Philip Barkley	Sir John Gilford
Sir Robert Harington	Sir John Lekenoz
Sir Thomas Gressley	Sir John Mozley
Sir Richard Hartcourt	Sir John Hewes
Sir William Nozis	Sir John Boleyn
Sir Thomas Selenger	Sir Edmond Shaa Alderman.

On the morow beyng the first day of July, the king with Queene Anne his wife, came doone out of the white Hall into the great Hall at Westminster, and went directly to the kinges Benche. And from thence the king and the Queene goyng upon raye cloth barefooted, went unto Saint Edwardes Shryne, and all his Nobilitie goyng with him, every Lorde in his degree. And first went the Trompets, and then the Heraltes of Armes in their rich Cotes, and next folowed the Crosse with a solempne Procession, the priestes hauyng fine Surpleses, and gray Amysses upon them. The Abbottes and Bishops Mytred and in riche Copes, and every of them carryed their Crossiers in their handes. The Bishop of Rochester bare the Crosse before the Cardinall. Then folowed the Erle of Huntingdon, bearyng a payre of guilt Spurres, signifyng Knighthood. Then folowed the Erle of Bedford bearyng Saint Edwardes staffe for a Relique. After them came the Erle of Northumberland bare hedded, with the poynlesse sword naked in his hand, which signified mercy. The Lorde Stanley bare the Mace of the Constablenesship. The Erle of Kent bare the second sword on the right hande of the king naked, with a poynnt which signified iustice to the Temporalltie. The Lorde Louell bare the thirde sword on the left hande with a poynnt, which signified

signified iustice to the Clergie. The Duke of Suffolk folowed with y Scepter in his hande, which signified peace. The Erle of Lincolne bare the Ball and Crosse, which signified a Monarchy. The Erle of Surrey bare y fourth sword before the king in a rich skaberd, and that is called the sword of estate. Then went three together, in the middelt went Garter king at armes in his riche Cote. And on his left hande went the Mayor of London bearing a Mace, and on his right hand went the Gentleman Usher of the priuie chamber. Then folowed the Duke of Norfolke bearing the kinges crowne betweene his handes. Then folowed king Richard in his robes of purple velvet, and ouer his head a Canapie borne by foure Barones of the five portes, and on euery side of the king there went one Bishop, that is to say, the Bishop of Bathe, and the Bishop of Durham. Then folowed the Duke of Buckyngham bearing the kings trayne, with a whyte staffe in his hande, signifyng the office of the high Steward of England. Then there folowed a great number of Erles and Barons before the Queene. And then came the Erle of Huntington, who bare the Queenes Scepter, and the Lorde Lisle Count bare the rod with the dosse, which signifieth innocencie. The Erle of Wiltshire bare the Queenes crowne before her. Then folowed Queene Anne daughter to Richard Erle of Warwike in robes lyke to the king, and hauing a Canapy ouer her head, and on euery corner of the same was a Bell of Golde. And on her head was a Circlet of Golde, set with manye precious stones. The Countesse of Richmond bare the Queenes trayne. And after them came the Duchesse of Suffolke in her robes of estate, and on her head a Cronicle of Golde. Then folowed the Duchesse of Norfolke appareled in lyke maner as was the Duchesse of Suffolke, and then folowed twentie Ladies richely appareled, and after them a great number of knightes and Esquires, and then a great number of Tymbales, and passed forwarde until they came unto Saint Edwardes Shryne to their seates of estate. And shortly the king and the Queene sat doone in their seates of estate. And shortly with there came by before the king & the Queene both priestes and Clarkes, that song most delectable and excellent Musick. And so soone as thys was done, the king and Queene were shifted from their robes, and had dyuers places open from the middle bywarde, in which places they were annoynted. And that beyng done, the king and Queene chaunged their robes into cloth of Golde. And then forthwith the Cardinall beyng accompanied with all the Bishops, crowned the king and Queene with great solempnity, with the crowne of Saint Edward, and then they sang Te deum and the Organs went, and then they put upon the king Saint Edwardes Cope (as an holy relique.) And the Bishops deliuered to the king the Scepter in his right hande, and the Ball with the Crosse in his left hande, and to the Queene the Scepter in her right hand, and the rod with the Dove in her left hande. And then the Cardinall and Bishops went to Masse, and the king and Queene went to their seates agayne. And shortly after came by before the king two Bishops and kneeled doone before him a little while, and then they arose by and kissed the king one after another: on euery side of the king stode a Duke, and on euery side of the Queene stode a Bishop. And before the king stode the Erle of Surrey with a sword in hys hande, and before the Queene was a Lady kneeling. And there kneeled before the Queenes seate the Duches



ches of Norfolk and sundrie other Ladies. And so they sate still vntill the Dore was geuen, and then the King & Queene dissended and came downe to the highe aultar, and there receyued the Sacrament, the same beyng deuided betweene them. And then they went by vnto S. Edwards Shyrne, and there the king offred saint Edwards crowne with many other reliques. And then the king returned agayne to his seat, and the Lordes set hys abene crowne vpon his head. And so in order as they came they departed to Westminster hall, and so to their Chambers for a season. During which time the Duke of Norfolk came into the hall, his horse being trapped to the ground in cloth of Golde as high Marshall, and boyded the Hall.

About foure of the clock the King and Queene entred the Hall, and the King sate in the middle, and the Queene on the left hande of the table, and on euery side of her stode a Countesse, holding a cloth of pleasaunce when she list to drinke. And on the right hande of the King sate the Archebyschop of Caunterburie. All the Ladies sate on one side at a table, in the middle of the hall, and at the table agaynst hym sate the Chauncelour and all the Lordes. At the table next the Cupbord sat the Maior of London. At the table behind the Lordes sate the Barones of the five Portes. And at the other bordes sate dyuers noble and worshipfull personages.

When all persons were set, the Duke of Norfolk Erle Marshall, the Erle of Surrey Constable for that day, the Lorde Stanley Lorde steward, sye William Hopton Treasorer, and sye Thomas Percy Comptroller came in and serued the King solemnly with one dishe of Golde, & another of Syluer, and the Queene all in guilt Wessell, and the Byschop in Silver. At the second course came into the hall sye Robert Dymmock the kings Champion makynge proclamation, that whosoeuer would saye that King Richard was not lawfull King, he would fight with him at the vtterance, and threwe downe his gauntlet, and then all the hall cryed King Richard, King Richard. And so he did in thre parties of the hall. And then one brought him a Cup of Golde with Wine couered, and when he had dronke as much as he would, he threwe out the rest and departed with the Cup. After that the Heraultes cryed a largesse thrise in the hall, and so went by to their stage. At the ende of dynner the Maior of London serued the king and Queene with Sporras, and had of eche of them a Cup of Golde with a couer of Golde. And by that tyme all was done it was darke night, and so the King and Queene returned to their Chambers, and euery man to his lodging.

Incontinent after thys feast he sent a solempne Ambassade to Lewys the French king to conclude a league and amity with him, trusting also to obteyne the tribute that king Edward his brother had before out of Fraunce. But the French king so abhorred him and his crueltie, that he would neyther see nor here his Ambassadors, & so in vaine they returned home agayne.

Now after this triumphant coronation, there fell mischiefes thicke and thicke, & as the thing euill gotten is neuer well kept, so through all the time of his vsurped reigne, neuer ceased their cruel murther, death, and slaughter, till his abone destruction ended it. But as he finished his time with the best death and most rightwise, that is to say his awne, so began he with the most pitteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocent Nephew the yong king and his tender brother, whose death and finall fortune hath neuertheless

so farre come in question that some remayned long in doubt whether they were in his dayes destroyed or no. Not for that onely that Barkyn Warbeck by many folkes malice, and mo folkes folly so long space abusing the worlde, was as well with princes as with poore people reputed and taken for the yonger of these two: But for that also that all things were in late dayes so couertly demeaned, one thing pretended and another ment, that there was nothing so playne and openly prooued, but that yet for the common custome of close and couert dealing, men had it euer inwardly suspect, as many well counterfeit Jewels, make the true mistrusted. Howbeit, concerning y opinion, with the occasions mouing either party, we shall haue place more at large to intreate, in the storie of the late Noble Prince of famous memorie king Henry the seuenth, in the processe of Barkyn. But in the meane season, for this present matter I shall reherse to you the dolorous ende of these two Babes, not after euery waye that I haue heard, but after that waye that I haue so heard by such men and such meanes as me thinketh it were hard but it should be true.

King Richard after his coronacion, taking his waye to Glocester, to visite in his newe honour, the towne, of which he bare the name before of old, deuised as he rode to fulfill that thing which he before had entered. And forasmuch as his minde gaue him that his newe tows lying, n. n. would not recon that he coude haue right to the realme: he thought therfore without delay to ridde them, as though the killiug of his kynsmen might ende hys cause, and make him a kindly king. Where vpon he sent one John Greene, whome he specially trusted, vnto sir Robert Brakenburie, constable of the towre, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Robert in anye wyse shoulde put the two children to death. This John Greene did his errand to Brakenburie, kneeling before our Ladye, in the Towre, who plainly answered that he would neuer put them to death, to die therfore. With y which answer John Greene returned, recompting the same to king Richard at Warwicke yet on his iourney, wherwith he toke such displeasure, & thought, that the same night, he sayd, to a secret page of his: Ah, whome shall a man trust: they that I haue brought by my selfe, they that I went would haue most surely serued me, euen those sayle me, & at my commaundement wyll do nothing for me. Sir quod the page, there lieth one in the palet chambze without, that I dare well say, to do your grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that he would refuse, meanyng this by sir James Tirrell, which was a man of right goodly personage, and for the giftes of nature worthy to haue serued a much better Prince, if he had well serued God, & by grace obteyned to haue as much truth and good will, as he had strength and witte. The man had an high hart, and soze longed bywarde, not risiug yet so fast as he had hoped being hindered and kept vnder by sir Richard Ratcliffe, and sir William Catesby, which longyng for no more partners of the Princes fauour, namelye not for him, whose pride they knewe would beare no pere, kept him in secret driffes out of all secret trust: which thing this page had well marked, and knowen: wherefore, thys occasion offered, of very speciall friendship spied his time to set him forward, and in such wise to do him good, that all the enemies that he had (except the Deuill) coude neuer haue done him so much hurt and shame, for vpon the Pages wordes, king Richard arose (for this communi-

Clofe dealing  
is such sus-  
picious.

The destruc-  
tion of King  
Edwardes  
children.

John Greene,  
Robert Bra-  
kenburie  
Lieutnant  
of the Towre.

Anchoyette  
loath no  
partners.



James  
Tyrrell.

ration had he sitting on a Jaques, a conuenient carpet for such a counsaile) and came out into the palet chambze, where he did find in bed the sayd James Tyrrell, and sir Thomas Tyrrell, of person like, & brethren of blood, but nothing of kinne in condicions. Then sayde the king merely to them, what sirs, be you in bed so sone: and called by James Tyrrell, and brake to him secretly his minde, in this mischeuous matter, in the which he founde him nothing straunge. Wherfore on the morowe he sent him to Brakinburie with a letter by the which he was commaunded to deliuer to the sayd James all the keyes of the Towre for that night, to the ende that he might there accomplishe the kings pleasure in such things as he there had geuen him in commaundement. After which letter deliuered and the keyes receyued, James appointed the next night ensuyng to destroy them, deuilsyng befoze & preparyng y meanes.

The lamencable wordes of the yong king.

The Prince as sone as the Protectour toke vpon him to be king, and left the name of Protectour, was thereof aduertised and shewed, that he shoulde not raigne, but his vnckle shoulde haue the croone. At which word the prince soze abashed began to sighe, and sayde: Alas I woulde mine vnckle woulde let me haue my life, although I lese my kingdome. Then he that tolde him the tale bled him with good wordes, and put him in the best comfozt that hee coulde, but forthwith he and his brother were both shut vp, and all othet remoued from them, one called blacke Myll, or William Slaughter onely except, which were set to serue them, and foure other to see them sure. After which time, the Prince neuer tyed his pointes, nor any thing rought of hyrselfe, but with that yong babe his brother lnygered in thought & heauna lie, till this traiterous dede deliuered them of that wretchednesse.

Myles  
Forest.  
John  
Dighton.

For James Tyrrell deuised that they shoulde be murthured in their bras and no blood shed: to the execution whereof, he appointed Myles Forest one of the foure that befoze kept them, a felow fleshy bred in murthet befoze tane, and to him he ioyned one John Dighton, his awne horsekeeper, a big, brace square, and strong knaue. Then all the other beyng remoued from them, this Myles Forest, and John Dighton about midnight, the sely children lyng in their beddes, came into the chambze, and sodenly lapped them by anongest the clothes, and so be wrapped them, and entangled them, keepyng downe by force the fettherbed & pillowes hard vnto their mouthes, that within a while they smored, and stifled them, & their breathes saylyng, they gaue vp to God their innocent soules, into the ioyes of heauen, leauing to y tormentors their bodies, dead in y bed, which after the wretches perceued, first by the strugling, with the pangs of death, & after long lyng stil to be thoroughly dead, they layd the bodies naked out vpon the bed, & fetched James Tyrrell to see them, which when he saw them perfittly dead, he caused y murtherers to bury them at the stayre foote, metely deepe in the ground vnder a great heape of stones.

The yong  
king and his  
brother mur-  
dered.

Then rode James Tyrrell in great haste to king Richard, and shewed him all the maner of the murder, who gaue him great thankes, and as men say, there made him knight, but he allowed not their buriall in so vile a corner, sayng that he woulde haue them buried in a better place, because they were a kings sonnes: To the honourable courage of a king, for he woulde recompence a detestable murthet with a solemne obsequie. Wherevpon a priest of Sir Robert Brakenburies toke them vp, and buried them in such a place secretly as by the occasion of his death (which was very shortly after)

which

which onely knew it, the very truth coulde neuer yet be well and perfectly known. Some say that king Richard caused them to be taken by, and closed them in lead, & to put them in a Coffin full of holes, hooked at the endes with two hookes of yron, and so cast them into a place called the blacke Deepes, at the Thames mouth, so that they shoulde neuer rise by nor be seene againe. This was the verye truth vnknewen by reason that the sayde priest died so shortly, and disclosed it neuer to any person that woulde vtter it. And for a truth, when sir James Tyrrell was in the Tower for treason committed agaynst king Henry the seventh: both he and Dighton were examined together of this poynt, and both they confessed the murder to be done in the same maner as you haue heard, but whether the bodies were remoued, they both affirmed they neuer knewe. And thus as I haue learned of them that much knewe, and little cause had to lye, were these two noble Princes, these innocent tender children, borne of the most royall blood, and brought vp in great wealth, likely long to liue, to reigne & rule in the realme, by trayterous tyrannie taken and depriued of their estate, shortly shut vp in prison, and priuily slaine and murdered by the cruell ambition of their naturall vnckle and bys dispiteous tormentors: which thinges on euery part well pondered, God gaue this worlde neuer a more notable example, either in what vnfortunetie standety this worlde weale, or what mischiete worketh the proude enterpryce of an high heart, or finally what wretched ende ensueth of such dispiteous crueltie. For first to begin with the ministers, Myles Forest, at Saint Martines le graund, by pece meale miserably rotted away, John Dighton liued at Calice long after, no lesse disdeyned and hated then poynted at, and there dyed in great misery: But Sir James Tyrrell was behedded at the Tower hill for treason: And king Richard himselfe was slaine in the fielde, hacked, and heluen of his enemies hands, haried on a horseback naked being dead, his heare in dispite torne and tugged like a curre Dogge. And the mischiete that he tooke in lesse then thzee yeres, of the mischiete that he did in thzee monethes be not comparable, and yet all the meane time spent in much trouble and paine outwarde, and much feare, dreade, and anguillie within. For I haue heard by credible report, of such as were secret with his chamberers that after this abhominable deed done, he neuer was quiet in his mind, he neuer thought himselfe sure where he went abroade, his bodie priuily fainted, his eyen whirled aboute, his hande euer on his dagger, his countenance and maner like alwayes to strike againe, he toke euill rest on nightes, lay long wakyng and musyng, forweryed with care and watch, rather slumbered then slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, sodenly sometime start vp, leapt out of his bed and looked about the Chamber, so was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormie remembrance of his abhominable murthet and execrable tyrannie.

King Richard by this abominable and mischicuous act, thinkyng himselfe well relieved both of feare and thought, woulde not haue it kept counsaile, but within a fewe dayes caused it to runne in a common rumor that the two children were sodainly deade, and to this entent as it is to be demed, that now none heyre male beyng alyue of king Edwardes bovie lawfully begotten, the people woulde be content with the more patient heart, and quiet mind to obey him and suffer his rule and gouernance: but when the fame of this

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detestable fact was reueled, and demulged through the tohole realme, there fell generally, such a dolor and inward sorow into the heartes of all the people, that all feare of his crueltie set asyde, they in euery towne, streete, and place, openly wept, and piteously sobbed. And when their sorow was somewhat mittigate, their inwarde grudge could not refrayne but crie out in places publike, and also priuate, furiously sayng, what creature of all creatures is so malicious and so obstinate an enemy either to God, or to Christian religion, or to humaine nature, which would not haue abhorred, or at the least absteyned from so miserable a murder of so execrable a tyranny. To murder a man is much odious, to kill a woman is in maner vnnaturall, but to slay and destroy innocent babes, and yong infantes, the whole world abhorreth, and the blood from the earth cryeth, for vengeance to almighty God. If the common people cryed out, I assure you the friendes of the Queene, and her children made no lesse exclamation and complaint with lowde voice, lamentably cryng and sayng, alas what will he doe to other, that thus shamefully murdereth his owne blood without cause or desert: whom will he saue when he slaieth the poore Lambes comitted to him in trust: now we see and behold that the most cruell tyrannie hath invaded the common welth, now we see that in him is neither hope of iustice nor trust of mercie, but abundance of crueltie and thirst of innocent blood. But when these newes were first brought to the infortunate mother of the deade children yet beyng in Sanctuarie, no doubt but it strake to her heart, like the sharpe darte of death: for when she was first informed of the murder of her two sonnes, she was so sodainly amazed with the greatnesse of the crueltie, that for feare she sounded and fell downe to the ground, and there lay in a great agonie like to a dead corps. And after that she came to her memoire, and was reuiued againe, she callyng by name diuers tymes her sweete babes, accounted her selfe more then mad that she deliuered her yonger sonne out of the Sanctuarie to his enemy to be put to death, thinkyng that next the othe made to God broken, and the duetic of alleageance toward her children violated, she of all creatures in that poynt was most seduced and disceyued. After long lamentacion, when she saw no hope of reuengyng otherwise, she kneeled downe and cried on God to take vengeance for the deceptfull periury, as who sayd that she nothing mistrusted but once he would remember it. What is he lyuyng that if he remember and beholde these two noble infantes without deseryng, so shamefully murdered, that will not abhorre the fact, yea and be moued and tormented with pitie and mercie. And yet the worlde is so frayle, and our nature so blinde that fewe be stirred with such examples, forgetting and little considering, that oftentimes for the offences by the parents perpetrate and committed, that sinne is punished in their line and posteritie. This chaunce might so happen to this innocent children, because king Edward their father and parent offended in staynyng his conscience: he made his solemne othe before the gate of the City of Yorke (as you haue heard before) and promised and sware one thing by his worde, thinkyng cleane contrarie in his heart, as after did appere. And afterwarde by the death of the Duke of Clarence his brother, he incurred (of likelyhoode) the great displeasure toward God.

After this murder thys perpetrated & that he had visited his towne of Gloucester

Gloucester which he for his olde dignity both loued and with ample liberties and priuileges endued and garnished, he toke his iorney toward the Countie of Yorke, where the people abusing hys lawfull fauour, as he both fauored and trusted them in hys hart, had of late presumed to attempt diuers rootes and riots contrarie to his lawes and enfringing of his peace, and by on hope of his maintenaunce, were so exalted, that no Lorde, were he neuer of so great power could eyther pacifie or rule them till the king himself came personally thether to set a concord and an vnitie in that Countie, and so he by long iourneying came to the Citie of Yorke, where the Citizens receyued him with great pompe and triumph, and made diuers dayes playes and Pageants in token of ioy and solace. Wherefore King Richarde magnified and much commended them and also did shewe himselfe apparantly before them in habite royall with Scepter in hande and Diademe on his head, and made proclamation that all persons should resort to Yorke on the day of the Assention of our Lorde, where all men should both beholde him and his Queene and Prince in their high estates and degrees, and also for their good wylls shoulde receyue many thankes. At the daye appointed the whole Clergie assembled in Copes richelye reuested and so with a reuerent ceremonie went about the Citie in Procession, after whome folowed the king with his Crowne and Scepter appareled in his circote Robe royall accompanied with no small number of the Nobilitie of hys Realme: after whome marched in order Queene Anne hys wife lykewise crowned, leading on her left hande Prince Edward her sonne, hauing on hys head a Demy Crowne appointed for the degree of a Prince. The king was had in that triumph in such honoz, and the common people of the North so reioysed that they extolled and praysed him farre aboue the starres. After thys solemne feast and glorious pompe he kept great counsailes there, as well for the ordering of the Countie in time to come, as for the byrdeling and punishing of such as there had misgouerned themselves: and farther of the gentlemen of that Countie, he augmented the number of hys household, ministers and seruants, in the which persons he put his whole trust and affiaunce. When all things were thus discreetly ordered, he returned by Notyngham, and after came to London: whome more for dread then for loue, the Citizens receyued in great companies. Thus king Richard by a newe inuented cruelty and late practised tyrannie obteyned and grewe to high praise and honoz, and then by the admiration and iudgement of the common multitude, he was most esteemed to be exalted into heauen, when he couertly had intelligence that he was lyke to lose hys estate, and could by no meanes haue long continuance in hys vsurped power: for assuredly after the death of king Edwards children, when any blustering winde, perillous thunder, or terrible tempest chaunced or were apparauntly like to happen: Sodainly the people hauing in there fresh memoire the mischicuous act of their king and Prince, would openly speake and cry that God did take vengeance, and punish the poore English men for the crime and offence of their bngnacious king, whom they blamed, accursed, and wished to haue extreme tortures. Although king Richard harde often of these slanderous wordes and malicious sayngs and knewe well by what persons they were spoken, yet he durst not wyth strong hande be on the first inuantoys reuenged, knowyng that some time it

¶ pworde  
and foolish  
procession.



is no wisdom to refuse or disdain them that tell a ruler his duetie, or declare to him his misbehauour toward the common welth or counsaile him to amende and chaunge hys yll lyfe. After this great felicitie, he fell agayne into a great feare and pensiuensse of minde, & because he could by no meanes eyther correct or amend things that were passed, he determined by doing his duetie in all things to his commons, to blot and put out of memorie that noie of infamie, with the which his fame was iustly spotted & stayned, and to cause the people to conceyue so good an opinion in him, that from thence forth no calamitie or trouble should be adiudged to happen to the common welth, eyther by his negligence or by his misgouernance (although it is harde and straunge shortly to turne and pluck out such qualities and vsages as haue of long time bene engrauen in a mans minde and rooted in his maners and conditions.) Therefore whether it was for the perfoimaunce of his former entent of amendment, or (as the common fame flue abroad) that he tooke great repentaunce of hys mischieuous actes, and deuillike doyngs, and pretended to haue the name of a good and vertuous man, by reason that he shewed himselfe more iust, more meeke, and more liberall (especially amongst the poore people) then befoze he had accustomed to doe, and so by thys meanes he surely trusted first to obteyne of God forgiuenesse, and after to remooue by little and little the enemic and inward grudge that the common people bare in their mindes toward him, and in conclusion, to obteyne their friendly loue and assured fauour. He further more beganne and enterprised diuers things as well publike as priuate, the which he bring prevented by sodaine death did neyther accomplishe nor bring to conclusion, for he began to founde a College of a hundred prestes, which foundation with the founder shortly tooke an ende. To please the common people also, he in his high Courte of Parliament enacted diuers and sundrie good lawes and profitable statutes and in especiall one agaynst straungers and forreyn wrought wares, not to be transported into this realme, which comodious act for the common welth if he had liued he fully purposed to haue auanced and set forward and put in execution. But afterward evidently to all persons it appeared, that onely feare (which is not a mayster long in office and in continuall auctoritie) and not iustice, caused king Richard at that berie time to waxe better and amend his sinnefull lyfe, for shortly the goodnesse of the man which was but painted and deceauable, sodainly waxed colde and banished away. And from thenceforth not onely all hys counsailes, doyngs and proceedings, sodainely decayed and sorted to none effect: But also fortune began to frowne and turne her wheele downward from him, in so much that he lost his onely begotten soune called Edward in the thirde Moneth, after he had created him Prince of Wales.

And shortly after he was inquieted by a conspiracy, or rather a confederacie betwene the Duke of Buckingham and many other gentlemen against him as ye shall here: But the occasion why the Duke and the king fell out, is of diuers folke diuersly pretended. Thys Duke as you haue heard befoze alioone as the Duke of Gloucester after the death of King Edward was come to Yorke, and there had solempne funerall seruice done for king Edward, sent to him a secret seruaunt of hys called Perfall, with such messages as you haue heard befoze. And after the Duke of Buckyngham came with

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That orph of Edward the soune of King Richard.

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Grudge betwene the Duke of Buckingham and King Richard.

three hundred horse to Northampton and still continued with him, as partner and chiefe organe of his deuises till after his coronation, they departed to all seeming berie friends at Gloucester. From whence as soon as the Duke came home, he so highly turned from him and so behemetyly conspired against him, that a man would marueyle whereof the chaunge grewe in so short space. Some say this occasion was that a little befoze the coronation, the Duke required the King amongst other things to be restored to the Earle of Hertfordes landes: And for as much as the tytle which he claymed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the tytle of Lancaster, which house made a tytle to the crowne, and enioyed the same thre discentes, as all men knewe, till the house of Yorke depriued the thirde king, which was Henry the sixt, king Richard somewhat mistrusted and conceyued suche an indignation, that he reiected the Dukes request with many spitefull and knappishe wordes, which so wounded the Dukes hart with hatred and mistrust, that he could neuer after endure to looke right on king Richard, but euer feared hys awne lyfe, so farre forth, that when the Protector should ryde to his coronation, he feyned himselfe sicke, because he would doe him no honor. And the other taking it in euill part, sent him worde to rise and ride, or he would make him to be caried. Whereupon gorgeously apparelled and sumptuously trapped with burning cart naues of Golde embroidered, he roade befoze the King through London with an euill wyll and worse hart. And that notwithstanding he rose the daye of the coronation from the feast, faying himselfe sicke, which King Richard sayde was done in hate and spight of him. And therefore men sayde that eche of them euer after lyued continually in such hatred and distrust of other, that the Duke looked berily to haue bene murdered at Gloucester, from which he in fayze maner departed: but surely suche as were right secret with both, affirme all this to be vntreue, and otherwyse men thinke it vnlikely, the deepe dissimuling nature of both these men well considered. And what neede in that greene worlde the Protector had of the Duke, and in what perill the Duke stood if he fell once in suspicion of that tyrant, that eyther the Protector would geue the Duke occasion of displeasure, or the Duke the Protector occasion of mistrust: And surely men thinke that if king Richard had any suche opinion conceyued in him, he would neuer haue suffered him to auoyde his handes or escape his power: but berie true it is that the Duke of Buckyngham was an high minded man, and euil could beare the glorie of another, so that I haue heard of some that sawe it, that he at such time as the crowne was set vpon the Protectors head, his eye coulde neuer abide the sight thereof, but wynded his head another way: but men said he was not well at ease, and that was both to king Richard well knowne and well taken, nor any demaunde of the Dukes request vncourteously reiected, but gently deferred, but both he wyth great giffes and high behestes in most louing & trustie maner departed from the King to Gloucester. This euery man iudged as he thought, but soone after his coming home to Brecknocke, having there by king Richardes comaundement Doctor Morton Bishop of Ely, who befoze as you haue hard was take at the counsaile at y towre, waxed with him very familiar, whose onely wisdom abused his pride, to his awne deliuerance, and the Dukes destruction. The bishop was a man of great naturall witte, very well learned, and of honourable behauiour, lac-

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Doctor Morton Bishop of Ely, which afterward was Cardinal Morton.



king no wise wayes to winne fauour. Hez was first vpon the part of kyng Henry, while that part was in welth, and neyther left it nor forsoke it in no wo, but fled the realme with the Queene and the Prince. And whyle king Edward had king Henrye in prison, hee neuer returned but to the fielde at Barnet: after which fielde lost and bitterly subdued and all parte takings extinguished, king Edward for his fast fayth & wisdom, was not onely content to receyue him, but also wooed him to come, & had him from thenceforth both in secret trust, and speciall fauour whome he nothing deceyued. For he beyng after king Edwardes death first taken by the tyraunt king Richard, for his truth to king Edward found the meane to set the Duke of Buckingham in his topp, & ioyned Gentlemen together in ayde of the Erle of Richmond, which after was named king Henry the seuenth: first deuising the mariage betwene the Ladie Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward the fourth, by the which his faithfull & true seruice declared to both his maisters at once, was an infinite benefite to the realme, by the coniuntion of the bloods of Lancaster, and Yorke, whose seuerall titles had long iniquited the realme. This man afterwarde escaped from the Duke of Buckingham, and fled the realme, and went to Rome, neuer minding to meddle with the world, till king Henry the seuenth sent for him, and after made him Archebishop of Caunterbury, and Chauncelour of Englande, and after was made Cardinall, & lined well to all mens iudgements, and died well. But to returne to the former purpose he by the long, and often chaunges, as well of prosperitie, as aduerse fortune, had gotten by great experience the very mother and maistrisse of wisdom, and depe insight in pollitique and worldly driftes, whereby perceiuyng nowe the Duke to common with him, fed him with faire woordes, and many pleasant prayes, and perceiuyng by the grieve of their communications, the Dukes pride now and then to balke out a litle, braide of enuy toward the glory of the kyng, and thereby selyng him easie to fall out, if the matter were well handled, he craftely sought the wayes to pricke him forward takyng alwayes the occasion of his comming, & also kepyng himself close within his hands that he rather seemed to folow him then to lead him. For when the Duke began first to praise, and boast the king, & shew how much profite the realme should take by his reigne. Bishop Morton answered, surely my Lord, foly it were for me to lie, for I am sure if I would sweare the contrary, ye would not once beleue me, but if the world would haue gone as I would haue wysshed, y king Henries sonne had had the crowne & not kyng Edward, then would I haue bene his true & faithfull subiect, but after that God had ordayned him to lose it, and king Edward to reigne, I was neuer so mad w a dead man: to striue against the quick, so was I euer to king Edward a faithfull and true chapleyn, & glad would haue bene that his childre should haue succeeded him, howbeit if the secret iudgement of God, haue otherwise prouided, I purpose not to spurne against the prick, nor labor to set vp, that God pulleth dolone. And as for y late protectour, & now kyng: and with that worde he left, sauing that he said, that he had already medled to much with the worlde, and woulde from that daye medle with his booke and beades, and no further. Then longed the Duke sore to heare, what he woulde haue sayde, because he ended with the king, and there so sodainely stopped, and exhorted him familiarly, betwene them both to be bolde and to say whatsoeuer he thought, whereof he faithfully promised

there

there shoulde neuer come hurt, and peradventure moze good then he woulde wene. And that he himselfe entended to vse his faithfull secret aduice, & counsayle, which he sayde was the onely cause for the which he procured of the kyng to haue him in his custodie, where he might recon himselfe at home, or else he had bene put in the handes of them with whome he shoulde not haue founde like fauour. The Bishoppe right humbly thanked him, and sayde, in good faith my Lorde, I loue not much to talke of Princes, as of a thing not all out of perill, although the worde be without faulte, forasmuch as it shall not be taken as the partie ment it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And euer I thinke on Ilopes tale, that when the Lion had proclaymed that on payne of death there shoulde no horned beastes come into the woode, one beast that had a bonche of flesh growyng out of bis heade, fled a great pace: the fore that sawe him stie with all the hast, asked him whether he fled? In faith quod he, I neyther wote, ne recke, so I were once hence, because of the proclamation made against horned beastes. What foole quod the fore, the Lyon neuer ment it by thee, for that which thou hast is no horne in thy heade. No mary quod he, I wot that well ynough, but if he saye it is a horne where am I then? The Duke laughed merely at the tale, and sayde, my Lorde I warraunt you, neyther the Lion, nor the Boze shall picke any matter at anye thing here spoken, for it shall neuer come neere their eares. In good fayth, sir sayde the bishop, if it did, the thing that I was about to saye taken as well as before God I ment, it could deserue but thanke, and yet taken as I wene it woulde, might happen to tourne me to little good, and you to lesse.

Then longed the Duke much moze to wete what it was, wher vpon the bishop sayde. In good faith my Lorde, as for the late Protectour, sith he is nowe king in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title, but for the welth of this realme, whereof his grace hath nowe the gouernaunce, and whereof I my selfe am a pooze member, I was about to wishe that to those good abilities whereof he hath alreddie right many, little needyng my prayse, yet might it haue pleased God for the better stoz to haue geuen him some of such other excellent vertues mete for the rule of the Realme, as our Lorde hath planted in the person of your grace, and there left of again. The Duke somewhat marueyllyng at his sodaine pauses, as though they were but Barrentheses, with a high countenance sayde: my Lorde I evidently perceyue and no lesse note your often breathing, and sodaine stoppyng in your communication, so that to my vnderstandyng your woordes neyther come to any direct or perfect sentence in conclusion, wherby either I might perceiue & haue knowlege what your inward intent is now toward the king, or what affection you beare toward me. For the comparison of good qualities ascribed to vs both, (for the which I my selfe knowlege and recognise to haue none, nor loke for no prayse of any Creature for the same) maketh mee not a litle to muse, thinking that you haue some other priuie imaginacion, by loue or by grudge engraued and imprinted in your heart, which for feare you dare not, or for childishe shamefastnesse you be abashed to disclose and reueale, and especially to me beyng your friend, which on my honour doe assure you to be as secrete in this case as the desse and dumme person is to the singer, or the tree to the hunter. The Bishop beyng somewhat bolder, consideryng the Dukes promise, but most of all animated and encouraged because he knewe the Duke

desirous

Whereto is written by Sir Thomas Moore, that is to say, from the beginning of the history of king Edward the first until this marke - setting one place which is noted in the first yere of this king.



desirous to be exalted and magnified, & also he perceyued the inward hatred and piniue rancor which he bare toward king Richard, was now boldened to open his stomack euen to the very bottome, entending therby to corasse how to destroy and bitterly confound king Richard & to depriue him of his dignity royall, or else to set the Duke so a fyre with the desire of ambicio, that he himselfe might be safe & escape out of al daunger & perill, which thing he brought shortly to conclusion, both to the kings destruction, and the Dukes confusion, & to his awne safegard, & finally to his high promociō. And so (as I said before) vpon trust & confidence of the Dukes promise, the Bishop sayd: my singuler good Lord, sith the time of my captiuitie, which being in your graces custody, I may rather call it a liberall libertie more then a straight emprisonment, in annoyding ydolnesse mother and nozisher of all vices, in readyng bookes and auncient Phamphlets, I haue found this sentence wozitten, that no man is bozne free and in libertie of himselfe onely, for one part of duetie he oweth or should owe to his parentes for his procreation due by nature: another part, to his friendes and kinsfolke for nerenesse of blood: But the native Country in the which he tasted first the sweete ayers of this pleasaunt and flatterynge worlde after his natiuitie, demaundeth as a debt by a naturall vnderstanding to be forgotten, which sayng causeth me to consider in what case this realme my native Country now standeth, and in what estate and assurance before this time it hath continued: what gouernour we nowe haue, and what ruler we now haue, and what ruler we might haue, for I plainly perceyue the realme beyng in this case must nedes decay and be brought to bitter confusion. But one hope I haue incorporate in my bzeast, that is, when I consider and in my minde doe diligently remember, and dayly beholde your noble personage, your iustice and indifferencie, your feruent zeale and ardent loue toward your naturall Country, and in like maner the loue of your Country toward you, the great learnyng, pregaunt witte, and goodly eloquence, which so much doth abound in the person of your grace, I must nedes think this Realme fortunate, yea twise more then fortunate, which hath suche a prince in store, mete and apt to be a gouernour, in whose person being endued with so many Princely qualities, consisteth and resteth the very vndoubted similitude and ymage of true honour. But on the other syde, when I call to memorie the good qualities of the late Protector, and now called king, so violated and subuerted by tyrannie, so chaunged and altered by vsurped authoritie, so clouded and shadowed by blind and insatiablen ambition, yea and so sedeinly (in a maner by a metamorphosis) transformed from polittike ciuilitie, to detestable tyrannie: I must nedes say and iustly affirme, that he is neither mete to be a king of so noble a realme, nor so famous a realme mete to be gouerned by such a tyraunt: Was not his first enterpryse to obteyne the Crowne begun by the murder of dyners noble, valiaunt, true, and vertuous personages? O a holy beginnyng to come to a mischieuous endyng, did he not secondarily procede contrary to all lawes of honestie, shamefully against his naturall mother, beyng a woman of much honour, and more vertue, declaring her openly to be a woman geuen to carnall affection, and dissolute liuyng, which thing if it had bene true (as it was not in deede) every good and naturall childe would haue rather mummied at, then to haue blasted abroad and especially she beyng aliue. Declaryng furthermore his two brethren,

and

and his two nephewes to be Bastardes, and to be bozne in aduoutery, yet not therewithall this content: After that he had obteyned the garland for the which he so long thirsted, he caused the two poore innocentes his nephewes committed to him (for especial trust) to be murdered and shamefully to be killed. The blood of which stely and little babes dayly crie to God, from the earth for vengeaunce. Alas my heart sobbeth, to remember this bloody and cruell monster, what suretie shall be in this realme to any person either for life or goodes vnder suche a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his awne blood, and then lesse the losse of other. And most especially as oftentimes it chaunceth, where a conetous or a cruell Prince taketh suspicion, the smallest swaruyng that is possible (if the thing be misconstrued) may be the cause of the destruction of many guiltlesse persons: and in especiall of noble and welthie personages, hauyng great possessions and riches: Such a Lozde is Lucifer when hee is entered into the heart of a proude Prince, geuen to conetousnesse and crueltie. But nowe my Lozde to conclude what I meane toward your noble person, I say and affirme, if you loue God, your linage, or your native Country, you must your selfe take vpon you the Crowne and Diademe of this noble Emppre, both for the mainenance of the honour of the same (which so long hath flourished in fame and renowne) as also for the deliuerance of your naturall Country men, from the bondage and thraldome (worse then the captiuitie of Egypt) of so cruell a tyraunt and arrogant oppressor. For thus I dare say, if any forrein Prince or Potentate, yea the Turke himselfe would take vpon him the regiment here and the crowne, the Commons would rather admit and obey him, then to liue vnder such a blood supper and childe killer: but how much more ioyfull and glad would they be to liue vnder your grace, whom they all know to be a ruler mete and conuenient for them, and they to be louyng and obedient subiectes mete to liue vnder such a gouernour: dispise not, nor forsake not so manifest an occasion so louyngly offered. And if you your selfe knowing the paine and trauaile that apperteyneth to the office of a king, or for any other consideration, will refuse to take vpon you the Crowne and Scepter of this realme: Then I adiure you by the fayth that you owe to God, by your honour, and by your othe made to Saint George, patron of the noble order of the gartier (whereof you be a Companion) and by the loue and affection that you beare to your native Country and the people of the same, to deuise some way how this realme now beyng in miserie may by your high discrecion and Princely pollicie, be brought and reduced to some suretie and conuenient regiment vnder some good gouernour by you to be named or picked out. For if you could either deuise to set vp againe the linage of Lancaster, or aduance the eldest daughter of king Edward to some highe and pridaunt Prince, not onely the newe crowned king shall small tyme enjoy the glory of his dignitie, but also all ciuill warre should ceasse, and peace, profite and quietnesse should be set forth and embraced.

When the Bishop had thus ended his sayng, the Duke sighed and spake not of a great while, which sore abashed the Bishop and made him change couler: which thing when the Duke apperceyued, he sayde, be not afraid my Lord, all promises shall be kept, to morow we wil common more: let vs go to supper, so that night they commoned no more, not a little to the

The Duke  
dome of a  
Prince.

brenuetyng



inquieting of the Bishop, which nowe was euen as desirous to knowe the Dukes minde and entent, as the Duke longed the day befoze to knowe his opinion and meanyng. So the next day, the Duke sent for the Bishop, and reherfed to him in maner (for he was both wittie and eloquent) all the communication had betwene them befoze, and so pauised a while, and after a litle season putting of his bonet he sayde: O Lorde God creator of all thynges howe much is this realme of Englande and the people of the same bounden to thy goodnesse, for where we nowe be in veration and trouble, and with great stormes oppzessed, sailing and tossing in a desperate shippe without good mayster or gouernoz: but by thy helpe good Lorde I trust or long time passe that we shall prouide for such a ruler, as shall be betw to thy pleasure, and also to the maintenaunce and defence of this noble Realme. And then he put on his Bonet, saying to the Bishop, my Lorde of Ely whose true heart and sincere affection toward me at all tymes, I haue evidently perceiued and knowen, and now most of al in our last priuie communication, and secrete deuising, I must nedes in heart thinke and with mouth confesse and say, that you be a sure friend, a trustie Counsaylor, a vigilant forer, a very louer of your Countrie, & a natural Countreman: for which kindnesse for my part, I most louyngly render to you my hearty thanks nowe with wordes: hereafter trusting to recompence and reward you both decedes, if life and power shall serue. And sith at our last communication, you haue disclosed, and opened, the verie secretes and priuities of your stomake, touching the Duke of Glocester nowe vsurper of the Crowne, and also haue a litle touched the auancement of the two noble families of Porke and Lancaster: I shall likewise not onely declare and manifest vnto you, all my open actes, attemptes, and doynges, but also my priuie ententes, and secrete thoughtes. To the entent that as you haue vnbuckled your Bouget of your priuie meanynges, and secrete purposes to me: so shall all my clowdie working, close deuises, and secret imaginations, be (as cleere as the Sunne) reueled, opened, and made lightsome to you. And to beginne, I declare: that when king Edward was diseased, to whome I thought my selfe litle or nothing beholding, (although we two had married two sisters) because, he neyther promoted nor preferred me (as I thought I was worthie and had deserved) neither fauoured nor regarded me, accordyng to my degre and birth: For surely I had by him litt'e aucthoritie, and esse rule, and in effect nothing at all: which caused me lesse to fauour his children, because I found small humanitic, or none in their parent. I then began to studie, and with good deliberation, to ponder and consider, howe and in what maner thys realme should be ruled and gouerned. And first I remembzed an olde proverbe worthie of memorie, that often rueth the realme, where children rule, and woman gouerne. This olde adage so sanke, and settled in my heade, that I thought it a great error and extreme mischiefe to the whole realme, eyther to suffer the yong king to rule, or the Queene his mother to be a gouernour ouer him, considering that her brethren, and her first children (although they were not extract of highe and nob'e lynage) tooke moze vpon them, and more exalted themselues by reason of the Queene, then did the kinges brethren, or anye Duke in his Realme: Which in conclusion turned to their confusion. Then I beyng perswaded with my selfe in thys poynt, thought

it necessarye both for the publique and profitable welth of thys Realme, and also for myne awne commoditie and better staye, to take part with the Duke of Gloucester: Whome I assure you I thought to be as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable without iniurye, as mercifull without crueltie, as nowe I knowe hym perfectlye to be a Dissimuler, without veritye, a Tyrant without pittie, yea and worse then the Tyrant Phaleres, destitute of all truth and clemencie: And so by my meanes, at the first counsaile holden at London, when he was most suspected of that thyng that after happened, (as you my Lorde knowe well ynough) hee was made Protector and defender, both of the Kinge and of the realme, which aucthoritie once gotten, and the two children partly by my pollicie brought vnder hys gouernaunce, he beyng moued with that gnawing and couetous Serpent, desired to raygne & neuer ceased priuie to exhorite and require (yea and some times with threating termes) to perswade me and other Lorde as well spirituall as temporall, that he might take vpon hym the crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twentie yeres, and were able to gouerne the realme, as an hable and sufficient king: Which thing when he sawe me somewhat stick at, both for the straungenesse of the example (because no such president had bene seene) and also because we remembered that men once assended to the highest tye of honoz and aucthoritie will not gladly discende agayne, he then brought in instruments, autentike Doctors, Doctors, and notaries of the lawe, with depositions of dyuers wytnesses testifying king Edwardes children to be Bastardes, which depositions then I thought to be as true, as nowe I knowe them to be fayned, and testified by persons with rewardes vntreuely subornate. When the saide depositions were befoze vs red and diligently heard, he stood by bare headed saying: Well my Lordes, euen as I and you sage and discrete counsaillers woulde that my Nephew should haue no wrong: So I praye you doe me nothing but right. For these witnelles and sayngs of famous Doctors being true. I am onely the vndoubted heyre to the Lorde Richarde Plantagenet Duke of Porke, adiudged to be the verie heyre to the crowne of this realme by aucthoritie of parliament, which thyngs so by learned men to vs for a veritie declared, caused me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted prince and souereigne Lorde. For well we knewe that the Duke of Clarence sonne, by reason of the attaynder of his father was disabled to inherite, and also the Duke himselfe was named to be a bastarde, as I my selfe haue heard spoken, and that vpon great presumptions moze times then one: so agayne by my ayde and fauour, he of a Protector was made a King, and of a subiect made a gouernour, at which time he promised me on his fidelitie, laying his hand in mine at Baynard Castell, that the two yong Princes should lyue, and that he would so prouide for them, and so maintaine them in honorable estate, that I and all the realme ought and should be content. But when he was once crowned king, and in full possession of the whole realme, he cast away his olde conditions as the Adder doth her skinne, veryfying the olde proverbe, honozs chaunge maners, as the parishe priest remembreth not that euer he was parishe Clarke. For when I my selfe sued to him for my part of the Erle of Harfordes landes, which his brother king Edward wrongfully detepned and withheld from mee, and also required to haue the



office of the high Constableship of Englande, as diuers of my noble aunces-  
 ters befoze thys time haue had, and in long discent continued. In thys my  
 first sayte shewing his good minde towarde me, he did not onely first delaye  
 me, and afterwarde deny me, but gaue me such unkinde wordes, with such  
 tauntes and retauntes, ye in maner, check and check mate to the bittermost  
 prooffe of my pacience. As though I had put him downe and not set him by:  
 yett all these ungratitudes and undeserued unkindnesse, I bare closlye and  
 suffered patiently and couertly remembred, outwardlye dissimulyng that I  
 inwardly thought, and so with a painted countenaunce I passed the last som-  
 mer in his last company, not without many fayre promises, but without any  
 good deedes. But when I was credibly enformed of the death of the two  
 yong innocents, his awne naturall Nephewes contrarie to his fayth and pro-  
 mise, to the which God be my iudge I neuer agreed nor cōdescended. O Lord  
 how my baynes panted, howe my body trembled and howe my hart inward-  
 ly grudged, in so much that I so abhorred the sight and much moze the com-  
 pany of him, that I could no lenger abide in his Court, except I should be  
 openly reuenged. The ende whereof was doubtfull, and so I faryed a cause  
 to departe, and with a merie countenaunce and a dispitfull hart I tooke my  
 leaue humbly of him (he thinking nothing lesse then that I was displeasid)  
 and so returned to Brecknock to you. But in the iourney as I returned,  
 whether it were by the inspiration of the holy ghost, or by Melencolous dis-  
 position, I had diuers and sundrie imaginations howe to depriue this un-  
 naturall Uncle, and bloody Butcher, from his royall seate and princely dig-  
 nitie. First I phantasied that if I list to take vpon me the crowne and impe-  
 riall Scepter of the realme, now was the time propice and conuenient. For  
 nowe was the way made plaine, and the gate opened, and occasion geuen,  
 which now neglected, should paraduenture neuer take such effect and conclu-  
 sion. For I sawe he was disdayned of the Lordes temporall, abhorred and  
 accursed of the Lordes spirituall, detested of all Gentemen, and despised of al  
 the communitie: so that I saw my chaunce as perfittely as I saw my awne  
 Image in a glasse, that there was no person (if I had beene greedy to at-  
 tempt the enterpryse) could nor should haue won the ring or got the goale be-  
 fore me. And on this point I rested in imagination secretly with my selfe two  
 dayes at Tewkesburie. And from thence so iorneyng I mused and thought  
 that it was not best nor conuenient to take vpon me as a conquerour, for then  
 I knew that all men and especially the nobilitie, would with all their power  
 withstand me, both for rescuing of possessions and tenors, as also for subuer-  
 ting of the whole estate, lawes, and customes of the realme: Such a power  
 hath a Conquerour as you knowe well ynough my Lorde. But at the last,  
 in all this doubtfull case there sprang a new braunche out of my head, which  
 surely I thought should haue brought forth fayre flowres, but the sonne  
 was so hote that they turned to drie weedes, for I sodainly remembred that  
 Lord Edmond Duke of Sommer set my Grandfather was with king Hen-  
 rie the sixt in the second and thirde degrees from John Duke of Lancaster  
 lawfully begotten: So that I thought sure my mother being eldest daugh-  
 ter to Duke Edmonde, that I was next heyre to king Henry the sixt of the  
 house of Lancaster. This title pleased well such as I made priuie of my coun-  
 saile, but much moze it encouraged my folish desire, and entent, in so much that  
 clerely

clerely I iudged, and in mine owne minde was determinatlye resolved, that  
 I was the vndoubted heire, of the house of Lancaster, and there by on conclu-  
 ded, to make my first foundacion, and erect my new buildyng. But whether  
 God so ordained, or by fortune it so chaunced while I was in a mase, either to  
 conclude sodainly on this title, and to set it open amongst the common peo-  
 ple, or to kepe it secret for a while, see the chaunce: as I rode betwene wor-  
 cester and Bridgenorth, I encountered with the Lady Margaret, Countesse  
 of Richmonde, now wife to the Lorde Stanley, which is the beye daughter  
 and sole heyre, to Lorde John Duke of Sommer set my grandfathers eldest  
 brother. Which was as cleane out of my minde as though I had neuer sene  
 her, so that she and her some the Erle of Richmonde be both bulwarcke and  
 portcolice betwene mee, and the gate, to enter into the maiestie royall and  
 getting of the Crowne. And when we had commoned a little concerning her  
 sonne, as I shall shew you after, and were departed, she to our Lady of wor-  
 ceter, and I towarde Shrewesberie: I then new chaunged and in maner a-  
 mased, began to dispute with my selfe, litle consideryng that thus my earnest  
 title was turned euen to a Tittill not so good as est amen. Cyttones I imagi-  
 ned whether I were best to take vpon me, by the election of the nobilitie, and  
 commonaltie, which me thought easie to be done, the vsurpoyng thus be-  
 yng in hatred, & abhorred of this whole realme or to take it by power, which  
 standeth in fortunes chaunce, and harde to be achieved and brought to passe.  
 Thus rumblyng and tossyng, in the waues of ambiguitie, betwene the stone,  
 and sacrifice, I considered first the office, duetie, and payne of a king, which  
 surely I thinke that no mortall man can iustly, and truly obserue, except he  
 be called, elected, and specially appointed by God, as king David, and diuers  
 other haue bene. But farther I remembered that if I once tooke on me the  
 scepter, and the gouernance of the realme: That of two extreme enemies I  
 was dayly sure but of one trusty friende (which now a dayes begon a pilgri-  
 mage) I was neyther assured, nor credibly ascertayned (such is the worldes  
 mutation) for I manifestlye perceiued that the daughters of kyng Edward  
 and their alies, and friendes, which be no small number, beyng both, for hys  
 sake much beloued, and also for the great iniurie, and manifest tirannie done  
 to them, by the newe vsurper, much lamented, and pitied, would neuer cease  
 to barke if they cannot bite at the one side of me. Semblable my Cousin the  
 Erle of Richmonde, his aydes and kinsfolke, which bee not of little power,  
 will surely attempt lyke a fierce greghoude, either to bite or to pierce me on  
 the other syde. So that my lyfe and rule should euer hang by a heare, neuer  
 in quiet, but euer in doubt of death or deposition. And if the sayde two lina-  
 ges of Yorke and Lancaster, which so long haue stryued for the imperiall  
 Diademe should ioyne in one agaynst me, then were I surely mated and the  
 game gotten. Wherefore I haue cleerely determined, and with my selfe  
 concluded, utterly to relinquish all such phantasticall imaginations concer-  
 ning the obteyning of the crowne. But all such plagues, calamities and trou-  
 bles (which I feared and suspected) might haue chaunced on me if I had ta-  
 ken the rule and regiment of thys realme, I shall with a reredemayne so  
 make them rebound to our common enemy that calleth himselfe King, that  
 the best stopper that he hath at tennyre shal not well stop without a fault: for  
 as I tolde you befoze, the Countesse of Richmonde in my returne from the  
 newe



newe named King, meeting me in the high way, prayed me first for kindred sake, secondarily for the loue that I bare to my Grandfather Duke Humfrey, which was sworne brother to her father, to moue the King to be good to her sonne Henry Erle of Richemond, and to licence him with his fauour to returne agayne into Englande: and if it were his pleasure so to doe, shee promised that the Erle her sonne should marry one of king Edwards daughters at the appointment of the king, without any thing to be taken or demanded for the sayde espousals, but onely the Kinges fauour, which request I sone ouer passed and gaue her sayre words and so departed. But after in my lodging when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie, and did circumspectly ponder them, I fully adiudged that the holy ghost caused her to moue a thing (the ende whereof shee could not consider) both for the securitie of the realme, as also for the preferment of her childe, and the destruction and final confusion of the common enemy king Richard. Which thing, she neither then thought I am sure, as I by her words could make coniecture, nor I my selfe cast not her desire to be so profitable to the realme as I nowe doe perceyue, but such a Lorde is God, that with a little sparle he kindled a great fyre, and so finally to declare to you the verie conclusion to the which I am both bent and set, my mind is, and my power and purse shall helpe, that the Erle of Richmond very heyre to the house of Lancaster (in the quarell of the which linage, both my father and Grandfather lost their lyues in battayl) shall take to wyfe Lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward, by the which marriage both the houses of Yorke and Lancaster maye be obteyned and vnite in one, to the clere stablishment of the title to the crowne of this noble realme. To which conclusion, if the mothers of both parties and especially the Erle himselfe, and the Ladie wyll agree, I doubt not but the bragging Boze, which with his tuskes raseth euery mans saine, shall not only be brought to confusion as he hath deserued but þ this Empire shall euer be certayne of an vndoubted heire, and then shall a civil and intestine warre cease, which so long hath continued to the paring of many mens crownes, & this realme shall be reduced agayne to quietnesse, renoume, and glozy. When the Duke had said, the Bishop, which fauoured euer the house of Lancaster, was wonderous ioyfull, and much reioyced to here this deuice, for now carrye the winde about euen as he would haue it, for al his imagination tended to his effect to haue king Richard subdued, and to haue the lines of king Edward, & king Henry the first agayne raysed & aduanced. But Lord how he reioyced to thinke how that by this marriage the linages of Yorke and Lancaster should be conioyned in one, to the very stedfastnesse of the publike welth of this realme. And least the Dukes courage should swage, or his minde should agayne alter, as it did often before, as you may easily perceyue by his awne tale. He thought to set by all the sayles that he had, to the entent that the ship of his pretended purpose might come shortly to some sure port: And sayde to the Duke, my Lorde, sith by Gods high prouision and your incomparable wisdom and pollicie, this noble coniunction is first inoued, nowe is it conuenient, yea and necessary to consider, what personages and what friends we shall first make priuie of this highe deuice, and polittique conclusion. By my truth, quod the Duke, we will begin with my Ladie of Richmond the Erles mother which knoweth where he is, either in captiuitie or at large in Britaine. For I heard

heard say that the Duke of Briteyne restored him to libertie immediately after the death of king Edward, by whose meanes he was restrained. Sith you will begin that way (sayde the Bishop) I haue an olde friend with the Countesse, a man sober, secret, and well witted, called Reignold Brey whose prudent pollicie I haue knowen to haue compassed thinges of great importance, for whome I shall secretly sende, if it be your pleasure; and I doubt not he will gladly come, and that with a good will. So with a little diligence the bishop wrote a letter to Reignold Brey, requiryng him to come to Brecknocke with speede, for great and vrgent causes touchyng his maistresse: and no other thing was declared in the letter. So the messenger rode into Lancashire where Brey was with the Countesse and Lorde Thomas Stanley her husband, and deliuered the letter, which when he had red, he tooke it as a signe or token of some good fortune to come, and so with the messenger he came to the Castell of Brecknock, where the Duke and the Bishop declared what thing was deuised, both for to set the realme in a quiet stedfastnesse, as also for the highe preferment of the Erle of Richemond sonne to his Ladie and maistresse: Willyng her first to compasse howe to obteine the good will of Queene Elizabeth, & also of her eldest daughter bearyng the same name: and after secretly to send to her sonne into Briteyne to declare what high honoz was prepared for him if he would sweare to marry the Ladie Elizabeth as sone as he was king, and in royall possession of the Realme. Reignold Brey with a glad heart for gettyng nothing genen to him in charge, in great hast and with good speede returned to the Countesse his Ladie and Maistresse. When Brey was departed, and this great doubtfull besell once set abroche, the Bishop thyrstyng for nothing more then for libertie: When he sawe the Duke pleasaunt and well minded towarde him, he tolde the Duke that if he were in his Isle of Gye, he could make many friendes to further that enterprise, and if he were there, and had but foure dayes warnyng, he little regarded the malice of king Richard, his Countrie was so strong. The Duke knewe well all this to be true, but yet loth he was that the Bishop should depart, for he knewe well that as long as the Bishop was with him, he was sure of polittique aduise, sage counsaile, and circumspect proceeding. And so he gaue the Bishop sayre wordes, sayng that he should shortly depart, and that well accompanied for feare of his enemies. The Bishop beyng as wittie as the Duke was wilpe, did not tary till the Dukes companie were assembled, but secretly disguised in a night departed (to the Dukes great displeasure) and came to the See of Ely, where he found money and friendes, and so sayled into Flaunders, where he did the Erle of Richemond good seruice, and neuer returned agayne, till the Erle of Richemond after beyng king, sent for him, and shortly promoted him to the See of Caunforburie. Thus the Bishop wound himselfe from the Duke when he had most neede of his ayde, for if he had taried stil, the Duke had not made so many blabbes of his counsaile, nor put so much confidence in the Welthemen, nor yet so rashely set forwarde without knowlege of his friendes as he did, which thinges were his fodein ouerthrow, as they that knewe it did report.

When Reignold Brey had declared his message and priuie instruction to the Countesse of Richemond his Maistresse, no maruaile though she was ioyous and glad both of the good newes, and also for the obteyning of such a high friend in her sonnes cause as the duke was: wherfore she willing not to

Reignold  
Brey.



leepe this matter, but to further it to the bittermost of her power and abilitie, deuised a meanes how to breake thys matter to Queene Elizabeth then beyng in Sanctuare at Westminster. And therupon she hauing in her familie at that time for the preservation of her helth, a certayne Welshman called Lewys learned in phisicke, which for his grauity and experieuce, was well knobone & much esteemed amongst great estates of the realme: with whom she bled sometime liberally & familiarly to talke, now hauing oportunitie and occasion to breake her minde vnto him of this weighty matter, declared that the time was come that her sonne should be ioyned in mariage with Lady Elizabeth daughter and heyre to king Edward, and that king Rycharde beyng taken and reputed of all men for the common enemye of the realme, shoulde out of all honoz and estate be reiected, and of his rule and kingdome to be clerely spoyled and expelled: and required him to go to Queene Elizabeth (with whom in his facultie he was of counsaile) not as a messenger, but as one that came friendly to visite and consolats her, and as tyme and place shoulde require to make her prinie of this deuise, not as a thing concluded, but as a purpose by him imagined. This phisician dyd not long lenger to accomplish her desyre, but with good diligence repaired to the Queene being still in the sanctuare at Westminster. And when he saw tyme convenient for his purpose, he saide vnto her: Madame, although my imagination be very simple, and my deuise more folish, yet for the entier affection that I bere toward you and your children, I am so bolde to bitter vnto you a secret and priuy conceit, that I haue cast and compassed in my fantasticall brayne. When I well remember, and no lesse consider the great losse and dammage that you haue sustayned by the death of your noble and louing husbande, and the great dolor, & sorowe that you haue suffered, by the cruell murder of your innocent children: I can no lesse do of bounden dutie, then dayly to studie, and hourely imagin, not onely how to bring your hart to comfort and gladnesse, but also deuise how to reuenge the righteous quarrel of you, and your children en that bloody bloodsupper, and cruell tirant king Richard. And first consider, what battaile, what manslaughter, what mischief hath risen in this realme, by the diffencion betwene the two noble houses of Yorke and Lancaster, which two families (as I haue contriued) if they may be ioyned in one, I thinke, ye and doubt not but your line shall be agayne restored to the pristinate estate and degree, to your great ioy and comfort, and to the bitter confusion of your mortall enemye the vsurped king. You knowe verie well Madame that of the house of Lancaster, the Erle of Richemond is next of blood, which is lyuing and a lustie yong Watcheler, and to the house of Yorke your daughters now are heyres: if you could agree and inuent the meane how to couple your eldest daughter with the yong Erle of Richemond in matrimony, no doubt but the vsurper of the realme should be shortly deposed, and your heire agayne to her right restored.

When the Queene had hard thys friendly mocion (which was as farre from her thought as the man that the rude people say is in the Stone) Lorde how her spirites reuyued, and how her hart lept in her body for ioy and gladnesse. And first geuing laude to almightie God as the chiefe author of her comfort, secondarily to Mayster Lewys as the deuiler of the good newes and tydings, instauntly besought him that as he had bene the first inuenter

uenter of so good an enterpryse, that now he would not relinquish nor desist to folowe the same: requiryng hym farther (because he was apperteyning to the Countesse of Richemond, mother to the Erle Henry) that he would with all diligent celeritie resort to her, then lodging in her husbands place within the Citie of London, and to declare on the Queenes behalf to the Countesse, that all the friends and fautours of King Edward her husbande, should assist and take parte with the Erle of Richemond her sonne, so that he would take a corporall othe after the kingdome obteyned, to espouse and take to wyfe the Ladie Elizabeth her daughter, or else Ladye Cecile, if the eldest daughter were not then lyuing.

Mayster Lewys wyth all diligence so sped his businesse that he made and concluded a finall ende and determination of thys enterpryse betweene the two mothers, and because he was a phisitian and out of all suspition and misdeeming, he was the common curre and daylie messenger betwene them apding and setting forth the inuented conspiracie agaynst king Rycharde. So the Lady Margaret Countesse of Richemond brought into a good hope of the preferment of her sonne, made Reygnold Bray her most faythfull seruant chiefe soliciter and priue procurer of thys conspiracie, geuyng him in charge secretly to enuegle and attract such persons of nobility to ioyne with her and take her part as he knewe to be ingenious, faythfull, diligent and of actiuitie. This Reygnolde Bray within a fewe dayes brought vnto his lure (first of all taking of euery person a solempne othe to be true and secret) syz Gyles Daubenei, syz John Cheiney knight, Richarde Gylforde and Thomas Raine Esquiers and diuers other. The Countesse of Richemond was not so diligent for her part, but Queene Elizabeth was as biglaunt on the other side and made friendes and appointed Counsellers to set forward and auance her businesse. In the meane season the Countesse of Richemond toke into her seruice Christopher Urswike an honest and a wise priest, and after an othe of him to be secret taken and sworne, she vttered to him all her minde and counsell, adhibityng to him the more confidence and truth for that he all hys lyfe had fauoured and taken part with king Henry the first, & as a speciall Jewell put to her seruice by syz Lewys her phisitian. So the mother studious for the prosperitie of her sonne, appointed thys Christopher Urswike to sayle into Britayne to the Erle of Richemond and to declare and bitter to him all pactes and agreements betwene her and the Queene agreed and concluded: But sodainely she remembryng that the Duke of Buckyngham was one of the first inuenteres, and a secret founder of this enterpryse, determined to sende some personage of more estimation then her Chaplaine, and so elected for a messenger Hugh Conwey Esquire and sent him into Britayne with a great somme of money to her sonne, geuyng him in charge to declare to the Erle the great loue and especiall fauour that the most part of the nobilitie of the realme bare toward him, the louing hartes and beneuolent minds which the whole commonalty of their aboue free wil frankly offred & liberally exhibited to him, wylling & aduising him not to neglect so good an occasion apparently offred, but with al speede and diligence to addict & set his minde and full intention how to returne home agayne into England where he was both wished & looked for, geuyng him farther monicion and counsell to take lande and arriual in the principlitie of Wales, where he should not doubt to find both



aide, comfort and friends. Richard Gylford, lest Hugh Conwey might fortune to be taken or stopped at Plimmoth, where he intended to take shipping, sent out of Kent Thomas Hamme with the same instructions: & both made such diligence, and had such winde and weather, the one by lande from Caleys, & the other by water from Plimmoth, that within lesse then an houre both arrived in the Duke of Britaynes court, & spake with the Erle of Richmond, which from the death of king Edward went at his pleasure and libertie, and to him counted and manifested the cause and effect of their message and ambassade. When the Erle had received this ioyfull message, which was the more pleasaunt because it was unlooked for, he rendered to God his most heartie thanks, hoping that such things as he with busie minde and careful intent had wished and desired should now come to passe, and now being put in comfort of his long longing, he brake to the Duke of Britayne all his secrets and priue messages which were to him declared, advertisyng him that he was entred into a sure and stedfast hope to obteyne and get the crowne and kingdome of the realme of England desyring him both of his good wyll and friendly helpe towards the achieuyng of his offered enterprise, promysing him when he came to hys intended purpose to render to him againe equal kinnesse and condigne recompence.

Although the Duke of Britayne before that day by Thomas Hutton Ambassadoz from king Richarde had both by money & prayers bene sollicitted and moued to put agayne into safe custodie the Erle of Richmond, he neuertheless promised faithfully to aide him, and his promise he truly performed.

Wherebyon the Erle with all diligence sent into England againe Hugh Conwey and Thomas Ham, which should declare his comynng shortly into Englande, to the entent that all thinges which by counsell might be for his purpose provided, should be speedily and diligently done, and that all thinges doubtfull should of his friends be prudently forseen, in aduoyding all engins and snares which king Richarde hadde or might, set in disturbanice of hys purpose, and hce in the meane season woulde make his abode still in Britayne, till all thinges necessary for his iorney were prepared and brought in a readinesse.

In the meane season the chiefetaines of the coniuration in England began together many enterprises: Some in conuenient fortresses put strong garrisons: Some kept armed men priuily, to the entent when they should haue knowlege of the Erles landing, they woulde begonne to stirre by the warre: Other did secretly moue and sollicite the people to rise and make an insurrection: Other (amongst whome John Morton Bishop of Ely then being in Flaunders was chiefe) by priue letters and cloked messengers, dyd stirre and moue to this new coniuration, al such which they certainly knewe to haue a rooted hatred or to beare a cankerd malice towarde king Richarde and his proceedings.

Although this great enterprise were neuer so priuily handled and so secretly amongst so circumspect persons treated, compassed and conueyed, yet knowledge thereof came to the eares of kyng Richarde, which with the sodayne chaunce was not a little moued and astonnyed. First because he had no host ready prepared: Secundarily, if he should raise an armie so sodainly, he knewe not where to meete his enemies, or whether to go, or where to tary.

Wherefore

Wherefore he determined to dissemble the matter as though he knew nothing till he had assembled his host, & in the meane season either by the rumoz of the common people, or by the diligence of his espialles to search out all the counselles, determinations, ententes, and compasses of his close aduersaries, or else by pollicie to intercept and take some person of the same coniuration, considering that there is no more secret nor hyd espyall then that which lurketh in dissimulation of knowlege and intelligence, or is hydden in name & shadow of counterfeit humanitie and feined kindnesse. And because he knewe the Duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe head and aide of the coiuration, he thought it most necessary to plucke him from that part, either by faire promises or open warre. Wherebyon he addressed his louyng letters to the Duke, full of gentle wordes, and most friendly speche, geuyng farther in charge to the messenger that caried the letter, to promise to the Duke on his behalfe, golden hilles, and siluer riuers, and with all gentle and pleasaunt meanes to perswade, and exhort the Duke to come to the Court. But the Duke as wilie as the king, mistrustyng the faire flatterynge wordes, and the gaye promises to him so sodainly, without any cause offered, knowyng the craftie castes of king Richardes bowe, which in diuers affaires before tyme he had sene practised, required the king to pardon him, excusing himselfe that he was so diseased in his stomacke that skant he coude take eyther refection or rest. King Richarde not beyng content with this excuse woulde in no wise admitte the same, but incontinent directed to the Duke other letters, of a more rougher & hauier sort, not without taunting and biting termes, & checking wordes, commaundyng him all excuses set apart, to repaire without any delaye to his royall presence. The Duke made to the messenger a determinate aunswere that he woulde not come to his mortall enemy, whome he neyther loued, nor fauoured: and immediatly prepared open warre against him, and perswaded all his complices and partakers that euery man should in his quarter with all diligence raise by the people and make a commotion. And by thys meanes almost in one moment Thomas Marques Dorset came out of sanctuarie where he sith the begynnyng of king Richardes dayes had continued, whose life by the only help of sir Thomas Louel Esquier, was preserved fro all daunger and perill in this troublesome worlde, gathered together a great bande of men in Porkehire. Sir Edward Courtney and Peter his brother Bishop of Excester, rayfed another armie in Deuonshire, and Cornewall. In Kent, Richard Gylforde and other Gentlemen, collected a great companie of Souldiours, and openly began warre. But king Richard which in the meane tyme had gotten together a great strength and puissance, thinking it not most for his part beneficiall to disperse and deuide his great armie into small braunches, and perticulerly to persecute any one of the coniuration by himselfe, determined al other thinges being set aside, with his whole puissance to set on the chiefe hed which was the Duke of Buckingham. And so remouyng from London, he tooke his iourney toward Salisbury, to the entent that in his iourney he might set on the Dukes armie, if he might knowe him in any place encamped or in order of battaile arrayed. The king was scarce two dayes iourney from Salisbury when the Duke of Buckingham accompanied with a great power of wilde Welshemen, whome he beyng a man of great courage and sharpe speche in maner agaynst their willes had rather thereto

The Duke of Buckingham conspiring agaynst King Richard.



thereto enforced and compelled by Lordly and strait commaundment then by liberal wages and gentle reteynour, which thing was the very occasion why they left him desolate, and cowardly forsooke him. The Duke with all his power marched through the Forrest of Deane entendyng to haue passed the riuer of Seuerne at Glocester, and there to haue ioyned in armie with the Courtneys, and other Westerne men of his confederacie and affinitie, which if he had done, no doubt but king Richard had bene in great leoparchie either of priuation of his realme, or losse of his life or both. But see the chaunce, before he could attaine to Seuerne syde, by force of continuall raine and moisture, the ryuer rose so high that it ouerflowed all the Countrie adioynyng, insomuch that men were drowned in their beddes, and houses with the extreme violence were ouerturned, children were caryed about the fieldes, swimmyng in Cradels, beastes were drowned on hilles, which rage of water lasted continually ten dayes, in so much that in the Countrie adioynyng, they call it to this day, the great water, or the Duke of Buckingham's great water. By this flood the passages were so closed that neyther the Duke could come ouer Seuerne to his Complices, nor they to him, during the which tyme, the Welshemen luyng ydely and without money, buttaile, or wages, sodainly scattered and departed: and for all the Dukes sayre promyses, threathnyngs, and enforcements, they would in no wise neither go farther nor abide. The Duke beyng thus left almost post alone was of necessitie compelled to flie, and in his flight was with this sodaine fortune marueylously disinayed: and beyng vnpurueyed, what counsaile he should take, and what way he should folow, like a man in dispaire not knowyng what to do, of very trust and confidence conueyed himselfe into the house of Humfrey Banaster his seruant beside Shrewesburie, whom he had tenderly brought vp, and whome he above all men loued, fauoured, and trusted, nowe not doubtyng but that in his extreme necessitie he should finde him faythfull, secret, and trusty, entendyng there couertly to lurke till either he might raise againe a newe armie, or else shortly to sayle into Briteyne to the Erle of Richemond.

But when it was knowen to his adherentes which were ready to geue battaile, that his hoste was scattered and had left him almost alone, and was fled and could not be found, they were sodainly amased and stricken with a sodaine feare, that euery man lyke persons desperate shifted for himselfe and fled, some went to Sanctuary and to solytary places, some fled by Sea, whereof the most part within a fewe dayes after arrived safely in the Duchie of Briteyn. Among which number were these persons, Peter Courtney Bishop of Excester, and Sir Edmond Courtney his brother, by king Henry the seventh after created Erle of Deuonshire, Thomas Marques Dorset, John Lorde Welles, Sir John Burchier, Sir Edmond Woodville, a valiaunt man in armes, brother to Queene Elizabeth, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir John Cheyne and his two brethren, Sir William Berkeley, Sir William Brandon, and Thomas his brother, Sir Richard Edgecombe, all these for the most part beyng knightes, John Halwell, and Edward Poyninges a pollitique Capitaine. At this very season John Morton Bishop of Ely, and Christopher Urswike prier, and an other companie of noble men sojourned in Flaunders,

The great water.

ders, and by letters and Messengers procured many enemies agaynst king Richard, which vsyng a bigilant eie, and a quick remembrance, beyng newly come to Salisbury, hauing perfect notice and knowlege howe the Duke was fled, and howe his complices intended to passe out of the Realme. First he sent men of warre to all the next portes and passages to keepe straitly the sea coast, so that no person should passe outwarde, nor take land within the Realme without their assent and knowlege. Secondly, he made proclamation, that what person coulde shewe and reuele where the Duke of Buckingham was, should be highly rewarded, if he were a bondman, he should be enfranchised and set at libertie, if he were of free blood, he should haue a generall pardon, and be rewarded with a thousand poundes. Furthermore, because he vnderstoode by Thomas Hutton, which as you haue heard was newly returned out of Briteyn, that fraunces Duke of Briteyn not onely refused to keepe the Erle of Richemond as a prisoner at his cōtemplacion, and for his sake, but also that he was redie to ayde and succor the sayde Erle with men, money, and all thinges necessary for his transportyng into Englande: wherefore he rigged and sent out Shippes of warre well furnished and decked with men and artillary, to skoure and keepe that part of the Sea that lieth agaynst Briteyn, to the entent that if the Erle of Richemond would aduenture to sayle toward Englande, either he should be taken captiue, or be braten & driven from the coast of England. And moreover, to the entent that euery coast, way, passage, and corner, should be diligently watched and kept, he set at euery doubtfull and suspected place men of warre, to seeke, searche, and enquire if any creature could tell tidings of the Duke of Buckingham, or of any of his confederation, adherents, fautours, or partakers.

Whyle this busie serche was diligently applyed and put in execution, Humfrey Banaster (were it more for feare of losse of lyfe and goodes, or attracted and prouoked by the auaricious desire of the thousand poundes) he betrayed his guest and Mayster to John Hutton then Shyefe of Shropshire, which sodainly with a strong power of men in harnesse apprehended the Duke in a little groue adioynyng to the Mansion of Humfrey Banaster, and in great haste and euill speede conueyed him apparelled in a pilled black Cloke to the Citie of Shrewesburie, where kyng Rycharde then kept hys household.

Whether thys Banaster betrayed the Duke more for feare then couetous, many men doe doubt: but sure it is, that shortly after he had betrayed the Duke his maister, his sonne and heyre wared mad and so died in a Bores Stee, his eldest daughter of excellent beutie was sodainly stricken with a foule leaperie, his second sonne very maruellously deformed of hys limmes and made lame, his yonger sonne in a small puddle was strangled and drowned, and he being of extreme age arraigned and found guiltie of a murther, and by his clergie saued. And as for his thousand pound king Rychard gaue him not one farthing, sayng that he which would be but true to so good a maister, would be false to all other, howbeit some say that he had a small office or a farme to stop his mouth withall. The Duke beyng by certayne of the kinges Counsell diligently vpon interrogatores examined what things he knewe prejudiciall to the kings person, opened and declared frankly and freely all the coniuration without dissimuling or glosing, trusting because he had

Humfrey Banaster seruant vnto the Duke of Buckingham betrayed his maister.



had truly and playnely reueled and confessed all things that were of hym required, that he should haue lycence to speake to the king which (whether it were to sue for pardon and grace, or whether he being brought to his presence would haue stiked him with a dagger as men then iudged) he soze desired and required. But when he had confessed the whole fact and conspiracy vpon Allsoulen day without arreignment or iudgement, he was at Salisburie in the open market place on a newe Skaffold behedded and put to death. This death (as a reward) the Duke of Buckyngham receaued at the hands of King Richard, whome he before in his affaires, purposes and enterprises had holpen susteyned and set forward aboue all Gods forbode.

The Duke  
of Buckyngham  
behedded.

By thys all men may easely perceauie that he not onely loseth both hys laboz, traouyle and industrie, and farther steyneth and spotteth his hne with a perpetuall ignomie and reproche, which in euill and mischiefe assisteth and aydeth an euill disposed person, considering for the most part that he for his friendlye fauour should receyue some great displeasure or infortunate chaunce. Beside that God of his iustice in conclusion appointeth to him a condigne payne and affliction for his merites and desertes.

Whyle these things were thus handeled and ordered in England, Perrey Erle of Richemond prepared an armie of fyue thousand manly Britons, and fortie well furnished shippes. When all things were prepared in a readynesse, and the day of departing and setting forward was appointed, which was the twelue day of the Moneth of October, the whole armie went on Shipborde and halsted by their sayles, and with a prosperous winde tooke the Sea: But toward night, the winde chaunged and the weather turned, and so houghe and terrible a tempest so sodainely rose, that with the verie power and strength of the stozme, the shippes were disparted, seuered and seperate a sunder: some by force were driuen into Normandy, some were compelled to returne agayne into Britayne. The ship wherin the Erle of Richemond was, associate onely with one other Bark was all night tossed and turmoyled. In the morning after when the rage of the furions tempest was allwaged, and the yre of the blustering winde was some deale appeased, about the houre of noone the same day, the Erle approached to the south part of the realme of Englande, even at the mouth of the hauen of Poole, in the Countie of Dorset, where he might playnely perceyue all the sea bankes and shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and Souldiours, appointed and deputed there to defende his arryuall and landing, as before is mencioned. Wherefore he gaue straight charge and soze commaundement, that no person should once presume to take lande and go to the shore, untill such time as the whole Flaue were assembled and congregate. And whyle he tarped and lyngered, he sent out a Shipbote toward the lande side to know, whether they which stood there in suche a number and so well furnished in apparell defensiu were hys foes and enemies, or else his friendes and comforters. They that were sent to enquire, were instantly desired of the men of warre keepng the coast (which thereof were before instructed and admonished) to dissende and take lande, affirming that they were appointed by the Duke of Buckyngham there to awayte and tarie for the arryuall and landing of the Erle of Richemond, and to conduct him safely to the Campe. where the Duke not farre of laye encamped with a mightie armie and an

hoste

hoste of great strength and power, to the entent that the Duke and the Erle ioyning in purssaunces and forces together, might prosecute and chase King Rycharde beyng destitute of men, and in maner desperate, and so by that meanes, and their awne laboures to obteyne the ende of their enterpryse which they had before begonne.

The Erle of Richemond suspecting their flattering request to be but a fraude (as it was in deede) after that he perceaued none of his shippes to appere in sight, he wayed by his Ancors and halsted by hys sayles, hauing a prosperous and streynable winde and a fresh gale sent euen by God to deliuer him from that perill and iopardy, and arryued safe and in securitie in the Duchy of Normandy, where he to refreshe and solace his Souldiours and people, tooke his recreation by the space of thre dayes, and clerely determined with part of his companie to passe all by land agayne into Britayne. And in the meane season he sent Ambassadors to the French King called Charles the. viii. which newly succeeded hys father king Lewys the. xi. not long before departed to God, requiring of him a safeconduite and lycence to passe thorough his Countie of Normandie into Britayne. The yong king hauing compassion of the misfortune of the Erle of Richemond, not onely gently graunted and assigned to him a pasport, but also liberally disbursed to him a conuenient somme of money for hys conduite and expenses necessarie in hys long iourney and passage. But the Erle trustyng on the French kings humanity, aduentured to sende his ships home into Britayne, and to set forward himselfe by lande on his iourney, making no great haste till hys messengers were returned, which beyng with the benefite so comforted, and with hope of prosperous successe so encouraged, marched toward Britayne with all diligence entending there to consult farther with his louers and friendes of his affaires and enterprises. When he was returned agayne into Britayne he was certesied by credible information that the Duke of Buckyngham had lost hys head, and that the Marques Dorset and a great number of Noble men of England had a lyttle before enquired and searched for him there, and were nowe returned to Cannes. When he had heard these netwes thus reported, he first sorowed and lamented the first attempt, and setting forward of hys friendes, and in especiall of the nobilitie not to haue more fortunately succeeded. Secundarily, he reioysed on the other part that God had sent hym so many balyant and prudent Captaynes to be his companions in hys martiall enterprises, trusting surely and nothing doubting in his awne opinion, but that all hys busynesse should be wisely compassed, and brought to a good conclusion. Wherefore he determinyng with all diligence to set forward hys newe begon busynesse departed to Rennes and sent certayne of his priue secretours to conduct and bring the Marques and the other noble men to hys presence. When they knewe that he was safely returned into Britayne, Lorde howe they reioysed, for before that tyme they mysted hym and knewe not in what part of the worlde to make inquirie or serche for hym.

For they doubted and no lesse feared lest he had taken lande in Englande, and fallen into the hands of King Rycharde in whose person they knew well was neyther mercy nor compassion. Wherefore in all speedy maner they galoped toward hym, and hym reuerently saluted, which meeting after great ioy and solace, and no small thankes geuen and rendered on both parts, they

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aduisedly



aduisedly debated and commoned of their great businesse and weightie enterprise, in the which season the feast of the natiuitie of our Saviour Christ happened, on which day all the Engliche Lordes went with great solempnitie to the chiefe Church of the Citie, and there eche gaue fayth and promise to other. The Erle himselfe first tooke a corporall othe, and on his honor promising that incontinent after he should be possessed of the crowne and dignitie of the realme of Englande, he would be conioyned in matrimonie with the Lady Elizabeth daughter to king Edward the fourth. Then all the company swore to him fealtie, and did to him homage as though he had bene that tyme the crowned king and annoynted Prince, promising faythfully and firmly assuring that they would not onely leese their worldly substaunce, but also be priuated of their lyues and worldly felicitie, rather then to suffer king Rycharde that tyraunt longer to rule and reigne ouer them. Which solempne othes made and taken, the Erle of Richemond declared and communicated all these doyngs to Fraunces Duke of Britayne, desiring and most hartily requiring hym to ayde him with a greater armie to conduct him into his Countrie, which so sore longed and looked for his returne, and to the which he was by the more part of the nobilitie and communaltrie called and desired (which with Gods aid, & the Dukes comfort) he doubted not in short time to obtaine, requiring him farther to prest to him a conuenient somme of money, affirming that all such sommes of money which he had receaued of hys especiall friends, were spent and consumed in the preparation of the last iourney made towarde Englande, which sommes of money after his enterprise once achiued, he in the worde of a Prince faythfully promised to repay and restore agayne. The Duke promised him ayde and helpe, vpon confidence whercof he rigged his shippes, and set forth hys flauie well decked wyth ordynance, and warlikely furnished with all things necessarye, to the intent to sayle forward shortly, and to lose no time.

In the meane season, King Rycharde apprehended in diuers partes of the realme certaine gentlemen of the Erle of Richmonds faction and confederation, which eyther entended to sayle into Britain toward him, or else at his landing to assist and ayde him. Amongst whome, sir George Brobne, sir Roger Clyfforde and foure other were put to execution at London, and sir Thomas Sentliger which had married the Duchesse of Excester the kings awne sister, and Thomas Ram and diuers other were executed at Excester. Beside these persons, diuerse of his household seruants, whome either he suspected, or doubted, were by great crueltie put to shamefull death. After this, he called a parliament, in the which he attaynted the Erle of Richemond and all other persons which were fled out of the realme for feare, or any other cause, as enemies to him, and to their naturall countrey, and all their landes goods, and possessions, were confiscate and sealed to the kings vse. And yet not content with this pray, which no doubt was of no small valour, and moment, he layed on the peoples neckes a great tare and tallage, and surely necessitie to that act in maner him compelled. For what with purging and declaring his innocencie concernyng the murther of his Nephewes towarde the world, and what with cost to obtayne the loue and fauour of the communaltrie (which outwardly glosed, and openly dissimuled with him) he gaue prodigally so many and so great rewardes, that now both he lacked, and scarce

The Erle of  
Richemond  
attaynted in  
Parliament.

wist honestly how to bozoboe. In this troubleous season, nothing was more merueyled at, then that the Lorde Stanley had not bene taken and reputed as an enemy to the king, considering the working of the Ladye Margaret his wife, mother to the Erle of Richmonde, but forasmuch as the enterprise of a woman was of him reputed of no regarde or estimation, & that the Lord Thomas her husbände had purged himselfe sufficiently to be innocent of all doynges and attemptes by her perpetrated, and committed, it was geuen him in charge to kepe her in some secret place at home, without hauyng anye seruaunt or companie, so that from thence forth she should neuer sende letter nor messenger to her sonne, nor any of his friendes, or confederates, by the which the king might be molested or troubled, or anye hurte or prejudice might be attempted against his realme and commonaltie. Which commaundement was a while put in execution & accomplished according to his dreadfull commaundement. Yet the wilde worme of vengeance waucering in hys heade, coulde not be contented with the death of diuerse Gentlemen suspected of treason, but also he must extende his bloodye furie against a poore gentleman called Collyngborne, for making a small ryme of thre of his vnfortunate Counsaylers, which were the Lorde Louell, Sir Rycharde Radclyffe, his mischeuous Nephew, and sir William Catesbey his secret seducer, which Nephew or ryme was.

The Ratte the Cat and Louell our dogge,  
Rule all Englande vnder the hogge.

Meanyng by the Hog, the dreadful wilde Boze, which was the kings cognisaunce, but because the first line ended in Dog, the Metrician could not obliuynge the regiments of meeter ende the second verse in Boze, but called the Boze an Hogge. This poeticall schoolemaister corrector of Breeues and Longes, caused Collyngborne to be abbreviat shorter by the head, and to be deuided into foure quarters.

King Rycharde beyng thus tormented, and tossed in his owne conceyte and imagination, called to his remembraunce that confederacions, amities, and other honest bandes and packes, made, concluded, and appointed betwen Princes, and politique gouernours, are the cause efficient and especiall introduction that their realmes & countreies are fortified with a double power, that is to saye, with their owne strength and the ayde of their friendes, deuised wyth him selfe to practise a league and amitie with the king of Scots, which not long before had made diuers incursions and rodes into the realme of Englande, where although he gat little, yet surely hee lost not much, and therebpon sued to haue a truce or peace concluded, which came euen as king Rycharde hadde wished it. Wherefore commissioners were assigned for both partes to meete at Nottingham the seuen daye next ensuyng, at which tyme came iether for the kyng of Englande John bishop of Lincoln chanceller of Englande, Rycharde bishop of saint Asse, John Duke of Northfolke, Henry Erle of Northumberland, Thomas Lord Stanley, George Stanley, Lord Straunge, John Gray, Lord Powes, Richard Lord Fitzhugh, John Gunthorpe, keeper of the kings priuy seale, Thomas Barow, maister of h rolles, Sir Thomas Brian chiefe Justice of the common place, Sir Rychard Radclyffe knight, William Catesby, and Rycharde Salkeld esquier. And for the king of Scottes, were deputed Colyn Erle of Ergile, Lorde Campbell and

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Lorde

Collyngborne  
executed.



Lozde Chaunceller of Scotlande, William bishop of Aberdene, Robert lord Lyle, Laurence Lord Oliphant, John Drummond of Stobhall, Archibalde Whitelator Archdeacon of Loddene and Secretary to king James, Lion King at Armes and Duncane Duncas. These Councillers diuers times mette, and after long debating, demaunding, and denyng, in the ende of September they fullye concluded a peace, the Articles whereof are to long here to reherse.

When this league and amitie was thus concluded, finished, and sealed with all due circumstances thereunto required. Although king Richard iudged and demed himseife somewhat the moze stronger and quieter by force of this newe amitie, and concluded confederacie, yet to augment moze the familiaritie begon betwene the king of Scottes and him, and to haue a double string for his Bowe, he entreated a newe aliaunce and mariage to be concluded betwene the Prince of Rothsay, eldest sonne to the king of Scottes, and Ladie Anne de la Pole, daughter to John Duke of Suffolke, and Ladie Anne sister to king Richard, which sister he so much fauoured, that he studying al the waies by the which he might aduaunce her offspring and lineage, did not onely procure and seeke meanes how to make her daughter a Princesse, and consequently a Queene, but also after the death of his sonne, he proclaymed John Erle of Lincolne his nephew and her sonne, heire apparent to the Crowne of England, disenheriting king Edwardes daughters, whose brethren befoze as you haue heard he shamefully killed & murdered.

The king of Scottes hauyng neede of friendes, but not so much neede as king Richard, which was of necessity compelled to seeke ayders, and to enterteyne fautours, the one for fauouryng of flatterers, and base bozne persons, and the other not onely for tyranny and vnaturall homicide, but also for the vsurpation of the Crowne beyng of all the realme detested and disdeyned, gladly accepted, and ioyously consented to king Richardes desire and coniunction of amitie. Wherefoze the sayde Princes sent their Ambassadors and Counsaylors againe to the towne of Nottingham, where the saide mariage was by writynges and instrumentes, couenaunted, condiscended, and agreed, and affiaunces made and taken by Proctors, and Deputies on both partes, and she immediately called Princes of Rothsaye, which name shee shortly lost by the short life of king Richard her louyng Uncle. Here may wel be noted the vnaturall loue and disordered affection which this kinde kinsman shewed to hys blood: for he not remembryng the tirannie that he had executed agaynst his brothers somes, the wrong and manifest iniurie that he had done to his brothers daughters, both in takyng from them their dignitie, possessions, and liuyng, thought it should redound greatly to his honour and fame, if he promoted his sisters childe (to whome he was nothing bound in conscience to make restitution) to the dignitie of a Queene, rather then to preferre his brothers daughter whome he had vntruly and by force disenherited, & of all their right deprived, to the mariage of a meane esquier: such was his brotherly kindnes, and such was his large conscience towards his brothers children.

After this league and mariage thus concluded and agreed, the king of Scottes disdeinyng that the strong Castell of Dunbarre should remaine in the Englishe mennes handes and possession, wroto a gentle letter to king Richard.

Richard, declaryng to him that where in the league concluded betwene them, it was agreed and appoynted that he should within xl. dayes next ensuyng, expresse and declare his opinion and meanyng concernyng the Castell of Dunbarre, whether the sayde Castell should be occupied and stand still in the handes of the Englishe men, duryng the whole tyme of the truce, or else for the terme of sixe monethes onely. He nowe certified king Richard by his letters, that he was content that he and his should enioy the possession of the sayde Castell quietly and peaceably duryng the sayde truce and amitie: nevertheless he required him for the loue and familiaritie that nowe both by treatie and aluaunce was sprong and knit betwene them, that he would redeliuer the saide Castell into his handes, which was vntruly possessed of the Englishe Nation by deliuey of the rebels and Traytors, contrary to al right, equitie, and conscience. King Richard dalied with pleasaunt letters, and sayde wordes, and so foded forth the king of Scottes, that he neuer had Dunbar deliuered while king Richard liued, after whose death, whether it were by treason or by appoyntment, the Castell was rendered to the king of Scottes, to his great contentation and reioysing. Albeit this league and amitie thus couenaunted and concluded, it might manifestly seeme to all persons, that all coniurations and confederacies agaynst king Richard were extinct and put to scilence, and in especiall consideryng, that the Duke of Buckingham and his alies were made out of his way, some by death, and some by banishment and exilyng into farre Countries and Regions. Yet king Richard moze doubtynge then trustyng to his awne people and friendes, was continually vexed, tossed, and vnquieted, with feare of the returne of the Erle of Richemond and his complices and fautours, which dayly dread and hourely agonie, caused him to liue in dolefull miserie, euer vnquiet, and in maner in continuall calamitie. Wherefoze he entendyng to be relieued and to haue an ende of all his doubtfull daungers, determined clerely to extirpate and pluck by by the rootes all the matter & ground of his feare and doubt. Wherefoze after long and deliberate consultation had, nothing was for his purpose and entent thought either moze necessarie or expedient then once agayne with price, prayer, and rewarde, to attempt the Duke of Briteyn in whole territorie the Erle of Richemond then abode, to deliuer the sayd Erle into his handes, by which onely meanes he shoulde be discharged of all feare of perill, and brought to rest and quietnesse both of bodie and minde. Wherefoze incontinent he sent certain Ambassadors to the Duke of Briteyn, which tooke vpon them (beside the great and ample rewarde that they brought with them into Briteyn) that king Richard shoulde verely pay and aunswere the Duke of all the reuenues, rentes, and profites of the seignozies, landes, and possessions aswell belongyng and appertainyng to the Erle of Richemonde, as to any other Noble or Gentleman, which then were in the Erles companie, if he after that tyme would kepe them in continuall prison and restraine them from libertie.

The Ambassadors furnished with these and other instructions, arrived in Briteyn and came to the Dukes house, where with him they could haue no maner of communication concernyng their weightie affayres, by reason that he beyng faynt and weakened by a long and dayly infirmitie, began a little to wax ydle and weake in his wit and remembraunce. For which cause



Peter Landoyse.

Peter Landoyse his chiefe Treasozer, a man both of pregnant wit & great aucthoritie, ruled and adiudged all things at his pleasure & commaundement, for the which cause (as men set into high aucthority be not best beloned) he excited and prouoked against him the malice & euill will of the Nobility of Briteyn, which after ward for diuers great offences by him doying his aucthoritie perpetrate and committed, by their meanes was brought to death, and confusion. The Englishe Ambassadors moued their message and request to Peter Landoyse, and to him declared their maisters commaundement, instantly requiryng, and humbly desiryng him (in whose power it lay to do all thing in Briteyne) that he would friendly assent to the request of king Richard, offeryng to him the same rewardes and landes, that they should haue offered to the Duke.

This Peter which was no lesse disdeyned then hated almost of all the people of Briteyne, thought that if he did assent and satisfie king Richardes petition and desyre, he should be of power and habilitie sufficiently to withstand and refell the malicious attemptes and disdainfull irrecursions of his enuious aduersaries. Wherefore he saythfully promised to accomplish the king Richards request and desyre, so that he kept promise with him, that he might be able to withstand the cankerd malice of his secret enemyes. This act that he promised to do, was not for any grudge or malice that he bare to the Erle of Richemonde, for as you haue heard before, he deliuered him from perill of death at Saint Malos, when he was in great doubt of life and icopardie, but as cause riseth we euer offend, and that cursed hunger of golde, and execrable thirst of lucre, and inwarde feare of losse of aucthoritie, dyueth the blinde mindes of couetous men and ambitious persons to euilles and mischiefes innumerable, not remembryng losse of name, obloquie of the people, nor in conclusion the punishment of God for their merites, and desertes. But fortune was so fauourable to the publique welth of the realme of Englande, that this deadly and dolorous compact tooke none effect or place. For while Postes ranne, and letters were sent to and fro for the finishing of this great enterpryse betwene king Richard and Peter Landoyse, John Morton Bishop of Ely sojourning then in Flaunders, was of all this craftie conuynce certified by his secret and sure friendes: Wherefore he sent Christopher Urswike (which at that verye season was come out of Briteyne into Flaunders) to declare to the Erle of Richemonde howe all the deceit and craftie working was conueyed and compassed, geuyng him in charge to counsaile and advise the Erle in all haste possible with all his companie to retire out of Briteyne into Fraunce. When these newes were brought to the Erle he then kept house in Vannes, and incontinent dispatched again Christopher Urswike to Charles the French king, requiryng him that he and his, might safely passe into Fraunce, which desyre beyng obteyned, the messenger shortly returned to his Lorde and Prince. The Erle well perceiuyng that it was expedient and necessarie with all speede and diligence, to loke to this weightie matter, calling verye fewe to counsaile, he made inquirie and sarche of all secretes and by wayes, and sent before all his noble men, as though for a certaine familiaritie and kindnesse they should visite and comfort the Duke, which then for recreation and chaunge of ayre, lay on the borders and confines of Fraunce. And secretly he gaue charge to the Erle of Pembroke which was

was the leader and conductor of his companie, that when they approached the marches and limits of Briteyn, they should diuert and take the next way into Fraunce. The noble men somewhat suspicious of thinges newly imagined, without any tariyng, scouryng the wayes as fast as their hozses could runne, came out of the Duchie of Briteyn, into the Duchie of Anjou in the dominion of Fraunce, where they taryed the Erles comyng, which two dayes after departed out of Vannes, onely accompanied with five seruitors, as though he had gone secretly to visite a familiar friend of hys in a small Village adioinyng. No man suspected that he would depart, consideryng that a great multitude of Englishe men were left and continued in the Citie, but after that he had passed directly five myles forwarde, he sodainly turned into a solitarie Wood next adioinyng, where clothng himselfe in the simple Cote of his poore seruaunt, made and appoynted his sayde minister, leader and maister of his small companie, and he as an humble Page diligently followed and serued his counterfeit gouernour, neuer restyng nor themselves refreshing, except the baityng of their hozses, till they by wayes vnknown, nowe this way, nowe turnyng that way, came to their companie, abidyng them in Angiers.

The fourth day after the Erle of Richemonde was thus departed, that craftie marchaunt Peter Landoyse, trustyng still after his pray, promised by king Richard, was ready to set forwarde his crew of souldiours, which he priuily had consigned with certaine trustie capitaines for that onely purpose appointed and elected, to perfoyme and achyue his pretended enterpryse, dissimulyng and feinyng them to be conducted and hyed by him to serue the Erle of Richemonde, and hym to conduyte in his returne towarde his native countrey, meaning none other thing but to apprehende him and the other Noble men in his retinue, which no such fraude suspectyng, nor yet any treason ymaginyng, vnware and vnprouided and destitute of all ayde, and them to cast and commit sodainely into continuall captiuitie and bondage, to the entent that by this wretched & naughtie act, he might satisfie the charitable request, & louyng desire of good kyng Richard, moze for his owne profite then kyng Richards gayne. But when this craftie dissembler Peter Landoyse, which was no wyliet then an olde Foxe, perceaued that the Erle was departed, (thinkyng that to be true that he imagined) Lorde how curours ranne into euery coast, how light hozsemen galloped to euery streyt, to folow & deteyne him, if by any possibilitie he coulde be pursued and overtaken, and him to apprehende and bring captiue into the Citie of Vannes. The hozsemen made such diligence, and with such celeritie set forwarde their iorney, that nothyng was moze likely then they to haue obtayned, ye and sealed their praye. For the Erle of Richmond was not entred into the realme of Fraunce, scarce one houre, but the folowers came to the limittes and confines of Briteyne, and durst aduenture no further, but bainely without their desire sorrowfully returned. At which season were left at Vannes about the number of thre Englishe men, which not beyng called to counsaile, and vnaware of this enterpryse, but knowyng of the Erles sodaine departure were so incontinently astonied, that in maner they were all in dispayre both of him and their aduentsure and sauegarde. But fortune turned her faile, and otherwise it happened then their feare them encombred. For the Duke of Briteyne nowe beyng



png somewhat recovered, was soze displeased, and nothing contented that the Erle of Richmond was in his dominion so incurteously tractred and entreated, that he should be by fraude and bnturth compelled to leaue and flie out of his Duchie and Countrie contrary to his honour. Wherefore he toke great displeasure with Peter Landoyse his Treasozer, to whome (although he knewe not and was ignozaunt that all the drift was driuen and deuyled by him) he laide the fault and imputed the crime. Wherefore he sent for Edward Wooduile, and Edward Downynges valiaunt Esquiers of England, and deliuered vnto them money sufficient for their conduite, willyng them to conuey the rest of the Englishe men beyng in Briteyn, to the Erle of Richmondes presence. When the Erle was thus furnished and appoynted wyth his trustie companie, and was escaped all the daungers, Labirinthes, and snares that were set for him, no maruaile though he were iocund and glad of the prosperous successe that happened in his affayzes. Wherefore, lest he should seeme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he sent diuers of hys Gentlemen to the Duke of Briteyne, the which should publish and declare to him on the behalfe of the Erle, that he and his, were onely by his benefite and fauour conserued and deliuered from the imminent daunger that they were like to be trapped in. Wherefore at that time he rendred to him his most hartie thanks in wordes, trustyng and not doubtyng but in tyme to come liberally to recompence him with actes and deedes.

After thys the Erle toke his iourney to Charles the French king, lyeng then at Langes vpon the ryuer of Leyze, to whome after great thanks geuen for manifold pleasures by him to the Erle shewed, he disclosed and manifested the cause and occasion of his accesse and repayze to his person. After that he required of him helpe and succour, to the intent that by his immortal benefite to him at that tyme shewed, he might safely returne to the nobilitie of hys realme, of whome he was greatly called to take vpon hym the crowne and Scepter of the realme, they much hated and abhorred the tyrannie of king Richard. King Charles promised him ayde and comfort, and bade him be of good courage and make good cheere, for he assured him that he would gladly shewe to him his beneuolent minde and bountifull liberalitie. Which king from thence remoued to Mountargis, leadyng with him the Erle of Richemonde, and all the noble personages of hys retinue and faction.

Whyle the Erle was thus attendaunt in the French Court, John Vere Erle of Orforde (whiche as you haue heard before was by king Edward kept in prison wythin the Castell of Hammes) so perswaded James Blount Capytayne of the same fortreffe, and Syr John Fortescwe Porter of the Towne of Caleys, that he himselfe was not onely dismissed and set at libertie, but they also abandonyng and leauing their fruitfull offices, condiscended to go wyth him into fraunce to the Erle of Richemonde and to take his part remayning in the Castell before hys departure, he fortescied the same both with newe municions and newe Souldiours. When the Erle of Richemond sawe the Erle of Orforde, he was rauyshed with an incredible gladnesse, that he being a man of so high nobilitie, of such knowledge and practise in feates of warre, and so constaunt, trustie, and assured (which alwaye had studied for the maintenaunce and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was

was now by Gods prouision deliuered out of Captiuitie and imprisonment, and in tyme so necessary & conuenient come to his ayde, succour and aduancement, in whome more surer then any other he might put hys trust and confidence, and take lesse paine and trauayle in hys awne person. For it was not hid from hym that suche as had euer taken part with king Edward before thys tyme, came to doe him seruice eyther for malice that they bare to king Richard, or else for feare to lyue vnder his cruell rule and tyrannous gouernaunce.

Not long after the French king returned agayne to Paris, whome the Erle of Richemonde folowed, entending there to sollicite his matter to the conclusion. Wherevpon he besought king Charles to take vpon hym the whole tuition and defence of him and hys cause, so that he and hys company beyng by hys meanes ayded and comforted, should confesse and saye, their welth, victorie and aduancement to haue flowed and budded forth of his bountifullnesse and liberalitie, which they would God wylling shortly requite. In the meane season dyuers Englishe men which eyther fled out of Englande for feare, or were at Paris to learne and studie good litterature and vertuous doctrine, came voluntarily and submitted themselues to the Erle of Richemond, and bowed and sware to take his part. Amongst whom was Richard fore a priest, a man of great wytt and no lesse learning, whom the Erle incontinent receaued into secret familiaritie, & in bryefe tyme erected and auanced him to high dignities and promotions, and in conclusion he made hym Bpshop of Wynchester.

In the meane season king Richard was credibly aduertised what promises and othes the Erle and his confederates had made and sworne together at Kenes, and how by the Erles meanes all the English men were passed out of Britayne into fraunce. Wherefore beyng soze dismayed and in a maner desperate, because hys craftie Cheuesaunce tooke none effect in Britayne, imagined and deuised how to infringe and disturbe the Erles purpose by another meane, so that by the marriage of Ladie Elizabeth his Niece he should pretend no clayme nor tytle to the crowne. For he thought if that marriage fayled, the Erles chiefe combe had bene clerely cut. And because that he beyng blynded with the ambitious desyre of rule before thys tyme, in obtepyning the kingdome, had perpetrate and done many cursted actes and detestable tyrannies, yet according to the olde proverbe, let hym take the Bull that stale away the Calfe, he thought all factes by hym committed in times passed to bee but of small moment and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischieuous imagination, which he nowe openly began and attempted. There came into hys vngacious minde a thing not onely detestable to be spoken of in the remembraunce of man, but much more cruell and abhominable to be put in execution. For when he reuolued in his wauering minde how great a fountayne of mischiefe toward him should spring if the Erle of Richemond should be aduanced to the marriage of hys Niece, which thing he heard saye by the rumour of the people that no small number of wise and wittie personages enterprised to compass and bring to conclusion. He clerely determined to reconcile to hys fauour his brothers wyfe Queene Elizabeth eyther by fayze wordes or liberall promises, firmly beleding her fauour once obtained, that she would not stick to commit (and louingly credite) to him the



A storie and  
fewe p<sup>ar</sup>-  
tice of King  
Richard.

The inconstancie  
of  
Queene Elizabeth.

the rule and gouernance both of her and her daughter, & so by that meanes the Erle of Richemond of the affinitie of hys Nece should be bitterly defrauded and beguiled. And if no ingenious remedy could be other wise inuented to saue the innumerable mischiefes which were euen at hande and lyke to fall, if it should happen Queene Anne hys wyfe to depart out of thys present worlde, then he hymselfe would rather take to wyfe hys Colyn and Nece the Ladie Elizabeth, then for lack of that affinitie the whole realme should run to ruyne, as who sayde, that if he once fell from hys estate and dignitie, the ruyne of the realme must needes shortly ensue and folowe. Wherefore he sent to the Queene beyng in sanctuarie dyuers and often messengers, which first should excuse and purge him of all thinges befoze against her attempted or procured, and after shoulde so largely promise promotions innumerable, and benefices, not onely to her but also to her sonne Lorde Thomas Marques Dorset, that they should bring her if it were possible into some want hope, or as men say into a fooles paradise. The messengers beyng men both of wyte and grauitie, so perswaded the Queene with great and pregaunt reasons, what with fayre and large promises, that shee began somewhat to relent, and to geue to them no dreafe eare, in so much that shee faythfully promised to submit and yeelde her selfe fully and frankely to the kings wyll and pleasure. And so shee putting in oblivion the murther of her innocent children, the infamie and dishonour spoken by the king her husbände, the lying in auoutrie layed to her charge, the bastardyng of her daughters, forgetting also the faythfull promise and open othe made to the Countesse of Richemond mother to the Erle Henry, blynded by auaricious affection and seduced by flattering wordes, first deliuered into king Richards hands her five daughters, as Lambes once agayne committed to the custodie of the rauenous Wolfe. After shee sent letters to the Marques her sonne beyng then at Parys with the Erle of Richemond, wylling him in any wise to leaue the Erle and without delay to repaire into Englande, where for him were provided great honors and honorable promotions, assertheyng him farther that all offences on both parties were forgotten and forgoen, and both he and she highly incorporate in the Kings hart. Surely the inconstancie of thys woman were much to be marueyled at, if all women had bene founde constant, but let men speake, yet women of the berie bonde of nature will folowe their awne kinde. After that king Richard had thus wyth glorious promises and flattering wordes pleased and appeased the mutable minde of Queene Elizabeth, which knewe nothing lesse then that he most intended, he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueyed into his palace with solempne re- ceauing, as though with his newe familiar and louing entertainment they should forget, and in their minds blot out the olde committed iniurie and late executed tirannie. Noobe nothing was contrariant and obstacle to hys deuillish purpose, but that hys mancion was not boerde of his wyfe, which thing he in any wise adiudged necessary to be done. But there was one thing that so much feared and stayed hym from committing this abhominable murther, because as you haue heard befoze, he began to counterfeit the ymage of a good and well disposed person, and therefore he was afraid lest the sodaine death of his wyfe once openly knowne, he shoulde leese the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without desert conceaued and re- ported.

ported. But in conclusion euill counsaile preuailed in a wyte lately minded to mischief, and turned from all goodnesse. So that his bugaricious desire ouercame his honest feare. And first to enter into the gates of his ymagined enterpryse, he absteyned both from the bed and company of his wyte. After he complayned to dyuers noble men of the realme, of the infortunate sterilitie and barennesse of hys wyfe, because she brought forth no fruit and generatio of her body. And in especial he accompted to Thomas Rotherham Archbyshop of Yorke (whom lately he had deliuered out of warde & captiuitie) these impediments of his Queene & diuers other, thinking that he would reuele & open to her al these things, trusting the sequele hercot to take his effect, that shee hearing this grudge of her husband, & taking therfore an inward thought, would not long lyue in this world. Of this the Bishop gathered (which well knewe the complexion and vsage of the king) that the Quenes daies were short, and that he declared to certain of his secret friends. After this he procured a common rumour but he would not haue the aucthor knowne to be published and spred abroad among the common people that the Queene was dead, to the intent that shee taking some concepte of thys straunge fame, should fall into some sodayne sicknesse or greuous maladie, and to proue if afterward shee should fortune by that or any other wayes to leese her lyfe, whether the people would impute her death to the thought or sicknesse, or thereof would lay the blame to him. When the Queene heard tell that so horrible a rumour of her death was sprong amongst the commonaltie, shee soze suspected and iudged the worlde to be almost at an ende with her, and in that sorowfull agony, shee with lamentable countenance and sorowfull chere, repayed to the presence of the king her husbände, demaunding of hym, what it should meane that he had iudged her worthy to die. The king answered her wyth fayre wordes, and wyth smyling and flattering leasinges comforted her, bydding her to be of good cheere, for to his knowledge shee should haue none other cause. But howsoeuer that it fortunied, eyther by inward thought and pensuennesse of heart, or by infection of popson (which is affirmed to be most likely) within a fewe dayes after the Queene departed out of thys transitorie lyfe, and was with due solempnitie buried in the Church of Saint Peter at Westminster. Thys is the same Anne one of the daughters of the Erle of Marwike, which as you haue heard befoze at the request of Lewys the French king, was married to Prince Edward sonne to king Henry the sixt.

The king thus (according to his long desire) losed out of the bondes of matrimonie, began to cast a folishe phantasie to Lady Elizabeth his Nece, making much suit to haue her ioynd with him in lawfull matrimonie. But because all men, and the mayden her selfe most of all, detested, and abhorred, this vnlawfull, and in maner bunnatural copulation, he determined to prolong and deferre the matter til he were in a moze quietnesse. For all that very season he was oppressed with great, weightie, and bygent causes, and busineses on euery side, consideryng that dayly part of the nobility failed into fraunce to the Erle of Richemond: Other priuily fauoured and aided certaine of the conituration, so that of his short ende, fewe or none were in doubt. And the common people for the most part were brought to such desperation, that manie of them had rather be reputed and taken of him in the number of his enemies, then to abide the chaunce and hazarde to haue their goodes taken as a spoyle

A rumour  
spred abroad  
of the  
Queens  
death.

The Queene  
wife to King  
Richard the  
third sodainly  
dead.



spoyle of victorie by his enemies. Amongest the noble men whome he most mistrusted, these were the principall, Thomas Lorde Stanley, Sir William Stanley his brother, Gilbert Talbot and sixe hundred other, of whose purposes although king Richarde were not ignorant, yet he gave neither confidence nor credence to any one of them, and least of all to the Lorde Stanley because he was ioynd in matrimonie with y<sup>e</sup> Lady Margarete, mother to the Erle of Richmond, as afterward apparantly ye may perceiue. For when the sayde Lord Stanley would haue departed into his countrey to visit his family and to recreate and refresh his spirites (as he openly sayde) but the truth was to the entent to be in a perfite readinesse to receiue the Erle of Richmond at his first arriual in Englande: the king in no wise would suffer him to depart before that he had left as an hostage in the Court, George Stanley Lorde Straunge his first begotten sonne and heire. While king Richard was thus troubled and vexed with imaginacions of the troublesome time that was like to come: Loe, euen sodainly he herde newes that fyre was sprung out of the smoke, and the warre freshly begon, and that the Castell of Hammes was deliuered into the hands of the Erle of Richmond, by the meanes of the Erle of Orenforde, and that not onely he, but also James Blount captaine of the Castell, were fled into Fraunce to aide the Erle Henry. Wherefore he thinking it great pollicie to withstande the first brunt, sent the most part of y<sup>e</sup> garrison of Caleis, to recouer againe, by force the Castell of Hammes. They which were in the Castell perceauing their aduersaries to appzoch, prepared munitions and engins for their defence, and sent also to the Erle of Richmond, to aduertise him of their sodayne inuasion, requiring him of hastly ayde and speedy succour. The Erle slepyng not this first begon assault, sent y<sup>e</sup> Erle of Orenforde with an elected company of souldiours to raise the siege, and rescue the Castell: Which at their first arriuyng, pitched their campe not farre from their enemies. And while king Richardes men gaue vigilant eie, waityng lest the Erle of Orenforde, shoulde take anye aduantage of them that lay on that side of the Castell. Thomas Brandon with. xxx. appzoued men of warre, by a marsh which lay on the other side, entred into the castell. The souldiours within greatly encouraged, and much comforted by this new succour and ayde, greued the enemies by shooting from the walles more then they were accustomed to do. And they of the Castell vexed their enemies on the forepart: the Erle of Orenforde no lesse molested and vnquieted them on the other part, which was the occasion that king Richards men offered of their owne mere mocion, licence to all beyng within the Castell to departe in safetie with bagge and baggage nothing excepted: which condicion the Erle of Orenforde comyng onely for that purpose to deliuer his louyng friendes out of all perill and daunger, & chiefly of all, his olde hostesse Jane Blount wife to James Blount the capiteyne, would in no wise forsake or refuse. And so leauyng the Castell bare and vngarnished, both of bitaile and artillerie, came safe to the Erle of Richmond sojourning in Paris. During this time, kyng Richarde was credibly informed of his inquisitors and espialles that the Erle of Richmond was with long suite in the court of Fraunce sore wexed, & desiryng great ayde, coulde obtaine small reliefe: In so much that all thing went so farre backward, that such things as were with great diligence, and no lesse deliberation, purposed, and determined to be set for-

warde,

warde, were now dashed and ouerthron to the ground. King Richard either beyng to light of credence, or seduced and deluded by his craftie tale-tellers, greatly reioyced as though he had obtayned the ouerhande of his enemies, with triumph and victorie, and thought himselfe neuer so surely deliuered of all feare and dreaddfull imaginacions, so that he needed nowe no more once for that cause eyther to wake or breake his golden sleepe. Wherefore he called home againe his shippes of warre, which he had appointed to keepe the narrow Seas, and dispatched all such Souldiours as he had deputed to keepe certayne garrisons, and to stoppe certayne passages as you haue heard before. Yet lest he might for lack of prouision be sodainly trapped, he straightly charged and gaue in commaundement to al noble men and in especial such as inhabited nere to the sea coast, and on the frontiers of Wales, that according to the vsage of the Countrey, they shoulde keepe diligent watch and strong warde, to the intent that his aduersaries in no wise shoulde haue anye place oportune, easely to take lande without defence or rebuttyng back. For the custome of the Countreys adioyning nere to the sea is (especially in the time of warre) on euery hill or high place to erect a Bekon with a great Lanterne in the top, which may be sene and discerned a great space of. And when the noyse is once bzuted that the enemies appzochere nere the lande, they sodainly put fire in the Lanternes and make howtes and outrages from towne to towne, and from village to village. Some runne in post from place to place admonishyng the people to be redie to resist the ieopardie, and defend the perill. And by this pollicie the fame is soone blowen to euery Citie and towne, insomuch that aswell the Citizens as y<sup>e</sup> rurall people be in short space assembled and armed to refell and put backe the new arriued enemies.

Now to returne to our purpose, king Richard thus somewhat eased of his accustomed pensiuensse, began to be somewhat more merier, and toke lesse thought and care for outward enemies then he was wont to do, as who say, that he with polittique prouision shoulde withstande the destinie which hong ouer his heade, and was ordeyned in brieftime sodainly to fall. Such is the force and puissance of deuine iustice, that euery man shall lesse regard, lesse prouide, lesse be in doubt of all things, when he is most nereest punishment, and next to his mischaunce for his offences and crimes.

About this season, while the Erle of Richmond was desiryng ayde of the French king, certain noble men were there appoynted to rule the realme of Fraunce during the minoritye of king Charles, which amongest themselves were not of one opinion. Of which dissention, Lewys Duke of Orleans was the chiefe sturrer, which because he had married Ladie Joane sister to the French king, toke vpon him aboue other the rule and administration of the whole realme. By reason of which controuersie, no one man onely was suffered to rule all: wherefore the Erle of Richmond was compelled to make sute to euery one of the counsaile seuerally one after another, requiryng and desiryng them of ayde and reliefe in his waightie businesse, and so his cause was prolonged and deferred. During which time, Thomas Marques Dorset which was as you haue heard entised by his mother to returne againe into England, partly despairyng in the good successe of the Erle of Richmond, & partly onerate and banquished with the fayre glosyng promises of king Richarde: secretly in the night season stole out of Paris, and

E e e i.

with



with all diligent expedition tooke his iourney towarde Flaunders. When relation of his departure was made to the Erle of Richemond, and the other noble men, no maruaile though they were astonied and greatly amased. Yet that notwithstanding they requyred of the frenche king that it might be lesu'l to them in his name and by his commaundement to take and stay their Companion, confederate, and partaker of all their counsaile, in what place withm his realme and territozpe so euer they could finde him. Which petition once obtayned, they sent out Curriers into every part, amongst whom Humfrey Cheiney plaiyng the part of a good blood hound, followed the tract of the fier so euen by the sent, that he ouertoke and apprehended him not far from Compeigne and so what with reason, and what with faire promises beyng perswaded, he returned again to his Companions. The Erle of Richemond vnburdened of this misadventure, least by linyng of dayes, and prolongyng of time, he might leese the great oportunitie of thinges to him offered and ministred: also least he should further wound or molest the mindes of his faythfull and assured friendes, which dayly did aspect and tary for hys comyng, determined no lenger to protract and deferre the time, but with all diligence and seueritie to attempt his begon enterprize, and so obtaynyng of king Charles a small crewe of men, and borowynge certayne summes of money of him, and of diuers other his priuate friendes. For the which he leit as debter, or more likelier as a pledge or hostage, Lorde Thomas Marques Dorset (whome he halfe mistrusted) and Sir John Burchier, he departed from the french Court, and came to the Citie of Roan. While he taryed there makyng provision at Harflete in the mouth of the riuer of Seyne for all thinges necessary for his nauye, tidynges were brought to him that king Richard beyng without children, and nowe Widower, entended shortly to marry the Lady Elizabeth his brothers daughter, and to preferre the Ladie Cicile her sister to a man found in a Clowde, and of an vnkowne linage and familie. He tooke these newes as a matter of no small moment (and so all thinges considered) it was of no lesse importance then he tooke it for. For this thing onely toke away from him and al his Companions their hope and courage that they had to obtaine an happie enterprize. And therefore no maruaile though it nipped him at the verie stomacke: when he thought that by no possibilitie hee might attaine the mariage of anye of king Edwardes daughters, which was the strongest foundation of his buildyng, by reason wherof he iudged that all his friendes in England would abandon & shrinke from him. Wherefore makyng not many of his counsaile, after diuers consultations he determined not yet to set forward, but to tary and attempt how to get more ayde, more friendes, and more stronger succors. And amongst all other, it was thought most expedient to allure by affinitie in his ayde as a Companion in armes, Sir Walter Herbert, a man of an auncient stocke, and great pover amongst the Welshemen, which had with him a fayre Ladie to his sister, of age ripe to be coupled in matrimonie. And for the achieuyng of this purpose, messengers were secretly sent to Henry Erle of Northumberland (which had before married another sister of Sir Walter Herbertes) to the entent that he should set forward all this deuice and purpose, but the wayes were so narrowly watched and so manye spyes laide, that the Messenger proceeded not in his iourney and businesse. But in the meane season,

son, there came to the Erle a more ioyfuller message from Morgā Kidwelly learned in the temporall lawe, which declared that Rice ap Thomas, a man of no lesse valiauntnesse then actiuitie, and John Saunge an approued Capitaine, would with all their power be partakers of his quarrell. And that Reignold Brey had collected and gotten together no small summe of money for the payment of the wages to the Souldiours and men of warre: aduising him also to make quicke expedition, and to take his course directlye into Wales. The Erle of Richemond because he would no longer linyng and werpe his friendes, liuyng continually betwene hope and feare, determined in all conuenient hast to set forward, and caried to his shippes armour, weapons, bitaile, and all other ordinaunces expedient for warre.

After that all thing was in a readynesse, the Erle being accompanied onely with two thousand men and a small number of shippes, weyed by his ancors and halled by his sayles, in the Moneth of August, and sayled from Harflet with so prosperous a winde that the seventh daye after hys departure he arriued in Wales in the euening, at a port called Hilforde Hauen, and incontinent tooke lande and came to a place called Dalle, where he heard say that a certain company of his aduersaries were layed in garrison, to defende his arriual all the last winter. And the Erle at the some rising remoued to harford west, beyng distant from Dalle not fully ten mile, where he was ioyfully receaued of the people, and he arriued there so sodainely that he was come and entred the towne at the same time when the Citizens had but knowlege of his comyng. Here he heard newes which were as true, as they truly were reported to him in Normandy, that Rice ap Thomas, and John Saunge with bodey and goodes were determined to ayde king Richard. While he and his companie were somewhat astonied of these newe tidynges, there came such message from the inhabitauntes of the towne of Pembroke that refreshed, and reuiued their frozen hearts and daunted courages. For Arnold Buttler a valiaunt captaine, which first askyng pardon for his offences befoze time committed against the Erle of Richemonde, and that obtayned, declared to him that the Penbrochians were redy to serue and geue their attendaunce on their naturall and immediate Lorde Jasper Erle of Pembroke. The Erle of Richemond hauyng his armie thus increased, departed from Herforde west to the towne of Cardigan beyng fiue mile distant fro. n thence. While the souldiours were refreshing and trimming themselves in their campe, straunge tidynges sprong among them wythout any certayne authour, that sir Walter Herbert which lay with a great crewe of men at Carmarden, was now with a great armie ready to approach and bid them bataille. With which newes the armie was sore troubled, and euerye man assaid his armure and proued his weapon, & were prest to defend their enemies. And as they were in this fearefull doubt, certayne horsemen which the Erle had sent to make inquirie and search, returned and reported al the countrey to be quiet and no let nor impediment to be laide or cast in their iourney. And euen at the same time the whole armie was greatly recomforted by reason that the comyng of Richarde Griffith, a man of great nobilitie, the which notwithstanding he was confederate with Sir Walter Herbert, and Richarde ap Thomas, yet at that very instant he came to the Erle of Richemonde with all his company, which were of no great number. After hym

Hilforde  
Hauen.



the same day came John Morgan with his men. Then the Erle advanced forward in good hast, making no repose or abode in any one place. And to the entent to passe forward with sure and short expedition, he assaulted euerie place where his enemies had set any men of warre, which with small force, and lesse difficultie he briefly did ouercome and banquish. And sodenly he was by his espialles ascertayned that Sir Walter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas were in harness before him redie to encounter with his armie and to stop their passage. Wherefore like a balaunt Capitein he first determined to set on them, and eyther to destroy or to take them into his fauour, and after with all his power and puyssance to geue battaile to his mortall enemy king Richard. But to the entent his friendes shoulde knowe in what redinesse he was, and howe he proceeded forward, he sent of his most secret and faythfull seruantes with letters and instructions to the Ladie Margarett his mother, to the Lorde Stanley his brother, to Sir George Talbot, and to other his trustie friendes, declaring to them, that he beyng succoured and helpen with the ayde & reliefe of his friends, entended to passe ouer the riuer of Seuerne at Shrewsburie, and so to passe directly to the Citie of London, requirynge them as his speciall trust and confidence was fixed in the hope of their fidelitie, that they would meete him by the way with all diligent preparation, to the entent that he and they at time and place conuenient might communicate together the depenence of all his doubtfull and waightie businesse. When the Messengers were dispatched with these commaundementes and admonitions, he marched forward toward Shrewsburie, and in his passynge there met and saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly bande of Welchemen, which making an othe and promise to the Erle, submitted himselfe wholly to his order and commaundement. For the Erle of Richemond two dayes before made to him promise, that if he would sweare to take his part and be obedient to him, he would make him chiefe gouernour of Wales, which part as he faythfully promised and graunted, so after that he had obteyned and possessed the realme and Diademe, he liberally performed and accomplished the same. In the meane time, the Messengers that were sent, diligently executed the things geuen to them in charge, and laden with rewardes of them to whome they were sent, returned to him the same daye that he entred into Shrewsburie, and made relation to him that his friendes were redie in all poyntes to do all thinges for him which eyther they ought or might do. The Erle Henry brought in good hope with this pleasaunt message, continued forth his entended iourney, and came to a little towne called Newport and pitching his campe on a little hil adioining, reposed himselfe there that night. In the Euening the same daye came to him Sir George Talbot, with the whole power of the yong Erle of Shrewsburie then beyng in warde, which were accompted to the number of two thousand men. And thus his power increasynge, he arriued at the towne of Stafford, & there paused. To whom came Sir William Stanley accompanied with a fewe persons, and after that the Erle and he had comuned no long time together, he reuerted to his Souldiours which he had congregate together to serue the Erle, which from thence departed to Lichfielde, and lay without the Walles in his campe all the night. The next Morning he entred into the towne, and was with all honour like a Prince receyued. A day or two before, the Lorde Stanley ha-

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uing in his hand almost fise thousand men, lodged in y same towne, but hearyng that the Erle of Richemond was marching thetherward, gaue to hym place, dislodging him and his, and repayzed to a towne called Adzestone, there abidynge the comming of the Erle, and this wylie fore did this act to aduoyde all suspicion, beyng afraid least if he shoulde be seene openly to be a fauourer or ayder to the Erle his sonne in lawe before the day of the battaile, that king Richard which yet did not vtterly put in hym diffidence and mistrust, woulde put to some cruell death his sonne & heyre apparant George Lord Straunge whome king Richard as you haue heard before, kept with him as a pledge or hostage, to the entent that the Lorde Stanley his father shoulde attempt nothing pzeiudiciall to him.

King Rycharde at thys season keepynge his house in the Castell of Notyngham was infourmed that the Erle of Richemond with such banished men as fled out of Englande to him were nowe arriued in Wales, and that all things necessarie to his enterpryse were bnyrouded, bnyruined and beerie weake, nothing meete to withstand the power of such as the king had appointed to resist him. Thys rumour so enflated his minde, that in maner disdainynge to here speake of so pooze a company, determined at the first to take little or no regarde to this so small a sparckle, declaring the Erle to be innocent and bnywise, because that he rashly attempted suche a great enterpryse with so small and thinne a number of warlike persons, and therfore he gaue a definitiue sentence, that when he came to that poynt that he shoulde be compelled to fight agaynst hys wyll, he eyther shoulde be apprehended a lyue, or else by all likelihood he shoulde of necessitie come to a shamefull confusion, and that he trusted to be shortly done by Sir Walter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas, which then ruled Wales with egall power and lyke aucthoritie. But yet he reuoluyng and caskynge in his minde that a small warre begon and wynted at and not regarded, may turne to a great broyle and trouble, and that it was prudent pollicie not to contempne and disdeyne the little small power and weakenesse of the enemy, be it neuer so small, thought it necessarie to prouide for after clappes that might happen and chaunce. Wherefore he sent to John Duke of Norfolke, Henry Erle of Northumberland, Thomas Erle of Surrey, and to other of his especiall and trustie friendes of the Nobilitie, which he iudged more to preferre and esteeme hys welth and honour then their awne ryches and priuate commoditie, wylling them to muster and biewe all their seruants and tenants, and to elect and choose the most courageous and actiue persons of the whole number, and with them to repayze to hys presence with all speede and diligence. Also he wrote to Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the Tower, commaunding him with his power to come to his armie and to bring with him as felowes in armes, Sir Thomas Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerforde, and dyuers other knyghtes and Esquiers in whome he cast no small suspicion. Whyle he was thus ordering hys affayres, tydings came that the Erle of Richemond was passed Seuerne & come to Shrewsburie without any detryment or encombraunce. At which message he was sore moued and broyled with Melancoly and dolour, and cryed out, asking vengeance of them that contrarie to their othe and promise had so deceaued him. For which cause he began to haue diffidence in other, in so much that he determined himselfe out of hande the same

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day



day to meete with, and resist his aduersaries. And in all hast sent out Espials to view and espie what way his enemies kept and passed. They diligently doyng their duetie, shortly after returned, declaring to the king that the Erle was encamped at the towne of Lichfield. When he had perfite knowledg where the Erle wpth his armie was sojourning, he hauing continuall re- paire of his subiectes to him, began incontinently without delay to marshall and put in order his battayles (like a balvaunt Capitaine and polletique leader) and first he made his battayles to set forwarde fine and fine in a ranke, marchyng toward that way where his enemies as was to him reported en- tended to passe. In the middle part of the armie he appointed the traffick and cariage apperteyning to the armie. Then he (environed with his garde) with a frowning countenaunce and cruell visage mounted on a great wyhte cour- ser and folowed with his footemen, the wings of horsemen coastyng and ran- gyng on euery side: And keeping thys aray, he with great pompe entred the towne of Lychester after the sonne set. The Erle of Richemond rayled hys campe and departed from Lychester to the towne of Tomwoorth thereto nere adioyning, and in the mid way passing, there saluted him Sir Walter Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Burchier knyghtes, and dyuers other which yeelved and submitted them to his pleasure. For they beyng aduertised that king Rycharde had them in suspition and gealofie, a little beyonde stony Stratford left and forsooke priuily their Captayne Robert Bzakenbury, and by wandering by night, and in maner by vnknowne pathes and vncertaine wayes searchyng, at the last came to the Erle Henry. Dyuers other noble personages, which inwardly hated king Rycharde worse then a Coade or a Serpent, did likewise resorte to hym wpth all their power & strength. There happened in this progression to the Erle of Richemond a straunge chaunce worthy to be noted: for albeit that he was a man of haute and balvaunt cou- rage, and that his army encreased, and daylie more and more he waxed mightier and stronger, yet he was not a little afeard, because he in no wise coulde be assured of hys father in lawe Thomas Lorde Stanley, which for feare of the destruction of the Lorde Straunge his some (as you haue heard) as yet enclyned to neyther partie. For if he had gone to the Erle, and that notified to king Richard, his sonne had shortly bene executed. Wherefore he accom- panied with twentie lyght horsemen lnygered in his iourney, as a man mu- sing and ymagyning what was best to be done. And the more to aggrauate his pensiuensse, it was shewed him that king Rycharde was at hande with a strong power and a great armie. Whyle he thus heavily dragged behinde his hoste, the whole armie came before the towne of Tomwoorth, and when he for the deepe darknesse coulde not perceau the steppes of them that pas- sed on before, and had wandered hether and thether, seeking after his com- panie, and yet not once heering any noise or whispyng of them, he turned to a verie little Village, beyng about thre myles from hys armie, taking great thought and much fearyng lest he should be espied, and so trapped by king Rycharde's skoute watch. There he tarped all night, not once aduenturyng to aske or demaunde a question of any creature, he being no more amased with the iopardie and perill that was passed, then with thys present chaunce, sore feared that it should be a pronostication or signe of some infortunate plague afterwarde to succede. As he was not mery beyng absent from his armie likewise

A straunge  
chaunce that  
happened to  
the Erle of  
Richemond.

lykelike his armie muche maruayled and no lesse mourned for his sodayne absence.

The nexte morning earely in the dawning of the daye he returned, and by the conduyte of good fortune espyed and came to his armie, excusing himselfe, not to haue gone oute of the waye by ignozaunce, but for a pol- lerie deuysed for the nonce he went from hys Campe to receyue some glad message from certayne of his priuie friendes and secrete alyes. Thys ex- cuse made, he priuily departed agayne from hys hoste to the towne of Ader- stone, where the Lorde Stanley and Syr Wylliam hys brother with their bandes were abidyng. There the Erle came first to his father in law, in a li- tle close, where he saluted him, and Sir William hys brother, and after diuers and many friendly embracings, ech reioyced of the state of other, and sodainly were surprised with great ioy, comfort, & hope of fortunate successe in al their affaires, and doyngs. Afterwarde they consulted together how to geue bat- tle to king Rycharde if he woulde abide, whome they knewe not to be farre off with an hounge army. In the euening of the same day, sir John Sauage, Sir Brian Sanforde, Sir Simon Digby, and many other, leuyng king Ri- charde, turned and came to the part of the Erle of Richmonde, with an elect company of men. Which refusall of king Rycharde's parte, by men of such ex- perience, did augment and encrease both the good hope and the puissaunce of the Erle of Richmonde.

In the meane season, kyng Rycharde (which was appointed nowe to finishe hys labour by the berie deuine iustice and prouidence of God, which called him to condigne punishment for his mischieuous desertes) marched to a place meete for two battayles to encounter by a Village called Bosworth, not farre from Lychester, and there he pitched hys fielde, refreshed hys soul- dyours and toke his rest. The same went that he had the same night a dread- full and a terrible dreame, for it seemed to him beyng a sleepe that he sawe dyuers ymages like terrible Devils which pulled and haled him, not suffe- ring him to take any quiet or rest. The which straunge vision not so sodain- ly strake his hart with a sodaine feare, but it stuffed his head and troubled his minde with many dreadfull and busie imaginations. For incontinent after, his hart being almost damped, he pronosticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battayle to come, not vlyng the cheerefulnesse and mirth of minde, and of countenaunce as he was accustomed to doe before he came toward the battayle. And lest that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his enemies, and for that cause looked so pitteously, he recyted and decla- red to his familer friends in the morning his wonderfull vision and terrible dreame. But I thinke this was no dreame, but a punction and prick of hys sinnefull conscience, for the conscience is so much more charged and aggra- uate as the offence is greater and more heynous in degree.

Now to returne agayne to our purpose, the next day after king Richard beyng furnished with men and all abilitiments of warre, bzynging all his men out of their campe into the playne, ordered hys forewarde in a marueilous length, in which he appointed both horsemen and footemen to the entent to imprint in the hartes of them that looked a farre off, a sodayne terroz and deadly feare, for the great multitude of the armed Souldiours: and in the fore front he placed the archers like a strong fortified trench or Bultwarke:

ouer

The dreame  
of king Ri-  
chard the  
thirde.



ouer thys battayle was Capytaine John Duke of Nozfolke with whome was Thomas Erle of Surrey hys sonne. After this long bantgard folowed King Rycharde hymselfe, both a strong company of chosen and approued men of warre, hauing horsemen for winges on both the sides of hys battaile.

After the Erle of Richmond was departed from the communication of hys friendes as you haue heard befoze, he began to be of a better stomach and of a moze balyaunt courage, and with all diligence pitched his field iust by the campe of his enemies, and there he lodged that night. In the morning betime he caused his men to put on their armure and apparell themselves readie to fight and gene battayl, and sent to the Lord Stanley (which was now come with his band into a place indifferently betwene both the armies) requiring him with his men to appoche nere to his armie and to help to set the Souldiours in arraye, he answered that the Erle should set his awne men in a good order of battail while he would array his company, and come to him in time conuenient. Which answer was made othertwise then the Erle thought or would haue iudged, considering the oportunitie of the tyme, and the wayght of the businesse, and although he was therewithall a little vexed, & began somewhat to hang the lip, yet he without any time delatynge compelled by necessitie, after thys maner instructed and ordred hys men. He made hys forewarde somewhat single and slender, according to the small number of his people. In the ffront he placed the archers, of whome he made Capytaine John Erle of Orforde: to the right wyng of the battayle he appointed Sir Gylbert Talbot to be the leader: to the left wyng he assigned Sir John Savage, and he with the ayde of the Lorde Stanley accompanied with the Erle of Denbroke hauing a good companie of horsemen, and a small number of fofemen: For al his whole number exceded not fiue thousand men, beside the power of the Stanleys, whereof thzee thousand were in the field vnder the Standard of Sir Wylliam Stanley: The kings number was double as much and moze. When both these armies were thus ordered, and al men redie to set forward, king Richard called his Chiefetaines together and to them sayde.

Most faythfull and assured felowes and friends, although in the adoption and obteyning of the Garlande, I being seduced and prouoked by sinister counsayle dyd commit a naughty and detestable act. Yet I haue with strait penaunce and salt teares (as I trust) clerely purged the same offence, which abhominable crime I require you of friendship as cleerely to forget, as I daylie doe remember to lament the same. If you will nowe diligently call to remembraunce in what case and perplexitie we stande, and in what doubtfull perill we be in: Then, I with you, and you with me, must needes this day take labor & pain to kepe and defend with force, that preheminent and possession which by your prudent deuises I haue gotten and obteyned. I doubt not but you knowe, how the Deuill, continuall enemy to humaine nature, disturber of concord and sower of sedition, hath entred into the hart of an vnknowne Welshman, (whose father I neuer knewe nor him personally saw) exercityng him to aspire and couet our realme, crowne, and dignity, and thereof clerely to depriue and spoyle vs and our posteritie: ye see farther how a companie of traytors, theefes, outlawes, and runnagates of our awne nation be ayders and partakers of his fact and enterpryse, redie at hande to

ouercome

The oration  
of King Ry-  
charde the  
thirde.

ouercome and oppresse vs: You see also what a number of beggerly Britons and faynt harted frenchemen be with him arriued to destroy vs, our wyfes and childzen. Which imminent mischiefes and apparaunt inconueniences, if we will withstande and retell, we must liue together like brethren, fight together lyke Lyons, and feare not to die together lyke men. And if you consider and wisely ponder all things in your minde, you shall perceyue that we haue manifest causes, and apparaunt tokens of triumph and victorie. And to begin with the Erle of Richmond Capytaine of thys rebellion, he is a Welsh milksop, a man of small courage and of lesse experience in martiall actes and feates of warre, brought by my brothers meanes and mine lyke a Captiue in a close cage in the Court of Fraunces Duke of Britayne, and neuer sawe armie, nor was exercised in martiall affaires, by reason whereof he neyther can nor is able of hys awne wyt or experience to guyde or rule an hoste. For in the wyt and pollecie of the Capytaine, consisteth the chiefe adaption of the victorie and ouerthrowe of the enemies: wherfore aduance forth your standards, and euery one geue but one sure stroke, and surely the iourney is oures. And as for me, I assure you, this day I will triumph by victorie, or suffer death for immortal fame.

This exhortacion encouraged al such as fauoured him, but such as were present moze for dreade then loue, kissed them openly, whome they inwardely hated, other sware outwardely to take part with such, whose death they secretly compassed, and inwardely imagined, other promised to invade the kings enemies, which fled and fought with fierce courage against the king: other stode still and loked on, entending to take parte wyth the victors, and ouercomers. So was his people to him vntrue and vnfaythfull at his ende, as he was to his Nephewes vntrue and unnaturall in his beginning.

When the Erle of Richmond knew by his foreriders that the king was so nere embattayled, he rode about his army, from ranke to ranke, from wyng to wyng, geuyng comfortable wordes to all men, and that finished (beyng armed at all peces sayng his helmet) mounted on a litle hill so that all his people might see and beholde him perfittly, to thre great reioysing. For he was a man of no great stature, his countenance was cherefull and couragious, his heare yelow, like the burnished golde, his eyes gray, shynyng, and quicke, prompt and readie in answering, but of such sobrietie, that it could neuer be iudged whether he were moze dull then quicke in speaking (such was his temperaunce.) And when he had ouer loked his armie ouer euery side, he pationis, these or like wordes folowynge.

If euer God gaue victorie to men fighting in a iust quarrell: or if he euer ayded such as made warre for the welth, and tuition of thre owne naturall countrey: or if he euer succoured them which aduenced there lyues for the reliefe of innocentes, suppressing of malefactors, and apparaunt offenders: No doubt my felowes, and friendes, but he of his bountyfull goodnesse wyll this day send vs triumphaunt victorie, and a luckey iorney ouer our proude enemies, and arrogant aduersaries: for if you remember, and consider the very cause of our iust quarrell, you shall apparauntly perceiue the same to be true, godly, and vertuous. In the which I doubt not but God wil rather aide vs (ye and fight for vs) then see vs banquished and ouercome, by such as nei-

ther

The oration  
of King Hen-  
ry the seuench



ther feare him, nor his lawes, nor yet regarde iustice or honestie. Our cause is so iust that no enterpryse can be of more vertue, both by the lawes diuine & ciuile, for what can be a more honest, goodly, or godly quarrell then to fight against a Captayne, beyng an homicide, and a murderer of his owne blood, and progenie: an extreme destroyer of his nobilitie, and to his and our countrey, and the pooze subiectes of the same, a deadly maile, a fyre brande, and a burden buttolerable: beside him, consider who be of his bande and company such as by murther and vntruth committed against there owne kinne and bynage, ye against their Prince and soueraigne Lorde haue disherited mee, and you, and wrongfully deteyne and vsurpe our lawfull patrimony, and lineal inheritance: For he that calleth himselfe kyng, keepeth from me the Crowne and regiment of this noble realme and countrey, contrary to all iustice and equitie. Moreover I assure you, that there be ponder in that great battayle, men brought thither for feare, and not for loue, souldiours by force compelled, & not with good will assembled: persons which desire rather the destruction, then saluacion of their maister and Capitayne: And finally a multitude whereof the most part will be our friendes, and the least part our enemyes. For truly I doubt which is greater, the malice of the souldiours toward their captaine, or the feare of him conceiued of his people: for surely this rule is infallible, that as yll men dayly couet to destroy the good, so God appointeth the good to confounde the ill, and of all worldly goods the greatest is, to suppress tirauntes, and relieue innocents, whereof the one is euer as much hated, as the other is beloued. If this be true (as clarkes preache) who will spare ponder tirant, Richard Duke of Gouernour butruly calling himselfe king, considering that he hath violated, and broken both the lawe of God and man, what vertue is in him, which was the confusion of his brother, and murderer of his Nephewes: what mercy is in him that slepyth his trustie friendes, as well as his extreme enemyes: who can haue confidence in him, which putteth diffidence in all men: If you haue not red, I haue heard clerkes saye, that Tarquine the proude for the vice of the body lost the kingdom of Rome, & the name of Tarquine bannished the Citie for euer: yet was not his fault so detestable as the fact of cruell Nero, which slew hys owne mother, & opened her entrayles to beholde the place of his conception. Beholde ponder Richard which is both Tarquine and Nero: Ye a tyrant more then Nero, for he hath not only murdered his nephew being his king & souereigne lord, bastarded his noble brethren, and defamed the wombe of his vertuous and womanly mother, but also compassed all the meanes and waies that he could inuent how to deflowre, and carnally to knowe his owne Neere vnder the pretence of a cloked matrimonye, which Ladye I haue sworne, and promised to take to my make and wife, as you all knowe and beleue. If this cause be not iust, and this quarrell Godly, let God the geuer of victory iudge & determine. Therefore let all feare be set aside, and like sworne brethren let vs toyne in one, for this daye shall be the ende of our trauaile and the gayne of our labor either by honorable death, or famous victory: And as I trust, the battayle shall not be so sore, as the profit shall be sweete. Remember the victory is not gotten with the multitude of men, but with the courages of hartes & baliante of mindes. The smaller that our number is, the more glory is to vs if we banquish, if we be ouer come, yet no laude is to be attributed to the vic-

tors,

tors, consideryng that tenne men fought against one. And this one thing I assure you, that in so iust and good a cause, and so notable a quarrell, you shall fynde me this day, rather a dead carion vpon the colde grounde, then a free prisoner on a carpet in a Ladies chamber. Let vs therefore fight like men. And now auance forward true men against traitors, pitiful persons against murtherers, true inheritozs against vsurpers, the skozges of God against tirauntes, display my banner with a good courage, march forth, and begin the battaile like hardye conquerers, the battaile is at hande, and the victory appoeth, and if we shamefully recule or cowardlye fle, we, and all our sequele be destroyed, and dishonored for euer. This is the day of gayne, & this is the time of losse, get this day victory, and be conquerers, and lese this daies battaile, and be villaines, and therefore in the name of God and saint George let every man couragiously auance forth his standard.

These cherefull wordes he set forth with such gesture of his bodye and simpling countenance, as though all readie he had vanquished his enemyes, and gotten the spoyle.

He had scantly finished his sayng, but the one armie espied the other, Lorde howe hastily the Souldiours buckeled their Helmes, howe quicklye the Archers bent their Bowes, and frused their feathers, howe redily the Byllmen shooke their Billes, and proued their staves, redie to appoche and ioyne when the terrible Trompet should sound the bloodie blast to victorie or death. Betwene both armies there was a great marresse which the Erle of Richemond left on his right hande, for this entent that it should be on that side a defence for his part, and in so doyng he had the Sunne at his back and in the faces of his enemyes. When king Richard sawe the Erles companie was passed the marresse, he commaunded with all hast to set vpon them, then the Trompettes blew, and the Souldiours shouted, and the kinges Archers couragiously let fle their arrowes, the Erles Bowmen stood not still, but payed them home againe. The terrible shotte once passed, the armies ioyned, and came to hande strokes, where neither Sworde nor Bill was spared, at which encounter the Lorde Stanley ioyned with the Erle. The Erle of Orforde in the meane season fearyng least while his companie was fighting, they should be compassed and circumvented with the multitude of his enemyes, gaue commaundement in euery ranke that no man should be so hardy as go aboue ten foote from the Standard, which commaundement once knowne, they knit themselues together, & ceased a little from fighting: the aduersaries sodainly abashed at the matter, and mistrustlyng some fraude or decept, began also to pause and left strikyng, and not agaynst the willes of many which had liefer haue had the king destroyed then saued, and therefore they fought very faintly or stode still. The Erle of Orforde bringyng all his bend together on the one part, set on his enemyes freshly againe, the aduersaries perceayng that, placed their men slender and thin before, and thicke and brode behinde, beginnyng againe hardly the battaile. While the two forewardes thus mortally fought, eche entendyng to banquish and conuince the other, king Richard was admonished by his espialles, that the Erle of Richemond accompanied with a small number of men of Armes was not farre of, and as he appoched and marched toward him, he perfectly knewe his personage by certaine demonstrations and tokens which he had learned

The battaile  
betwene king  
Richard and  
king Henrie  
the seuenth.

and



Sir William  
Brandon fa-  
ther to  
Charles  
Duke of  
Suffolke.

and knowen of other. And beyng inflamed with yre, and vexed with outrageous malice, he put his Spurres to his horse and rode out of the syde of the range of his battaile, leauyng the auantgardes fightyng, and like a hungrie Lyon ranne with spere in rest towarde hym. The Erle of Richemonde perceaued well the king furiously comyng towarde hym, and because the whole hope of hys welth and purpose was to be determined by battaile, he gladly profered to encounter wyth hym bodye to bodye, and man to man. King Richarde set on so sharply at the first brunt, that he ouerthrew the Erles standard bearer, & slue sir William Brandon his standard bearer, (which was father to sir Charles Brandon by king Henry the eight created Duke of Suffolke) and matched hande to hande with Sir John Cheiney, a man of great force and strength which would haue resisted him, but the said John was by him manfully ouerthrowne, and so he makyng open passage by dent of Sworde as he went forwarde, the Erle of Richmond withstoode his violence & kept him at the swordes point without aduantage longer then his companions eyther thought or iudged, which beyng almost in dispaire of victory, were sodenly recomforted by Sir William Stanley, which came to succors with three .M. tall men, at which very instant king Richardes men were driven back & fled, and he himself manfully fighting in the middle of his enemies was slaine and brought to his death as he worthely had deserved.

In the meane season, the Erle of Orforde with the ayde of the Lord Stanley, after no long fight discōfited the foreward of king Richard, wher of a great number were slaine in the chase and flight, but the greatest number which (compelled by feare of the king, & not of their mere voluntary motion) came to the field, gaue neuer a stroke, & hauyng no harme nor damage, safely departed, which came not thether in hope to see the king prosper & prevail, but to here that he should be shamefully confounded & brought to ruyne.

In this battaile dyed febe aboute the number of a thousande persons: And of the Nobilitie were slaine John Duke of Suffolke, which was warned by diuers to refraine from the field, insomuch that the night before he should set forward toward the king, one wrote on his gate.

Lacke of Norffolke be not to bolde,

For Dickon thy maister is bought and solde.

Yet all this notwithstanding he regarded more his othe, his honoz, and promise made to king Richard, like a Gentleman, and a faythfull subiect to his Prince, absented not himselfe from his maister, but as he faithfully liued vnder him, so he manfully died with him to his great fame and latode. There were slain beside him, Water Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Katcliffe, and Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the Tower, and not manye Gentlemen mo. Sir William Catesby learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe Counsaylors to the late king, with diuers other were two dayes after behedded at Leycester. Amongest them that ranne away, were Sir fraunces Vicount Louel, and Humfrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his brother which tooke Sanctuary in Saint Johns at Gloucester. Of captiues and prisoners there was a great number, for after the death of king Richard was knowen and published, euery man in maner arraynyng himselfe, and castyng away his abilimentes of warre, mekely submitted themselves to the obeyssaunce and rule of the Erle of Richmond: of the

the which the more part had gladly so done in the beginnyng if they might haue conueniently escaped from king Richardes espialles, which hauyng as cleere eyes as Lynx, and as open eares as Midas ranged and searched in euery quarter. Amongest these was Henrie the fourth Erle of Northumberland, which whether it was by the commaundement of king Richard puttyng diffidence in him, or he did it for the loue and fauour that he bare vnto the Erle, stode still with a great companie and intermitted not in the battaile, whiche was incontinently receyued into fauour and made of the Counsaile. But Thomas Harward Erle of Surrey which submitted himselfe there, was not taken to grace, because his father was chiefe Counsaylour, and hce greatly familiar with King Richarde, but committed to the Tower of London, where he long remayned, and in conclusion deliuered, and for his truth and fidelitie after promoted to high honors, offices, and dignities. On the Erle of Richemondes part were slaine scarce one hundred persons, amongest whome the principall was Sir William Brandon his Standard bearer.

This battaile was fought at Bosworth in Leycester shire the .xxij. day of August, the whole conflict endured little aboute two houres. King Richard as the fame went, might haue scaped and gotten sauegarde by flyng: For when they which were next about his person sawe and perceyued at the first ioyning of the battaile the Souldiours faintly and nothyng couragiously to set on their enemies, and not onely that, but also that some withdrew themselves priuily out of the prease and departed. They began to suspect fraude, and to smell treason, and not onely exhorted but determinately aduised him to saue himselfe by flight: and when the losse of the battaile was imminent and apparaunt, they brought to him a swift and a light horse to conuey him away. He which was not ignorant of the grudge and ill will that the common people bare towarde him, castyng away all hope of fortunate successe and happy chaunce to come, answered (as men say) that on that day he would make an ende of all battayles, or else there finithe his life. Such a great audacity, and such a stoute stomacke reigned in his bodie, for surely he knewe that to be the day in the which it should be decided & determined, whether he should peaceably obteyne and enioy his kingdome during his life, or else bitterly forgo and be deprived of the same. And so this miser at the same berie poynt had like chaunce and fortune, as happeneth to suche which in place of ryght iustice, and honestie, folowynge their sensuall appetite, loue, vse, and embrace, mischief, tyrannie, and vnyustice. Surely these be examplis of more behemencie, then mans tongue can expresse, to feare and astonne such euill persons as will not liue one houre vacant from doyng and exercisyng crueltie, mischief, or outragious liuyng.

When the Erle had thus obteyned victory, and slaine his mortal enemy, he kneeled downe & rendred to almighty God his heartie thanks. And afterward beyng replenished with incomparable gladnesse, ascended vp to the top of a little Mountaine, where he not onely praised & lauded his baliuant souldiours, but also gaue vnto them his hartie thankes, with promise of recompence for their fidelitie and baliuant factes, willyng and commaundyng all the hurt and wounded persons to be cured, and the dead carcasses to be deliuered to the sepulture. Then the people reioysed & clapped their hands cryng

fff. j.

25 of Bosworth  
fide.



King Henry  
the seuenth  
crowned in  
the field.

bp to heauen, king Henry, king Henry. When the lord Stanley saw the good will and gladnesse of the people, he took the Crowne of king Richard which was founde amongst the spoyle in the field, and set it on the Erles hede, as though he had bene elected king by the voyce of the people, as in ancient tymes past in diuers realmes it hath bene accustomed, and this was the first signe and token of hys good luck and felicity. I must put you here in remembrance howe that king Richard putting some diffidence in the Lord Stanley, which had with hym as an hostage the Lord Straunge his eldest sennel which Lord Stanley as you haue heard before, ioyned not at the first with his sonne in lawes armie, for feare that king Richard would haue slaine the Lorde Straunge his heyre. When king Richard was come to Bosworth, he sent a Pursuant to the Lorde Stanley, commaundyng him to aduance forward with his companie, and to come to his presence, which thing if he refused to do, he sware by Christes passion that he would strike off his sonnes hede before he dyed. The Lorde Stanley answered the Pursuant that if the king did so, he had more sonnes aliue, and as to come to hym he was not then so determined: When king Richard heard this answer he commaunded the Lorde Straunge incontinent to be beheaded, which was at that very same season when both the armies had sight eche of other. The Counsaillors of king Richard pondering the tyme and cause, knowing also the Lorde Straunge to be innocent of his fathers offence, persuaded the king that it was nowe tyme to fight and not tyme to execution, aduising him to kepe the Lorde Straunge as a prisoner till the battaile were ended, and then at leysure his pleasure might be accomplished. So as God would king Richard brake his holy othe, and the Lorde was deliuered to the keepers of the kings Tentres to be kept as a prisoner, which when the fielde was done and the ymaister slaine, and proclamation made to knowe where the childe was, they submitted themselves as prisoners to the Lord Straunge, & he gently receiued them and brought them to the newe proclaymed king, where of him and of his father he was receyued with great ioy and gladnesse. After this, the whole campe remoued with bagge and baggage, and the same night in the euening king Henrye with great pompe came to the Towne of Leicester. Where aswell for the refreshyng of his people and souldiours, as for preparyng all thinges necessary for his iourney toward London, he rested and reposed himselfe two dayes. In the meane season, the dead corps of king Richard was as shamefully caryed to the towne of Leicester, as he gorgeously the day before with pompe and pride departed out of the same towne. For his bodie was naked and dyspoiled to the skynne, and nothing left about him not so much as a clothe to cover his priuie members, and was trussed behinde a Pursuant of armes called Blaunche Senglier or white Boze, like a Hogge or a Calfe, the head and armes hangyng on the one syde of the horse, and the legs on the other syde, and all by sprinkled with mire and blood, was brought to the gray Friers Church within the towne, and there lay like a miserable spectacle: but surely consideryng his mischicuous actes and vngacious doynges, men may worthely wonder at such a captive, and in the sayde Church he was with no lesse funerall pompe, and solemnitic enterred, then he would to be done at the buryng of his innocent Nephewes, whom he caused cruelly to be murdered, and vnnaturally to be quelled.

The shame-  
full caryng  
of the dead  
corps of king  
Richard.

when

When his death was knowen, fewe lamented, and many reioysed, the prowd bragging whyte Boze (which was his badge) was violently rased and plucked downe from euery signe and place where it might be espyed, so yll was his lyfe, that men wished the memoire of him to be buryed with hys carren corps: He reigned two yeres, two monethes, and one day.

Thus ended this Prince his mortall life with infamy and dishonour, which neuer preferred fame or honestie, before ambition, tirannie, and mischiese. And if he had continued still Protector, and suffered his nephewes to haue liued and reigned, no doubt but the Realme had prospered, and he much praysed and beloued, as he is now abhorred and despyed, but to God which knewe his inwarde thoughtes at the houre of hys death, I remit the punishment of his offences committed in his life.

## Henry the seuenth.



Stone as the Erle of Richemond

returned from the field aforesayde, and was entred into the towne of Leicester, he was there by sounde of Trumpets proclaymed King of thys realme, by the name of King Henry the seuenth, which was the .xxij. day of August. 1485.

Now after that king Henry had not onely obteyned the triumphant battaile aforesayde agaynst hys malicious enemye King Richard, but also by that glorious victorie he gatte the Diademe and possession of the state royall and princely preheminance of this famous Empire and renoumed kingdome as aforesayde. He hauing both the ingenious forecast of the subtil Serpent, and also fearing the burning fyre lyke an infant that is a litle singed with a small flame: did first before his departure from Leicester send Sir Robert Wyloughby knight to the maner of Sheryhutton in the Countie of Yorke, for Edward Plantagenet Erle of Warwike, sonne and heire to George Duke of Clarence then being of the age of .xv. yeres, whom king Richard had kept there as a prisoner during the tyme of his vsurped reigne, and surely the king was not afeard without a cause, for he much mistrusted lea by this yong man, some euill disposed and enuious persons of hys glorie and aduancement, might inuent some newe occasion of reuengyng of battaile agaynst him, which beyng euen from his infancie with many encombrances and troubles bered & endaungered, desired nothing more hartily then nowe to lyue in peace and quietnesse. Sir Robert Wyloughby according to his commission receaued of the Constable of the Castell, the Erle Edward, and hym conueyed to London, where the yongling borne to perpetuall calamitie was incontinently in the Tower of London put

Edward  
Plantagenet  
Erle of War-  
wike, sonne  
and heyre to  
George duke  
of Clarence  
committed to  
the Tower  
of London.

fff. ii.

under



Under safe and sure custodie. There was beside him in the same Castell of Sheryhutton the Lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward, whome King Rycharde foolishly phantasying and deuilishly dotyng did entende to marry as you befoze haue heard, but the Damosell did not only disagree and refuse that matrimony, but abhorred and detested greatly his abhominable desire. At the which most importunate and detestable concupiscence, the common people of the realme so much grudged and maligned that they did not onely attribute the fault and cryme to the king, but much moze cryed out and blamed hys priue Counsayloz which did not dissent, but consent to so pernicious a counsayle, and so shamefull a conclusion: But God of his onely goodnesse preserved the christian minde of that vertuous and good Virgyn, and from that shamefull and filthie art, did graciously protect and defend her: The which Lady not long after accompanied with a great number as wel of noble men as honorable Patrons, was with good speede conueyed to London and brought to her mother.

King Henry  
entereth into  
London.

In the meane season, the king remoued forward by iorneyes towarde London, and euen as he passed, the common people on euerye side of the wayes assembled in great numbers, and with great ioy clapped their hands and shouted, crying king Henry, king Henry. But when he approached nere the Citie, the Maior, the Senate, and the Magistrates of the same being all clothed in Violet, met him at Shordiche, and not onely saluted and welcomed hym with one voyce in generall, but euery person particularly pleased and aduanced himseife, gladly to touch and kisse that victorious handes which had ouercome so monstrous and cruell a tyraunt, geuing laudes and prayings to almyghtie God, and rendering immortall thankes to hym, by whose meane & industrie the comon welth of the realme was preserved from final destruction & perpetuall calamitie, & the authoers of the mischief rooted by and plucked away. And with great pompe and triumph he rood thorough the Citie to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, where he offered hys three Standardes. In the one was the ymage of Saint George, in the second was a red fire Dragon, beaten vpon a hye and greene Sarcnet, the thirde was of yelowe Tarterne, in the which was paynted a dunne Cowe. After hys prayers sayde and Te deum song, he departed to the Bishops Palace and there sojourned a season, during which time, playes, pastymes and pleasures, were shewed in euery part of the Citie.

When these solemnities and geuing of thanks were done and passed: according as other kings had bene accustomed, he congregated together the sage Counsayloz of hys realme: in which counsayle lyke a Prince of iust fayth and true of promise, detestying all intestine and ciuill hostilitie appointed a daye to ioyne in matrimonye the Ladye Elizabeth heyre of the house of Yorke, with his noble personage heyre to the lyne of Lancaster: which thing not onely reioysed and comforted the hartes of the nobles and gentlemen of the realme, but also gayned the fauour and good mindes of all the common people, much extolling and prayng the kings constauit fidelitie, and his polittique deuise, thinking surely that the daye was now come that the seede of seditious factions, and the fountayne of ciuill dissention should be stopped, bannished, and cleerely ertinguished.

After thys, he wyth great pompe was conueyed to Westminster, and there

there the thirtie daye of October was wyth all ceremonies accustomed, annoynted and crowned Kyng by the whole assent as well of the commons as of the Nobilitie, and was named king Henry the seventh of that name, Frederike the thirde then being Emperour of Almayne, Maximilian hys soune then being newly elected king of Romaynes, Charles the eyght reygning ouer the french nation, and James the thirde rulyng the realme of Scotlande. Which kingdome he obteyned and enioyed as a thing by God elected and prouided, & by hys especiall fauour and gracious aspect compassed and achieved. In so much that men commonly reported that 797. yeres passed, it was by a heauenly voyce reuealed to Cadwalader last king of Wytons that his stock and progeny should reigne in thys land and beare dominyon agayne: Wherevpon most men were perswaded in their abone opinion that by this heauenly voyce he was prouided and ordeyned long befoze to enioy and obtayne this kingdome, which thing king Henry the sixt did also shew befoze, as you haue heard declared. Wherefoze he being by right and iust tytle of temporall inheritaunce, and by the prouision of deuine proueynauce thus crowned and proclaymed king: first of all vsing the antique example of the Athenians, which is to pardon and put out of memorie all crymes and offences befoze tyme agaynst hym or hys lawes perpetrated or committed, he called hys high court of Parliament at Westminster the seuenth day of Nouember for the stablyshing of all things as well concerning the preservation and mayntenance of hys royall person, as the administration of iustice and preferment of the common welth of thys realme and dominion, in the which he caused to be proclaymed that all men were pardoned acqyted and cleerely discharged of all offences, paynes of deathe and executions, and should be restored to their landes and moueable goodes, which would submit themselves to his clemencie & by othe be bound truly to serue and obey him as their soueraigne Lord, & who so would be obstinate and refuse to retorne to hys part, should be accepted and taken as a publike enemy to him and his Countrey. By reason of which proclamation, a great number that came out of diuers Sanctuaries and priuiledged places obteyned grace, forgettyng clerely the diuersitie of factious and voyce of partaking. After this he began to remember his especiall friends and fauours, of whom some he aduanced to honour and dignity, and some he enriched with possessions and goodes, euery man according to his desert and merite. And to begin, Jasper his Uncle Erie of Penbrooke, he created Duke of Bedforde, Thomas Lorde Stanley he promoted to the Erie of Darby, and the Lorde Chandew of Britayne his especiall friend he made Erie of Bathe, Syr Gyles Dabbeny was made Lorde Dabbeny, Syr Robert Wylloughby was made Lorde Brooke which he in their degree Barons and Peeres of the realme. And Edward Stafford eldest soune to Henry late Duke of Buckyngham, he restored to his name, dignitie and possessions, which king Rycharde did confiscate and attainted. Beside thys, in this Parliament was this notable act assented to and concluded as foloweth.

To the pleasure of Almighty God, welth, prosperitie and suretie of this Realme of Englande, and to the singular comfort of all the kings subiectes of the same, in aduoyding all ambiguyties and questions: Be it ordeyned, establyshed and enacted by this present Parlyament, that the inheritaunce of the Crowne of thys realme of Englande,

F f f .iii.

and

King Henry  
the seventh  
crowned king

Charles the  
eyght french  
king.

James the  
thirde king  
of Scottes.

A parliament  
holde[n] at  
Westminster  
and a general  
pardo graun-  
ted.

An act of  
Parliament  
for the sta-  
blyshment of  
the inheri-  
taunce of the  
crown.



and also of Fraunce, vwith all the preheminance and dignity royall to the same appertayning, and all other seigniories to the king belongyng beyond the sea, vvyth the appurtenances thereto in any vwise due or ppertayning, shall rest, remayne and abyde in the molt royall person of our novve souereigne Lorde king Henry the seventh, and in the heyres of hys body lawfully commyng, perpetually vwith the grace of God so to endure, and in none other.

And beside this act, all attaynders of this king, enacted by king Edward and king Richard were adnichilated, and the recozde of the same adiudged to be defaced and put out of memozy, and all persons attaynted for his cause, and occasion, were restozed to their goodes, landes, and possessions. And in conclusion, diuerse of the actes made in the time of king Edward, and kyng Richard were adnulled and reuoked and other moze expedient for the vtilitie of the common wealth were made and concluded. When all things necessary were discretly ordered and the parliament for the time dissolved, the king thought it not necessarye to put in obliuion his friendes and hostages beyng beyonde the sea: wherefore with al diligence he redemed the Marques Dorset, and Sir John Bourchier whome he hadde left as pledges at Paris for money there before borowed. And sent also into Flaunders for John oforton Bishop of Elye.

These actes perfourmed, he stablished in his house a graue counsaile of wyse and pollitique men, by whose iudgement, order, and determination, the people might be gouerned accordyng to iustice and equitye, and that all causes might be finished and ended there, without great bearing or expence in long suit. And for hearing and decyding these causes iustly and spedilye, he sware of his counsaile diuers noble and discrete persons, which for their pollicy, wit, and singular grauitie, were highly esteemed and renoumed, whose names followe, Jaspar Duke of Bedforde, John Erle of Oxenforde, Thomas Stanley, Erle of Darby, John Bishop of Ely, Sir William Stanley, Lord chamberleyn of his houtholde, Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke, Lord Stuarde of his houtholde, Gyles Lorde Dabwency, John Lorde Dynham after made Tresorer of Englande, Sir Reignold Brey, Sir John Cheiney, Sir Richard Guildforde, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir Richard Edgercomb, Sir Thomas Louell, Sir Edmond Downyngs, Sir John Risle, with diuerse other wise men, which as the time required he called to his counsaile and seruice nowe one, and nowe another.

Although by this election of wise and graue counsellors al things semed to be brought to a good and perfect conclusion, yet there lacked a wyse to the harpe, to set all the stringes in a monacorde and tune, which was the matrimony to be finished betwene the king, and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to kyng Edward, which like a good Prince accordyng to his othe and promise, he did both solemnise and consummat in brieve time after, that is to saye, on the .xliij. day of January. By reason of which marriage peace was thought to discende out of heauen into Englande, considering that the lynes of Lancaster and Yorke, beyng both noble families equiuolent in riches, fame, and honour, were nowe brought into one knot and connered together, of whose two bodie one heyre might succede, which after their time shoulde peaceably rule and enioye the whole monarchy and realme of Englande.

These things thus passed, albeit that apparauntly all things semed to be reduced

Counsaillers to king Henry the seventh.

The marriage of king Henry with the Ladie Elizabeth daughter of king Edward the fourth.

reduced to a good poynt and set in a sure stay. Kyng Henry beyng made wise and expert with troubles and mischiefes befoze past, remembzed that it was wisdom to feare and prouide for the crafty wyles and lurking traps of hys secret enemies, remembryng all men for the most part embzued and exercised in planting of diuision and soboyng diffencion, can not lightly leaue their pestiferous appetite, and sedicious occupation: Wherefore, for the sauegarde and preseruacion of his owne body, he constituted and ordayned a certayne number aswell of good archers as of diuers other persons beyng hardye, strong and of agilitie to geue dayly attendaunce on his body, whome he named Women of the crowne, which president men thought that he learned of y french kyng when he was in fraunce: for men remembze not anye king of Englande befoze that tyme which vsed such a furniture of daylye souldiours. Yet forasmuch as to auoyde and eschew all doubtfull daungers and perilles bnloked for, lytle auayleth outwarde warre, except there be a sure stay, and a steadfast backstande at home, aswel for the sauegarde and securitie, as for the good gouernaunce of such as be left behynde. He therefore sommoned againe hys great court of parliament, whereto he woulde that there shoulde bee elected the most prudent and grauous persons of euery countie, Citie, port, and Borough, and in especiall such as he in al his daungers, calamities, miseries and tumultuous affaires, vsed, trusted, and fauoured, as partakers, councelors, and companions both of his wo, and aduersitie, and also of his triumph and glorious victozy, whose mindes and studies he perfittly knewe to bee fixed and set in the politique regiment, and prudent gouernaunce of the publique welth of his realme and dominion. Not forgetting, but hauing in fresh memozy that he for that cause principally was so sore desired, and instantlye called of the English nacion his naturall countymen. Estemyng it as a chiefe and principall part of hys duetie to see his realme, both adourned and beautified wyth good and profitable lawes, and statutes, and also to flozish in vertuous exercises, and good and ciuyl maners, which shoulde be an occasion to cause all men to hope, that all thing would continually amend, from euil to good, from good to better, and from better to the best. Thys sure foundacion king Henry layde at the beginning of his raygne, entending theron continually to builde.

In this same yere a new kynde of sicknesse came sodainely through the whole region, euen after the first entring of the kyng into this Isle, which was so sore, so paynefull and sharp, that the like was neuer hearde of, to any mans remembraunce befoze that tyme. For sodainely a deadly and bournyng sweate inuaded their bodie and bered their bloud, & wyth a most ardent heat infested the stomacke, and the head greuously: by the tormenting and beracion of which sicknesse, men were so sore handled, and so painefully pangued, that if they were layed in their bedde, beyng not able to suffer the importunate heate, they cast away the sheetes and all the clothes lyng on the bed. If they were in their apparell and bestures, they woulde put of all their garments euen to their shirtes. Other were so dze that they dranke the colde water to quench their importunate heat & insatiable thirst. Other that could or at the least woulde abide the heate and stintch (for in deede the sweate had a great and strong fauour) caused clothes to be layde vpon them asmuch as they coulde beare, to driue out the sweate, if it might be. All in maner as sone as the sweate tooke them, or within a shorte space after yelded by theyr ghost.

The first yomen of the crowne now called women of the Garde.

A parliament

The sweating sicknesse



ghost. So that of all them that sickned, there was not one amongst an hundred that escaped: Insomuch, that beside the great number which deceased within the Citie of London, two Maiors, successiuelie dyed of the same disease within eyght dayes and sixe Aldermen. And when any person had fully and completely sweate. xxiii. houres (for so long did the strength of this plague holde them) he should be then cleerely deliuered of his disease: Yet not so cleane rid of it, but that he might shortly relaps and fal agayne into the same euill pit, yea agayne and twise agayne, as many a one in deede did, which after the thirde tyme dyed of the same. At the length by studie of Physitions and experience of the people driuen thereto by dreadfull necessitie, there was a remedie inuented: For they that suryued, considering the extremitie of the paine in them that deceased, deuised by things mere contrariaunt, to resist and wythstand the furious rage of that burnyng furnesse, by luke warme drinke, temperate heat, and measurable clothes. For such persons as relapsed agayne into the flame after the first deliuerance, obserued diligently and marked such things as did them ease and comfort at their first beration, and bying the same for a remedie and Medicine of their payne, adding ever somewhat thereto that was comfortable and wholesome. So that if anye person euer after fell sick agayne, he obseruing the regiment that amongst the people was deuised could shortly helpe himselfe, and easily temper and auoyde the strength and malice of the sweate. So that after the great losse of many men, they learned a present and a speedie remedie for the same disease and malady, the which is this: If a man on the day time were plagued with the sweate: then he should straight lye downe with all his clothes and garments, and lye still the whole. xxiii. houres. If in the night he were taken, then he should not rise out of his bed for the space of. xxiii. houres, and so cast the clothes that he might in no wise prouoke the sweate, but so lye temperately that the water might distill out softly of the owne accorde, and to abstayne from all meate if he might so long sustayne and suffer hunger, and to take no more drinke neyther hote nor colde, then wyll moderately quenche and delay his thirstie appetite. And in this his amending, one point diligently aboue all other is to be obserued and attended, that he neuer put his hand or foote out of the bed to refreche or coole himselfe, the which to doe is no lesse payne then short death. So you may playnely see what remedie was by the daylie experience deuised and inuented for this straunge and vnkowne disease, the which at that time vexed and grieued onely the realme of England in euery towne and Village as it did dyuers tymes after. But lb. yere after, it sayled into Flaunders, and after into Germany, where it destroyed people innumerable for lack of knowlege of the English experience.

And this yere the great Conduyt in Chepe in London, at the charges and expences of Thomas Flam Alderman of London, was newly edified and made. And also this yere the Crosse in Chepe was newly buylded, and towards the charges thereof, one Thomas Fisher Mercer gaue five hundred Markes.

When all thinges by the king were appeased at London, and that he had set and appointed all his affayres in good order and sure state, as he with him selfe coniectured, he thought it best to make his progresse into the other quarters of his realme, that he might see, rote out and purge the mindes

of

of men spotted and defiled with the contagious smoke of dissention, and priuie factions, and especially the Countie of Yorke, which were priuie fauourers and comforters of the contrary part, and not without a cause. For king Richard more loued and regarded the Northrenmen, then any subiectes within his whole realme, which thing to king Henry was not vnknowen: Wherefore he the more studyed to kepe them in due obeyssaunce and faythfull obsequie, whome he knewe of long custome to haue borne their heartes and fauourable myndes to his aduersaries: therfore in the prime time of the yere he tooke his iourney towards Yorke, and because the feast of Easter approached, he turned to the Citie of Lincolne, where he tarped duryng the solemnitie of that feast: and making there his abode, he was certified that the Lord Louell, and Humfrey Stafford were departed out of Sanctuary in Colchester: but to what place or whether, no man as yet could tell. For which cause the king little regarding the tale, went forth his appoynted iourney to Yorke: And as soon as he was there receyued and settled, it was byruted, and openly shewed to the king himselfe, that Fraunces Lord Louell, was at hand with a strong and mightie power of men, and woulde with all diligence invade the City: also that the forenamed Humfrey Stafford, and Thomas his brother were in Worcester shire, and there had rayled a great bande of rinde and rusticall people, and had cast lottes what part shoulde assault the Gate, what men shoulde scale the walles of the Citie of Worcester, and who shoulde kepe the passages for lettynge of rescues and ayders.

At the first heeryng of this, the king esteemed it for baine and vncertain, and therefore was with it but little moued: but after that he was certified by the letters of credence sent from his friendes, that all was true that was by the common voyce spoken & published, he was afflicted with no small feare. And surely not without a cause, for he wisely considered that he had neyther a competent armie redie prepared, nor harnesse, nor weapons, for them that were present. And also he was nowe in such a doubtfull place, where he neither could nor might comueniently gather an hoste together, considering that in the same Citie, the memoire of king Richard his mortall enemy was yet recent and liuely, and not all forgotten of his friendes, but because the matter required diligent speede, least that by long taryng the power of his aduersaries by dayly aydes might be encreased and multiplied, he commaunded the Duke of Bedford with three thousand men not strongly armed, to do a great enterpryse (for their breast plates for the most part were made of tanned leather) to encounter and set upon them with all hast and diligence, and made him priuie what he himselfe intended to do. After this the king gathered together an hoste in euery place where he might retain them. The Duke setting forward after the fashion of an eger and fierce Capitaine, came nigh to the Tent and campe of his enemyes, where he consulted and communicated his minde with certaine Capitaines and sage souldiours of his companie, by what way he might traine and allure them to peace, without battaile or bloodsheddyng. After which deliberation and aduicement had, it was decreed that the Heraultes shoulde proclaime openly, that all such shoulde haue grace and pardon that would cast downe their weapons and harnesse, and as faythfull Subiectes submit themselves to their naturall soueraigne Lorde. The which proclamation auayled and much profited: For the Lord

Louell:

In order and remedie for such as haue the sweating sickness.

1486

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Fraunces Lord Louell.

Humfrey Stafford, Thomas Stafford.

Rebellion.



Louell: either for some feare or diffidence that he had in his people and sculdours, or fearyng himselfe on his awne behalfe, fled priuily in a night from his companie, and left them without a head, as a flocke of sheepe without a shepheard, which departure when it was to his armie disclosed, they put off their armure and came directly to the Duke, euery man humbly submittyng himselfe and desirynge pardon for their offences, wholly trustyng in the kings mercie and fauourable goodnesse. So by this polittique wisdom and wise meanes of the good Duke, this great rage & fierce route of sturdie and bali-ant traytors which was prepared agaynst the king & were like to haue bene the slaughter of many a man, were pacified and repressed & brought to good conformitie and obedient subiecton. And the Lorde Louell Chiefeine and chiefe leader of this tumult and rebellion, fearyng moze perill and daunger, then renoume or fame of chiuallrie, neuer tariyng the doubtfull chaunce of battaile, fled in all post haste into Lancashire, and there for a certaine space loytered and lurked with Sir Thomas Broughton knight, which in those quarters bare great swayng, and was there in great aucthoritie. Humfrey Stafford also heeryng of this mischaunce happened to the Lorde Louell, in a great dolor and agonie: and for feare, in like maner fled and tooke Sanctu-ary in a village called Culnaham, two miles from Abingdon. But because the Sanctuary was not a sufficient defence (as it was proued before the iu-lices of the kings bench) for traytors, he was taken by force from that place, and brought to the Tower, and from thence conueyed to Tyborne and there put to execution: But his yonger brother Thomas, that was with him, was pardoned and remitted, because he was thought not to haue done it of hys awne will and malicious minde, but thozow the euill counsaile and mischie-uous perswasion of his elder brother.

After that the king had thus by pollicie of his Counsaile appeased and repressed this tumultuous sedicion which greatly vexed and bnuquieted hys spirites, and had reduced to reason and conformitie the rude and bablyng people of the North parties, and in especiall the inhabitants of the Countie of Yorke, he returned to London, and shortly after that to Winchester, where Queene Elizabeth his wife was deliuered in the moneth of September, of a fayre Prince named Arthure at his baptisme. Of which name Englishe men no moze reioyled then outward nacions and foreyne Princes trembled and quaked, so much was that name to all nacions terrible and feareful: And from Winchester he returned backe againe to London.

In this meane tyme, of a small matter and the same altogether being false and fayned, there was an open pathe, and an apparant high way made for a greater inconuenience to ensue. The which matter for the subtile iug-lyng and craftie conueynce of the same, no lesse deceptfull, then lidger de meyne in the hand of a Juggler, was to be esteemed amongst all wise men at the first a very bolde and ouer presumptuous an act to be attempted: But the tyme well weyed, and considered, it was not so monstrous that it were worthe great wonderynge and admiration, consideryng that many persons of late, cyther borne in the wombe of continuall dissention, or nourished with the milke, or suckyng the pappes of ciuill sedicion, could not liue well in rest, and lesse forbear their vsuall custome of mouyng strife and dayly debate. Among the which bugaricious flocke, there was one Sir Richarde Symond

priest,

priest, a man of a base and obscure familie, which from his birth delited in fraude and craftie conueiyng, and yet was he well learned, but not so well learned as wilye, nor so wilye as bugaricious. Which Sir Richarde Symond had allected a scholer called Lambert Symenell, one of a gentle nature, and pregaunt wit, to be the organe and conduyte by whome he would conuey his false feyned enterprize and attempt. The Deuill chiefe maister of mischief, put in the wicked minde and venemous brayne of thys most pernicious, disloyall, and trayterous person, to commence, and deuise howe he might make his childe and Scholer Lambert to bee the right enhery- tour to the Crowne of Englande, and so thereof to make him king, and to promote himselfe to the chiefe Archebishopsicke, or some highe potestate within the realme. The chiefe foundation of his occasion was (by the which he was the moze bolde) that the fame went, and manye men surely suppo- sed king Edwardes children not to be dead, but to be fledde secretly into some straunge place, and there to be liuyng, and that Edward Erle of War- wicke sonne and heyre to the Duke of Clarence, eyther was or shoulde be put to death shortly. These rumours althoughe they were false and baine, and without all likelihoode of veritie or truth, encouraged this Priest much, to thinke and iudge the tyme to bee come that thys Lambert might assume and take vpon him the personne and name of one of King Edward the fourthes Children, and to clayme and make tytle both to the Realme, and Kingdome, hauyng sure knowlege that neither friendship shoulde want, nor ayde should lacke: and considering that canard hatred rooted and foun- ded vpon mischieuous factions and seditious deuisions be so perdurable and in maner euerlasting, that they can neuer be clerely expirpate or digged out of their rotten hartes, but that they will with hande and foote, tooth and nape further if they can their pretended enterprize. And thys poore priest brought into this foolishe paradise thozough his awne phantasticall imagi- nation, enformed and taught the childe diligently at Orenforde where he went to Schole, both instructing hym wyth princely behauior, cyuile maner and feutefull litterature, declaring to hym of what high parentage, and of what noble progeny he was lineally descended, thus perswadyng and teach- yng hym his lesson clarkely and craftily for hys purpose, that the people hea- ring the chylde thus rehearsyng hys stock so sagely, myght the rather gene- credite to hys deceptfull pretence and false couloured inuention: Some af- ter the rumoz was blowen abroad that Edward the yong Erle of Warwike was broken out of prison. And when Syr Symond heard of thys, he now intending thereby to bring his inuented purpose to a conclusion, chaunged the childes name of baptisme, and called him Edward after the name of the yong Erle of Warwike, the which were both of one yeres and of one stature, and then he with his pupille sayled into Irelande, there opening his minde, and declaring his matter to certaine of the Irishe nobilitie, whom he knewe by true fame and report to beare but little fauour to king Henry nor his par- takers, and hauing othe and promise of ayde to hym sworne and made, he shewed them that he had saued and preserued the Duke of Clarence some from death, and had for verie good wyll brought him into that Countrie and region tohere he knew that both king Edward and al his stock were fauou- red and loued aboue all other. This matter was beleued straight of the no- bilitie

Sir Richard  
Symond a  
Priest.

Lambert  
Symenell.

Humfrey  
Stafforde  
taken out of  
of the sanctu-  
arie and exe-  
cuted.

Thomas  
Stafford  
pardoned.

The birth of  
Prince Ar-  
thur.

1487

3



Thomas  
Gerardine  
lord Chafice-  
lor of Ire-  
land.

bilittie which so shewed and published this feyned fable and ymagined iugge-  
lyng from one to another, tyll at the last it was accompted to be as true as  
the Gospell without any controuersie. In so much that the Lorde Thomas  
Gerardine Chaunceloz of all the Countrey defrauded by this illusion vnder  
the colour of playne truth, receaued him into his Castell, and wyth honoz  
and reuerence him enterteyned as one that descended from the high progeny  
of the blood royall, and began much to aide and helpe him. First calling toge-  
ther all his friends and louers and such other as were of band or affinity, de-  
claring first to them the comyng of thys childe, and after affirming that the  
crowne and scepter of the realme of right apperteyned to thys yong Prince  
as sole heyze male left of the line of Richard Duke of Yorke: Exhortyng and  
desiring them both for the childes sake and his awne, as he was true inhe-  
ritour to the crowne, to helpe and assist hym to obteyne the Garland and pos-  
session of the same by hys Grandfather to hym lincally descended. And so af-  
ter communicatyng the same matter with other of the nobilitie, every man  
promised accordyng to hys power, ayde of money, men and munitions. By  
thys meanes the same was shortly byuted throughtout all Ireland, and eue-  
ry man was wylling to take his part and submit themselves to him, calling  
him of a'l handes king. So that nowe they of thys sect thus compassed and  
sorted, thought to haue in other places their companions and fortherers of  
their malicious purpose, and straight forth they sent into England certayne  
pziue messengers to desire them, to whome they knewe to haue bene true and  
faythfull friendes to king Rychard, now to continue in their accustomed loue  
and faythfull friendship toward hys Nephewe and to helpe the chylde wyth  
treasure and substaunce as farre as they conveniently myght. And that hys  
power might be the stronger to ouercome hys enemies and to obteyne hys  
pretensed purpose, he and his confederates sent messengers into flanders  
to the Ladie Margaret syster to king Edward, and late wyfe to Charles the  
Duke of Burgoyne, to further hys purpose wyth all her power and helpe.  
Thys Duke Charles hauyng no children by thys Lady Margaret, left one  
sole daughter named Mary behinde hym, begotten of hys first wyfe daugh-  
ter to the Duke of Burbone, which was maryed to Maximilian sonne to  
Frederick the Emperour, on which wyfe he had engendered two children,  
the one Phylip, and the other Margaret. The which two children after the  
death of the Ladie Marie their mother, this Ladie Margaret late wyfe to  
Duke Charles so entirely beloued, & so motherly nourished, that she both for  
her motherly loue toward the yong children, & also for the good administra-  
tion of iustice in their Countreies was highly reputed and esteemed, and bare  
great authoritie and swyng through a'l flanders and the lowe Countreies  
thereto adiacent. Thys Ladie Margaret although she knewe the familie  
and stock of the house of Yorke to be in maner destroyed and vtterly defaced  
by her brother king Richard, yet not beyng faciate nor content with the long  
hatred and continuall malice of her parents which subuerted and ouerthre w  
almost the progeny and linage of king Henry the sixt, and the house of Lan-  
caster, nor yet remembryng the newe affinitie and strong alyaunce that was  
lately concluded, by the which the heyzes of both the houses and progenies  
were vnited and conioyned together in lawfull matrimony, lyke one forget-  
tyng both God and charitie, inflamed wyth malice, inuented and practised all  
mischiefes,

Margaret  
Duchesse of  
Burgoyne &  
sister to king  
Edward the  
fourth.

mischiefes, displeasures and dammages that shee could deuise agaynst King  
Henry the seventh. And farther in her furie and frantike moode (accoz-  
ding to the sayng of the wise man, there is no malice equiualent nor aboue  
the malice of a woman) she wrought all the wayes possible how to compasse  
his destruction as the principall head of her aduerse part and contrary fac-  
tion. Therefoze this Ladye knowyng of this tumultuous sect and conspi-  
racie, prepared and sodainly deuised agaynst king Henry (although she knew  
it to be but a feyned and paynted matter and not woorth two strabes) yet  
(hauyng such an occasion to worke her malice vpon) she promised gladly to  
the messengers not onely to maintaine, ayde, further and succour their pur-  
posed entent with money and substaunce, but with all the labour and payne  
that she might, to encourage, stomach and entise many other to be ayders,  
assistes and partakers of the same conspiracie, and shortly to ioyne with the  
Chieuetaines of the sayde enterprize.

When king Henry was certefyed of these doyngs by messengers sent in-  
to England, no maruayle although he was none other wise then he had occa-  
sion, soze bered and mooued, considering that by the disceyte and fraude of  
such a dunghill knaue, and vile borne billeyne, so great a sedition should be  
excited and sturred agaynst him: Neuerthelesse, he lyke a circumspect and  
prudent Prince, well considering and foreseyng, that if this enterprize came  
to passe, that the finall ende would be the bloodie and mortall warre, in the  
which for the most part, the large campe of all mischief is commonly ope-  
ned and shewed, many innocent men on both partes should perishe and come  
to ruine and confuson without desert or offence. For which reason befoze all  
things he determined to attempt and proue, if that he might without any bat-  
tail or stroke stryken (the end wherof is euer doubtfull) to pacifie and reduce  
these rebels to reason and due subiection, befoze that this euil newly planted  
weede should stray and wander ouer the good herbes of hys whole realme.  
Therefoze he called his whole counsaile together at the Charterhouse be-  
side his royall manner called Richemond, and there consulted how to pacifie  
this sodayne rage secretly begon, without any moze disturbaunce or open  
trouble: which mocion of all men was thought meete to be assayed and pro-  
secuted with effect. And that befoze any other thing were attempted and be-  
gon, that a generall pardon should be published to all offenders that were  
content to receaue the same, and after would be true, louyng and obedient to  
the king their soueraigne Lorde accordyng to their bounden duette and alle-  
geaunce: Thinkyng that if that pardon were any lenger space delayed or pro-  
longed, that in the meane season (as the prouerbe sayeth, faryng draboweth  
perill) Sir Thomas Broughton knight which had hid and kept the Lorde  
Louell from the king a great season, and was at hande with dyuers of hys  
friendes, in so troubleous and perillous a time, vtterly despairing of pardon  
and remission, and as men without hope of any grace, setting all on fire and  
fenen, should sodainely moue a newe insurrection agaynst hym, and bnuiet  
him in some place, where he had least resistance: Wherupon the king gaue  
a generall pardon throughtout al England (without exception of any offence)  
pea euen to them that had committed high treason agaynst hys maieste and  
royall person. Furthermoze, after long consultation had and all things well  
considered, it was thought by the whole senate for the time then present  
G g g . i . most

Richemond  
the kinges  
lodging.

A generall  
pardon.

Sir Tho-  
mas Broughton  
knight.



most necessarie and conuenient to auoyde that erronious rumour, rumb'ing and blasting abroad, that the sonne of the Duke of Clarence was in Eng- lande, and that he personally should be shewed abroad in the Citie and other publique places, whereby the vntreue opinion falsely affirming that he was in Irelande might be amongst the commonalty repressed, and accompted as a bayne and imagined fable.

In thys solempne counsaile dyuers and many thinges of the realme were there debated and concluded: and amongst other, it was determined that the Lady Elizabeth wyfe to king Edward the fourth, should lose and forseyt all her landes and possessions, because she had voluntarily submitted her selfe and her daughters wholly to the handes of King Rycharde, contrary to the promise made to the Lordes and nobles of thys realme in the begin- ning of the conspiracie imagined agaynst king Rycharde, which at her desire and request left all that they had in Englande, and fled to King Henry into Briteyne, and there receaued a corporall othe of him to mary her eldest daughter, which offer shee abode not by, but made it frustrate and boyde, through whose double doyngs it had like to haue succeeded, that neyther the marriage could take place, nor yet the Noble men which at her request toke king Henryes part, might not returne agayne without iopardie of lyfe, but liue still in perpetuall banishment and miserable exile. This was a greuous offence and a heynous crime: howbeit the sequele thereof well digested, it was thought by some men that shee deserved not by equitie of iustice so great a losse and so great a punishment: for surely shee did not so great hurt or hin- deraunce to king Henry and his confederates by her reconciliation to king Rycharde, but ten times more shee profited and aduanced their cause. For by her submission made to hym, he neglecting Gods lawes, honest order and chyrstian religion, presuming to heape mischiefe vpon mischief, desyred of her the marriage of her daughter his natural nere, which thing he would not haue thought lykely to haue obtained: The Queene & her daughters still for feare of him continuynge in Sanctuarie. Which vnlawfull desire (considering for that entent he had rid his wyfe out of the woelde) prouoked the yre of God and the sword of vengeance agaynst him, whereby his synall ruine and destruction shortly after ensued to his miserable confusion, and to the exalta- tion of king Henry and auancement of his whole company.

By this foly and inconstancie of the Queene, shee incurred the hatred and displeasur of many men, & for that cause liued after in y<sup>e</sup> Abbey of Bar- mandsey besyde Southwarke, a wretched and a miserable life, where not many yeres after shee disceased, and is buryed with her husband at Windsor. Such are all worldly chaunces, now in prosperitie and aboundaunce, mu- table and changeable, and full of inconstancie: And in aduersitie often chaunge from euill to good and so to better, to the entent that they that be in weyth and flowe in the aboundaunce of all thinges, shall not thinke them- selues in suretie to tary still in that degree and state: and that they that be in miserie and calamitie shall not despayre and mistrust God, but liue in hope, that a better day of comfort and gaine will once appere and come. And yet although fortune ruleth many things at her will and pleasure, yet one worke that this Queene hath made cannot bee forgotten nor put in obliuion. At what tyme that king Edward her husband reigned, shee founded and erected

a notable

The Ladie Elizabeth wyfe to king Edward the fourth con- demned to forseyt & lose all her landes because she had submit- ted herselfe to king Rycharde

The death of the Ladie Elizabeth wyfe of king Edward the fourth.

a notable College in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, for the findyng of scho- lers desirous of good lyterature and learnyng, and endued it with sufficient possessions for the long maintenaunce of the same, which at this day is called the Queenes College, a name surely meete for such a place, wherein scholers diligently studyng in all doctrine and sciences, proue excellent Clerkes, and come to great honoures.

When all thinges in this counsaile were seriously concluded and agreed to the kings minde, he returned to the Citie of London, geuyng in commaun- dement that the next Sunday ensuyng, Edward the yong Erle of Warwicke should be brought from the Tower through the streetes of London, to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule. This yong Gentleman (as he was commaunded) shewyng himselfe openly to euery bodie in the Procession time tarped there the highe masse, hauyng communication openly with many no- ble men, and with them in especially that were suspected, and thought to haue bene partakers of the commorion agaynst the king, to this purpose and effect, that they might perceyue the fonde Irishemen, for a vaine shadowe and vn- true fiction vnadvisedly to procure and moue warre agaynst him and hys realme, without any iust cause or lawfull occasion. Howbeit to euill disposed persones or brainelesse men, this medicine nothing auayled nor profited. For the Erle of Lyncolne sonne to John de la Pole Duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, thinkyng it not meete to neglect and omit so open an occasion of newe trouble and mischiefe offered, determined to vpholde, forstefie, and bolster the entent and purpose of the Irishemen, least that they might be seduced, and caused to desist and leaue off their begon enterpryse: And doubtlesse the man beyng of great wit and intelligence, and of no small iudgement, but halfe infected with the venemous skab of the late ciuile battaile, could not with a quiet mynde suffer king Henrie beyng princi- pall head of the contrary faction to reigne in quiet, but consultyng with Sir Thomas Broughton, and certeine other of his trustie friendes, purposed to saile into Flaunders to his Aunt the Lady Margaret Duchesse of Burgoin, late wyfe to Duke Charles, trustyng by her helpe to make a puyssaunt army of men, and to ioyne with the Companions of the new rayfed sedicion. There- fore, after that the king had dissolved y<sup>e</sup> Parliament, which then was holden: he fled secretly into Flaunders to the Ladie Margaret, where Fraunces Lozde Louell landed certaine dayes befoze. And there they beyng altogether, euery man accordyng to his minde reasoned, and debated what was best to do. After long communication had, this finall conclusion was agreed vpon, that the Erle of Lyncolne and the Lozde Louell should go to Ireland, and there attende vpon her counterfeyt nephewe, and to honour him as a king, and with power of the Irishemen to bring him into England, and sending for all their friendes, should without delay geue battaile vnto king Henry: So if their doynges had good and prosperous successe, then the foresayde Lam- bert (misnamed the Erle) should by the consent of the Counsaile be deposed, and Edward the true Erle of Warwicke to be deliuered out of prison, and af- ter by the auctority and ayde of his friendes of the Nobilitie, should be pub- lished, proclaymed and annoynted king.

But king Henry thinking his Nobles to be well appeased with the sight of Edward the very sonne of the Duke of Clarence, nothing mistrustyng any

6 g g . ij.

man

The queens college in Cambridge.

Edward Erle of Warwicke shewed openly through the streetes of London.

The Erle of Lyncolne sonne to John de la Pole Duke of Suffolke.

Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth.

Fraunces Lozde Louell.



man to be so foolish to inuent, feigne, or counterfeit any thing moze of him, or any so mad or indiscrete (especially of his realme) as to beleue that Lambert was berye Edward, onely myndyng the suppressyng of the wretched Irish men, studyed how to subdue and repress there bolde enterpryse. And heeryng sodainly that the Erle of Lincolne with other were fled, and gone to his aduersaries, beyng therewith scdeinly moued: thought euen with strong hand and marciall power to ouercome his enemies and euill willers, whose maliciousnesse he could by no counsaile nor pollicie eschew nor auoide. And beyng thus determined, he commaunded certeine of his Capitaynes to prepare an hoste of men out of euery part of his Realme, and them to byng and conduite into one place assigned, that when his aduersaries should come forwarde, he might with his populous multitude and great power sodainly set on them, and so ouercome and banquish them altogether. And mistrustyng that other would folowe the Erle of Lincolne into flanders, he caused the East partes, and all the borders thereaboutes to be diligently kept, that none other might escape or geue them succour. And comyng to the towne of Saint Edmondes bury, he was certified that the Lorde Thomas Marques Dorset was comyng to excuse and purge himselfe before him, for certeine thinges that he was suspected to haue done lightly when he was in fraunce. To whome the king did send the Erle of Oxforde to apprehend him ridyng on his iourney, and to conuey him to the Tower of London, to trie his truth, and proue his patience: for if he were his friend, as he was in dede, he should not be miscontented to suffer so little a reproch, and rebuke for his Princes pleasure: If he were not his friend, there to tary in safetie that he might do no dammage nor hurt to him. And from thence the king went forth to Norwiche, and so to Walsyngham, and shortly after he returned to London.

Thomas Marques Dorset taken and sent to the Tower.

In this meane tyme the Erle of Lincolne and the Lorde Louell, had gotten by the ayde of the Lady Margaret, about two thousande Almaines, with Martyn Swarde a noble man in Germany, and in marciall feates very expert, to be their cheuetepe, and so sayled into Irelande. And at the cytie of Dyuelyn, they caused yong Lambert to be proclaymed and named kyng of England, after the most solempne fashon, as though he were there of the very heyre of blood royall lyneally borne and discended. And so with a great multitude of beggerly Irishmen, all most all naked and unarmed sayyng skaynes and mantelles, of whome the Lorde Thomas Gerardine was capitayne and conductor, they sayled into Englande with this newe founde king, and landed for a purpose at the pyle of Fowdrey within lytle of Lancaster, trustyng there to be ayded with money by Sir Thomas Broughton one of the chiefe companyons of this unhappy conspiracy.

Martyn Swarde a Capitayne of the Germans.

Lambert landeth in Englande with a great power of men.

The kyng not slepyng his matters, but mistrustyng and smellyng the stozme that folowed, before the enemies arriued, dispatched certayne horsemen throughout all the west partes of the realme, chiefly to attende the comyng and arriuall of his enemies: secondarely to wayte for such espialles as came out of Irelande, and them to apprehend and compell to shewe and declare the secretes of their enemies. When he had gathered all his host together, over the which, the Duke of Bedforde, and the Erle of Oxenforde, were chiefe captaynes, he went to Couentry, where he being, his light horsemen

men according to their duety returned & certified hym that the Erle of Lincoln was landed at Lancaster with his new king. The which when the kyng vnderstoode was so, he consulted with his nobilitie and counsellors to knowe if it were for the best to encounter with them out of hande, or to let them dragge a while, for this matter both required counsaile and also speede. After they had layed their heades together, and well debated the matter, it was determyned that they should set vpon them without any further delay, least that their powre by long sufferance, and delayng of tyme, myght bee augmented and greatly multiplied. And so after such aduise ment taken, he remoued to Rottyngham, & there by a lytle wood called Bowzes, he pitched his fielde: to whome shortly after came the Lorde George Talbot Erle of Shrewsbury, the Lorde Straunge, sir John Cheynie, valyaunt capitaines, with many other noble, and expert men of warre. For the kyng hadde commaunded, and geuen in charge before, that all persons of the counties adioyning that were able and of strength to cary weapon, should be readie in an houres warning, in case that any neede should require. Therefore pycked felowes, and hardy personages, and such as were lyke men, were chosen in all the hast, and of this sort a great armie was assembled and gathered together: So the kings armie was wonderfully increased, and from tyme to tyme greatly augmented.

In this space, the Erle of Lincoln beyng entred into Porke shire, passed softly on his iourney without the spoyling, or hurtynge of any man, trustyng thereby to haue some company of people resort vnto him: but after that he perceaued fewe or none to folowe him, and that it was to no purpose to returne backe, consideryng his enemies were ail ready to set vpon him, he determined firmly to trie the fortune of battaile, remembryng that the chaunce of warre doth stande euer vpon .vj. or .vij. & that king Henry not two yeres before with a small powre of men, banquished kyng Richard and all his mightie armie. And herebpon putting a sure confidence vpon his companie, directed his way from Porke to Newwarke vpon Trent, to the entent that there he (as he trusted) augmenting his company myght set vpon the king, whome he knewe to be but two dayes iourney from him. Albeit, before he came there, king Henry was in his bosome and knewe euery houre what the Erle did, and came the night before that hee fought, to Newwarke, and there approached neere his enemies, soner then they looked for him, and there taryng a litle, went three myles farther and pitched his fielde & lodged there that night. The Erle of Lincoln certefyed of his comyng, was nothing aferde, but kept still on his iourney, and at a lytle village called Stoke nigh to the kyng and his army planted his campe. The next day folowyng, the king deuided his whole number into three battayles, and after in good array approached nigh to the towne of Stoke, where was an equal and plain place for both the parties to darraigne the battaile.

When the place was appoynted and ordeyned to trie the bittermost by stroke of battaile, the Erle set forth his armie, and geuyng a token to his companie, set vpon his aduersaries with a manly courage, desiryng his soldiors that day to remember his honour, and their aboue lyues. And so both the armies ioyned and fought earnestly and sharply, insomuch that the Almaines beyng tryed and expert men of warres and marciall feates, were in



all things, as well in strength as pollicie equall and equiuolent with the Englishe men: but as for Martin Sward theyr chiefe Capitaine and leader, not many of the Englishe men, both for valiaunt courage of a stoute stomacke and strength, and symblenesse of bodie was to be compared or resembled with his manhooche. Of the other syde, the Irishe men, although they fought hardily, and stucke to it valiantly, yet because they were after the maner of theyr Countre almost naked, without harness or armure, they were stricken downe and slain lyke dull and brute beastes, whose deathes and distructions was a great discouragynge and abashement to the residue of the companie. Thus they fought for a space so fore and so egerly of both partes, that no man could well iudge to whome the victoize was like to encline: but at length, the kinges forewarde beyng full of people and well fortified with wynges, which onely both began and continued the fight, set vpon the aduersaries with such a force and violence, that first they oppressed and killed such Capitaynes one by one as resisted their might and pupsaunce, and after that put all the other to fearefull flight, the which were eyther apprehended as captiues and prisoners in their flight runnyng away, or else slain and brought to confuson in a small moment. But when this battaile was finished, and fought out to the extremitie, then it well appered what highe prowesse, and manly stomackes was in the kinges aduersaries. For there their chiefe Capitaynes, the Erle of Lyncolne, and the Lord Louell, Sir Thomas Broughton, Martyn Sward, and the Lord Gerardine Capitaine of the Irishe men were slaine and found dead. Howbeit, some affirme that the Lorde Louell took his horse and would haue fled ouer Trent, but he was not able to recover the further syde for the highnesse of the banke, and so was drowned in the riuer. There were killed at that battaile with their fiue capitaynes before rehersed, of that partie about foure thousand: Of the kings part there were not halfe of them which fought in the foreward, and gaue the onset, slaine or hurt: Then was Lambert the yonglyng which was falsely reported to be the Dukes sonne of Clarence, and his maister Sir Richard Simond priest, both taken, but neyther of them put to death, because that Lambert was but an innocent poore soule, a very childe, and was not of age to do any such enterprize of his awne deuce, and the other was a priest, which yet to the entent he might remember that the stone oftentymes falleth on the head of him that casteth it into the ayre, and that many a man maketh a rod for his awne taile when he entendeth it for another, this priest for penaunce was committed to perpetuall prison and miserable captiuitie. But this Lambert in conclusion was made the kinges faulkener, after that he had bene a turue broche, and executed such vile offices in the kings Kitchyn and Scullarie for a space. And thus was all the highe enterprize that Ladie Margaret had deuised and set forth at this tyme, turned to naught and brought to none effect, and to an euill conclusion. Of which chaunce, when shee was aduertised and enforced in the Countre of Flaunders, she was very sozie at the heart & much lamented and bewayled, that her imagined purpose sorted to such an infortunate ende and effect, incontinently deuilsyng, practisyng, and imaginynge some great and more difficile enterprize, by the which she might bere and vniquiet yet once againe the king of England & his whole region: which purpose, even as she inuented it, so she set it forward, as shall be shewed hereafter plainly.

After

The battaile  
of Stoke.The Erle of  
Lyncolne and  
Lord Louell  
slayne.Martyn  
Sward  
slayne.Lambert and  
Sir Symond  
his maister  
taken.

After that king Henry had thus asswaged and appeased these matters beyng of so great a moment and weight, with no great motion, tumult, or trouble, he commaunded that no man should kyl or slep the Erle of Lyncolne, but that he should be brought to him alyue, to the entent that he might shewe and bewray both the fountayne and original beginning of thys seditious conspiracie. But the same is, that the souldiours would not so doe, fearing least peradventure the sauynge of his onely life (as it should haue bene in deede) the lyfe of many other should haue bene lost, or at the least in leoparde. This battaile was fought on a Saturday being the .xvi. day of June. In the which yere also Thomas Burchier Archebysshop of Cauntorbury dyed, into whose roome John Hoozton late Bysshop of Elye, a man of equall learning, vertue and pollicie with his predecessours, whome Alexander of that name the sixt Bysshop of Rome created Cardinall, and the king preferred him to the office of the high Chauncelour of Englande: Nowe to returne to my purpose.

John Hoozton  
Bysshop  
of Elye.

After this victorie, then the king did execution of such rebels and traytours as were taken in the field, eyther at the battaile, or in the chace. And shortly after, he went into Yorke shire, and there costed the Countre, ouerthwart, searching by his espialles and priuie enquyries, whether his aduersaries gathered any other army against him, entending earnestly to weede out, and purge his lande of all seditious scede, and double harted fruyte, if it were possible, and suche as were founde culpable in any one point, were committed to prison, and eyther punished by fine or extinct by death.

In the midst of August he by toyneynge arryued at Newcastle vpon Tyne a berie proper towne, situate on the hether part of Northumberland, where he taried the remnaunt of the Sommer, and being there, sent in Ambassade into Scotland to king James the thirde, Richard Foxe which not long before was made Bysshop of Exeter, and with hym Syr Richard Edgcombe knight Comptroller of his house. The summarie of their commission was to conclude a truce for a tyme, or a long league and amitie. For king Henry esteemed it both honorable & profitable if he might haue perfite peace and assured amitie with Princes adioyning and his next neighbours. And before all other, king James of Scotlande, to the intent that his subiectes hauing knowledg of the amitie and despairyng utterly to haue anye refuge, comfort or succour of the Scottes, or other their neighbours adioyning, contrarie to their olde vsage, might the better be continued in the fapth, duetie and loyaltie towarde their Prince and soueraigne Lord. The Ambassadors when they were come into Scotlande to the king, were of him both gently entertayned, and after the most louing fashon receaued and fully harde. To whome at the first he shewed the good hart and minde, that he hymselfe continually bare, and yet did intend to shewe towards king Henry, although hys subiectes were of a contrarie minde and opinion, playnely protestyng and declaryng to them his Vassals to be both by nature & wyllfull disposition, dyuers and contrarie euer to the Englishe nation: thinking surely that they for the most part would neuer consent and long agree with the Englishe men, according to their olde subtile dealing: wherefore least that he should offende or minister cause of occasion to them (as in deede all men were not his friendes in Scotland at that tyme) he desired the Ambassadors

Richard Foxe  
Bysshop of  
Exeter.

to



Truce take  
with Duke  
and for seven  
yeres.

to be content with a truce and abstinence of warre for seven yeres not onely in open audience, but on his honor promised firmly in secret communication, that he for his part would kepe continuall peace with the king of Eng- lande during their lyues, but appauntly he promised that of these seven yeres should be passed and fully fynished, that he would renewe agayne the truce for other seven yeres, so that king Henry and he should lyue in peace, and most assured amitie, during their natural lives. And this did king James conclude with king Henry, because that he knewe himselfe, his actes, yea and his name to be had in such despite and hatred of the moze part of his disloyall people, that nothing (whatsoever he did) was esteemed, regarded, well spoken of or had in any price: Such was the malicious hart burning of the Scottes against their naturall Lorde. The Ambassadors perceauing the hartie minde and faythfull beneuolence of this king towards their maister king Henry, accepted and assented to his offer, and ratified the same: And returning home shewed the king all the matter in order as it was proponed and concluded. With which tydings, he perceauing the king of Scots good minde towards him, and appauntly perceauing that as that tempestuous and stormie season requyred, it was not to his small commoditie and profite, receyued maruellously that his Ambassade came to so good an effect: & shortly reculed back agayne from Newcastle to York, and so towards his Citie of London. And in the way beyng at Leicester, diuers Ambassadors sent from Charles the frenche king came to his presence, which declared and shewed to him that their king Charles had recouered many towne, Cities and garrisons which before that time were possessed and holden of Maximilian king of Romaines and Archduke of Austryce, and that he nowe moued battayle agaynst Fraunces Duke of Briteyn, because he kept, ayded and succoured in his territorie and dominion dyuers noble princes and high personages of the realme of Fraunce, which were Traytors and rebels agaynst him, his realme and seignorie, of the which the chiefe leader was Lewis Duke of Orlyuance: And therefore he desired him for the olde friendship and familiaritie practised betweene them, that he would eyther ayde, assist, and helpe him, or else stande neuter betweene both parties, neyther helping nor hurting any of both partes.

King Henry well remembryng that although he had found much friendship at the frenche kinges hande in his necessitie, and that by him partly and his he obteyned his kingdome, yet for as much as he espied vpon what vn- sure groundz this quarell was begonne agaynst the Britones, with this mes- sage was not well contented nor yet pleased. For he which sawe as farre in the frenche kings brest as his Philosophy did in his bryne, knewe perfectly that he had neyther occasion by any iust tyt'e to invade the Duchye of Briteyn, nor yet any displeasure ministred to him, by reason whereof he might iustly haue any shadow to make a quarrell to the Duke of Briteyn, but onely to delate, amplifie and spreade forth his aucthorie, dominion, and possession. For the frenche king and his counsaile knewe well that Duke Fraunces was an impotent man, soze diseased and well stricken in age, and had neuer any heyre male to inherite and possede his Duchie, wheretoze they determined by some meanes easily to compass that the Duchie of Briteyn should shortly come vnder their rule and subiection, and so without grounde

or

or good cause made open warre agaynst the Duke and his Nation. King Henry perceuyng that this new attempted enterprize nothing founded to his profite, calling to mynde and consideryng, that if the Duchie of Briteyn and the people of the same which had bene euer friendly and louing to the Eng- lische Nation, and was alwayes for their entercourse to his realme both ne- cessary and profitable, should come vnder the thraldome and subiection of the frenche king, that damage moze then profite were like to ensue and folow, determined with himselfe to ayde and take part with the Duke, perceuyng well that all his affayres was nowe in perill and set in a broyle and hafard. The occasion that moued him thereto was, the kindlyng of the fatherly loue and tender affection which the Duke euer shewed him, sith his first arri- uall and entryng into Briteyn, and his fidelitie to him alway appauntly shewed during the tyme of his there abidyng and residence. On the other part when he remembred the great benefite that he had taken and receiued at the frenche kinges hande by his bountifull and princely liberalitie, thought it both necessary, honest, and consonant to reason, to forget the vnthankfull of- fence agaynst the Duke of Briteyn committed, and to perswade and aduise the frenche king to desist from beyng and inuadyng the Duke of Briteyn, least any scruple or sparke of ingratitude might growe or kyndle betweene them two. This matter was so doubtfull and so full of ambiguities, that the king in long consultation leste no question nor doubt vnasked nor vndiscussed, and yet no aunswere nor no conclusion could satisfie or please his doubtfull minde and gentle hart, loth to offende any of them, of whom he had receyued either benefite or friendship: But in conclusion, he fell to this full determination, that if battail should nedes succede and folow, then he of very dutie was specially bound not to denie nor forsake the Duke of Briteyn, to whome he was so much beholdyng, but to ayde, assist, and comfort him with all his power, and openly to kepe from him all wronges and iniuries, and to defend and resist all his aduersaryes and enemyes. Yet in the meane season, least he should of the other part make his highe friend his extreme enemye, his aunswere was to the Ambassadors that he would take traualle and study both to his great paine and cost, that betweene the frenche king theyr soue- reigne Lorde, and the Duke of Briteyn, both beyng his indifferent friendes some gentle pacification, or friendly accorde might be concluded and taken. And so as sone as the kinges Ambassadors were dismissed, he sent on message Christopher Urswike to Charles the frenche king: first to declare in his behalfe howe ioyous he was of the victorie that he had obteyned vpon Maximilian king of Romaines. Secundarily, what tumult and insurrecti- on was here in England, and howe by mere force and manhood he had van- quished and repressed the rebelles and traytors, & either destroyed or brought to subiection the whole rablement and number. Thirde, offeryng himselfe as a meane and intercessor of peace and amitie betweene the frenche king Charles and the Duke of Briteyn: geuyng him farther in charge, that if he shou'd perceue the frenche king to geue open eare to his request, and to encline to his desyre, that then he should without delay resort to the Duke of Briteyn, and desyre him to be content at his desyre to endeuour himselfe to an honourable peace and concord, rather then to warre and doubtfull dis- sention, which peace with Gods grace he little doubted, the Duke beyng wil- lyng,

Christopher  
Urswike.

Ambassa-  
dors sent  
fro Charles  
the French  
king.

Lewis Duke  
of Orlyuance.



lyng, shortly to compasse and bring to conclusiō. While Christopher Urswike was trauallyng in this commissiō, king Henrie returned with great triumph to his Citie and Chamber of London, hauing the victoꝝ and ouerhande of his enemyes, and rebellious aduersaries, wheresof the Citizens were very glad, & greatly reioysed. And sone after this, the king bountifullly and liberally rewarded all such persons, which not onely did hazarde their goods, their possessions, liuyngs, & substance, but also their liues & bodies in his defence and quarell. And not long after, he deliuered Thomas Marques Dorset out of the Tower of London, acceptyng him to his high fauor & olde familiaritie, because his truth and fidelitie had bene tryed and proued by sundry and diuers arguments and assayes. Durynge this time, the king for the perfite loue and sincere affection that he bare to his Queene and wife Lady Elizabeth, caused her to be crowned & anoynted Queene on saint Katherines day in Nouember with all solemnitie to such a high estate and degree apperteynyng. In the meane season Christopher Urswike was come to the french king liuyng at Tholouse, and of him after the most louyng & friendly fashion that could be, receyued and enterteyned. And alsoone as he had shewed and declared his message, the french king shewed himselfe outwardly, although inwardly he other wise entended, to be therewith contented and that very well pleased that the king of England should be the meane of peace, and Arbitrer indifferent betwene the Duke and him. Chys aunswere made, the Englishe Ambassadour toke his iourney streyght thence as he was commaunded into Briteyne, and shewed the Duke vpon his maisters behalfe all things geuen him in charge and commissiō: But the Duke (because himselfe had bene long sicke, and thereby his memoꝝ and wytt was decayed and appaired) he appointed to heare the message with other of his Counsellers, Lcōys Duke of Orleans which was fled thether out of Fraunce. When this Duke had heard the Ambassadors declare their message, perceauing that it touched a peace which he thought sounded neyther to hys profite nor pleasure, wheresfore he beyng somewhat tickled with the message answered and sayde, that it was moꝝe meete and conuenient that king Henry (considering and remembryng the great kindnesse and humanitie that he had receyued at the Dukes hande) should with all the power and strength he might, helpe the Duke of Briteyne beyng by the Frenchmen inuaded with yron, fyre, and bloud, then to attempt or procure any sepueious or baine composition or concord. Yet and although he had in ynter receaued nor remembred any benefite done to hym by the Duke, yet should he consider that the Countrie of Britayne was in maner a Bulwarke and a strong wall for the Englishe men in defence of the french men, the which if it should come into the hands of the french nation, then were his continuall enemies next to the gate of his realme, which thing he would not suffer if he remembred the proverbe that sayth, when thy neyghbors house is a fyre, thy staffe standeth next the doze. After that Christopher Urswike had receaued thys aunswere then he returned agayne into Fraunce, and there taried certayne dayes, declaring to king Charles what aunswere was made to hym by the Briteyns, and shortly after returned into Englande agayne.

While these things were thus in doing, the french king besieged with a great puissaunce the strong Citie of Gauntes in Briteyne. And the moꝝe

greedier

Thomas lord Marques Dorset deliuered out of the Tower.

The coronation of Queene Elizabeth.

1488  
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greedier that he was of his purpose, and the moꝝe hast he made for gayning his praye, so much the moꝝe did he exhort the king of England with letters, wytyngs and sayre wordes, by sundrie and diuers messengers for to treat and conclude a peace, betwixt the Duke of Briteyne and him, fearing least when he had almost runne his race, king Henry would put him beside hys sadell, whome he did halfe suspect to be a back friend of hys, and prone and readie to take the Britons part.

Wheresfore he sent in Ambassade Barnarde a Scot bozne, called the Lorde Daubeny, in all haste to king Henry, to desire him in anye wise to make some ende whatsoeuer it were of this warre and controuersie. And therebpon the king beyng desirous of the same, which had rather all things might be ended by peace then by dint of sworde, least that he should be driuen to take part with the Britons agaynst the french nation, elected among all other thre Ambassadors. The first was John Saint, Abbot of Abyndon, John Lilpe bozne in Luke, the Bysshop of Romes Collector, and Doctor of lawe, and Richarde Edgecombe knight, a fatherly, wise and a graue personage, which for the reuuing of the olde amitie, were commaunded first to repaire to the french king, and after that to the Duke of Briteyne, to whom he gaue a long commissiō with sufficient instructions. But or euer these Ambassadors proceeded on their iorney, John Lilie fell sick on the goote, so that he was not able to trauallye in so long a iorney, and so weightie a businesse, for whome was elected and chosen Christopher Urswike, and so they thre sayled into fraunce (as they were commaunded) and when they had commoned a space with the french king, concerning the foꝝme of the peace and concord to be concluded, Richarde Edgecombe, and Christopher Urswike, departed streight to the Duke of Briteyne, thinking, ye and nothing doubting, but they should knit by the knot, and finail conclusion of their Ambassade, according to their aboue request and desire, but all their hope was bayne, and turned to a banitie. For the Duke vpon great deliberation, constantly denyed and refused euery condition by them offered or demaunded. Which things, when they succeeded not according to their expectation, the Ambassadors returned back to the french king agayne, and there to him declared what was their aunswere and finail resolution, and yet making there abode in fraunce, they declared to the king of England by their letters all their actes and exploit. But or their letters came to the kings handes, Sir Edward Lorde Wooduille Uncle to the Queene, a valyaunt Capitayne, and a Champion, eyther abhorring ease and ydolnesse, or inflamed with ardent loue and affection towarde the Duke of Briteyne, desyzed very earnestly of king Henry, that if it were his will and pleasure, that he with a conuenient number of good men of warre might transport himselfe into Briteyne for the aide & defence of Duke fraunces, the kings assured and proued friend. And lest it should soto or kindle any dissention or ingratitude betwene the french king & him, he saide that he would steale priuily ouer, without any licence or passport, as though no man should thinke or doubt but he were fled y realme, But the kyng which had a firme confidence, that peace shoulde be made by the pollitique prouision & wyse inuencion of his elected Ambassadors, would in no wyse geue the bridle to his hasty desire, but straightly forbade hym to attempt any such enterpryse, thinkyng that it stode not with his honor to offende

Ambassadors sent first to the french king, & then to the Duke of Briteyne.

Edward lord Wooduille.



faide the french kyng, to whome he would shew as much amitie and humanity as he might. Yet this Lord Woodville hauing playne repulse and deniall of the kyng, could not thus rest, but determined to worke his businesse secretly without any knowlege of the king, & went straight into the Isle of Wight, whereof he was made ruler and captayne, and there gathered a crewe of tall and hardy personages, to the number of foure hundred, and with prosperous wynde and wether, arryued in Britayne, and ioyned himselfe with the Britons against the french power and nacion. The rumoz of thys doynge was soone blowen into the court of fraunce, which made the Ambassadors of Englande not finally abashed, who knowyng perfectly the frenche heartes to be prone and ready at all tymes to reuenge and doe out rage to such as displeased them, were sodainelye afrayde least the common people coulde not withhold their handes from quarelyng or frayng. Albeit the law of armes and the truth it selfe did defende and preserue them from iniury. But whyles the Ambassadors were in this perplexity, and feare of daunger, and whyles the frenchman suspected this fact to be done by a cautel of king Henry, there came other new messengers from him to the french kyng, to purge himselfe to his friend of the suspected ingratitude, certifying him that the lord Woodville without his knowlege or consent, was sayled ouer in to Britayne with so small a number of men, which small handefull, neither becommed a prince to sende or set forwarde, neyther yet coulde doe to the Britaynes, anye great ayde or succour: To the which message and excuse, albeit the french kyng gaue but small credence, yet he somewhat mitigate of his anger, dissimuled the matter (according to the french nature) with a flatteryng countenance. So the Ambassadors renewng a league and amitie betweene their kyng and him for .xij. monethes, returned into Englande agayne, and shewed the kyng all such thinges as they had epyther hearde or sene there. The kyng of Englande well perceyued by the report of hys newlye returned Ambassadors, that the french kyng wrought all his feates by subtil craft and cloked collusion, treating and mocioning peace and concorde, when he desired nothing so much as discorde, and warre, and that purpose he auanced and set forwarde with sayle and ower, to the uttermost point of his habilitie. Wherefore kyng Henry beyng assured of all the french kinges actes and doynge, determined now with all speede to set forth out of hande all such thinges as here before he had concluded, concerning the warre of Britayne, as you haue hearde. Wherefore he called his high court of Parliament, and there first consulted with the peres and communalty of his realme, for the aidynge of the Duke of Briteyn. Then for the maintenance of the warres, diuers summes of money were graunted and geuen, beside certayne decrees and actes made for the profite of the common wealth. And as sone as the Parliament was ended, he caused musters to be had in certayne places of his realme, & souldiours meete for the warre to be put in a readinesse. Yet least peradventure he might seeme willingly to breake the amitie, which was betwene y french kyng & him, he sent diuers notable Ambassadors into fraunce, to certifie the french kyng, that of late he had kept a solempne Parliament, in the which it was condiscended and agreed by the Lords tempozal and spiritual, & knights of counties, and magistrates of Cities, and boroughes of his realme, not onely considering the reliefe, comfort, and ayde that he hadde receyued at the

Dukes

Dukes hande, both for the sauegarde of his life, and for the recouering of his inheritaunce and kyngdome, but also remembering that Britayne of auncient tyme was subiect and bassall to the realme of Englande, which countrey also hath bene friendly, and aiders to the English nacion when it was vexed, both with foreyne powers and domesticall sedicion, to ayde, comfort, and assist the British nacion with all their strength, might, and habilitie against ail their enemies, friendly admonishing him that he should epyther cease from his war in Britaine newly begon, or else not to be grieved if he did agree (as reason would) to the iudgement and determination of the Lordes and Prelates of his realme, assuryng him in the worde of a king that his armie should onely discende in the Duchie of Britayne, not to invade or make war in the french kynges realme or territories, but onely to defende the Duchie of Britaine.

With these commaundementes the English Ambassadors departed, and declared to the french kyng all the minde and wil of their king and soueraigne Lorde. Which message he dissimuled as litle to regard as the biting of a see, as though the Englishmen in the battayle, which he knewe to be at hande, coulde doe no enterpryse (as it happened in deede) epyther necessary to be feared, or worthy to be remembred. The cause of his so sayng was thys he knowyng that his army was puissaunt and strong in Britayne, and that the Britaynes had but a fewe English men with the Lorde Woodville, of whome he passed litle, and seyng that Englande had not yet sent anye armie thither for the Dukes succour, iudged surely that his army would doe some great exployt (as they did in deede) before epyther the Duke should be purueyed or anye aide ministrud. And as he imagined, so it folowed, for y french men so sore oppressed the countrey of Britayne, and byent and destroyed Cities, and besieged the towne of Fongeres, so that the Duke of Britaine was encouraged by the Duke of Orleans, and other rebels of the french king manfully to fight and geue battaile to the french army. And so the .xxv. day of July they set forwarde, and came to a towne which the frenchmen hadde gotten, called saint Aubyne. The frenchmen were not ignorant of their coming, but put themselves in a readinesse. Of which army was Capitaines, the Lord Lewys of Trenoyle, viscount of Thonars a Gascon, Adryan Lord of Mountfalcosse. On the Britons part were chiefeteynes, Lewys, Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orange, which because they and other of the frenchmen were all on horsebacke, were mistrusted of the Britones, least they would at their most neede flye.

Wherefore they discended on foote, and the Duke and the Prince put themselves in the battaile of the Almanes: The Marshal of Ricou was appointed to the bauntgard. The middle warde was deliuered to the Lorde Dalebret, and the reregard to the Lorde Chateaw Bryan, and to make the frenchmen beleue that they had a great number of English men (notwithstanding there were but foure hundred) with the Lorde Woodville they appareled a thousand and seven hundred Britons in Cotes with red crosses, after the English fashion, when both the armies were appoaching to the other, the ordinaunce shot so terribly and with suche a violence, that it sore damaged and encombred both the parties. When the shot was finished, both the bauntgardes ioyned together with such a force, that it was maruaile to beholde. The Englishmen shot so fast, that the frenchmen in the fore-

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ward,

The battaile  
of Fongeres  
in Britayne.



ward, were faine to recule to the battayle where their hozsemen were. The forewarde of the french men, seying this first discomfiture began to flie, but the Capitaynes retired their men together againe, & the hozsemen set fiercelly on the Briteynes, and slewe the most part of the footemen. When the forewarde of the Briteynes perceyued that their hozsemen nor the Almaynes came not forwarde, they provided for themselves and fled, some here, and some there, where they thought to haue refuge or succor. So that in conclusion the french men obteyned the victorie, and slue all suche as ware red Crosses, supposyng them all to be Englishe men. In this conflict were slaine almost all the Englishe men, and sixe thousand Briteynes. Amongest whom were found dead the Lorde Wooduille, and the Lorde James Saleas borne in Naples. And of the Briteynes there were slaine the Lorde of Leon, the Lorde Mountfort, the Lorde Pontlabbe and many noble and nctable persons of the British nacion. Of the french nacion were slain. xij. hundred persons. The Prince of Orange, and the Duke of Orliance were taken prisoners, which Duke (although he were next heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Fraunce) should haue lost his head, if Ladie Jane his wife which was sister to Charles the french king, had not obteyned perdon and remission of his trespassse and offence. Howbeit, he was long after kept prisoner in the great Tower at Bourges in Berry. This infortunate metyng chaunced to the Briteynes on a Monday, beyng the. xxvij. day of July. in the yere of our redemption. 1488. and in the fourth yere of king Henry the seventh.

An army sent by the king of Enn to ayde the Duke of Briteyne.

When these newes were brought into Englande, the king foresceyng what was like to chaunce, thought it necessary to hasten and set forward the matter before concluded, wherfore with al speede he sent Robert Lord Broke, Sir John Cheyney, Sir John Middleton, Sir Raufe Hilton, Sir Richard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Richard Laton, and Sir Edmond Cornwall, all lusty and couragious Capitaynes with. viij. thousande men well armed, and warlike furnished to ayde and assist the Briteynes against the french men. These ioly men of warre had such prosperous wind that they arrived in Briteyn even as they would wishe or desire. But when the french men knewe of their landyng, whome they knewe by no small experience (and especially so long as they were freshe and lustie) to be of great courage: wherfore at the beginnyng they were all blanke, and for feare kept themselves craftily and pollitikely within their campe. And after that, they sent forth a small companye of light hozsemen, the which to werie and abate the stout stomackes of the Englishe men, made in diuers places of the armie, skirmishes, outcruyes, and alaromes. So for a certaine space they besed this kinde of dalirng with the Englishe men, but euer the losse turned to the french men. But beholde, while this warre was thus set forwarde, Frannces Duke of Briteyn departed out of this life, so that the Englishe men were in a doubtfull Labyrinth, and in a great ambiguitye. For the chiefe rulers of the Briteynes, beyng some of them corrupted with money, and some stirred with desyre of deuision and controuersie, fell into deuision among themselves, so that they seemed not to regarde the defence of their naturall Countrie, but rather minded the destruction and bitter confusion of the same. Which deuision the Englishe men perceyung, and also considering that it was in the midst of Winter, in the which tyme it was not wholesome for

Francis Duke of Briteyne needed.

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men to lie in the frostie and moyst fieldes, they were compelled in maner by necessitie, within five monethes that they went forwarde, to returne backe againe into England.

After this Charles the french king hauing thus the upper hand of the Briteynes, perceyung that Maximilian King of Romaines laboured to haue in mariage, Anne sole heyre to Frannces Duke of Briteyne, for her ponger sister was late deade, which he thought was neyther for his profite, nor aduantage, concluded a peace with the Briteynes. By which treatie he had the Lady deliuered into his possession, and after her deliuerance, he refusing the mariage of the Ladie Margaret, daughter to the forsayde king of Romaines, espoused the Ladie Anne Duchesse of Briteyn, by which meanes the Duchy of Briteyn was annexed to the Crowne of Fraunce, as hereafter shall appere when it tooke effect, which was not two yeres after.

Now to the money layde out, as concerning the charge of thys battaile. It was decreed by the three estates (as you haue heard) befoze that any souldiours were sent into Briteyne, that for the expence of that warre, euery man should be taxed and assessed at the summe of his substance, & should pay the tenth peny of his goodes, for the maintenaunce of the warre in Briteyn. Which money the most part of them that dwelt in the Bishoprike of Durhams and Yorke shire, refused bitterly to pay, eyther thinking themselves overcharged with the greatnesse of the same, and therewith greued, or excited and procured thzough the euill counsaile and seditious perswasion of certaine persons, which priuily conspired agaynst the king, to put him to newe trouble and businesse. Therfore such as were by the kings commaundement made Collectors and gatherers of the summe taxed, after that they could not get the money according to the extractes to them by the Commissioners deliuered, made their complaint priuily to Henry the fourth Erle of Northumberland, chiefe ruler of the North parties. And he immediatly vpon the knowlege thereof, signified to the kings grace by hys letters, that the people greatly grudged and murmured, making open proclamation that they haue bene charged of late yeres with innumerable incommodities and oppressions, without any default or desert, and that nowe there was a houghe some required of them, which neyther they were able to satisfie so great a demaunde, nor yet would once consent to paye any one peny of the sayde summe required. The king commaunded the Erle in any wise by distresse or otherwise according to his discretion, to exact the money of the people, and by compulsion to enforce such to payment as whyned most at it, lest that it might appere that the decrees, artes and statutes, made and confirmed by hym and hys highe Court of Parliament, should by hys rude and rusticall people be contemned and despised. The rude, rashe, and braduised people, hearing thys answer of the king, by and by, violently set vpon the Erle, by the procurement of a simple felowe called John of Chambrze, whome the Erle intreated with sayre wordes to come to reason, but they laiyng to hys charge that he was the chiefe authoz and principall causer of thys tare and tribute payng, both hym and dyuers of hys household seruants, furiously and shamefully murdered & killed. Diuers affirme that the Northren men bare against this Erle continuall grudge, sith the death of king Richard, whom they entirely loued and highly fauored, which secret Serpent caused their furie to wade

1487  
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Rebellion for the payment of a Taxe

John of Chambrze murdered Henry the fourth Erle of Northumberland.

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farther



Sir John Egremond knight, recelleth.

farther then reason could retract or restrayne. Although thys offence were great and heynous, yet there succeeded after a more mischiefe and a greater inconuenience. For incontinent the Northren men to cloke this murder and manslaughter, by a byolence put on their armure and assembled in flockes, and elected to them a Capitane called Sir John Egremonde knight, a person no lesse seditious then factious, and desirous of trouble, and ordred themselves lyke men of warre, and passyng by the Countreyes, they published and declared that they would byd battayle to the king, onely for the defence of their common libertie and freedome, which he would pluck, and by hys extreme power take from them. But when their cause should be decided with blowes and handstrokes, their furie was asswaged and cooled, their hartes were in their heeles, and their stomackes as colde as any stone, and euerye one wyshed that thys tumult were quenched, which was nowe alreadie not smoking but enflamed: And in conclusion euery man ranne away, some this way, and some that way, as men amased when they lack counsaile. When euery man was returned, the matter was ended as they imagined, but while they diligently laboured to saue their luyes by flight, they sought their awne destruction. For the most part of them were punished by death or by imprisonment for the same offence. For the king heeryng of thys tumultuous business, sent forth Thomas Erle of Surrey, whome not long afore he had deliuered out of the Tower, and receaued to his grace and speciall fauour (as he was both for hys wyt and fidelitie well woorthy) with a competent crewe of men into the North partes, which skirmished with a certayne companye and discomfited them, and tooke a luye John a Chambrze the first beginner of this rebellion. The king himselfe roade after the Erle into Porke shire, of whose coming the slaues and sturdie rebels were so abashed and afraid, that they fled more and lesse, which afterward were apprehended and greuously punished, according to their demerites and deseruing. Yet the king of his magnificent minde, pardoned the innocent and rurall people, and plagued and executed the inuenters of the mischiefe, and the furtherers of the same. For John a Chamber was hanged at Porke vpon a gibbet, set vpon a square payre of Gallowes, lyke an Archetraytour, and his complices and lewde disciples were hanged on the lower Gallowes round about their maister, to the terrible example of all other. But Sir John Egremond, whome these seditious persons preferred to be their Capitayne, fled into Flaunders to the Ladie Margaret Duches of Burgoyne, which euer enuied the prosperitie of king Henry.

John a Chambrze taken and beheaded.

Sir John Egremond fled into Flaunders.

When thys foolish enterprise was thus quenched, the king gaue commission and charge to Sir Rycharde Tunstall knight, a man of great wit, pollicie and discretion, to gather and receaue the subsidie to him due of the people, and he himselfe returned shortly to London, leauyng the Erle of Surrey to rule the North partes, perceauing well the Englishe men, not so much to grudge at the payment of the tare or trybute, as they did grone at the excessive and importable summe vpon them assessed, remembryng the olde proverbe, loue me little and loue me long.

Maximilian king of Romanes.

Before this time, Maximilian king of Romanes, which as you haue heard in the time of king Edward the fourth, had contrarie to the minde and will of the French king espoused Ladye Marie, daughter and heyre to Le-

was

was the French king, and by her had issue a son called Philip and Margaret which was affied to Charles the seuenth French king & by him repudiate & forsaken was so sore offended & greatly grieued with the Flemings, but most of all with the Gauntoys & Brugians, for keepyng from him perforce his son & heyre duke Philip, which neither by gentle request nor cruel manace would deliuer the son to his naturall father and lawfull parent. Wherfore the king Maximilian assembled a company of Almaines & Duerlanders (for he did not greatly put his confidence in the Brabanders nor Hollanders) & made sharpe war on the Flemings, in the which he little preuailed. For the Flemings sent to the French king for aid & succor, which being glad of y request, sent Philip de Creuecure Lord Desquerdes, commonly called the Lorde Cordes into the confines of Flaunders with a great armie of men, to ayde and succor the Flemings trusting by that meanes, to obtain both the possession of the yong infant Duke Philip & the whole coutry of Flaunders. Wherfore Maximilian entending to aliure the Flemings from the French men, began first to practise with them of Bruges, of which towne the grauest men, some condiscended and agreed to reason, requiring him to come to their towne, and sent to him with their request, the Scult called Peter Longoll with dyuers other, to aduertise him that at his coming thether, he should find them conformable to his will & request. Upon trust whereof he entred into y towne finally accompanied, thinking that the lords & Senate would ioyously haue receaued and welcommed him. But the matter turned cleane contrarie, for the light witted persons, to whome peace was treason, taking this occasion to them offered, cryed to harnesse. When they which had brought the king into the towne, saw the tumult of the people, & that no man came to their relief, they left their lord post alone, & fled into corners. The warden of the Smithes was the chiefe of the route, which bade the king to take patience a while, & he should haue a gentle imprisonment, & so conueied him to the house of John Grosse, iudge of the audience. Then the Almaines were all banished the towne, & the lords of Gaunt were sent for, which taried not long. When they had the pray y they expected, first dyuers Citizens which they thought favorable to Maximilian they behedded. Mathew Spert, one of his chiefe counsaillers & trusty friends, was sent to Gaunt, & there put to death. Then John Capenoll a busie Merchant, would in all hast haue ridden to induct the French king as their soueraigne lord, to whom the most part would in no wise agree nor consent, nor yet intended to disinherit y yong duke Philip of his grandfathers inheritance.

Maximilian taken prisoner in the towne of Bruges.

Mathew Spert.

Note howe the subsidies charge the Prince.

When execution was done of the wise and sad counsaillers, the newe made rulers caused their Prince king Maximilian to be brought to y towne house, and there they layde to his charge, that he had not obserued the treatie, which they of Gaunt and Bruges had concluded wyth the French king. Secondly, they alleged that he put high Almaynes in offices and great authoritie, which without their assent would haue chaunged and inhaunced their coyne and money to their great prejudice and detriment. Many other fond and foolish articles they layde to him, which the eares of euery honest creature knowyng the due tie of the subiect to his prince, would abhorre and detest, to the which he so wisely and boldly answered, that in part he asswaged their malice, and mitigated their rage. In somuch that he was more gentler intreated then he was before. For if his answer had bene to them displeasunt,

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pleasaunt, or if he had manaced them but one worde, I thinke in their furie they would haue dispatched him out of his lyfe and lande. The Gauntoys woulde haue deliuered him to the French king, but the Burgians woulde not assent. They of Gaunt desired to haue him in their custodie in Gaunt, but the Citizens of Bruges vtterly denied his deliuerie. Wherefore the Gauntoys in great displeasure departed. After whose departure the Burgians were content to set him at libertie, so that he and diuers of his nobilitie should sweare on the holy Sacrament, not onely to remit, pardon and forgive all offences perpetrated and committed by them of Flaunders, but also should sweare and promise, neyther to remember nor reuenge the same. Thys othe he sware in the great Church of Bruges, and the Lorde of Raueston called Phillip Mounseur, and the Lorde of Beuers and diuers other sware the same, adding therevnto, that if he did attempt any thing contrary to his othe and promise, then they sware to take part with the good towne of Flaunders agaynst him and his adherents. And vpon this promise he was deliuered, and frankly set at libertie.

Frederick  
the Emperour

But Fredericke the Emperour coulde not forget the reproch and despite that was shewed to him in his sonne, & the great iniury and wrong that was done to his sonne, partlye to his dishonour, scourged Flaunders woth sharpe warre and mortall afflictions (Maximilian liuing in quiet, and nothing attemptyng) but Phillip Mounseur, Lord of Raueston, the which toke his othe with kyng Maximilian, to shew that the warre was renouate without his knowlege and assent, forsooke Maximilian his Lorde, and toke the townes of Yper & Scluse with both the Castles of the same Haven, which he manned, and besyged, & kept two yeres agaynst the power of Maximilian till he rendered them to Sir Edward Bowynge, sent thether by the Kyng of Englande, as you shall hereafter well perceyue. Beside this, the foresayd Phillip not only exacted and stirred the Gauntoys, Burgians & other townes of Flaunders, to rebel agaynst their soueraigne Lorde, but also sente to the Lorde Cordes to ayde him to conquere such townes of Flaunders, as were not of their opinion and confederacy. This Lorde Cordes, which vntreulye revolted from Duke Charles of Burgoyne, beyng his bringer by and chiefe preferer to Lewys the French kyng (as you haue heard before) was glad of this, and so sent to the ayde of the Flemings eight thousande Frenchmen, willyng them to take and conquer such townes, as were in the way betwene Fraunce and Burges, or Calice and Burges. The Captaynes folowynge his deuyse, besieged a litle walled towne, called Dipenew, to whome came foure thousande Flemynge with bittayle and artillery, sent from Phillippe Mounseur. They layde siege on the Northside of the towne in a Marythe grounde, then beyng drie, and so deeply ditched their campe, and so highlye trenched it, on which trench they layde their Ordinaunce, that it was in manner impossible to enter into their campe, or to doe them anye displeasure or damage. The kyng of Englande was dayly aduertised of these doynges, which nothing lesse desired then to haue the Englishe pale and territozy environed with French fortresses. For he perceaued well that if the Frenchmen gat Dipenew, they woulde afterwarde assaile Newpport and Graue-lyng, and consequentye, what with force, and what with corrupcion of rewardes, their purpose was to haue the possession of Duke Phillippe and all Flaunders.

Flaunders, which should not be to the profit of him nor his subiectes. Wherefore sodainely with great expedition he sent ouer to the Lorde Dabweney to Calice, the Lorde Mozley with a Crew of valiaunt archers and souldiours to the number of a thousand men, both priuy instructions, what they should do.

When they were landed, they published and saide that they came to defende the Englishe pale, if the Frenchmen or Fleminges woulde attempt any maistries there. But their enterpryse was all otherwise. For on a Tuesday at the shutting of the gates at night, the Lorde Dabweney Chiefetayne of the army, the Lorde Mozley, Sir James Tirrell, Capitayne of Gysnes, Sir Henry Willoughby, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir Humfrey Talbot, Marshall of Calice, and diuers other Knightes, and Esquiers, and other of the garrison of Hammes, Gysnes and Calice, to the number of two thousande men, or there about, issued priuily out of Calice, and passed the water of Graue-lyng in the morning betymes, and left there for a stalle and to kepe the passage, Sir Humfrey Talbot with sixe score Archers, and came to Newpport, where they found the soueraigne of Flaunders, with sixe hundred Almaynes, and there they commoned, and paused that night.

On the next day as they came secretly toward Depinew (see the chaunce) at a place of execution, neere the high way, was a Gauntoys (which was come out of the army for a spie, and apprehended by them of Dipenew) led to hangyng which amongst the Englishe men knewe Sir James Tirrell, and called to hym for comfort and succour, promising him that if he would saue hys lyfe, he would guyde them where they should enter on the Gauntoys, to their honour and aduantage, and he would be the first assaillant of all the companye. When his promise was regarded, after request made to the Borough maisters and Capitaynes of the towne, he was pardoned but not deliuered. The next day in the morning, after they had ordered their armes, their guyde conueyed them out at the Southgate of the towne by a high banke set with Wyllowes, so that the Gauntoyes could not well espie them, and so secretly came to the ende of the Campe of their enemies, and there pawled. The Lorde Dabweney commaunded all men to sende their hores and Wagons back, but the Lorde Mozley sayde he would ryde tyll he came to handstrokes (but he was deceyued) so they passed on tyll they came to a lowe banck and no deepe dicke, where their Ordinaunce laye, and there the Archers shot altogether euery man an arrowe, and so fell prostrate to the grounde, their enemies discharged their Ordinaunce all at once, and ouer-shot them, the Archers rose and shot agayne, and bet them from their Ordinaunce. The Almaynes lept ouer the dicke with their moztie pilles, the Englishe men in the forefront waded the dicke, and were hoisen by by the Almaynes. and set on their enemies, and slue and tooke many prisoners. The other Englishe men hastid by the causeway to enter in at the North gate of the Campe, where the Lorde Mozley beyng on horseback in a riche Coate was slayne with a Sonne. When hys death was knowne, euery man kylled hys prisoner, and slue all such as did withstand them to the number of eight thousand men, insomuch that of two thousand that came out of Bruges (as the Flemishe Chronicle reporteth), there came not home an hundred. There were slayne in the sayde place two chiefe Capitaynes, George Deccanet, and Anthony Newpport. On the Englishe part was slayne the Lorde Mozley,

The Lorde  
Mozley slain.



This was  
called Dix-  
mew sic. d.

The Eng-  
lish men had  
a great vic-  
tory.

ley, and not an hundred mo. The Engliche men tooke their ordinaunce and sent it to Newport with all their spoyle and great hozses. And by the waye hearing certayne Frenchmen to be at Ostend, they made thetherward, but the French men fled, and so they burned part of the towne, and came againe to Newport, where the Lorde Dabweny left all the Engliche men that were hurt or wounded, and carped with him the dead Corpes of the Lord Dhorcy, and buried it honorably at Calice. This field was profitable to the Engliche men, for they that went forth in cloth, came home in sylke, and they that went out on foote, came home on great hozses, such is the chaunce of victozy.

The Lorde Cordes beyng at Yper with, xx. thousande men was sore discontent with this ouerthrow: wherfore he thinking to be reuenged, came and besieged the towne of Newport strongly (the which Capitaine Monsieur de Harwede, before Capitaine of Dipenew, and all the Gentlemen of Westflanders, and the three principal Cities of Flaunders, and bittayled the French hoste so well, that all thinges was to good cheepe) they without shot at the walles, and brake them in many places, and they within sore grieved them without with their artillery. But the Engliche men that were hurt at Dirmewe fielde before, and might eyther stand or drabe Bowe, neuer came from the walles. One day the Frenchmen gaue a great assault to a Tower, and perforce entered it, and set by the Banner of the Lorde Cordes: But as God would, during the time of the assault there arryued from Calice a Bark with, lxxx. fresh English Archers, which came straight to the Tower. The women of the towne, perceiuyng the English men come, cryed with lamentable and lowde voyces, help Englishmen, help Englishmen, hooote English men, shote Englishmen, so that, what with the helpe of such as before were wounded and hurt men, and of the couragious hartes of the newe come Archers, and the stout stomackes and diligencie of the women, which as fast as the Engliche men strake downe the enemies, the women were redie to cut their throttes, they waunc againe the Tower, and slue the French men, and rent the Banner of the Lord Cordes, and set by the Penon of saint George. Then the Frenchmen, supposyng a great arde of Englishmen, to haue beene come to the towne by sea, left the assault. And the night folowyng the courteous Lorde Cordes (which so sore longed for Calice, that he would commonly say, that he would gladly lye seven yeres in hell, so that Calice were in the possession of the French men) brake by his siege and shamefully returned to Hesoyng. And the English men glad of this victozy, returned againe to Calice.

This yere also, the realme of Scotland suffered an infectious and mortall plague, because the name of James the thirde, king of Scottes was so odious, so hated and disdeyned of the whole Nobilitie of the realme of Scotland, chiefly because they perceyued that he set more by vile borne billanes and light persons, then by the Princes and Nobles of his realme, as I haue declared to you in the historie of king Edwarde the fourth, which mischiefe, and vngreate discommoditie, after they had tollerated and patiently suffred no small tyme to their great grudge and displeasure. They now thought it most expedient for their purpose and welfare, even by force of armes to recouer their forme libertie, and auncient freedome. Therefore makyng priuily a conspiracie together against their Prince and souereigne Lorde, compassed his death and destruction. Yet that it might not be thought that they did en-

James king  
of Scottes  
in great ha-  
tred of his  
subiectes.

tend the destruction of their native Countrey, they made the kinges some named after his father James, Prince of Rothsay (a childe borne to goodnesse and vertue) their Capitaine, in maner agaynst his will, openly protestyng, that they purposed the confusion and depoyng of an eulle king, and wretched Prince, and not the subuersion and destruction of their Countrey: by which craftie unagined inuention, they might eyther cloke or put away from them all suspicion, of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloyaltie. Whereof the king beyng credibly informed, was bered and sore tormented in his minde for this cause in especiall, that he should haue ciuile dissention with his awne subiectes and native Countreymen, yea, and agaynst his awne sonne beyng made Capitaine of that vntrue and peruerse company, whome next to himselfe he loued, fauored, and honored, imaginyng with himselfe that this conuocion sounded to none other effect, but that the head should fight and striue with the other members and partes of the naturall bodie: and yet on the other syde, not to resist shortly their newe begon enterpryse, might easily encourage and enflame the malicious heartes of his domesticall enemyes, with more boldnesse to attempt farther mischiefe and inconuenience. Therefore to the intent to make a plaister for both these sores to be healed: first to appease and asswage the fury and rumoz of the people, being this in a rage, he prepared an armie of men. After that he sent Ambassadors to his sonne and the Nobilitie assembled with him, for a loue, peace, concord, and vnitie to be concluded amongst them. Also he sent letters to the king of Englande and the French king, requiryng them that they would vouchsafe with their good and Godly counsaile to helpe and assay to mittigate and asswage this furious enozmitie of his rude and savage people, which was practised and begun through the perswasion and procurement of certein pernicious and seditious persons. And besides this, he wrote to the Bishop of Rome Innocent for the same matter, in the which he earnestly desired and prayed him that he would of his goodnesse sende some one Legate to these rebelles of his Nobilitie, to charge and commaund them, that they setting asyde all warre and hostilitie, to embrace quietnesse, rest, and vnitie.

This miserable decrepite and aged king, thinkyng that both delayng and continuance of time, and also the entreatyng and hartie prayers of his friendes and allyes would quenche their inordinate wildenesse and furious rage, and perswade them to sobrietie and good conformitie, had rather with these, and other semblable medicines remedie this yong springyng sore, then he would haue it experimented, & tryed with ciuill battaile, which he thought to be a thing both vngodly and vnnaturall. For all this, no medicine, no counsaile, no wholesome precepts could appease or pacifie the angrie mindes and ragyng wittes of the Scottische Nobilitie, so much were they addicted and bent to this folly and vnrasonable madnesse. Insomuch, as to the messengers sent from him to them beyng their souereigne Lorde they made thys vnreasonable and vn honest aunswere, that is: if he woulde resigne the title of his Crowne and Realme, and depose himselfe of his royall dignitie, then they woulde common with him of a peace, or else their eares were stopped from heeryng of any entreatie or perswasion. The same aunswere brought the Ambassadour of England and Fraunce to theyr Princes, which sore lamented the peruerse fortune and mischaunce of their friend the Scottische king.

The misera-  
ble estate of  
James king  
of Scottes.



king, as though they had bene partakers of his affliction: But Adrian the Bishop of Romes Legate, of whom we will speake moze hereafter came to late, and as who should say, a day after the faire.

James the thirde king of Scottes shamefully slayne and murdered.

James the fourth king of Scottes consented to the murder of his awne father.

When nothing could moue or pierce the stony hartes or frostie mynds of the nobilitie of Scotland: In conclusion they met together in a pitched field, where after great slaughter of many men, the pooze siely king fledde into a Myl. for succour, whether he was folowed and p[ro]secuted, and there shamefully murdered, and vnreuerently, (not like a Prince, or a crowned king) left stark naked like a stinkyng carion. Then the Princes of Scotland being faciat and filled with the blood and slaughter of their souereigne Lorde and king (thinkyng that they had well reuenged the olde displeasures to them done and committed by king James the thirde) set vp in the trone and estate royall, the Prince his sonne, & named him James the fourth of that name.

Before this time, as you haue heard, Innocent Bishop of Rome had sent in Legacie Adrian of Castella, a man of Heturia, bozne in the towne of Cornete, called in the old time Newcastle, which should haue gone to Scotland, to haue pacified by his aucthoritie and commaundement this troublesome businesse, moued and stirred betwene the king and his subiectes. Yet this man, although he made many great iourneyes, when he came to England, was informed of the king, (to whom he had certaine commaundementis and messages to say from the Romische Bishop) that he came to late to accomplishe the commission of his Legacie, ascertaynyng him that the Scottissh king was dead, gently aduysyng him, that he should not moue one foote farther but tary still in England, where he was not past two dayes, but that he was plainly certified by the Bishops of Scotland of the kinges death. This Adrian taried certaine monethes after this in England, and was made much off, and highly commended and lauded to the king by John Morton Bishop of Cauntobury, which for the good learnyng, bertue, and humanitie, that he sawe and perceyued to be in him, shewed to him all poyntes of humanitie and friendship, that a friend might do to a friend. And vpon his commendation, the king thinking this man worthe to be loked vpon, and mete to do the king pleasure, much phantasied and more fauoured this Legate Adrian, insomuch that he was Oratour and solicited his cause, both to Innocent, and also to Alexander the sixt, Bishops of Rome. And after this, for his diligent seruice, he so loued and fauored him, that he made him Bishop of Herford, and shortly after that resigned and geuen ouer, he promoted him to the Bishoprike of Welles and Bathe. And not long after this Adrian was returned with these honoures to Rome, where he was promoted successiuelly by al the degrees of spirituall dignities, into the College and societie of Cardinales. For Innocent first made him his Collectour in England, and also one of the seven Prorogonotaries. After this Alexander the sixt had him as one of his priuie counsaile, and promoted him to the degree of a Cardinall: But who is that I pray you that will maruaile at this, which aswell may be geuen to fooles and dzerdes, as to wise and learned men? There is another praise of this Adrian, and the same in maner eternall: The man was of profound learnyng, and knowlege, not bulgare, but straunge, newe, and difficile, and in especiall he was a man of a ripe iudgement, in electyng and choosyng fine termes, and apt and eloquent wordes, which first of our tyme, after that golden worlde of

Adrian a Cardinall of Rome.

of Tullie, moued men with his writyng to immitate and folowe the most approbate, and allowed aucthours that were of eloquencie, and taught the trade and phzase to speake fine, pure, freshe, and cleane latyne, so that by his example and document, eloquencie flourisheth at this houre in all places of Christendome, wherefore after my iudgement, sayth Hall, he is not worthe to be put in obliuion: but nowe to my purpose.

The Britishe affayres in the meane season, because that all discozrd was not appeased, began againe now to flow out and to trouble, and set all things in a newe broyle and businesse. For Marimilian king of Romaines being without a wife, before this tyme, made suite to Fraunces Duke of Briteyn, to haue in marriage the Ladie Anne his daughter, to the which request the Duke gently condescended. And one, which by prorie wooed for him: to the entent that the Ladie should performe that she promised on her fayth and honour, he bled a newe inuention and trick, after this maner. When the Ladie did take her Chamber, the night after the affiaunce, she was layde naked in the Bride bed, in the presence of diuers noble Matrones and Princes, called thether as witneses. The Procurator or Deputie for the husband which represented his person, was layde in the place of her husband, and put one of his legges into the bed by to the hard knee, in the sight and companie of many noble personages, as who sayde that the birgin had bene carnally knowne and so the matrimonie perfite and consummate, and they two as man and wife. But this soude newe found ceremony was little regarded, and lesse esteemed, of him that onely studied and watched howe to surrept and steale this Turkie out of her mew and lodgyng. For Charles the French king (as no man can blame him) was desyrous and greedy to be coupled in marriage, with so great an inheritor, and reputing the maryage made with Marimilian, to be of no validite and effect, the more busily and incessantly he made sharpe warre, and scourged the Briteynes, to the entent he might both haue the Ladie and her Dominions also at his will and pleasure. But he imagined that the king of England would cast a trumpe in his way, and be an impediment to his purpose, by sendyng into Briteyn a newe armie of Englishe men, for he had intelligence by his priuie fauours.

King Henry, and Ferdinando king of Spaine, were fully decreed to ayde, assist, and defend the Duchesse and Duchie of Briteyn, in all heropardies and aduentures, to the entent that they agaynst theyr wil and affliction should not be by force compelled to submit themselves to the subiection & greiuous yoke of the French king, for the which cause, these two Princes were ioyned in a league and confederacie, to resist, and to remoue this manifest wrong and apparant iniurye. Wherefore he sent in all post hast the Lorde Fraunces of Lutenborough, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gaguine, minister of the bone homes of the Trinity, to king Henry for a peace to be confirmed and had, which when they came before the kinges presence, were accepted and enterpnyed after the best maner. And when they were demaunded of the effect of their message, their request was that king Charles, as chiefe and supreme Lorde ouer the seignorie and Duchie of Briteyn, might without any spot of ingratitude to be imagined or conceyued by king Henry, lawfully order and depose at his will and pleasure, the maryage of Ladie Anne of Briteyn, as his ward and Orphan, without any let and disturbance of the king of Englande,

1490  
6

A fond ceremony in the accomplishment of marriage.



lande, or any of his alies and confederates. King Henry thereto would not condiscend, but still harped on this string, that the virgin, which was lawfully knit in matrimonie with Maximilian king of Romaynes, shoude not be compelled agaynst her will and promise (beyng contrary to all lawe, right and equitie) to take any other person then him to her spouse and husband, for that it was cleerely repugnant to all veritie and lawe, both of God and man. So when they had luyngred the tyme, and consumed many dayes in vaine argumentes and superfluous reasons, without any of theyr requestes obeyned: after long debating and consultation, they were resolued on this point, least it shoude be thought that all their Legation had bene in vaine, & brought to no efficacie or purpose, a forme of a league and amitie shoude be drawne with conditions, clauses and couenauntes. And for the farther furtherance of that purpose, it was thought necessary and expedient that the king of Englande shoude send Ambassadors to the frenche king, which in his name, and by his auctoritie might briefly conclude and finishe the league and treatie that was in communication framed and begon. Whereupon king Henry dismissed the french Ambassadors laden with great and large rewardes into their Countrey, and dispatched and sent straight after them by his commission and auctoritie, Thomas Erle of Ormond, and Thomas Godson Prior of Christes Church in Cauntorbury his Ambassadors to Charles the frenche king, instructyng them fully of all thinges that he would have either moued or determined.

In thys meane space, Alexander Byshop of Rome the sixt of that name which succeeded after Innocent, a man full of diligence, and of wit pregnant, sent Lyonell Byshop of Concorde Legate, to the french king for certayne matters, among other thinges, gaue him in charge to conclude a peace and vntie betwene king Charles and king Henry. When he had declared his message to the french king fully, and had easily obtayned all thinges that he required, then he began to moue vnto the french king and his nobles, with a long and prolix exhortation to make and conclude a perpetuall peace, betwene him and the king of Englande. And when he perceaued the french men to make no great deniall of his request, he determined to attempt and moue king Henry to consent and agree to the same desire and petition: and tooke his journey towardes England, and at Calice he encountered the Ambassadors both of Englande and of Fraunce, which receyued him into the towne of Calice, with many ceremonies and great reuerence. Where after they had communed the matter a certayne space, as concerning their affayres and busynesse, they departed toward the french king, and the Byshop was transported into England. The king honorably and gently entertayned this Legate Lyonell, and gaue good eare to his pleasaunt and eloquent oration, wherein he perswaded hym with many flattering and glosing wordes, to enter into a league and amitie with king Charles of Fraunce, and the french nation. To the which request, the king made aunswere that he would be glade and ioyous, if it might be compassed and brought about (after long trouble and pernicious dissention) to liue in peace and mutuall amitie with all christen men. Byshop Lyonell, perceyuing the kings minde and intent went back agayne to Fraunce with all speede and diligence (and as it was meete and decent for the Byshop of Concorde) he determined to extirpate and drine out

Alexander  
Byshop of  
Rome.

out of the kings memoire all olde reconynges and iniuries done to him herebefore, and plant if it myght be, in hys hart and minde, the verie goodly and gracious prayne of concord and vntie.

The Englishe Ambassadors then beyng with the french king purposed and set forth articles and conclusions of peace. The french men prudently made aunswere, so that on both parties the matter was politiquely and artificially proponed and aunswere. The Englishe Ambassadors, to the entent that they might assent and obtayne a fewe thinges, which they much desired, required and demaunded many great and diuers thinges. The french men on the other side, minding to assent to no one demaund, at the ende, did denie and refuse all the Englishe mens desires, and conditions, and were soze angrie and mooued with their great requestes and highe demaundes. And in the meane season, trustyng more to their Coffers then to their chivalrie, as the maner of their Countrey is, for to obtayne their purpose, they spared not to disourse and launche out treasure, giftes, and rewardes innumerable, which is the very cause that they conquere more with crownes of Golde, then with speare and shield, or dynt of sward in battayle. So that shortly after the french king sent to the noble men of Briteyne great and many rewardes, solicytyng and praiyng them all to become hys subiects and vassals. And in especiall he allured and entised the Ladie Anne by such honorable Matrones and Ladyes, as had the gouernance and education of her, to confirme her selfe true to him in due obedience and loue, and not disdeyne to be coupled in such a noble marriage, with so high and mightie a Prince, as king Charles was. And least peradventure the Damosell fearing the rigour of the Ecclesiasticall lawes would not consent to him for offending her conscience and breaking of her promise: To aduoyde that scruple, he caused dyuers to perswade and put in her head and tytle in her eare, that the marriage made with Maximilian was of no strength and lesse efficacie, considering that it was concluded and made without the consent and wyll of hym, which is the chiefe Lorde and ought to haue the gouernance ouer her as his warde, and the whole Duchie of Briteyn, assuring her that she was deluded, and that the marriage with Maximilian was neuer consummate nor persite. And thys was the very cause that no sure concord or peace could be concluded and agreed betwene these two Princes. And where as the french king had long kept with hym the Ladie Margarete, daughter to Maximilian & her solemnly espoused at Amboys, he sayde that that marriage might be lawfully dissolved agayne, because the Lady was of that age, that she coude neyther be geuen nor yet taken in marriage, for the which cause he might lawfully forsake and honestly put her from hym.

By this craft and perswasion they led and entised the fayre mayden, suspecting none euill, and brought her to this poynnt, that in conclusion, she beyng proclaymed by diuers, Princes of Briteyne, subornate and corrupted with meede contrary to their duetie and allegaunce, was content to condiscende and agree to that the french men demaunded, and not onely to submit her selfe to the french king, but also to take him to her make and husbande, by the reason wherof warre might cease, which with violencie and impression of the same, had troubled and afflicted all her whole Countrey. To this marriage agreed all the Nobilitie of Briteyne, which helde of the frenche



part, thinking it verily for the auancement of the common weale and their ease, because to trust to the power of Maximilian, which was of no purlaunce, they thought it bayne and of no efficacie. And when the French king had compassed and ordered his matters of thys fashion, priuily with the Ladye Anne, he hastened the mariage with all the expedition and diligence that was possible: So that the Engliche Ambassadors returned agayne to their Countrie, and nothing done or agreed vpon their matter.

King Henry, still patiently forbearyng and sufferiug till such tyme that he perceaued moze plainly what way the worlde went: and vnderstandyng before the returne of his Ambassadors, that the Frenchmen meened none other but playne guyle, and deceipt, determined no moze with peaceable messages, but with open warre to finish and determine all controuersies and displeasures betwene him and the French kyng. Wherefore he summoned his courte of Parliament, and there declared first the cause why hee was iustly prouoked to make warre against the French kyng: And after desired them of their benevolent aide of men and money for the maintenaunce of the same. The cause of this battail, euery man did allow, and to the setting forth of the same promised all that they could make. The king comending them for their true and louyng hartes, to the entent hee might not aggravate the common people, with payng of great taxes, and summes of money, whome hys minde was euer to kepe in fauour, woulde first exact mency by a litle and a litle of the benevolent minde of the richer sorte, and this kinde of exaction was first practised by king Edward the fourth, as it apcreth before in his story. Therefore he consulted with his friendes, to inuent how to gather together a great summe of money, and published abrode that by their open giftes, hee woulde measure and search their benevolent hartes and louyng minds toward him, so that he that gaue most should be iudged to be his most louyng friende, and he that gaue litle, to be esteemed according to his gift. So by this meanes the king gathered innumerable summes of money, with some grudge of the people for the extremitie shewed by the commissioners in diuerse places.

You haue heard before howe Philip Mounsure, Lorde of Rauestone by the ayde of Bruges and Gaunt had taken the towne, and two Castels of Sluce and was become aduersarie to Maximilian, by reason of the three chiefe Cities of Flaunders: Nowe ye shall vnderstande that he did not onely so fortifie as well with munitions as men, both the towne and the two Castels, but also gat into the Hauen diuerse shippes and Barkes, and by this meanes he spoyled and toke prisoners all nations, passing eyther by sea or by lande to the mart at Andwarp, or into Brabant, Zealande, or Frisslande, and was euer plentifully biteyled out of Fraunce and Bycardy to the great damage of the Engliche men, which were spoyled dayly, and taken prisoners: Which thing Maximilian king of Romaynes could not well remedy, nor the kyng of Englande without great cost and losse of men. For to it behoued an armie, both by sea and lande, for when hee was set for by lande, he fled to the sea: And when he was chased on the sea, he sought refuge in his two stronge Towers, and euer he had succours from Bruges and Gaunt. Nowe was a litle towne two myle from Bruges, and a hed spring to Sluce. The king of Romaynes did oftentimes attempt the apprehending of this towne, to the entent that the Brugians should haue no recourse to the Hauen of Sluce,

A parliament

A beneuolence.

Philip Mounsure.

nor the Sluyfians should haue no succour out of the towne of Bruges. But there were slayne a great number of gentlemen of Germany, for they with in made no signe of defence, till all their enemies were in their daunger, and so slewe and destroyed them. There was a great Duke in Almayne, called Duke Albert of the upper Saxony, a great friend to the king of Romaynes, which made himselfe Renter, and neuer intermitted with the affayres of Flaunders, a man of nolesse pollecy, then valiaunt hardinesse. This Duke required of the Lordes of Bruges, that he might enter peaceably into their towne, according to his estate, with a certayne number of men of armes to communicate with them diuers matters of great weyght, and of no smal importance, and sent before his cariages and herbingers to make prouision. The estates of Bruges little doubted to admit so small a nuber into so populous a company, ye though the number were double, and especially, because they heard saye that he woulde lodge in the towne all night, wherefore no man thought of that craftie pollicie that he had inuented. His elected and warlike company entred into the Citie in good order, and he folowed, they that went before enquired after Innes and lodgings, as though they woulde repose themselves there all night, and so went forth still in order asking for lodgyng, till they came to the gate that goeth directly towarde the foresayde towne of Dam, distant from Bruges a Flemish mile, which is called the Bulwarke of Bruges. The Capitaynes and inhabitantes of the towne of Dam suspectyng no harime to come out of Bruges, thinkyng that their friendes knowyng some sodayne chaunce comyng, to haue sent to them aide and succours, and so nothing mistrusting, did let them enter, and toke the towne of Damme, and so that towne, which coulde not be wonne by force of armes, and displeasure of the towne of Bruges, for now had they no recourse to the Sea, which stop so continuyng, no doubt, but the towne of Bruges muste nedes fall in ruyne and vtter decay.

When Duke Albert of Saxony had gotten Dam, he certified the kyng of Englande that he woulde besiege Sluyse by lande, if it pleased his maiestie to minister any ayde by the sea. King Henry which was wise, and forersayng in all his affaires, remembryng that Sluyse was the denne of theues to them that trauesse the seas towarde the East parties, incontinent dispatched sir Edward Bowninges, (a valiaunt knight and hardie Captayne) wyth thoeue shippes well furnished with bolde souldiours, and strong artillerye. Which sir Edward sayled into the hauen, and kept Philip Mounsure from stertyng by the sea. The Duke of Saxon besieged the one Castell, lying in a Church ouer against it, and the English men assaulted the lesse Castell dayly, and issued out of the shippes at the ebbe, and although they stode in the water to the knees, yet they neuer gaue their enemies one day to rest or play by the space of .xx. dayes, and euery day slue some of their aduersaries, and on the Engliche part were slaine, Werre brother to the Erie of Orford and fiftie mo.

The Lord Philip of Rauestone, had made a brydge of Boates betwene both the Castelles, by the which one might succor the other. Which Brydge the English men in a night set on fyre. Then he perceiuyng that he must nedes lese his Castelles by force, and that the Flemynge could not ayde him,



yelded the Castels to Sir Edward Bononyngs, and the towne to the Duke of Saxony, upon certaine conditions. When the Duke and the English Capitaine met in the towne, there was betwene them great salutations and Sir Edward kept the Castelles a while, of whome the Almanes demaunded stipend and salary, because that the Duke had nothing to pay. Then these two Capitaines so handled them of Bruges, that they were content not onely to submit themselves to the Lorde Maximilian, but also to pay and dispatche the Almanes. And so Sir Edward Downinges tarped there a long space, and returned to the king before Soleyne. And so they which by reasonable order, would not be gouerned: by vnreasonable conditions were brought to conformitie and order.

The recouerie of the Citie of Granada from the Turkes.

The .vi. day of Aprill this present yere, the king commaunded all the nobilitie of his realme, to assemble at the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule in London, where after Te Deum solemnly song, the Archbishop of Cantorbury standyng on the steppes before the Queere doze, declared to the people, howe the famous Citie of Granada, which many yeres had bene possessed of the Moores or Morytane nation, beyng infidels & vncristened people, and nowe of late besieged by a great tyme by Donfernando and Elizabeth his wife, King and Queene of Spaine, Aragon and Castell. And the sayde infidels, by reason of this siege brought to great penurie and miserie, for lacke of vittaille and necessary band, perceiuyng that all succours were clerely stopped and kept away from them, and so brought into vtter dispaire of aide or comfort: after long consultation had amongst them, rendered themselves and their Citie, to the sayd king.

About this season, Maximilian king of Romaynes hauing the vpperhande of the Fleminges, by the ayde of the king of Englande (as you haue heard before) entended to reuenge himselfe of the french king, for that he had forsaken and put away his daughter Lady Margaret, and sent her home to him, entending as he thought to take to his wife the Lady Anne of Briteyn. But because he was not of sufficient habilitie of himselfe to susteyne and further the warre, he determined to desire king Henry to take part with hym. Whereupon he sent James Cantibald Ambassadoz, a man of great grauitie, to exhort and require the king of England, to enter his companie and societie in armes, faythfully promising on his honour that he would in semblable matters of his, take his part with ten thousand men at the least, for the space of two yeres whensoever he should require him. And because it is his chaunce to trie the fortune of battayle and to moue the warre, he promised to certifie King Henry sixe Moneths before that he would invade or occupie the territorie of his enemies. And by thys message Maximilian greatly enflamed and set a fyre King Henryes hart to beare with hym. And as he was mynded before thys time as you haue heard to ayde and assist the Britones in the extremitie of their perill, he nowe reconed the time to be come, that he must collect an armie to helpe them nowe at a pinche in their most perill and daunger, to the intent to restore agayne the Britithe nation to their aunient libertie, and to expulse the french nation, which thirsted for the blood and destruction of the poore Britons, and he was the more ardently therunto encouraged, because he perceaued Maximilian himselfe so earnestly set and bent toward that enterpryse, and therefore he made hys aunswere to James the

the Ambassadour, that he would be ashamed to be found slack or vnprovided at any time of Maximilian hys fellow and companion in armes. And so these matters well brought to effect on both parties, the king dismissed the Ambassadour from his presence.

Thys yere the gate in London called Creplegate, was new buylded at the cost and charges of Sir Edmond Shalw knight late Maior of London, And the sayde yere was the bewtiful Conduyt in Gracious strete, builded by the Executors of Syr Thomas Hill knight and Grocer of London, and late Maior of the sayde Citie, as doth appere by certayne verses written vpon the same Conduyt.

And this yere in Julie was Henry the kinges seconde somme bozne at Grenewiche beside London, which succeeded his father in the kingdom of Englande by the name of king Henry the eyght.

In this very season Charles the french king receaued Ladie Anne as his pupille into his handes, and with great solemnitie her espoused, hauing with her for her dowter the whole countrey of Briteyn: and so by thys meane the Britons became subiect to the french king. Maximilian being certefied of thys, fell into a great rage and agonye, for that he was not content with the forsaking and refusing of his daughter Lady Margaret, but also had taken and rauished away from hym his assured wyfe Ladie Anne Duchesse of Briteyne. And calling vpon God for vengeance and punishment for suche an heynous and execrable fact, cryed out and rayled on him, wyshing hym a thousand deaths. Yet after that he was pacified, and came to hymselfe agayne, & had gathered his wyts together, he thought it was most expedient to reuenge his honor and dignitie so manifestly touched with dirt of sword. And being in this minde, sent certaine Ambassadors to King Henry with his letters, desiring hym with all diligence to prepare an armie, and he himselfe would doe lykewise, to invade the french kings realmes with fyre, sword and blood.

King Henry hearing of this, and putting no diffidence in the promise of Maximilian, whome he knewe to haue a deadly hatred and long grudge agaynst the french king, caused a muster to be made in all the partes of hys realme, and put hys men of warre in a readynesse armed and weaponed, according to their feates: beside thys he rygged, manned and bitayled his flauie readie to set forward euery houre, and sent Curryers into euery shire to hasten the souldiours to the sea side.

After the message was declared, there came without any delay an honge armie of men, as well of the low sort & commonalty, as other noble men, harnessed and armed to battail, partly glad to helpe their prince & do him seruice, and partly to buckle with the french men, with whom the English men very wyllingly desyre to cope & fight in open battail. And immediatly, as monition was geuen, euery man with his bande of Souldiours repayed to London.

After that all this armie was arrayed, and euen readie to set forward, whereof were chiefetaines and leaders, Jasper Duke of Bedford, & John Erle of Orforde beside other, the king sent Christopher Warswike his Auouner, and syr John Ryseley knight to Maximilian, to certefie him that the king was all in a readynesse, and would shortly arryue in the continent lande, as sone as he were aduertised that Maximilian and his men, were readie and

J i i . i j .

prepared

Creplegate.

Gracious  
strete Con-  
duyte.

1491

7

Charles the  
french king  
espoused  
Ladie Anne  
Duchesse of  
Briteyne.An armie  
provided for  
the ayde of  
Maximilian  
agaynst the  
french king,



Maximilian  
unhable to  
make any pro-  
vision for the  
warre, bette-  
ly against his  
promises made  
to king Hen-  
ry.

King Henry  
brought into  
great per-  
plexities.

The noble &  
valiant cour-  
age of king  
Henry the  
seventh.

prepared to ioyne with him. The Ambassadors sayled into Flaunders, and alter their message done, they sent two letters in all hast to king Henry, the which not onely soze vnquieted and vexed him, but also caused him to take moze thought, care and studie on hym then he did before: for they declared that no Prince could be moze vnprovided or moze destitute of men & armure, nor no moze lacking all things, appertayning to warre, then was Maximilian, and that he lay lurking in a corner, soze sick of the fluxe of the purple, so that he had neyther men, horses, munitions, armure nor money, neuerthelesse his minde and wyl was good, if his power and habilitie had bene correspondent, and therfore there was no trust to be put in his aide or puyssaunce. Their lettres both disinayed and made soze of full the king of England, which lyke a prudent Prince did well consider, that it were both tedious and costly, for him alone to enterpryse so great a warre. And on the other part, if he should desist and leaue of his pretended purpose, all men might call him coward and recreant Prince. Beside thys, he thought that his awne nation would not take hys taryng at home in good nor favourable part, considering that lithe they had geuen so large money for the preparation of all things necessarie and conuenient for the same, they might conceaue in their heades and imagine, that vnder colour and pretence of a dissimuled warre, he had exacted of them notable summes of money, and now the treasure was once payed, then the warre was done, and his cofers well enriched, and the commons enpouerished. So that at thys time he doubted and cast perilles on euery side and part, and beside thys, he was not a little soze that Maximilian author of this warre did absent himselfe, and defraude him of his societie and assistance. And while he studied and mused what counsaile he should best take in such a doubtfull case, he lyke a graue Prince, remembryng the sayng of the wiseman, worke by counsaile, and thou shalt not repent thee, assembled together al his Lords and other of his private counsaile, by whose mindes it was concluded and determined, that he should manfully and courageously perceaue and proceede in this broched and begonne enterpryse, recordeing well with themselves, and affirming plainely that all chivalrie and martiall prowesse, the moze difficile and heard it is to attayne to, the moze renowned is the glorie, and the fame moze immortall of the vanquisher and obteyner. Therfore by thys counsaile of his friends and Senate, he made proclamation that euery man should set forthward into Fraunce, and yet openyng how Judasly Maximilian had deceaued hym, least that they knowyng the whole fact, should not be so courageous to go towarde that battayle and proceede forthwarde on their iourney. And therfore to prouide and foresee all perils and daungers that might ensue, he so strengthened and augmented his armie in suche number before he tooke ship, that he with his awne power might discourage and overcome the whole puyssaunce of his aduersaries.

When he had thus gathered and assembled his armie, he sayled to Callice the sixt day of October, and there encamped himselfe, taryng there a certeyn space to see his men harnessed and apparelled, that neyther weapon nor any engine necessary for his iourney should be neglected. At which place all the army had knowlege by the Ambassadors, which were newly returned out of Flaunders (for they did not know of it before) that Maximilian could make no preparation for lacke of money, and therfore there was no succor

to be looked for at his hand. At the which report, the Engliche men were nothing abashed nor disinayed, trustyng to their awne puyssaunce & companie. In the meane season, although the French king was as well with courage replenished, as with men furnished meete to trie a battaile, yet all thys notwithstanding he made semblaunce, as though he desyzed nothing moze then peace, beyng not ignoraunt that peace to be obteyned was of no small balure and price, and yet he determined to make moze expence in gettyng of peace, then in setting forth of warre, and regarded so much the lesse the treasure to be dispensed for the acquiryng of vntie and concord, forasmuch as he was afrayde that he beyng diligent to resist the inuasion of the Engliche men, that the Britons whereof the most part bare the yoke of his subiection contrary to their hartes and mindes, would sodeinly rebell and set themselves at libertie, and plucke their heades out of his Coller, and set vp another Duke & gouernour. And at the same very time he was inuited and desired of Lewys Sforcia Duke of Millain, to warre against Ferdinand king of Naples, at whose desyre he was prest & ioyous, thinkyng that he had that occasion sent to him from God, for the which he long before thyrsted & soze wished. The which kingdome he pretended to be due to him by succession, and entended long before to acquire and conquer it by force of armes, as his very right & due inheritance. For when Reyne Duke of Angeou last king of Sicille, departed without any heire male of his woife lawfully begotten, he did adopt to his heire of all his realmes and Dominions, Lewys the .xj. father to the thirde king Charles, to the entent that he should deliuer Queene Margaret his daughter out of the handes of king Edward the fourth, as you haue well before perceyued, wrongfully and without cause disinheritynge his Colyn, Godsonne, and heire, Rene Duke of Lozayne, and Barre. For the which cause he did the moze busily procure and labour for the amitie, fauour, and friendship of his neighbours round about him, that when all thinges were appeased and set in good stay at home, he might the better employ his whole force and puyssaunce on his warre in Italy. Wherefore beyng much desyrous to haue all thinges pacified and set in a perfite concord and securitie, he sent Philip Creueceur Lorde Cordes his chiefe Counsaylor and diligent officer to entreate and perswade the king of Englande to be reconciled and made againe as a newe friend to the french king. He not forgettyng his message, sent letters to king Henry before he passed the sea, and arrived in the firme lande, by the which he notified to him, that he of his bounden dutie and obseruaunce, which he ought to the king his maister, and to the profite of his realme, would take pain to inuent some meane and way, that his highnesse and king Charles his mayster beyng discouered in amitie, and made extreme enemyes, onely for the cause of Maximilian newly elected king of Romaynes, should be reducted and brought againe into their pristine estate and accustomed familiaritie, doubtyng not to bring his ship to the port desyred, if it might stand with his pleasure to sende some of his counsaylors to the confines and borders of the Engliche pale, adioynyng to Fraunce, there to here what reasonable offers should be declared and proffered: which conditions of peace should be so reasonable and so ample, that he doubted not, but that he might with his great honour breake vp his campe, and retire his armie backe againe into his awne seignory and dominion.

The French  
king entrea-  
ted the king  
of England  
for peace.



The king of Englande grauely consideryng that Britayne was clerly lost, and in maner irrecuperable, beyng nowe adioyned to the Crowne of Fraunce by mariage, which Duchie his whole minde was to defende, and that Maximilian what for lacke of money, and what for mistrust that he had in his awne subiectes, lay still lyke a Dormouse nothyng doyng, perceyving also that it should be both to his people profitable, and to hym great honour to determine this great warre without losse or bloodshed, appointed for commissioners the Bishop of Excester, and Gyles Lorde Dabbeney to passe the seas to Calice, to comen with the Lorde Cordes of articles of peace to be agreed vpon and concluded.

When the Commissioners were once met, they so ingeniously and effectiuouly proceeded in their great affayres, that they agreed that an amitie and peace should be assented to and concluded, so that the conditions of the league should be equall, indifferent, and acceptable to both partes as after shall be declared.

Woleyne be-  
sieged.

While the Commissioners were thus consultyng on the Marches of Fraunce, the king of England as you haue heard, was arriued at Calice, where he prepared all thinges necessary for such a iourney. And from thence he remoued in foure battailes, nere to the towne of Woleyn, and there pitched his tentes befoze the towne, in a place mete and conuenient, and determined to geue a great assault to the towne. In the which fortreffe was such a gar- rison of warlike Souldiours, that valiantly defended the towne, and the same so replenished with artillery and munitions of warre, that the losse of the Englishemen assaultyng the towne, shoulde be greater dammage to the realme of England, then the conqueriug and gainyng of the same shoulde be gaine or profite. Howbeit the kings dayly shot, rased and defaced the walles of the sayde towne: But when euery man was prest and redie to geue the assault, a sodaine rumoz rose in the armie, that a peace was by the commissio- ners taken and concluded, which brute as it was pleasaunt and delectable to the Frenche men, so it was to the English nation bitter, sorow, and dolorous, because they were prest and redye at all tymes to set on their enemyes, and refused neuer to attempt any enterprize, which might seeme eyther to be for theyr laude or profite: they were in great fumes, angrye, and euill content, railyng and murmyryng amongst themselves, that the occasion of so glori- ous a victozy to them manifestly offred, was by certain conditions to no man, nor yet to the king commodious or profitable, refused, put by and shamefully slacked: But aboue all other, dyuers Lordes and Capitaynes, encouraged with desire of fame and honour, trustyng in this iourney to haue wonne their spurres, which for to set themselves and theyr band the more gorgeously for- warde, had exchaunged and borrowed diuers and sundrie summes of money, and for the repayment of the same, had morgaged and layde to gage theyr landes and possessions, soze grudged and lamented at this sodaine peace, and spake largely agaynst the kinges doynges, sayng and affirmyng, that he as a man fearing & dreadyng the force and puissaunce of his enemies, had con- cluded an incouenient peace without cause or reason: But the king as a wise man & most prudent Prince to asswage the indignation & to pacifie the mur- mour of the people, declared what dammage and detriment, what losse and perdition of many noble Capitaynes and strong Souldiours must of neces- sitie

A peace con-  
cluded with  
Fraunce.

sitie happen and ensue at the assault of a towne, and especially when it is so well fortified with men and munitions, as the towne of Woleyne at that present tyme was: protestyng farther, that he might bee iustly accused and condemned of iniquitie and vnt ruth, except he did preferre the sauegarde of theyr lyues, befoze his awne welth, helth, and aduantage.

When he had thus prudently quyeted and appeased the mindes of hys men of warre, he returned backe againe with his whole armie to the towne of Calice, where he began to smell certaine secret smoke, which was lyke to turne to a great flame, without it were well watched and pollitically sene to. For by the craftie inuention and deuilish imagination of the Ladie Margaret, Duchesse of Burgoyne, a newe ydoll was set vp in Flaunders, and called Richard Plantagenet, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, as though he had bene resuscitate from death to life, which sodayne newes moze stak and fretted in his stomacke, then the battaile which nowe was set late forwarde, and moze paine he had (not without great ieopardie of himselfe) to appease and quenche this newe sprong conspiracie, then in makyng peace with the French king his enemye. And so he was content to accept and receyue (and not to offer and geue) the honest condicions of peace of his enemye profered except hee woulde at one tyme make warre both at home in his awne Countrie, and also in foreyne and externe nations. Wherefoze king Henry foresepyng all these thinges concluded with the Frenche king, to the en- tent that he beyng deliuered of all outwarde enmitie, might the moze quick- ly prouide for the ciuile and domesticall commocions, which he perceyued well to bee buddyng out. The conclusion of the peace was thus, that the peace should continue both their lyues, and that the French king should pay to king Henry a certaine summe of money in hande, accordyng as the Com- missioners should appoynt for his charges sustayned in hys iourney: Which (as the king certefyed the Maior of London by his letters the .ix. day of No- uember) amounted to the summe of seuen hundred. xl. thousand durates, which is in sterlyng money. C. lxxxi. M. C. l. pound, & also should yerely for a certein space pay or cause to be paid, for the money that y<sup>e</sup> king of Eng- land had sent and expended in the tuition and ayde of the Briteynes. rrb. M. Crownes, which yerely tribute, although the French king were afterwarde bered and troubled with the warres of Italy, yet he yerely satisfied, contented and payed the same, euen vnto the tyme of his soune king Henry the eyght.

Margaret  
Duchesse of  
Burgoyne.

Richard Pla-  
tagenet duke  
of York,  
second sonne  
of king Ed-  
warde the  
fourth.

The conclu-  
sion of the  
peace.

Also in this sojourning and besieging of Woleyne (which we spake of befoze) there was fewe or none killed, sayng onely one John Saunge knight, which goyng priuely out of hys pavilion with Sir John Kiseley, roade about the walles to biewe & see their strength, was sodaynely trapped and taken of his enemies. And he being inflamed with yre, although he were captiue, of his high courage disoeyned to be taken of such vileynes, defended his lyfe to the vttermost and was manfully (I wil not say wilfully) slaine and oppressed, albeit sir John Kiseley fled from them and escaped their daunger.

The king hauing put all things in an order beyond the Seas, did then with speede returne into Englande, and first of all things he elected into the societie of saint George, commonly called the order of the Garter, Alphonse Duke of Calabres sonne, accordyng to his desire, which Alphonse was sonne and heyre to Ferdinand king of Napels, and after king of the same realme, tyll



Alphonse son  
and heire to  
Ferdinando  
king of Spa-  
ples made  
knight of the  
Sarricr.

tyll he was ouercome by king Charles. And after, the king sent Ch�is of her  
Arsewike, Ambassadour with the Sartier, Collet, Mantell, and other ha-  
biliaments apperteyning to the companions of the sayde noble order. Which  
Ambassadour arryuing at Naples, deliuered to the Duke the whole habite,  
with all the ceremonies and due circumstances thereunto belonging.  
Which the Duke very reuerently receaued, and with more reuerence reue-  
sted himselfe with the same in a solempne presence, thinking that by thys ap-  
parell and inuestiture, he was made a friend and companion in order with  
the king of Englande, whose friendship obteyned, he feared nothyng the as-  
saults or inuasions of his enimies. And thys was the cause that he desired so  
much to be companion of that noble order, firmly beleewing that the king  
of Englande souereigne of that order, should be ayder and maintayner of  
hym agaynst the French king, whome he knew would passe the mountaynes  
and make warre on hym. But this custome of assistance in orders was, ey-  
ther neuer begonne, or before clerely abolished: For in our time there haue  
bene many noble men of Italy, companions as well of the Golden Flese in  
Burgoyne, as of the order of Saint Michell in Fraunce, that haue bene  
banished and driuen away from their naturall Countrey, and yet haue not  
bene ayded by the souereigne nor companions of the same order. For surely  
the statutes and ordinaunces of all the sayde orders doth not binde them to  
that case, but in certayne poynts. After thys the Duke dimitted the Ambas-  
sador, and rewarded him most Princely.

But now let vs retorne to the new sonne of king Edward: And first to  
declare his lignage and beginning you must vnderstand that the Duches of  
Burgoyne so nozished and brought bp in the sedicious and unhappie factions  
of false contriuers and founders of discorde, coude neuer cease nor be in  
quyet, except she shoulde trouble and vnquyet the kyng of Englande, for no  
desert or displeasure by him to her committed, but onely because he came and  
descended of the house of Lancastre, euer being aduerse and enimie to her  
lyne and linage. For which only cause she compassed and inuented how to cast  
a scorpion in his bosome, and to infect his whole realme with pestiferous dis-  
corde. To the intent that he being vanquished and brought to confusion,  
both the boyling heate of her malicious hart might be fully faciated with his  
innocent bloude, and also aduance and preferre some darling of her faction  
to his Empire, rule and dignitie. And principally remembryng that the Earle  
of Lincoln, which was by her set forth and al his company had small fortune  
and worse successe in their progression and enterprize, contrarie to her hope  
and expectation she beganne to deuise and spinne a new webbe. And as the  
deuill prouideth benemous sauce to corrupt bankettes, so for her purpose she  
espied a certaine young man, of visage beutifull, of countenance demure, of  
witte subtle, craftie and pregaunt, called Peter Warbecke. And for his da-  
stard cowardnes of the Englishmen, in derision called Perkin Warbeck, ac-  
cording to the duche phraise, which chaunge the name of Peter to Perkin,  
to yonglinges of no strength nor courage: Which yong man traueylyng  
many countreys, coude speake English and many other languages, and for  
his basenesse of stocke and birth was knowne of none almost, and onely for  
the gaine of his lyuing from his childehoode was of necessitie compelled to  
trauaile diuerse realmes and regions. Therefore the Duches thinkyng to  
haue

Peter War-  
beck comenly  
called Per-  
kin Warbeck.

to haue gotten God by the foote, when she had the deuill by the tayle, and ad-  
iudging this yong man to be a meete organe to conuey her purpose, and one  
not vnlike to be the Duke of Yorke, sonne to her brother king Edward, which  
was called Richard, kept him a certaine space with her priuily, and him with  
such diligence instructed, both of the secretes, and common affayres of the  
realme of Englande, and of the lignage, dissent & order of the house of Yorke,  
that he lyke a good Scholer not forgettyng his lesson coude tell all that was  
taught him promptly without any difficulty: & besides, he kept such a prince-  
ly countenance, and so counterfeyte a maiestie royall, that all men in maner  
did firmly beleue that he was extracted of the noble house and familie of the  
Dukes of Yorke. For suerly it was a gift geuen to that noble progenie as of  
nature in the roote planted that all the sequele of that lyne and stocke did stu-  
dy and deuise how to be equyvalent in honoz and fame with their forefathers  
and noble predecessors.

When this Duches had framed her cloth mete for the market, and ima-  
gined that all thinges was readye and prepared for the confusion of King  
Henrie, sodeinly she was enforced that the sayde king of Englande prepared  
a puissant armie agaynst Charles the French King. Then she considering  
the oportunitie of the time, as who woulde saye, a time wished and a daye de-  
syed to achieue and bring to passe her malicious inuencion. Wherefore she  
sent Perkin Warbeck, her new inuented Shammet first into Dortingall,  
and so craftelie into the realme of Irelande, to the entent that he being both  
wyttie and wylye might moue, inuegle and prouoke the rude and rusticall  
Irish nation (being more of nature enclined to rebellion then to resonable  
order) to a new conflict & a sedicious commocion. This worshipfull Perkin,  
arriuing in Ireland, whither it were more by his craftie witte, or by the ma-  
litious exhortacion of the saluage Irish gouernors, within short space entred  
so farre into their fauoures, and so serioulye perswaded and allured them to  
his purpose, that the greatest Lordes and Princes of the countrey gaue such  
fayth and credit to his wordes, as that thing had bene true in dede, which he  
vntruly set forth & declared: And as though he had bene the very son of king  
Edward, they honozed, and exalted him with all reuerence and due honoure,  
promising vnto him ayde, comfort and assistance of all thinges to the feat of  
warre, necessarie and appertayning.

In the meane season these newes were made knowne to Charles the  
French king, then being in displeasure with king Henry, which without deay  
sent for Perkin into Irelande, to the intent to sende him agaynst the King of  
Englande which was inuading Fraunce (as you before haue heard.) This fle-  
ming Perkin was not a litle ioyfull of this message, thinking by this onely  
request to be exalted into heauen, when he was called to the familiaritie and  
acquaintaunce of Kinges and Princes: and so with all diligence sayled into  
Fraunce, with a berie small nauie, not so small as smally furnished. And  
commyng to the kings presence was of him royally accepted, & after a princely  
fashion entertained, & had a gard to him assigned, whereof was gouernoz the  
lorde Congreshal. And to him at Paris resorted sʒ George Neuell bastard,  
sʒ John Tayler, Rouland Robinson and an hundred English rebelles.  
But after that a peace, as before is said was apoynted and concluded betwixt  
him and the king of Englande, the said king Charles dimitted the yong man,  
and

Perkin War-  
beck arriued  
in Ireland.

The French  
king enter-  
tyneth Per-  
kin.



and would no longer kepe him. But some men saye which were there attending on him, that he fearing that kyng Charles, woulde deliuer him to the king of Englande, beguiled the Lorde Congreshall, and fled away from Paris by night. But whether he departed without the French kings consent or disassent, he deceiued in his expectation, and in maner in dispaire, returned againe to the Lady Margaret his first foolish foundresse.

The Duches thinking euery houre from his departure a whole yere, vntill such time as she heard from him, and effectuously desiring to knowe which way Ladie fortune turned her wheele, hearing him to be reiected out of the French court was in a great agony and much amased: But when shee was assured of his arrivall in Flaunders, shee no lesse reuiued, then he that hath in stead of the sword of execution, a pardon and restitution of his life. And at his comming to her presence, she receaued him with such gladnesse, and with such a comfort (as in dede she could dissemble alone about all other) as though she had neuer seene nor knowne him before, that what in trust to preferre him to the preheminece by her ymagined, and what for the hope that she had to destroy king Henry, shee fell into such an vmeasurable ioy, that she had almost lost her wyt and senses. And that thys her gladnesse might be notified and made apparant to euery man, she first reioyced of her Nephewes helth and welfare: And secondarily she much thurst and soze longed, not once, but dyuers and sundrie times in open audience, and in solempne presence to here him declare and shewe by what meanes he was preserved from death and destruction, and in what Countries he had wandered and sought friendship: And finally, by what chaunce of fortune he came to her court and presence. To the entent that by the open declaration of these feyned phantasies, the people might be perswaded to geue credite and beliefe that he was the true begotten sonne of her brother king Edward. And after this shee assigned him a garde of thirtie persons in Purrey and blewe, and highly honoured him as a great estate, and called hym the whyte Rose, Prince of Englande.

Perkyn was named the Prince of Englande.

By reason whereof the Nobilitie of Flaunders were to hym diligent, and wyth due reuerence did him all the pleasure that laye in their power or offices. And to be short, the more that this poeticall and feyned inuention was shadowed with the pretence of sincere veritie, the more fayth and assured credence, was geuen to it. In so much, that many one thought hym to be preserved, onely by the wil and mightie power of almighty God, and to be conueyed at the first daunger by some faythfull friend of king Edward his father into some straunge Countrie, and so escaped the violent tirannie of hys Uncle king Richard. The same and brute of thys iuggeled miracle was almost in one moment blodde ouer all the Countrie of Flaunders, but in England it was blased in euery place soner then a man could thinke or deuise it: In which Countrie more then in other places it was receaued for an vndoubted truth, and that not onely of the common people, but also of diuers noble and worshipfull men, of no small estimation, which swore and affirmed it to be true. After this brute that Richard sonne to king Edward was yet liuyng, and had in great honoz amongst the Fleminges, there began sedition to spring on euerie side. For not onely they that were in Sanctuaries, for great and heynous offences by them committed, but also manye other that

were

were fallen into debt, and doubtyng to be brought to captiuitie and bondage, assembled together in companies, and were passed ouer the Sea into Flaunders to their counterfeitte Richard sonne to king Edward, otherwise named Perkyn Warbeck. After this many of the noble men conspired together some through rashnesse and hastie credite induced thereto, some beyng so earnestly perswaded in their awone conceipt, as though they knewe perfittly that thys Perkyn was the vndoubted sonne of king Edward the fourth, solicited, stirred and allured to their opinion all such as were friends and fauourers of the house of Yorke. Other through indignation, enuie and auarice, euer grudging and thinking they were not sufficiently rewarded for their paines and partes taken in the kings behalfe and quarrell. Other whome it grieued and vexed to see the worlde stande still in one stae, and all men to lyue in peace and tranquillitie, desirous of some chaunge, ranne headling into that furie, and seditious coniuration.

Thys rumour and bayne fable of this twise borne Duke Rycharde, deuised all Englande, and drewe the realme into partakings and severall factions, so that the mindes of all men were vexed eyther with hope of gayne and preferment, or with feare of losse and confusion. Albeit the king and his counsaile and other his faythfull friendes, not a little maruelled that any person (beyng in his right wyt) could induce in his minde or finde in his hart falsly to thinke that such a pernicious fable & feyned matter should haue any truth in it. Notwithstanding many of the Noble men (as he well then perceaued) tooke and reputed it to be a thing true and vnfeyned. So that he then saue as farre as Lynx with his bright eyes, that thys newe inuented fable would make some broyle and discorde in his realme: Except it were manifestly published and openly declared to be a feyned fable, and a craftie imagined mischief. Other persons, to whome warre, sedition, and strife, were as pleasant as delicate fare, were very ioyous of these newes, beleying no fraude nor decepte to be hidden vnder this golden tale, and therefore they determined to send messengers, to the Ladye Margaret to knowe when Rycharde Duke of Yorke might come conueniently into Englande, to the intent that they beyng thereof certefied, might be in a redynesse to help and succour him at his first arriuall.

So by the common consent and agreement of the coniuured confederats, sir Robert Clifford knight, & sir William Barley were sent into Flaunders, which playnely shewed to the Duches all the secret intents and priuie counsailes of the friendes and fauourers of the newe found Duke. The Duches this message did gladly accept, & louingly embrace, and of their tydings was not a little ioyous, easily by hir perswasion inducing to their heades, that all things that were spoken of Duke Rycharde were true and vnfeyned. And afterward brought them to the sight of Perkyn, the which counterfeitte the countenance and the maner and fashion of Rycharde Duke of Yorke, praising his vertues and qualities, with the which he was indued about the thone. The sayde Sir Robert Clifford, when he had sene and well aduised the yong man, beleyed surely that he was extracted of the blood royall, and the very sonne of king Edward the fourth, and thereof he wrote a letter of credite and confidence into Englande to his companyons and felowes of his conspiracie, & to put them out of all doubt he affirmed that he knew him to be

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more cause  
great trouble.

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Sir Robert  
Clifford and  
Sir William  
Barley pro-  
cured the ser-  
uing by of  
Perkyn  
Warbeck.



king Edwardes sonne by his face and other lymaments of his body. And when these letters came to England, the Chiettaines of this businesse, to the entent to stirre the people to some new commotion and tumult, & to set forth some cause of matter apparaunt, caused it openly to be divulged & published, that it was true and not feyned that was spoken and sayde abroade of the Duke of Yorke: but it was done by such a secret craft, that no man could tell who was the authoz and founder of that rumour.

When the king perceaued that this bayne fable was not banished out of the mad brennes of the comen people, he thought it expedient both for the sauegarde of himselfe and also of his Countrey, to prouide some remedie to repress this imminent mischaunce, not a little suspecting, that some conspiracie had bene concluded and agreed, because that Sir Robert Clyfford had late fled priuily into Flaunders. Wherefore he sent certayne knightes that were chosen and picked men of warre, with a band of Souldiours into euerie part to keepe the Hoyses and the Sea costes surely, that no man might passe ouer into anye foreyne lande beyonde the Sea, nor repasse into thys realme without search or passport or saueconduyt by him geuen, & all streytes passages, and bye pathes were kept and searched, so that no man bnapprehended could passe to the Sea coast, nor make any conuenticle or assemble witho:it he were espied and taken. And to the intent that many men, beyng both of England and other places for verie malice by this newe inuention enflamed and indurate, should no farther ruine in their madnesse, he secretly sent wise espialles to all the Cities of the lower Fraunce, within the Archedukes dominion, and the confines of the same, to search and prye out of what progeny this misnamed Richard was dissended and brought forth, promising highly to rewarde and thanke such persons, which would manifest and open the secret doubtles and denises of the same matter: and beside thys he wrote to his trusty frendes to do the same. So they saylinge into fraunce deuided and seuered themselves euery man into a lymite and prouince. And when certayne of them repayed to the towne of Turnay, they were there certefied by the testimony of manye honest persons that thys feyned Duke came but of a loto stocke, and of a base parentage, and was named there Peter Warbecke. And so shortly after the kinges inquisitozs returned in Englande, reportyng to the king what they had knowen and hearde: Of which thing the king was also moze plainly certefied by his trustie and faythfull frendes, both by letters and trustie messengers.

Whereupon seying that now the fraude was openly espyed, he determined to haue it published and declared with all diligent celeritie, both in the realme of England, and also in all partes beyond the sea, in the pronynces of foreyn Princes, and straunge Potentates. And for the same cause he sent to Philip Archeduke of Burgoyne, and to his counsaylozs (because that he was not yet of full age, apt and conuenient to take the regiment of his Countreys and seignories) Sir Edward Downinges, a valiant knight, and Sir William Warram Doctor of the lawes, a man of great modestie and learning, that they should openly to them declare, that the yong man beyng with the Ladie Margaret, was dissended of a base and obscure parentage, and that he had falsely and vntuly usurped the name of Richard Duke of Yorke, which long before was murthured with his brother Edward in the Tower

of

of London, by the commaundement of King Richard theyr Uncle, as many men liuyng can testifie. And to thinke and say otherwys then this that a- pertly is knowne, it were the highest poynt and degree of madnesse, forasmuch as it is probable by an inuincible reason, and an argument infallible, that King Richard their naturall vnckle, in dispatchyng and destroyng Prince Edward the eldest sonne of King Edward his brother, was in no suretie of his realme or usurped dominion, if he had permitted Richard the yonger son to liue and continue: for then might he as next heire to his brother haue lawfully and by iust title claymed the Scepter and Diademe royall, which was his fathers, and after diuoluted to his elder brother. And therefore they should desyre the Archeduke, and the Princes of his Counsayle, that it would please them to geue no credite, nor themselves suffer any moze to be blinded or seduced with such mere impostures and craftie illusions being full of vntuth and apparant falsehed, nor yet to ayde or assist such a craftie merchant, which had falsely fayned his name and stocke, and in especially agaynst him, which in fewe yeres passed, had succoured and relieved Maximilian their Lorde beyng sore oppressed, and almost ouercome, both with the extort power and puyssaunce of the French king, and also with the ciuile discorde, and intestine rebellion of his awne subiectes and Vassals. With these commaundementes the Ambassadors sayled into Flaunders, and were there gently receyued, and louyngly enterfeyned of the Archeduke Philip and his Counsaile. And after that they were commaunded to declare the intent of their Legation, Doctor William Warram priest, made before them a pleasant and an eloquent oration, shewing therein discretely the mynde and desyre of the king his mayster: And in the latter ende of his oration, he a little rebuked the Ladie Margaret, and hit her on the thombes, sayng that she nowe in her olde age, within fewe yeres had produced and brought forth two detestable monsters, that is to say, Lambert (of whome reherfall was made before) and the other Perkyne Warbeck. And beyng conceyued of these two great babes, was not of them deliuered in eyght or nine monethes as nature doth require, and as all other women commonly do, but in the .C. and .lxxx. monethes, she brought them forth out of her wombe: for both these at the least were fiftene yeres of age before that she woulde bee brought in bed of them and shewe them openly.

And when they were newly crept out of her wombe they were no infantes, nor suckyng children, but lustie yonglynges, and of age sufficient to bid battaile to kinges. Although these tauntes and icastes did anger and trouble the Ladie Margaret, yet Perkin was moze bered and encombred with the thinges declared, in this oration, and in especiall because his fraude, and false feyned iuggelyng was brought to light & opened: yet the Duches beyng therewith moze incenced then quenched, nothing refraynyng her olde malice and cancard hatred, but entendyng to cast hote Sulpher to the newe kindled fyre, determined clerely to arme and set forwarde pretie Perkyne agaynst the king of England with speare and shield, might and mayne.

When the Ambassadors had done their message, and the Archedukes Counsaile had long debated whether Perkyne were the true sonne of King Edward the fourth, they answered the Ambassadors: that to the entent to haue the loue and fauour of the King of England, assuredly after that tyme,

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the Archeduke nor they would neyther ayde nor assist Berkyne nor his Complices, in any cause or quarell. Yet notwithstanding, if the Ladie Margaret persistyng and continyng in her malice towarde the king, would be to him aydyng and helpyng, it was not in their power to let or withstande it, for because she in the landes assigned to her for her dower, might frankly and frely do and order all things at her awne wyll and pleasure without contradiction of any other gouernor.

When this aunswere was geuen to them, they returned againe into England. After that, King Henry lokyng circumspectly to his matters, purposed to pacify the stozmes and blastes that he perceyued to be growyng, rather by pollicie and counsaile, then by doubtfull warre and manslaughter, if his nobilitie would thereunto condiscend. For he well considered that of one busynesse ryseth another, and of one small sparckle cometh a great flame. And therfore stright he sent forth certain espialles into Flaunders, which should feine themselves to haue fled vnto the Duke of Yorke, and by that meanes serche forth and seeke out the whole entent of theyr conuiration, and after what way they entended to procede in the same. Other were sent also to allure and entice Sir Robert Clifford, and William Barlye to returne into England, promisyng to them franke and free pardon of all offences and crymes committed, and promotions and rewarde, for obeying to the kinges request. These Spyes so trauallyed in their affayres and busynesse, that they brought to passe all thinges to their maisters desyre. For first they had perfite knowlege of the names of certaine conspirators agaynst the king. After they perswaded sir Robert Clifford to leaue off that foolishe opinion, which had no sure ground nor foundation to stay it selfe vpon. Albeit William Barlye could not be brought from his begon enterprize, but that he would go forwarde hedlong with the same, which tarped not long in that lewde opinion. For within two yeres after this, he repentynge him of his foly, beyng reclaimed, and hauyng pardon geuen him of the king, repayed home to his native Countrie, detestynge him and his foolishe blindenesse. When the espialls had sped their purpose, one after another stole away priuily from the fayned Duke, and returned into Englande, bringyng wyth them the names of certaine, which were chiefe of that conspiracie. Other tarped still behinde to accompanye sir Robert Clifford, when he returned againe into England, whose returne marueylously discomfited and abated the courages, and hartes of the conuirators, for they perceyued dayly that their enterprize moze and moze fainted, and that they were by a little and little damnified and hurted. And yet they sawe no man whome they might perfutely put diffidence in, nor yet once mistrust.

When the king had knowlege of the chiefe Capitaynes of thys tumult by the ouerture of his spies, which were returned, he caused them all to bee apprehended, and brought to London befoze his presence. Of the which the chiefe were John Ratcliffe Lorde Fitzwater, sir Simond Mountforde, sir Thomas Cwhaytz knights, William Dabobney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenoz, and Thomas Astwood. Also certaine priestes and religious men, as sir William Kicheford Doctor of diuinitie, and sir Thomas Poynes, both friers of Saint Dominikes order, Doctor William Sutton, sir William Worsely Deane of Paules, and Robert Leyborne, and sir Richard Lessor.

Other

The chiefe of the conspiracy to haue aduanced Berkyne Warbeck and to haue deposed King Henry the seventh.

Other that were guiltie of the same cryme, heeryng that many of theyr company were taken, fled and tooke Sanctuary. And the other that were taken were condemned all of treason, of the which there was beheaded, Sir Symond Mountford, sir Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dabobney, as authours and chiefe Capitaynes of this busynesse. The rest were pardoned, Also sir John Ratcliffe Lorde Fitzwater, was pardoned of his lyfe, but after that he came to Calice, and there layd in holde, he was beheaded, because he corrupted the keepers with many promises to haue escaped out of the same entenyng as was thought to haue gone to Berkyne.

King Henry of England, partly grieued with the king of Romaynes for breakyng his promise, when he should haue associated him in his iourney agaynst the French king, and partly displeased with the Flemynge, but principally with the Ladie Margaret, for keepyng and settyng forwarde Berkyne Warbecke, not onely banished all Flemishe wares, and marchandises, out of his realme and dominions, but also restrained all Englishe marchaunts from their repayze and traffique, into any of the landes and territories of the king of Romaynes, or the Archeduke his sonne, causyng the Martes of Marchandises and comodities of this Realme to be kept at his towne of Calice. Wherefoze the sayde king and his sonne banished out of their landes and seignories all Englishe clothes, yarne, tynne, leade, and other comodities, vpon great forfeitures and penalties. The restraint made by the king soze grieued and hindred the Marchantes, beyng aduenturers: for they by force of this commaundement had no occupiyng to beare theyr charges and support their continuance and credite. And yet one thing soze nipped their hartes, for the Easterlynges which were at libertie, brought into the realme suche wares as they were wont and accustomed to doe, and so serued their customers throughe out the whole realme: By reason wherof the maisters beyng destitute of sale and traffique, neyther retyened so many couenant seruantes and apprentices as they befoze were accustomed, and in especiall, Carters, Haberdashers, and Clothworkers, nor yet gaue to their seruantes so great stipend and salarie, as befoze that restraynt they vsed to do. For which cause the sayde seruantes entenyng to worke their malice on the Easterlynges, the Tuesday befoze Saint Edwardes day came to the Stiliard in London, and began to rife and spoyle such Chambers and Warehouses as they could get into: so that the Easterlynges had much a do to withstand and repulse them out of their gates. And when their gates were shut and made fast, the multitude rushed and beate at the gates with Clubbes and Leauers to haue entred, but the Easterlynges by the helpe of Carpenters, and Smythes, which came to their ayde by water out of the Borough of Southwarke had so strongly thored and fortified themselves, that they could not preuaile. The Maior of London heeryng of this ryot, assembled the Maiestres and officers of the Citie together, and so beyng furnished both with men and weapon, set forward toward the Stiliard. Assone as the commyng of the Maior was declared and knowen to the riotous persons, they fled away lyke a flock of sheepe: howbeit he apprehended diuers of the malefactors, and committed them to severall prisons. And vpon the inquirie befoze the kinges Commissioners, there were found guiltie aboue. lxxx. seruantes & apprentices (and not one housholder) which were confederate together to make this attempt,

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tempt,

King Henry the .vii. forbade the trade of English men into Flaunders.

The marte kept at Calice.

The King of Romaynes and the Archeduke his son banished out of Flaunders all Englishe wares.

Ryot made vpon the Easterlynges.



tempt, and sworne in no wyse to discouer or reuele the same: Whereof, some that were the Chiefeynes and beginners of this mischievous riot, were sent to the Tower, and there long continued. But in conclusion, because none of their maysters were founde trespassers of this naughtie act, the king of hys goodnesse pardoned their offence, and restored them to their libertie.

Shortly after, s<sup>r</sup> Robert Clifford, partlye trusting on the kings promise, and partly mistrusting the thing, because he knew that diuers that were accused to be partakers of that faction and conspiracie were put in execution: and therefore perceyuing that there coulde not be a more pernicious nor more desperate begonne thing then that deuillish enterprize, retourned sodeynlye againe into Englande. The kinge beinge certefied befoze of his comminge, went streight to the Towre of London the moztow after the day of Epiphany and there taried till such time that s<sup>r</sup> Robert Clifford was there presented to his person, which thing he vsed vnder this pretence, that if s<sup>r</sup> Robert Clifford had accused any of the Nobilitie to be partakers of this naughtie felowship and deuillish pretence, that then euery such person might be called thither without suspection of any euill, & there straight to be attached & cast in holde.

But befoze I go any farther I will shew the opinion that at that tyme ranne in many mens heddes of this knyghtes going into flaunderis. Some men helde this opinion, that king Henrie for a policie did send him as a spye to flaunderis, or else he woulde not haue so sone receyued him into his graie and fauour agayne: Neuerthelesse, this is not like to be true by dyuers reasons and apparant arguments, first after that attempt begon by s<sup>r</sup> Robert, he was in no small daunger himselfe, and by that he was not a litle noted, and his name blenished, but also his friendes were suspected and had in a ieclosy. Secundarily he was not after that in so great fauour, nor so esteemed with the kyng as he had beene in times past, because he was biotted and marked with that crime and offence. And therefore he bearing his fauour to the house of Yorke entending in the beginning to administer displeasure to king Henry, sayled to the Lady Margaret, being seduced and brought in beliefe that Derby was the verie sonne of king Edward. But to my purpose, when s<sup>r</sup> Robert came to the presence of the king, he kneeling on his knees most humble, besoched him of grace and pardon, which he shortly obtayned. And after that beyng requyred of the maner and order of the coniuration, and what was done in flaunderis, he opened euery poynt to his knowlege, & after disclosed the names, as well of the ayders and fauours as of the deuilers and beginners. Amongst whom he accused s<sup>r</sup> William Stanley, whom the king had made his chiefe chamberlein, and one of his priue counsaile. When he had so sayde, the king was greatly dismayed and grieved, that he should be partaker in that greivous offence, considering first that he had the gouerraunce of his chamber, and the charge and comptrolment of all such as were next to his body, and also calling to remembrance the manifolde gentlenesse and friendship, which he had receaued at his hande, but in especiall not forgetting that benefite above all other, that only by his aide and succour, he had banquished and overthrowen his mortall enemy king Richard. Wherefore, at the beginning he coulde in no wise be perswaded nor beleue that he was such a priue conspirator, or malicious offender, but when the crime was openly produced and probably affirmed, then the king caused him to be restrayned from

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Sir Robert Clifford greatly abused with the opinion that he had of Derby.

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his libertie in his aboue Chamber within the quadrate Tower. And there appoynted him by his priue counsaile to be examined. In which examination he nothing denyed, but wisely and seriously did consent and agree to all thinges layde to hys charge, if he were in anye of them culpable or blame worthe.

The report is, that this was his offence. When communication was had betwene him, and this s<sup>r</sup> Robert Clifford, as concernyng Derby which falsly vsurped the name of king Edwardes sonne, Sir William Stanley sayd and affirmed there, that he would neuer fight nor beare armoir agaynst the yong man, if he knew of a truth that he was the vndoubted sonne of king Edward the fourth. This poynt argueth and proueth him at that tyme, beyng moued with melancholye, to beare no great good will to king Henry, whereof suspicion first grewe, and after this ensued the accusation of Sir Robert Clifford.

Then the king doubtyng what to do with him, did consult and breath with himselfe of this sodaine chaunce. For he feared least that his brother Lord Thomas Stanley, in whome he had found great friendship, woulde take this matter greivously. And if he should remit that fault, that he abusing his lenitie and mercie, woulde be the more bolder to offende, and trespasse more highly. Albeit at the last, seueritie tooke place, and mercy was put back, and so he was arreigned at Westminster, and adiudged to die, and according to that iudgement was brought to the Tower hill the .xviij. day of February, and there had his head stricken off. What was the occasion and cause why the sincere and faythfull minde that s<sup>r</sup> William alwayes befoze bare to king Henry, was turned into canard hatred and despite, and why the especiall fauour that the king bare towarde him was transmuted into displeasure and displeasure, dyuers men allege dyuers causes, affirmyng that when king Henry (what other mutuall benefites the one had receyued of the other, I wyll now pretermit and ouerpasse) in that battail in the which he bereft king Richard both of his life and his kingdome, bring associate and accompanied but with a small number, and circumvented by king Richards armie, and in great leoparchie of his life, this Sir William beyng sent from the lord Stanley his brother with a good compaigne of strong and hardie men (which Lord Stanley was nere the fielde with a great armie) came sodainly and fortunately to the succours of king Henry, and saued him from destruction, and ouerthrowe king Richard as befoze you haue heard. Surely this was a benefite above all benefites to be remembred, by the which king Henry was not only preserved aliue, but also obteyned the Crowne and kingdom, which great benefite, after the kingdome once obteyned, he did neyther forget, nor yet left unrewarded. For the Lorde Thomas Stanley he inuested with the sword of the countie of Darbie, and besyde other great giftes and offices geuen to William Stanley, he made him his chiefe Chamberleyn. This Sir William, although he were in great fauour with the king, and had in great and high estimation, more remembryng the benefite done to the king, then the rewardes and gratuities of his liberalitie receyued, thinkyng that the befall of Oile (accordyng to the Gospell) would ouerflow the byminnes, and as some say, desiryng to be Erle of Chester, and thereof denyed, beganne to grudge and disdeyne the king his highe friende: and one thing encouraged him

Sir William Stanley beheaded.



him much, which was the riches and treasure of King Richard, which he only possessed at the conflict of Bosworth: by reason of which abundance of riches, and great power of people, he set naught by the King his sovereigne Lorde and Master. When the King perceyved that his stomake beganne to canker and waxe rustie, he was with him not a little displeas'd, and so when both their hartes were enflamed with melancholy, both lost the fruit of their long continued amitie and fauour. And so it often chaunceth, that when men do not consider nor yet regarde the great benefites to them exhibited, they rendre againe hatred for liberalitie, and for bread geuen, they yelde againe a Scorpion. Nowe to returne to the matter.

At this time the King thought it best, yea and very necessary, not only to take hede about him, but also to vse some sharpe punishment and correction of the offences of his subiectes, to the entent that the late begonne sedicion might the sooner be repressed, and for this cause specially that some persons boyde of all honest feare and reuerent dread, had taken such courage and audacitie to them, that they feared not to speake euill of their King and sovereigne Lorde, with most spitefull and contumelious wordes, as though they neither feared nor would obey him, or his precepts and commaundementes, expectyng dayly and hourelly the arriuall and landyng of the farned Richard Duke of Yorke, nowe lately risen from death to lyfe. But when knowlege of the flanderous and opprobrious wordes were brought to the Kinges eares, he caused diuers persons to suffer condigne punishment for theyr heynous offences, whereby their complices well perceyving that their enterprize had no prosperous successe nor took any good effect, and especially such as rashely began to make mastries, and farther seeyng what preparation was made and provided agaynst their troubleous commocion and frantique enterprize, they of their awne swinge pacified themselves, & began to turne to their King and naturall liege Lorde.

After the death of Sir William Stanley, Gyles Lorde Dabobency, a man of great fidelitie and circumspection, was elected and made the Kinges chiefe Chamberleyne. When the King had thus polittiquely weeded out the euill and corrupt hartes of his Englishe subiectes, and had pacified and brought all his realme to a peaceable and a quiet life. Then he perceyved that it was necessary also to purge and cleanse his realme of Ireland, to the entent that the benemous seede sowne and planted two yeres past, amongst the wilde and sauage Irishe persons by Perkin Warbeck might be cleane digged and rooted by. Wherefore he sent Sir Henry Deane, late Abbot of Langton, a man of great wit and diligence (whome he made Chaunceloz of the Isle) and Sir Edward Downynges knight, with an armie of men into Ireland, to serche and purge all such townes and places where Perkin was receyved, relied on or fauoured. And if they espyed any of hys affinitie or faction, then he would they should be punished with all extremitie to the terrible example of all other that would encline to that vnfortunate parte. And first, after their arriuall into Ireland, they called in the Kinges name the nobilitie of that countrie to a counsaile, where they beyng assembled all together, the Chaunceloz with a gentle exhortation required them first to persist in due obedience and fidelitie towardes their King, and to ayde his Capitayne Sir Edward Downynges with their might, power, and strength, agaynst suche

rebelle

rebelle which eyther through blindnesse and folly, or else through desyre and appetide to do euill, sustayned and ayded Perkin with harnesse, men, or money. Every man promised openly to helpe with all their power and might: But they promised not so quickly, but they performed it as slowly, for few or none eyther ayded or assisted him, as who would say, that they loued the Englishe nation more with their outwarde countenance, than in their inwarde hartes and mindes. But when they heard that Sir Edward Downynges was come to persecute all such as were fauours and friendes to Perkin Warbeck, there was no man, although he were but a little defiled with that sedicious infection, but he fled out of hand into woodes and marishes for the defence and sauegarde of themselves, there consultyng together, after the maner of their Countrie, in what places they might best lye in wayte to hurt and skirmithe with the Englishe men, or else if nede should so requyre to fight with them hande to hande.

In Irelande there be two kinde of men, one soft, gentle, ciuile, and courteous: And to these people, as to the most richest, and best nurtered persons, doth many marchant men of the Countreyes adioynyng, dayly resort. But because the most resort therether is of the Englishe nation, the Irishe men folow and counterfeyt their ciuile maners, and honest conditions. And by reason of the common trade and entercourse betwene them, they haue learned the Englishe tongue, and can both speake and vnderstand it. And all this kinde of people is vnder the subiection and dominion of the King of England. The other kinde is cleane contrary from this, for they be wyld, rusticall, foolish, fierce, and for their vnnanerly behauior, and rude fashions, are called wilde and sauage Irishe men. And these men haue many gouernours and seuerall rulers, which kepe continuall battaile, and dayly warre amongst themselves, for the which cause they be more fierce, more bolde and hardie then the other Irishe men, and they be very desyrous of newe thinges, & straunge sights and gaspings, and after robbery, theft, and rapine, & in nothing so much delightyng as with tumultuous, sedition, and continuall strife. And to these wilde Coltes, Perkin shewed himselfe first, easily perswadyng them to beleue that he was the same very person whom he falsly fained & counterfeited.

Wherefore Sir Edward Downynges accordyng to his Commission, entendyng to punish such as haue bene ayders and aduancers of Perkins foolish enterprize, with his whole armie, marched forwarde agaynst thys wilde Irishe men, because that all other beyng faultie of that offence, fled and resorted to them for succor and defence, to the entent that they both together might be able to resist and desyre there enemyes: But when he sawe that his purpose succeded not as he wished it, both because the Irishe lords sent him no succor, accordyng to their promises, & also consideryng that his number was not sufficient to set on the wilde people beyng disperfed amongst woodes, mountaynes, and marishes, was of necessitie compelled to recule and returne scettyng and vexed in his stomack, because he suspected that Gerald Erle of Kylbare beyng then the Kinges Deputie, was the cause and occasion that he had no succors nor ayde sent to him, and so he was enformed of such as bare to the Erle no good will. And therefore sodainly he caused the Erle to be apprehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his companie into England: Where when he was examined and certaine matters of treason layde to hys charge,

In Irelande  
are two ma-  
ner of people.

Sir Edward  
Downynges.

Gerald Erle  
of Kylbare.



charge, he auoyded them all, & clerely (such was his wit and innocencie) quit himselfe, and layd the burthen in other mens necks: Whom the king dismis- sed and sent hym into Ireland agayne, there to be his Deputie and Lieute- nant as he was before. The king like a polittique Prince had many great and weighty considerations, which restrained him from vsing of any leuerity or extremitie against this Erle, contrary to the minds & willes of his malici- ous aduersaries. One was the great auctoritie and swinge that he bare amongest the Irishe nacion: Also the condicion and state of the tyme, wher- in he fauoured some sedicion to be in brewyng: and chiefly of all the assured hope and affiaunce that he conceyued in hym.

So that nowe the king beyng out of all feare of battaile, did take hys progresse into Lancashire the. xxv. day of June, there to recreate his spirits and solace himselfe with his mother the Ladie Margaret, wife to the Erle of Darby, which then lay at Lathome in that Countrey. While these things were thus done in England, Perkin Warbeck then beyng in Flaunders, al- though he had taken great sorowe and care for that his craftie conueyance was espyed and openly knowen, and also that king Henry had afflicted and punished diuers of his confederates and alyes, and thereby in dispayre of all the ayde and succor that was to him promised and appointed: yet he determi- ned not to leaue the hope and trust that he had conceyued in his mad head to obtayne the Crowne and realme of England, and so gatheryng a great ar- me of balaunt Capitaynes of all nations, some bankeroutes, some false Englishe Sanctuarie men, some thecues, robbers, and bacabordes, which leauyng their bodily labour, desiryng onely to lyue of robbery and rapine, came to be his seruauntes and souldiours. And so beyng furnished with this rablement of knaues, tooke such shippes as his friends had prouided for him, and departed out of Flaunders, entendyng to arriue in England wher- soeuer the winde brought him. And by chaunce of fortune he was driuen by- on the Kentishe coast, where because the sea was calmed, he cast his anchors, and there made his abode, and sent certeine of his retinue to the land to sig- nifie to all the Countrey, that he was so furnished of all thinges meete and conuenient for his enterprize, that there was no doubt but the victory would encline to his part. And by this meanes to make serche and enquirie whe- ther the Kentishe men would take his part and folow him as their Capitain, which before tymes was not timerous nor afrayed of their abone mynde in troublous seasons to moue warre agaynst their Princes. The Kentishmen heering that this feyned Duke was come, and had heard that he was but a painted Image, doubtyng a space what to do, whether to helpe him, or to re- sist his power, at the last remembryng what euill chaunces their forefathers had, and howe small a profite such as haue rebelled haue gayned, thought it neyther expedient nor profitable for them to ayde and assist him that came ra- ther to spoyle, destroy, and waste the Countrey, then to conquere it for theyr welth and comoditie. And this they firmly coniectured because he had none other with him but Alienes and straunge people, which would take and accompt euery Church, Towne, Chappell, house, and euery priuate man as a pray and a lucre, and not as their native Countrey. Wherefore they fea- ryng the sequell, determined still to abide true to theyr king and prince, and to fall byon such as were newe come to land out of their shippes. And while they

Margaret  
mother to  
king Henry  
the seventh  
wife to the  
Erle of  
Darby

Perkin with  
such power  
as he coulde  
make attem-  
peth to land  
in Kent.

they were assemblyng of themselves together, other should by fayre promi- ses allure and call vnto them the great number out of the ships, and so geue them battaile. And so vsyng this guile, they promised all to folow him, and to fight vnder his banner: Howbeit the prolongyng of tyme draue Perkin into a suspicion, which well remembred that a communalty is not accustomed sagely to consult, but sodainly and rashely to run hedding euer into rebellion and new stirred commocion. Wherefore Perkin determined not once to sette foote out of his ship till he sawe all thing sure without any daunger. And al- though he mynded not to take land himselfe, yet he suffered certaine of hys Souldiours to go on lande, which persons beyng a pretie way from theyr shippes, were sodainly trapped and compassed by the Kentishmen, and at one stroke banquished and driuen backe to thier shippes, and there were ta- ken prisoners an hundreth, and. lx. persons, wherof foure were named Capi- taynes, Mountforde, Corbet, Whitebelt, Quintine or otherwise Genyn. Which rebelles were brought by sir John Pechy Shirife of Kent, to Lon- don rayld in ropes like hozses drawyng in a Cart. And after vpon their ar- rainment, confessed their offence, and were executed, some at London, and other in the townes adioinyng to the sea Coast. Wherefore Perkin failyng of his purpose, fled backe into Flaunders, and there taryed, consultyng with his friendes vntill such tyme as he had better prepared for thinges to come, moze prudently then he had done before tyme.

In this very season departed to God Cicile Duchesse of Yorke, mother to king Edward the fourth & king Richard, at her Castell of Barkhamstede, a woman of small stature, but of much honour and high parentage, and was buryed by her husband in the College of Fodringey.

The king beyng aduertised that his enemyes had made entraunce into his realme, left off his progresse, and purposed to returne to London againe, but beyng certefyed the next day after of the luckie speerde and fortunate, chaunce, continued and went forth of his progresse, sendyng to them Sir Richard Silforde, both to prayse the fidelitie and manhood of the people, and also to render to them his molt hartie thanks for their good seruite to him done, with faythfull promise not to forget them hereafter in theyr suites, re- questes, and petitions. Also that they might not haue any successe hereafter into those partes, the king commaunded the watches to be kept all along the Sea coastes, and Bekons to be erected acco:dyng to the auncient blage and custome of the Countrey.

Peter and his Capitaynes takyng counsaile together in Flaunders, were of one assent resolved to this point, that there was nothing moze sure to them, then to proceede quickly with their entended enterprize. And when they perceiued that there was neyther people, towne, nor Countrey in Eng- land that would associate them in their phantasticall frenshe, which nothyng was asswaged, least that by delayng of tyme and long space, king Henry might fortify and make strong all daungerous places, and passages wyth Souldiours and men of warre, which thing they heard say that he neyther forgate nor forfellowed, and besyde that he was not a little afearde, that hys long taryng should discomfort his priuy friendes within the realme of Eng- land. Wherefore he gathered together his vngacious companie, and deter- mined first to saile into Irelande, there to augment his number. And from

The sodayne  
apprehension  
of Perkin  
people.

The executi-  
on of Per-  
kin's Capi-  
taines.

Perkin  
flyeth into  
Flaunders.

Cicile Duc-  
ches of Yorke  
mother to  
king Ed-  
ward the  
fourth de-  
ceased.

thence



The arrivall  
of Perkin  
Warbeck first  
in Ireland  
and then in  
Scotland.

The coronation  
of Perkin  
Warbeck  
made to James  
the first of  
Scotland.

thence if it were possible to sayle into the west parts of England. And if there were any let or impediment in that place, then he determined to sayle straight into Scotland, knowing that seldome or neuer is perfite concord and amitie betwene the Scottes and the English nation. When this gentle counsaill was dissolved, and winde and weather serued, he set by his sailes, and hauing a prosperous gale after his phantasie, sailed into Ireland, where he repored himself a space. And remembryng that the hope of victoꝝ consisted not whole in the Irish nation, which beyng naked men without harness or armure, were not able to combat with the Englishmen: wherefore when the winde serued him, he departed from Corffe and arriued in Scotland, and comming to the kinges presence, with great solemnitie, framed his tale after the forme and fashion following.

I thinke it is not vnknowne to you, most noble king and puissant prince into what rayne the stocke, house, and family of Edward the fourth of that name king of England, is nowe of late brought to, and fallen in, eyther by Gods permission, or by diuine punishment, whose vndoubted some (if you knowe not alredie) I am, and by the power of almightie God, preserued a liue to this houre, from the mightie hand of a tyrant. For my father kyng Edward when he dyed, appoynted his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester to be our gouernour, protector, and defender, whom the more that he loued, and studied to aduance and promote, the better he thought that he would loue, fauour, and tender his children. But alas my infortunat chaunce, I may say, howe hath his trust bene turned into treason: and his hope turned into hinderance: All men knowe, and I feele. Dure Uncle was not the tutour and preseruer of our stocke and lynage, but the confounder and destroyer of our blood and progenie. For that tyrant blinded and gluted with the desyre of rulyng and souereinetie, commaunded Edward my brother and me to be slaine, and dispatched out of this mortall lyfe. Wherevpon that person, to whome the weightie and cruell charge was committed and geuen, to oppresse and destroy vs poore innocent infantes, the more that he abhorred this heynous and butcherly offence, the more he feared to commit it. And so waueryng in minde, and doubtfull what to do, at the length, willyng in part to saciate the bloodie thirst of the vnnaturall tyrant, and in part to abstayne from so mischieuous and detestable homicide, destroyed my brother, and preserued me, like the good priest Josada which saued little Ieas when all the children of the blood royall, were commaunded by Athalia the Queene to be slaine and biterly destroyed. And farther, to the entent that my life might be in a suretie, he appointed one to conuey me into some straunge Countrey, where when I was furthest off, and had most nede of comfort, he forsooke me sodainly (I thinke he was so appoynted to do) and left me desolate alone without friend or knowlege of any reliefe or refuge. And so king Richarde did obteyne the crowne as a pray mischieuously gotten, by the dispatchyng away of my brother and me. So that I thus escapyng, by reason of my tender infancie, forgot almost my selfe, and knewe not well what I was, but after long wandryng from Countrey to Countrey, and from Citie to Citie, I perceiued and learned a little and little what was my estate and degree, and so in conclusion came to mine awne Aunt the Lady Margaret lying in Flaunders, which was sometyme maryed to Charles Duke of Burgoyne, which

ioyfully

ioyfully receiued and welcommed mee, as the onely tpe and garland of her noble stirpe and linage, but forasmuch as she beyng one, y dowager of the Duchie of Burgoyne, and hauyng nothing but her dower proper vnto her selfe, was not of power to helpe me with men and munimentes of warre as she would gladly haue done for the recovery of my fathers realme and rightfull inheritaunce, I therefore am driuen to seeke farther ayde and succour. And therefore by her counsaile and aduertisement, with this small handfull of men of warre and Souldiours, I am repayzed to your presence for succours, of whome (as the publike fame is spred ouer the whole worlde) there was neuer man by wrong or iniury banished or driuen out of his Countrey, region, or inheritaunce, or by extort power and tyranny kept out of the same (as I my selfe from mine infancie haue bene) whose request was frustrate and repulled at your hande. Therefore by the maiestie of your realme and Countrey, I desyre, and heartily with prayer as I can, I beseech and exhort you to helpe & relieue me now in my extreme necessitie. And if it chaunce me by your ayde and succour to recouer and possesse my fathers realme and dignitie, not onely I, but all the kinges of our linage which hereafter shall obteyne the same, shall be so much bound vnto you, that they must nedes thinke that doyng to you all the pleasure and benefites that they can, yet with all the thanks that can be geuen, your great kindnesse can neuer be recompensed.

When he had thus sayde, the king bad him be of good comfort, and promysed him that whatsoeuer he were, it should neuer repent him of his coming to him. And after this the king assembled his counsell together, and demaunded of euery man seuerally what they sayde, of these things which Perkin had both declared and requyred, or whether they would take anye farther deliberation to aduise themselves what to doe in so great and weightie a matter. They that were of greatest experience and of the wysest sorte did proue by many apparant arguments that his sayngs were but dreames and phantasies, and of no force nor truth, and therefore they thought it not conuenient to encomber themselves with any lenger consultation. Another sort, which was not verie great, neyther of wyt nor experience, but greater in number, esteemed this matter very profitable to the common wealth, considering it ministred to them occasion to make warre in Englande. And although they had knowlege what good successe Perkin had enioyed in all his former attemptes, yet they esteemed that now all things should succede according to their expectation, if hys cause (although it were as light as a feather) were assumed and taken in hande to be defended, considering that when the warre was once open and begon, and if Perkin did preuaile, he would denie nothing conuenient to his friendes and helpers. Or else at the least they doubted not but king Henry would make to them large and ample offers and conditions of peace, rather then king James shoulde take part with his aduersary and mortall enemye.

When thys counsaile was geuen by the more number, it was well accepted, and the Scottische king, whether he were blynded by error, or else did dissimule the matter, began to haue Perkin in great honour, and caused him openly to be called Duke of Yorke. Also, that this might be more apperaunt to the people that he was so in deede, he caused Ladye Katheryn daughter to Alexander Erle of Huntley, hys nigh kinsman and of a highe

LIII.

linage

The answer  
of the king  
of Scotland.

Perkin called  
Duke of  
Yorke.



Perkyn mar-  
ried with  
Katherin the  
daughter of  
Alexander  
Eric of  
Hunley.

linage in Scotland, to be espoused to him. And this affinitie he caused to be made for thys ende and purpose, partly that he might extenuate the euil wil and malice which was lyke to succede of this matter, for that it might be notoriously blasted and knowne abroad, that he had peace and amitie with the King of Englande, and partly lest he might be accused of to much light credence, if Perkyn were founde and proued to be another man then hee was reported.

When all things were prepared for the warre: Thys Perkyn swelling with ioye that he after his awne phantasie had made the Scottes to be hys partakers. And to the intent that they should put no diffidence in the sequele of his enterprise, and to encourage them the more, he pronounced surely that he should haue great succour and ayde of his friends in Englande, sent euen from the farthest part thereof, as soone as euer the Trumpet of warre was blown. The Scottes although they had but little confidence and lesse trust in his wordes, yet putting their hope more in the gayne of spoyle then in the gayning of the victorie by battail, armed themselves in all the hast, and marched toward the confines and borders of England. Albeit the Scottish king minding not to be to rashe, mistrusted the Engliche men knowing Perkyn to be arryued in Scotlande, had layde some armie for the defence of the frontiers, sent out certaine light horsemen to espie and searche if the husbandmen of the Countrey were assembled in armure to defende their enemies. The horsemen ranging ouer the fieldes and playnes belonging to their enemies, seing all things quiet returned to their king, and certified him that now was the tyme most apt and conuenient to invade the realme and set on the Engliche nation. Then the Scottish king marchyng toward Englande with all his myght, first proclaymed openly, that all such should onely be pardoned that would take part and submit themselves to Rycharde Duke of Yorke, and fight in his cause and quarell. And to the entent to discourage and daunt the hartes of the poore commons, so that for very feare they should be enforced and compelled to submit themselves to thys newe founde Marquet, they made so cruell and deadly warre and that not lyke men, whose nature is to be satisfied with the slaughter of men, and to be mercifull to the impotent and sick persons, bent to townes, spoyled houses and killed men and children, and delighted with the swetenesse of spoyle and prayes, wasted all the Countrey of Northumberlande, and had gone forth farther, but that they perceaued no ayde or succour to come out of England to attend vpon thys newe Duke. And the souldiours being fully laden with blood and spoyle, refused to go one foote farther at that tyme, and the Countrey rose on euery part, which made the king suspect some armie to approche. Wherefore he determined rather to returne with his assured gayne, then to carrie the newe named Dukes vnshure and vnertaine victorie, and so he returned agayne into Scotland.

It is a woerde to remember in this place of a certaine kynde of sonde mercie and foolish compassion, by the which Perkyn was so sore moued that it seemed him to regarde nothing more then the commoditie of another man. For whyle the Scottish king thus bered and harryed the poore inhabitants of the borders of Northumberland, so that nothing was heard but roying, weeping and lamenting. This newe inuented Duke beyng returned

The Scottish  
king  
wyth an ar-  
mie apoynted  
Perkyn and  
entred into  
England.

into Scotland, euen lyke himself, which wrought all thing with fraude and deceit, perceauing that no concourse nor resort of Englichmen shewed themselves in open apparance, to minister to him any ayde or succour, and fearyng not a little that the bove of hys craftie dealing, and bagge of his secret counterfeiting should be disclosed and set in an open glasse, by reason whereof he should be hated and had in contempt and disdayne of the Scottish people, as though he had bene therunto prouoked by a naturall inclination and pittie (to the intent to hide and cloke his subtil subornation) cried out openly, Oh, my stony and hard frozen hart which art not once moued nor yet afflicted with the losse and slaughter of thyne owne naturall subiectes and bassales. And at that glozious sighing, he beseeched the Scottish king that from thence forth he would not afflict and plague his people, nor defozme and deface his naturall realme and countrey with such terrible fyre, flame and hauck. As who would say, that he beyng overcome with the perfite loue of his native Region, began now to haue compassion and to lament the cruell destruction of the same. The Scottish king which began to perceauie which waye the winde blew, answered him agayne, Sir mee thinketh you take much paine, and very much imagine howe to preserue the realme of another prince which is not youres (but I thinke you would gladly haue it) but my mind giueth me that you be as farre from the obteyning of the same, as you be nere the soyle and sight of the Countrey, considering that you call Englande your land and realme, and the inhabitants thereof your people, and subiectes, and yet not one man, neyther gentleman nor yoman will once shew himselfe to ayde or assist you in the warre begon for your cause, and in your name within your realme, to the which you be both (as you say) inheritour, and by your people desired and called vnto. And so the king reprooued the lightnesse of this yong fond foundling, and euery day more and more neglected and lesse phantased and gaue credite to him, noting well and wisely that neyther his wordes, with his deedes, nor the sequele of factes with his promises were neyther agreeable nor consonant.

The Nobles inhabiting in the North partes, hearing the clamour of the common people, and perceauing that they fled to auoyde the crueltie of the Scottes, were sodainely abashed, and forfeited their holdes, and manned their fortresses readie to defend their enemies, layng embushments in the wayes, where they imagined that their enemies would resort. And without delay certified the king, of the Scottes invasion and enterprise. The king was not a little abashed at this todayne chaunce, and troubled also with his awne businesse at home, not onely fearing his outward enemies but also his awne nobles and naturall subiectes least anye of them would step from him to the other part, and put him to farther trouble and vexation. Wherefore as soone as he heard these newes, considering the matter to be of no small importance and meete to be foreseene, with all diligence prepared remedies to resist and withstande the first brunt of so great a sounge newly begon. But the todayne retrepte of the Scottes agayne asswaged all the Englichmens swift and speedy provisions: for when they were once laden with prayes and spoyles, they returned home agayne or the Engliche men could assemble together.

When the King was truly certified that the Scottish King was returned



ned, he geuing praise to his capitaines and other inhabiting on the bordures of his realme, which had duly and truly serued him at that time, did stave to overtake, and to be reuenged for the malicious inuasions of the Scottische king. And yet fearing least his enemies should be encouraged with this great gaine of spoiles and prayes, he determined by dent of sword and mortall warre to reuenge and reforme the manifest iniurie and apparant wrong to him by king James and his people done and committed. Wherefoze he assembling his court of parliament, declared the cause of the instant warre, and what remedie he himselve had inuented and deuised, perswading with manie strong arguments and reasons, that it should be for the profite and benefite of the publicke & common welth to prosecute & follow the warre by his mortall enemies begon & attempted. To this opinion all his nobilitie (which were no lesse offended with this proud brag of the Scottish nation then he himselve) did willingly agree and gladly assent. And to the maintenance of the warre and toward the charges of the same, a certaine subsidey and tax of monie was with one assent by the whole parliament liberally & freely geuen and graunted: Which payment although it was but easy and small, yet many of the common people which euer abhorre suche taxes and exactions, grudged soze to pay the same.

A mutine of the people for a small tax.

At this parliament also and conuocation, ther was such certaine lawes, actes and statutes confirmed and made, as were thought most necessarie and expedient for the publicke weale of the realme. And thus the king dissolving his court of parliament, and prepared for warre out of hand. In this meane season the king of Scots not sleeping his matters because he perceaued well that the Englishmen would shortly reuenge their losse & harme, with no lesse diligence gathered an host and puyssant army, that either he might withstand and resist the English powze inuading his realme & coutry, or else offresh enter vpon the borderers: and going forth to spoyle, rob & make haucke againe. And so these two baliuant Princes minded nothing moze then the one to hurt and preiudice the other. But the king of Englande soze pricked and wounded with the iniurie to him committed, was so soze moued against the Scottish King, that he would not respite nor deferre one houre tyll he were reuenged. And so prepared a puyssant and strong armie to inuade Scotland, and therof ordayned for chieftaine Gyles Lorde Dalwency his chiefe chamberlaine, a man of no lesse wytt then pollycy and of no lesse pollicie then hardinesse.

When the Lorde Dalwency had his army assembled together and was in his iorney forward into Scotland, he sodainly was stayed and riuoked againe, by reason of a new sedicion and tumult begon within the realme of Englande for the subside which was graunted at the last parliament for the defence of the Scottes, which of the most part was truly satisfied and payde. But the Cornish men inhabiting in the least part of the realme, and the same part also barreyne and wythout all pleasantnesse, complayned and grudged greatly, affirming that they were not hable to pay such a great somme as was of them demaunded. And so what with angre, and what with sorow, forgetting their due obeysaunce, began rashly to speake of the king himselve. And after leauing the matter, lamenting, yellyng and cryng, maliciously said that the Kings counsaile was the cause of this pollyng and chauryng. And so being in this rage manaced to death the aucthoures (as they imagined) of this

A rebell on in Cornwall.

this mischiefe and sozrow, whome they threathned shortly to dispatche out of this world. And so being in a roare two of the same affinitie, the one called Thomas Flamock gentelma, learned in the lawes of the realme, & the other Highele Joseph a smith, men of high courages and stoute stomackes, tooke vpon them to be capitaines of this vngracious flocke and sedicious company. Who cryed out that it was a shame (for a smalle commocion made of the Scots, which was asswaged and ended in a moment) they should be exacted and polled, and such great exactions layde vpon their necks, and especially on the Cornishmen, which they affirmed to be but pooze men, and being in a barrein and vnscutefull countrey gate their liuing hardly by myning and digging tynne and mettall oute of the grounde both daye and night with great turmple and labour: And therfore they had rather dye and suffer extreme punishment, then liue in such calamitie and wretchednesse. And they layde the faulte and cause of this exaction to Ihon Morton Archebishop of Cantorburie, and to sir Reignold Bray, because they were chiefe of the Kings priue counsaile. Such rewards haue they that be in great aucthoritie with kings and princes. For if any thing proceede well according to the minde and pleasure of the communitie, that is euer referred and gratified to the king or gouernour. But contrariwise, if any thing be done, eyther by chaunce or by counsell that soundeth not well in their eares, or is contrarie to their opinion or phantasie, they will laye it straight to the counsell sayng that they haue perswaded him to doe this and that.

Thomas Flamock. Highele Joseph.

John Morton Archebishop of Cantorburie. Sir Reignold Bray.

These Capitaynes exhorted the common people to put on harnesse, and not to be ascarde to folowe them in this quarell, promising them that they should doe no dammage to any creature, but onely to see punishment and correction done to such persons which were the aucthoures and causers that the people were molested and bered with such vnrasonable exactions and demaunds. And if they perceued any person (as they espied many in deede) which did im:pygne and reprove their mad, vnrasonable and seditious counsell, affirming that it was the highest point of madnesse for a man to put his life in hazard for that thing, which he ought meeekely and humbly to require and desire of his Prince and souereigne Lorde. Then they called them dastardes, fooles, and cowardes, and taunted and rebuked them with most shamefull reproches. So these vnhappie Capitaynes nothing moze desired then to bring their flock and themselves to finall perdition and bitter confusion. With these bragges and mocions a great part of the people were eleuate and encouraged, and condiscended to doe as the Capitaynes and the most of the multitude would agree and appoynt. Then the Capitaynes praysing much the hardynesse of the people, when all things were prepared meete for their vnforsunate iourney, set forward with their armie, and came to Tawnton, where they slue the Drouost of Deryn which was one of the Commissioners of the subside, and from thence came to Welles, and so intended to go to London where the king then sojourned.

When the king was aduertised by his Collectors and officers of al these doings and attemptes, he was maruellously astonnyed, & especially because at that one time he was enuyroned with double warre, both externe and intestyne. And because perill did depende on both, he was in great doubt which of both he should most regarde. And as he was musing of this matter



James  
Twichet  
lord Audelay  
chief of the  
rebelles.

he was assertheyned that James Twichet Lord Audelay and dyuers other of the Nobilitie were associate with the Cornishemen, and were in great haste and no good speede marchyng toward London. The king perceaving the cruile warre to appoche and drawe neerer and neerer, almost to his verye Gates, determined with all hys whole powre to resist and represse the same. And after that tumult appeased and suppressed he would with all expedition set vpon Scotlande. Wherefore he reuoked agayne the Lord Dabobeny, which as you haue heard, was with a puyssaunt armie goyng into Scotlande, whose armie he increased and multiplyed with many picked and freshe warryers, that he might the better, and with lesse labor overcome these rebels. Also mistrusting that the Scottes might now (hauing good oportunitie seyng him troubled with this ciuile discorde) invade the realme agayne, and so spoyle and destroy the borderers, he appointed the Lord Thomas Haward Erle of Surrey, a puyssaunt and pollitique Capitayne (which was taken prisoner at the ouerthrow of king Rycharde as you haue heard, and after set at libertie, and within two yeres next after was made high Treasurer of England, after the death of John Lord Dynham) to gather a bande of men in the Countye Palantine of Durham, and they with the ayde and helpe of the inhabitants adioyning and the borderers, to driue out and expell the Scottes from of the borders, if they should fortune agayne to invade, buttill such time that the Cornishmen were subdued and pacified (which he thought easie to be done) he might sende to them the foresayde Lord Dabobeny agayne with all his power and armie. When the Nobles of the realme heard of this tumultuous businesse and commocion, they came to London, euery man with as many men of warre as they could put in a readynesse to ayde the king if neede should be: In the which company, there was the Erle of Essex, the Lord Hongey with diuers other.

At this time and season, Charles the French king returning from the warres that he had at Naples, sent Ambassadors to enforme the king of the prosperous successe and victorie that he had obteyned in Italie, and gaue to them in charge to desyre of the king of England nothing so much as the continuance of his amitie and fauour towarde their maister and soueraigne Lord. For the French king sore desired to continue in perfite peace and amitie with the king of Englande. And not without a cause, for he had sobered and combred himselfe and his people with suche Italian snares and craftie engines, out of the which at this day his successors can not cleane be ryd, and deliuered.

When the king was informed that king Charles Ambassadors were come to Calice, he sent certaine of his Nobilitie, honourably to receyue them, and so to conuey them to Douer, and there for a pollicie to make their abode till the rebellion were extinct and suppressed, and not one worde thereof to be sounded in the eares of the Ambassadors: which commaundement was circumspectly kept and obserued.

And now the Cornishe men departyng from Welles (where they receyued theyr chiefe Capitaine, James Lord Audelay) went to Salisbury and from thence to Winchester, and so to Kent, where they looked for helpe, but they were deceaued: for the Erle of Kent, George Lord of Burgany, John Brooke Lord Cobham, Sir Edward Bowynge, Sir Rycharde

Gulde

Guldeford, Sir Thomas Burchier, John Beche, William Scot, and a great number of people were not onely prest and redie to defende the Countre from all mischief and destruction, but also bent and determined to fight and combate with such as would not be obedient to their naturall soueraigne Lord, and to his lawes and preceptes. Also the Kentishe men themselves, partly remembring that other cominocions haue bene to their damage and great hinderance, and partly beyng vnder the defence of their nobilitie, as vnder the Erle and other, would not so much as come nere to the rebelles, nor yett eyther make countenance or once speake to any of them, to the entent that the king should in no wise conceyue any poynt of vntyruth or treason in the poozest of them. Which thing so daunted and dismayed the heartes and courages of many of the brute and rurall Cornishemen (which seyng themselves deceyued and defrauded of their chiefe hope and succours, and fearing the euill chaunce that might happen to them) that they to saue themselves fled priuily in the night from their awne companie and Companions. The Capitaynes of the rebelles perceiuyng that they could haue no ayde of the Kentishe people, puttyng their onely hope to theyr awne power and fortitude (for surely they were men of great strength, and of no lesse force than balaunt courage) brought them to blacke heath foure myles from London, and there in a plaine vpon the toppe of an hill they ordered their battailes, eyther redie to fight with the king if he would assaile them, or else to assault and beat the Citie of London: For they thought verily that the king was so affrayed of theyr puyssaunce, that he minded nothing lesse then to encounter with their armie. And therefore beyng enflamed with arrogancie, nothyng mistrustyng, but firmly beleuyng that the victorie was sure in their handes, they determined to enter into the Citie of London and to assault the Tower, wherein the king (as they thought) had priuily enclosed himselfe. But king Henry wrought cleane contrary to their minde, for he neuer thought to geue them battaile till he had them farre from their dwellynges and Countre, so that they should be out of all hope, of ayde and comfort. And when they were with their long and tedious iourney weryed and tyred, and that their furye were somewhat asswaged and fell to repentaunce of their mad commocion, and frantike progression, then he would in some place conuenient for his purpose compasse and enclose them to his aduantage and their destruction as he did in dede afterward. In the meane season there was great feare throughout the Citie, and cryes were made, euery man to harnesse, to harnesse, some ranne to the gates, other mounted on the walles, so that no part was vndefended, and continuall watch was kept by the Maiestrates of the City, least the rebelles beyng pooze and nedie would dissende from their campe, and invade the Citie, and spoyle and robbe the ryches and substance of the Marchauntes. But the king deliuered and purged their hartes out of this feare, for after that he perceyued that the Cornishe men were al the day readie to fight and that vpon the hill, he sent straight John Erle of Oxforde, Henry Burchier Erle of Essex, Edmond de la Poole Erle of Suffolke, and Sir Ryes ap Thomas, and sir Humfrey Stanley noble warriours, with a great company of archers and horsemen to compasse the hill on the right syde & on the left, to the entent that all by wayes beyng stopped and forclosed, all hope of flight should be taken from them: and incontinent, he beyng as well encouraged

Blackebeth  
field.



couraged with manly stomacke and desyre to fight, as furnished with a populous armie, and store of artillary, set forward out of the Citie and encamped him in Saint Georges fiede, where he the fryday at night then lodged.

On the Saterdag in the moynng, he sent the Lorde Babobney wyth a great companie to set on them earlye in the moynng, which first gat the bridge at Detford Straunde which was manfully defended by certeyne Archers of the rebelles, whose arrowes as is reported were in length a full yeard. While the Erles set on them on euery syde, the Lorde Babobney came into the field with his companie, and without long fighting the Cornishe men were ouercome, but first they tooke the Lorde Babobney prisoner, and whether it were for feare or for hope of fauour, they let him go at libertie without any hurt or detriment. There were slaine of the rebelles which fought and resisted two thousande men and mo, and taken prisoners an infinite number, and amongest them the blacke Smith and chiefe Capitaynes which shortly after were put to death. This Highell Joseph, surnamed the blacke Smith one of the Capitaynes of this donghill, and draffe sacked ruffians, was of such stowte stomacke and haute courage, that at the same time that he was drawen on the Hardle towarde his death, he sayd (as men do report) for that mischionous and ungracious act, he should haue a name perpetuall, and a fame permanent and immortall. So (you may perceyue) that desyre of vaine glozy and fame, enflameth, and encourageth a swel poore and meane persons, as the heartes of great Lordes and puyssaunt Princes to trauayle and aspire to the same. Some affirme that the king appointed to fight with the rebelles on the Monday, and preuenting the tyme by pollicie, set on them vpon the Saterdag before, beyng vnprovidid and in no array of battaile, and so by that pollicie obteyned the field and victoery.

When this battaile was ended, the king wanted but thre hundred of al his companie that were slaine at that present conflict. Also the Capitaynes apprehended and taken he pardoned, sayng the chiefe Capitaynes and first aucthours of that mischiese, to whome he woulde neyther shewe mercie nor lenitye. For he caused the Lorde Audeley to be drawen from Redegate to the Tower hill in a Cote of his awne armes painted vpon paper, reuerfed and a l to tozne, and there to be behedded, the. xxiiij. day of June. And Thomas Flamock, and Highell Joseph he commaunded after the fashon of traytors to be drawen, hanged, and quartered, and their quarters to be pitched on stakes and set vp in diuers places of Coznewall, that their sore punishments and terrible executions for their trayterous attempts and foolish hardie enterprises, might be a warnyng for other hereafter to abstayne from committing lyke cryme and offence. But because he was certified that their Countreimen beyng at home in Coznewall were by this scourge little mollified or quieted, and were redie to moue againe and begynne newe commocions and conspiracies, if any ungracious or euill minded person woulde eyther moue or picke them forward, he turned his purpose, and caused them to be set vp in London and other places, least that by such meanes he should brayp himselfe in more trouble at that tyme when he went about with all his wit and counsaile to repressle and asswage all domesticall and ciuill sedecion, to the entent that he might the more seriously and intentiuely set forward a puyssaunt army agaynst the bragging and unfaithfull Scottes, beyng content at that

The Lorde Babobney take prisoner by the Cornishe men, but they set him againe at libertie.

Highell Joseph the blacke Smith taken & executed.

James Lord Audeley drawen and hanged.

Thomas Flamock and Highell Joseph hanged drawen and quartered.

that tyme, that fortune had so smyled on his syde.

While this businesse was thus handled in England, the king of Scottes beyng certified of it by his espialles, that there was none armie raysed in England, eyther to withstand his power or destroy his Countre, and hering also that king Henrie and his Nobles were bered and sore troubled with the commocion of the Cornishe men, and in a ciuile disorde and dissention amongest themselues: Wherefore he thought it necessarye to anticipate the warre before hande. For well he knew, that assoone as king Henry had subdued and ouerturned his aduersaryes, that he would with his whole puyssaunce inuade his Realme and dominions: And therefore he inuaded the frontiers of the realme of Englande, wastying the Countre, burning the townes and murtheryng the people, sparyng neyther place nor person. And while his light horsemen were ridyng to forage, and destroy the Bishoprike of Durham, and there burned all about, he with another companie went about to assault the Castell of Norham standyng on the riuer of Tweede, which deuideth England and Scotland. The Bishop of Durham which at that tyme was Richard Fore, had well furnished it both with men & munitions, wisely foreseeing and imagining, that the Scottissh king (as sone as he knew that there was ciuile disorde and vnaturall warre moued within the realme of Englande) would with all his power inuade and harry the borders and countries adioinyng to his land. This Richard Fore was before called Bishop of Ercester, and for his singuler vertues and great grauitie was after that made Bishop of Bath and Welles, and last of all, promoted and exalted to the Bishoprike of Durham.

The Bishop from tyme to tyme aduertised the king of all thinges that there chaunced (which then was at London) and sent in all post hast to the Erle of Surrey to come to rescue, which was then in Yorkeshire and had collected a great army and a warlike company. When the Erle heard of these newes, he perceiuyng that all thinges were not boyde of ieopardie, made no long taryng, but with all diligence marched forward, and after him folowed other noble men out of all quarters of the North, euery one bringyng as many as they could gather for the defence of their naturall Countre and Region. Amongest whom the chiefe rulers and leaders were these whose names ensue.

- Raufe Erle of Westmerland.
- Thomas Lorde Dacres.
- Raufe Lorde Neuell.
- George Lorde Straunge.
- Rycharde Lorde Latimer.
- George Lorde Lumley.
- John Lorde Scrope.
- Henry Lorde Clifford.
- George Lorde Ogle.
- William Lorde Conyers.
- Thomas Lord Percy.

- Thomas Baron of Hylton.
- Sir William Percy.
- Sir William Boumer.
- Sir William Gascoyne.
- Sir Raufe Bygod.
- Sir Raufe Bowes.
- Sir Thomas a Parr.
- Sir Raufe Clerker.
- Sir John Constable.
- Sir John Ratclaffe.
- Sir John Sauell.
- Sir Thomas Stranguens.

Of knightes. wyth many other well proued and warlike men, which although in degree they were not egall with these great Lordes and knightes, yet in manhood

1497  
13

The Scots inuade Eng-lande.

Richard Fore Bishop of Durham.



and pollicies of warre and baliuant courage, they were to them in all feates equiualent. The number was little lesse then twentie thousande men, beside the Spanic whereof the Lorde Brooke was Admirall.

When the Scottes had dyuers dayes assailed and beaten the Castell of Roxham, to the no lytle detriment and dammage therof, and could make no battie to enter into the same, they determined of their owne minde to raise their siege and returne, and that so much the soner because they heard saye that the Erle of Surrey was within two dayes iourney of them with a great puyssaunce. Wherefore king Jany thought it to small purpose to tarie any lenger in besieging the Castell, rased his siege and returned into hys owne realme: When the Erle knewe of the kinges returne, he folowed after wyth all haste possible, trustyng surely to ouertake hym and to geue hym battayle.

When the Erle was entred into Scotland, he overthrewe and defaced the Castell of Cawdrestones, the towre of Hetenhall, the towre of Edington, the towre of Fuiden: and he sent Roxrey king at armes to the Capitayne of Hayton Castell, which was one of the strongest places betweene Berwyke and Edenborough to deliuer him the Castell, which he denied to doe, affirming that he was sure of speedie succours and swift aide. The Erle perceauing the deniall, layde his ordinaunce to the Castell, and continually bet it from two of the clock in the morning till fiue at night, in such wise that they within rendered by the fortreffe, their luyes onely saued. And when the Erle had receyued the Scottes, he with his miners rased and overthrewe the Castell to the playne grounde. The Scottishe king was within a myle of the siege, and both knewe it and sawe the smoke, and yet would not once set a foote forwarde to saue or rescue his Castell. And while the Erle laye at Hayton, the king of Scottes sent to him Marchemount, and another Heralde, desyryng him at his choyse eyther to fight with whole puyssaunce agaynst puyssaunce, or else they two to fight person to person, and hande to hande, requiring that if the victorie should fall to the Scottishe king, that then the Erle should deliuer for his raunsome the towne of Berwyke, with the fyfthgarthes of the same. The Erle ioyously, lyke a couragious Capytayne receyued this message and made aunswere, that he was readie in the playne fielde to abide the battayle with his whole armye, prayng him to come forward with hys puyssaunce, and after that he thanked him hartly of the honour that he offered him, for surely he thought himselfe much honored that so Noble a Prince would bouchsafe to admit so pooze an Erle to fight with him body to body, asserteyning him farther that the towne of Berwyke was the king his maisters and not his, & which he neither ought nor would lare to pledge nor gage without the kings assent, but he would put his body in pledge which was more precious to him then all the townes of the world, promising on his honour, that if he tooke the king prisoner in the singuler Combate, that he would release to him all his part of his fine and raunsome, and if it chanced the king to banquish and apprehende him, he would pay gladly such a raunsome as was meete and conuenient for the degree of an Erle. And when he had rewarded and dismissed the Heralds, he set his armie in a readynesse, abidyng the comming of the king of Scots, and so stood all daye. But the Scottishe king not regarding his offers, nor performing his

his great crakes and boastes, beyng afrayde to cope with the Englishe nation, shamefully and sodeynly fled in the night season with all his power and company. When the Erle knewe that the king was returned, and had bene in Scotland sixe or seuen dayes, beyng daylie and nightly vexed with continuall winde and vnrmeasureable rayne, could not cause his people to continue in that tempestuous and vnfertyle and barren region, with good aduise retreated agayne with his whole armie to the towne of Berwyke, and there dispersed his armie euery man into hys Countrie, taryng there himselfe till he knewe the pleasure of the king in furthering or protracting the warres of Scotlande: But in the meane season one Peter Hyalas a man of no lesse learning then prudent wyt and pregnant pollicie, was sent Ambassadour from Ferdinand King of Spayne, vnto the King of Scottes, to mooue and entreate a peace and an vntie to be had betwene him and the King of Englande. For of King Ferdinand and Elizabeth his wife (to which woman none other was comparable in her time) there was nothing more desired nor wished then by the coniunction of marriage betwene Arthur Prince of Wales heyr apparant to King Henry, and Lady Katheryn the daughter of King Ferdynand and Quene Elizabeth a new affinity and alyuance might be knyt and begon betwene the realme of England & the Countrie of Spaine. And also he fauoured somewhat the King of Scottes, for which cause he offered himselfe as a meane and mediatour of a peace betwene both the princes, their territories and dominions.

This Peter Hyalas solicited and moued by all honest meanes and deuises kyng James to assent to a vntie and concord: and when with long solliciting he conceaued some good hope to growe in this vaightie busynesse hee wrote vnto the King of Englande, that it would please him to sende one of his Nobilitie or counsell to be associat with him in concluding with the Scottishe King. The King of England which euer (so it were not to his dishonour, hurt or detriment) was not only a louer of peace, but also a noysher, and a furtherer of amitie and quietnesse, and especially at this time when he was vexed with the civile sedition of his owne proper sheepe and flock, committed the charge of this weyghty matter to Richarde Fore Bishop of Durham, which laye on the Englishe borders in his castell of Roxham. The Bishop according to the kinges apoyntement went honorablye into Scotland, where he and Peter Hyalas at the towne of Jedwoorth reasoned with the Scottishe commissioners as concerning this peace to be had. Sixe hundred conditions were purposed on the one part & the other, but after long protracting of time & much debating and arguing, not one was accepted nor allowed, and one thing aboue all other dashed the whole treatie: For King Henrie instantly required to haue Perkin Warbeck the fountaine and chiefe cause of all this tumulte and vnquietnesse, the perturbur of hym and his whole realme: But the King of Scottes firmlye denied to consent to any article that might founde to his reproch or dishonour: And also now he beganne to smell and saoure the iuggeling and false counterfering of his new gest Perkin Warbeck: Yet because that Perkin was alied to him by matrimony, he thought it both vn honest, vnreasonable and vn naturall to betray his alie, and deliuer him to death and confusion. Wherefore when they had reasoned the matter and diuers other vrgent and weyghtie causes by diuers dayes of

Peter Hyalas an Ambassadour from Ferdinand King of Spaine sent to intercate a peace between England and Scotland

Richard Fore Bishop of Durham.

meeting,



meeting, and that for the contrarietie of opinyons, no firme peace coulde be concluded. In stede of peace a truce was concluded for certayne yeres vpon condicion that James King of Scottes should conuey Perkyne Warbeck out of hys realme, seignories and dominions.

While these things were reasoned and at the last concluded in the confines of England and Scotlande, king Henry caused the Ambassadors of the french king, to be brought to his presence, and he them receiued with all benignitie, which as it is shewed before were stopped at Douer of their iourney vntill such time as the insurrection of the Cornishmen were suppressed and extinguished. And with lyke entertaynement he embraced at the same very season the Lorde of Camphire & other Ambassadors of Philip Archduke of Austrich and Duke of Burgoyne, comming to hym for the conclusion and continuance of an amitie, and to haue the English marchants to resort to their countrie agayne, which from thence before were prohibited and forbidden. Whych request being verie agreable to the quietnesse and tranquillity of his realme, and especially at that time, he did fauorably graunt and benignly assent vnto. And so being confederate & ayded by treaty & league with all his neighbors marchyng on euery side of his realmes and regions, he gratified with his most hartie thanks kyng Ferdynand and the Queene his wife, for they were the mediators, organes & instruments by the which the truce was concluded betwene the Scottissh kyng and hym, and rewarded Peter the ambassadour liberally and bountifullly.

So the Englishmen resorted agayne into the Archdukes Dominions and were receiued into Andwarp wyth generall procession, so glad was the Towne of their returning, which was by theyr absence sore hyndered and impouerished, at the time that this vnitie and concord was made, which was the yeare of oure Lorde a thousand foure hundred .xcviij. and the .xiiij. yeare of kyng Henries reigne.

James king of Scottes perceauing now that he was by Perkyne manifestly deluded, according as he had faythfully promised, so he now duly performed it. For he calling to his presence the foresayde Perkyne Warbecke, declaring to hym what benefites & commodities he had receiued of his princely liberalitie and gentillesse, gently required hym to depart out of the realme into some other countrie where he might make his abode more surely and more quietly, vntill such time as fortune would provide a more prosperous wind to set forward the sayles of his purpose and desyre, declaring vnto hym that he compelled in maner by necessitie had concluded a league and concord with the king of England, and by the treatie, the refuge that he should haue had of hym and hys countrey, was not onely to hym prohibited and forbidden, but also it was agreed and condiscended that neither the king of Scottes, nor any by his procurement or in his name should make warre on the kyng of England, which war he gladly tooke in hand for Perkyns sake, hauing sure confidence and perfite trust to haue bene ayded and assisted with Perkyns friendes in England. But when he perceued that all was in hayne, and that all his wordes were but wynd, he exhorted hym not to be displeased to depart, least his taryng might be to hym a detriment and a breakyng of the treatie betwene hym and kyng Henrie lately concluded: wherfore with many sayre wordes,

A peace and treatie of the entrecourte concluded betwene the house of Austrich and Burgoyne with King Henry the seventh for the free trafique into the lowe Countries.

The English Marchants resorted into Andwarp with generall procession.

wordes he desired hym to depart. This Perkyne knowyng the kings pleasure was very sore amased, seing there was no helpe to be looked for hereafter in Scotlande. Albeit remembryng the great benefytes which he had receaued heretofore of the Scottissh kyng, which he thought him selfe neuer hable to requyte and deserue, that he might not seme to hym ingrate or not willing to follow hys desire, he was content at his intercession to depart. And shortly after sayled into Irelande wyth hys wyfe and familie, there determining with him selfe eyther to sayle into fflaunders to the Duches of Burgoyne, or to ioyne and take part with the Cornishmen. But how so euer it was, while he laye in Irelande doubtyng what to do, he had intelligence by certayne messengers that the Cornishmen for all their discomfiture and plague not to be appeased, but sore to grudge and murmure against king Henry, and that they were prone and ready to renew the warre agaynst the King and the Prince: where he not entending to forsake so sayre an occasion so manifestly offered, he hauing with hym foure small shippes and not aboue syr skore men, sayled into Coznewalle and there landed in the moneth of September and came to a towne called Bodman, and their did so solicit, prouoke, & styre the mutable and wauering people, what with sayre wordes and large promises, that he gathered to hym aboue thre thousand persons, which immediatly called hym their Capitayne, and sayde that they would take his part and follow hym to the death, and in all things obey his preceptes and commaundements.

Then Perkyne was well encouraged and made proclamations in the name of kyng Richard the fourth as sonne to kyng Edward that last dyed. And by the aduise of his thre counsellers, John Heron mercer a banquerupt, Richard Stelton a Tailer and John Asteley a Skreener, men of more dishonesty then of honest estimation, determined first of all to assault and beate all walled & strong townes and fortresses, & them to receiue into his possession and seignorie for his farther securitie and defence: And that enterprize achieved, then he would augment hys hoste and marche forward against all persons that durst once offer themselves to withstand hym.

When he & his imprudent counsaile were fully resolved on this point and conclusion, they in good order went straight to Crester, which was the next City that he could approach to, and besieged it, & because he lacked ordinaunce to make a battery to rase & deface the walles, he studied all the waies possible how to breake and infringe the gates, and what with casting of stones, heauing with yron barres & kyndling of fire vnder the gates, he omitted nothing that could be deuised for the furtheraunce of his vngacious purpose. The Citizens perceauing their towne to be inuironed with enemies & like to be enflamed, began at the first to be sore abashed, and let certayne messengers by cordes downe ouer the wall which should certefie the kyng of all their necessitie and trouble. But after that, takyng to them lusty hartes and manly courages they determined to repulse fyre by fire, & caused faggots to be brought to the inwarde part of the portes and posterns and set them all on fire, to the entent that the fire being enflamed on both the sydes of the gates, might aswell exclude their enemies from entering, as include the Citizens from running or flyng out, and that they in the meane season might make trenches and rampyres to defend their enemies in stede of gates and Bulwarkes. Thus all the ddings and attempts of the rebellious people had euill successe

Perkyne is dispatched out of Scotlande.

Perkyne sayleth into Coznewalle.

The Cornishe men agayne rebell and haue Perkyne for their Capitaine.

Perkyne and hys company assaulteth the towne of Crester.



One tyme  
hath victorie  
over hys  
worth and  
ther fr.

in their first enterprise: and thus by fire the Citie was preserved from flame and burning. Then Perkyne being of necessity compelled to leave the gates, assaulted the Towne in divers weak and unfortified places, and set by ladders, attempting to climb over the walles and to take the Citie, thynkyng surely to compell the Citezens eyther by feare or for lack of succour to render themselves and yeeld the towne. But the Citezens being nothing so mynded, so couragiously lyke balaunt champions defended the walles, that they slue about two hundred of his sedicious soldiours at this assault.

As soone as the messengers of Excester came to the Kyngs presence and shewed their instructions, he hastened with his host toward Excester with as much hast as the grauntie of the cause did require. And sent the Lorde Dabobene with light horsemen before to certefie all men of hys comming at hand. But in the meane season Lord Edward Courteney Earle of Deuonshire and Lorde William his sorne, a man of great force and balauntnesse, accompanied with s<sup>r</sup> Edmond Carew, s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Trenchard, s<sup>r</sup> William Courteney, s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Fulforde, s<sup>r</sup> John Halewell, s<sup>r</sup> John Croker, Water Courteney, Peter Egcombe, William Sentuaure, with all speede came into the Citie of Excester and holpe the Citezens, and at the last assault the Earle was hurt in the arme with an arowe, and so were many of hys company, but berye fewe slayne.

Perkyne flyeth  
from  
Excester.

When Perkyne with his lewde capytaynes saw that the Citie of Excester was so well fortified both with men and munitions, and that in manner impregnable, fearing the sequell of this matter, departed from Excester with his lorde's armie to the next great towne called Tabnton, and there the twenty daye of September he mustered his men as though he were readie to fight: but his number were sore diminished. For when the poze and neede people saw the great defence which was made at Excester, and that no man of honour nor yet of honestie drew to hym, contrarie to the promysse and assurance, made by hym and hys counsaylers to them at the begynnyng, they withdrew themselves by sundry secreete companies from hym, in providing their owne sauegard. Which thing when Perkyne perceived, he put small trust & lesse confidence in the remnant of his army, as afterward it did aperce because the most part of hys souldiers were harnessed on the right arme and naked all the body and neuer exercised in warre nor marciall feates but only with the spade and houell.

Perkyne be-  
sieged Tabn-  
ton.

When the king heard he was gone to Tabnton, he hastened after him with all speede. Thether came to the king, Edward Duke of Buckingham, a yong Prince of a great courage & of a singuler good wit, and him folowed a great companie of noble men, knightes, and Esquiers, prepared and redie with all thinges necessary for the fielde and battaile. Amongest which number was Sir Alexander Baynam, Sir Hawrice Barkeley, Sir Robert Cam, Sir John Guise, Sir Robert Doyntz, Sir Henry Vernon, Sir John Mortimer, Sir Thomas Tremayle, Sir Edward Sutton, Sir Amise Pabulet, Sir John Bickenell, Sir John Sapcotes, Sir Hugh Luttrell, Sir Frannces Chepney, and many other knightes, Esquiers and balaunt personages. When the king approached nere the towne of Tabnton, whether he would not deferre and put off the battaile, or whether he doubtyng the turne of fortunes whele, sent before hym Robert Lord Brooke lord  
Steward

Steward of his house, Gyles Lorde Dabobene his chiefe Chamberleyn, and sir Rice ap Thomas, to set on his enemies, and begin the battaile, and he with his power folowed, to the entent that when the armyes coped and ioyned together, he eyther should with newe succours refrethe his awne army, or else set on the backe of his enemies or they could espie him. Albeit the king had no great neede to vse such pollicie if he had knowen what sequele had ensued. For as soone as Perkyne was enformed that his enemyes were redie to geue him battaile, he that nothing lesse minded then to fight in open field with the kinges puppsaunce, dissimuled all the day tyme with his company, as though nothing could make him afeard, and about midnight being accompanied with .lx. horsemen, departed from Tabnton in poste to a Sanctuary towne besyde Southhampton called Swodeley, and there hee and John Heron, and other registred themselves as persons privileged. But whether Perkyne did this for feare, least his men should forsake hym, or for the cowardnesse of his awne timorous courage, it is as much vncertaine, as it is probable and sure, that the king tooke by his flight great comoditie and quietnesse, by reason that he was not enforced to fight with the Cornish men, whose heartes and courages were so increased and enflamed by deadly desperation that they earnestly determined and were stedfastly bent either to winne victorie and ouercome their enemies, or else not one of them all to liue any day or houre longer.

Perkyne fleth  
and taketh  
Sanctuary  
at Swodeley.

When king Henry knewe that Perkyne was fled and departed, he sent after him the Lorde Dabobene, with siue hundred horsemen toward the sea syde to stay him before he should come there. But Perkyne whome the matter touched at the quick, made such hast with the swiftnesse of his horse, and sharpenesse of his spurres, that he was so farre passed on his way before, that no person coude tell tidynges of him, before he registred and disclosed himselfe in the Sanctuarie. But his chiefe Capitaynes which fled, could not so craftily escape, for the most part of them were apprehended, and as captives and wretches miserably presented to the king. When the residue of the common people could neyther see Perkyne nor yet the Standards nor guidehomes of their Capitaynes, not knowing where he was become, doubtyng whether he were fraudulently slaine, or fearefully fled, wist not what counsell to aske or what way was most surest to follow and take. But when they were ascertayned of his most shamefull flight, euerye person oppressed with this common mischiefe, common feare, and common perill, castyng away their armure, submitted themselves to the king, holdyng by their handes in asking mercy, offeryng and promisyng hym, fayth, loyaltie and obeyssaunce. To whome the king of most gentle heart and lenitie, not onely graunted pardon but receyued them to his fauour. And so the king being a conquerour without manslaughter or effusion of christian blood, roade triumphantly into the Citie of Excester, and there not onely lauded and praysed the Citezens of Excester, but also rendered to them his most hartie thanks, as well for their dueties done, as for their balauntnesse. And there also he afflicted and put in execution diuers Cornish men which were the authours and stirrers by of this newe insurrection and false conspiracie.

The horsemen that were sent, without any stop or stay, in short space came to Saint Highelles mount, and there (as chauce was) found Lady  
M m m . ii. Katheryn



Katheryn Cowden wyfe to Perkyne, and brought her straght lyke a bonde woman and captiue to the king. And the king wonderynge at her beauty and amiable countenance, thought her a pray more mete for the chiefe capitaine then for the meane Souldiours, began then a litle to phantasie her person, and sent her incontinently, accompanied with a goodly sort of sad matrones and gentlewomen (because she was but a yong woman) to London to the Queene as a true and bndoubted token of his triumph and victoꝛye. And while he reposed himselfe at Excester, he iudged that he had nothing wonne, nor yet plucked by the roote of this sedicious rebellion, except he coulde get into his possession the chiefe hed and type of thys pestiferous faction and businesse. Wherefoꝛe he emironed the Sanctuary which Perkyne was in, rounde about with two companies of light horsmen, wise and discrete persons, to the entent to bereue and plucke from Perkyne all hope of flight and escappynge away. And after that, he attempted thys yong fondlyng by trustye and polittique messengers, if he hauynge pardon and remission of all mischieuous and heynous offences by him done agaynst the king and his Realme, would gladly submit himselfe to the king, and be to him faythfull true and obedient. Perkyne beyng nowe destitute of all hope, saylynge of his dwellyng place, and lackynge comfort, ayde, and refuge, considerynge that he was now brought to the very poynt and pꝛicke of extremitie, that he wist not how nor whether to flie into any Countrie for succour, and also he was in bitter dyspayre to haue hereafter any prosperous chaunce, or fortunate successe in his enterpryse, because he had so often attempted, and so manye tymes had bene foyled and banquished, wherfoꝛe he hauynge his pardon to him offered, and trustynge to the open promise of men, of his awne will frankly and freely departed out of Sanctuary and committed himselfe to the kinges pleasure, and so by this meanes this great heate was quenched and appeased.

Perkyne submitted himselfe to the King.

Then was the king very glad that this warre was ended, and tooke his iourney immediately toward London, not without a great concourse of people meetynge him out of euery quarter to see this Perkyne as he were a Monster, because he beyng an alpen of no abilitie by his pooꝛe parentes (although it was otherwise talked and dissimuled) durst once invade so noble a realme, and it to infect with such lyes and leasynge. And chiefly of all that he by hys craftie subornations had perswaded diuerse aswell noble as ignoble (not without the confusion and bndoyng of many of them) to beleue and say that he was the very same person that he feyned and paynted himselfe to be. But when the king was come to London, he appoynted certayne keepers to attend on him which should not (the bredth of a nayle) go from his person, to the entent that he might neyther conuey himselfe out of the lande, nor flie any where, nor yet prouoked and prouered by other, should be able to soꝛue agayne no newe sedition nor sedicious tumult within his realme and countries.

Keepers were appointed to looke to Perkyne.

When these tydings came to the Ladye Margaret in Flaunders that Perkyne her deere darling had no good luck but losse, both of his enterpryse and her great studious furtheraunce, and was brought into captiuitie, shee was not weil pleased with them, but wept and lamented hys unluckie speede, and cursed her infortunat chaunce.

When these things were brought to passe according to the kings minde, he did not forget that there was not a more delectable and pleasaunt thing,

nor

nor a larger reyne of mischiefe geuen to the bu'gare people, then to haue a sure hope and trust that they may offende without any punishment or correction: Wherefoꝛe to the intent hereafter to obserue his people in due obedience and subiection, he shortly caused inquryes to be made of dyuers offences. Wherupon diuers persons as well in Sommersetshire as Deuonshire were accused and presented that they had ayded both wyth men and money the Cornish Traytoꝛs, not only after their discomfiture in returning homeward, but also in their marching forward, entending to make battayle against the king being their soveraigne and liege Lord. All which offenders he determined to plague and scourge according to the quantity of their crime and offence, with great fines and sore assessments. And theretoꝛe he committed this charge to Thomas Lorde Darcie, to Amis Paulet knight, and Robert Sherborne Beane of Paules, after Bishop of Chichester.

Commissioners Thomas Lorde Darcy Amis Paulet knight, Robert Sherborne Beane of Paules.

These Commissioners lyke a whirlewande tossed and pierced the Counters and substance of all the inhabitants of both the Countries, to the intent that no person being embꝛued or spotted with the yuke of that abominable crime, should escape the payne which he worthily had deserued: but they were gentle and remisse to a great number, and specially to such as offended by coercion and feare, rather then of malicious heart or enuious minde. Yet were they to none so fauourable but they were thought for their defaultes worthy of some punishment, so that equitie therein was very well and iustly executed.

In this yere a sodayne chaunce, ye a thing of no moment nor worthy to be regarded had almost so kindled agayne the olde displeasure and grudge betweene king Henry and king James of Scotlande, that they could scarce kepe their hands, and bꝛidle their courages from warre and fighting. The first motion of this displeasure was thus: Certayne yong men of the Scots came armed into Roxham Castell, and beheld it wonderous circumspectly, as though they had bene desirous to knowe what was done there within: But when the keepers of the Castell could not perceiue any hostilitie or damage towardes them or theirs, and seynge them departhe of their awne accord, determined it not conuenient to moue any question to them nor once to stirre out. But when they came agayne the next daye and bꝛiewed it likewise, the keepers of the sayde Castell suspecting some fraude to lurk in their looking, demaunded of them what was their intent, & why they bꝛiewed and aduised so the Castell. The Scottes euen lyke themselves, answered them proudly and rustically with many disdeynfull wordes. Insomuch that after their blustering and blowynge answers made, the Englishmen beyng vexed and moued therewithall, replied to them with hard and manly strokes, and after many a sore blowe geuen and taken on both partes, and diuers Scottes wounded and some slayne, the Scottes oppressed with the multitude of the English people, fled as fast as their horses would carie them. When they came home and certefied the king of the same, he was therewith sore moued and angry, and sware by sweete Saint Ninian there was nothing to him more inconstant and vnstedfast then the obseruyng of the league by the king of Englande, and sent worde thereof to king Henry in all haste by Marchmount his Herault.

1498  
14

Marchmount his Herault of Scotland.

The king of England which nothing more embraced and desyred then

Am m m. iij.

quyet



quyet tranquillitie and perfite loue and amitie with all Princes beyng hys neyghbours and borderers, to the intent that he myght lyue in his latter dayes in an honest and quyet lyfe after so many labours and berations euen from his infancie drawen and exercised in, made him aunswere that it was not done through his default, neither by his counsell nor knowledge, but rather by the rashe folly of the keepers of the Castell, requiring him for that cause not to thinke the league infringed, promising in the worde of a king to enquire of the truth, and who were the malefactours. And if the offence were founde to be begon on the partie of the keepers of the Castell, he assured him that they should for no meede or fauour escape paine and punishment. This aunswere although it were moze then reasonable, could not mitigate or asswage the Scots anger and outrageousnesse, for the which cause Rycharde Byshop of Durham, which was moze heauie then all other because that this discorde was reneued agayne betwene these two Princes by occasion of Castell keepers, he therfore thought it best first to asswage and coole the furious rage of the Scottishe king, and wrote manye letters to hym, requiring him of peace and vnitie. The king perceauing both the good will and constant grauitie of the Bishop, appraied his furie and answered gently to the Byshops letters by wytyng agayne to him, sayng, that because he had many secret and priuy things in his mind which he would communicate onely with him touching the cause now in barpaunce, he therfore required him to take paine to come into his Countrey, trusting that he should thinke his labour well bestowed. The Byshop was very glad and sent worde to the king his maister, of king James desire, who esteemed the request and cause both iust and reasonable, and therfore willed him to accomplish the Scottishe kings honest desire.

Richard Bishop of Durham.

When he came into Scotland, he was receyued with all humanitie that could be thought of the king himself at an Abbey called Helrose. And there, after that the king for a countenance had complayned muche of the cruelty and slaughter that was vsed towardes his men late at Roxham, he easily remitted the offence and pardoned it, and began secretly to common without any witnesses or arbiters nere hande with the Byshop alone. And first declared to him what olde and iust causes haue moued him before this, to seeke alyuance and amitie with king Henry, which now he desired much moze to haue confirmed and corroborate for the farther maintenaunce of loue and increase of friendship, which thing he doubted not, but should sozte to a fortunate effect and good conclusion, if the king of England would vouchsafe to geue to him in matrimony his first begotten daughter the Lady Margaret, vpon which point he determined not long agone to sende hys Ambassadors into England, which thing he would the soner doe if he knew this Byshops minde and intent readie to further his louing purpose. The Bishop aunswere red but fewe wordes, sayng that when he were returned to the king hys maister, he would doe the best in the matter that laye in his power. Which words animated much the king, and put him in good hope to sende his Ambassadors to the king of Englande to sue for the sayde matrimonie to be concluded.

Ladye Margaret eldest daughter to king Henry the seventh.

When the Bishop had taken his leaue, and was come to the king, he declared to him in order all the communication betwene king James and him.

This

This request pleased the king very much, to whom peace was euer a soueraigne medicine, and determined surely to minister occasion of warre to no man, nor would haue any Prince to prouoke him to the same.

Now began the fatall daye of the death of Berkyn Warbeck, and Edward erle of Warwicke to appoche: For after this fact done and committed, one fierce and strong waue deuoured and swallowed both their lyues not long a sinder, as you shall heare by the continuation of this storie. Berkyn, whether it grieued him to be kept in warde, or else that he was instigated and entised by some of his olde friendes to stirre moze coles, and begin some newe seditious faction, or at the least, because he would wilfully waste and cast away himselfe, studied how to escape and flie away, hauyng perfite hope that he should finde occasion to bring all things well to passe, if he could conuey himselfe once out of the English mens hands. And although he were not ignoraunt, that he neither could doe nor imagine any thing, but the king would both heare of it and know it: Yet he seduced with hope of euasion and flaying, which was the chiefe comfort of his captiuitie, had liefer put all things in a proofoe and hazarde, rather then lenger to suffer the present calamitie and daylie miserie. And so deceuyng his keepers tooke him to hys heeles, by the which he brought himselfe into a straighter custodie and prison, and wrapped himselfe into tortures and punishmentes: For when he came to the Sea costes, and had gone but a little forward on his iourney, when the rumour of his flight was spreade abroad, every bye way and lane was set abroad with the Kings garde, which had the custodie of hys body. wherfore he beyng sore abashed with the clamour of them that searched and made inquirie for him, and beyng in a maner destitute of wyt and counsaile, altered of necessitie from his pretended iourney, and came to the house of Bethlem, called the Priorie of Shene beside Richemond in Southrey, and committed himselfe to the Priore of the Monasterie, requiring him for Gods sake to aske and desire his lyfe and pardon of the kings maicstie. The Priore which for his verteous qualities was had in great estimation, moued with the calamitie and infortunate state of this man, came to the king and shewed him of this Berkyn, whose pardon he humblye craued, and frankly obteyned it. Incontinent after this, Berkyn was brought to the Court againe to Westminster with many a curse and reproche, and was one daye set fettered in a payre of stockes, befoze the doze of Westminster hall, and there stode one whole day, not without innumerable reproches, mockes and scozings. And the next day was caried thorough London, and set vpon a lyke Scaffolde in Chepe by the Standard, with lyke gyynes and stockes as he occupied the daye befoze, and there stode all daye and red openly his awne confession wyrtten with hys awne hande, the berie Copie whereof hereafter ensueth.

Berkyn Warbeck. Edward erle of Warwicke.

First it is to be knowne, that I was borne in the towne of Turney in Flaunders, and my fathers name is John Osbeck, which sayde John Osbeck, was Comptroller of the said towne of Turney, and my mothers name is Katheryn de Faro. And one of my Graundfathers vpon my fathers side was named Diryck Osbeck which dyed, after whose death my Graundmother was maryed vnto Peter Flamme, that was receauer of the fozenamed towne of Turney, and Deane of the Botemen that rowe vpon the water or tyuer,

The confession of Berkyn as it was written with his awne hande.



ryuer, called Leschelde. And my Graundfyrer vpon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of S. Johns within the same towne of Turney. Also I had an Uncle called maister John Stalyn, dwelling in the parische of Saint Pyas within the same towne, which had married my fathers sister, whose name was Jone or Jane, with whome I dwelled a certayne season. And after I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learne Flemmische, in a house of a Cousyn of mine, an officer of the sayde towne, called John Stienbeck, with whome I was the space of halfe a yere. And after that I returned agayne to Turney, by reason of the warres that were in Flaunders. And within a yere following I was sent with a Marchaunt of the sayde towne of Turney named Berlo, to the marte of Andwarpe where I fell sick, which sicknesse continued by on five Moneths. And the said Barlo set me to bozde in a Skimmers house, that dwelled beside the house of the Englishe nation. And by him I was from thence carped to Barowe marte, and I lodged at the signe of the olde man, where I abode the space of two Moneths. And after this the sayd Barlo set me with a Marchaunt of Middelborough to seruire, for to learne y language whose name was John Strewe, wyth whom I dwelled from Christmas til Easter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the companie of Sir Edward Bramptones wyfe, in a ship which was called the Quenes ship. And when I was come thether, then I was put in seruire to a knight that dwelled in Lushborne, whiche was called Peter Vaz de Cogna, wyth whome I dwelled an whole yere, which sayde knight had but one eye. And because I desyred to see other Countries, I toke licence of him, & then I put my selfe in seruire with a Briton, called Pzgent Meno, the which brought me with him into Irelande, and when we were there arrived in the towne of Corke, they of the towne, because I was arayed with some clothes of Silke of my sayde maisters, came vnto me and thrcaped vpon mee that I should be the Duke of Clarence sonne, that was befoze time at Deuelin. And forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me the holy Euangelists and the crosse by the Maioz of the towne, which was called John le Wellen, and there in the presence of him and other I tooke my othe as the truth was, that I was not the fore sayde Dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto me an Englishe man, whose name was Stephen Poytron, with one John Water, and layde to me in swearing great othes, that they knew well that I was king Richardes Bastard sonne: To whome I answered with like othes, that I was not. And then they aduised me not to be ascarde, but that I should take it vpon me boldly, and if I would so do, they would ayde and assist me with all their power agaynst the king of England, and not onely they, but they were assured well that the Erles of Desmond, and Kildare, should do the same. For they forced not what parte they tooke, so that they might be reuenged vpon the king of England, and so agaynst my will made me to learne Englishe, and taught me what I should do and say. And after this they called me Duke of Porke, second sonne of king Edward the fourth, because king Richards bastard sonne was in the handes of the king of England. And vpon this the sayde John Water, Stephen Poytron, John Ciller, Hughbert Burgh, with many other, as the fore sayde Erles, entered into this false quarell. And within thort time after, the French king sent an Amba-

sador

sador into Ireland, whose name was Loyse Lucas, and mayster Stephyn Fryain, to aduertise me to come into Fraunce. And thence I went into Fraunce, and from thence into Flaunders, and from Flaunders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England.

When night of the same day, which was the .xv. day of June was come (partly because the king had pardoned him his life, and partly because hee should no more runne awaye, & put the king in doubt of any mistrust or misfortune to come) he was committed to the Colver of London, where bys wickednesse brilyng so hote within his rankard stomacke, would not suffer him to escape the punishment and vengeance of God, but shortly after was most iustly and worthily put to death, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Edward Plantagenet Erle of Warwicke, of whome ye haue heard befoze, being kept in the Tower almost from his tender age, that is to say, from the first yere of the king to this .xv. yere, out of all companie of men and sight of beastes, in so much that he could not decerne a Goose from a Capon. And wjere as he by comon reason and open apparauice, could not by his awne doyngees seeke his death and destruction, yet by the drift and offence of another man, he was brought to his end and confusion. For a Frier Augustin on the border of Suffolke called Patricke, to the entent to bring this Erle into disdain and hatred, had a certaine scholer called Raufe Wilford, whome he greatly fauoured, and in whose hed he euer distilled and infused this foolish and phantasticall conceyte, that if he would folowe his counsaile and aduise, he would easily conuey him to the kingdome of England. The scholer lyke a good disciple, did not denie to folow his maisters discipline and counsaile, but more and more desired and put his Maister in remembraunce to performe and accomplishe with all speede, that thing which of his awne liberallitie, he befoze had to him both promised and assured, sayng, what Herocke or dastard is so soze asfeard of transgressing the law, or dreadeth punishment, the which to obteyne a kingdome will not attempt to do, and suffer all things that is possible to be assayed and tasted? So that when they betwene themselves secretly had taken a craftie deliberation and counsaile of their enterprise, and had deuised in their foolish wittes, howe it should be brought to passe, they went both together into Kent (which Countrie in auncient tyme hath not beene dull in setting foorth of newe phantasticall phantasies) and there begon this yong Marinet to tell priuily to many that he was the very Erle of Warwicke, and lately gotten out of the Tower, by the helpe of thys Frier Patricke. To the which sayngs when the Frier perceyued hope to be geuen, he declared it openly in the Pulpet, and desired all men of helpe.

But the head of this sedicion was Sommer topped, that it could haue no time to spring any higher, the maister and the scholer being both apprehended and cast into prison, and attainted. Of the which two, the scholer was hanged on Shrouetuesday, at Saint Thomas of Waterpurgs, and the Frier was condemned to perpetuall prison and captiuitie. For at that tyme here in England, so much reuerence was attributed to the holy orders, that a priest, although he had committed high treason agaynst his soueraigne Lord and to all other, offenders in murder, rape or theft, which had receyued any of the three higher holy orders, the lyfe was geuen, & the punishment of death released. The chiefe cause of this fauour was this, because Bishops of a long tyme

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Patrick a  
Frier the  
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waye of Ed-  
ward Erle  
of Warwick.



tyne and season did not take knowlege, noz intermit themselves with vicerch and punishment of such heynous and detestable offences, by reason wher they did not disgrace and deprive from the holy orders such malefactorz, and wicked persons, which without p̄ ceremony, by the canonicall law could not be put to death. Furthermoze, what should a man say, it was also vsed that he that could but only read (yea although he vnderstode not what he read) how heynous or detestable a cryme so euer he had comitted (treason onely except) should likewise as affines and alyes to the holy orders be saued, & committed to the Bishops prison. And to the entent that if they should escape, & be again taken, comitting like offence, that their liues should be no moze to them pardoned, it was ordayned that murderers should be bzent on the harte of the left hande with an hote yron signed with this letter M, and the eues in the same place with this letter T, so that if they, which were once signed with any of these markes or tokens, did againe commit like cryme and offence, should suffer the paynes and punishmentes, which they had both merited and deserued. Which device was enacted and established in the Parliament kept in the seconde yere of this kinges reigne, and taken as I coniecture of the French nation, which are wout if they take any such offender, to cut off one of his eares, as a sure token and marke hereafter of his euill doyng. And the charge of keeping such offenders, that be only imprisoned by their offences, because it soundeth to spirituall religion, is committed to the Bishops and rulers of the spiritualtie, with a penaltie set vpon them, if any such prisoner doe afterwarde escape. The which act and priuilege did nourishe and encrease aboundantly the sect and swarme of the eues and murderers, for after that time there were an hundreth waies practised and inuented, how at one time or another, to deliuer or conuey them out of prison and captiuitie, by making their purgation (by what sleight and meanes they care not) of such offences as befoze they were conuincid and found guiltie, if no man be present to lay exceptions to the same. For if the partie offended and hurt be absent at the day of the purgation making, the theefe or murderer truly found guilty from the beginning, shall be both excused and set at libertie. And oftentimes the sooner, because the Bishop would not leese so great a summe as an hundred pounce, for the escape of a poore knaue, scant worth a Dandiprat: But now to returne to our matter againe.

Murderers to be bzent in the hand with an M, and the eues with a T.

Purgation of Conuers.

Strangers Slewest, Astwood and long Rogier keepers of Berkyn were corrupted.

Berkyn (of whome reherfall was made befoze) beyng now in hold, could not leaue with the destruction of hym selfe, and confusion of other that had associate themselves with hym, but began nowe to studye which way to flye and escape. For he by false perswasions and liberall promises, corrupted Strangeweres, Slewest, Astwood and long Rogier hys keepers, being seruautes to s̄r John Dygby Lieutenaunt. In somuch that they (as it was at their arraignment openly proued) entended to haue slayne the sayd Maister, and to haue set Berkyn and the Erle of Warwicke at large, whiche Erle was by them made priuie of this enterprize, and therevnto (as all naturall creatures loue libertie) to his distruction assented. But this craftie device and subtill imagination, being opened & disclosed, sorted to none effect, and so he being repulsed and put backe from all hope and good lucke wyth all his complices and confederates, and John Awater, sometyme Maior of Corffe in Irelande, one of his founders, and hys sonne, were the sixtene day of No-

ember

ember arraigned and condemned at Westminster. And on the three and twentye daye of the same moneth, Berkyn and John Awater were drawne to Tyborne, and there Berkyn standyng on a litle skaffolde, read his confession, which befoze you haue heard, and toke it on his death to be true, & so he and John Awater asked the kyng forgeuenesse and dyed patiently. This was the rewarde of the pernicious Alye of Berkyn Warbeck, which in his life wyth false perswasions and vntrue surmises had brought many noble personages to death and vtter perdition, so at his death he brought with him other of the same sorte to their not vnderferued punishment. And amongst other Edward Earle of Warwicke, which as the same went, consented to break prison, & to depart out of the Realme wyth Berkyn (which in prisoners is high treason) was the .xxi. daye of the sayde moneth arreyned at Westminster befoze the Earle of Orfozde, then high Countstale of England, of the sayd treason, which whether it were by the enticement of other or of his awne free will (many me doubt because of hys innocency) confessed the fact & submitted himselfe to the kyngs mercy. And vpon his confession he had his iudgement, and accordyng thereto, the .xxviij. day of Nouember. M. cccc. xcix. was brought to the skaffold on the Towre hyl, and there behedded. The same after hys death sprang abroad, that Ferdinand kyng of Spayne would neuer make full conclusion of the matrimony to be had betwene Prince Arthur & the Lady Katheryn hys daughter, nor send her into England as long as this Erle dyed. For he imagined that as long as any Erle of Warwicke lyued, that England should neuer be clenfed nor purged of euill warre and preyu seditioun, so muche was the name of Warwicke in other Regions, had in feare and gelosye.

Berkyn and John Awater drawn to Tyborne and executed.

Edward Erle of Warwicke behedded.

A great death.

The next yere after there was a great plague, wherof men dyed in many places very soze, but especially & most of all in the City of London, where dyed in that yere thirty thousand. Also in this yere was burned a place of the kings called the maner of Shene, situate and lyng nigh the Chamys side, which he after buyded agayne sumpteously and costely, and chaunged the name of Shene, and called it Richemond, because his father and he were Erles of Richemond.

The maner of Shene bzent.

The king perceyuing this plague and contagious disease, rather to encrease then decrease, whether it was to auoyd the occasion of the sicknesse, or to allure the Archduke of Burgoyne to common with him, he personally toke his ship at Douer, in the beginnig of May, & sailed to Calice, to the entent to prouide and see the watches, which haue bene accustomed to be diligently kept and mayntayned against the incursions of his aduersaries, and there he made politike ordinaunces and strayght lawes. While the kyng laye thus at Calice, the Archduke Philyp sent to him diuers notable personages, not alonely to gratify and welcome him into those partes, but also to declare that the sayde Archduke offred to repayre personally to hys presence, wyth suche a number as the kyng should appoynt, so that it were within no walled towne or fortrese. For he had befoze diuers tymes made deniall to the French king to enter into any of his walled townes, and if he should, as he gladly would come to the towne of Calice, it might be a president to s̄ French king to desyre like metyng, what chaunce there of might fall, every man could not iudge. The king gently enterteined the Ambassadors, but moze thank-

fully



fully accepted the Archedukes offer, and so appoynted the place at Saint Peters Church without Calice. Upon the Tuesday in Pentecost weeke, the Archeduke came thether with a conuenient companie. The king and the Queene with many a lustie Lorde and Lady rode thether to welcome him. And when the king approached, the Duke at his lightyng offred to holde hys stirrop, which the king in no wise woulde suffer to be done. When the king was dissended from his horse, he and the Archeduke embraced eche other with most princely familiaritie, and then the Queene and all the Nobles saluted him. What banquettyng, what mirth, and what pastyme there was, I ouerpasse. But to conclude there was communication of mariages, treating of farther corroboration of leagues, requestes, of tolles in Flaunders to be minished, with many other thinges, touchyng the entercourse and traffique of both their realmes. And when all thinges were set in an order, the two Princes louyngly tooke their leaue and departed, the king to Calice, and the Archeduke to Saint Omers.

After this departyng, the French king Lewys the twelue, sent to visite the king, the Lord Gronthouse gouernour of Picardie, and the Lord Herneillers, Bayly of Amvas, which declared to the king the getting of Milayn, and takyng of the Duke, which Lordes were highly feasted, and wyth great rewarde departed.

Soone after when this plague was slaked, the king returned againe to England, about the ende of June: And beyng come into Englande, soone after there came to him one Gasper Pous, a Spaniard (both for learning and good behauour very excellent) sent from Alexander Bishop of Rome, which should shew to the Engliche men the right way to heauen. Therefore that yere was called the yere of Jubile, which was the yere of our Lorde a thousand fiue hundred. And to the entent that the people of farre Countries might be eased of their labour and trauaile in commyng thether, the charitable father sent his Legates into euery Countrie to distribute the heauenly grace (as he called it) to all Christen people, which eyther letted by warre, enemies, infirmitie, weakenesse, or tediousnesse of y long iourney, were not able to perfoyme their iourney to the holy Citie of Rome. But this beneuolent liberality was not francke & freely geuen: For the holy Bishop Alexander, with helpyng and loking to the helth of mens soules, thought somewhat to doe for hys awne pryuate commoditie and singuler welth, and therefore he limited and set a certaine pryce of this his grace and pardon: and to the ende that the king should not hynder nor let his purpose, he offered part of this his gaine vnto the king. And that the people might the sooner minithe their purses, and enriche his Chestes, he promised that he would in the begynnyng of the yere make warre in all the haste against the great Turke. By this meanes and pollicie, this Alexander gat and heaped vp a great summe of money, and yet no battaile begonne against the Turke, which in the meane season had taken, conquered, and destroyed many regions, Cities, & towne belonging to Christen men.

About this time died thre Bishop in England, John Morton Bishop of Cauntorbury, Thomas Langton Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Rotheram Bishop of Yorke. After him succeeded Thomas Savage Bishop of London, in whose place succeeded Doctoz William Warham of whom we

made

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Yere of  
Jubile.

made mencion before. And Henry Deane Bishop of Sarisburie was made Archebishop of Cauntorbury. Also Richard fore Bishop of Durham, was preferred to the Bishoprike of Winchester. Also this yere two notable mariages were concluded and agreed vpon, but neyther solemnised nowe, nor consummate as you shall heare afterwarde. For king Henry graunted hys daughter Ladie Margaret to James the fourth king of Scottes. And Ferdinand king of Spaine gaue his daughter Ladie Katherin to Arthur prince of Wales, sonne and heyre apparaunt to the king of England. And it is to be considered y king Henry did not ioyne this affinitie with the king of Scottes without cause: For he desiryng nothing moze, then to passe ouer the remnant of his lyfe in peace, rest, and tranquillitie, imagined in himselfe that by thys coniunction and couplement of matronomie, no warre or hostilitie hereafter should be attempted eyther agaynst him or his Dominions by the Scottische king or his nation, hauyng sure trust that none other of his enemies or of his rebelles should hereafter be receyued or mainteyned in the Dominions and territories of his sonne in lawe. And amongst all other articles this was concluded and appoynted, that no English man should enter into Scotland, without letters commendatory of theyr awne souereigne Lorde, or saueconduyte of his Wardein of the Marches, and that prohibition was in lyke maner geuen to the Scottes.

You haue heard before, howe that the mariage was agreed betweene Prince Arthure of England, and the Ladie Katheryn of Spaine, and howe the king her father promised to send her with great honour into England: He now this yere accordyng to his promise conueyed her with a puyssaunt navy toward England, where she arriued in the porte of Plymmouth the seconde day of October, then beyng Saterday. When the king was certified of her arryuall, incontinent he sent both for Prince Arthur his sonne into Wales to repayze to London, and sent diuers great Lords and knightes to conuey her with tryumph toward her spouse and husband. And vpon the .xij. day of November, she was conueyed from Lambeth through London with all triumph and honour that could be deuised or imagined, to the Bishops palace, by the cathedrall Church of Saint Pauls. And because I will not be tedious to you, I passe ouer the wise deuises, and the prudent speeches, set foorth in seuen goodly Pageauntes, erected and set vp in diuers places of the Citie. I leaue also the sweete harmonie, which sounded with heauenly noyse on euery syde of the streete. I omit farther, the costly apparell both of Goldsmithes woork and embraudery, the riche Jewelles, the massie Chaynes, the stirryng horses, the beautifull bardes, and the glitteryng trappers, both with belles and spangles of golde. I will not molest you with rehersyng the riche arras, the costly tapestrie, the fyne clothes both of golde and siluer, the pleasaunt silkes, which did hang in euery streete where she passed, the wine that ranne continually out of the Conduytes. But to resozt vnto the historie.

While this pryncesse soiourned for her recreation in the Bishops palace of London, not without visitation of the king, the Queene and the kinges mother, there was erected in the bodye of Saint Pauls Church, a long brydge made of timber, extending from the West doze of the Church, to the step at the entering into the Quere, which was sixe foote from the ground. On the sayd brydge or stage, euen directly before the consistorie of the church

Ann. J.

was

The Ladys  
Margaret as-  
sied to Ja-  
mes the  
fourth king  
of Scottes.

The Ladie  
Katheryn as-  
sied to Ar-  
thur Prince  
of Wales.

1501  
17

The recey-  
uing into Lo-  
don of y Ladie  
Katheryn  
who after-  
ward married  
with Prince  
Arthur the  
kings eldest  
sonne.



was eleuate a place lyke a mount, for eyght persons to stand vpon, compassed rounde about with steps to assend and dissend, which was couered wyth fyne red worsted, and in lykewise were all the rayles of the sayde stage. On the Northside of this mount was a place furnished for the king and Queene and such other as they appointed. On the Southside of the same mount stood the Maior & the Magistrates of London. When all preparation was made, and all things set in an order. Upon the day of Saint Erkenwalde, then beyng Sunday, the sayde Lady was led to the same mount, and there prince Arthur openly espoused her, both beyng clad in wyhte, both lustie and amorous, he of the age of fiftene and more, and she of the age of. xviij. or thereabouts. After the matrimonie celebrated, the prince and hys wyfe went by into the Quere, and there heard a solempne masse, song by the Archebyschop of Cauntorbury, associate with. xii. Prelates mytred. And after the masse finished, the Bride was led homeward to the Byschops palace, by Henry Duke of Yorke, beyng then a goodly yong prince, & the Legate of Spaine. Next after folowed the Ladie Cicile sister to the Queene, suppoztynge the trayne of the spouse. After whome folowed aboue an hundred Ladies and Gentlewomen gorgeously appareled and richely adourned. There was kept that day a sumptuous feast, but when night was come, this lustie prince and his bewtifull Bride were brought and ioyned together in one bed, and there did that act, which to the perfozmaunce and full consummation of matrimonie was most requysite and expedient. In so muche that his famillier seruitors, which had then neyther cause nor rewarde to lye or fayne, declared openly that in the morning he called for drinke, which he before times was not accustomed to doe. At which thing one of his Chamberlaynes marryng, required the cause of his drowth. To whome he answered merily sayng, I haue this night bene in the myddest of Spaine, which is a hote region, and that iourney maketh me so drie, and if thou hadst bene vnder that hote climate, thou wouldest haue bene drier then I. Then shortly after the king and the Queene with the new wedded spouses, went from Baynardes Castell by water to Westminster, on whome the Maior and Communaltie of London, in Barges garnished with standardes, streamers, and penons of their deuise, gaue their attendaunce. And there in the palace were suche martiall feates, and baliante iustes, as before that tyme was of no man had in remembraunce. Of this royall triumph Lord Edward Duke of Buckyngham was chiefe chalenger, and the Lorde Thomas Grey Marques Dorset was chiefe defendour, which with their aydes and companions, bare themselves so balyauntly that they obteyned great laude and honour, both of the Spaniards and of their Countrimen.

During the tyme of these iustes and triumph, were receaued into London, an Erle, a Byschop, and dyuers noble personages, sent from the king of Scottes into England, for the conclusion of the mariage betwene the Lady Margaret the kings daughter and hym. Which Erle by prorie in the name of king James his maister, affied and contracted the sayd sayre Lady. Which assurance was published at Paules Crosse, the day of the conuersion of S. Paule, in reioysing wherof Te deum was song, & great fires made thorough the Citie of London. Which things as you haue heard, beyng fully finished and accomplished the Ambassadors as well of Spaine as of Scotlande, took

The mariage of prince Arthur with the Ladie Katherine.

This after his father was king Henry the eighth.

Ambassadors sent from the Scottes, for the mariage of the Ladie Margaret.

took their leaue of the king, and not without great rewarde departed into their Countries.

When the Ambassadors were departed, the king entending to aduance the honoz and reputation of the prince his sonne, furnished hym with monei and money largely, and sent him agayne into Wales, where he was before, to keepe liberall hospitalitie, and to minister to the rude & elshemen in different iustice. And least by reason of lack of experience he might erre, he appointed to him wise and expert counsaylers, as s<sup>r</sup> Rycharde Poole his kinsman, which was his chiefe Chamberlayne, with whome were associate s<sup>r</sup> Henry Vernon, Sir Rycharde Croftes, Sir Paup Philip, Sir Wylliam Udale, S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Englese de, Sir Peter Newton knightes, John Waleston, Henry Watton, & Doctor Wylliam Smyth who was President of his Counsaile, and Doctor Charles, both were with hym associate, the one was afterwarde Bishop of Lyncolne, and the other Byschop of Hereford. But as of one fountayne cometh often both ioye and sorowe, so I leane here to speake more of ioye of thys mariage, considering the chaunce that shortly after succeeded.

A few Moneths before the mariage of Prince Arthur, Edmond Poole Erle of Suffolke, sonne to John Duke of Suffolke, and Lady Elizabeth sister to King Edward the fourth, beyng stoute and bolde of courage, and of wyrt rather and headie, was endited of homicide and murther, for slaying of a meane person in his rage and furie: And although the king pardoned hym whome he might iustly haue condemned for that offence, yet because he was brought to the kings Benche barre and arreyned (which fact he reputed to be a great mayme and blemishe to his honoz) took it seriously, and shortly after for this displeasure, fled into Flaunders, without any licence or safe conduyte geuen hym of the kyng, to the Ladie Margaret his Aunt on the mothers side. Neuerthelesse, whether he was stirred by hys priuie friendes therunto moued by the king, or whether he trusting on hys innocencie and truth feared no daunger nor penaltie, he returned agayne, and exercised himselfe so to the king that he was thought to be guiltlesse and inculpable in any crime that could be obiected to hym, and therefore he was permitted to goe frankly at his libertie and pleasure.

But when this mariage of prince Arthur was kept at London wyth great pompe and solempnitie, and that all the nobilitie were set on pleasure and solace, and the king himselfe was principally geuen to ioy and reioysing. Thys Edmonde, eyther for that he had bene at great and excessive charges at the same triumph and solempnitie, and by reason therof sore charged with debt. Eyther sollicit, allured & prouoked by that olde venemous Seruant the Duches of Burgoyne, euer beyng the sower of sedition, and beginner of rebellion agaynst the king of Englande, or else prouoked and pricked wyth enuy, which could not patiently w<sup>th</sup> open eyes see and beholde king Henry, beyng of the aduerse lynes to his lignage, so long to reigne in wealth and felicitie, in conclusion with his brother Rycharde fled agayne into Flaunders. This sad chaunce (I thinke) happened among the great ioyes and solaces of king Henry, least that he might not by ouermuch gladnesse sodenly forget himselfe: which displeasure at an other tyme before to haue chaunced, it is manifest and well knowne to you.

An n. ij.

When



Edmond de  
la poole Erie  
of Suffolke.

When the King vnderstoode certaynly that this Erie was departed and returned agayne, he was not a litle vexed and vnquieted, mistrusting that some newe tumultuous busynesse should be begonnie againe, and chiefly therfore blamed hymselfe of foolish follie that he had giuen hym his pardon for hys offence, lately committed. Although it was manifest ynough that he dyd it for thys purpose, that he myght dissemble and wyne at the matter so long vntill such time, he had some sure token and perfite knowledge of his conu-  
 ration, the which he perceyued now to be surely attempted and begun. As sene as Edmond de la Poole Erie of Suffolke was fled agayne into Flaunders, Syr Robert Curson, whome the kyng had promoted to the order of knight-  
 hooide, and made capitayne of Hammes Castle, a valiaunt and a circumspect man, dissimuling hymselfe to be one of that conspiracye went into Flaun-  
 ders, doubtlesse to espy what was done there by the Lady Margaret against kyng Henry. This opinion was fetted in euery mannes head at the first broching of the matter, and so yet continueth, groundyng vpon this principle, that he neyther vexed noz molested woth any poynnt of displeasure oz iniurie by his Prince oz anye other fled to the kings enimies. And after all thinges were knowne, pacified & suppressed, he willingly returned and was receiued into high fauour with the kyng his mayster and souereigne Lord. Howbeit, the king like a wise Prince, knowing the faithfull intent of thys syr Robert, & intending to put hun out of al iualowise and suspicion with the Ladye Margaret, and Edmond de la Poole, caused the said Erie and the said Sir Robert Curson, and five persons moze to be accursed at Pauls crosse the first Sundaye of Nouember, as enimies and rebels to him and his realme. But howsoeuer it chaunced, whether it were for the easing of his hart, oz for some pry-  
 uye pollicye, the King after the mariage of his sene Prince Arthur, was so vigilant, and so intentiue, that he espyed and tryed out such as he knew, partly to bee the inuentours of mischief against him, and partly to beare no good will towarde his person, that he coude redily name and reherse their names and surnames, whereof a great part were within few dayes after apprehended and taken. And among them, Lord William Courtney, sonne to Edward Erie of Deuonshire, a man of great nobilitie, estimation and vertue, which married Ladye Katheryn, daughter to King Edward, Lorde William brother to Edmond, Erie of Southfolke, syr James Tyrrell, Sir John Windham. Both these Williams befoze rehersted were rather taken of suspicien and i-  
 lowse, because they were nere of blood to the couerators, then for any proued offence oz crime. Wherefore the Lorde William sonne to the Erie of Deuon-  
 shire, after the death of King Henry the seventh, was deliuered and set abroad at libertie, by the noble and famous Prince King Henry the eyght, sene to the said kyng, with whome after he was in great fauour and estimation: but shortlye after, when he beganne to exercise him selfe in marciall feates and warlike study he sickened of a disease, called Pluresis, of which malady because it was strange & rare to the Physicians of England, he at the kings Ma-  
 iour of Greenwich decessed, leauing one some behinde him, to continue hys stirpe and familie. The Lorde William, brother to Edmond the Erie of Southfolke had also greater fauour shewed in prison, then hee had befoze. And syr James Tyrrell, and John Windham, because they were Traytors and so attaynted the first daye of Maye, they were on the Towre hyl be-  
 headed.

James Ty-  
rell, John  
Windham.

headed. But when the Erie of Southfolke hard that some of his friends were put to executio, and some other committed to perpetuall pryson and captiuitie, he was in a great agony and feare of himselfe. And so being clerely desperat to haue any fortunate successe in his pretended enterprize, wandered about all Germanye and Fraunce for ayde and succour, prouing if he coude finde any ayde oz succour at their handes. But when he perceyued no stedfast ground to catch anchor holde vpon he submitted him selfe vnder the obeysaunce and defence of Philip Archduke of Austrich and Burgoyne and Erie of Flaun-  
 ders: But Richard his brother being an expert and politique man, so crafti-  
 lye conueyed, and so wisely ordered himselfe in this stormy tempest, that he was not attrapped eyther with net oz snare. The King, not yet being out of doubt of all domesticall and seditious ciuill discord, studied busily how to re-  
 strein & kepe in a streyte closure diuers malefactorz, which being partakers of this conspiracy fled to sundry sanctuaries, taryng there til a faire day came to auance forward their enterprize. Where vpon he deuised to kepe the gates of all sanctuaries & places priuiledged, shut & well locked, so that none should issue out from thence to perturbe and vnquiet him, his realme oz people. And for that entent he both wrote and sent Ambassadors to Alexander then Bi-  
 shop of Rome, desiring him by his authorizy to iudge and decerne all English-  
 men, being fledde to Sanctuaries oz other places for treason, as enimies to Christes faith, and scismatiques to Christen religion, & as comon perturbers of the quyet people, and Capytaines and prouokers of trayterous rufflings inhibiting & prohibiting the refuge & priuilege of Sanctuary to all such per-  
 sons as once had enioyed the immunity & libertie of the same, & after had fled out, & estones returned again. Which thing after y the bishop had graunted, it was greatly to the quietnesse and comfort of King Henry, & many through the feare of that reproch, conuerted themselues to goodnesse & due subiection of their Prince: Other also that were in securitie, & out of all perill & dainger, durst not hazard themselues for feare of galtroppes oz slippyng into the fyre.

When the kyng by his high pollicie had compassed and framed his af-  
 faires thus to his purpose, sodeinly happened a lamentable chaunce & losse to the King, Queene, and all the people. For that noble Prince Arthure, the kinges first begotten sonne, after that he had bene married to the Ladie Katherin his wyfe siue moneths, departed out of this transitorie lyfe, in his Ca-  
 thedrall Church of Worcester. After whose death the name of Prince belon-  
 ged to his brother the Duke of Yorke, for y his brother dyed without issue, and so without any creation ought to be called, except some cause apparaunt were the let and obstacle of the same. Howbeit the sayde duke vpon suspicien of his brothers wife to be with childe, and that doubtfully thought by the ex-  
 pert and sage men of the Princes counsaile, was by a moneth and moze de-  
 layed from his title, name, and preheminance, in the which season the truth might to women easily appere. It is reported that this Ladie Katheryn thought and feared such dolorous chaunce to come: For when she had em-  
 braced her father, and taken her leaue of her noble and prudent mother, and sailed towardes England, she was continually so tossed and tumbled hether and thether, woth boysterous wyndes, that what for the rage of the water, and contrarietie of the windes, her ship was prohibited diuers tymes to ap-  
 proch

The death of  
Prince Ar-  
thur.



proch the thore and take lande.

The next yere after Queene Elizabeth, lying within the Tower of London, was brought abed of a fayre daughter on Candlemasse day, which was there christened and named Katheryn, and the .xj. day of the same Moneth, the sayde most vertuous Princes and gracious Queene there deceased, and was with all funerail pompe carped through the Citie of London to Westminster, and there buried, whose daughter also tarped but a small season after her mother.

After the death of this noble Princes, which for her great vertue was commonly called good Queene Elizabeth, departed Sir Reignolde Bray knight of the Garter, a very father of his Countrie, a sage and a graue person, and a feruent louer of iustice. In so muche that if any thing had bene done agaynst good lawe or equitie, he would after an humble fashion plainly reprehende the king, and geue him good aduertisement how to reforme that offence, & to be more circumspect in another lyke case. Of the same vertue and honest plainnesse was John Morton Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which Bishop dyed as (it is shewed aboue) two yeres betoze. So these two persons were euer restrayners and refrayners of the kinges wilfull scope and vnbideled libertie, where as the rude and ignozant people say and affirme, that their counsaile infected and corrupted the kinges cleane and immaculate conscience, contrary to his princely disposition & naturall inclination. Such is euer the error of the comon people: but surely as long as the king would heere and obey such as warned him of his offyce royall and kingly dutie, he coude in no wise erre or swarue asyde. About this tyme also dyed Henrye Archebishop of Cauntorbury, whose rowme Doctor William Warram Bishop of London suppliyed. And to the Bishopricke of London was elected William Barnes, after whose death succeeded Richard Fitziamess. In which yere the .xviij. day of February, the king at his Palace of Westminster, wyth all solemnitie created his onely sonne Henry Prince of Wales, Erle of Chester. &c. which noble yongling succeeded his father, not onely in the inheritance and regalitie, but also was to him equiuall in honour, fame, learning and pollicie.

Marcilian the Emperour, hearing that Queene Elizabeth was deceased, sent into England a solempne Ambassade of the which Lorde Casimire, Marques of Bradenburgh his Cosyn, accompanied with a Byshop, an Erle, and a great number of gentlemen well appareled, was principall Ambassadour, which were triumphantly receaued into London, and was lodged at Crosbys place. This Ambassade was sent for thzee causes, one to visite and comfort the king, beyng sorowfull and sadde for the death of so good a Queene and spouse. The second for the renouation of the old league and amitie. The thirde which was not apparaunt, was to moue the king to marry the Emperours daughter the Ladye Margaret, Duches dowagar of Sauoye. The first two tooke effect, for the king vpon Passion Sunday, roade to Daules in great triumph, the sayde Marques ryding on his left hande. And there the Byshop made to the king an excellent and comfortable Oration, concerning the death of the Queene. And there also the king openly swore to keepe the new renouate league and amitie, during their two liues. But the thirde request, whether the let was one the mans part or wo-

mans

mans side, neuer sorted to any effect or conclusion. And so these things done, the Ambassadours returned sumptuously and honorably rewarded.

All this Wynter was preparation made for the conueyaunce of the Ladye Margaret, affied to the king of Scottes into Scotland. And when all things were readie and prest, the king remooued the last day of June from Rychemond, hauing in his company his sayde daughter, and came to Colyweston, where the Countesse of Richmond his mother then lay. And after certayne dayes of solace ended, the king gaue her his blessing with a fatherly exhortation, and committed the conueyaunce of her to the king her husbandes presence to the Erle of Surrey: and the Erle of Northumberlande was appointed as Wardeyn of the Marches to deliuer her at the Confines of both the Marches. Thus this fayre Ladie was conueyed with a great company of Lordes, Ladies, Knightes, Esquires and Gentlemen, till they came to Berwike, and from thence to a Village called Lambzeton Kyrke in Scotlande, where the king with the floure of Scotlande was readie to receaue her, to whom the Erle of Northumberland, according to his commission deliuered her. The Scottes that day, I assure you were not behind the Englishmen, but farre aboue, both in apparell and riche Jewels and massy Chaynes: But aboue other the Erle of Northumberland, what for the ryches of his Cote, beyng Goldsmithes worke, garnished with pearle and stone, and what for the costly apparell of the Henymen and galaunt trappers of their horses, besides foure hundred tall men, well horsed and appareled in his colours, that he was esteemed both of the Scottes and English men, moze lyke a prince then a subiect. Then was this Ladie conueyed to the towne of Edenborough, and there the day after, king James the fourth, in the presence of all his nobilitie espoused the sayde fayre princeesse, and feasted the English Lordes, and shewed to them Jullies and other pastimes, very honorably, after the fashion of his rude Countrey. When all thinges were done and finished according to their commission, the Erle of Surrey with all the English Lordes and Ladyes returned into their Countrey, geuyng moze prayse to the manhood, then to the good maner and nurture of Scotlande.

In this yere began the newe worke of the kings Chapell at Westminster, which is one of the most excellent peeces of worke, wrought in stone, that is in Christendome.

In this yere the king kept his high Court of Parliament, in the which diuers actes were concluded, which were thought necessarie and expedient for the preferuation of the publique weale. And among other thinges, it was determined that theeues and murderers duely convicted by the lawe to dye, should be burned in the hande, and committed to the Byshops custodie as I haue befoze declared. After this certaine money was graunted to the king, by the whole Parliament, and the goodes of men outlawed were forfepted and confiscated. There was also called (as the maner is) a congregation of the Clergie, to the intent, that they with their Treasure and Money might auance and preferre the common welth of the realme.

Whether to we haue shewed you rough and sharpe battailles, pernicious and seditious strife, tumult, and the death of many noble and meane persons: Now therefore let vs here rehearse, the contention of familiar thinges, the gnabwyng

The Ladie Margaret eldest daughter vnto the King, affied vnto the King of Scottes was conueyed into Scotland.

1502  
8  
The birth of the Ladye Katheryn.

The death of Queene Elizabeth.

Sir Reignolde Bray dead.

John Morton Archebishop of Cauntorbury.

Henry Archebishop of Cauntorbury.

Henry prince of Wales.

Marcilian the Emperour sent his Ambassadors to the king.

1503  
19

Parliament.



gnawing at the hartes, and the fretting of mindes and of bowes, promises and requestes made of dyuers persons.

Kyng Henry, now drawing to age, and befoze this time euer bered and prouoked with the scrupulous stinges of sedicion and ciuill commorion, inso- much that he moze detested and abhorred intestine and pryuat warre, then death oz any thing moze terrible. Wherfoze he determined so pollitiquely to prouide that all the causes of such bnyquetnesse and mischiese to come, should be rooted out and banished : which imaginacion and purpose he doubted not to compasse and bring to effect, if he made lobe and abated the courage of his subiects and bassalles, and especially of the richest sortes, remembzng the olde prouerbe, that men through aboundaunce of riches waxe moze insolent and hedstrong, and that nothing is moze to them acceptable oz desirous, then aboundaunce of treasure and plentie of money, which people eyther soz feare of losing, oz hope of gayning of worldly ryches desyre eyther peace oz warre. But to the intent that men might not thinke noz report that he which is their King instituted of God to reuenge all iniuries to them done and committed, should oppresse and wrongfully polle and exact money of his subiects, he deuised with him selfe by what honest meane he might perfozme it. And thus deuising with himself, it came into his hed that the Englishmen did little passe bpon the obseruation and keping of penall lawes and statutes, made and ordeyned for the preseruation of the common vtilitie and welth. And therefore, if inquisition were had of suche penall statutes, there should be fewe noble men, Merchants, Farmers, Husbandmen, Brasiers noz Occupiers, but they would be found transgressours and violatours of the same statutes. After that he had taken this counsell, he sought oute the penall lawes, and put them in execution, and they that were found offenders, were easily at the beginning fined and scourged. After that he appoynted two Maisters and surueyers of his forfaytes, the one syz Richard Empson, and the other Edmond Dudley, both learned in the lawes of the Realme. And these two personnes contended, which of them by most bringing in might most please and satisfie his maisters desyre and appetite. Wherfoze in the beginning, they armed wyth a company of accusers (commonly called Promoters) which brought to them the names of the offenders, esteemed and regarded so much the gayne of money, that they clerely forgate and banished out of their remembrance their duetie present, the perill that might ensue, and the thanke and good will that they might haue obtayned, and yet they had warning of diuers sage persons to close theyz hands from such vncharitable doings and cruell extremitie, according to the Adage, the extremitie of iustice is extreme iniurie.

The King, after he had gotten a large and ample sum of money, hauing pitie of the people, which cryed to God daylie for an ende of their pilfering, of his clemencie and gracious goodnesse towardes his ende thought it best, and thus determined, that these two extreme officers should be depriued of that office, and the monie from whome it was vniustly exacted and extorted to be wholly restored and deliuered againe : which being prevented with death, commaunded it by his last will & testament to be duely and truly perfozmed, but in the meane season many mens coffers were emptied.

In this very season, and the yere of our Lord. 1505. Elizabeth Queene of Castell, wife to Ferdinand king of Arragon dyed without any issue male, by reason

Execution of penall lawes.

Richards Empson knight. Edmonde Dudley Esquire.

Promoters.

Extremity is extreme unary.

1504  
20

King Henry caused restitu- on to be made of such mony as came by Promoters.

1505  
21

reason wherof the inheritance of Castell (berause that Kingdoms be not partible) descended to Lady Jane her eldest daughter by king Ferdinand, the which was married to Philip Archduke of Austrich & Burgoyne, and Erie of Flaunders. Which kingdom he obtayned by hys wife, and had the possession of the same, and was named, reputed, and taken, as king of Castell and Lyon. Wherfoze the yere folowynge, about the sixt day of January, hauing a great nauy prepared, he sayled out of Flaunders with his wife towarde Spaine, but he had sayled no great way befoze that a sore tempest, by reason of contrariety of windes sodainly arose, so that the whole nauy was tossed & chased with the waues, and sodaine sourses. In so much the winde hauing the mai'try, disperfed & seperated the ships asunder into diuers places on the coast of England. The kinges ship with two other bestelles were blown by tempest on the West part of the realme to the porte of Weymouth in Dorsetshire. Then king Philip which was not expert, and had not frequented the Seas befoze, beyng weryed and bnyqueted both in minde and bodie, enterynge the shy boate to refreche and repose himselfe a little, came a land contrary to the mynd of his counsaile and Capitaynes, which foresaw and knew well that the same landyng should be the occasion of lenger taryng there. When it was knowen that straunge shippes were arrived, there came thither a great number aswell of Noble men, as of rurall persons that dwel- leth about that coast, to repulse and beate away hym if he were their enemy. But when they perceyued he was their friend and louer, and driuen thither by force of weather, Sir Thomas Trenchard knight, the chiefe of that companie, went to Philip king of Castell with all humanitie and lowlinesse, in- uityng and despyng him (if he would so vouchsafe) to visite his Manor and Mancion, which was euen nighe at hande, trustyng thereby to haue great thankes of the king his maister, if he could protract and cause him to tarye there, buttill such tyme as king Henry were certified of his arrival, to whom with all diligent celeritie, he sent diuers postes to notifie to his grace of king Philips landyng. This rumoz beyng farther blowne abroad of this straunge Princes comyng, in a short space there assembled together a great multitude of people all a long the sea coast. And among other there came first Sir John Carew with a goodly band of picked men. Which Sir John and Sir Thomas Trenchard entreated the king of Castell, not to depart buttill such tyme as he had spoken with king Henry his louyng and faythfull friend and allye, assuryng him that he would repayze thether within two or thre daies at the most. King Philip excused himselfe by the necessitie of his weightie enterprize and importunate cause, affirmyng that long taryng in matters of grauitie and doubtfull, ought to be excluded: wherfoze he alleged that pro- tractyng of tyme might turne him to great preiudice, denyng at the first to expect and tary the comyng of the king of England: but yet being perswa- ded by reason in himselfe, that he might be let and interrupted, if he would proffer once to go aboarde to his shippes againe, at their gentle desyre and lo- uynge contemplation, assented to their humble petition and request.

When king Henry was informed of his landyng, he was replenished with an exceeding gladnesse, partly for to renue the olde familiaritie and ac- quaintaunce, which they vled at their last meeting, and partly for that he trusted that hys landyng in England should turne to his profite and commo- ditie,

The landing of Philip Archduke of Austrich in the west partes of England.



ditie. Therfore first he wrote many and dyuers letters to syz John Carew, and syz Thomas Trenchard, wpylling and warnyng them withall kindnesse of humanitie to enterteyne the king of Castell, till he in person approched in some place meete and conuenient for the enteruiewyng and enterteynyng of so noble a personage. Beside this he sent the Erle of Arundell with manye Lordes and knights to accompany and attend vpon him. which Erle, accordyng to the kinges letters receaued him with thre hundred hoyses all by tozche light to the great admiration of all the straungers.

King Phylip seyng no remedie, but that he must needes tarie and abyde, would no lenger gase after king Henryes commyng, but tooke hys iourney towarde Wyndsoze Castell where the king laye. And syue Wyple from Wyndsoze, the Prince of Wales accompanied with fiue Erles and dyuers Lordes and knightes, and other to the number of fyue hundred persons, most gorgeously appareled and richely mounted, receaued him after the most honozablest fashon of entertaynment. And within halfe a myle of Wyndsoze, the king accompanied with the Duke of Buckyngham, and a great part of the Nobilitie of hys realme, saluted and welcommed him, and so conueyed him to the Castell of Wyndsoze, where besyde many triumphes & pastimes shewed, he was made companion of the noble order of the Garter. After him came to Wyndsoze hys wyfe Queene Jane, sister to the Princes Dowager, late wyfe to Prince Arthur. And after they two had concluded and renouate their olde league, and made a perpetuall peace and continuall amitie together: King Henry desired him to haue Edmond de la poole Erle of Suffolke his rebell to be deliuered into his handes and possession. To whome the king of Castell aunswered abohyle, that he was not within hys rule or dominion, and therefore it laye not in his power to render or deliuer hym. Although he considered it to be a heynous and great offence to be the occasion and authoz of the death of his guest, which came to hym for succour and was receaued vnder his protection and defence, yet when he perceaued that neyther excuse, nor yet reasonable argument could be accepted or allowed of king Henry (which promised faythfully of hys awne offer to pardon, Edmond de la poole, of all paynes and executions of death) he promised and graunted to doe and accomplishe all king Henryes desire and request: And so incontinent caused the sayd Edmond secretly to be sent for. After this king Henry entending to protract the time till he might possesse his praye, which he sore desired, conueyed the king of Castell vnto the Citie of London, that he might see the head Citie of his realme, and there led him from Barnards Castell by Chepe to Barkyng, and so returned by Watling streete agayne, during which time there was shot a wonderfull peale of Gannes out of the Tower, into the which he would not enter, because (as you haue heard before) he had auowed not to enter the fortreffe of any foze in Prince, in the which a garison was maynteyned: And there taryng a little space, returned back with hym. Then from London the king brought him to Richemonde, where were many notable feates of armes proued both at the tylt and at the tourney and at the barriers.

In the meane season, Edmond de la poole which euer feared and mistrusted, that the arryuing in Englande of King Phylip should be his fatall ende and finall destruction, percepying well that there was no farther hope

Edmond de la poole sent back agayne into Englande and committid to the Tower.

to

to be had in fozeyn princes and potentates, and trustyng that after his lyfe to him once graunted, that king Henry would briezely set him at libertie and freedome, was in maner content to returne agayne into his natie Countre, casting in his minde farther, that if his hope and trust were defrauded and refelled, yet at the last he was sure to ende his lyfe, and be buried in the Countre, where he first entred into this variable worlde.

When all pactes and conuauants betwene the kings of Englande and Castell were appointed, conuauanted and agreed: King Phylip tooke hys leaue of King Henry, rendering to him most heartie thankes for his highe cheere and princely entertaynment. And beyng accompanied with dyuers Lordes of Englande, came to the Citie of Excester, and so to Fulmouth in Cornewale, and there toke his ship and sayled into Spaine, where he shortly beyng taken with a sodayne disease, departed out of thys transitorie lyfe, beyng then but .xxx. yeres of age. He had by hys wyfe Queene Jane, sixe children, two men children, Charles and Ferdinand, and foure daughters, Cleanoz, Isabell, Marie and Katherin. He was a man of stature conuenient, of countenance amiable and louely, of bodye somewhat crasse and corpulent, quick wytted, bold and hardie stomacked. Thys tempest that the king of Castell had, was wonderfull straunge to many men, because the violencie of the winde had blowne downe an Egle of Brasle, beyng set to shewe and manifest on which part the winde blew, for a pynacle or spire of Paules Church. And in the fallyng the same Egle brake, and battered another Egle that was set bp for a signe at a Tauerne doze in Chepeside. And herebpon, men that were studious of straunge tokens and mostrous wonders, did take an opinion that the Emperour Maximilian, which at that time gaue an Egle in his armes, should haue a great losse, which so happened in dedde: For he lost his onely begotten sonne Phylip, newly called to the kingdome of Castell.

The death of King Phylip.

The description of King Phylip.

Also, shortly after the departyng of king Phylip, the king of Englande began to suspect Sir George Neuell Lorde of Burgeyny, and Sir Thomas Grene, of Grene's Nozton knight, that they were confedered fauours, and partakers, in the beginnyng with Edmond de la Poole, and so vpon this suspicion, they were commaunded to the Tower. But shortly after when they had bene tryed and purged of that suspicion and cryme, he commaunded them both to be set at libertie. But Sir Thomas Grene fell sicke before, and continued in the Tower in hope to be restored aswell to his helth, as he was to his libertie, and there dyed. The Lorde of Burgeyny for hys modestie, wit, and goodnesse (because the king founde him like himselfe) alwayes true, faythfull, and constant, was of his souereigne Lorde more esteemed, fauoured and regarded then he was before.

In this yere also Sir Thomas Kneesworth Maior of London at hys awne charges builded the Conduyt at Bishopsgate. And also he gaue to the companie of the fishmongers certeyne tenementes, for the which they are bound to finde foure scholers, whereof two to be in Cambridge, and two to be in Oxforde, and eyther of them to haue foure pounde a yere for theyr exhibition. &c.

After this, the king hauyng peace aswell with fozeyn Princes, for the terme of thre yeres, as disburdened and purified of all domesticall sedition,

1506  
22



The swea-  
ring sickness  
came once  
agayne.

cion, began to be diseased with a certeine infirmitie and weakenesse of bodie, which thise in the yere, but specially in the spring tyme soze vexed and tormented him. And because for the most part the harme & euill that chaunce to the Prince, is parted and communicate to his subiects and people, the olde sweatynge disease whereof you heard before amongst the Commons of the realme, came againe. Whobeyt by the reason of the remedie that was inuented by the death of many a creature in the beginnyng, it did lesse hurt and displeasure to the people at this tyme then it did before. But nowe the thirde plague egall with the pestilence ensued by the workyng of the Maisters of the forseyturs, by the king appoynted as I shewed you before. By whose meanes many a riche and welthie person, by the extremitie of the lawes of the realme, were condemned and brought to miserie.

A pestilent  
plague.

This matter (sayth Hail) is as wonderfull to be heard, as pityfull and miserable to be done, and yet it is called the lawe, where as it is rather peruerse abuse and disorder of a lawe: polittiquely at the beginnyng inuented to cause the people the sooner to confirme themselves to suche as demaunde their right of them, but craftily practised to the bitter confusion of many by vnttrue officers. For if a man put his aduersarie in suite before the Judges, of which complaint or action he neyther thinketh nor hath knowlege, if he appere not at y last callyng of the exigent, which is called in a hire where he neuer came (for how can he appere, if he be ignoraunt of the prosecution of the cause, and dwell two hundred myles from that place) then doth hee forseyte all his substance and moueables, and his bodie to captiuitie as an enemy and rebell to the lawes of his Country. And yet the Prince shall enioy the goodes so confiscate, and the partie complaynaunt or plaintife that is wronged recouereth not one myte, and yet loseth both his paine and costes. And all such persons that be so condemned & adiudged, be called outlawes, that is depriued of all lawes of the lande, to the which he was by the custome of the Countrie inheritable. These outlawries, olde recognisances of the peace and good abering, escapes, ryottes and innumerable statutes penall, were put in execution and called vpon by Empson and Dudley, so that every man both of the spiritualtie and tempozaltie, hauing eyther land or substance was called to this plucking banket, according to the Psalmist sayng, all decayed and fell together, and no man although he were neuer so cleere and guiltlesse, in conclusion durst auenture a tryall, seing the experience of them that passed before. For these commissioners had such a garde of false periu- red persons apperteyning to them, which were by their commaundements empaneled on every quest, that the king was sure to wyne whosoever lost. Learned men in the lawe, when they were requyzed of their aduise, would say, to agree is the best counsaile that I can geue you. By this vndue meanes, these persons filled the kinges Cofers and enryched themselves. And at this vntreasonable and extort doings, all sortes and degrees of men from the highest to the lowest murmured, grudged and at the last cryed out: But the good king in his last dayes considered and pardoned his pooze subiectes of such vncharitable yokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall, as after shall appere.

An extreme  
lawe.

Outlawries

A plucking  
banket.

This is  
ment by  
Promoters.

In this season Alexander Byshop of Rome departed out of this world, and for him was elected fraunces bozne Senes, Aepheo to Pius the se- cond,

cond, and was called Pius the thirde, whome king Henry had made a little before, Proctour for his realme in the Court of Rome. The king being glad of his high promotion and dignitie, sent syz Gilbert Talbot knight, Richard Bere Abbot of Glasneburie, and Doctor Robert Sherborne Deane of Paules, to declare to him what gladnesse entered into the kinges heart, when he heard tell of his high preferment and honor. But this Bishop Pius did not tary the gratulations of these Ambassadors, for within a month after that he was installed, he rendered his debt to nature, hauing final pleasure of his promotion. At this time also died Giles, Lord Daubenev, the kinges chief Chamberleyn, whose office Charles bastarde sonne of Henry last Duke of Sommerfet occupied and enioyed, a man of a good wit & great experieece.

The death of  
Giles Lozne  
Daubenev.

And this yere about Christmasse the Bakers house in Warwicke Lane in London was brent, the which fyre came so sodeinly, and brent so feruently that the Maistresse of the house being a widdow with two women seruaunts were therein brent.

Some after, the king caused Guy Ubald Duke of Urbine to be elected knight of the order of the Garter, a noble warriour, and in the Greke and Latin tongues excellently learned. And this order and dignitie the Duke desired instantly to haue, that he might be equiualent in all degrees of honour and nobilitie with his ffather, duke Frederick a Prince in his time of hygh renowne and estimation, which was receaued and chosen into that order by kyng Edward the fourth. And because it was noyted that July the seconde, a Januway bozne, was after y death of Pius, elected to be Bishop of Rome. The kyng entending to stop two gaps with one bush, sent syz Gilbert Talbot and the other two Ambassadors, principally to bishop July, and by them sent also to the Duke of Urbine, the whole habite & collar of the noble order of the Garter. When Duke Guy was requested with the habite, and had taken his oth, according to the statutes of the order: He sent syz Balthaser de Castello knight a Mantuan bozne, his Oratour to kyng Henry, which was for him installed, according to the ordinaunces of that famous order.

1507  
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While these things were in doing, Lewys the French king mistrusting that he should neuer haue ma child, married his eldest daughter Lady Claude to fraunces de Maloys, Dolphyn of Uien and Duke of Angulesme: which Lady was promysed a litle before to Charles the king of Castel. When king Henrye knew of this, he thought best to marrye hys daughter Ladye Marye to this Charles kyng of Castell, being almost both of one age, and therefore Ambassadors were sent to and fro, and at the last, the mariage was concluded and confirmed by the meanes of the Bishop of Winchester, chiefe Ambassador for the king at Calleyce, and so the Lady Mary being of the age of .x. yeares, was promised to king Charles. For conclusion of which mariage, the Lord of Barow, and diuers great Ambassadors were sent into England from the Emperour Maximilian, which had great rewardes and returned.

The Lady  
Mary promi-  
sed to Char-  
les king of  
Castile.

Nowe approached the end and terme of the thre yeres of peace that I spake of before, at which tyme kyng Henrie thought his fatall daye to be at hand: For his sicknesse encreased daylie more and more, so that he might easily perceauce that death was not far of taryng hys praye: Therefore lyke a good Prince, desiring to exhibite some gratiuitie to his people that he might be had in memozy after his disceasse, graunted of his great liberalitie a gene- rall

1508  
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Generall  
pardon

rall pardon to all men, for all offences done, & perpetrated against his lawes and statutes. But because murtherers and theues were not only offenders to him, but also to other, he excepted them and some other out of his pardon. He payed also the fees of all prisoners in the Gayles in and about London, abolyng there onely for that dutie. He payed also the dettes of all such persons as laye in the Counters of London, or Ludgate for. xl. Gyllynets and vnder, and some he relieved that were condemned in ten pound. For this his goodnesse and pitie shewed to his people, beyng soze vexed with his iniquitous, pollers and promoters, generall Procession was had dayly in every Citie and parish, to pray to almightie God, for the restoring of his health, with long continuance of the same. Neuerthelesse, he was so consumed with his long maladie, that nature could no longer sustaine his life, and so he departed out of this world, the xxij. day of Aprill in his Palaice of Windesore, the which was the yere of our Lorde. 1509. his corps was conveyed with all funerall pompe to Westminster, and there buried by the good Queene his wife in a sumptuous and solemne Chappell, which he not long before had caused to be builded: he reigned. xxij. yeres and more then seven monethes, and lived. liij. yeres. He had by his Queene Elizabeth. viij. children, foure men, and foure women children, of the which three remayned alive behinde him. Henry Prince of Wales, which after him succeeded, and was King, Ladie Margaret Queene of Scots, & Ladie Mary promised to Charles King of Castell. He was a man of bodie but leane and spare, albeit mightie and strong therewith, of personage and stature, somewhat higher then the meane sort of men be, of a wonderfull beautie and fayre complexion, of countenance merry and smiling, especiallye in his communication, his eyes gray, his teeth white, and heare thicke, of wit in all thinges quicke and prompt, of a princely stomacke, and haute courage. In great perilles, doubtful affaires and matters of waichtige importaunce, supernaturall, and in manner deuine, for such thinges as he went about, he did them aduisedly, and not without great deliberation and breathing, to the entent that amongst all men, his wit and prudence might be noted & regarded. For he was not ignorant that his actes & doings were specially noted and marked with the eyes of many a person: and therefore a Prince ought as farre to excell and surmount all meane personages in wisdom and pollicie, as he precelleth other in estate and dignitie. For what man will geue credite or regarde to him, when he hath proved to be light, wilde, and lasciuious of conditions? Besides this, he was sober, moderate, honest, affable, curteous, bounteous, so much abhorred pride and arrogancie, that he was euer sharpe and quicke to them, which were noted or spotted with that cryme. And there was no man with him, being neuer so much in his fauour, or hauyng neuer so much authoritie, that either durst or could do any thing as his awne phantasie did serue him, without the consent and agreement of other. What shall I say more? Although his mother were neuer so wise (as she was both wittie and wise) yet her will was bridled, and her doynge restrained. And this regiment he sayde he kept, to the entent that he worthily might be called a king, whose office is to rule & not to be ruled of other. He was also an indifferent & sure Justicier, by the which one thing, he allured to him the heartes of many people, because they fled quietly and in rest out of all oppression and molestation of the Nobilitie and

The death  
of King Henry  
the seventh.

The descrip-  
tion of King  
Henry the  
seventh.

riche personnes. And to this seuerity of his was ioyned and annexed a certeyn mercifull pittie, which he did often shewe to such as had offended, and by his lawes were hindred and merced: for such of his subiectes as were fyned or amerced by his Justices to their great impouerishyng, he at one time or another did helpe relieue, and set forward: wherby it appered that he would haue the same penalties for other offences and crimes reuiued and stirred bp againe, which was a plaine argument that he did vse his rigour onely (as he sayde himselfe) to bring lowe, and abate the high stomacks of the wilde people, nourished and brought bp in sedicious factions, and ciuill rebellions, and not for the greedy desyre of riches, or hunger of money, although such as were afflicted would crie out, and say, that it was done moze for the desire of gaine and profite, then for any prudent pollicie, or polittike prouision.

Surely, this good and modest Prince did not deuour and consume the substance and riches of his realme, for he by his high pollicie, mercifully enriched his realme and himselfe, and yet left his subiectes in high welth and prosperitie. The prooffe is wherof manifestly apparant by the great abundance of gold & siluer, yerely brought into this realme, both in plate, money and bullion, by Marchaunts passyng and repassyng out and into this realme with Marchandise. To whom he himselfe of his awne goodnesse lent money largely without any gaine or profite, to the entent that Marchandise being of all craftes the chiefe arte, and to all men, both most profitable and necessary, might be the moze plentifully used, haunted, and employed in hys realmes and dominions. And so this king liuyng all his tyme in the fauour of fortune, in high honour, riches and glory, and for his noble actes and prudent pollicies, worthy to be registred in the booke of fame, gaue by his ghost at the last, which vndoubtedly is ascended into the celestially mancion, where he hath the sure fruition of the Godhead, & the ioye that is prepared for such as shall sit on the right hande of our sauiour, euer world without ende.

About thys time (sayth Polydore) knowledge of good letters, as well of the Latyne as of the Greeke by contynuall warres beyng soze decayed in Italy, encreased greatly in Germany, Fraunce and Scotlande, in so much (sayth he) that the Germanes, who were counted in time past but the meanest learned men, are now as may appere by their wrytings most excellent. And for the furtheraunce and encrease of learning, about this time Margaret Countesse of Richemond and Darby and mother vnto thys King Henry the seventh, a woman of most verteous lyfe, at the motion of John Fisher sometime Bishop of Rochester builded two Colleges in Cambridge, the one called Christes College, the other Saint John Euangelistes, and indued the same with goodly possessions for the maintenaunce of learning. And in the same Uniuersitie also not long before, John Alcock Bpshop of Ely buylded a College, and named the same Iesus College.

And here, although in this Chronicle in diuers places there is mention made of the foundation of sundrie Colleges both in Cambridge and Oxford, yet for as much as I was by my friend assertheyned of the foundation of all the seuerall Colleges in Oxford, I thought it best to place them here altogether, minding to doe the lyke for Cambridge when I shall haue the true knowlege of the Colleges of the same.



In Oxford are these Colleges and Halles following, with the names of the Founders of the same, and the yeres they were founded in.

- 1 Christes Church. { Founded in the yere of our Lord. 1529. by Thomas Wolsey Archebyschop of Yorke and Cardinal, and afterwarde had landes geuen for the maintenance of the same by king Henry eight.
- 2 Newe College. { Founded by William Wickham Bishop of Winchester in the yere of our Lorde. 1375.
- 3 Magdaleyn College. { Founded by William Waynflete Byschop of Wynchester, & Chauncelour of England. 1456. And he founded also Magdaleyn Hall.
- 4 Allsoulen College. { Founded by Henry Chicheley, Archebyschop of Cauntorbury in the yere of our Lorde. 1437.
- 5 Corp' christi College. { Founded by Rychard Fore Bishop of Wynchester in the yere of our Lorde. 1516.
- 6 Martyn College. { Founded by Walter Martyn Bishop of Rochester in the yere of our Lorde. 1276.
- 7 Oriall College. { Founded by Adam Browne, brought by in the Uniueritie of Oxforde by king Edward the second. 1323.
- 8 Queenes College. { Founded by Robert Eglishelde Chapleyne to Philip king Edward the thirde's wyfe. 1340.
- 9 Uniueritie College. { Founded by Alured king of the Saxons as appereth before in hys storie, but other say that the same was founded by Wylliam Archebyschop of Daulmense in the yere of our lord. 872.
- 10 Brasen Nose. { Founded by Wylliam Smith Byschop of Lyncolne in the yere of our Lorde. 1513.
- 11 Lyncolne College. { Founded by Richard Fleming Byschop of Lyncolne, and encreased by Thomas Kotheram Byschop of the same Sea. 1420.
- 12 Excester College. { Founded by Walter Stapleton Byschop of Excester. 1316. and the same time he builded Harts hall. But Excester College is much encreased by Sir Wylliam Peter late Secretary to king Henry the eyght. 1566.
- 13 Harts Hall.
- 14 Trinitie College. { Founded by Sir Thomas Pope knight in the yere of our Lorde. 1566.
- 15 Bayly College. { Founded by John Bailioll king of Scottes in the yere of our Lorde. 1263.
- 16 S. Johns College. { Founded by Sir Thomas Whyte, late Maior and Alderman of London. 1557.

The

The diuinitie Schoole in Oxforde was buylded by Humfrey Duke of Gloucester the which beside the excellencie of the worke, was a foundation of no small charge.

There are also in Oxforde sixe other Halles, whose names are these: Mary Hall, Brode gates, New Ende, Gloucester Hall, Alborne Hall, Whyte Hall. which Halles are so auncient that the Founders of them are not knowne.

# Henry the eyght.



After the deathe of the Noble Prince king Henry the seuenth. Henry the eyght his sonne began his reigne the. xxij. daye of Aprill, in the yere of oure Lorde, 1509. and in the. xviij. yere of hys bodily age, & was proclaymed king the next daye folowing, being the. xiiij. daye of Aprill in the yere aforesayde. And first of all (as Polydore noteth) the king beyng yong as aforesayde, but yet in all hys yeres had beene brought by in good letters, did therefore prudently for the good gouernement of the realme, elect and choole of the most wisest and grauest personages to be of his priuie counsaile, namely such as were of hys fathers deere and familer friendes, whose names were.

1509

Henry the eyght proclaymed king.

- 1 Wylliam Warram Archebyschop of Cauntorburie and Chauncelour of Englande.
- 2 Rycharde Fore Byschop of Wynchester.
- 3 Thomas Hawarde Erle of Surrey and tresorer of England.
- 4 George Talbot Erle of Shresburie, and Lorde Steward of the Kings household.
- 5 Charles Sommerset Lorde Chamberleyne.
- 6 Sir Thomas Louell.
- 7 Sir Henry Wyatt.
- 8 Sir Thomas Ruthall.
- 9 Sir Edward Dornynge.

The Counsaillers of King Henry the eyght.

These graue and wise Counsaillors fearing least that great and infinite aboundance of welth, might be a harme vnto the good nature of their young king, for vnto no king at any time before, was left greater or the like riches aswell of readye coyne as also in iewels and moueables as was left vnto hym. And therefore the aforesayd counsaillors very prudently and diligently traueyled so with hym, that they prouoked him to be present with them and to be prouie of their counsailes and deuises, and so dayly acquainted him with the politike affayres of the realme, that by litle and litle he of his owne accord applyed hym selfe to rule and gouerne, the which at the first he semed utterly to abhorre, as the yong and vntamed Dre reiecteth the yoke.

D o o o. iij.

Then



Then the sayd Counsayloz traueyled with great care to put in execution the last will and testament of king Henrie deceased. And first of all, the kings grace by his proclamation made the .xxv. daye of Apryll ratified & confirmed all the pardons graunted by his father, & also pardoned all persons that were then in lute for any offence whatsoeuer it was, treason, murder, and feionye except. And farther in the sayd proclamation was contayned, that if any man had sustayned iniurye or losse of goodes by the Commissioners befoze ap-  
 poynted, as appereth in the .xix. yere of king Henry the seventh, that he should make his humble supplication vnto the kings grace, and therein expresse their grieffe, and he was readye not only to heare them, but also to cause satisfacti-  
 on to be made. When this proclamation was published and knowne abroad, all such from whome any thing had bene exacted or taken, whether it were by right or wrong, spedily came vnto the Court, and euery man alledged and shewed the occasion that they had to complayne. But the Counsaile examy-  
 ned and tryed their causes, and such as they found to be manifestly & openly iniured, to them they made due restitution. The which thing beinge blabene and byted amongst the comon people, lord how they resorted in great flocks and heapes, & rushed vnto the court with the rest, whether they had bene iust-  
 ly punished or not, and they also with horrible & great exclamation cryed out vpon the Commissioners, yea and many of them that most exclaymed were such as had bene touched nothing at all. But the rage and crye of the people was so grieuous against the Commissioners, whose names were Richarde  
 Empson knight and Edmond Dudley Esquier, that the Counsaile to cease and quiet the rage of the people were enforced to apprehend and commit to the Tower of London the aforesayd Empson and Dudley, and beinge called befoze the Counsaile and other the iustices, where they (as Holidore saith) be-  
 inge both learned in the lawes of the realme, pleaded for themselves, namelye for Richard Empson which was the elder, who said, as foloweth. I am cer-  
 tain right honorable, you are not ignorant how expedient & profitable vnto mans life be good and wholsome lawes, without the which neyther priuate house may be mayntayned, nor publyque weale duely and orderly gouerned. Euen those lawes amonge vs by the ouersight and negligence of Magistrats, partlye were depraued, and now in some part abrogate and cleane out of me-  
 moxie, the which euill encreasinge daylie more and more, king Henrie the .vij. (now deceased) a most prudent and politike prince (as ye all know) endeuo-  
 red to redresse, who vnto vs committed the charge to see, and prouide that the common and accustomed lawes might be maintayned and executed, and such as were depraued and out of vse might be reduced and restored into theyr pristinate state: And that such persones as had violated & transgressed any of them, should suffer condigne and woorthie punishment: We therfore as faith-  
 fully and byrightly as we could haue according to oure commission executed our office trulie vnto the great commoditie of the publyque weale: Wherefore we most humbly besech your Honours that of your goodnesse and loue of ius-  
 tice, ye will boughsate to determine no grieuous or cruell sentence against vs, but rather counsaile and conclude howe thankfully to recompence and re-  
 quite our great trauayle and paynes.

Richard Empson. Edmond Dudley.

The sayng of Richard Empson.

These their sayngs vnto many that were wise, vertuous and discrete seemed to be very good and right, but vnto other and that vnto the greatest number,

number, who supposed that the examination and execution of lawes beinge done through auerice and coueteousnesse and for filthye desier of gayne, they iudged that euen they by putting in execution with extremitye the lawes to the losse of many an honest mans goodes, should now be recompensed with the losse of their heades, who within three dayes after were beheaded at the Tower hill, but their bodie with their heades were buried, that is to say, Richard Empson at the White Friers, and Edmond Dudley at the Blarke Friers in London aforesaid.

Empson and Dudley be-  
headed.

And immediatly after the execution of the aforesaid persons there were (saith Holidore) by reason of the exclamacion of the people apprehended and take a great number of such as had geuen for their (awne welth) and commo-  
 ditie their speciall attendaunce vpon the aforesayd Commissioners, in the in-  
 forminge and promotyng of many honest mens verations (commonly called Promoters) and they were committed to sundrie Prisons, and many of them set on the Pillory, and other had papers set on their heades, and so caryed thoroughout the Citie of London, and againe committed to prison, where miserably many of them ended their liues. And some other of them were con-  
 strayned to pay most grieuous fynes, and for none habilitie to paye the same, were committed and condemned to perpetual prison.

Promoters.

Maister Hall in his Chronicle nameth diuers of the sayde Promoters, and for that to their infamie, I wishe them perpetuall memozy, I will here make mencio of Halles words. After (saith he) the apprehension of Empson, and Dudley, there were diuers Promoters apprehended, as Canby, Page, Smith, Derby, Wright, Symson, and Storton, and diuers other, of the which the most part ware papers, and stood on the Pillory: But (saith he) the craftiest knaue of them all (meanyng they were knaues all) called Iohn Baptist Bynalde, escaped and went to Westminster, and there tooke Sanctuary.

Promoters  
set on the  
Pillory.

Nowe all thinges beinge in a redinesse for the buriall and funerall of king Henry the seventh, he was the .xij. daye of May with all solemnitie bur-  
 yed at Westminster in the Chapell that he himselfe had buylde, which is a most sumptuous and princely peece of worke.

King Henry  
the seventh  
buried at  
Westminster.

When the funeralles of king Henry the seventh was finished, then was great preparation made for the coronation of king Henry the eighth, the which was appoynted to be done on Whidsommer day next ensuyng. During which tyme the king was moued by some of his Counsaile, that it should be honourable and profitable to his Realme, to take to wife Ladie Katheryn, late wие to Prince Arthur his brother diseased, least she haung so great a dowry, might marry out of the realme, which should be vnprofitable vnto him: By reason of which motion, the king beinge young, & not vnderstanding the law of God, espoused the sayd Lady Katheryn the thirde daye of Iune, the which mariage was dispenced with by Pope Iulij, at the request of her fa-  
 ther king Ferdinando (and as Hall sayth) contrarye to the opinion of all the Cardinals of Rome that were deuines. This mariage of the brothers wие was much murmured agaynst in the beginnyng, and euer more and more searched out by learyng and Scripture, so that at the last by the determina-  
 tion of the best vniuersities in Christendome, it was adiudged detestable and plaine contrary to Goddes lawe, as shall be shewed after .xx. yeres.

King Henry  
the eyght  
maried with  
Lady Kather-  
yn his bro-  
thers wyfe.

Nowe



The coronation of King Henry and Queene Katheryn.

Nowe was come the tyme of the coronation, wherfore king Henry and his wife Queene Katheryn were accordyng to the sacred obseruance and auncient custome, annoynted and crowned by the Archebishop of Cantuarbury at Westminster the. xxiiij. day of June.

Margaret Countesse of Richemond dead.

During the tyme that this coronation with noble triumphes and goodly shewes solempnized to the great reioysing of all men, a sodeyne occasion of sorrow happened, as often tymes it cometh in experience that swete and delicate meate in the ende is tempered with soboze savor, for at this tyme Margaret Countesse of Richemond and Darbye, Grandmother vnto the king ended her life, by whose death the publique weale was greatly endamaged, for she beyng a woman of singuler wisdom and pollicie, and also of most vertuous life, perceiuyng that the king by reason of his youthfull and lustie yeres could not execute and minister his office and function, did from the beginnyng so prouide and studie at all tymes that she brought to passe that suche men as were the worthiest and of most integritie and godlinesse was aduanced to highest auctoritie and bare the chiefest sway in the ministration of the causes of the publique weale: And where befoze least the publique weale shoulde sustaine detriment, or by any meanes go to wrecche, the same was guided and governed by the aduice of many, as aforesayde: But nowe the administration therof was committed only vnto two, that is to say, Richard Bishop of Winchester, & Thomas Erle of Surrey, betwene whom was secret grudges, and priuie malice, the which contention of auctoritie, did dayly more and more encrease, for the studies and affections of these two were diuers and contrary. The Bishop of Winchester as (sayth Holioz) contented himselfe with his auncient possessions, and therefore endeuored the more earnestly to the seruite of the common weale: But the Erle (sayth he) sought to come to higher estate, and therefore applyed and studied to please the king, more for preferment sake, then for the zeale he bare to the common weale. But the Bishop beyng a man of great wisdom, although he had no good opinion of the Erle, yet perceiuyng him to be greatly beloued and fauoured of the king, did dissemble and bare himselfe so warely, that nothing appered outward, whatsoeuer was thought inward. The Erle in wisdom beyng nothing inferiour vnto the Bishop, did in like maner dissemble hys grieffe towardes the Bishop. Howbeit at the length by the trauaile of the graue and worthie Counsaylor Sir Thomas Louell, all the olde Counsaylors were againe restored and placed in good and louyng order, and the common weale well gouerned.

John Colet Deane of Paules.

In this tyme also the ryght famous and learned deuine John Colet Deane of Paules Church in London (the sonne of Henry Colet Mercer and late Maior of London) of his atone great costes and charges buylded in the East end of Paules Churchyard in the sayd Citie one free Grammer schoole, with one Maister and Wther for the education and bringing vp of youth in learning, and buylded also two faire Tenements ioyning to the said Schoole for the sayd Maister and Wther to inhabite in, and endued them with goodlie pencions, and committed the charge and ouersight of the good gouernment and continuance of the sayd Schoole vnto the Maysters and Wardeines of the worshipfull companye of the Mercers for the time being to be ordered and kept accordyng to such ordinaunces and statutes as he had drawne for the good

good gouernment of the same, which sayde company of the Mercers haue to their great prayse hetherto ordered the same to Gods high honoz and to the benefite of the common weale and to the well bringing vp of many an honest pore mans child. This man in his time was a great and diligent Preacher of Gods blessed worde and did in those dayes much reprehend and rebuke the slouthfulnesse of the Cleargie, and he was the first in his time that taught to the people the Articles of their fayth and the Commaundements of almighty God, and the Lords prayer in English, for the which he was not at that time well thought of by sundry of the Bishops and Cleargye, who then fauored in the common people ignoraunce better then knowledge.

This yere Henrie the first sonne of King Henry was bozne at Richemond vpon Neweyers daye to the great reioysing and comfort of the whole realme, for the ioye and honour of whose birth great fyers were made and diuers hessels of wine set in the stretes of London for such as would taste thereof. And that at the same time were kept noble and triumphant Iustes and sundry other pastimes, but the. xxiij. daye of february next folowing God called to his mercye the sayd chyld to the great heauinesse of the Kyng and Queene, and all the realme. Notwithstandyng the king like a wise Prince toke it with much quietnesse, and the rather to comfort the Queene: But the Queene like a naturall woman made much lamentation.

1510  
2  
Henry the first bozne son of King Henry the eight.

This yere in februarie came from king Ferdinando the kinges father in law, and king of Aragon and Castell, certain Ambassadors, which made request to the king: on the behalfe of the king their maister, to haue an ayde of. xv. hundred Archers, with balaunt Capitaynes to gouerne and conduyt them, for his entent was to make warre on the Moores beyng Infidelles, and enemies vnto Christes faith. The king and his Counsaile heeryng this request, thought it much honourable to ayde a Christian Prince, (and in especiall his friend and father in lawe) agaynst the enemyes of Christes lawe, gently graunted them their request.

Ambassadors from King Ferdinando.

When tidyngs was spread in the Court of this iourney against the Infidelles, the Lord Thomas Darcey, knight of the order of the Garter made humble sute to the king to be Capitaine generall of that crewe or armie. The king and his Counsaile for his great balauntnesse and approued wisdom, graunted his request. And many other Lordes and knightes made sute to be in the same iourney: But the king answered them that he would retaine them still with him for other greater purposes. There were appoynted at this tyme to go with the Lorde Darcey, Lorde Anthony Gray, brother to the Marques Dorcet, Henry Gylford, Weston Browne, William Sydney, Esquiers of the kinges house, Sir Roger Hastyngs, Sir Raufe Elderkarc and diuers other Gentlemen to be Capitaynes. The Lorde Darcey and all the other Capitaynes tooke their leaue of the king, and went into their countreyes to prouide for all thinges meete and necessary for the boyage.

The king at this tyme beyng lustie, yong, and couragious, greatly delighted in feates of chivaltrie, insomuch that he made a chalenge of Iustes agaynst all commers to be proclaymed at his Maioz of Greenwich to be holden there the thre first dayes of May then next ensuyng, which noble courage all yong persons highly prayed: But the auncient fathers much doubted consideryng the tender youth of the king, and diuers chaunces and misfortunes

A Jutes at Greenwich.



fortunes that might happen by reason of horse and armor: In somuch that it was openly spoken that Steele was not so strong, but it might be broken, nor no horse could be so sure of foote but he may fall: yet for all these doubttes the lustie Prince proceeded in his chalenge, and honourably and ballauntly to his great prayse and renobone atchieued the same.

1511  
The Lorde Darcie is sent into Spaine with an armie to the king of Arragon.

The Lorde Darcie and other appointed to the boyage aforesaide made suche diligence that they and all their people were readie at Plymmoth by the middest of Maye, and there mustered their souldyours before the Lorde Brooke and other the kings commissioners, the sayde Lorde Darcie as Capitayne generall ordeyned for his prouost Marshall, Henry Gylford Esquire, a lustie yong man and welbeloued of the king. Now when the winde serued to their purpose they passed to the sea with foure ships royall, and the wether so fauoured them that they arryued within ten dayes next folowynge beyng the first day of June, at the Port of Kales in Southspayne, and immediatly the Lorde Darcie dispatched to the king of Arragon two Gentlemen called John Bartholomew and Wyllyam Symond, with letters to certefie the King of their arriuall, and what paine they had taken to come into his Countrie, in fulfilling the king their maisters commaundement. The messengers did so much that they came vnto the king beside the Citie of Ciuill, where he then lay & declared vnto him how the Lorde Darcie by the king their maisters appointment, was come thether with .xviij. hundred Archers, accordyng to the sayde king of Arragons request, and laye still at Kales to knowe his pleasure. The king of Arragon answered them gentlye, that the Lorde Darcie and all the other that were come from his most best beloued sonne were welcome, and hartely thanked them of their paynes, and prayed the messengers to returne to their Capitayne, shewing him that the king in all hast would send his counsaile vnto him, and so they departed from the king, and made report to the Lorde Darcie, which kept his ship in great estate and would not land, but onely suffred such as were sick and feeble, and fewe other to go a land. And those English that went a lande fell to drinking and were scarce maisters of themselves, some ranne to the stewes, some brake hedges and spoyled Orchardes and Wyneyardes, and did many other outrageous dedes: wherfore the chiefe of the towne of Kales came to complayne to the Lorde Darcie in his ship, which sent forth his prouost Marshall, who with much a doe brought them agayne on boord to their ships.

The next daye folowynge beyng Saturday, a Bishop and other of the kings counsaile arryued at Kales and there aboade vntill Wednesday next folowynge, at which day the Lorde Darcie tooke lande, and was honorably receaued of the king of Arragons counsaile, and on the moztow highly feasted both at dinner and supper. And after supper the Bishop declared the king of Arragons pleasure sayng: my Lorde Capitayne, the king my maister in most humble wise geueth you thankes for your great paynes and trauaile, as much as though he proceeded in his pretended enterpryse: But he with the aduise of his counsaile circumspectly considering the suretie of his awne realmes and dominions, hath persite knowlege that his aduersarie of Fraunce, prepareth to inuade his Countreies in his absence: wherfore he entending not to leaue his realmes boyde of men and ships (which might be a great comfort to his enemies to inuade) hath therefore taken an abstinence

of

of warre with the Moores vntill another time.

Well sayde the Lorde Darcie, sith it is fully concluded that we shall doe no seruite to your maister, we may not saye against his determination, considering that we were sent to him: But surely it is against my heart, which euer hath desired to fight against Gods enemies: But with your conclusion, I and all mine must be content.

You doe as you should doe, sayde the Bishop, and the king my maister geueth lyke thankes to the king his sonne, and to you all as though he had proceeded on his iourney. And you shall haue wages for al your souldyours, and if it shall please you to come to the Court, you shall receyue high thanks of the king, and such chere as there can be made you. That is not my desire saide the Lorde Darcie, for my men shall not say that I brought them out of their Countrie, and nowe to doe my selfe pleasure to leaue them without an head, as men of me forsaken: Nay, nay my Lorde, the Banquet is not my desire. So the Lordes parted for that night, and the next day in the moztowg was sent wages to conduct the armie into England, with dyuers gites geuen to the Lorde Darcie and other Gentlemen.

The same day beyng the .xiiij. day of June and Friday, an Englishman desired of a mayde that had bene at the bakers to buy bread for her maisters horse, and not to sell, to haue a toke for his money, she answered that she had none to sell, he saide he would haue one, and followed her: And when shee perceaued that shee was a force a force. The townes men of Kales shales soddenly rang their common Bell, and all the towne went to harnesse, and the fewe English men that were on land went to their Bowes. The Spanyardes cast dardes and fore annoyed the Englishmen, and they lykewise hurt and due dyuers Spanyardes. Then the Captaines of Englaunde for their part, and the Lords of the counsaile for their part tooke such payne that the fray was ceassed, and but one English man slayne, and of the Spanyards dyuers slayne. Then all the English men were commaunded to go on boord of their shippes. The Lordes of Spaine came to the Lorde Darcie, sayng: Sir we pray you sith you knowe the kings pleasure, that you with all your people will go with your shippes away, for we perceare yet owe vs some displeasure. Then he boldly answered sayng, that he would al the world knew, that he was as hable to conduct his men home ward, as he was to bring them out of their Countrie, without the king of Arragons wages (sayng his honor) and as for the fray, it was against his will, and without his knowledge: And so that nyght hee and all his men went aboode their shippes.

When this iourney was come to this point, Henry Gylford, Weston Browne, and William Sydney Esquires, yong and lustie Gentlemen, desired licence to see the Court of Spaine, which was to them graunted: And then they departed from Kales and came to the Court of the king of Arragon, where they were highly enterteyned, and he dubbed Henry Gylford and Weston Browne knights, and gaue to Syr Henry Gylford a Canton of Granada, and to Syr Weston Browne an Eggle of Sicill on a chiefe to the augmentation of their armes. Wyllyam Sydney so excused himselfe that he was not made knight. And when they had sojourned there a while, they toke their leaue of the king and Queene and so returned through Fraunce

into

An euill fray began up on the occasion.



The returne  
of the Lord  
Darcie.

into England, where they demeaned themselves so, that they had the kings fauour, notwithstanding it was thought to the contrarie. In this meane tyme the Lord Darcie the .xxij. day of June sayled toward England and arriued at Plymnoth, and came to the king at Windsoze in the Month of August, and thus ended this boyage.

Margaret  
Duchess of  
Sauoy.

During the time that the lord Darcy was in Spaine, the Lady Margaret Duches of Sauoy & daughter to Maximilian the Emperoz and gouernour of the countries of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, and Seland, & other the lowe Countries apperteyning to Charles the yong Prince of Castell, then beyng of tender age sent in the ende of May to the king of England, to haue .xv. hundred Archers to ayde her against the Duke of Guelders, which sore troubled the Countries afoze sayde. The king tenderly regardyng the request of so noble a Lady, and also for that there was then a communication of marriage to be had betwene the yong prince Charles and the Ladie Marie his sister, most gently graunted her request, and appointed Syr Edward Poyninges knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of his house, a valiant Capitayne and a noble warrour to be Lieutenant and conductor of the sayde .xv. hundred Archers, which beyng accompanied with the Lord Clinton his sonne in lawe, Syr Mathewe Browne, Sir John Digby, John Werton, Richard Wetherill and Sherley Esquires, and dyuers tallie Gentlemen and yomen, well knowen and tryed to the sayde number of .xv. hundred, tooke their shipping at Sandwicke the .xxij. day of July, and landed at Armeu the .xix. day, not without some trouble by reason of a storme. And being landed he sent Lancaster an Herault to aduertise the Lady of their arriual, which forthwith sent to them Lorde Breshy knight of the Coyson (the which is commonly called the golden fleete) and dyuers other to welcome them, and so conducted them to Barowe, where the Lord of the towne made them great cheere. And the same day at after noone came the Ladie Margaret to Barowe, where the Capitayne with all his vnder Capitaynes receaued her at the gate, whome thee welcommed most hartlye, and so thee did all the Souldiours which stood along ranged in the strete. And the next day folowynge thee saw all the companie shoote: And the same night the Capitayne and other tooke his leaue of her and departed to Rossynda'e, and on Thursday beyng the last day of July he came to Buldike, and that day the Ladie Margaret came thether. And the next day the whole armie of Almaynes, Flemings and other apperteyning to the sayde Ladie, met with the Englishmen without Buldike, where they set forth in order, the Lady Margaret beyng present, who there tooke her leaue of all the Capitaynes and went to Buldike, whom Sir Edward Poyninges conducted to the gate, and then returned to the armie.

The armie to the number of ten thousand of the Ladies part, and .xv. hundred Englishmen passed through Brabant, and came the tenth day of August next folowynge before a little Castell standyng on the higher syde of the ryuer of Hase, called Brimuoyst, strongly Bulwarked, in the which were an hundred men belongyng to the Bastard of Gelders, with a Capitayne called Langhessell van Gelder, which robbed and spoyled al the partes of Brabant. They within shot fiercely at the armie as it passed by, but dyd them little hurt. The same night Thomas Heart chiefe Gonner of the Eng-

Sir Edward  
Poyninges  
knight sent  
with a power  
to ayde the  
Duchess of  
Sauoy.

lish part, made his approche with his ordinaunce, and in the moornyng beat downe as much as might be beaten downe for the Bulwarkes, and the next day beyng the .xi. day of August, the Castell was assaulted valiantly and taken by force, and the Capitayne and .lxxx. and odde men were slaine, and .xix. taken, of the which a .xj. were hanged. John Horton Capitayne of an hundred Englishmen, and one Guyot an Esquier of Burgoyne, cryng Burgoyne, Saint George, there was one Englishman slaine and no more. The .xii. day of August, the army ferped ouer the ryuer of Hase into the land of Gelders, and there sojourned at a little Church that night, and the next day they came to a towne called Elke, belongyng to the Bastard of Gelders, where all the people were fled, and there was vndermyned and cast downe a little Castell standyng vpon the sayde ryuer newly builded. The .xx. day of August they brent the towne of Elke, and all the Countrie rounde about it, and came at the last to a towne called Strawly, a strong towne & double ditched and walled, and within it thre hundred .lx. good men of warre beside the Inhabitauntes, which at the first commyng shot Gonnes fiercely, and hurt many, and there they planted their siege.

Sir Edward Poyninges which euer was in the forwarde with hys archers, caused fagottes to be made, and Trenches to be digged, and his men were so diligent, that his Trenches in the Moornyng approached so nigh the towne gate, that they within were halfe dismayed, and desired to speake with the Lordes, and so they did, and the .xxiiij. day of August were six men sent out of the towne to treat, and six hostages deliuered for them, and then it was agreed that all men of warre shoulde depart the towne with a whyte sticke in their handes, and to forseyre all other thinges: And all the Towne dwellers to be prisoners at the will of the Prince of Castell. The next day after that the men of warre were departed, early in the Moornyng Sir John Digby knight, and John Horton Esquier toke possession of the towne with two hundred Englishmen. And at after noone, the Admirall of Flaunders, Sir Edward Poyninges, and the Lorde Disclaine chiefe Capitaynes of the Armie, with all other noble men with Trompets, and their Heraultes in their Cotes of armes before them, as Arthoys, Lancaster, and Ostriche, entered the towne, and in the towne Hall tooke the othe of the Inhabitauntes, and that night returned againe to the armie.

The .xxvi. day of the sayd Month, Sir John Digby and John Horton came out of the towne with all their Englishmen, and for them entered a Capitayne called Ponker Otes, with two hundred and fiftie Almaynes to kepe there a garrison, the which day the armie went before Wenlowe, and they sent Arthoys with a Trompet to summon the towne: But they would not heere them speake, but shot Gonnes at them. The .xxviiij. day the armie removed vnto the Northside of Wenlowe, and part went ouer the water, and made Trenches to the water. The Capitayne of the Englishmen made Trenches euen to the towne dicke, and the Artillary bet downe the Towres of the walles. The siege thus continuynge not without daily skirmishes .xxix. daues, Sir Edward Poyninges, and Sir John Digby dined one day with Hounfire de Romp, and all other English Capitaynes and petie Capitaynes dynd with an Almaine called Cleue Anderlyne, except Sir Mathewe Browne, and John Fogge which kept the fieelde, & Richard Wetherill which



kept the Trench, and was sore beset. And in the dinner tyme they of the Towne issued out vpon the English men, and hurt and toke one Sheldwiche of Cauntozbury prisoner, and one Miles: But the English men slue and hurt many of them, and compelled them to returne by force of arrowes, and so they reculed with one prisoner. For Miles which was led betwene two of the Gelders, perceiuyng rescue comyng, after as he came to an hill, thrust the two Gelders downe the hill before him, and so ranne backe to his companie, which the two Gelders that led him perceiuyng, came to Sheldwiche and slue him. After long siege layde to this towne, and no good done, for the towne was so great that they had not men enough to compass it, they all agreed to breake by their siege and armie for that yere, and so departed. Sir Edward Poyninges went to the Court of Burgoyne, where he was highly enterceined of the yong Prince, and of the Ladie Margaret his Aunt, and receiued great giftes and thankes for his paynes. And after that Sir Edward Poyninges with all the other Capitaynes of the English men had bene highly feasted, and more prayed for their valiauntesse, than he with all his companie returned into England, and had lost by warre and sicknesse not fully an hundreth persons.

The returne of Sir Edward Poyninges.

In June the king beyng at Leicester, tidynges was brought vnto him, that Androw Barton a Scottishe man and a Pirate of the Sea, sayng that the Scottes had warre with the Portingales, did rob every nation, and so stopped the kinges streames, that no Marchaunt almost coulde passe. The king beyng greatly moued with this craftie Pirate, sent Sir Edmond Haward Lorde Admirall of Englande, and Lorde Thomas Haward, sonne and heyre to the Erle of Surrey, in all the haste to the Sea, which hastily made redie two shippes, and without any lenger abode tooke the Sea, and by chaunce of weather were seuered. The Lorde Haward lying in the Downes, perceiued where Androw was makyng toward Scotland, and so fast the sayd Lorde chased him, that he overtooke him, and there was a sore battaile: The English men were fierce, and the Scottes defended themselves manfully, but in the ende the Lorde Haward and his men entered the maine decke, and in conclusion Androw was taken, beyng so sore wounded that he dyed there, and the remnant of the Scottes were taken, with their Shippe called the Lion.

Androw Barton a Scottishe pirate taken and slayne.

All this while was the Lorde Admirall in chate of the Barke of Scotlande called Jenny Pirwyn, which was wont to sayle with the Lion in company, and so much did he with other that he layed him aboord and fiercely assailed him, and in the end the Lorde Admirall entred the Barke and slawe many and tooke all the rest. Thus were these two shippes taken and brought to Blacketwall the second daye of August, and all the Scottes were sent to the Bishoppes place of Porke, and there remayned at the kings charge vntill other order was taken for them.

After this the kyng sent the Bishop of Winchester and certayne of his Counsaile to the Archbishop of Porke's place where the Scottes were prisoners. And there the Bishop reherfed to them, where as peace was yet betwene England and Scotland, that they contrarie ther vnto as theues and Pirates had robbed the Kinges subiectes within his streames: wherfore they had deserued to dye by the lawe and to be hanged at the lowe water marke.

Then

Then sayde the Scottes we knowlege our offence and aske mercy and not the lawe: Then sayd a Priest we appeale from the kings iustice to his mercy. Then the Bishop asked him if he were aucthorised by them to say so: and they cried all yea, yea: Then sayd he you shall finde the kings mercie aboute his iustice. For where ye were dead by the lawe, yet by his mercie he will reuiue you: wherfore ye shall departe out of this realme within .xx. dayes, vpon paine of death if ye be found here after .xx. dayes, and praye for the kyng, and so they passed into their countrey.

The king of Scottes hearing of the death of Androw Barton and taking of his two shippes was wonderfull wroth, and sent letters vnto the kyng, requiring restitution according to the league & amitie. The kyng wrote with brotherlye salutation to the king of Scottes, for the robberies and euill doings of Androw Barton and that it became not one Prince to laye a breache of a league to another prince in doing iustice vpon a Pirate and a theefe: and that all the other Scottes had deserued to die by iustice if he had not extended his mercy: and with this answer the Scottishe Heralde departed home.

During this season there began great warre betwene Pope Iulie and the frenche king Lewys the twelue. The occasion began by one John Bentiuoyle a great Lord of Italy, which kept the Citie of Bolonia le grace from the Pope which by the ayde of the french kyng gate the sayd Citie from the aforesaid John Bentiuoyle. But afterward because the sayd Pope Iulie tooke peace with the Venecians, the french king turned from the Pope and made warre on him on the behalfe of John Bentiuoyle, and tooke from him againe the sayd Citie of Bolonia.

The kyng of England wrote often to king Lewys of fraunce to desist from the persecuting of the Pope which was his friend and confederate. To the which writing the french king gaue litle care: wherfore the king sent him word to deliuer his lawful inheritaunce, both of the Duchy of Normandie and Guyan and the Countreys of Anieow and Hayne, and also of his Crowne of fraunce, else he would come with such a power, that by fine force he would obtaine his purpose. For all these writings the french king made warres still in Italie, and the king could haue of him no certaine answer. Wherfore after great deliberation had, he by the aduice of his counsaile determined to make warre on the french king and his Countreys, and calling to him Maximilian the Emperour and Ferdinand king of Arragon and diuers other Princes, he made great preparation both by Sea and land, and fortified his frontiers against fraunce, and set forth shippes to the Sea for defence of his Marchaunts, which were dayly in icoperdy vnder a pretended peace of the french king Lewys the twelue.

King Lewys the eight taketh the Popes part.

The fiftenth daye of Januarie next following the king held his high Court of Parliament at Westminster and there was graunted vnto him toward the maintenance of his warres with fraunce two fiftenes of the tennporaltie and two Dimes of the Clergye. And during the time of this parliament one Newbolt yoman of the Kinges gard whome the king highly fauoured, neww fully a seruaunt of the Lorde Willoughbyes in the Pallace of Westminster, where he longe two daies in example of other.

Newbolt a yoman of the Gardes hand.

About this time one Hierome Bonnyse which was borne in Luke and was a factor in London for Marchaunts of that nation and played Banke:

Hierome Bonnyse an Italian.



rupt, and had bene conueied out of the realme for debt, was now in such fauour with Pope Iulij, that he made him his Collector and Procter in England, & so he kept a great porte and oftentimes resorted to the kyng and his counsaile for the Popes affayres which then was sore troubled by the French king, so that he knew both the Popes counsell and the kinges, and falsly and vntrewe-ly resorted in the night vnto the French Ambassadors liyng in London, and to them discouered what the king and Pope intended, which was not so close-ly done but the king knew it: and so he was layd for, and was taken commo-ning with one of the sayd Ambassadors late in the night, and was brought to the Tower of London, where he remained vntill by the sute of his friends he was deliuered, and shortly for shame he boyded the realme.

The King of Arragon, which also had warre wth the French king, and heering that his sonne, the kyng of England would make warre in Fraunce, did write to hym that the Duchy of Guyan was his true inheritance, which adioyned to his country of Biskey: wherfore if the king of England would entend to recouer his Duchy fyrst, and send an armie of men to Biskey, and so to begin at Bayon, which is the keye of Guyan, he woulde ayde them with ordinaunce, horsemen, and beastes for cariage, with other necessaries apper- taining to the same. The king and his counsaile putting their affiaunce in the promise of the king of Arragon prepared a noble army al of footemen & small ordinaunce trusting to the king of Arragon for the ayde of horsemen and great ordinaunce, and of the same made Capitaine the noble Lord Thomas Graye Marques Dorset to whome he assigned manye other Gentlemen as after shall apere.

The kyng nowe greatlye studiyng to furnishe his warre which he had begon against the frenche king, caused Sir Edward Haward his Admy- rall, with all dilligence to take the Sea, which with all speede possible, made readie diuerse goodly and talle shippes, as the Soueraigne and other to the number of .xxviii. beside litle shippes: and in his companie were Capitaynes, Sir Weston Brovne, Griffith Donne, Edward Cobham, Thomas Wyn- dam, Thomas Lucye, William Birton, Henrie Sherborne, Stephin Will, George Witwange, John Hopton, William Grimstone, Thomas Draper, Edmond Cooke, John Bordet, with diuers other. When all these were ship- ped, they sayled to Douer, and skowzed the seas, and so came befoze Portel- mouth about the middelt of Meye.

The thirde daue of Meye a Gentillman of Flaunders called Guyot of Guye came to the king with five hundred Almains all in white, which was cut so small that it could scarce hold together. After they had mustered at the Blackheath, the king made him knight, and gaue him a great chayne and a yerely pencion, and sent hym with his band to Southampton, there to tary the comming of the Marques Dorset.

About myd Meye the Lorde Marques Dorset and other noble men appointed by the king for the iourney of Biskey as the Lord Haward sonne and heire to the Erle of Surrey the Lorde Brooke, the Lorde Willoughbie, the Lord Ferrers, the Lorde John, the Lorde Anthony, and the Lorde Leo- nard Grege, all three brethren to the Marques, Sir Griffith Alrice, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir William Sandes, The Baron of Burforde, Sir Richard Cornewale, his brother William Husey, John Helton, William

Kingston

Kingston Esquires, Sir Henr Willoughby and diuers other with Souldi- ours to the number of ten thousand men, came to Southampton and there mustered, and hauing a freshe winde they were all shipped and passed to the Sea the .xviij. daue of May, and he with all his Flaue arrived in Biskey at a Port called Passagh, Southwest of Fountrabye: And the thirde daue of June the Lorde Marques and all his whole company landed and tooke the fielde, & him wisely embateled for his safegarde. The Biskeyngs that brought victuall to the armie, sayde to the Souldiers, Sirs you are arrived here in trust that the king of Arragon will helpe you with ordinaunce and cariages, we here of no pzeparatio that he maketh, nor neuer sent vs worde to prepare for your comming, of the tohich we marueil much. These wordes ranne daily through the Hoise, which made many men sad and to muse, and the Biskeyngs sore feared least the Englishmen would destroy their Countrie, because their king kept not promise with them. But the Marques made such streight pro- clamacion, that no souldier durst do any iniury vnto them. Within thre daues after the armie had lyen in the fielde, there came to him an Erle and an other Noble man to welcome him and his companie. Then the Lorde Capitayne remoued his fielde, and tooke another place nerer Fountraby, more plente- ous of Water and Wood, and there pitched his fielde, euerie daue lookyng for ayde of the king of Arragon, but he heard of none. Then he called a coun- saile and deuised how they might haue Beastes to drabe ordinaunce and ca- riages. Then one Sir John Stile an Englishman caused to be bought two hundred Mullettes and Asses of such price as the Spanyards gained great- lie: but when they were put to carpe, they woulde neyther beare nor drabe, for they were Beastes which were not exercised befoze. Then the Lorde Marques much lamented the chaunce: for if he had had ready two hundred drawing Beastes, he myght haue ronne a great waye into Guyan with his power, which then was not forstefied neither of men, of warre, nor munition, nor artillarie.

The Frenchemen of Bayon, hearing of the English mens campe, made a great ascrie betwene the ryuer of Saint Maria and Bayon: the English men perceuyng the same, passed the ryuer in good order of battayle, all be- yng on foote for lack of the horsemen that the king of Arragon promised, and so with arrowes chased the Frenchmen on horsebacke that they fled, and many horses foundered, and many a man was brosed or they came to Bayon, at the tohich the Englishmen laughed and lamented. First to see their co- wardnesse, second, to remember what they might haue done, if they had had horses meete for their purpose: yet all this notwithstanding, they retired to their Campe in such order, that the Spanyardes wondered much, both at their fierce courage and sober order.

The king of Nauerre hearing of the pyssaunt armie of the Englishmen liyng in Biskey so neere to his Countrie, was sore trembled, and wondered much what the matter should meane: wherfore, he sent to the Lorde Mar- ques, a Bpshop and dyuers other, to shewe to him and all his counsaile, that if it pleased them, his Countrie should sende them vittayle, and all things ne- cessarie for their money, and to doe any other pleasure that they could doe, which might be to the pleasure of him and all his armie, so that his realme should be sure of any inuasions to be made by his people.

¶ p p p. iij.

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A gentie of-  
fer made by  
the king of  
Nauerre.

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Guyot of  
Guye an Al-  
mayne.

The Mar-  
ques Dorset  
leueth with  
an army into  
Biskey.



The Marques being Capitaine generall, with the aduise of the other Lords and counsaile, much highly thanked the king of Nauerre of his good will, aide, and comfort, which things only they required: and if it pleased him that his people will and maye bittaille vs, we shall not onely pay them for it, but also warrant their passing and repassing for vs and oures in safetie, and that by vs no preiudice shall be done to his realme, nor by our consent. With which aunswere the king of Nauerre was ioyous, and suffered his people to bittaille, and resort to the hoste, with all thyngs necessarie and belongyng to the same, in great windes and stormes, for that time happened much winde and raine, which sore encombered the souldiours, that lay nightly on the bare ground, for euery man had not a tent or pauilion, wherof some were lame, and some deaffe, with other diseases.

When the armie had lien there. xxx. dayes, in the second Moneth there came from the king of Arragon, a Byshop and other nobles of his counsaile: but when it was knowne that it was the same Byshop that made the aunswere to the Lord Darcie at Kales Wales, as you haue heard the last yere, then many said, he came for no good but for delays: but he required the lord Marques to take pacience, for shortly such preparation should be made, that he should see and prooue, that it should be to the honoz of his maister, and his great renoume. To whome the Marques aunswere, that vpon confidence of the king of Arragons promise, that they should lacke no beastes meete for drawyng, and horsemen, the king of Englande had sent him and his companions thether, whereof we haue trusted sithe our first hether comyng, which things if we had had, we had done other enterpryses then we haue done: for now we haue lye here in Campe, to the great charge of our maister the king of Englande, and to no profite, and to our losse and great hurt. For at our arryual the Country of Guyan for the which we came, was vnprouided of men of warre, munitions, and ordinaunce, by reason wherof, (if al things had bene accomplished of the part of your maister as we trusted) we might haue had that which we came for, and if our commission had not bene to folow the king your maisters will, as to whome we be sent, I assure you we would haue done otherwise or this: but now the Frenchmen haue fortified, bittayled, and manned their townes, and we haue spent time and done nothing at all, luygering for the king your maister, to the losse of vs and great blemishing of our honours.

The Byshop perceyuing that the Englishe Capitaynes were courageous and discontent with their ydle abode, flatteringly desired them to tarie a whyle for the best, for a backe enemye sayde he, is to be regarded. Then said the Lorde Marques Capitaine generall, if we knewe the kinges intent, it would suffice vs. Then sayde the Byshop, you shall knowe it shortly: and so he departed from the armie.

The armie this luygering, euer desirous to be at the businesse that they came for, their bittaille was much part Carlike, and the Englishe men did eate of the Carlike with all meates, and dranke hote wyne in the hote weather, and did eate all the hote frutes that they could get, which caused their bloud so to boyle in their bellies, that there fel sick thre thousand of the sike, and thereof died. xxiiij. hundred men.

The Lord Marques and other Capitaynes perceyuing this mischief, sent

sent to the king of Arragon certaine Lordes of the hoste to knowe his pleasure. The which aunswere them with gentle fashion, that the counsaile of Englande and hys counsaile, had taken an order in all thyng of late, and howe the Duke Dalua a great Prince of Spaine, should shortly with an armie royall ioyne with them, and so to proceede in their enterpryse. Wherwith which aunswere and small cheere, the Lordes of Englande departed, and made report to their Capitaine according, which thought it verie sleight, but euer hee regarded his Maysters commaundement, and counsailed all the Lordes to be content with the same.

The armie lying thus, still, and the sicknesse not slaked, the people being ydle, some euill disposed persons sayd, that euery Capitaine was allowed viij. pence for euery common Souldiour, which was vntreue, for they had allowed onely sixe pence, and so began to gather companies. The Lordes perceyuing this, tooke with them their trustie seruautes, and toke the beginners of the mischief, which were of the retinue of the Lorde Willoughby, and put them in warde. When they were arrested, other of like euill disposition began to crake and face: which thing being perceyued, the Lord Marques by the aduise of other Capitaynes caused serch to be made, and so found out the beginner of the mischief, which was deliuered to William Kingston Esquier, then Prouost Marshall, and so was put to death to the terror of all other.

The English men thus lying ydely abiding the ayde of the king of Arragon, tidynges came dayly into the hoste, howe the Duke Dalua was comyng with a great puyssaunce to ioyne with the Englishe armie, and so to invade Guian: the Englishe Capitaynes were ioyfull of these tidynges, not so much for the ayde of the Spaniardes, which they little regarded, but for the beastes for Cariage of great Artillarie.

Nowe they thus looking for the Duke Dalua, heard euery day howe he marched towarde them, and was within a dayes iourney or little more of them, of the which the English men were marueylous ioyfull, but the Duke which pretended another thing, sodainly remoued his armie in a night with such diligence that he entered the realme of Nauerre, and was before the Citie of Pampilona the chiefe Citie of Nauerre, before the king wist of it, which nothing suspected of that pollicie.

Thus the king was sodainly trapped, supposing the armie of Spaine to haue bene raised to inuade Guyan, and hauing nothing defensible for the war, in y night fled out at a posterne into Fraunce, where he after died. The Citie of Pampilona and all the Countrie of Nauar, being vnprouided of artillarie and other defences, yeelded themselves to the Spaniardes, and thus was the realme of Nauerre wonne, which thing made the Lord Marques and his companie not a little to maruaile. So shortly after came to the Lorde Capitaine of the Englishe men, dyuers Lordes sent from the king of Arragon, which sayde: The king our soueraigne Lorde sendeth to you great gramercie, and highly thanketh you for your paine, and so it is, that by Gods grace and your good abode, he with his power hath taken and conquered the realme of Nauerre, and if that countrie had not bene taken, they might haue intercepted all such ordinaunce and bittaille, as the king of Arragon our maister might haue sent to you, but nowe you be in such a suretie

The Lorde Marques sendeth to the king of Arragon for performance of his promise.

A sleight and deceit used by the king of Arragon.



and his pupssaunce with you, and yours with his, that ye maye safely ioyne, which you shall see shortly, yea, & he himselfe in proper person to ioyne with you. Well sayde the Lorde Marques Capitaine generall, we have iourneied long here abidyng his comming, and if the commission and expresse commaundement of the king my soueraigne Lorde were not, that I should doe nothing without the assent of the king your maister, I assure you that the french men should haue knowne that Englishe men had bene here, and not to haue lpen so long in ydlenesse as we haue done: but if the king your maister do as you report, it shall be much to his honoz and to our great comfort, and so the Lordes of Spaine departed.

Thus the armie lay till the Moneth of October, and Winter began soze to encrease, and the Lorde Marques Capitayne generall fell soze sicke, and then the Lorde Harward had vnder him the whole gouernaunce of the army, to whome were sent diuers Lordes of the priuie Counsaile of Spaine, sayng: the king our Maister sendeth you woerde, that he would gladly come to you, but the season is spent, the grounde is so moyst that cariage can not be conuened, the fieldes so barren that beastes can not feede, and the weather so troublous that people can not well lye abrode in campe: therefore he would desire you all these things considered, to breake by your field, and seuer your selfe to the towne and billages of his Country, till the spring of the yere, at which tyme there shall resort to you, freshe succors out of Englande, and he himselfe will be with you with all ordinaunce necessary, as becometh to such an armie, and then shall procede the first pretended enterpryse, to the honoz of the king your maister and ours, and not to your small fame and renowne. When this message was heard by the whole Counsaile, no man was contented, but the Lorde Harward which had the whole gouernaunce vnder the Marques sayd: What report of honoz can we make of the king of Arragon your maister, for at his desyre we be come hether, & here haue lpen in campe a long space, euer tariyng for perfozmaunce of his promise, and yet nothing hath he perfozmed, our people be dead of the fire in great number: we gentlemen eche one doth much lament this long ydlenesse, by reason wherof many a tall man hauyng nothing to doe, but abidrug your Maisters pleasure, hath fallē into some mischiese, or by sicknesse, or else for misdoing executed by iustice. What shall the king our maister report of our slouthfulnesse, which hath spent him innumerable treasure and nothing gayned? And yet we would make Winter warre, and the king of Arragon your maister bs denieth of such thinges as he promised, and willeth bs like Cowardes to our dishonour to rayse our campe without any notable act done on the frenchmen, for which cause we came.

The Spanyardes perceiuing the grudge of the Englishe men, sayd that time passed could not be reuoked, and that they had not lpen ydly, for the frontiers of Guyan had susteyned suche damage, as in many yeres they shall not recouer againe, and all this while the frenchmen durst not meddle with you, so that you haue lost no honoz, and if you tary here this Winter by your daylie skirmitshing, they shall receyue great damage: during which tyme, the king our maister hath commaunded, that things meete and necessary for you shall be at your commaundement, and in the spring of the yere, he shall ioyne with you, so that your enemies & his shall well know your pupssaunce,

for

for he taketh all enemies to you, to be his, so with fayre woordes the counsaile of Spaine departed.

Then the Lorde Harward beyng chiefe, because the Marques was sick, counsailed with all the other Lordes and Capitaines, and so in the ende of October they agreed to breake by their Campe, and so they did, and the Lorde Marques and his people went to Saint Sebastian, the Lorde Harward and his retinew to Remde, and the Lorde Willoughby to Garschang, Sir Wylliam Sandes and manye other Capitaines to Fountrabie, and so euery Capitayne with his retinew were seuered in diuers Villages.

The Englishe souldiours, what for sicknesse, and what for miserie of the Countrey, euer desired to retorne into England. The king of Englande aduertised by the king of Arragon of his intent, and how he would set for ward the first spring, sent Wynsoze his Herauld of armes to his armie wyl ling them there to tarie, and that he would send them newe ayde, vnder the conduite of the Lord Harbert, his Chamberlaine: which letter when it was red, the Souldiours began to murmure and grudge after suche a sort, say yng: that they would not abide and die of the fire in such a wretched Coun trie, to be defrauded and mocked of the king of Arragon the next yere, as they were this yere, and spake such outrageous woordes, that the Capitaine could not stay them, insomuch that they in a furie had slayne the Lorde Har ward and dyuers other, if they had not folowed their mindes, and so they hi red shippes and put the Lorde Marques in one, which was so weake that he asked where he was: and then euery man shipped, which was in No uember, and in the beginning of December they landed in Englande. The king of Arragon was soze discontent with their departing, for they spent much money and substaunce in his Countrey, and sayde openly, that if they had taried, he would haue inuaded Guyan, and the Englishe men were glad that they were departed out of such a Countrey, where they had little helth, lesse pleasure, and much losse of time: but by their lpyng there, the king of Ar ragon stole the realme of Nauerre, and the Englishe men left as much mo ney there, as he sent into England with his daughter.

When the Marques sayled into Spaine in the Moneth of Maye, the same time Sir Edward Harwarde Lorde Admirall of Englande, as you haue heard befoze, sayled toward Britaine, and on Trinitie Sunday arri ued at Bertram Bay in Britaine, with twentie great shippes, and sodainely set his men on lande: then the Britaynes made an ascrie, and set their Bea cons on fyze, and shot out of a Bulwarke that they had fortiefied at the poynt of the Bay: but the Englishe men which were in the ship of Wylliam Gon stone Grocer of London, tooke first lande naugre them all, and all other after, and so manfully they set on the Bulwarke that they wanne it, and the Britons fled and many slayne. Then the Admirall set hys men in an order, and passed in the Countrey seuen Myles, burning and waisting towne and Villages: and in hys retorne he skirmitshed with diuers men of armes and Que dyuers of them, and notwithstanding the Britons fought valyauntly for defence of their Countrey, yet they lost and nothing wanne: and so the Lorde Admirall returned to his ship.

Upon Monday the .xxiiij. daye of May he landed in the morning, and commaunded to burne the Lorde Piers Reguns place, and the towne of Conket

The Englishe armie retourneth a gaine into Englande against the mynde of their Capitaine general



Conket and dyuers other places, and chased the Byttons to the Castell of Brest, and for all assemblies and howes that the Byttons made, yet they suffered the Englishe men peaceably to returne with their prayes & gaines. The Byttons seying the hurt that the name of England did to them, sayde: alas the King of England hath euer befoze this time succoured vs, and now he intendeth to destroy vs, shame come to him that is the cause thereof.

The first day of June the Englishe men toke lande in Cropton Bay: then the Lordes of Brittain sent word to the Lord Admirall, that if he would abyde, they would fight with him in playne fielde. The Admirall rewarded the messenger, and sayde, go say to them that sent thee, that all this day they shall finde me here tariyng their comming. Then he to encourage dyuers Gentlemen dubbed them knightes, as Syr Edward Brooke, brother to the Lord Cobham, Syr Griffithe Doune, Syr Thomas Wyndam, Syr Thomas Lucie, Sir Willyam Pirton, Sir Henry Shirborne, Sir Stephen Bull, Sir John Burdett: Then the Lorde Admirall highly encouraged his men when he sawe the Byttons come, which were ten thousande at the least, the Englishe men but onely. xxv. C. or fewe aboue, bydding them remember the honor and renoune that should come to them, if they garded the iorney, and yet if they were slayne, their valyauntnesse was to be praysed, and their true diligence to doe their mayster service much to be allowed.

When the Byttons sawe the order of the Englishe men, and their Banners displayed, they were sodenly astonied: then a Gentleman of Briteyn of much experience, advised the other Capitaynes not to fight, but to returne a little and to take a strong ground, and to watch the Englishe men, when they returned to their shippes, and then to take the aduantage. And so the Capitaynes began to returne: and when the Commons sawe them returne, all they ranne away as fast as they might, supposyng that their Capitaynes had scene or knowen some great perill towarde them, because they were not priue of their Capitaynes Counsaile. And when they came home to their houses, some sayd the battaile was great, and some sayde that the Englishe men were xl. thousand. The Lord Admirall seying this chaunce, when night came departed to his shippes: but yet they knew not why they fled, till after he heard the truth. The Gentlemen of Briteyn called a great counsaile, sayng: that the Englishe men daily wasted the Countrie on the Sea coste, and that there was no trust in the Commonaltie, and that the Gentlemen alone could not defende the Countrie: wherefoze, they concluded to sende a Messenger to the Lord Admirall, desiryng him of a safe conduite for diuers persones to speake with him, the which he gently graunted. Then certaine Lordes of Briteyn toke a Boate, and came to the ship of the Lorde Admirall, where he was set with all the Counsaile of the Capitaynes about him. Then they desired him humbly to successe off his rigorous and cruell warre, and especially of burning of townes which to you is no profite, and if you will haue the Castell of Brest, it shall be at your commaundement, so that you be able to defende it, and we desire nothing so much as peace. Nay sayde the Lorde Admirall, we are sent hether to make warre and not peace. Then they humbly required him for Goddes sake to graunt them peace for sixe dayes, so that they might send to the King their Lorde, to aduertise him of their trouble and calamitie. Then the Lord Admirall answered, that Gentlemen ought to defende

defende their Countrie by force, rather then to sue for peace: with the which sayng the Byttons were ashamed: yet they hartily thanked him, and so he made them a banket, and they departed: and they sent a land for fresh water and other freshe vitayles, and then heeryng that there were men of warre upon the sea, he coasted from them alongst all the coastes of Normandie, still scouryng the Seas, so that no enemye appered: & at the last came and lay by the Isle of Wight, to see if any enemies would appere on the Englishe coast: duryng which tyme diuers shippes kept the North seas, vnder the conduite of Sir Edward Ichyngham, John Lewys, and John Loueday, which diligently scoured the seas.

The king euer remembryng his warres, caused all his Shippes and Galies to be rigged and prepared, with al maner of ordinaunce and artillery, meete for shippes of warre. And amongst all other, he decked the Regent a ship royall, as chiefe ship of that nauie, and then caused Shouldours meete for the same shippes to muster on Blacke heath, and he appoynted Capitaynes for that tyme, Sir Anthony Dughtred, Sir Edward Ichyngham, William Sidney, and dyuers other Gentlemen, which shortly shipped and came before the Isle of Wight, but in their passage a Galley was lost by negligence of the Mayster.

The King desiryng to see his nauie together, rode to Portesmouth, and there he appoynted Capitaynes for the Regent, Sir Thomas Kniuet, Mayster of his horse, and Sir John Carew of Deuonshire. And to another ship royall called the Souereigne, he appoynted Sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Henry Guilford, and with them in the Souereigne were put. lx. of the tallest yomen of the kinges Garde, and manye other Gentlemen were made Capitaynes. The king made a great banquet to all the Capitaynes, & euery one sware to another euer to defende, ayde, and comfort one another, without failyng, and this they promised before the king, which committed them to God, and so with great noyse of Minstrelsie they tooke their shippes, which were. xxv. in number of great burden, and well furnished of all thinges.

The French king heeryng what dammage the Englishe men had done in Briteyn, strongly furnished his Nauie in the Hauen of Brest, to the number of. xxxix. sayle, and for chiefe ordeyned a Caricke of Brest, apperteinyng to the Queene his wife, which was Duchesse and heyze of Briteyne called Cordelier, which was a strong ship furnished in all poyntes, and so they set forward out of Brest, the tenth day of August, and came to Briteyne Bay, in which place the selfe same day, the Englishe nauy was arryued.

When the Englishe men perceyued the French nauie to be out of Brest Hauen, then the Lorde Admirall was very ioyous, then euery man prepared accordyng to his duetie, the Archers to shooft, the Gonners to lose, the men of armes to fight, the Pages went to the top Castell with Dartes: thus all thinges beyng provided and set in order, the Englishe men approached toward the Frenchmen, which came fiercely forward, some leauyng his Ancre, some with his foresayle onely to take the most aduantage: and when they were in sight, they shot ordinaunce so terribly together, that all the Sea coast sounded of it. The Lorde Admirall made with the great Shippe of Depe, and chased her still: Sir Henry Guilford and Sir Charles Brandon, beyng in the Souereigne, made with the great Caricke of Brest, and layde stemme



stemme to stemme to the Caricke, but by negligence of the Maister, or else by smoke of the ordinaunce, or otherwise, the Soueraigne was cast at the sterne of the Caricke, with which aduantage the frenche men thought to toy: but when Sir Thomas Knivet which was readie to haue boarded the great ship of Depe, saw that the Soueraigne had missed the Caricke, which sir Anthony Doughtred chased hard at the sterne, and bowged her in diuers places, and set a fire her powder as some say, but sodeinly the Regent grappled with her a long boorde, and when they of the Caricke perceyued that they could not depart, they let slip an Ancre, and so with the streame the ships turned, and the Caricke was on the weather side, and the Regent on the lee syde, the fight was very cruell, for the Archers of the Englishe part, and the Crosbowes of the French part did their bittermost: but for all that the Englishe men entered the Caricke, which seeyng a Wretlet Conner beyng desperate, put fire in the Gonpowder, as other say, and set the whole ship of fyre, the flame whereof, set fire in the Regent, and so these two noble ships which were so grappled together that they could not part, were consumed by fyre. The French nauie perceiuyng this fled in all hast, some to Brest, and some to the Isles adioyning. The English men in maner dismayed, sent out Boates to hepe them in the Regent, but the fyre was so great that no man durst approach, sayng that by the James of Hull were certaine Frenchmen that could swim saued. This burnyng of the Caricke was happie for the French nauie, or else they had bene better assayed of the Englishmen, which were so amased with this chaunce, that they folowed them not. The Capitaine of this Caricke was sir Piers Morgan, and with him. cc. hundred men slaine and dead: And with sir Thomas Knivet, and sir John Carow, were seven hundred men drowned and brent, and that night all the Englishe men lay in Bartram Bay, for the French fleete was sparkeled as you haue heard.

The Carick and the Regent burned.

The Lord Admirall called all the Capitaines together, desiring them not to be ashamed with this chaunce of warre, for he thought nowe that this was the worst fortune that coulde happen to them, therefore to studie how to be reueged, and so they concluded all to goe to the Sea, which they did, and on the coast of Britaineooke many shippes, and such as they coulde not carie awaye they set on fire, small and great to a great number on all the coast of Britaine, Normandy and Picardy, and thus they kept the Sea. The king of England hearing of the losse of the Regent, caused a great ship to be made suche another as was neuer seene befoze in Englande, and called it Henrye grace de dieu.

Henry grace de dieu.

The French kyng heering that his fleete was thus deuided, and of the losse of his great Caricke, he sent to a knight of the Rhodes called Prior John, which had thre Gallies of force, wyth diuers foystes and Kobogalies so well ordinaunced and wyth such peces as was not seene in shippes befoze his comyng: for he laye one the coast of Barberye, to defend certaine of the religion of the Rhodes comyng to Tripoly, and at the French kinges request came into Britaine and ther taried.

Parliament wherunto was agreed that the king should ouer France with an armie royall.

In Nouember the king called his high court of Parliament, and there was concluded that the king himselte in person, wyth an armie royall would invade his realme of Fraunce, with fyre and Swoorde, which thing being knowne to his Subiectes, and especially to such as shoulde go with him, no

man

man can doubt, but that preparation was made of harnesse, weapon, artillery, banners, and all other thinges necessarie for such an enterpryce.

And after the Purification of our Ladie, the king created Sir Charles Brandon Viscount Lisle. In Marche following, the kinges Nauie of shippes royall, and other mete for the warre set forth to the number of .lxxij. beside other Balangers: the Lorde Admirall was chiefe, and wyth hym Sir water Deuereux Lorde Ferrers, Syr Weston Browne, Sir Edward Tychyngham, sir Antony Boyntz, sir John wallop, syr Thomas Windam, sir Stephen Bull, William Fitz Wilyam, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidney Esquires, and diuers other noble and valiant Capitaines: they sayled to Portemouthe, and there laye abiding wynde: during which time the kyng sent into Flaunders for suche thinges as he needed, and caused them to be brought to Calice against his comyng.

When the wynde serued, the nauie royall of Englande wayed anker and made saile into Britaine, and came into Bertram Bay, and there laye at Anker in the sight of the French nauie. Now you must vnderstande, that all the great nauie which the French kyng had prepared, laye in the Hauen of Brest, so well furnished in all thinges, that no doubt it was a wonder to see: but when they were readie to set forth, and saw the English fleete on the coast, they determined to saue themselves in Brest hauen. Then the Englishmen determined cleuely to set on them in the hauen, and so in good order of battaile sayled forwarde, but at the first entrie one shippe, whereof Arthur Plantagenet was Capitaine, fell on a blinde Roche and brast a sunder, by reason whereof, all the other stayed to the great displeasure of all the remnant, and not to the litle ioye of the French men which shot at them without doyng anye harme. So the Englishe Capitaines perceiuyng that the Hauen was dangerous to enter without an expert Lodestman cast about and returned to their harborough at Bertram Bay againe.

The French men perceiuyng that the English men entended to assaule them, moored their shippes as nigh to the Castell of Brest as they could, and set Bulwarke on the lande on euery side to thooze at the Englishmen. Also they strapped together .xxiiiij. great Bulckes, that came to the Baye for salte, and set them on a rowe, to the entent that if the Englishmen would haue assaulted them, they would haue set them on a fier, and let them drie with the streame amongst the English nauie. Prior John also laye still in Blaque Sabble or Whitesande Baye, and plucked his Gallies to the thore, and set his Balsykes and other ordinaunce in the mouth of the Baye, which Baye was bulwarked on euery side, that by water it was not possible to be wonne.

The Lord Admirall perceiuyng the nauie of Fraunce to lye thus in feare and not willing nor daring to come abroad, but to lie as prisoners in a Dungeon, wrote to the king to come thether in person, and to haue the honor of so high an enterpryce: which wyting y kings counsaill nothing allowed, for putting the king in iesperdy by the chaunce of the sea. Wherfoze the king wrote sharply to him to accomplish y which appertayned to his duety: which caused him to take courage & to put things in aduenture as after you shal heare.

As you haue heard befoze, the Lorde Admirall of England laye still on the coast of Britayne in the Baye, called Bartrames Baye, so that for feare of him and the Englishe nauie, neyther the great shippes in Brest hauen

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durst once mooue to the sea warde, nor yet Prioꝛ John for all hys strong Galies would once set out a sayle: sayng nowe and then sende forth hys small foystes, to make a thewe before the Englishe Hauie, which chased them to their Baye, but because the Englishe Shippes were so great they could not enter the Bay, and so manned out Boates and tooke one of the best foystes, and that with great daunger, for the Galies and the Bulwarke shot all at one time, that it was a wonder howe the Englishe men escaped.

The Admirall of Englande perceyving the Frenche mens pollicie, called a counsaile, and there determined first to assaile Prioꝛ John and his Galies, lying in Whitland Baye, and after to set on the remnant in the haven of Brest. Then first was appointed that Water Lorde Ferrers, Syr Stephin Bull and other Capitaynes, should go a lande with a convenient companie, to assault the Bulwarke of Whitland bay, while the Lord Admirall entered with rowe Barges and little Galies into the Bay, so that the Frenchmen should be assailed both by water and lande. Thus was it fully agreed by the whole counsaile: but alas, this Noble Capitaine counsailed by a Spanishe knight called Sir Alphons Charant (which sayde that he might enter the Baye with little ieopardie) called to him William Fitz William, William Cooke, John Colley, and Sir Weston Browne, as the chiefe and his most trustie friends, and declared to them that the matter was little, and the honoz great, if they onely took on them that enterprize, and let none other know of it. They like men of haute courage and desiring honoz, gladly assented: so on the .xxv. day of Aprill, the sayde Admirall put himselfe in a small rowe Barge, with thre other small rowing shippes, and his owne ship Boate, and so rowed sodainely into the Baye, where Prioꝛ John had moored his Galies iust to the grounde, which Galies with the Bulwarke on the lande, shot so terribly that they that folowed were afrayde: but as soon as he came to the Galies, he entred and drave out the French men. William Fitz William within his ship was soze hurt with a quarell. The Baye was berie halowe, and the other shippes could not enter, for the tide was spent, which thing the Frenchmen perceyving, and that there coulde come no succour to the Admirall, with Moris pikes entered agayne the Galies, and fought with the Englishe men in the Galies. And the Admirall perceyving their approaching, thought to haue entred agayne into his rowe Barge, which by violence of the tide was driuen downe the streine, and so with a pike was throwne ouer the boorde and so drowned, and there the sozenamed Alphons was slayne, and all the other Boates and vessels scraped hardly, for if they had taried, the tide had sayled them, and then all had bene lest. The Lord Ferrers and other Capitaines much were grieved with this chaunce, and some sayde he did it without counsaile, and so he hath sped. And therefore although that they would haue set on the Hauie in Brest haven, yet having no Admirall nor commission, they determined to do no farther till they knewe the kings pleasure, and so sayled into Englande. The French Hauie perceyving that the Englishe men made toward England, came out of their Hauens, and Prioꝛ John set forth his Galies and foystes, and coasted Britayne and Normandie, and crossed over to the coast of Suffer and all hys companie, and landed on the sca coast, and set fire on the pooze Cotages. The gentlemen that dwelt neere, shortly raysed the Countrie, and came to the

The death of  
Sir Edward  
Howard lord  
Admirall of  
England.

the coast and drove Prioꝛ John to hys Galles. This was all the hurt that this stoute Capitaine of so great fame did to Englande, saving he robbed certayne pooze fishermen of Whytings. The king hearing of the death of his Admirall was not a little soze, considering both the nobilitie of his birth, and the valyauntnesse of his person, but all soze awaileth not when the chaunce is past. Therefore the king hearing that the French Hauie was a-broade, called to him the Lorde Thomas Hawarde, elder brother to Syr Edward Haward late Admirall, and sonne and heire apparant to the Erle of Surrey, and made hym Admirall, wylling hym to reuenge his brothers death, which with great reuerence, thanked the king of the highe trust that he had put in him. And then immediatly went to the sea, and so nobly and valyauntly did scowze the sea, that the Frenche men had no lust to keepe the coast of Englande, for he fought with them at their owne portes.

The Lorde  
Thomas  
Hawarde  
made Lorde  
Admirall.

The king which had all things necessarie and meete for the warre, intending to passe the sea in proper person, appoynted the valiant Lord George Talbot Erle of Shrewesburie, and high steward of his household to be Capitaine generall of his foreward, and in his companie were Lorde Thomas Stanley Erle of Darbie, Lorde Decowrey Prioꝛ of Saint Johns, Syr Robert Radcliffe, Lorde Fitzwater, the Lorde Hastings, the Lorde Cobham, Syr Rice ap Thomas, Syr Thomas Blount, Syr Richard Sachuerell, Syr John Dighby, Syr John Alskew, Syr Lewys Bagot, Syr Thomas Cornewall, and many knightes and Esquiers and souldiours, to the number of eyght thousand men, which all passed the sea to Calice in the middle of May.

The Lord Herbert called Sir Charles Sommerfet, chiefe Chamberlaine to the king: the ende of the same Moneth with, .viij. M. men passed the Sea in whose companie were these Erles, of Northumberland Percy, of Kent Gray, of Wilshire Stafford, the Lord Fitzwater, the Lord Dudley, the Lord Delaware, Syr Thomas West his sonne, Syr Edward Hulse, Syr Robert Dimmocke, Syr Dauy Owen, with many other Gentlemen, some with speares on horsebacke, some with pikes on foote, some with Dimlaunces, and thys was the rereward. Such good diligence was made that these two Captaynes withall their companie, furnished with artilerie, powder, tents, cariages, & all thinges necessary for the warres were landed at Calice the last day of May.

After they had sojourned certayne dayes in Calice, and that all thinges requisite were readie, they caused a Trompet to blowe and made Proclamation, that euery man should depart out of the towne, and so to begyn the campe. The Erle of Shrewesburie with his companie first tooke the fielde, after him folowed the Lorde Herbert with his companie, in maner of a rereward. And after him folowed the valiaunt Rice ap Thomas, with five hundred light horse and Archers on horseback, and ioyned him to the foreward. Then was there order taken what persons should conduyte the Wittaylers, that came from Calice, and who should conduyte the Wittaylers that came out of Flaunders, for without sufficient conduyte no creature durst bring anye vitaille to the armie. These two Lordes thus embattayled removed the .xxvij. day of June to Sandisfelde, and on the .xxviij. day they came to Margison, on the farre syde of the water, as though they would haue passed streight to Bulleyn, but they thought otherwise, for the next day they tooke another way, and coasted the Countrie with such diligence, that the .xxij. day



The siege of  
Tirwyn.

of June; they with all their people, ordinaunce, and habiliments of warre, were come before the strong City of Tirwin, & pitch their tents a mile from the towne, & for that night embattailed themselves: and as certain Capitaines were in counsaile, in the Lorde Harbertes Tent, sodainly out of the towne was shot a Sonne, the Bellet whereof slue a noble Capitaine called the Baron of Carew, sitting there in counsaile, which sodaine aduventure dismayed much the assembly. But the Lorde Harbert valiantly comforted them, saying: this is the chaunce of warre, if it had hit me you must haue beene content, a noble heart in warre is neuer afearde of death. All the Countrey of Arthops, and Picardie, fortified their holdes, and made thewes as the English armie passed, but they durst not once assaile them.

The Citie of Tirwyn was strongly fortified with walles, rampires, Bulwarkes, with diuers fortresses in the ditches, which were so broad and so plumme keepe that was wonder to beholde. The Lorde Bountrempe was Capitaine Generall, and with him were within the Citie sixe hundred horsemen furnished, and two thousand and siue hundred Almains, besyde the Inhabitanes of the City, the walles and towers were full of ordinaunce, which did oftentimes great displeasure to the Englishmen. The Erle of Shrewsburie layde siege to the towne, on the Northwest syde, and the Lorde Harbert on the East side or ende warde, the Frenchmen issued out of the towne, and skirmished with the Englishmen, but the Archers shot so fast that they drave the Frenchmen into the Citie, and slue and tooke diuers of them. The Lorde Harbert which lay in the open sight of the towne, hauing no hill or other thing to succor or defende him, caused great Trenches to be made, and so maneger his enemyes, he approached very nere the Citie: likewise the Erle of Shrewsbury with the foreward, gat into an hollow ground or valey nere to the Citie. Dayly the Frenchmen shot at the Englishmen, and diuers tymes issued out and skirmished, and euer they lost by skirmishing, but by shotyng of ordinaunce they hurt diuers Englishmen. Wherefore the Lordes commaunded the Pioners to rayse a great Trench, in which they layde the great Ordinaunce, and dayly as they might they approached: Sir Rice ap Thomas with the horsemen dayly scoured the Countrey, and many tymes encountered with the Frenchmen, and slue and tooke dyuers prisoners, so that the Frenchmen drewe not toward the siege, but turned another way. Upon the Monday beyng the .xxvij. day of June, .xxiiij. Cartes charged with bittaille, were by the garrison of Calice conducted to Guisnes, and there the crewe of the Castell and towne of Guisnes with three hundred footemen, vnder the conduyte of sir Edward Belknap, all beyng in number foure hundred, .lx. men, set forth to conduite the sayd bittayles to the armie lying before Tirwin, and so they passed to Arde. And while the Cartes passed the towne, the horsemen fell a drinkyng in the way, and the footemen were all out of order. The Duke of Vandosme Capitaine generall of Picardie, which lay in a bushment in the Forrest syde of Guisnes with .viiij. hundred light horsemen, tooke his aduantage, and set on the bittaylers: the Carters perceiuyng that, losed their horses and fled to the towne, which was but a myle off, and left their Cartes. Sir Nicholas Vaur Capitaine of Guisnes did all he coude, to bring the footemen in an order: but the Frenchmen set on so quickly that they coude not set them in order, the horsemen of Guisnes which were

but

only, .xxiiij. tooke their Speres and ioyned with the Frenchmen: The Archers of England which passed not, .lx. shot manfully, and a noble Capitaine called Baltier Delien and diuers other, but the Frenchmen were so many in number, and in good order, that they slue .viiij. Gentlemen of the Garrison of Guisnes, and .xxx. Archers slaine, and manye hurt, and so they distressed the bittayles, and caused sir Nicholas Vaur, and sir Edward Belknappe to flee toward Guisnes. This misadventure fell by taryng of the horsemen, and breakyng of array, for if the Archers had taryed together, it had happened otherwise, for the fewe Archers that helde together, slue and hurt diuers Frenchmen: for on the fiede lay .lxxxvij. great horse, which neuer went thence, by the which it appered that the Frenchmen went not quite awaye without losse. When tidynges of this misadventure came to the Lordes at the siege, they were not a little displeased: and sir Rice ap Thomas caused bys Trompet to blowe to the stirrop, and he with his horsemen sought the Duke of Vandosme all the Countrey, which heeryng of the commyng of sir Rice, with great hast retreated backe to Bangey Abbey, where the French kinges great armie lay. Sir Rice heeryng that he was returned came the next day againe to the siege. The rumoz of this skirmish sprong all the English pale toward Flaunders, where the townes fiered their Belcons, and rang alarme, diuers honourable men that had passed the Sea with companies of Souldiours, and were in Calice, marched forward in order of battaile, but heeryng of the departure of Mounsieur de Vandosme, they rested. Then was newe prouision made for bittaille, and sent dayly from Calice to Tirwyn by suche conduyte, that the Frenchmen would no more meddle, and the armie also was well bittayled out of Flaunders and Henawld.

The armie of England thus lay before the strong towne of Tirwin: the noble king of England not forgetting his enterprize prepared al thing redy to passe the Sea in proper person, and caused Sir John Willshire to puruey for three hundred Hoves to cary ouer his Artillerie and habiliments of warre and all his ships of warre were on the sea skowring euerie coast of his realme. And when all thinges were prest, he accompanied with manye noble men and syre hundred archers of his garde, all in white gabberdines and capes, departed from his Manour royall of Greenwich the .xv. daye of June and so he and the Queene wyth small iorneyes came to Douer Castell and there rested, and made the Queene gouernour of the realme, and commaunded William Warram then Bishop of Cantorburie and Sir Thomas Louell a sage knight and diuers other, to geue there attendaunce on the Queene. And commaunded the Erle of Surrey to drawe toward the north partes lest the Scottes would make any enterprize in his absence. Then the king tooke leaue of the Queene and of the Ladies which made such sorowe for the departing of the Lordes their husbandes, that it was great dolour to behold, and so he with all his armie tooke shippe the last daye of June being the daye of Saint Paule.

In the morning when the kyng was shipped and made saile, all the armie folowed to the number of foure hundredth shippes, and the winde was so that they were brought euen on the coast of Picardie open vpon Saint Johnes Roade, and with the flood they haled along the coast of White land with Trumpets blowing and Connes shootyng, to the great feare of them

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of

The king  
himselfe pass  
sath into  
France.



of Bulleyn which playnely myght beholde this passage, and so came to Calyce haue.

The king was receyued into a Bote couered with Arras, and so was set on lande. He was appareled in an almaine riuet crested and bys bankrate of the same, and on his hedde a chapeau montabin with a riche coronail, the fold of the chapeau was lined with crimson Satten, and on that a rich brooch with the image of Saint George, ouer hys riuet he had a garment of whit cloth of Gold with a red crosse, and so he was receyued with procession and with his depatie of Calyce called sic Gilbert Calbotte, and all other nobles and gentelmen of the towne and countrie, and so entred in at the Lanterne Gate and passed the stretes tyll he came to Saint Nicholas Church, and there he alighted and offered, and from thence he went to the Staple Inne where he sipped.

When the kyng entred Calyce, all the banished men entered with hym and were restored to the libertie of the Towne. To tell of the gunneshole of the Towne and of the shippes at the kinges landing it was a great wonder, for men of good estimacion reported that they heard it at Dover. The king lying thus in Calyce, all his armye except a fewe of his counsaile and other that gaue their attendaunce on him, laye encamped at Newnam bridge, in which Campe about a. xi. of the clock at night there rose an eerie, so that the Towne of Calyce began alarme, with that the king waked and came to the walles, and demaunded what the matter ment, the yomen of the tentes, called Richard Gibson, shewed him howe that certaine horsemen and foote men of Fraunce proffered to come ouer the Hauen, and the archers that lay next the sea side entred into the water & defended the passage, with which defence the Frenchmen returned, and so the king was satisfied. But after this a Frenchman of Whitland Bay and one of Bullain were taken, the one called Charles de Bone, the other Peter Wernobone, which confessed that from the towne of Whitland came .lx. horsemen and two hundred footemen of the garrison of Bullayne and the countrie adioyning, intending to passe by Rite Bank at the lowe water Marke, ouer the Hauen of Calice at a certene foorde shewed to them by a fyre which serued the yoman of the tentes with vittails, and shewed them that the tentes were pitched vnder Calyce walles betwene the towne and the campe, so that they might burne them quickly or the towne could issue, or the campe remoue. But the Englishmen kept so good watch as you haue heard that their enterprize came to none effect. The morowe after being the first day of July, the noble Lorde Harward, admirall of England landed at Whitland Bay, & entred, spoyled and brent the towne, and returned to his shippes for all the Bullonays, and so recompensed the imagination that the Balle of Whitland and the Bullonoise had enterprised for the burning of the kings tentes.

On Friday at night blew such a storme that scuered all the nauie, and some were drowned. Upon the .viij. day of Julye, the Lorde Marques Dorset, Erle of Essex, the Lorde Lisle rode into Flaunders, and there took the musters of the Lord Linny, the Lorde Walon, sonne to the Lorde of Barow, and bastard Emery which with their retinue were then admitted into the kinges wages, and the Lord Linny with a hundred and fiftie speres was appointed to go to the Lorde Harbert: and the Lord Walon, and Ba-

stard

stard Emery with their bonds were appointed to go to the Erle of Shrewsbury lying before Tirwin: These straungers were warlike persons on light horses. While the siege laye thus before Tirwin as you haue heard, the French men diuers times issued out on horsebacke, and many a staffe was broken, and many a proper feate of armes done. Likewise the Almaynes on foote would diuers times issue out, with Handgonnes, and Mozillpikes and assaile the Englishmen, but by force of y archers, they were euer driuen home againe, and euery day the Englishmen shot at the towne and did them much displeasure.

The .xviij. day of July (when all thinges by counsaile had bene ordered concernyng the order of battaile) the king passed out of the towne of Calice, in goodly array of battaile, and toke the field: And notwithstanding that the forewarde, and the rerewarde of the kinges great armye were before Tyrwin, as you haue heard: Yet the king of his awne battaile made thre battailes after the fassion of the warre, the Lorde Lisle marshall of the hoste was Captaine of the foreward, and vnder him thre thousand men. Sir Richard Carew with thre .c. men was the right hand wing to the foreward, and the Lorde Darcy with thre hundred men, was wing on the left hande, the scouters and forewardes of this battaile were the Northumberland men on light Selounges. The Erle of Essex was Lieutenaunt Generall of the Speres, and sic John Dechy was Vicegouernour of the horsemen: before the king went .viij. hundred Almaynes all in a plumpe by themselves: after them came the Standard with the red Dragon, next the Banner of our Ladie, and next after the Banner of the Trinitie, vnder the same were all the kinges household seruantes, then went the Banner of the armes of England, borne by sic Henry Guilforde, vnder which Banner was the king himselfe, with diuers noble men and other to the number of thre thousand men. The Duke of Buckyngham with sixe hundred men was on the kinges left hande, egall with the Almaynes, in likewise on the right hande was sic Edward Bowynnges, with other sixe hundred men egall with the Almaynes. The Lorde of Burgaynie with .viij. hundred men, was wing on the ryght hande, sic William Compton with the retinue of the Bishop of Winchester, and Mayster Wolsey the Kinges Almoner to the number of .viij. hundreth was in maner of a rerewarde, sic Anthony Dughtred, and sic John Newell with the kinges speres that folowed, were foure hundred, and so the whole armie were .xj. thousand, and thre hundred men. The Mayster of the ordinaunce set forth the kinges artillarie, as fawcons, Slinges, Bombardes, Cartes with Powder, stones, Bowes, Arrowes, and suche other thinges necessary for the fiede, the whole number of the Cariages were .xiiij. hundreth, the leaders and dryuers of the same were .xix. hundreth men, and all these were reckened in the battaile, but of good fightyng men, there were not full .ix. thousande.

Thus in order of battaile the king rode to Seutreyca and there lodged the first night, on Friday the garrison of Bulleyn mustered nighe to Fines Hill, and were askied by the Northumberland men, which marched toward them, but the Frenchmen returned. On Saterday the hoste remoued to Hambwell and there rested. On Sunday, and on Monday he entered into the French grounde nye to Arde, and there euery Gentleman had on hys

coat

This was  
afterward  
Cardinal  
Wolsey.



coate of armes, and these tydings were brought to the king that the French armie approached, which tydings pleased him well, for he desired nothing but battaile. Tuesday the. xxvj. day of Julie the king passed forward in order of battaile, and ever the French men costed a farre off to take the English men at some auantage, but they kept them so close in order, that they could not finde them out of array. Howbeit, by negligence of the Carters that mistoke the way a great Curtall called the John Euangelist, was ouerthrowne into a depe ponde of water, and could not quickly be recovered.

The king hearing that his enemies approached, leauing the Sonne because the maister Carpenter sayde that he would shortly waye it cut of the water) set forward his hoste, and in good order came to Dornham where is a fayre castell standing in a woode countrie, the Frenchmen were euer lurking in the woods beyng the kings conduite and order as he passed, and so he left the towne of Dornham on his right hand, and came to a Village on a little riuier where the ordinaunce was pitched. And when the king came to the ryuer he perceyued that many gentlemen made daunger to enter into the riuier: Wherefore he alighted downe of his horse and without any more abode entred the riuier, then all other entred and came ouer. Then was tydinges brought to him that the Frenchmen were neere at hande, and would fyght that night: the king still abode in order of battaile, euer looking for the coming of the Frenchmen, and at night worde was brought that they were reculed, and then he entred into his tent.

Wednesday the. xxvj. daye of July the reliefe of the speares brought in askrie, wherefore the king commaunded to blowe to the standarde, and auanced his banner and tooke a fayre field or banke, abidyng the coming of the Frenchmen. The Capitaynes generall of the armie of the French king were the Lorde de la Palice, and the Lorde of Piens, accompanied with the Duke of Longuy'e, the Erle of saint Polle, the Lorde of Flozenges, the Lorde Cleremound, and Richard de la Pole Traytor of Englande, sonne to the Duke John of Suffolke: with these Captaynes were coming a. xj. thousand footemen, and foure thousand horsemen, all prest in battaile and came within two myles of the king of England, and there the footemen staled and came no farther: certayne horsemen to the number of thre thousand & aboue marched forward and at the end of a wood shewed themselves open in the sight of the English armie. The king perceyuing their demeanure, commaunded all his footemen not to remoue, but to stande still. The Frenchmen remoued and came somewhat neerer to a place of execution: then the maister Gonner shot of a peece of artillarie or two. As the king lay thus still abidyng his enemyes, and that the horsemen stood still in sight, the great armie of Fraunce approached, which the Englishmen could not descry because of an hill that was betwixt them. The Northren men ranne to the Frenchmen, which manly encountered with them, and strake some of them downe, and mawger all their power brought certayne prisoners to the king of England. The Erle of Essex Capitaine of the kings speres, with two hundred speres lay in a stalle, if the french men had come neerer. Then sodainly appered in sight a great companie of horsemen, and the king knewe not what they were: but at the last it was perceyued that it was the balaunt knight sir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue, which came to the king about noone:

The noble  
courage and  
balauntesse  
of a king.

noone: which gently receyued him and sent him to the Erle of Essex, which incontinently departed and compassed the hill, and came to the Erle, and when they were ioyned, they drewe them about the hill accompanied with Sir Thomas Gylford Capitaine of two hundred Archers on horsebacke, to the entent to haue set on the french men, which perceyuing that, and doubtyng a moze number to come after, sodainly drewe backe and ioyned them with the great battaile. Then the Erle of Essex and the English horsemen folowed them till they came nere the great armie of Fraunce, and then staled, and sent light horsemen to know the conduite of the French armie. When the French men of armes were returned to their battaile, both the footemen and horsers reculed in order of battaile, and went backe apace. The English stirryng report of that they had seene, and then he brake by his stalle and came to the king, declar yng to him howe the Frenchmen were reculed. This day was called the drie Wednesday, for the day was wonderfull hote, and the king and his armie were in order of battaile from sixe of the clocke in the mornyng, till thre of the clock in the after noone, and some dyed for lacke of moisture, and almost in generall euery man was burned about the mouth with heat of the stomacke, for drinke lacked, and water was not nere. After this, the king remoued toward Cirwyn, hauyng his horsemen behind him, lest the french men shoulde sodainly set on him behinde, and as the king was setting forward, the Lorde Malotone of Flaunders came to the king with his horsmen which were in the kings wages, and the king declared to him what had chaunced. As the army passed by negligence the same day in a Lane, was ouerthrowne one of the kings great Bombards of Iron, called the red Gon, and there left: When the night began to approche, the king rested and tooke his campe two miles from Saint Omers on the Northsyde.

On the Thursday beyng the. xxviii. daye of July the maister Carpenter with an hundred Carpenters and laborers without knowlege of the Marshall went to waye by the great Gonne that was in the ponde as you haue heard, and by force of engines drewe it by and layde it on a Cart ready to carie: But sodainly out of a wood issued eyght hundred Frenchmen with speares, crosbowes, and handgonnes, and assailed the poore labourers which balauntly defended themselves: but oppressed with multitude, the most part was slayne and the remnant taken, and they and the peece of ordinaunce caried to Bulleyne. This misadventure fell, for the maister Carpenter would worke all of his aboue head without counsaile, with which chaunce the king was sore displeased. The Frenchmen ioyous of this chaunce, assembled a great number to take the other Gonne that laye still in the high waye. Wherefore the Lorde Barnes beyng Capitaine of the Pioners and laborers hearing of the misadventure, and considering that the other Gonne was lying behinde, prepared all maner of engines to recover the same. The morrow after the king entending to rayse his Campe, but when he heard of the great peece of Ordinaunce that was left behinde, and that the Frenchmen assembled together, he was in a great musing and so tarped and commaunded the Almaynes to retreat backe, and to succour them that went for the peece of Ordinaunce. The Almaynes went forth and staled within two myle, where the peece of Ordinaunce lay, and farther they would not go.

The



The Erle of Essex with his companie of speares, Sir Rice ap Thomas, with his companie, Sir John Neuell with the Northumberlande men, set forward to helpe the Lorde Barnes for recovery of the Sonne. And sodainly the Northren horsemen espied where all the great armie of the Frenche men were coming forward, and so reported to the Erle of Essex, that to Sir John Pechy Lieutenaunt of the horsemen and speares and other Capitaines, which were in the place where the sayde Sonne was left with a hundred horsemen, which hearing thereof sent worde to Sir Rice, and he hearing thereof desired the Erle of Essex to come and to take grounde in that place where he was, which remoued in great haste: In the meane season by the diligent labor of the Lorde Barnes, the peece of Ordnance was raised and carted, and forth was it caried, by thys time the Frenche armie appeared in sight.

When the Erle of Essex sawe the great number of the Frenchmen, in all haste he sent to the Lorde Walon, willing him with his companie to come to their ayde, the Lorde Walon sayde to the messenger, go tell your Capitayne that I come hether to serue the king of Englande more then one daye, and therefore I would all the English men would returne, for with the great power of Fraunce they be not able to fight, for I esteeme them. *ix. or. x.* thousand men at the least: with this aunswere the messenger departed and made relation to the Erle of Essex and other Capitaynes, which therewith were sore discontent: by this time the scowzers of the French part were come hard to the handes of the English men: then began the light horsemen to skirmishe, there was solowynge and rescuing on both parties, and in open sight some of both parties slayne. Then marched forward the whole battayle of the Frenchmen with standards, penons, and banners waueryng, and sumptuous bards, and riche harnesses gylttering, the men of armes in great number were in ranges along ready to chace and charge. Sir Rice ap Thomas being a man of great experience, sagely perceyued in what case the matter stood, saide to the Erle of Essex, sir we be not seven hundred horsemen, let vs not be to folishe hardy, our comission was to fet the Sonne and none other, let vs folowe the same, the Erle agreed thereto, and so softly and not in flying maner retreated and folowed the Sonne. The Frenchmen perceyving that, cryed all is ours, let vs folowe, then pricked forward two thousand men of armes, and came iust to the backes of the English men, then the English men cryed Saint George, and cast themselves about and made returne to the Frenche men, Sir William Tylet, and Sir John Sharpe, were the first that charged and after all the other English men, there was a dreadfull chafe, for the men of armes of Fraunce fledde so fast, that glad was he that might be foremost, the whole host seeyng their horsemen returnyng in flight, sodainly in great haste returned without any more doynge. Then the Erle of Essex staled to an hill, and there caused his Trompet to blowe to the Standard for feare of subtyll dealyng: and when they were gathered together into array, he returned.

The *xix.* daye of July the king with his armie came to Arkus, and there embattailed himselfe in a strong grounde, and to hym came the Erle of Essex and the other Capitaines with the gonne, and made report of their aduenture, which thanked them hartily, and there he lay till Monday in which time

time came many noble men of Flaunders to visit him, and many of the common people came to se him.

Mundaye the first daye of August, the king remoued his campe to a billage myddell way betwene Saint Omers and Tyrbwin, and there fell such a rayne that the ordinaunce coulde scarce be remoued, the erable ground was so softe.

Thursedaie the fourth daye of August, the king in good order of battaille came before the City of Tyrbwin and planted his siege in most warlike wise, his campe was environed with artillery, as sabacons, serpentines, cast hagbushes, and tryed harowes, spien trestyles, and other warlike defence for the sauegard of the campe. The king for himselfe had a house of timber with a chimney of Iron, and for his other lodgings he had great and goodly tentes of blew water worke garnished with yellow & white, & diuers romes within the same for all officers necessarie, on the top of the Daillions stood the kinges bestes holding fanes, as the Lion, the Dragon, the Greyhound, the Antelope, the Donne Howe: within all the lodginge was poynted full of the sunnes rising, the lodging was a hundred. *xxv.* foote in length.

The king lying before Tirbwin, his great ordinaunce sore beate the towne walles, and they within likewise shot out of the towne ordinaunce, and slew diuers Englishmen in the trenches, among whych hottes they had one gonne that every day and night was ordinarilie shotte at certaine howers without fayle: this gonne was of the Englishmen called the whistelyng gonne, but it neuer did harme in the kinges field. The siege thus lying before the Citie of Tirbwin, Sir Alexander Baynam a Capitaine of the Miners, perceyving that, made a counter mine and so destroyed the other mine, and diuers Miners slaine within the same. The French armie ever howed a farre to take the Englishmen at auantage as they went a forraging, and many a skirmish was done, and many good feates of armes achieved on both sides, and diuers prisoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certayne lyght horsemen called Stradiotes with short styropes, beuer hattes, small speeres, and swordes like Semiteries of Turkey: diuers times the Northen lyght horsemen vnder the conduite of Sir John Neuell skirmished with these stradiottes and tooke diuers of them prisoners, and brought them to the king.

While the king lay thus before Tirbwin, the Capitaine of Bullen knobyng by his Espialles that manye of the garrison of Caleice were with the king at the siege, and also that daylie bittailles were brought out of Englande to Caleice to succour the campe, imagined a great enterprize, and sent for all the men of warre vnder his dominion and rule, and declared to them what honor they should obtayne if they hurted or spoyled the out partes of Caleice, the king of England being on that side the Sea. The men of warre perceyving the good courage of the Capitaine, assented to his purpose, and so with all diligence they to the number of a thousand men in the euening set forward, and came to Newnam bridge by three of the clocke in the morning and founde the Watchmen that kept the Bridge a sleepe, and so entred the Bulwarke and slew the watchmen, and toke the ordinaunce of the Bridge and then let the Bridge fall, so that all entred that would. The Capitaine of Bullepne kept six hundred men for a stalle at the bridge, and sent the other into



into the marishes and medowes where the cattel fed, and some of the french men came to Calice gate, and were ascried of the watche, and so rang alarme: the Englishe souldiours ranne to the walles, and saw the frenchmen without the towne walles: then they knew that Newnam bridge was losie, and would have issued out, but Sir Gylbert Calbot Deputie there, would not suffer any gate to be opened. Nowe it happened that without Calice gates were Richarde Hunnyng and Richard Byrcks of the Caterie, and thre or foure of the kings seruaunts which lay there to send prouisions to the hoste: which heiring of this alarme, called to them the kings bakers, and cobpers and a fewe shipmen, which lay in the hauen, and courageously folowed the frenchmen. The Englishe men were not past sixe scoze persons, and set on the frenchmen as they were a forragyng or they might assemble together, and slue them downe right and toke no prisoners in maner, and so they came to Newnam bridge and toke it, & put the frenchmen back. But or the Englishe men had thus gathered themselues together, the frenchmen had forraged all within the ryuer by to saint Peters, and had driuen away the Cattel and the ordinance of Newnam bridge, and so passed till they came where the stalle lay, and there they taried looking for there company that were gone a forraging to Calice walles. About siue of the clock in the morning, the gate of Calice called Bulleyn gate was opened, and then issued out one Culpoper the bunder Marshall with two hundred archers, wyth the Banner of Saint George, and with great haste came to Newnam bridge, where they founde the kings seruautes, and the other that had vponne the bridge, and then they altogether marched towarde the frenchmen which kept the stalle. The frenchmen thought it had bene their atone company that had returned, tyll they sawe the banner of Saint George, then they knew that their company were overthroene, and that they must needes fight or dye. Then the Englishe men though they were the smaller number, valyauntly set on the frenchmen, which with great force them defended, but at the last they were all discomfited, and .xxiiiij. slayne and .xij. scoze taken prisoners and their ordinance and whole bootie recovered. These prisoners were brought to Calice, and there sold in open market: Among all other a Cowper of the towne of Calice bought a prisoner of this bootie that dwelt in Bulleyn, and had of the prisoner a hundred Crownes for his raunsome, and when the money was payde, the frenchmen prayed the Cowper to see him safe deliuered and to conduite him out of daunger, the Cowper gently graunted and without any knowlege of his friends, all alone went with the frenchman till he came beyond the cawsey and there would haue departed: but the frenchman perceived that the Cowper was aged, and that no rescues were nie; by force toke the Cowper prisoner and caried him to Bulleyn, and made him pay two hundred Crownes for his raunsome, thus throughe folly was the pooze Cowper deceaued.

The .xi. day of August beyng Thursday, the king liyng at the siege of Cirboyn, had knowlege that Maximilian the Emperour was in the towne of Nyre. The king prepared all thinges necessary to meete with the Emperour in triumph. The noble men of the kinges campe were gorgeously apparelled, their coursers barded of cloth of Golde, of Damaske and broderie, there apparell all Tissue, cloth of Gold and Siluer, and Goldsmithes worke,

great

great Chaumes of Hawdericks of gold, and Belles of Bullion, but in especial the Duke of Buckingham, he was in purple Satten, his apparel, & his bard full of Antelops and Swannes of fine golde Bullion & full of spangles, and little Belles of golde, marueylous costly & pleasant to beholde. The king was in a garment of great riches in Jewels, as pearles & stone, he was armed in a light armure, the mayster of hys horse folowed him with a spare horse the hennemen folowed bearyng the kings peeces of harnesse, every one mounted on a great courser, the one bare the helme, the second his graugard, the thrid his spere, the fourth his are, and so every one had something belenging to a man of armes: the apparell of the .iiij. hennemen were whyte cloth of gold and crymsyn cloth of gold richly embawdered w Goldsmithes worke, the trappers of the coursers were mantell harnesse coulpenced, and in every bent a long Bell of fine gold, & on every pendant a depe tassell of fine gold in bullio, which trappers were very rich. The king & the Emperour met betwene Nyre and the campe, in the sowlest weather that lightly hath bene sene. The Emperour gently enterayned the king, & the king likewise him, and after a little communication had betwene them, because the weather was foule, departed for that tyme. The Emperour and all his men were at that daye all in blacke cloth, for the Emperesse his wife was lately deceased. After that the king was thus returned to his campe, within a day or twain there arrived in the army a king at armes of Scotland called Lion with his coat of armes on his back and desired to speake with the king, who within short tyme was by Garter chiefe king at armes brought to the kinges presence, where he beyng almost disshaped seruyng the king so nobly accompanied, with few wordes, & mee tely good reverence, deliuered a letter of defiance to the king, which receyued the letter & red it himselfe, & when he had red it, without any more delay he himselfe answered after this sort. Now we perceyue the king of Scots our brother in law & your maister to be the same person whom we euer toke him to be, for we neuer esteemed him to be of any truth and so now we haue found it, for notwithstanding his othe, his promise in the word of a king, & his awne hand & scale, yet now he hath broken his sayth & promise to his great dishonour and infamie for euer, and intendeth to invade our realme in our absence, which he durst not once attempt our person beyng present. Therefore tell thy maister, first that he shal neuer be copried in any league wherin I am a confederate, & also that I suspecting his truth (as nowe the deede proueth) haue left an Erie in my realme at home, which shali be able to defende him and all hys power, for we haue prouided so, that he shall not finde our lande destitute of people as he thinketh to doe: but thus say to thy mayster, that I am the berie owner of Scotlande, and that he holdeth it of me by homage, and in so much as now contrarie to his bounden ductie he being my ballall, doth rebell against me, with Gods helpe I shall at my returne expulse him hys realme, and so tell him. Sir sayde the king of Armes, I am his naturall subiect, and he my naturall Lorde, and that he commaundeth me to saye, I may boldly say with fauour, but the commaundements of other I maye not, nor dare not saye to my soueraigne Lorde, but your letters maye with your honoz sent declare your pleasure, for I may not say such wordes of reproche to him whome I owe onely my alleageance and faith. Then sayde the king, wherefore came you hether, will you receyue no answer? yes sayde Lp.

A letter of defiance sent by the king of Scottes to King Henry the eyght.

Rrrr.

on,



on, your aunswere requireth doing, that is, that immediatly you should re-  
turne home: well sayd the king I will returne to your damage at my plea-  
sure, and not at thy maisters somonyng. Then the king commaunded Gar-  
ter to take hym to his Tent and make hym good cheere. And forthwith  
King Henry wrote to him an aunswere with verie sharpe and grieuous  
wordes reproving his buttrath.

After the defiance declared by the king of Scottes herauld, the king of  
Englande wrote to the Queene and other which he had left behinde of hys  
counsaile, to prepare in all hait for the defence of the sayde kyng of Scottes,  
which did so with great diligence as you shall heare hereafter. While the  
kyng lay thus at siege before Turwyn, the Frenchmen studied all the wayes  
possible to bittail the Towne of Turwyn, & imagined in a night by some way  
to convey bittayle to the Towne: wherfore everie day they sent their Stra-  
diates to espie by which way they might take their most auantage, and many  
times the English horsemen met with the Stradiates & slew diuers of them.

The frenche king would in any wise that the king of England shoulde  
be fought with all, wherfore he sent the Duke of Wandosme, The Duke  
of Longuile with diuers other baliuant Capytaynes of Blangeoy. Then  
was there a conclusion taken that the Duke of Anson shoulde with five  
thousande men fight with the Erle of Shrewsburie, or else to keepe that  
neyther he neyther the Lord Harbert should ayde or come to the kinges bat-  
taye, and with the king should skirmish the Duke of Wandosme and Long-  
uile, while in the meane season the cariages with bittayle might enter the  
towne. For accomplishing of this enterprize, the Frenchmen made great  
purueyance and all on horsebacke, this was not so secretly concluded, but  
the king of Englande had an inckeling thereof, and sent worde to the Empe-  
rour which lay at Ayr and knewe nothyng of this deuice: and desired him to  
come to the Campe to haue his aduise, which gladly answered that he would  
come the morrowe after. The king continuallye sent forth his light hozses  
to seke the countrie and to see if any apparaunce were, and they ever brought  
tydings of such thing as they saw, so that alwayes it was foreseene that the  
kyng nor hys people should be taken bypurued, nor the Frenchmen should  
not come on them sodainly vnasked.

While these thinges were thus in communication, the Emperour Mari-  
milian and all his seruantes which were retayned with the king of England  
in wages by the day, euery person according to his degre, and the Emperour  
as the kinges Souldiour wore a Crosse of saint George with a Rose, and so  
he and all his frayne came to the kinges campe the .xiiij. daye of August be-  
yng fryday, and there was receyued wyth great magnificence and brought  
to a Tent of cloth of Golde all ready apparailled according to his estate, for  
all the tent within was seeled with cloth of Gold and blew velvet, and all the  
veluet was embroidered with. H. K. of fine Golde, and his Cupboorde was  
richely furnished, and officers appoynted to geue on him attendaunce: and  
there he taried till Sunday, and from thence he went againe to Ayr for hys  
pleasure. The king and his Counsaile were enformed by their espyalles,  
and also it was confessed by certaine prisoners, howe the French army which  
lay at Blangeoy intended to bittaille the Citie of Turwyn. Wherfore on fry-  
day at night the .xiiij. day of August, the Duke of Buckingham, the Erle of  
Essex,

Wherfore  
the Emper-  
our was re-  
ceyued by  
king Henry  
the eyght  
as his soul-  
diour.

Essex, the Marques Dorset, the Lorde of Burgayny, the Lord Willoughby,  
and diuers other Gentlemen, with sixe thousand men on foote, and the Lord  
Walon, and the Lorde Ligny with their horsemen, were layd at Gungate on  
the Southsyde of Turwyn, where they were all night in order of battaile, a-  
waityng the rescue of the Citie, but the English men were ascrped, and so the  
french men brake their purpose for that time: and so the Duke of Bucking-  
ham and his companyons returned to the campe. Monday the .xviij. day of  
August by infortune, without any cause knowen, there fell a great debate be-  
twene the Almaynes of the kinges fielde, and the English men, insomuch  
that they fell to fightyng, and many men slaine, the Almaynes sodainly ran  
to the kinges ordinaunce and tooke it, and embattayled themselves, and bent  
the ordinaunce agaynst the king and his campe. The English men were  
greatly vniquieted with this matter: insomuch that the Archers set forwarde  
to haue ioynd wyth the Almaynes, and they likewise prepared their Pykes,  
but the Capitaynes tooke suche paine that the fraye was appeased, and all  
thinges done for that tyme, but as this commocion was in trouble, the Em-  
perour came from Ayr, and sawe all the demeanoz of both parties, and was  
glad to see the discrete handlyng of the Capitaynes. After the Emperour was  
come to the kinges fielde, the king called the Emperour and all the Lordes of  
his Counsaile together, assercinyng them that he was credibly informed that  
the Frenchmen intended to rescue the Citie of Turwyn: wherfore it was  
agreed that the mayster of the ordinaunce should in haste make five Bridges  
ouer the water, for the army to passe ouer, to the entent to besiege the Citie  
on that syde: the Carpenters did so they decuer that night, so that by day all  
the Bridges were made, so that all the horsemen passed ouer and ascrped the  
Countrie. On Tuesday the .xviij. day of August, the king raysed his campe,  
and with great ordinaunce, and all other artullarie and carriage he passed the  
ryuer, and to him came sir John Neuell with his light horsemen, and tolde  
him that behinde the Tower of Gungate was a great plumpe of horsemen.  
In the meane season, as Sir Iohn Neuell tolde the King these tidnynges,  
by another waye was the Erle of Essex, sir John Pech, and the kinges  
Speres passed and skirmished with the plumpe of Speres that Sir John  
spake of, and there were many proferes made on both sydes, but in conclusion  
the French men were compelled to leaue their state and one horseman taken  
and sent to the king, which in hope of pardon of his raunsome, shewed howe  
that the frenche armie with their full power and strength were commyng  
from Blangeoy the number of fiftene thousand horsemen of armes to ayde  
Turwyn on y<sup>e</sup> syde of the water. And to the entent that the army of the Lord  
Stuarde, and the Lord Chamberleyne should not ayde the king, there were  
appoynted five thousand of the .xv. thousande horsemen on the other syde of  
the water.

As these tidnynges was tolde, came one from Sir Rice, and sayde  
that a prisoner that he had that day taken cofessed that the City should be re-  
scued the same daye, & that he had ascrped a number of hozsmen to his iudge-  
ment vpon the poynt of sixe thousand. Then sodainlye came the Northren  
men which affirmed that they had seene the frenche armie in order of bat-  
taille commyng forwarde, but they iudged them not pass. xij. thousand men.  
Then the kinges fielde was pitched, and the ordinaunce set, but some coun-  
sayled

R r r .ij.



sayled the king to take doone his Tentes, but the king sayd I will this day that my fielde be made and set in as rovall wyse as may be, and all my ruche Tentes set vp, which was done. Then the king called the Lorde Darby, and commaunded him to keepe his fielde, treasure, ordinaunce, and other stuff, which was loth to go from his maister but by strait commaundement. Then euery man prepared himselfe to battail resorting to the Standard, the horsemen marched befoze the footemen by the space of a myle, still came curcours beryng tidyns that the frenche army approched. The king had set forward and to aduaunce his Banner in the name of God and Saint George. The Almaynes seyng this (to what purpose it was not knowen) sodainly emitt sayled themselues on the left hand of the king, & left the breast or front of the kinges battaile bare. As the king was thus marchyng forward toward the battaile, to him came the Emperour Maximilian with .xxx. men of armes, he and all his companie armed in one sute with red Crosses: Then by the counsaile of the Emperour the king caused certain peeces of small ordinaunce to be layde on the top of a long hill or banke for the out scowzers: Thus the kinges horsemen and a fewe Archers on horsebacke marched forward. The King woulde faine haue bene afoze with the horsemen, but his Counsaile perswaded him the contrary, and so he tarped with the footemen accompanied with the Emperour.

The Frenchmen came on in thze ranges .xxxvj. mens thirknesse and well they perceued the kynges battaile of footemen marching forwarde: the Erle of Essex Capitayne of the horsemen, and Syr John Peche with the kinges horsemen and the Burgonions to the number of a .xj. hundred stode with banner displayed in a valley. The Lorde Wallon and the Lorde Ligny wyth bastard Emery and their bende to the number of foure hundred horsemen senered themselues and stode asyde from the Englishmen: so then the English men were but seuen hundred, yet they with banner displayed removed vp to the toppe of the hill, and there they met with syr John Sylford a hundred talle Archers on horsebacke, which had asayed the Frenchmen. Aowe on the toppe of the hill was a faire plaine of good ground, on the left hand a lowe wood, and on the right hand a falowe field. The Lorde Wallon and the Burgonions kept them a loofe, then appered in sight the Frenchmen with banners and standards displayed. Then came to the Capitaynes of the Englishmen of armes, an English officer of armes called Clarenseur and sayd in Gods name set forwarde, for the victorie is poures for I see by them they wyll not abyde, and I will goe wyth you in my coate of Armes. Then the horsemen set forwarde, and the Archers alighted and were set in order by an hedge all along a willage side called Boimpe: the Frenchmen came on with .xxxij. standars displayed, and the Archers shotte a pace and galled their horses, and the English speres set on freshly, cryng Saint George, and fought baliantly with the Frenchmen and thze doone their standarde, the dust was great and the cry moze, but sodainly the Frenchmen shocked to their standarde and fled, and thze away their speres, swordes, and mases and cut of the bardes of their horses to run the lighter, when the hinder part saw the former part flye, they fled also, but the soner for one cause which was this. As the English horsemen mounted by the hyll, the Stradiates were coming downwarde on the one side of the hill befoze the french hoste, which sodainly

dainly saw the banners of the English horsemen, and the kinges battaile following bywarde, thynkyng to them that all had bene horsemen, then they cast themselues about and fled, the Frenchmen were so fast in array that the Stradiates could haue none entrie, & so they ran stil by the endes of the ranges of the french army: and when they behynd saw the fall of the standars and their Stradiates in whome they had great confidence retorne, they tual were farthest of fled first, then by prauiced the Burgonions and solowed the chace: this battaile was of horsemen to horsemen, but not in equal number, for the Frenchmen were ten to one, which had not bene leene before tyme, that the English horsemen gate the victorie of the men of armes of fraunce. The french men call this battaile the iourney of Spurres, because they raine alway so fast on horsebacke. This battaile was the .xxj. day of August, in the which battaile was taken the Duke of Longuile, Loys brother to the Erle of Dunoys, which had maryed the Marquesse of Rutlens heyze, the Lorde Cleremounde, and many other noble men, to the number of .xij. score, and all brought to the kinges presence, and likewise all the standers and banners, were brought to the king. The Burgonions kept their prisoners and brought them not to fight. The same went that Meunfire de la Palayce was by them taken and let go. The Englishmen solowed the chace three mile long from the fielde to a water in a valley, and there a frenchman sayde to sir Gyles Capell, that one day they would haue a day, which answered him againe in french that it was a bragge of fraunce: and so the Englishmen returned to the king, which was coming forwarde, who gaue them thanks with great prayings for their baliawntnesse, and there he made sir John Peche Bannaret, and made John Car knight, which was sore hurt, and sir John Peche had his gyrdhome taken, and diuers of his men hurt, they solowed so farre. Then the king retreated to Singate, to whome came sir Rice, and shewed him howe hote the frenchmen had swarmed wyth hym all daye on the other syde of the ryuer, and howe the Erle of Shrewesbury with banner displayed was all daye prest in order of battaile to haue fought with the Duke of Alanson, and the Erle of Mount Pell, and the Lord Flozenges, which with five thousand men as you haue heard were appoynted to rescue the towne on that syde where the Lord of Shrewesbury lay, and to let him to come to ayde the king, but howe soeuer that it laye geued they stode still and came not downe, but onely skirmished with sir Rice: the Citie of Cerewyn was this day in hope of ayde, and when they sawe their helpers coming nere, they the same daye providely issued out on the Lord Harbart, and skirmished with his people very baliawntly, and they towhin also shot out ordinaunce of all partes. The Lorde Harbart and his Capitaynes couragiously defended them, and so soze they set on the french men, that they draue them by force to their gates for all their succours, and many of them were slaine: this night the king sent for the Duke of Longuile, and the Lord Cleremounde, and diuers other noble men, and the Duke supped at the kinges boorde that night.

Then the frenchmen after this discomfiture assembled together and returned to Blangoy .xii. mile from the coste and there talked of their losses, and because they knew not who were taken, and who were slaine, therefore they sent an Herault to the king to knowe the number of the prisoners.



the kings counsaile according to their desire sent to them the names. The king being ascertayned that the french kinges purpose was yet agayne to geue him battayle, commaunded the best of the prisoners should be conueyed to the towne of Ayrze in Flaunders: but when the English men had brought them thither, the Capitayne denied that the English men should enter the towne with prisoners of Fraunce, with whom he & his Countrie had peace: but if the frenchmen would desire lodging for their ease, they should be permitted to enter. But the English men in a furie answered, that if you will not suffer vs to keepe our prisoners, we will slay them: then the frenchmen meekely prayed the Capitayne to suffer the English men to enter, and sware to their keepers to be true prisoners, and so they entered, and after were conueyed into England. The Lorde Bobotremy of the house of Bresquy Capitayne generall of Tyrwyn perceyued the discomfiture of the frenche partie, and perceyued how the Erle of Shrewsburie and the Lord Harbert had brought thither great ordinaunce so nere the towne, that neerer it could not be brought, and that in the walles was such batterie that it was not like to continue, yet he manfully defended the Citie and shot Gonnes euery day as he was accustomed and neuer was in dispaire, till the. xliij. daye of the sayde moneth, he saw the king remoue his Campe from Gyngate and layde his Campe on the South side of the towne betweene their rescue and the towne: then when he sawe this, and considered that his succours were put back, and that the towne was sore feebled, and that the kings greatest ordinaunce was bent agaynst the towne, he therefore by the aduise of other Capitaynes sent to the Erle of Shrewsburie and the Lord Harbert a Trumpet, desiring abstinence of warre for a day, they incontinent sent to the king to knowe his pleasure, the king answered that he would not graunt till he knewe the consideration: then the Capitayne sent worde that with safecouduyte he would come and speake with the kings counsaile, which to him was graunted, then he sent certaine Commissioners which offered to deliuer the towne with all the ordinaunce and munitions without anye fraude, so that the townes men that would there dwell might haue life and goodes safe, and that the men of warre might depart with horse and harnesse, for goodes they sayde they had none, and there horse and harnesse was of little valure to so great a prince. After that the king and his counsaile had debated this matter, it was answered the commissioners, that although the king knewe their penurie of bittayle and the daylie mortalitie among them, and that the towne by reason of great batteries was not able long to resist, yet because they asked mercie he would not extend rigor, and graunted their request: so that they deliuered the towne with all the ordinaunce, as they had promised, to the which all they were sworne, and so returned. And the same night the Erle of Shrewsburie entred the towne and had the walles and towres and the Banner of saint George was set in the highest place in signe of victorie, and the Lord Bobotremy with all the garrison departed with horse and harnesse according to the appointment. Then the Lorde George Calbot Erle of Shrewsburie, with three hundred men serched the towne for feare of treason or that any inconuenience might be vnto the king and his people: and after that he sawe all thing sure, he called all the townes men together, and sware them to be true to the king of England. When all this was done, the king

The Citie of  
Tyrwyn  
releued to  
King Henry.

king on the. xliij. day of August entered into the Citie of Tyrwyn at. ix. of the clock before noone with great triumph and honour, his person was appareled in armure guylt and grauen, his garment and barde purple velvet full of borders, & in all places trauesed with braunches in runnyng worke of fyne Golde, the braunches were of hawthorne wrought by Goldsmithes craft, wound with a braunche of Roses, and euey flower, leafe, and Burie, were embossed: after whom folowed his Henrmen with the pierces of armure accustomed. Thus with great glorie this goodly Prince entered and tooke possession of the towne of Tyrwyn, and was receaued at the Cathedrall Church with procession, and there dyned in the Bysshops palace, and at after noone returned to his Campe, leaving in the towne the Erle of Shrewsburie with his retinue. The. xliij. day of August the king remoued agayne to Gyngate, and there it was agreed that the walles, gates, bulwarke and towres of Tyrwyn should be defaced, rased and cast downe: of which conclusion the Emperour sent worde to Saint Omers, and to Ayrze, which being ioyous of that tydings (for Tyrwyn was to them a scourge) sent thither Pyoners with all maner of instruments, and so they and the English Pyoners brake downe the walles, gates, and towres of the foundation, and filled the ditches, and fired the towne, except the Cathedral Church and the Palace, and all the ordinaunce was by the king sent to Ayrze, to be kept to his vse. After this, it was concluded that the king in person should lay his siege to the Citie or towne of Turney: wherfore he set forward three goodly battayles, the first was conduyted by the Erle of Shrewsburie, the seconde battayle the king led himselfe with whome was the Emperour. The rewarde was conduyted by the Lorde Harbert: and so the first night they lay in Campe beside Ayrze, which night bitayle was scant, diuers English men taried in Tyrwyn when the king was past for pillage, and fired certaine houses, on whom came sodainly the french Stradiates, and some they slue, and some they cast into the fire, they that fled, scaped narrowly.

King Henry  
the eight  
entred  
Tyrwyn.

Tyrwyn  
burned.

Wednesday the. viii. day of September the king and his army came to Beathwyn, and there had plentie of all things, and on the morow he with his army passed forward and came to a strait, where was a foorde and all the cariages must needs come downe a stepe hill to the foord and so to the streyt, where as one Wagon scarce alone might passe, and the weather was hot, and the beastes had not dronke all daye: wherfore at the foord the horses would drinke mager their leaders, and so the cariages went not all whole together which was a doubtfull case, but yet by wise order they passed the strait, and so did the armie, and came to a place betweene Caou and Cambline, and there lodged that night in a plaine barrein grounde, and the next day he remoued his Campe, and the forewarde passed a bridge called point Auandien into Flaunders syde, and there lay, the king lay at the other ende of the bridge on Arthoys side, and the rewarde lay in a sayre ground behinde the king.

Saterday the. xvij. day of September, tidynge came to the king how the frenchemen had assembled a great puyssaimce, and would fight with the king, wherfore the king caused his forewarde to remoue farther, and sent the Almaynes to kepe the passage. Then the great ordinaunce passed the bridge of point Auandien, and the king was remoued from thence, and as his tents were



were taking by a noise was made that the enemyes were in sight, which noise was sodainly raised, & Sir William Sandes with seven hundred Englishmen and Strangers, was appointed to keepe the Bridge, and certaine ordinaunce was to him appointed.

When the king and all the carriages were passed, then the Lord Harbert remoued ouer the Bridge, and encamped him behinde the king by a taylor's Hill, when the king was encamped and all thinges in order, there came to him a noble man of flanders called the Lorde Rauesten, which after his humble reverence done, shewed the king that the yong Prince of Castell Charles, and the Ladie Margaret governess of the sayde Prince, most hartly desired him for his pastyme after his long trauaile, to come and repose in his towne of Lille, and to see his brother the Prince, and the Ladies of the Court of Burgoyne, saying that it became not Ladies to visit him in his martiall campe, which to them was terrible. The king gently graunted his request, and then he sent his officers thether to make provision, and appointed the Duke of Buckingham, the Marques Dorset, the Erle of Essex, and the Lorde Lisle, and dyuers other to geue their attendaunce on him, and committed his campe to his counsaile. Then he mounted on a Courser, his apparell and barde were cloth of siluer of small quadrant cuttes, trauesed and edged with cut cloth of golde, and the border set full of red Roses, his armure fettle and set full of Jewelles, the Hayster of his horse Sir Henry Guilforde, and the Hemen folowed as you haue heard before, and the Coursers richely apparayled, and so were many Capitaynes that waited on the king: by the way met the king, the Lorde Rauesten with many noble men, and a myle without the towne, there met with him the Burgesses of Lille, and presented to him the keyes of the towne, saying, that the Emperour their soueraigne Lorde had so commaunded them to do. The king praised their obedience to their soueraigne, and thanked the Emperour and them for so high a present as the keyes of such a towne. Neuerthelesse he had such confidence in them, that he trusted them no lesse then his owne subiectes, and so deliuered the keyes to the Prouost of the towne which was well accompanied: then met the king a great number of Nobles of flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Henawde, which nobly receyued him. After them came the Countie Palatine, or Paulsgrau, one of the electours of the Emperour, with xxx. horses, all his men gorgeously apparayled after the fashion of his Countie, and humbly saluted the king. At the gate of Lille the Capitaine of the towne stood with a garrison in armure well appointed, all the firectes were set on both sides with burning Torches and diuers goodly Pagians pleasant to beholde: thus he passed thoro we the towne with his sworde and marches borne before him, and alighted at the hall dooze with his sworde borne, where met with him the Emperour, the Prince of Castell, and the Ladie Margaret, and humbly saluted him: Then for reuerence of the Emperour, the king caused his sworde to be put by and his Hares to be layde vpon, then was the king and all other Nobles lodged and feasted accordyng to their degrees.

In the towne of Lille was a noise that three Conners with Handgonnes should haue slaine the king: For which rumoz many were attached, but nothing proued, but when this tidynge came to the campe, they were neuer

more till they sawe the king againe, great was the cheere with Bankettes, Playes, Commodies, Maskes, and other pastymes, that was shewed to the king in the Court of Burgoyne, and so in solace he sojourned there Sunday, and Monday, the .xix. day of September: the .xx. day he sent woerde that his armie should remouue toward Tournay, and so they remoued to a place convenient betweene Tournay and Lille, and certaine Capitaynes were appointed to keepe the passage at the Bridge of Auandien.

After that the king had tarped at Lille three dayes, and had well reposed himselfe, he toke his leaue and thanked the Emperour, & the yong Prince and the Ladie Margaret, & all the Ladies, of all his high chere and solace, & about five of the Clock at night, he departed out of Lille, and the noble men brought the king forth and so returned, and then the Capitaine shut the Gates.

When the king was a myle and more out of the towne, he asked where his campe lay: and no man there could tell the way, and guide had they none, the night was darke and mistie: thus the king tarped a long while and wist not whether to go, at last they met with a bittayler comming from the campe, which was their guyde and brought them thether. The maister of the ordinaunce shot diuers pieces of ordinaunce but they were not heard, but in safetie the king with all his company returned.

The .xxj. day of September the king remoued his campe toward Tournay, and lodged within thre myles of the Citie, on a cozne ground by the ryuer. The which night came to the king the Emperour, and the Paulsgrau, which were lodged in riche Tentes, and nobly serued of all byrlandes and thinges necessary. The people about Tournay were with their goodes fled to the Citie, and yet the Citie had no men of warre to defende it, but wyth multitude of Inhabitauntes the Citie was well replenished, the king commaunded Sir Rice and his horsemen to be we one quarter, and the Erle of Essex and his companie another quarter, and the Lorde Maloune and the Lorde Ligny the other quarters: so the .xxij. daye of September these foure Capitaynes at one time were scene openly with banners displayed before the towne, and there made a long stale and returned. The king sent Sartier king of armes, and a Pursuant of armes wyth a Trumpet to summon the City, which declared that the king of England and of Fraunce commaunded them to yeeld to him his Citie and to receaue him as their naturall Lorde, or he would put them and their Citie to sworde, fyre and bloud. To whome they proudey answered, that they tooke no Citie of him to keepe, nor none would they render, with which aunswere he departed. Then they fortified their walles, and made provision for vitaille, corne, wyne, and artillerie, and for all fortifications that might be gotten. And the Citie of it selfe was strong, well walled, and turreted with good Bulwarkes and defences: But when they sawe the king with such a purssauce draw neere their City, they were sore abashed, and called for a generall counsaile: then the Prouost sayde, brethren you knowe how that the king of Englande sent an Heralde to summon vs to render to him this Citie, or else he would put it and vs to the sworde, fyre, and bloud, we answered we would be at defence: nowe he is come in our sight to fulfill the message sent by his Heralde, and nowe is come the time of our defence, and in this matter standeth thre mischiefes, one is our bounden ductie and allegeaunce that we owe to our soueraigne

King Henry  
besiegeth the  
Citie of  
Tournay.



ueraigne Lozde king Loys of Fraunce, the seconde the lyues of vs, our wyues, children and neighbours, the thirde how to defend the finall destruction of this auncient Citie, which is lykely to fall, which Citie was neuer conquered, and now our Citie is whole (your lyues in safetie, your goodes your awne) determine whether you will haue warre or peace. Then the common people cryed all warre, warre, warre, then sayde the Prouost take compassion of wyues and children and of the olde folke, consider if you haue no quick rescue, you can not continue against yonder pupsaunce, although your courages were as good as Hector or Achilles, this the wisest of the citie & I haue considered. Then sodainely was there in the counsaile a vaunter, a botcher which hearing this, called a great number of his affinity & went out of the counsaile, and so out of the gates and set fire of the suburbs on all sides. When the counsaile sawe the mindes of the commons and that their wayes might not be folowed, then they comforted the people and maintained them for their defence. The king rayled his campe and came in array of battayle before Tournay, the Erle of Shrewesburie with the forewarde was a little space on the right hande best with the kings battayle, and the Lozde Harbert with the rereward on the left hande in lyke maner, the daye was sayre and the harnesse glistered and banners waied, that they of the Citie was soze affrayde: thus stode the kinges battailles in arraye before Tournay. Then the king commaunded his great ordinaunce to be caryed in the waye passyng towarde the citie, and so euery thing according to his commaundement was accomplished. Then the king himselfe with a fewe persons rode betweene his ordinaunce and the towne, and rode in great aduerture so neere the walles, that he might beue the walles and the towers berie well: they shot out of there towres peeces of ordinaunce and hurt suche as came wythin their leauell. Then they rong the alarme Bell, which was heard well in the fielde. Then the Cityzens issued oute at the gate by the ryuer and manfully proffered to skirmishe, but they with archers were sone driven back to their gates. The Englishe carriers that came with the hackbushers to take ground, ranne to the gates of Tournay, and toke certayne Wagons with beere and vitayle, and yet the Turnoyes durst not resist, although they were in greater number then the men of cariage. In this skirmishe the horse of the Lozde John Gray brother to the Marques Dorset, which went to defende the Carriours was slayne with a Sonne, and he not hurt. After that the king in person had thus in ieopardie auentured himselfe and beue the towne, he caused immediatly. xxi. peeces of great artillerie to be brought in a plaine fielde before the towne, and when they were charged, they were immediatly shot, and the most part of the stones fell within the Citie, and so they shot dyuers shots one after another.

Then the king with all hys battayle planted his siege on the North part of the Citie: The Erle of Shrewesburie with his battayle warded towarde the southside of the ryuer and there lay that night. The Lozde Harbert with the rereward planted his battayle on the West side of the City, and with great ordinaunce daylie bet the walles and towres of the City. On the morowe beyng the. xxiiij. day: the Lozde Talbot Erle of Shrewesburie accompanied with the noble men of his battayle whose names you haue heard at his first passyng the sea, passed ouer the ryuer of Tournay, and planted his

siege

his siege on the Southside stretching to the East ende of the Citie, and bent his artillerie against the walles of the Citie. Thus was the Citie of Tournay besieged on all partes, and euer in hope of rescue valyauntly defended her selfe.

Howe must I leaue the Kyng at the siege of Tournay, and diuert to thinges done in England in his absence, and declare how the king of Scots invaded the realme of England, and how he was defended and fought withall, and in conclusion slayne the seventh day of this month of September.

When the kyng of Englande was determined in his high court of Parliament to passe the sea, in proper person for the recouerie of his realme of Fraunce, he and his counsaile forgate not the olde pranks of the Scottes which is euer to invade the realme when the king is out of the realme: and also he had knowlege that at Camphere in Zelande the Scottes dayly shipped long speres called Colleyne Clowpites, armour and artillerie, which dealing made his grace and his counsaile to doubt: notwithstanding that the king of Scottes was sworne on the Sacrament to kepe the peace, yet for boyding all doubt, the king appoynted the Lozde Thomas Hawarde Erle of Surrey some to the Lord John Hawarde Duke of Norfolkke and high Tresorer and Marshall of England, to be his Lieutenant in the North partes against the sayd king of Scottes, if he fortun'd to invade (as he did in dede) according to the olde Traytorous custome of his Progenitors, and that the sayde Erle should rayle the powers of the countrie of Cheshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, Westmerland, & Comberland, besides other ayd, to be appointed by the Queene. And when the king should take shipping at Douer he tooke the Erle by the hande, and saide, my Lozde I trust not the Scots, therfore I pray you be not negligent, then sayd the Erle I shal so do my duety, that your grace shall finde me diligent, and to fulfill your will shall be my gladnesse. After the departure of the Kyng, the Queene returned to London, and the Erle of Surrey attended vpon her, and shortly sent for his Gentelmen and Tenantes, which were five hundred able men, which mustered before Sir Thomas Louell knight, the. xxi. day of July, and the. xxij. day he rode through London northward, and came to Dancaster, and there commaunded Syr William Bulmer knight to make haste to the Marches of Scotlande, and to lye in the Castels and Fortresses on the frontiers with two hundred Archers on horsebacke: For the Erle by open tokens dayly perceyued that the Scots entended warre. Then the sayd Syr William with all speede departed and came to the Borders, and the Erle came to Pomfret, the first day of August, & there taried. After that Syr William Bulmer was come to the Borders, one day in August, the Lord Chamberlayne and Wardens of Scotlande with seven or eyght thousand men with banner displayed entered into England, and brent and haried a great praye in Northumberland: that hering, Sir William Bulmer called to hym the Gentelmen of the borders wyth his Archers, and all they were not a thousand men. And when they were nere assembled, they brought themselves into a Broome field, called Whylfield, where y Scots should passe. And as the Scots proudly returned with their pray, the Englishmen brake out, and the Scottes on fote like men defended, but the Archers shotte so wholly together, that they made the Scottes geue place, and five or syr hundred of them were slaine, and foure

The Lozde Thomas Hawarde was appoynted in the kinges absence to provide to withstande the malice of the deceitfull Scottes.

hundred



hundred and more taken Prisoners, & the praye rescued beside a great number of Souldiers that were taken in the countrey, and the Lord Hume, Lord Chamberlayne fled, and his banner taken. This was the first open token of warre, shewed by the Scottes, which called thys iourney the ill Reade.

The Erle of Surrey beyng at Bomfretre, called to him the most part of the Gentlemen of the Countie to him appoynted as is before rehearsed, declaring to them the kinges high commaundement, shewing them, that he beyng there the kinges Lieutenaut must nedes haue ayde and counsaile: Wherefore he swate the most wisest and expert Gentlemen in such causes of the kinges counsaile and his for that time, for the better accomplishing of his charge and purpose, and for to bring euery thing in due order: Fyrst they tooke a determination wyth syr Philip Tilney knyght, Treasurer of the warres, how the charges should be payed, and secondarily wyth syr Nicholas Appharde, Maister of the ordinaunce, for the conueyaunce of the kynges royall ordinaunce, powder, and artillerie to Newcastell, and so forwarde as the case should require, which syr Nicholas by William Blacknall Clerke of the kinges lycerie, sent the sayd ordinaunce and artillerie to Durham before, so that all thinges, concerning that office were in a redinesse. The Erle forgoat not to send to all Lordes Spirituall and Temporal, knightes, Gentlemen, or other which had Tenantes, or were Rulers of Townes or liberties (able to make men) to certefie what number of hable men horsed and harnessed, they were able to make with in an howers warning, and to geue their attendance on hym, and also he layed Postes euery way, which Postes stretched to the Marches of Wales to the counsaile there, by reson whereof, he had knowlege what was done in euery coast.

The Erle was informed by the Lorde Dacres, of the numbring and preparing of men in Scotland, and proclamations sounding to the breach of peace, and yet though he considered that the Road made by the Lord Chamberlayne of Scotland into England, being distrussed by syr William Bulmer as is afore rehearsed, was an open breach of the perpetuall peace: yet the sayd Lorde Dacres auised the Erle for many and wayghtie causes, not to raise or thure the powers of the country, to him appointed, till he might perceiue and openly knowe the subtyll purpose and entent of the Scottes aforesayd, lest if the Scottes had perceyued the Englishmen redie to fight, they would haue desisted of their purpose for that time, tyll the Englishmen were returned to their countries, and then sodaynely to rise agayne.

Then the Erle knowing that the towne of Barwick was strong ynough, sent to the Capitaine of Norham, certefying him that if he thought the Castell in any danger or debilitie, he would put hymselfe in a redinesse to rescue it. If it were besieged, the Capitaine wrote to the Erle, thanking him and prayed God that the king of Scottes would come with his puyssaunce, for he would hope hym praye tyll the time that the King of Englande came out of France to rescue it, which answer reioyced the Erle much.

After the King of Scottes had sent hys defiance to the King of Englande, lying before Tybryn, as you haue heard, he daylye made hys musters, and assembled hys people ouer all his realme, whereof the brute was that they were two hundred. But for a suerty they were an hundred thousand good fighting men at the left, & wyth all his host and power entered in-

to Englande (and threw downe Dyles) the two and twentie daye of August, and planted his siege before the Castell of Norham, & soze abated the walles. The Erle hard tidinges thereof the fine and twentie daye of August.

Then he wrote to all the Gentlemen of the shiers aforesayd, to be with him at Newcastell, the first daye of September next with all their retinewe according to the certificat. On the morrow, he with his fine hundred men came to Porke, and the .xxvj. daye he went towarde Newcastell, and notwithstanding that he had the fowlest daye and night that coulde be, and the wayes so deepe, in so much that his guide was almost drowned before him, yet he neuer ceased, but kept on his iourney to geue example to them that should folow. He being at Durham was aduertised how the king of Scots with his great ordinaunce had rased the walles of the Castell of Norham, and had made thre great assaultes thre dayes together, and the Capitayne valiantly defended him, but he spent vaine so much of his ordinaunce, bowes and arrowes, and other munitions that at the last he lacked, and so was at the sixt day compelled to yeld him simply to y kings mercy. This Castell was thought impregnable, if it had bene well furnished, but the Scots was moze sorrowfull to the Erle then to the Bishop, owner of the same. All that night the winde blew couragiously, wherefore the Erle doubted least, the Lorde Hawarde his sonne great Admirall of England should perish that night on the sea, who promised to land at Newcastell with a thousand men, to accompanie his father, which promise he accomplished.

The Erle the .xxx. day of August came to Newcastell: thither came the Lorde Dacres, Sir William Sumner, sir Harinaduke Constable, and many other substanciall gentlemen, whome he retayned with him as Counsaillers, and there determined that on Sunday next ensuyng, he would take the fielde at Bolton in Glendale, and because manye Souldiours were repayring to him, he left Newcastell to y entent that they that folowed should haue there moze robome, and came to Alnewicke the thirde day of September, and because hys Souldiours were not come, by reason of the foule way he was faine to tarpe there all the fourth day beyng Sunday, which day came to him the Lorde Admirall his sonne, with a companie of balaunt Captaynes and able Souldiours and Marinars, which all came from the Sea, the comynng of him much reioyced his father, for he was very wyse, hardy, and of great credence and experience. Then the Erle and his Counsaile with great deliberation appoynted his battayles in order with winges and wyth Ryders necessary.

First, of the forewarde was Capitaine the Lorde Haward, Admirall of England, with such as came from the sea, and with him Sir Nicholas Appharde, sir Stephen Bull, sir Henry Shereburne, sir William Sidney, sir Edward Schyngham, the Lorde Clifford, the Lorde Conyers, the Lorde Latimer, the Lorde Scrope of Upsaile, the Lorde Egle, the Lord Comley, sir William Bulmer with the power of the Bishopricke of Durham, sir William Gascoyne, sir Christopher Warde, sir John Eueryngham, sir Thomas Metham, sir Water Griffith, and many other.

Of the wing on the right hande of the forewarde, was Capitaine Sir Edmond Haward knight Marshall of the hoste, and with him Bryan Tun-

The order of  
the battaile  
made by the  
Erle of  
Surrey in  
the absence  
of King Hen-  
rie agaynst  
James King  
of Scottes.



stall, Raufe Brearton, John Laurence, Richard Bolde Esquieres, and syz John Bothe, sir Thomas Butler knightes, Richard Donne, John Bygod, Thomas Fitzwilliam, John Claruys, Bryan Stapleton, Robert Warcop, Richard Cholmeley, with the men of Hull, and the kings tenauntes of Hat-fielde, and other.

Of the wing of the left hande, was Capitaine, sir Harmaduke Constable with his sonnes, and kinnemen, sir William Percy, and of Lancashire a thousand men.

Of the rereward was Capitain the Erle of Surrey himselfe, and with him the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, sir Philip Cylney, sir George Darcy, syz Thomas Barkebey, sir John Koclyffe, sir Christopher Pikerpyng, Richarde Tempest, sir John Stanley with the Bishop of Elyes seruauntes, sir Brian Stapulton, Lionell Percy, with the Abbot of Whitbyes tenauntes, Christopher Clapham, sir William Gascoine the yonger, sir Guy Daboney, maister Magnus, maister Dalbyes seruauntes, sir John Normauile, the Citizens of Pozke, sir Ninian Markanville, sir John Willoughby with other.

Of the wing on the right hande in the rerewarde was Capitaine, the Lorde Dacres with his power.

On the left hande wing in the rerewarde, was sir Edward Stanley knight, with the residue of the power of y County Palantine & of Lancaster.

And when all men were appoynted, and knewe what to do: The Erle and his Counsaile concluded and determined among other thinges, to sende Rouge Crosse, Pur suaunt of armes with a Trompet to the King of Scots, with certaine instructions, and willed him to shewe the sayd king, that where he contrary to his othe and league, and bnnaturally agaynst all reason and conscience hath entered and inuaded this his brothers Realme of England, and done great hurt to the same, in castyng downe Castelles, Towers, and houses, brennyng, spolyng and destroyng the same, and cruelly murthe-ryng the king of Englande his brothers subiectes. Wherefore he the sayde Erle will be redie to trie the rightfulnessse of the matter with the king in bat-taile by fryday next comyng at the farthest, if he of his noble courage will geue him taryng, and abode: And the same the sayd Erle promisseth as he is true knight to God, and the king of England his maister. And before Rouge Crosse should depart with the sayde instructions, the sayde Lorde Admirall gaue him in credence to shewe the sayde king of his comyng, and part of his companie on the sea with him: and that he had sought the Scottishe nauye then beyng on the sea, but he coulde not meete with them, because they were fled into Fraunce, by the coast of Irelande. And in asmuch as the sayde King had dyuers and manye times caused the sayde Lorde, to bee called at dayes of truce, to make redresse for Andrewe Barton, a Pyrate of the Sea, long before that banquished by the same Lorde Admirall, hee was nowe come in his awne proper person to be in the Vauntgarde of the field, to iustifie the death of the sayde Andrewe, agaynst him and all his people, and woulde see what coulde be sayde to his charge the sayde day, and that he nor none of his company should take no Scottishe noble man prisoner, nor any other, but they should die if they came in his daunger, onlesse it were the kinges awne person, for hee sayde he trusted to none other curtesy at the handes of the Scottes.

And

And in this maner he should finde him in the vauntgard of the fielde, by the grace of God, and Saint George, as he was a true knight. Yet before the departyng of Rouge Crosse with the saide instructions and credence, it was thought by the Erle and his Counsaile, that the sayd king would faine and imagine some other message, to send an Herault of his with the same, on-ly to view, and ouersee the maner and order of the kinges royall army, ordi-nance and artillarie, then beyng with the Erle, whereby might haue ensued great daunger to the same, and for the eschuyng thereof, he had in comman-dement, that if any such message were sent, not to bring any person, comyng therewith, within thre or two mile of the fielde at the nyghest, where the said Erle would come, and here what he would say: And thus departed Rouge Crosse with his Trompet apparayled in his Cote of armes.

¶ good pollicie.

On Monday the fift day of September, the Erle tooke his field at Bol-ton in Glendale, as he had appoynted, where all the noble men and Gentle-men met hym with their retinues, to the number of. xxvj. M. men, and about midnight next ensuyng, came the Trompet, which went to Rouge Crosse, and declared howe the king of Scottes, after the message done to him by Rouge Crosse accordyng to his instructions, the sayd king detayned him, and sent one Jlay a Herault of his with him vnto the Erle, to declare to hym the sayde kinges pleasure, to whome the Erle sent Pozke Herault at armes, to accompany the sayde Jlay, at a Willage called Wylo, two myles from the fielde, vntill the comyng thether of the sayd Erle the next morow.

The sirt day of September, early in the moornyng, the Erle accompa-nied with the most part of the Lordes, knightes and Gentlemen of the field, euery man haupyng with him but one man to holde his horse, and so the sayde Herault met with the Erle, and with blunt reuerence declared to him that he was come from his mayster the king of Scottes which would knowe whe-ther the Erle sent any such message by Rouge Crosse, the Erle iustified the same, sayng farther, that Rouge Crosse had the same message of him in writyng signed with his awne hande, wherevnto the sayd Jlay sayde. As to the abidyng for battaile betwene that and fryday, then next folcwoyng, the king his maister bade him shewe to the Erle, that he was as welcome as any noble man of England vnto the same king, and that if he had bene at home in his towne of Edenbourgh, there receiuyng such a message from the sayde Erle, he would gladly haue come and fulfilled the sayde Erles desire: And the Herault assured the Erle on the king his maisters behalfe, that the same king would abide him battail at the day prefixed, whereof the sayd Erle was right ioyous, and much praysed the honourable agreement of the sayd royall king, & esteemed the same to procede of an high and nob'e courage, promisyng the Herault that he and good suretie with him, should be bound in ten thou-sand pound sterlyng to kepe the sayde day appoynted, so that the king would find an Erle of his, and thereto a good surety with him to be bound in lyke summe for the perfozance of the same: And furthermore, the Erle bad the Herault to saye to his Mayster, that if he for his part kept not his appoynt-ment, then he was content, that the Scottes should Bassull him, which is a great reproche among the Scottes, and is bled when a man is openly per-jured, & then they make of him an Image painted reuerfed, with his heeles vppwarde, with his name, wonderpyng, cryng, and blowyng out of him wyth

¶ Bassallyng what it is.

¶ S l l . i j .

horney,



horne, in the most despitefull maner they can, in token that he is woorthie to be exiled the companie of all good creatures.

Then Flay deliuered to the Erle a little Cedule, written with the kings secretaries hande bnsigned, the tenor whereof foloweth.

As to the causes alleged of our comming into Englande, agayne our bande and promise (as is alleged) thereto we aunswere, our brother was bounde also farre to vs as we to him. And when we sware laste before his Ambassade, in presence of our counsaile, we expressed specially in our othe, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else, we swaie our brother brake first to vs, & sithe his breke, we haue requyred dyuers times him to amend, and lately we warned our brother as he did not vs, or he brake, & this we take for our quarell, and with Gods grace shall defende the same at your affixed time, which with Gods grace we shall abide.

And for as much as the king kept still Rouge Crosse with him, who was not yet returned, the same Erle caused the sayde Flay to be in the keeping of Sir Hunfrey Lytle and Pozke Heralde, in the same Wyllage, vntill the time that a seruaunt of the sayde Flay might ryde in all haste to the King of Scottes, for the deliuering of the sayde Rouge Crosse. Then the Erle ioyous of the kings aunswere, returned to his Campe, and set forwarde five mile, to a place called Woller Hawgh, in such order of battayle, as euen then he should haue fought, and there lodged for that night, three little miles from the king of Scottes, and betwene the king and him was a goodly and large corne field, called Wylfelde, which was a conuenient and fayre ground for two hostes to fight on, there euery hoste might perceyue other.

The morowe beyng Wednesday, the vij. day of that Month, the king of Scots caused his great ordinance to be shot at the English army, but it hurt neither man nor beast. When the king of Scots saw y<sup>e</sup> Flay was detayned, he sent away Rouge Crosse to the Erle, by whom, and other of the borderers he was aduertised y<sup>e</sup> the king lay vpon the side of a high mountaine, called Floddon on the edge of Cheuyot, where was but one narrow field for any man to assend by the sayd hill to him, & at the fote of the hill lay all his ordinance. On the one side of his armie was a great Harrih, and compassed with the hills of Cheuyot, so that he lay so strong to be approached of any side: except the English men would haue desperatly runne on his ordinance, which matter well considered by the Erle and his sonne, and other of the counsaile there they called to them Rouge Crosse, and sent him the next daye to the king of Scottes, wylling him to shewe the king, that the sayde Erle, with dyuers of the kings nobles and subiectes had auanced themselves to gene battaile to his grace, trusting that according to his promise, he would auance himselfe and his armie to ioyne the battayle, which as yet he hath not done. Wherefore he desired the king that he might haue knowlege by noone that dare, whether he of his noble courage would descend the hill where he laye, and to gene battayle or not: and if he say that I shall not knowe his intent, or will, say that he will keepe the ground: then shew him that he perceyueith well that that place is no indifferent grounde for two armies to fight, and therefore I will looke for no more of his delayes. The same day beyng our Ladie daye the Natinitie, Rouge Crosse departed to the king of Scottes, which would not heare him speake, but sent one of his seruitours to heare his message.

message. Which seruitour after he had disclosed the same to the king, made aunswere, that it becomed not an Erle, after that maner to handle a king, and that he would vse no sorcerie, nor had no trust of any ground.

You haue heard before how Flay the Scottish Heralde was returned for Rouge Crosse, and as sone as Rouge Crosse was returned, he was discharged, but he tarped with Pozke an English Heralde making good chere, and was not returned that morning that Rouge Crosse came on his message, wherefore Rouge Crosse and his Trompet were detayned by the seruaunt of Flay, which the day before went for Rouge Crosse, assuryng them that if Flay came not home before noone, that he was not lyuing, and then they should haue their heades striken off, then Rouge Crosse offered that his seruaunt should go for Flay, but it would not be accepted, but as hap was Flay came home before noone, and shewed of his gentle entertainment, and then Rouge Crosse was deliuered, and came to the English armie, and made report as you haue heard.

Then the English men remooued their field on the water of Tyll, and so forth ouer many hilles and streytes, marching towarde the Scottes on another side, and in their sight the Scottes burned certayne pooze Villages on the other side of the Harithe.

The English men alwayes leaning the Scottish armie on the left hande, tooke their field vnder a wood side, called Barmer wood, two myle from the Scottes, and betwene the two armies was the ryuer of Tyll, and there was a little hill that saued the English men from the Sonnehot, on which hill the Lorde Admirall perfetely sawe and discovered them all.

In the euening of the same day it was concluded betwene the Erle and his counsaile, and most parte of the armie thereto agreed, that the Wantgard with the ordynance should passe ouer agayne to the water of Tyll, at a bridge called Twysell bridge the .ix. day of September, and the rereward to passe ouer at Wyllford, putting themselves as nigh as they could betwene the Scottes and Scotlande, and so to gene battayle to the Scottes on the hyl, called Floddon hyl. Friday the sayde ninth day, the Lorde Admirall, lyke a valyaunt knight passed ouer Twysell bridge wyth the Wantgarde, marchyng towarde his enimies, lyke diligence was made by the Erle for passyng ouer at Wyllford with the rereward, sayng to his Capitaines, now good felowes, doe lyke English men this daye, take my part lyke men, which part is the kings part, and I wiste you would not, I will in my axne person fight with the king of Scottes, rather to die honorably by his crueltie, then to lyue in shame, or that any reproch should be layd to me hereafter. To whome they aunswered, that they would serue the king and him truely that day. The English armie that day had no bitayle and were fasting, and two dayes afore they had onely dronke water, and could scarce get any other sustenance for money, and yet they kept array on horseback from fiue of the clock in the morning, till foure of the clock at after noone, and were alwayes in the sight of the Scottes.

The king of Scottes perceyuing the Englishmen, marching toward Scotland, thought that they would haue entered into Scotland, and burne and forray the plentiful countrey called the Marche, for so was he made beleue by an Englishman named Gyles Musgraue which was familiar



with the king of Scottes, and did it for a pollicie to cause him to come downe from the hill: wherfore the sayd king caused his Tentcs to be removed to an other hill in great hast lest the Englishmen should haue taken the same hill: And at their departing they set fyre on their litter & other fylthy ordure according to their custome, and of the fyre and smolther did rise such a smoke so thicke and so darke, that y one host could not perceiue the other, for the wind did driue the smoke betwene the two armyes, the Scottes euer keeping the heighth of the hill on the edge of the Cheuiot, and the Englishmen passed forward styll in the lowe ground, and euer in the couert of the smoke, inso-much that both the hostes were very nere together, wythin the space of a quarter of a myle, before one of them could perceiue another for the smoke. Then, when the Englishmen had passed a litle brooke, called Sandpfforde, which is but a mans step ouer, and that the smoke was passed, and the ayre sayre and clere, eche armie might playnely see one another at hand. Then the Lord Admirall perceyued foure great battayles of the Scottes all on foote with long speres lyke moozish pikes: which Scots furnished them warlike, and bent them to the foreward, which was conducted by the Lord Admirall, which perceyuing that, sent to his father the Erle of Surrey hys Agnus dei that honged at his brest that in all hast he would ioyne battaile, euen with the brunt or brest of the vantgarde: for the forewarde alone was not able to encounter the whole battaile of the Scottes, the Erle perceyuing well the sayyng of his sonne, and seing the Scottes readye to disceude the hill aduansed himselfe and hys people forward, and brought them egall in grounde with the forewarde on the left hande, euen at the brunt or brest of the same at the foote of the hill called Bramston, the Englishe armie stretched East and West, and their backes North, and the Scottes in the South before them on the foresayd hill called Bramstone. Then out brast the ordinaunce on both sides with fire, flame, and hideous noyse, and the maister Gonner of the Englishe part slew the maister Gonner of Scotlande, and beate all his men from their ordinaunce, so that the Scotishe ordinaunce did no harme to the Englishmen, but the Englishmens artillery shot into the mydst of the kings battaile and slew many persones, which seing, the king of Scottes and hys noble men, made the moze hast to come to ioyning, & so all the foure battayles in manner disceuded the hill at once. And after that the shot was done, which they defended with Daushes, they came to handstrokes, and were encountred senerally as you shall here.

First on the English side next the West, was sir Edmond Haward knight Marshal of the host chiefe Capitain of a wing of the right hand of our vantgarde, and was encountred with the Chamberlayne of Scotlande wyth his battaile of speres on foote, to the number of .x. M. at the least, which fought valyantly, so that they by force caused the litle wing to flye, and the same Syr Edmond thre times felled to the ground, and left alone, saving his standard bearer, & two of his seruants, to whom came John Heron bastard sore hurt, sayng there was neuer noble mans son so like to be lost as you be this day, for all my hurtes I shall here liue and dye with you, and there the saide Sir Edmond Haward was in a great daunger and ioperdy of his life, & hardely escaped, and yet as he was going to the body of the Wantgard he met with Dauid Hume, and slew him his owne hande, and so came to the Wantgard.

Secondly,

Secondly, Eastward from the sayde battaile was the Lozde Admirall with the Vantgarde, with whome encountred the Erles of Crafforde and Mountroos, accompanied with many Lordes and knightes and Gentelmen all with speres on foote, but the Lozde Admirall and his company acoupted themselves so well, and that with pure fighting, that they brought to ground a great number, and both the Erles slaine.

Thirdly, Eastward from the Lozde Admirall was the Erle of Surrey, Capitayne generall, to whose standard the kyng of Scottes in his owne person marched, being accompanied with many Bischoppes, Erles, Barons, knightes and Gentelmen of the realme, with a great number of Commons, all chosen men with speres on foote, which were the most assuredly harnessed that hath bene sene, and that the tallest and goodliest personages withal, and he aboard the most daungerous shot of arrowes, which sore them noyed, and yet except it hit them in some bare place it did them no hurt. After the shotte ended, the battaile was cruell, none spared other, & the king himselfe fought valiantly. What a noble and triumphant courage was this for a king to fight in a battail as a meane souldier: but what auayled his strong harnesse, the puyssaunce of his mightie Champions with whome he disceuded the hill, in whome he so much trusted that with his strong people and great number of men, he was able as he thought to haue banquished that daye the greatest Prince of the world, if he had bene there as the Erle of Surrey was, or else he thought to do such an high enterprize himselfe in his person, that he should surmount the enterprizes of all other Princes: but howsoever it happened God gaue the stroke, and he was no more regarded then a poore Sculdour, for all went one way. So that of his awne battaile none escaped, but Sir Wylliam Scot knight his Chauncelour, and Syr John Forman knight, his Sergeaunt Porter, which were taken prisoners, and with great difficultie saued. This may be a great mirrour to all Princes, how that they aduenture themselves to such a battaile.

Fourthly, Eastward was Syr Edward Stanley knight, Capitayne of the left wyng with the sayde Erle, which clame by to the top of the hill called Bramston, or the Scottes wiste, and with him encountered the Erles of Huntley, Lennour and Arguile, with a great number of Scottes, which were sore fought withal, which perceyuing the Erle of Huntly toke a horse and saued himselfe, if he had taried he had bene lykely to haue gene with his companie: such as fled, the sayde Sir Edward and his people folowed them ouer the same ground, where the Erles battaile first ioyned, & found there the Scottes, which were by the Erles battaile slayne before, and sodainely left the chase and fell a spoyling, and spoyled the king of Scottes, and many that were slayne in his battaile, but they knewe him not, and found a crosse and certayne things of his, by reason whereof some sayde that he was slayne by that wyng, which could not be true, for the prisoners of Scotland testified that the Kinges battaile fought onely with the Erles battayles, but for a truthe this wyng did verely valyantly: wherfore it was thought that the sayde Syr Edward might that day not haue bene missed.

All these foure battayles in maner fought at one time, and were determined in effect, little in distance of the beginning and ending of anye of them one before the other, sayng that Syr Edward Stanley, which was the last that

The king of  
of Scottes  
slaine, and all  
his Nobles  
taken or  
slaine.



that fought, for he came by to the top of the hill, and there fought with the Scottes valiantly, and chased them dobone the hill ouer that place, where the kings battayle ioynd. Besyde these foure battayles of the Scottes were two other battayls, which neuer came to hand strokes.

The victorie at Flodden field against the Scottes.

Thus through the power of God on Fridaye, beyng the ix. daye of September, in the yere of our Lorde. 1513. was James the fourth king of Scottes slayne at Bramstone (chiefely by the power of the Erle of Surrey, Lieutenaunt for king Henry the eyght, King of England, which then lay at the siege before Tournay) and with the sayde king were slayne.

The Archbishop of saint Androwes, The Lord Marwell, and hys the kings Bastard sonne. The Lord Marwell, and hys foure brethren.

The Bysshop of the Isles. The Abbot of Inchaffrey. The Abbot of Kylwenny. The Erles. The Erle Mountrooz. The Erle of Crafford. The Erle of Arguyle. The Erle of Lennox. The Erle of Glencarre. The Erle of Catnes. The Erle of Castelles. The Erle of Bothwell. The Erle Arrell Constable of Scotland.

The Lord Daulney. The Lord Seympyll. The Lord Borthick. The Lord Bogony. The Lord Arskyll. The Lord Blakkater. The Lord Cowyn.

The Erle Addill. The Erle Athel. The Erle Morton. The Lordes. The Lord Louet. The Lord Forbos. The Lord Greston. The Lord Roos. The Lordes Jnderby. The Lordes Sentclere.

Knights and gentlemen. Sir John Dowglaste. Cutbert Home Lord of Fastcastell. Sir Alexander Seton. Sir Dauy Home. Maister John Graunt. Sir Dunkyn Caulfelde. Sir Saunder Lowder. Sir George Lowder. Maister Marshall. Maister Key. Maister Elliot. Maister Catwell Clark of the Chauncerie. The Deane of Ellester. Mack, bene.

Mack, Clene, and many other Gentlemen, which be vnknotone, because no officer of armes of Scotlande would come to make serch for them: and if the day had bene longer by three houres, (for it was foure of the clock at after noone or the battayles ioynd) or that the English men had had bitayles so that they might haue bidden still together, they had not alonely made the greatest distresse of Scots by death and taking, that the lyke hath not bene sene in one daye: but also within a little while might haue put the realme of Scotlande in such a miserie & trouble, that for ever they shoulde haue bene ware howe to enter the realme of Englande, and specially the king being absent: for the English men wanted no good will, for of the Scottes they slue twelue thousand at the least of the best gentlemen and flower of Scotlande, and of the English syde were slayne and taken not fiftene hundred men, as it appered by the booke of warres when the souldiours were payde. Thus the Erle of Surrey accompli-

shed

shed his promise at his daye prefixed with the king of Scottes, to hys great fame and honoz.

After that the field was fought and the Scottes fled, many English men folowed them into Scotland, & were so farre that they wist not which way to returne, and so were taken prisoners of the Scottes that were in the two battailles that fled first and neuer fought. Also diuers were taken by the Lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande, which fought with the wyng of sir Edmond Haward, and were caried with him to the number of thre scoze. Of the Scottes that fled, some passed ouer the water of Tweede at Caude- streme foorde, and other by the drie marches, during the time of the fight, and the night after, many men lost their hozses, and such stufte as they left in their tents and pavilions by the robbers of Tyndale and Tyndale.

The Lorde Dacre with his companie stode still all daye unfough- ten withall. When the field was done and the scout watch brought worde that there was no more appearaunce of the Scottes, but all were returned. The Erle thanked God with humble hart, and called to him certayne Lords and other Gentlemen and them made knights, as syr Edmond Haward his sonne, and the Lorde Scrope, syr Wylliam Percy and many other. Then the Erle and the Lorde Admirall departed to Barmer wood, and apporn- ted syr Phylip Tylney knight with the companie of the Lorde Admirall and the companie of the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, the Lorde Latimer, olde syr Harmaduke Constable, syr Wylliam Percy, Sir Nicholas Applyard, and their companies, and a fewe other to keepe the place where the field was, for sauyng of the English ordynance, and the ordynance that was taken from the Scottes, which was five great Curtalles, two great Culuerings, foure Sacres, and sixe Serpentyne, as saye ordynance as hath bene sene, beside other small peeces. Well knowne it was by them that fought, and also reported by the prisoners of Scotlande, that their king was taken or slayne, but his body was not founde till the next daye, because all the meane people as well Scottes as English were stripped out of their apparell as they laye on the field, yet at the last he was found by the Lorde Dacres, who knew him well by his priue tokens, in that same place where the battaille of the Erle of Surrey and his first ioynd together.

This king had diuers deadly woundes, and in especiall one with an arrowe, and another with a Bill as appered when he was naked. After that the bodie of the king of Scottes was founde and brought to Barwicke, the Erle shewed it to syr Wylliam Scot hys Chaunceller, and syr John For- man his Sergeant Porter, which knewe him at the first sight, and made great lamentation. Then was the body bowelled, embawmed and sered, and secretly amongst other stufte conueyed to Newcastell. But the same daye the Lorde Admirall came to the field, and there some Scottes appeered on an hill: but Wylliam Blackenall which was the chiefe doer and ruler of all the ordynance shot such a peale, that the Scottes fled, or else the Lorde Admy- rall had bene in great leopardie: and then all the ordynance was brought in safetie to the Castell of Cytell, and there remayned for a time. After thys noble victorie the Erle wrote first to the Queene (which had raysed a great powder to resist the sayde king of Scottes) of the wyngnyng of the battayle, for then the body of the king of Scottes was not founde, and she yet beyng at

at



at the towne of Buckyngham, had worde the next daye after that the king of Scottes was slayne, and a part of his coate armure to her sent, for which victorie he thanked God, and so the Erle after that the North part was set in a quietnesse, returned to the Queene with the dead body of the Scottische king, and brought it to Richemond.

Now let vs retourne to the King of Englande lying before Tournay which the .xxv. daye of September receyued the Gauntelet and letters of the Erle of Surrey, and knew all the dealing of both parties. Then he thanked God and highly prayesed the Erle and the Lozde Admirall and his sonne, and all the Gentlemen and commons that were at that valiaunt enterprize: Howbeit, the king had a secret letter that the Cheshire men fled from sir Edmond Howard, which letter caused great hart burning and many woords, but the king thankfully accepted al thing, and would no man to be dysprayed. So on the Wundaye at night the six and twentie daye of September, the Lozde Harbert and the Erle of Shrewesburie made great fiers in their armies in token of victorie & triumph: and on Tuesday the .xxvij. day, the Tent of cloth of Golde was set vp, and the kings Chapel sang masse, & after that Te Deum, and then the Bishop of Rochester made a Sermond and shewed the death of the king of Scots and much lamented the yll death and periuiric of him.

The king of England lying thus before Tournay, caused his great ordinaunce to be planted rounde about the Citie, and diuers trenches were caste and rampyers made, and the Lozde Lyffe, and the Lozde Wyloughby were appoynted to maintaine the ordinaunce, with their bendes, and the Erle of Kent was lodged before the Gate called port Valencien, so that the Citizens could not issue out, nor no ayde could come in. The ordinaunce dayly bet the gates, towers, and Walles, which made a great batterie: and a fewe Englishmen assaulted the port coquerell, but they were to fewe in number, and if they had bene mo in number, they had taken the towne as the Tournasyns confessed after. The Citizens of Tournay considering their estate, came together to counsaile, and there the Prouost sayd, friendes and brethren of this noble Citie, I can not to much prayse your truth and fidelitie to your soueraigne Lozde the King of Fraunce, considering howe manfully you haue defended this Citie sith the beginnyng of this siege, but alas, although it be written on the Gates grauen in stone, Jammes ton ne a perdu ton pucelage, that is to say, thou hast neuer lost thy maydenhed: yet if this Citie had not bene well furnished, and euer at the day appoynted sure of rescue, it could not haue continued: now you see that rescue faileth, our Gates be rased, our Towers beaten downe, our chiefe Tower lyke to fall, so that if this perillous siege continue, or else if our enemies assault vs, we be not able to defend vs: wherefore now, all these thinges considered, I would knowe whether ydu wyll treat with the king of England or abyde the chaunce. Then they which at the last counsaile cryed warre, warre, now cryed peace peace, yet all were not agreed: Then one wise man sayde, sirs if the towne be assaulted once againe with a great number, surely it will be taken: you sawe the experience at the last assault, and then consider if it be taken by force who is there that can say he is sure of his lyfe: but by entreatie, the king of England is so mercifull, that he may fortune to saue both life and goodes. Then finally all agreed to treat. Then the Prouost sent to the king a Trompet, desiring safe

conduyte

conduyte for him, and certaine other to come & to speake with him, which request was to him graunted. Then the Prouost of the City accompanied with a .xj. with him of the best of the City, came to the army and spake with the lords of the counsaile, and after they were brought to the kings presence, the Prouost kneeled downe and all his companie, and sayde: Right high and mighty Prince, although the Citie of Tournay is strong, well walled, well replenished with people, sittynges, artillery, yea and the people in feare and dreade of nothing, yet we knowe that against your great puyssaunce it can not continue long, although it were ten tymes as strong as it is, wherefore we knowyng by report your honour, your wisdom, your iustice, and noble heart, are content to become your subiectes and bassals, so that we may haue and enioy our olde lawes, customes, liberties, and franchises, vnder you as we haue before this done vnder other Princes. Then the king answered, we haue well heard your petition, we will common with our Counsaile, and make you answer: and when he had communed with his counsaile, he answered sayng: Sirs, he that aseth mercie of vs shall not be denyed, seynge you come to treat, we remit you to our Counsaile. Then they went into the Tent of counsaile, and there the Tournasyns fell at a poynt, and in conclusion, they yelded the Citie, and ten thousand pound sterlyng for the redemption of their libertyes, and so departed to the Citie, making relation of the king and his noble courage. On Thursday the .xxix. day of September, the king was in his riche Tent of cloth of Golde vnder his cloth of estate, to whome came the Citizens of the Citie, & were sworne to him & became his subiects. Then the king appoynted the Lord Lisle, the Lord Burgayny, the Lord Willoughby to take possession, which with six thousande men entered the Citie, and tooke the Market place and the walles, and serched the houses for feare of treason: and then maister Thomas Wosey the kinges Almoner called before him all the Citizens yong and old, & sware them to the king of England, the number wherof was foure scoze M. Thus the king of England by conquest came to the possession of the Citie of Tournay: On Sunday the second day of October, the king entered the Citie of Tournay at Porte Fontaine, and foure of the chiefe of the Citie ouer him bare a Canapie with al the armes of England, euery person was in his best apparell, the Ladyes and Gentlewomen lay in the windowes beholding the king and his nobilitie, euery Citizen had in his hand a staffe Torche, the king himselfe was richly apparayled in riche armure on a barded courser: thus the king with his nobilitie all richly apparayled with his sworde borne before him, his Herauldes and sergeaunts of armes with Trumpettes and Minstrallsie entered the Citie, and came to our Lady Church, and there Te Deum was song. Then the king called to his presence, Edward Guildford, William Fitzwilliam, John Dauncy, William Ciler, John Sharpe, William Huse, John Saunge, Christopher Garnish, and diuers other valiant Esquiers, & gaue to them the order of Knighthood, and then went to his lodging, & at after noone he came to the Market place, where was prepared for him a place: then he caused a Proclamation to be made in his name, king of England & of Fraunce, that no man should grieue the Citizens, during which Proclamation the Tournasyns scarce looked by, nor shewed once to him any amiable countenance which was much marked: the Citie finished, the king departed to his campe leauing the citie in safe keeping.

This

The Citie of  
Tournay  
yelded to the  
king.



This wedde the king rode to see the Castell of Morton, and there his grate took great pleasure. The king remembryng the great cheere that the pynce of Castell, and the Ladie Margaret had made him at Lille, which was but vii. mile English from Tournay, desyred the sayd pynce and Ladie with diuers other to come to him to his Citie of Tournay, and made preparation for the same, and appoynted a iustes whereof he himselfe would be one, and caused a Tilt to be made in the Market place. While these thinges were preparyng, the king and his Counsaile ordered for the sure keepyng of the Citie of Tournay, and there ordeyned sir Edward Bowynys knight of the order of the Garter, to be his Lieutenant with foure hundred archers, with Capitaines, horsemen, and artillary conuenient, and to haue ayde of Henawde and other the kinges friendes adioyning, and of his garde he left there foure hundred Archers, and ordinance was appoynted for the defence of the same. Monday the .xj. day of October, the king without the towne receyued the Prince of Castell, the Ladie Margaret and diuers other Nobles of theyr Countries, and them brought into Tournay with great triumph. The noise went that the Lozde Lille made request of mariage to the Ladie Margaret Duchesse of Sauoy, & daughter to the Emperour Maximilian, which befoze that tyme was departed from the king with many riche giftes & money bestowed, but whether they proffered mariage or not, he fauored him highly: ther the pynce and Duchesse soiozned with great solace by the space of ten dayes. Duryng which tyme, the .xxviii. day of October, began the iustes, the king and the Lozde Lille answered all conuners.

The Ladie Margaret receyued and welcomed by king Henry the cyght into Tournay.

A Jutes.

The twenty day of October, the Prince of Castell and the Lady Margaret with manye great gyftes to them giuen returned to Lyle with all their trayne, After that the king was enformed that all directions were taken and put in order for the sure keping of the Citie of Tournay, he tooke the same to sir Edward Bowynys knight which baliountly kept it in good order and iustice.

The king returned into England.

The king and his counsaile befoze this had considered that the Frenchmen would geue them no battail, and that winter approched, which was no tyme to lie at siege at other townes, concluded to kepe Tournay safely, and to breake by his campe for that Winter, and to begin againe warre in the spring of the yere: this was a full conclusion taken by the king and his counsaile, and so the king and all his people (except such as were appoynted to be with sir Edward Bowynys) departed out of Tournay the .xx. day of September: and the king and the noble men made such speede, that shortly they came to Calice, and thether came the Lord Admirall, whom the king hartly thanked of his paynes, and there every man was payed of his wages and conduyte money, and ships prepared for the passage, and so the .xxiii. day of September the king with a priuy company tooke ship, and the same day landed at Douer, and shortly after all his people folowed, then he with a small companie rode to Richemonde in post to the Queene, where was such a louyng meetyng that every creature reioysed. This season began a great mortalitie in London and other places, where much people dyed: All this winter the kinges nauie kept the seas, and robbed and spoyled the Frenchmen on their coastes.

A great death or mortalitye in England.

When the king was thus returned he forgat not the good seruiice that many

many a Gentleman did at the battaile of Bramston, wherefoze he wrote to them his louyng letters, with such thankes and fauourable words, that euery man thought himselfe well rewarded. And on the day of the Purification of our Ladie at Lambeth, the king created the Erle of Surrey Duke of Norffolke, with an augmentation of the armes of Scotland, and sir Charles Brandon Vicont Lille, he created Duke of Suffolke, and the Lozde Haward high Admiral he created Erle of Surrey, & sir Charles Sommerset Lozde Harbert, his chiefe Chamberleyn, he created Erle of Worcester: and after that at another day he made sir Edward Stanley for his good seruice, Lozde Montaygle, and in Marche folowyng was mayster Thomas Wolsey the kinges Almoner consecrate Bishop of Lyncolne, which thereto was named on Newyeres day befoze: this man was bozne at Ipswich, and was a good Philosopher, very eloquent and full of wit, but in pryde, couetousnesse, and ambition, he excelled all other as you shall heere hereafter.

The description of Thomas Wolsey, which afterwarde was made Cardinall.

In the tyme of king Henry the seventh, father to king Henry the eight, It was concluded betwene the sayd king, and king Philip of Castell, sonne to Maximilian the Emperour, and king of Castell and his wife, that Charles his eldest sonne shoulde marry the Ladie Mary daughter to the king of England with a dowry to her appointed, at which time they were both yong: Howe at the kinges returne from Tournay, he made preparation to sende the sayd Ladie his sister to the Prince of Castell. But the Counsaile of flanders answered, that concernyng her selfe they would gladly receyue to be espoused to their Prince, for she was then one of the sayrest Ladyes of the world: but as concernyng the articles of her dower, they could not fulfyll without the assent of the king of Arragon and the realme of Castell (which as was sayde, minded to haue him maryed in Spaine.) The king like a louyng brother would not send his sister wildely without a dower assured, toke the first agreement betwene the king her father, and king Philip his father to be of none effect, sith the Spanyardes would not confirme the same, and the cause was, by reason that king Philip was not naturally bozne to be their king, but was king in the right of his wife, and so they were not bounde to his agreements made without their consent. So thus the king of England reteyned still his syster and all the preparation that he had done for her conueyaunce, which was very costly.

This season the Lady Margaret Queene of Scottes late wife to kyng James the fourth slayne at Bramstone, and sister to the kyng, wrote to the king to haue compassion of her and his two Nephewes her sonnes, for she was in feare lest he would haue invaded her realme. The king moued with brotherly compassion, sent her word that if the Scottes kept peace he would kepe peace, if they would haue war he would likewise haue war, & so with that answer the messenger departed. In the spring time of the yere the king wrote hys letters to all the noble men and Gentilmen sayng that he would shortly passe again into fraunce in his awne person, wherefoze euery man prepared him selfe meete for that iournay: the Flemmynges hearyng therof, made purueyaunce for wagons, bittaille, and other thinges which tourned them to great losse for that viage brake of as you shall heere.

All this season Sir Richard Whethill and syr John Tremayle kept for the English Dale that the Frenchmen durst not medle, and yet they spoyled



to base Bollen.

Closures made of the common felles about London.

The Closures sodainly were taken downe

Before this time the towne about London as Islington, Hoxton, Shoredyche and other, had so enclosed the common fieldes with hedges and ditches, that neyther the young men of the Citie might shoote, nor the auncient persons might walke for their pleasure in the fieldes, except epyther their bowes and arrowes were broken or taken a way, or the honest and substantiall persons arrested or indited, sayng that no Londoner should goe oute of the Citie but in the high wayes. This sayng soze grieved the Londoners and sodainly this yere a great number of the Citie assembled themselves in a morning, and a Turnat in a foolles coate came cryng through the Citie, shovels and spades, and so many people folowed that it was wonder, and within thort space all the hedges about the towne were cast downe, and the ditches filled, and euery thing made playne, the workemen were so diligent. The kinges counsaile hering of this assemblye came to the Gray Fryars, and sent for the Mayor and the counsaile of the City to know the cause, which declared to them the noysaunce done to the Citezens, and their commodities and liberties taken from them, & though they would not, yet the commonalty and yong persons which were dammified by the noysaunce would plucke bp and remedy the same. And when the kinges counsaile had heard the answer, they dissimuled the matter, and commaunded the Mayor to see that no other thing were attempted, and to call home the Citezens, which when they had done their enterpryce, came home befoze the kings counsaile & the Mayor departed without anye moze harme doing, and so after the fieldes were neuer hedged.

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The king at this season sent againe into Flaunders for the performace of the marriage of the yong Prince of Castell and the fayze Ladye Marie his sister, and shewed how he had prepared all thinges necessarie and comenient for such an high estate. The counsaile of Flaunders answered that they would not receyue her that yere, with many subtill argumentes, by reason whercof the perfite loue betwene Englande and the lowe countries was much slaked.

The Cap of maintenance.

The nintene daye of May was receyued into London a Cappe of maintenance and a sword sent from Pope Iuly, with a great company of nobles and Gentelmen, which was presented to the king on the Sunday then next ensuing with great solemnity in the Cathedrall Church of saint Paul. About this tyme, the warres yet continuing betweene Englande and Fraunce, Duke John (of whome you haue heard befoze in the fourth yere) great Capitaine of the French navy, with his Galies and Foystes charged with great Saltyshes and other great Artyllerye came on the borders of Suffer and came a lande in the night at a pooze village in Suffer called Bright Helmsfont, and or the watch could him ascry he set fier on the towne and toke such pooze goodes as he found: then the watch fiered the beakons and people began to gather, which sayng, Duke John sounde his Trompet to cal his men aboard, and by that time it was daye: then six Archers which kept the watch folowed Duke John to the sea, and shot so fast, that they beate the Galimen from the shore, and Duke John himselfe waded to his Foyst, and the Englishmen went into the water after, but they were put backe with pikes or else they had entred y Foyst, but they shot so fast, that they wounded many in the

the Foyst and Duke John was shot in the face wyth an Arrowe, and was likelpe to haue dyed, and therefore he offered his image of wax befoze our Lady at Solleyn with the English arrowe in the face for a myracle.

When the Lord Admirall of England had heard these newes he was not content and sent syr John Wallop to the sea incontinent with diuers English ships, which sayled to the coast of Normandy and there landed and bzent xxi. villages and towne with great slaughter of people, and bzent shippes and boates in the Hauens of Craport, Stapils & in euerie place. This sir John Wallop quyt himselfe so, that men maruelled of his enterpyses, considering he had at the most but eyght hundred men and toke land there so often.

Sir John Wallop a valiant Captaine.

In the moneth of June the Lorde Dountremy that was Capitaine of Cypwyn with banner displaid and great ordinaunce, with a great armye came into Pycardy nere to Arde. Sir Nicholas Daux capitaine of Guyynes considering that the Frenchemen had such ordinaunce thought that they would haue besieged Guyynes, and wrote thereof to the king which incontinent prouided a great army for the rescue. And when euerie thing was redye and the armie forward, the Lorde Dountremy rayced his campe and departed wythout any moze doing, but for all that the king sent ouer Sir Thomas Louel knight with six hundred men to Calice for the moze strength of that Towne and other towne and Castelles beyng within the Englishhe Pale and the Marches there.

The French king this yere appoynted to Richard de la Pole traytor of England & banished the realme. xij. M. Lancelights to kepe Normandy, and also to enter into England & to conquer the same, where they made such a ryotte that many of them were slayne and he was fayne to carye them to Saynt Maloz in Britaine to take shippe: for the French men would fayne haue ben rydde of them they cared not how, their condicions were so vile and shamefull, but by the reason that the French kyng sayde for the peace this iourney toke none effect.

Richard de la Pole, Traytor of England.

The French King by an Herald wrote to the king of England, that he marueled greatly why he made hym so soze warre, and bzent and toke hys towne, slew and robbed his people without any cause geuen on his part, wherfore he required the king to graunt safecondite to his Ambassadors, which should entreate the cause: wherupon in June the French king sent a commission with the President of Roan and certayne other Nobles of Fraunce to entreat peace and allyaunce betwene both the Princes: and farther because they knew that the marriage was broken betweene the Prince of Castell and the Ladye Mary (as you haue heard) they desired the sayde Lady to be espoused to the French king, affirming a great dower of suerties for the same, with great treasures: so much was offered that the king moued by his counsaile, and especially by the Bishop of Lincolne Wolsey, consented upon condicion that if the sayde French king Loys dyed, then she shoulde if it pleased her, retorne into England againe with all her dower and riches: after such entreatie, the Indentures were sealed and the peace proclaymed the seventh day of August, and the king in presence of the French Ambassadors sworne to kepe the same, and likewise there was sent an Ambassade out of Englande to se the French king swere the same.

The Duchmen hering these newes were soze, and repented them that they



they receyued not the Ladye, and spake shamefully of this mariage, that a feeble old and pocky man should marry so fayre a Lady, but the voyce of people let not Princes pourposes.

By the conclusion of this peace was the Duke of Longuyle and other prisoners deliuered, payng their Raunson, and the said Duke affied the Lady Mary in the name of king Lewys his Maister. This Duke was highlye intertayned in England of many noble men and had great there, but when they came into fraunce with the Queene he woulde scarce knowe them. Then when all thinges were ready for the conueyaunce of this noble Lady, the king her brother in the moneth of September with the Queene his wife and hys sayd sister and all the court came to Douer and there taried, for the winde was troublous, and the weather fowle, in so much that a ship of the kings called the Libeck of .ix. hundred Tonne was driuen a shoze before Sandgate and there brast, and of sixe hundred men scantly escaped thre hundred, and yet the most part of them were hurt with the wycke. When the weather was fayre then all her wardrobe, stable, and ryches was shyped, and such as were appoynted to geue their attendaunce on her, as the Duke of Norffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Bpshope of Durham, the Erle of Surrey, the Lorde Delawar, the Lorde Barnes, the Lorde Montaigne, the Marques foure brethren, s<sup>r</sup> Horice Barkeley, s<sup>r</sup> John Peche, s<sup>r</sup> William Sandes, s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Bulleyn, s<sup>r</sup> John Carre & many other knights, Squires gentlemen and Ladies, all these went to ship, and the sayde Ladie tooke her leaue of the Queene in the Castel of Douer, and the king brought her to the sea side and kissed her and betooke her to God, and the fortune of the sea, and to the gouernaunce of the french king her husband. Thus the second day of October at the houre of foure of the clock in the morning thys fayre Ladie tooke her ship with all her noble companie: and when they had sayled a quarter of the sea, the winde rose and seuered some of the shippes to Calice, and some into Flaunders, and her ship with great difficultie was brought to Bulleyn, and with great iopardie at the entring of the haucn for the maister ranne the ship hard on shoze, but the boates were ready and receyued this noble Ladie, and at the landing Sir Christopher Garnishe stood in the water, and tooke her in his armes, and so caried her to lande, where the Duke of Gandosme and a Cardinall wyth manye estates receyued her, and her Ladies, and welcommed all the noble men into that Countie, and so the Queene and all her trayne came to Bulleyn, and there rested, and from thence thee remoued by dyuers lodgings till she came almost within thre Myle of Abuyte beside the Forrest of Arders, and there king Loyes bypon a great courser met with her, and thee would haue alighted but he would not suffer her, and welcommed her into his Countie, and when he had sene her bewtie (which he so long desired) and talked with her a little space, then he returned to Abuyte by a secret waye, and thee was with great triumph, procession, and Bagiantes receyued into the towne of Abuyte the eyght day of October by the Dolphyn, which receyued her with great honor, she was appareled in cloth of siluer, her horse was trapped in Goldsmithes worke berie richely. After her folowed, xxxij. Ladies, all their Balfrers trapped with crimson Vcluet, embzawdered: after them folowed one Charoyt of cloth of Tissue, the second cloth of gold, and the third crymo-

son Vcluet embzawdered with the kings armes and hers full of Roses. After them folowed a great number of Archers, and then Wagons laden with their stuffe. Great was the ryches in plate, iewels, money, apparell, and hangyngs that this Lady brought into fraunce. The Monday next folowing, the same king Lewys married the Lady Mary in the great Church of Abuyte, both appareled in Goldsmithes worke. After the masse was done, there was a great banquet and feast, and the Ladies of Englande highlye enterreyued.

The Tuesday being the tenth daye of October all the Englishe men except a fewe that were officers with the sayde Queene were discharged, which was a great sorrowe for them, for some had serued her long in hope of preferment, and some that had honest rones, left them to serue her, and nowe they were without seruire, which caused them to take thought, in so muche some dyed by the waye returning, and some fell mad, but there was no remedie. After the Englishe Lordes had done their commission the freache king wyllid them to take no longer payne, and so gaue to them good rewardes, and they tooke their leaue of the Queene and returned. Then the Dolphyn of fraunce called Lorde frauncys Duke of Valoys, and by hys wyfe Duke of Britayne, for the more honour of the mariage, before the Englishe men departed from Abuyte, caused a solempne Justes to be proclaimed which shoulde be kept at Paris, in the Moneth of November next ensuyng, and that he wyth hys .ix. aydes shoulde answer all commers, being Gentlemen of name and of armes, first to runne five courses at the Tylt with peeces of auantage, and also five courses at Randou wyth sharpe speares, and twelue strokes with sharpe swordes, and that done, he and his aydes to fight at the barriers with all gentlemen of name and of armes. First sixe fynes with hande speares, and after that eyght strokes to the most auantage if the speare so long held, and after that twelue strokes with the swordes, & if any man be unhorsed or be felled with fighting on foote, then his horse & armure to be rendred to the officers of armes, and every man of this chalenge must set by his armes and name vpon an arche triumphant, which sha l be made at the place where the iustes shall be, and farther shall write to what poynt he will answer to one or to all. When this proclamation was reported in England by the noble men that returned from the mariage: the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset and hys foure brethren, the Lorde Clynton, s<sup>r</sup> Edward Denell, s<sup>r</sup> Gyles Capell, Thomas Cheney and other sued to the king to be at the chalenge, which request, he graciously graunted. Then the Lordes and knightes prepared all thing necessarie for their enterpryse, and shipped their horses and harnesse, and did so muche by tourney, that they came to Parys, at the ende of the Moneth of October, which were hartly welcomed of the king and the Dolphyn: but most of all, of the french Queene, which then lay at saint Denys, and was not yet crowned nor entred into Paris.

The Dolphyn desired the Duke of Suffolke and the Lorde Marques Dorset, whose actiuitie he knew well by report, to be two of his immediat aydes, which theye consented. Therefore was erected an Arche of wydenesse at the Turnels beside the streete on saint Anthony, directly before the Bastell, on the which were set foure Targets or scutchions, the one siluer

The Dolphyn of France caused a solempne iustes to be proclaimed.

The Ladie Marie sister to king Henry the eight affied to the french king



and he that set his name vnder that shield, to runne at the Cylt according to the articles: he that put his name vnder the golden Target, should runne with the sharpe speares and fight with sharpe swordes: they that put their names to the black shield, should fight a foote with speares and swordes for the one hande. And he that touched the tabony shield should cast a speare on foote with a Target on his arme, and after to fight with a two hand sword: on this arche about stood the armes of the king and the Queene, and beneath them stood the armes of the Dolphyn and his aydes, and vnderneath stood the foure scochions that you haue heard of, and vnder them all the armes and names of such as set their names to any of the sayde foure scochions. While all these things were preparing, the Lady Mary of England the fift day of Nouember then being Sunday, was with great solemnity crowned Queene of Fraunce in the monasterie of saint Denice, and the Dolphyn all the season held the crowne ouer her head, because it was of great waight to her grea- uance, at which coronation were the Lordes of England, and according to their degrees well entertayned.

Monday the sixt day of Nouember, the sayd Queene was receyued in- to the Citie of Parys after the order that foloweth. First the Garde of the Citie met with her without saint Denice, al in coates of Goldsmithes worke with shippes guilt, and after them met her all the priestes and religioys, which were esteemed to be thre thousand. The Queene was in a Chayre covered about (but not ouer her person) in whyte cloth of Golde, the horses that drewe it covered with cloth of Golde, on her head a coronall all of great Pearles, her neck and brest full of Jewels, before her went a Garde of Al- maynes after their fassion, and after them all noble men, as the Dolphyn, the Duke of Alanson, the Duke of Burbon, the Duke of Wandosme, the Duke of Longeuple, and the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, fise Cardinals and a great number of estates, & about her person rode the kings garde which were Scottes. Thus was this Queene receyued into Paris and so conueyed into the Cathedrall Church and there offered, & from thence to the Palace, and from thence shee went to her lodging for that night, for whome was prouided a great supper, and the Heraulds cryed a larges, and had to them geuen a ship of siluer and guilt, and other Plate to the value of two hundred marke, and after supper began daunsing and pastime. On the morow began the iustes, and the Dolphyn with his aydes entered the field, their apparell and bardes were cloth of golde, cloth of siluer and crymsyn Ueluet kanteled together al in one sute, they shewed themselves before the king and Queene who were in a goodly stage, and the Queene stood so that all men might see her and wondered at her bewtie, and the king was feeble and lay on a couche for weaknesse. Then entred the counter part by a rayle for combing the place. These iustes continued thre dayes, in the which were answered thre hundred and fise men of armes, and euery man ranne fise courses, and with sharpe speares, dyuers were slayne, and not spoken off: the Englishe Lordes and knightes did as well as the best of any the ether. At the Randon and Tournay the Duke of Suffolke hurt a Gentleman that he was like to die, the Marques stroke Mounfire Grew an Albanoy with his weate and pierced his head peere and put him in ieopardie: the Duke of Suffolke in the toznay ouerthrewe a man of armes horse and man, and so

did

did the Lorde Marques another, and yet the Frenchmen would in no wise prayse them. At this toznay the Dolphyn was hurt in the hande, so that he could not performe his chalenge at the barriers, and put one of his ayde in his rone, the next day after began the fight at the barriers, and because the Dolphyn was not present, the Duke of Suffolke and the Lorde Marques byding all cominers. The Dolphyn brought a man secretly, which in al the Court of Fraunce was the tallest and the strongest man, and he was an Almayne, & put him in the place of an other person, to haue had the Duke of Suffolke rebuked. The same great Almayne came to the barres fiercely with face hid, because he would not be knowne, and bare his speare to the Duke of Suffolke with all his strength, and the Duke him receyued, and for all his strength put him by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but ende of the speare strake the Almaine that he staggared, but for all that the Almayne strake strongly and hardly at the Duke, and the iudges suffered many mo strokes to be foughten then were appointed, but when they sawe the Almayne reele and staggar, then they let fall the rayle betweene them. The Lord Marques Dorset at the same time, euen at the same barre fought with a gentleman of Fraunce that he lost his speare, & in maner withdrew: When the rayle was let fall, these two noble men put by their byfers and tooke ayre, and then they tooke swordes with point and edges abated, and came to the barriers, and the Almayne fought soze with the Duke, which imagened that he was a person set on for the nonce, but the Duke by pure strength tooke him about the neck, & pomeled him so about the head that the blood yssued out of his nose, and then they were parted, and the Almayne was conueyed by the Dolphyn lest he should be knowne. These two noble men likewise nobly them defended, but it happened the Lorde Marques one time to put for his ayde his yongest brother called the Lorde Edward Gray of the age of .xix. yere, and to him was put a gentleman of Fraunce of great stature and strength to the intent to plucke him ouer the barres, but yet the yong Lorde was of such strength, power and pollecie, that he so strake bys aduersarie that he disarmed him, all the face bare. Thus was these enter- prises finished to the laude of all parties, and the Englishe men receyued much honor and no spot of rebuke, yet they were priuily set at and in manye ieopardies: for the declaration of this triumph, he that sawe it can tell howe goodly the courfers trotted, bounded and quickly turned: Howe valyauntly the men of armes behaued themselves and howe the Duke of Bourbones bende was appareled and balled in tabony Ueluet, and cloth of siluer clow- dye, the bende of the Erle of Saint Polle appareled and barded in purple Ueluet all to cut on purple Satten, the infant of Arragon, sonne to Frede- ricke last king of Naples, and his bend all in cloth of Golde and siluer paled. This Lord was but yong but was very toward. The Duke of Wandosme & his bend in cloth of Golde, and plunket Ueluet. The Dolphyn and his aydes were euery day newe appareled at his cosse, one day in siluer and Golde, a- nother in Crimesyn Ueluet and yelow Ueluet, and another daye in white Ueluet and grene, some daye myxed with Satten, some daye embzadored, some daye pounced with Gold, and so euery day in chaunge as the workers

fantasie



fantasie could deuise, but the Englishmen had euer on their apparell red crosses to be knowne for loue of their countrey : at thys triumph the Countie Saleas came into the place on a Fenet trapped in blew Saiten and he hym selfe lykewise appareled and ranne a course with a speare, which was at the hed fve inches on euery side square, that is twenty inches about, and at the but nine inches square, that is fixe and thirtie inches, this speere was made of tumber and yet for all that he ranne cleane along course and slightly auoyded it to his great honour.

Also there was another Gentleman called Anthony Bolwarne which came into the fiede all armed, and on his bodie brought in sight ten speares, that is to wit, thre speeres set in euery stirroppe forwarde, and vnder euery thigh two speeres byward, and vnder his left arme was one speere backward, and the tenth in his hande, and when he came before the Queene he let his horse ronne, and neuer stopped till he had taken euery speere after other and broken it on the ground, and he neuer stopped his horse till all were broken, this Gentleman was highly praysed, and so he was worthe: when all this great triumph was done, the Lordes of England tooke their leaue and were highly thanked of the king, Queene, Dolphyn, and all the Lordes, and so departed & came into England before Chyristmasse. In Nouember the Queene was deliuered of a Prince which liued not long after.

This yere in December there was one Richard Hun, a marchant Taylor of London in Lollers Tower, by the commaundement of the Bishop of London, called Richard Fitziamas, and Doctor Hozley his Chaunceloz. And shortly after, the sayd Hun was found dead hangyng by the necke in a girdle of silke, within the sayde Tower: Of this stozzy ye may reade at large in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church.

This yere and the fourth day of October, the king began his high court of Parliament, and sir Thomas Newell was then speaker, in this Parliament was diuers actes made, but in especiall two, which were much spoken of, the one was the act of apparell, and the other the act of labourers, of these two actes was much commonyng and much businesse arose, for the labourers would in no wise labour by the day, but all by taske and in great, and therefore much trouble fell in the Court, and in especiall in harvest tyme, for then husband men could scarce get workemen to helpe in their harvest. This Parliament continued till Easter, in the which diuers subsidies were graunted to the king toward his great costes and charges, that he had bene at in his boyage royall in fraunce. This yere dyed at Rome by poison, as was reported the Archebishop of Yorke and Cardmall, called Doctor Benbucke, which was the kinges Ambassadoz there: this was a wise man, and of a toly courage. The king then gaue the sayd Archebishopsrike to Thomas Wolsey, then Bishop of Lincolne, which at that tyme bare all the rule about the king, and what he sayd was obeyed in all places. And when he was once Archebishop, he studied day and night how to be a Cardmall, and caused the king and the french king to wyte to Rome for him, and at their requestes he obtayned his purpose as you shall here afterward.

At this tyme was much commonyng, and verily as it appered it was entended, that the king in person would passe the sea to Calice, and there on the marches of the same, the french king & Queene to come and see the king there

Richard Hun committed to the Lollers Tower and murdered.

A Parliament

Cardmall Benbuckes poisoned at Rome.

Thomas Wolsey made Archebishop of Yorke.

their brother, and for the same iourney many costly workes were wrought, and much riche apparell provided for, and much preparation made agaynst the next spring: but death, which is the last ende of all thinges let this iourney, for before the next spring, the french king dyed at the Citie of Paris, the first day of January, when he had bene maryed. lxxxij. dayes. And when the king was aduertised of the death of the french king, he caused a solemne obsequie to be song for him in the cathedrall Church of Saint Paule with a costly Herse, and many noble men beyng present.

The death of Lewis the french king.

And after he sent a letter to comfort the Queene his sister, requiryng to knowe her pleasure whether she would continue still in fraunce or returne into England againe. And when he was aduertised of her purpose, which was to returne into England. He sent the Duke of Suffolke, sir Rycharde Wingfield, and Doctor West, with a goodly band of yomen, all in blacke to Paris, which were well receyued of the newe french king fraunces the first of that name, and declared to him, that accordyng to the couenautes made at the tyme of the mariage betwene king Loyes and the Lady Mary, sister to the king of England, they demaunded to haue the sayde Queene deliuered to them with her dower, and shewed their commission for the receypte of her: the Counsaile of fraunce accordyng to the appoyntment assigned to her a dower, and the Duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then shee was by endenture deliuered to the Duke, which behaued himselfe so to her, that he obteyned her good will to be her husband, and thereupon he wrote to the king her brother, meekely besechyng him of pardon of his request, and humbly requiryng him of his wil and consent, at which thing the king a while stayed, and at the last by the meane of the french Queene her selfe, and other great friendes on the Dukes part: After long suite it was agreed that the Duke of Suffolke should bring her into England by maryed, and at his returne to marry her in England: but for doubt of change he maryed her secretly in Paris as it was sayde.

Fraunces the first of that name french king.

The Duke of Suffolke marieth the Ladie Marie the french Queene and sister vnto King Henry the eyght.

After that the Duke of Suffolke had receyued the french Queene with her dower appoynted, and all her apparell, iewels, and household stuffe deliuered, he with the Queene tooke their leaue of the french king, leauyng Doctor West, nominate Bishop of Ely, for the conclusion of the newe league to be made betwene the king of England, and the newe french king called fraunces the first, and so passed through fraunce to Calice, where she was honourably enterteyned. And after with great honour maryed to Lorde Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolke openly: howbeit, some sayd he was maryed priuily before at Paris, in the house of Cluigny. Agaynst this mariage many men grudged, and sayde it was a great losse to the realme that she was not married to the Prince of Castell: but the wisest sort was content, consideryng that if she had bene maryed againe out of the realme she shoulde haue caried much rychesse with her, and now she brought euery yere into the realme, ix. or x. thousand markes: but whatsoeuer the rude people sayd, the Duke behaued himselfe so, that he had both the fauour of the king and of the people, his wit and demeanour was such.

This Sommer the king tooke his progresse Westward, and visited his townes and Castellies there, and heard the complaintes of his poore commo-naltie, and euer as he roade he hunted and liberally departed with benyson:

The king goeth on his progresse.

and



and in the myddest of September he came to his Manor of Wyng, and thether came to him the Archebishop of Yorke, whome he hartly welcommed, and shewed him great pleasures: And while he sojourned there, a letter was brought to the Archebishop from Rome, certifying him howe he was elected to be a Cardinall, which incontinent shewed the same to the king, disabling himselfe in wordes, though his entent was otherwyse, and so the kyng did encourage him, and willed him to take the order on him, and so called him my Lord Cardinall, but his Hat, Bull, nor other ceremonies were not yet come.

A parliament

Statute of labourers.

Statute of army.

In the Moneth of November, the king assembled bys highe Court of Parliament at Westminster, and diuers actes made in the Parliament the first yere amended and altered, and especialllye the act of apparell, and the act of labourers, as by the booke of statutes more plainlye appereth. And at the ende of this Parliament, the Archebishoppe of Cauntorburpe perceiuyng that the Archebishoppe of Yorke medled more in his office of Chauncelozship then it became him to suffer, except he would aduenture the kinges displeasure, and seying also that the sayde Bishop of Yorke coueted to beare all the rule, and to haue all the whole aucthoritie, consideryng also his awne great age, gaue by into the kinges handes his robe of Chaunceloz, and deliuered to the king the great Seale, which deliuered the same to the Archebishop of Yorke, and made him Chaunceloz. And assoone as he was Chaunceloz, he directed commissions into all Shires, for to put the statute of apparell and the statute of labozers in execution. And he himselfe one day called a Gentleman named Simon Fitzrichard, and tooke from him an olde Jacket of Crymofyn Ueluet, and diuers brooches, which extreme doyng caused him greatly to be hated, and by his example many cruell officers for malice, euil intreated diuers of the kinges subiectes, insomuche that one Shymyng Maior of Rochester, set a yong man on the Pillory for wearyng of a ruen shirt.

The Cardinalles Hatte receyued.

In the ende of this moneth was sent into England the Cardinals Hat, and receyued by Gentlemen of Kent, and brought to London with such tryumph, as though the greatest Prince of Christendome had bene come into the realme. And on a Sunday at Saint Peters Church at Westminster, he receyued the Habite, Hat, and Miller, and other vaine glorious tryfles, appertaynyng to the order of a Cardinall. And when he was once a perfite Cardinall, hee looked then aboue all estates, so that all men almost hated him, and disdayned hym.

Then after the Parliament sir Edward Bowynge laboured to bee discharged of the keepyng of the Citie of Tournay, for there he was euer sickly, and so he was discharged, and sir William Blunt Lorde Mountioy was sent thether. And for Marshall there was appoynted sir Sampson Norton. And when the Lorde Mountioy was come thether, and sir Sampson Norton, there happened such a ryot that the Citie was in great ieopardie, the very cause was vnknown, but all the Souldiours, except such as were of the kinges garde rebelled, and put the Lorde Mountioy in ieopardie of his life. And in conclusion to appease the people, sir Sampson Norton was banished the towne for euer. And after the Citie was appeased, and euery thing thought to be forgotten, diuers were executed, & diuers banished the towne and some fled and were banished both England and the towne.

This

This yere was the newe league betwene the king and the french king openly proclaymed thorough the Citie of London with a Trompet. This yere also, Margaret Queene of Scottes, wife to James the fourth, slaine at Bramston the fift yere of the king, and elder sister to the king, after the death of her late husband married Archibald Douglas Erle of Angus, without the king her brothers assent, or the Counsaile of Scotland, for the which he was not well pleased. But after that, there fell such a strife betwene the Lordes of Scotlande, that she and her husband like banished persons came into England, and wrote to the king for mercie and comfort. The king euer enclyned to mercy, sent them apparell, bessel, & all things necessarie, willyng them to lye still in Northumberland, till they knew farther of his pleasure: And so they lay still at Harbottell, and the Queene was deliuered of a fayre Lady called Margaret, and all the Countrey were commaunded by the king to do them pleasure.

Margaret the Queene of Scottes and elder sister of King Henry the eight married unto Archibald Douglas Erle of Angus.

Margaret daughter of the Queene of Scottes begotten by the Erle of Angus.

The birth of Lodie Mary which afterward was Queene of England.

1516  
8

The Erle of Angus so-dainly flyeth from the Queene his wife into Scotland.

This yere the .xviij. of February, at Grenewiche was bozne a fayre Prince, and christened with great solempnitie, and named Mary.

This yere dyed the king of Arragon father to the Queene, for whome was kept a solempne obsequie in the Cathedrall Church of Paules.

Ye haue heard the last yere howe the Queene of Scottes with her husband was come for succor into England, and lay at Harbottell in Northumberland, till the kinges pleasure was to sende for them. So he like a naturall brother sent for her & her husband to come to his Court for their solace, for the which kindnesse the Erle humbly thanked the king, and promysed to geue his attendaunce on the Queene his wife to the Court: whereupon the king sent William Blackwall Esquier, Clerke of his Spicery, with siluer bessel, plate and other things necessary for the comeynaunce of her, and sent to her all maner of officers for her estate conuenient. And when she was redy to depart, she asked for her husband, but he was departed into Scotland and left her alone, nothing remembryng his promise, which sodain departing much made her to muse: howbeit the Lords of England greatly encouraged her to kepe her promise with the king her brother: and so after she was somewhat appeased, she set forward, & in euery towne she was well receiued, & so on the thirde day of May she made her entry into London, ridyng on a whyte palfrey (which the Queene of England had sent to her) belynd sir Thomas Dar richely besene, and with great companie of Lordes and Ladies, shee rode through the Citie to Baynardes Castell, and from thence she was conueyed to Grenewich, and there receyued ioyously of the King, the Queene, the french Queene her sister, and highly was she feasted. And when the king heard that the Erle of Angus her husband was departed, he sayd, it was done like a Scot. This Queene sometyne was at the Court, and sometyne at Baynardes Castell, and so she continued in England all this yere.

This moneth of May were sent out of England .xij. hundred Masons, and Carpenters, and thre hundred labourers to the Citie of Tournay: for the king and his Counsaile considering that the garrison that was kept there, was chargeable, and therefore it was determined that there should be buylde a Castell to chastice the City if they rebelled, and to minishe the garrison. And therefore these workemen were sent thether, which this yere began a strong Castell, and wrought still on it.

The great colles that the king bestowed on Tournay.

This



Justice mis-  
nistred by  
Cardinall  
wolsey.

This yere by the Cardinall were all men called to accompt that had the occupieng of the kinges money in the warres or else where, not to euerye mans contentation, for some were found in arrerages, and some saued themselves by pollecy and brybozpe, and waxed riche, and some innocentes were punished. And for a truth he so punished periurpe with open punishment and open papers wering, that in his time it was lesse bsd. He punished also Lordes, knightes, and men of all sortes for ryots, beryng and maynteyng in their countries, that the pooze men liued quyetly, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonment: The pooze people perceyued that he punished the riche, then they complayned without number, and brought many an honest man to trouble and vexation. And when the Cardinall at the last had perceyued their vntrew surmises and fayned complaintes for the most part, he then wored wery of hering their causes, and ordayned by the kings commission, diuers vnder Courtes to here complaintes by byll of pooze people. The one was kept in white Hall, the other before the kinges Almoner Doctor Stokesley, a man that had more learning, then descretion to be a Judge. The thirde was kept in the Lorde Treasurers chamber besyde the Starre Chamber, and the fourth at the Rolles at the after noone. These Courtes were greatly haunted for a time but at the last the people perceyued that much delay was bsd in these Courtes, and fewe matters ended, and when they were ended, they bound no man by the lawe, then euery man was wery of them and resorted to the common law.

In the moneth of October came into England Mathew Bishop of Sedonon and Cardinall, called commonly the Cardinall of Stuythes, from the Emperour Maximilian. This Cardinall was a wise man and of great boldnes, and was well entertained in the Court of the king. And at his contentation and for olde loue, the king lent to the Emperour Maximilian a great somme of money: wherof the company of Friscobald, and Anthony Cauerler Geneuoy vnderooke the exchaung, but they payed not the Emperour at his day, notwithstanding they had receyued the money of the king. This Friscobald and Anthony Cauerler by meanes of rewardes, geuen to great Lordes of the Counsaile borrowed of the kyng. xxx. thousande pounde and had long dayes for the payment: but friscobalde was shortly consumed, and Anthony Cauerler could not be sene, and so the king was not payed at his dayes, and many English Marchants were by these men vndone, for they spent liberally of euery mans goods.

In this season the Genowayes, frenchmen and other straungers sayd and boasted themselves to be in suche fauour with the king and his counsaile, that they set naught by the rulers of the Citie: and the multitude of straungers was so great about London, that the pooze English artificers could scarce get any lyuing: And most of al the straungers were so proude, that they disdaind, mocked and oppressed the Englishmen, which was the beginning of the grudge. For among all other thinges there was a Carpenter in London called Wyllyamson, which bought two stocke Doves in Chepe, and as he was about to pay for them, a frenchman tooke them out of his hande, and sayde they were not meat for a Carpenter: well sayde the English man I haue bought them, and now payde for them, and therefore I will haue them, nay sayde the frenchman I will haue them for my  
Lorde

Lorde the Ambassadoz, and so for better or worse, the frenchman called the English man knaue, and went away with the stock Doves. The straungers came to the frenche Ambassadour, and furnished a complaynt against the pooze Carpenter, and the Ambassadour came to my Lorde Maior, and sayde so much, that the Carpenter was sent to prison: and yet not contented with this, so complayned to the kings counsaile, that the kings commaundement was layde on him. And when Syr John Baker knight and other worshipfull persons sued to the Ambassadour for him, he answered by the body of God that the English knaue should loose his lyfe, for he sayde no English man should denie that the frenche men requyzed, and other answers had they none.

The prioz of  
french men.

Also a frenchman that had slayne a man, should abjure the realme and had a crosse in his hande, and then sodainely came a great sort of frenchmen about him, and one of them sayde to the Constable that led him, syr is thys crosse the price to kill an English man. The Constable was somewhat astonied and answered not. Then sayde another frenchman, on that price we would be banished ali by the masse, thys sayng was noted to be spoken spitefully. Howbeit, the frenchmen were not alonly oppressors of the English men, for a Lombarde called fraunces de bard, entised a mans wyfe in Lombarde Arcete to come to his Chamber with her husbundes plate, which thing he did. After when her husband knew it, he demaunded his wyfe, but answer was made he should not haue her, then he demaunded his plate, and in like maner answer was made that he should neyther haue plate nor wyfe. And when he had sued an action agaynst the straunger in the Gynldchall, the straunger so faced the English man, that he faynted in his sute. And then the Lombard arrested y pooze man for his wyfes boord, while he kept her from her husband in his chamber. This moeke was much noted, for these and many other oppressions done by them, there encreased such a malice in the English mens hartes: that at the last it brast out. For amongst other that foregrudged at these matters, there was a broker in London called John Lyncolne, which wrote a bill before Calter, desiring Doctor Standiche at his sermon at saint Marie Spittel the Monday in Easter weeke, to moue the Maior and Aldermen, to take part with the commonalte agaynst the straungers. The Doctor answered that it became not him to mene any such thing in a sermon. From him he departed, and came to a Chanon in saint Mary Spittel, a Doctor in deuinitie, called Doctor Bele, and lamentably declared to him, how miserably the comon artificers lyued, and scarce could get any worke to find them, their wyfes and children, for there were such a number of artificers straungers, that toke away all their liuing in maner. And also how the English Marchants could haue no vtterance for their marchandise, for the Marchaunt straungers, bring in all silkes, cloth of Golde, wine, Oyle, Iron, and such other marchandise, that no man almost byeth of an English man, And also outwarde they carie so much English wolle, Cloth, Tynne, and Leade, that English men that auenture outwarde, can haue no lyuing: Which things sayde Lyncolne hath bene shewed to the counsaile, and cannot be heard. And farther sayde he, the straungers compass the Citie rounde about, in Southwarke, in Westmynster, Temple barre, Holborne, Saint Martins, Saint Johns streete, Algate, Cowze hill, and saint Katherynes.

John Lyn-  
colne the first  
author of the  
insurrection  
of euill May  
day.



and fozeft all the market, so that no good thing foze them commeth to the market : which is the cause that Englishe men want and sterue, and they lyue habundantly in great pleasure. Wherfoze sayde Lyncolne maister Doctoz, sith you were bozne in London, and see the oppzeffion of the straungers, and the great miserie of your awne natie Countrie, exhort all the Cuezens to ioyne in one against these straungers, raueners and destroyers of your Countrie. Maister Doctoz hearing this, sayde he much lamented the case, if it were as Lyncolne had declared, yes sayde Lyncolne that it is and much moze, foze the Dutchmen bring ouer Iron, Tymber, Leather and Weyns- hot readie wrought, as Harles, Lockes, Baskets, Cubbozdes, Stooles, Cables, Chestes, Girdels, with Poyntes, Sadels and painted clothes, so that if it were wrought here, the Englishe men might haue some worke and lyuing by it. And beside this they grow into such a multitude that it is to be looked vpon, foze I sawe on a Sunday this Lent sixe hundred straungers shooting at the Poppngay with Crosbowes, and they kepe suche assemblies and fraternities together, and make such a gathering to their common bore, that euery Botcher will holde plee with the Citie of London: well sayde the Doctoz, I will doe foze a refozation of this matter as much as a priest may doe, and so receaued Lyncolnes byll and studied foze his purpose. Then Lyncolne very ioyous of his enterprize went from man to man, sayng that shortly they should heare newes, and daylie excited yong people and artificers to beare malice to the straungers. When Easter came and Doctoz Bele should preach, the Tuesday in Easter weeke, he came into the Pulpit, and there declared that to him was brought a pittifull byll, and red it in this wise. To all you the worshopfull Lordes and maysters of this Citie, that will take compassion ouer the pooze people your neyghbours, and also of the great impoztable hurtes, losses, and hynderaunces, whereof proceedeth the extreme pouertie to all the kinges subiectes that inhabite within thys Citie and suburbs of the same, foze so it is that the alyens and straungers eate the breade from the poze fatherlesse children, and take the lyuing from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all marchauntes, whereby pouertie is so much increased that euerye man bewayleth the miserie of other, foze craftes men be brought to beggerie, and marchauntes to needinesse: wherfoze the premises considered, the redresse must be of the commons, knyght and knyghte to one part, as the hurt and dammage greueth all men, so must all men set to their wylling power foze remedie, and not to suffer the sayde alyens so highly in their wealth, and the naturall bozne men of this region to come to confu- sion. Of thys letter was moze, but the Doctoz red no farther, and then began Cælum coeli domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum, and vpon this text he in- treated, that this lande was geuen to Englishe men, and as byzdes would defend their nest, so ought Englishe men to cherishe and defende themselves, and to hurt and greue alyens foze the common weale. And vpon this text pugna pro patria, he brought in, holwe by Gods lawe it was lawfull to fight foze their Countrie, and euer he subtilly moued the people to rebell agaynst the straungers, and breake the kings peace, nothing regarding the league betwene Princes and the kings honoz. Of this sermon many a light person tooke courage, and openly spake agaynst straungers. And as the Deuill would, the Sunday after at Grenwicke in the kings Gallery was Fran-

Bill put by  
by John  
Lincoln to a  
Preacher at  
the Spittle.

A Sermon  
made by hoes  
so; Selc.

ces

ces de bard, which as you harde kept an English mans wyfe and his goods, and yet he could haue no remedie, and with him were Demynge, Anthony Caueler, and manye mo straungers, and there they talkyng with syz Tho- mas Palmer knight, iested and laughed howe that Frances kept the Eng- lish mans wyfe, sayng that if they had the Maiors wyfe of London, they would keepe her: Syz Thomas sayde, syz you haue to muche fauour in England. There were dyuers Englishe Marchauntes by, and hard them laugh, and were not content, in so much as one William Bolt a Mercer sayde, well you whozefon Lombardes, you reioyse and laugh, by the masse we will one day haue a day at you, come when it will, and that sayng the o- ther Marchauntes affirmed. Chystale was reported about London, and the yong and euill dispos'd people sayde, they would be reuenged on the Mar- chaunt straungers, as well as on the artificers straungers.

On Monday the moztow after, the king remooued to his manour of Richemonde.

Upon this rumour the .xxviii. daye of Aprill, diuerse young men of the City assauted the Aliens as they passed by the strets, and some were stricken and some buffeted, and some throwen in the canal. Wherfoze the Maior sent diuerse persons to ward, as Stephyn Studley Skynner, and Bettes and Stephenson and diuerse other, some to one Counter, and some to another, and some to Newgate. Then sodainly was a common rumour, and no man could tell how it began, that on May daye next, the Citie would rebell and slaye all Aliens, insomuch as diuers straungers fled out of the Citie. This brute ranne so farre that it came to the kinges counsaile, insomuch as the Cardinal being Lorde Chaunceloz, sent foze John Kest Maior of the Citie, and other of the counsaile of the Citie, and demaunded of the Maior in what case the Citie stood, to whome he answered that it was well and in good quiet: May sayd the Cardinal, it is informed vs that your yong and ryotous people will rise and distresse the Straungers, heare ye of no such thing: so sulerly sayd the Maior, and I trust so to gouerne them that the kinges peace shal be obserued, and that I dare vnder take, if I and my brethren the Alder- men may be suffered. Well sayd the Cardinal, go home and wisely foze see this matter, foze if any such thing be you may shortly preuent it. The Maior came from the Cardinal at foure of the clocke in the after none on May euen, and demaunded of the officers what they heard, diuers of them answered that the voyce of the people was so, and had bene so two or thre dayes before. This heering the Maior sent foze all his brethren to the Gyilde hall in great hast, and almost seuen of the clocke or the assemb'e was sette. Then was de- clared to them by Maister Brooke the Recorder how that the kinges coun- saile had reported to them that the Comminaltie that night would rise, and distresse all the Aliens and straungers that inhabited in the Citie of London: the Aldermen answered they hard say so, but they mistrusted not the matter, but yet they sayde it was well done to foze see it. Then sayd the Recorder, it were best that a sub stanciall watch were set of honest persones, householders, which might withstand the euill doers. An Alderman sayd, that it was euill to raise men to harneis, foze if such a thing were entended, they could not tell who would take their part. Another Alderman sayd, that it were best to kepe the yong men a sunder and euery man to shut his dozes, and to kepe his ser- uantes

1517  
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John Kest  
Mayor of  
London.

U b b .ij.

uantes



Euell May  
0122

uauntes within. Then with these opinions was the Recorder sent to the Cardinall befoze eyght of the clocke, and then he with such as were of the kinges counsaile at his place, commaunded that in no wise watch shoulde be kept, but that euery man should repaire to his awne house, and there to keepe him and his seruauntes tyll seauen of the clocke of the morning: with which commaundement, the sayd Richard Brooke Sergeaunt at the lawe and Recorder, and sir Thomas Moore, late vnder shriue of London, and then of the kinges counsaile, came to the Guilde hall halfe hower and befoze nune of the clocke, and there shewed the commaundement of the kinges counsaile. Then in all hast, euery Alderman sent to his warde that no man should stirre after nine of the clocke out of his house, but to kepe his doozes shutte, and his seruauntes within tyll seauen of the clocke in the morning. After this commaundement, sir John Mordye Alderman came from his warde, and found two yong men in Chepe playng at Bucklers, and a great company of yong men ioking on them for the commaundement was then scarce knoene, for then it was but nine of the clocke. Maister Mordye seing that, bade them leaue, and the one yong man asked hym why? and then he sayde thou shalt knowe, and toke him by the arme to haue had him to the Counter. Then all the yong men resisted the Alderman, and toke him from maister Mordye, & cryed with scyres and clubs. Then out of euerie doze came clubs and weapens and the Alderman fled, and was in great daunger. Then more peopie aroose out of euery quarter, and out came Seruingmen, and Watermen, and Courtiers, and by a .xj. of the clocke there were in Chepe six or seauen hundred. And out of Paules Churchyarde came thre. C. which wist not of the other, and so out of all places they gathered, and brake by the Counters, and toke out the prisoners, that the Maior had thether committed for hurting of the straungers, and came to Newgate and toke out Studley and Petyt, committed thether for that cause. The Maior and Shyifes were there present, and made Proclamation in the kinges name, but nothing was obeyed. Thus they ran a plumpe through Saint Nicholas Shambles, and at saint Martins gate there met with them sir Thomas Moore and other, desiring them to go to their lodgings: And as they were intreating, and had almost brought them to a stay. The people of Saint Martins threwe out stones and battes, and hurte diuers honest persones, that were perswading the ryetous people to ceasse, and they bade them hold their handes, but still they threwe out brikes and hoate water. Then a Sergeaunt of Armes called Nicholas Downes, which was there with Maister Moore, entreating them, being sore hurt, in a fury cryed downe with them. Then all the misruled persones ranne to the doozes and windowes of saint Martins, and spoyled all that they found, and cast it into the strete, and left fewe houses vnspoyled. And after that they ranne hedlyng into Cornehill by Leaden Halle, to the house of one Mutuas a Frenchman or Picarde borne, which was a great bearer of Frenchmen, were they Pyckpurffes, or how euill disposition soeuer they were of, and within hrs gate, called Grenegate, dwelled diuers Frenchmen that kalendred Worsted, contrary to the kings laboes: and al they were so borne out by the same Mutuas, that no man durst meddle with them, wherefoze he was sore hated, and if the people had founde him in their fury, they would haue striken of his head: but when they found him not, the Watermen, and certain

yong

yong persones that were there fell to ryfing: some ranne to Banchchapelton, and brake the straungers houses, and threwe shooes and bootes into the strete: Thus from ten or a leauen of the clock, continued these royotous people, durynge which tyme a knight called sir Thomas Darre, in great haste went to the Cardinall and tolde him of this ryot which incontinent strengthened his house with men and ordinaunce. And after, this knight roade to the king to Richmond, and made the report moze then it was: wherefoze the king hastely sent to London, and was truly aduertised of the matter, and how that the ryot was ceassed, and many of the doers apprehended. But while this ruffling continued, Sir Richard Cholmeley knight Liuetenant of the Towre, no great friende to the Citie in a frantike fury losed certayne peeces of ordinaunce, and shot into the Citie, which did litle harime howbeit his good will appered. About thze of the clocke, these ryotous persons scuered themselves and went to their places of resort, and by the waye they were taken by the Maior and the Heds of the Citie, and some sent to the Towre, and some to Newgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of thze hundred, some fled and especially the Watermen, and Seruingmen, but the poore prentises were taken. About fine of the clocke, the Erles of Shrewsbury and Surrey, which had heard of this ryot, came to London with such strength as they had, so did the Iunes of Courte, and diuers noble men: but or they came, all the ryot was ceassed, and many taken as you haue heard.

Then were the prisoners examined, and the sermon of Doctor Beale called to remembraunce, and he taken and sent to the Towre, and so was John Lincolne: but with this ryot the Cardinall was sore displeased. Then the fourth day of May was an Dyer and determiner at London befoze the Maior, the Duke of Norfolk, the Erle of Surrey and other. The Citie thought that the Duke bare them grudge for a lewde priest of his, which the yere befoze was slaine in Chepe, insomuch the Duke then in his fury sayde, I pray God I may once haue the Citizens in my daunger: and the Duke also thought that they bare him no good will, wherefoze he came into the Citie with .xiiij. hundred men in harnesse to kepe the Dyer and determiner. And vpon examination, it could neuer be proued of any meetyng, gatheryng, talking or conuenticle at any day or tyme befoze that day, but that the chaunce so happened without any matter prepenfed of any creature sayng Lincoln, and neuer an honest person in maner was taken but onely he. Then Proclamations were made that no women should come together to babble and talke, but all men should kepe their wyues in theyr houses. All the stretes that were notable stood full of harnessed men, which spake many opprobrious wordes to the Citizens, which grieved them sore: and if they would haue bene reuenged, the other had had the worse, for the Citizens were two hundred to one: but lyke true subiects they suffered patiently.

When the Lordes were set, the prisoners were brought in through the stretes tyed in ropes, some men, some laddes, some children of .xiiij. yere. There was a great mourning of fathers and friendes for their children and kinfolke. Among the prisoners manye were not of the Citie, some were priestes and some husbandmen and labourers, and they were all arreigned of Treason. The cause of the Treason was, because the king had amitie with all christen Princes, that they had broken the truce and league

U b b .iij.

contrary

A Dyer and  
determiner.



contrary to the statute of king Henry the fift. Of this treason diuers were endited, and so for that tyme the Lordes departed. And the next day the Duke came againe, and the Erle of Surrey with two thousand armed men, which kept the stretes. When the Maior, the Duke, and the Erle of Shrewsbury and Surrey were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and. xiiij. founde guiltie of high treason, and adiudged to be hanged, drawen and quartered, & for the execution hereof, were set by a. xi. payre of Gallowes in diuers places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Blanchechapelon, Gracious strete, Leaden hall, and before euery Counter one, and at Newgate, at Saint Martyns, at Aldersgate, at Bishopsgate. This sight soze grieved the people to see Galowes set by in the kings Chamber. Then were the prisoners that were iudged, brought to the places of execution, and executed in most rigorous maner, for the Lorde Edmond Harward, sonne to the Duke of Norfolke, and knight Herthall shewed no mercie, but extreme crueltie, to the poore yonglynges in their execution, and likewise the Dukes seruantes spake many opprobrious wordes, some had hang, some had draw, some had set the Citie on fyre, but all was suffered.

John Lincoln came with other out to scry.

On Thursday the. vij. day of May was Lyncolne, Shyppyn, and two brethren called Bets, and dyuers other adiudged to dye. Then Lincoln sayde, my Lordes, I meant well, for, and you knewe the mischief that is ensued in this realme by straungers, you would remedie it, and many times I haue complayned, and then I was called a busye felowe: now our Lorde haue mercy on me. Then all the sayde persons were layde on the Hardelles, and drawen to the standard in Chepe, and first was John Lincoln executed, and as the other had the rope about their neckes, there came a commaundement from the king to respite execution. Then the people cryed, God saue the king. Then was the Dyer and determiner deferred tyll another day and the prisoners sent againe to warde, and the harnessed men departed out of London, and all thinges quiet.

The. xj. day of May the king came to his Manor of Greenwich, where the recorder of London, & dyuers Aldermen came to speake with his grace, and all wore Gownes of blacke coulor. And when they perceyued the king coming out of his priuie Chamber into his Chamber of presence, they knelled downe and the Recorder said: Our most natural, benigne, and soveraigne Lorde, we know well that your grace is displeas'd with vs of your Citie of London for the great ryot late done: we assertaine your grace, that none of vs, nor no honest person were condiscendyng to that enozmitie, and yet we, our wyues, and children, every houre lament that your fauour should be taken from vs, and forasmuch as light and ydle persons were the doers of the same, we most humbly besech your grace to haue mercy of vs for our negligence, and compassion of the offenders for their offence and trespassse.

Truly sayd the king, you haue highly displeas'd and offended vs, and ye ought to waile and be sozry for the same, and where ye saye that you the substantiall persons were not consentyng to the same, it appereth to the contrary, for you neuer moued to let them, nor stirred once to fight with them, which you say were so sma'll a number of light persons, wherfore we must thinke, & you can not denie, but you did winke at the matter, but at this tyme, we will graunt to you neyther our fauour nor good will, nor to the offenders mercy,

mercy, but resort to the Cardinall oure Chauncelour, and he shall make you an aunswere, and declare our pleasure, and with this aunswere the Londoners departed and made relation to the Maior.

The. xviii. day of this Moneth the Queene of Scottes, which had bene at the Court, and at Baynards Castell, a whole yere at the kinges charge, and was richly appoynted of all thinges mete to her estate, both of Jewels, Plate, Tapistry, Arras, Coyne, Hoyses, and all other thinges of the kinges gift and liberalitie, departed out of London towarde Scot: ande wyth great riches, albeit she came into England with much pouertie, and she entred into Scotland the. xiiij. day of June, whom her husband receyued at Barwick: but the English men finally him regarded. All her charges within the realme, comyng to the Court and returnyng, were of the kinges purse.

The Queene of Scottes retu. nech. me. to Scot. and to her husband.

Thursday the. xxiij. day of May, the king came into Westminster hall, for whome at the vpper ende was set a cloth of estate, and the place hanged with Arras, with him was the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke the Erles of Shrewsbury, of Essex, Wilshire and of Surrey, with manye Lordes and other of the kinges Counsaile. The Maior and Aldermen, and all the chief of the City were there in their best liuery (according as the Cardinall had them appoynted) by. ix. of the clocke. Then the king commaunded that all the prisoners should be brought forth. Then came in the poore yonglyngs and olde false knaues bound in ropes all along, one after another in their shirtes, and euery one a Halter about his necke, to the number of foure hundred men, and. xi. women. And when all were come before the kings presence, the Cardinall soze layd to the Maior and commonaltie their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared that they had deserued death for their offence: Then all the prisoners together cryed mercy gracious Lorde, mercy. Then the Lordes altogether besought his grace of mercy, at whose request the king pardoned them all. And then the Cardinall gaue vnto them a good exhortation to the great gladnesse of the heerers. And when the generall pardon was pronounc'd, all the prisoners showed at once, and altogether cast by their Halters into the Hall rooffe, so that the king might perceyue they were none of the discrettest sort. Here is to be noted that dyuers offenders which were not taken, heeryng that the king was inclined to mercye, came well apparayled to Westminster, and sodainly stryped them into their shirtes with halters, and came in among the prisoners willyngly, to be partakers of the kinges pardon, by the which doyng, it was well knowen that one John Gelson yoman of the Crowne, was the first that beganne to spoyle, and exhorted other to do the same, and because he fled and was not taken, he came in the rope with the other prisoners, & so had his pardon. This companie was after called the blacke Wagon. Then were all the Galowes within the Citie taken downe, and many a good prayer sayde for the king, and the Citizens tooke moze heede to their seruants.

King Henry the eighte came to westminster hall, and there sat himselfe in iudgement.

The king pardoneth all the rebels.

After this, sodainly there came a plague of sicknesse, called the sweetyng sicknesse. This malady was so cruell that it killed some within three hures, some within two houres, some mery at dinner, and dead at supper. Many dyed in the kinges Court, the Lord Clinton, the Lorde Grey of Wilton, and many knightes, Gentlemen, and officers. For this plague Michelmas terme was adiourned, and because that this maladie continued from July to

The sweetyng sicknesse



to the middes of December, the king kept himselfe euer with a small compa-  
nie, and kept no solempne Chyristmasse, willyng to haue no resort for feare of  
infection: but much lamented the number of his people, for in some one town  
halfe the people dyed, and in some other towne the thirde part, the Streake  
was so feruent, and the infections so great.

In the beginning of this yere, Trinitie terme was begon at Oren-  
ford, where it continued but one daye, and was againe adiourned to West-  
minster. This yere came to Calice from Pope Leo, a Legate de latere, cal-  
led Laurence Campeius, commonly called the Cardinall Campeius, for to  
erhozt the king to make warre on the Turke. And likewise the sayde Leo  
sent three other Legates foorth at that time for the sayde purpose, one into  
Fraunce, another into Spaine, and the thirde into Germany.

When the Cardinall of Pozke knew that there was coming a Legate  
into England, which should haue a greater preheminence then a Cardinall,  
he whose ambition was neuer satisfied, caused a Byshop and certayne Doc-  
tors to passe the Sea to Calice to welcome him, and to shewe to him that if  
he would haue the Popes purpose, to take any effect in Englande, he should  
in any wise sende in poste to Rome, to haue the sayde Cardinall of Pozke to  
be Legate also, and to be ioyned in commission with him, which thing was  
done (not without good rewardes) so that in thirtie and five dayes, the Bull  
was brought to Calice. During which time the Cardinall of Pozke sent to  
the Legate to Calice, red cloth to clothe his seruauntes, which at their com-  
ming to Calice, were but meanelly appareled. And when all things were  
readie, he passed the Sea and landed at Douer, and so kept forth his iorney  
toward London. At euery towne as they passed, he was receyued with pro-  
cession, and accompanied with all the Lords and Gentlemen of Kent. And  
when he came to Blacketh, there met him the Duke of Norfolke, with a  
great number of Brelates, knightes and Gentemen, all richely appareled.  
And in the waye he was brought into a riche Tent of cloth of Go'de, where  
he shifed hymselfe into a robe of a Cardynall, edged wyth Ermynes, and so  
tooke his Hoyle ryding toward London.

The night before he came to London, the Cardinall of Pozke, to fur-  
nische the cariages of the Cardinall Campeius, sent to him twelue Mulets  
with emptie Cofers covered with red, which twelue Mulets were led thro-  
rough London, amongst the Mulets of Campeius, which were but eyght  
and so these twentie Mulets passed through the streetes, as though they had  
bene full of treasures, apparell, and other necessaries. And when they came  
into Chepe, one of the Mulets brake from her keeper, and ouerthrewe the  
Chestes, and ouerturned two or three other Mulets cariages, which fell  
with such a violence, that dyuers of them vnlocked, and out of some fell olde  
hosen, broken Shoen, and roasted fleshe, peeces of bread, Egges, and much  
bile baggage: at which sight the boyes cryed, see, see, my Lorde Legates  
treasure, and so the Muleters were ashamed, and tooke bp all their stufte,  
and passed forth. And about thre of the clock at after none, on the .xxix. daye  
of July the sayde Legate entred the Citie, and in Southwarke met him all  
the Clergie of London, with Crosses, Senfers, and Copes, and senfed him  
with great reuerence. The Maior and Aldermen, and all the occupations  
of the Citie in their best lyueries stode in the streetes, and him highly hono-  
red:

1517  
9  
The terme  
kept at Ox-  
ford.

Cardinall  
Campeius  
sent into  
England.

note

Supibus

A foule defa-  
cing of the  
Cardinals  
honour.

red: to whome Syr Thomas Moore made a brieue oration in the name of the  
Citie: And when he came to Paules, there he was receyued by Byshops  
Mitred, and vnder a Canapie entred the Church: which Canapie his ser-  
uaunts tooke for their fees. And when he had offered he gaue his benedicti-  
on to all the people, and tooke agayne hys Mule, and so was wyth all hys  
traîne aforesayde, conueyed to Bathe place, and there rested: where he was  
welcomed of the Cardinall of Pozke. And on Sunday next ensuyng, these  
two Cardinales as Legates, tooke their Barges and came to Grenswiche,  
eche of them had beside their Crosses two pillers of Siluer, two little Axes  
guylt, and two cloke bagges embroudered, and the Cardinals Hats bozne  
before them. And when they came to the kings hall, the Cardinall of Pozke  
went on the right hande: and there the king royally appareled and accom-  
panied, met them euen as though both had come from Rome, and so brought  
them both bp into his Chamber of presence, and there was a solempne ora-  
tion made by an Italian, declaring the cause of the Legacie to be in two ar-  
ticles, one for ayde agaynst Gods enemies, and the second for reformation  
of the Clergie. And when masse was done, they were had to a Chamber,  
and serued with Lords and knightes, with much solempnitie: and after din-  
ner they tooke their leaue of the king and came to London, and rode through  
the Citie together in great pompe and glozie to their lodgings.

When the Cardinall of Pozke was thus a Legate, he set bp a Court,  
and called it the Court of the Legate, and proued Testamentes, and heard  
causes to the great hinderance of all the Byshops of the realme. He visited  
Byshops and all the Clergie, exempt and not exempt, and vnder couler of  
reformation he gat much treasure, and nothing was reformed, but came to  
more mischiefe: for by example of his pride, priestes and all spirituall per-  
sons wared so prowde, that they woze Weluet, and silke, both in Cobures,  
Jackets, Doblots, and Shoes, kept open lecherie, and so highly bare them-  
selues by reason of his aucthorities and faculties, that no man durst once re-  
proue any thing in them, for feare to be called heretike, and then they would  
make him smoke or beare a faggot. And the Cardinall himselfe was so  
prowde, that he thought himselfe egall with the king: and when he had sayd  
Masse, he made Dukes and Erles to serue him of Wyne with a saie taken,  
and to holde the Bason at the Lauatozies. Thus the pride and ambition of  
the Cardinall and Clergie was so high, that in maner all good persons ab-  
horred and disdeyned it.

Thys yere the frenche king wrote to the King of Englande, that if it  
were his pleasure, he would send an Ambassade into Englande, to remon-  
with the king and his counsaile for the redeeming of the Citie of Terray,  
and other things: which answered the messenger, that the Ambassade of  
the frenche king should be right hartily welcome to him. And so the frenche  
king sent into Englande the Lorde Boneuet, high Admirall of Fraunce, and  
the Byshop of Barys as chiefe Ambassadors accompanied with many noble  
men, and yong freshe Galauents of the court of Fraunce, to the number of  
lxxx. and more, and then came a great number of rascall Pedlers, and Juel-  
lers, and brought ouer Hattes and Cappes, and dyuers Marchaundise un-  
customed, all vnder the colour of the trussery of the Ambassadors.

After that these noble men were landed at Douer, they were receyued  
by

The Cardi-  
nalles court  
called the  
Court Le-  
gatyne.

Ambassadors  
sent out of  
Fraunce to  
the King of  
England.



by the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Countrey, and so conueyed from lodging to lodging till they came to Blackheth, and before them went their carriages and people in great number, to the summe of twelue hundred one another, which was thought to be to many for an Ambassade. These Gentlemen of Fraunce were very freshe.

The Erie of Surrey receyued the Ambassadors

Monday the. xxvii. daye of September, the Erie of Surrey high Admirall of Englande, in a coate of rich Tissue cut on cloth of siluer, on a great courser richely trapped, and a great Whistell of Golde, set with stones and pearle, hangyng at a great and manly Chayne baudzick wise, accompanied with an hundred and. lx. Gentlemen, richly appareled, on goodly hozes came to Blackheth, and there amiably receaued the Ambassadors of Fraunce. The yong galants of Fraunce had coates garded with one colour, cut in ten or twelue partes verie richely to beholde: and so all the Englishe men accoupled themselves with the French men louingly together, and so reade to London. After the two Admiralls folowed. xxiii. of the Frenches kinges Garde, whome accompanied. xxiii. of the kinges Garde. And after them a great number of archers, to the number of toure hundred. And in thys order they passed thozough the Citie to Taylers hall, and there the chiefe Ambassadors were lodged, and the remnaunt in Marchants houses about. When these Lords were in their lodgings, then the French harder men open their wares, and made Taylers hall lyke to the paunche of a marre. At thys doying many an Englishe man grudged, but it awayed not. The last daye of September, the French Ambassadors tooke their Barge, & came to Grenewiche. The Admirall was in a Gowne of cloth of siluer rayfed, furred with ryche Sables, and all his company almost were in a newe fassion garment, called a Shemew, which was in effect a Gowne, cut in the middle. The Gentlemen of Fraunce were brought to the kinges presence, where the Bishop of Parys made a solempne oration: which beyng ended, and answered made thereto, the king highly enterteined the Admirall and his company, and so did all the Englishe Lords and Gentlemen. The Ambassadors beyng daylie in counsaile at Grenewiche, the other Gentlemen daunced and passed the time in the Quenes chamber with Ladies and Gentlewomen. After long counsaile and much desiring of the French king and his counsaile, it was agreed that the Citie of Tournay should be deliuered to the French king, he payng sixe hundred thousand Crownes for the Citie, and foure hundred thousand Crownes for the Castell, the which the king had buyded, but it was not fully performed: and also he should pay. xxiii. thousand pound Tourneys, the which summe the Citizens of the Citie of Tournay ought to the king of Englande for their liberties and franchises.

In agrement that the City of Tournay should again be deliuered to the French king.

Upon these agrementes to be performed it was concluded that the City of Tournay should be deliuered to the French king. The Frenchmen the soner to come to their purpose, made a pretence of marriage to be had, betwene the Dolphin, sonne and heyre to the French king and the Ladye Mary the kinges daughter, which was agreed vpon this condicion, that if they both consented at lawfull age, then to be firme and stable, or else not: for then they were both very yong. And so all matters were concluded, and the Erie of Worcester and the Bishop of Ely appoynted to go into Fraunce for the deliuey of the Citie of Tournay, and performing of the other agrementes. And

for

for the sure payment of the summes of money to be paide to the king of England, vpon the sayd agrements, there were foure Gentlemen of the realme of Fraunce, left in England for hostages: whose names were Mounsieur Memozancy, Mounsier Monpessart, Mounsier Moy, Mounsier Mozret. Of the which foure the two first named were of noble bloud, but the two last were but of meane houses. And because they were yong, there was auncient Gentlemen appoynted gouernoys to them.

When all thinges were concluded and sealed, the King and all the Ambassadors richely appareled, and the two Legates roade solempnly to the Church of Saint Paul from the Bishop of Durhams place: and there was made from the West dooze to the Quere dooze of the Church, egall with the highest step, a haute pace of timber twelue foote broad, that the king and the Ambassadors might be sene. And there the Cardinall of Yorkes sang high Masse, and had his cloth of estate of Tysue: his Cupbord set with Basons all guilt couered: his place was fiue stepes high. At the first lauatory, thre Erles serued him, and at the second two Dukes and a Marques, and with the assay taken, they gaue hym wine, and after woter. And when the Masse was done, the Cardinall Campeius and he gaue to the people (as they sayd) cleane remission. And after that done, Doctor Pace the kinges Secretary a man verie eloquent, made a goodly Oration in praise of peace: and that done, the king and all his Nobles and Ambassadors went to the Bishops palace to dynner, where they were highly feasted. And after dynner, the king roade againe to the Bishop of Durhams place.

After diuerse Justes and feastes made, the sayd Ambassadors by the king and the Lordes: Sir Thomas Ernew Maioz of London, made to them a costly dynner at the Goldsmithes hall, which dinner they highly prayzed, it was so well ordered.

And when time came, they tooke their leaue of the king, the Queene, and the kinges Counsaile, and deliuered into the kinges possession their foure hostages as you haue heard before: at which departing the king gaue to the Admirall of Fraunce a garnish of guilt bessel, a payze of couered Basons guilt, twelue great guilt Bowles, foure payze of great guilt Pottes, a standing Cup of Gold, garnished with great Perle: and to some other also, he gaue plate, to some Cheines of Gold, to some rich apparell, and to some great hozes with rich bardes, so that euery gentleman was wel rewarded: which liberalitie the straungers much prayzed: and after that all their trusses were ready they departed towarde the sea, and tooke ship and landed at Boleyn.

Great and riche giftes geuen by the king to the Ambassadors of Fraunce.

Sone after their departing, the Erie of Worcester being the kinges Chamberlayn: The Bishop of Ely, the Lorde of Saint Johns, sir Nicholas Laure, sir John Dechy, Sir Thomas Bulleyn as Ambassadors from the king of England, accompanied with. lxx. knights and gentelinen and yomen, to the number of foure hundred and aboue, passed the sea with some stormes, and came to Calice, and passed thzough Picardie with great and kinde entertaynment in all places tyll they came to Paris, where they were nobly receyued, euery man matched with a like pere: and after they were brought to the French kinges presence, where the Bishop of Ely made a solempne Oration, as concerning the marriage and the peace: he did it with such a bold spirite that the Frenchmen much prayzed his audacitie.

Ambassadors sent from the king of England vnto the French king.

The



The manner  
of the deli-  
uerye of  
Courmay.

The conclusyon of this peace was this, that Henrye king of England, Fraunces king of Frenchmen, and Charles king of Castell had sworne a perpetuall peace, during their liues. And if it should happen any of the thre to violatē the league in any poynt and to moue warre: then the other two shoulde ioyne together and make warre against the violater or breaker of the peare.

After all thinges concluded, the Erle of Worcester, and with him Sir Nicholas Taur, sir John Dechy, sir Edward Belknap, with many other knightes tooke their leaue of the French king, and roade to Courmay, where they were well receyued. Then began the Capitaynes and the Souldiours to mourne, knowing that the towne should be yelded to the French king, and many a yong Gentleman, and many a tall yoman, wished that they had not spent their tyme there. And the next day after, the sayde Erle discharged sir Richard Fernyngham of his office of Capitaine, and commaunded euery man to be obedient to the Kinges pleasure, and to prepare to returne into England. The. viij. day of February, the Lord Chastileon came nere to the Citie of Courmay with. xij. hundreth men in harnesse. The Erle of Worcester sent sir Edward Belknap to knowe his commission, and there he shewed him his Commission, which was to receiue the Citie of Courmay. Then sir Edward Belknap desired him to send his commission to the Erle of Worcester, which he refused to do, sayng it was sufficient to shewe it: well sayde sir Edward Belknap you must vnderstand that we haue a commission from the king our Maister to deliuer you the Citie at a day appoynted: wherfore we must shew the king of England both your commissio that you had authority to receiue it fro the french king, & also that you by your indenture sealed with your seale of armes, shal cofesse y you receyued the Citie as a gift, & not rendered as a right to the king your Maister, or else be you sure that the Citie shall not be deliuered. Then the Lord Chastileon was wondrous wroth that he was no better belued: And so dayly were great messages sent to the Citie from him to the Erle of Worcester, and aunsweres were sent of the English part. But when the day approached, he had full aunswere that he must deliuer his commission, and also seale the indenture, or else the English men would not put him in possession of the towne, for their commission was otherwise. The French Capitaynes perceiuyng that if they disagreed at the day, that doubtēs might follow: wherfore they sent their commission, and sealed their indenture, and sent it likewise in the moynng, and came forward with their Banners displayed: wherof heeryng the Erle, he sent word that the Citie was neither yelded, nor gotten, but deliuered for confederation of maryage, and therefore they should not enter with Banners displayed. Then were the frenchmen angry, but there was no remedie but to rolle by theyr Standardes and Banners. And when they came to the Gates, there their commission and Indenture were solemnly read openly: and then the french men entered with Drumslades, and mynstrellie without any Banner: And then to Mounfire Chastileon was deliuered the Castell, and there he ordeyned watch and warde in euery part. Thus was the Citie of Courmay deliuered the. viij. day of February in the tenth yere of the reigne of the king, and many a tall yoman that lacked liuyng fell to robberyng, which would not labour after their returne.

Duryng

Duryng this tyme remayned in the French Court, Nicholas Carlew, fraunces Bryan, and dyuers other of the yong Gentlemen of England, and they with the french king roade dayly disguised throught Harps, throbwyng egges, stones, and other foolishe tryfles at the people, which light demeanour of a king was much discommended and gested at. And when these yong gentlemen came againe into England, they were all french, in eatyng, drinking, and apparell, yea and in french bices and bragges, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at: the Ladies and gentlewomen were displeasid, so that nothing by them was praysed, but if it were after the french turne, which after turned them to displeasure as you shal all heere.

After the kinges Ambassadors were returned, and Courmay deliuered to the french men, vpon the condicions aforesayde, the hostages that were here left for the payment of the great sommes and perfoymance of the condicions comprised in the league (of the which one was, that if the mariage tooke none effect, then the Citie of Courmay should be redeliuered vpon repayment of the same somme) the sayd hostages knewe not in what case they stood, but when they knewe it, they were very heauy and sorowfull: howbeit they dissimuled the matter in the best wise they could.

In the end of March the king sent for all the yomen of the gard that were come from Courmay, and after many good wordes geuen to them, he graunted to them foure pence by the day without attendaunce, except they were specially commaunded: and yet for all this the commonaltie sayde that the king was euill counsayled to geue away the Citie of Courmay, because the maintainyng of a garrison there should haue nourished and brought by men and yonger bryethen in feates of warre to the great strength and defence of the Realme.

This yere the. xij. day of February died the Emperour Maximilian, for whom the king caused a solempne Obsequie to be done at Paules Church, all the Nobles of the realme, and knightes of the Carter beyng present, of which order the sayd Emperour was one.

The death of  
Maximilian  
Emperour.

In the beginnyng of thys yere, the king with all the knightes of hys order beyng in Englande, roade on double hozles, with the Henryemen following the king, from Colbroke to Wyndsoze in gorgeous apparell, and there he kept with great solempnity the feast of Saint George, and dynd in the hall. And the Bishop of Winchester Prelate of the order sat at the hozdes ende alone. The king was solempnly serued, and the surnap cast lyke the feast of a coronation. All thinges were plenteous to straungers that resorted thether. At the Masse of Requiem was offered, the banner and other hachementes of honour belongyng to Maximilian the Emperour late deceased. After this feast ended, the king came to Richemond, and so to Grenewich, and there lay all May.

In which moneth the kinges Counsaile secretly comuned together of the kinges gentlenesse and liberalitie to all persons: by the which they perceyued that certaine yong men in his priuie Chamber, not regardyng hys estate nor degree, were so familiar and homely with him, and played suche light touches with him, that they forgat themselves: Which thinges although the king of his gent'e nature suffered, and not reprovoued it: yet the kinges Counsaile thought it not meete to be suffered for the kings honour, and ther-

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foze they altogether came to the king, besechyng him all these enormities and lightnesse to redresse. To whome the king answered, that he had chosen them of his Counsaile, both for the maintenaunce of his honour, and for the defence of all thing that might blemish the same: wherfoze if they sawe any about him misse themselves, he committed it to their reformation. Then the kinges Counsaile caused the Lord Chamberleyn to call befoze them Carew (and another who yet liueth, & therfoze shall not at this tyme be named) with diuers other also of the priuie Chamber, which had bene in the frenche Court, and banished them the Court for diuers considerations, layng nothing perticularly to their charges. And they that had offices were commaunded to go to their offices: which discharge out of the Court grieved soze the heartes of these pong men, which were called the kinges Minions. Then was there foure sad and auncient knightes, put into the kings priuie Chamber, whose names were sir Richard Wingfield, sir Richard Jernyngham, sir Richard Weston, and sir William Kingston: and diuers officers were chaunged in all places.

Then sir John Dechy was made deputie of Calice, and sir Richard Wingfield thereof discharged, and Nicholas Carew made Capitain of Riebanke, and commaunded to go thether, which was soze to him displeasaut. These pong minions which was thus seuered from the king, had bene in fraunce, and so highly praysed the french king and his Court, that in a maner they thought little of the king and his Court, in comparison of the other, they were so high in loue with the french Court, wherfoze their fall was little moned among wyse men.

This yere in the moneth of June was elected to be Emperour Charles King of Castell, and nephew to the Queene, by the whole assent of the electors of the Empryre: Although the french king sent his great Mayster to cause him to be elected to the high maiesty of the Empryre: yet his Ambassador and great mayster of hys household called Gonffier Lord of Bois, and brother to William Gonffier Lord Boneuet Admiral of fraunce, which was Ambassador in England the last yere as you haue heard, did not so his message that it tooke any effect. The king which had sent Doctor Pace his Secretary for the aduancement of his nephew the King of Castell to the dignitie Emperiall, because he had the Duchy of Strik, and many other seignories in Almaine, was very ioyous of this election, and caused a solempne Masse to be song at Paules the vij. day of July: at which Masse was present the Cardinall Campeius, the Cardinall of Porke, the Duke of Buckingham, of Porffolke, and Suffolke, with the Ambassadors of Spaine, fraunce, Venice, and Scotland. And after Masse was done, the Quere sang Te deum, and then all the Lordes departed to Baynards Castell to dinner, and that night were solempne fieres made through London, and great plentie of Wine geuen by Italians, Duchemen, and Spanyardes, for these newes.

This Sommer the Queene desired the king to bring to her Spanoz of Haucryng in the Bower of Essex, the Gentlemen of fraunce beyng hostages. And for their welcomynng she purueyed all thinges in the most libelallest maner: and especially she made to the kyng such a sumptuous banquet, that the king thanked her hartily, and the straungers gaue it great prayse.

The

The King liyng there did shote, hunte, and runne dayly with the hostages, to their great ioy.

In the Month of Nouember, the king came from Lambeth to Westminster hall, & so to the starre chamber, & there were befoze him the Lord Dgle, the Lord Haward, sir Mathew Browne, sir William Bulmer, & John Scot of Camerwell, for dyuers riottes, misdeameanozs and offences, and especially the king rebuked Sir Wylliam Bulmer knight, because he beyng the kyngs seruaunt swozne, refused the kings seruice, and became seruaunt to the Duke of Buckingham, sayng: that hee would none of hys seruauntes should hang on an other mans sleeue, and that he was as well able to maintaine him as the Duke of Buckingham, and that what might be thought by his departing, and what might be supposed by the Dukes retayning, he would not then declare. The knyght kneeled still on hys knees, cryng the king mercie, and neuer a noble man there durst entreate for him, the king was so highly displeasid with him. Yet at the last when other matters were heard, the king moued with pittie forgaue the saide syr Wylliam his offence, sayng, that we wil that none of our seruauntes shall belong to any other person, but to vs, nor we will not that our subiectes repine or grudge at such as we fauour, for our pleasure we wil haue in that case as vs lyketh, for one we will fauour now, and another at such time as vs shall like: and therfoze Sir Wylliam, if you serue vs hartily, you shall not be forgotten, and for this time we pardon you. Likewise he pardoned the lord Edmond Haward, and Syr Mathewe Browne their offences, which were indicted of ryottes, and maintenaunce of bearinges of diuers misdoers within the Countie of Surrey: but the Lord Dgle humbly beseched the king of hys mercie, to whome he answered. Sir your matter concerneth murther of our subiect, which great offence is not onely to vs but to God, and therfoze we remit you to the common lawe. And then he rose and went to his Barge, and by the way he made James Parfford Maior of the Citie of London knight, and so he with all his counsaile came to Lambeth.

The foure Gentlemen hostages of fraunce, dayly resorted to the court and had great cheere, and were well entertayned, and euery time they moued, stirred and required the king to passe the Sea, and to meete with the french king their maister, whome they praysed highly, affirming that if the king and he might once familiarly common together, that there should such a constaunt loue rise and encrease betweene them, which after ward should neuer faile. This request was oftentimes heard and little regarded, but yet by the meanes of the Cardinall at the last, in the ende of februarie it was agreed that the king in person should passe the sea to hys Castell and Lordship of Guisnes, and there in Maye next comming betweene Guisnes and Arde, the king and the french king should meete. When thys was fully concluded, the king wrote letters to all suche Lordes, Ladies, Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen as should geue their attendaunce on him and the Queene: which incontinent put themselves in a readynesse, after the most costliest fashion, for the furniture of the same meeting.

Then were sent to Guisnes vnder the rule of syr Edward Belknap thre thousand artificers, which buyded out of the carth on the playne befoze the Castell of Guisnes, the most goodlyest Palace of tymbre that euer was

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brought



wrought in the same place, and so curiously garnished without and within. Beside thys, prouisions were made within the realme of Englande and in Flaunders for bittayle, wyne and all other thinges necessarie for the same. And yet beside all this Orleans king at armes in Fraunce came into the Court of Englande and made Proclamation, that the king of England and the French king, in a campe betwene Arde and Guyfnes, with .xxiiij. aydes in June next ensuyng, should abide all comers beyng gentlemen, at the Tyll, at Courney, and at barriers, and lyke proclamation was made by Clarenceur king at armes in England, and in the Court of Fraunce, and in the Court of Burgoyne, and in diuers other Courtes and places in Almaine, and Italye. For furnishing of the Justes, there was deuyd a Tyll, and all thinges necessarie for that enterpryse, in a goodly playne betweene Guyfnes and Arde.

Duryng the time of these preparations, newes were brought to the king that Charles his Nephewe elected Emperour of Almayne would depart out of Spaine by sea, and come by Englande to go into Germany to receyue hys first Crowne at Acon. Wherefore the king caused great prouisions to be made at euery Hauen, for the receyuing of hys welbeloued Nephewe and friend, and daylie prouisions were made on all sides for these noble meetings of so high princes: and especially the Queene of Englande, and the Lady Dowagar of Fraunce, made great cost on the apparell of their Ladies and Gentlewomen.

In this yere the king being informed that his realme of Ireland was out of order, discharged the Erle of Kildare of his office of Deputy and therunto (by the meanes of the Cardinall as men thought) was appointed the Erle of Surrey Lorde Admirall, to whom the Cardinall did not owe the best fauour. Wherefore the sayde Erle of Surrey in the beginning of Aprill tooke leaue of the king, and the Duke of Norfolk his father, and passed into Irelande, and had with him diuers Gentlemen, that had bene in the garrison of Courney, and one hundred yomen of the Kinges gard, and other to the number of a thousand men. Where he by his manhood and wisdom, brought the Erle of Desmond and diuers other rebelles to good conformitie and order: and there he continued in great hardnesse two yere and more, in which space he had many battailes and skirmishes with the wilde Irish.

When it was concluded that the Kinges of England and Fraunce should mete, as you haue heard, then both the Kinges committed the order and maner of their meting, and how many dayes they should mete, and what preheminnence eche should geue to other, to the Cardinall of Yorke.

The king intending and persevering in purpose to mete with Fraunces the French king, great and rich prouisions were made, wherefore the noble King and the Queene wyth all the noble Courte, remoued the .xxi. daye of May being on Mondaye, from their Manor of Grenethich, toward the Sea side, and so on Fridaye being the .xxv. daye of May, arrived at the Citie of Cauntorbury intending there to kepe his Whitsontyde.

Some after his comming to Cauntorburie, tidings were brought that Charles Emperour elect, was on the Sea, in sight of the coast of Englande, wherefore officers of the king were sent with great diligence to the Castell and Towne of Douer, to be there in a readinesse against the arrivall of the Empe-

1520  
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Charles  
Emperour  
landed in  
England.

Emperour.

The Lorde Cardinall, came to the towne of Douer in haste with a noble repaire, abiding the comming of the Emperour, which Emperour, the Saterday being the .xxvi. daye of May arrived with all his navy of ships royall on the coaste of Kent, direct to the towne or port of Hyeth the sayde daye by noone, where he was hailed by the noble knight sir William Fitzwilliam, vice Admirall of Englande, with six of the Kinges shippes well furnished, which laye for the safegarde of passage betwene Douer and Calice, at the coste and charges of the king of England: Calmesse of the wether and lacke of winde caused that the Emperour might not so sone take land at the port of Douer, as he would haue done. Notwithstanding towardes the euen he departed from his shippes, and entered into his boate comming towardes the lande, where in his comming to land: on the sea the Lorde Wolsey Cardinall and Legate met and receaved him with suche reuerence as to so noble a Prince appertayned. Thus landed the Emperour Charles, vnder the cloth of hys estate of the blacke Eagle all splayed on riche cloth of Golde. In his retinue with him, were manye noble men, and manye fayre Ladies of his blood, as princes and Princesses, and one Lady as chiefe to be noted, was the princes of Auinion with many other Nobles which landed with him in high & sumptuous maner and great riches in their apparell: great ioye made the people of Englande to see the Emperour, and more to see the bening maner and mekenesse of so high a Prince.

When the Emperour had thus taken lande, the Lorde Cardinall was as conduyt to the same noble Emperour from the Shore of Douer vnto the Castell there: then were all persones chered with the best that there in the towne might be.

After the departing of the Emperour to the lande from his Hauie, the apparell of euery ship then shewed, as flagges, Banners, Streamers, and Targetes, then the mightie ordynance of euery of them brake out by force of fier as though the sea had bent, marueilous was the noise of the gones.

The Emperour being thus in the Castell of Douer, with hastie tidings came to the king where as he was at Cauntorbury, who hasted him towardes the noble Emperour. And so came ridyng early in the morning to the Castell of Douer, within which Castell the king alighted: the Emperour heying the king to be come, came out of his chamber to meete with the king, and so met with him on the staires or he could come by: where eche embraced other right lovingly: then the king brought the Emperour to his chamber, where as there comming was of gladnesse.

Some after these two noble Princes on the Whitsondaye early in the morning tooke their horse and roade to the Citie of Cauntorburie, the more to solempne the feast of Pentecost, but specially to se the Queene of England his Aunt was the intent of the Emperour.

The noble personages of the realme of England and the Queene with her beautifull trayne of Ladies receyued and welcommed the same Charles elect Emperour, whose person was by the king conueighed to a faire and pleasaunt chamber where the sayde Emperour appareled him right richly. Then the noble retinue of the sayd Emperour as well of Lordes as of Ladies were lodged, aswell as there might be, with ioy and much gladnesse, & there

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in



in Cauntorburie sojourned the Emperoz and all his trayne with the king, vntill the Thursday in the same weeke.

The last daye of May being Thursday, the Emperoz tooke leaue of the king and all the Ladies, and gaue great thankes, and so roade to Sandwich, and there tooke his shippes, the winde to him was liking, & hereby he sailed into Flaunders.

Then the same day, the king of England made saile from the port of Douer and with a goodly nauie landed at Calice at the houre of a. xi. of the clock and with him the Queene and Ladies and many Nobles of the realme. And so was the king receyued into the Checker and there rested: great repaize of noble men came to the towne of Calice from the French Court, to see the king and to salute him, which were of his grace, princely entertayned.

Mondaye the fourth daye of June the kinges grace with all the nobles and the Queene with her traine of Ladies as other, remoued from Calice to his Lordship royall of Guisnes, which was so Noble and royall a lodging as befoze had not bene seene, for it was a Palace: the Palace was quadrant, and euerye quadrant of the same Palace was three hundred xxiiij. foote long of a syde, which was in compasse. xiiij. hundred, and xij. foote about. This Palace was set on stages by great cunnynge and sumptuous worke. At the entryng into the Palace befoze the Gate, on the plaine greene was buylded a fountaine of enbowed worke, gylte with fyne golde, and vice, engrayled wyth anticke workes, the olde God of Wyne called Baccus birlyng the wyne, which by the conduytes in the earth ranne to all people plentifully with red, white, and claret wyne, ouer whose head was wrytten in letters of Romaine in golde, Faicte bonne chere quy vouldra.

On the other hande or syde of the gate, was set a piller, which was of auncient Romaine worke, borne with foure Lyons of Golde, the pillers wrapped in wreath of Golde curiously wrought and intrayled, and on the sommet of the sayd Piller stood an Image of the blind God Cupide, with his Bowe and arrowes of loue readie by his seemyng, to stryke the yong people to loue.

The foregate of the same palace or place with great and mighty masonrye by sight was arched, with a Tower on euery syde of the same portered by great craft, and inbattelled was the gate and Tower, and in the fenestres, and windowes were Images resembling men of warre redie to cast great stones: Also the same gate or Tower was set with compassed Images of auncient Princes, as Hercules, Alexander and other by entrayled worke, richly limned with golde and Albyn colours, and well and warely was made ouer the gate loupes, and enforced with battailmentes, and in the same gate a lodge for the Porter: which there appered and other, sumptuously apparayled lyke vnto kinges officers.

By the same gate all people passed into a large Court sayze and beautifull, for in this Court appered much of the outward beautie of this palace, for from the first water table to the rayfynge or resun pierces, was bay wyndowes on euery syde mixed with cleere Stozpes, curiously glased, the postes or monyelles of euery wyndow was gilt. Thus the outward part of the place delighted the eyes of the beholders, by reason of the sumptuous worke. Also the Tower of the Gate as seemed, was builded by great masonrye, and

by

by great engyne of mans wit, for the sundrie countenances of euery Image that their appered, some shootyng, some castyng, some readie to strike, and firing of Sunnes, which shewed very honourably. Also all the sayd quadrants bayes, and edifices, were royally entrayled, as farre as vnto the same Court appertayned. And direct agaynst the Gate was deuised a halpas, and at the entry of the sayze was Images of soze and terrible countenances, all armed in curious worke of Argentine. The bay of the same halpas pendant by craft of trimmer, & vnder the trimmer, anticke Images of gold enuyroned with berdour of Dylfes cast in compasse, moustring their countenances towards the entryng of the palace. The sayze of the sayd halpas was cast of passage by six. wentes of broade steppes, so that from the first foote or lowest step, a person myght without payne go vnto the highest place of the same halpas.

On euery hande was there Chamber doozes and enterynge into the Chambers of the same Palace, which were long and large and well proportioned, to receyue light and ayze at pleasure: the roofes of them from place to place, and Chamber to Chamber were filed and couered with cloth of Silke, of the most sayze and quick inuention that befoze that tyme was seene, for the ground was white engrayled, inbowed and batoned with riche clothes of Silkes knitte, and fret with cuttes and braides and sundrie newe castes, that the same clothes of silke shewed like bullions of fyne burned Golde, and the Roses in lofferages: that the same rooffe, was in kindly course, furnished so to mannes sight, that no liuyng creature might but ioy, in the beholdyng thereof, for from the iawe pierce of the sayde silyng: which pierce was gylte with fyne golde, were workes in paan paled, all the walles to the creast encounteryng the clere stozpes, the same creast which was of large depenelle, the worke was antique knottes with bosses cast & wrought with moze cunnynge then I can wyte, all which workes and ouerages were gylte: and to set it the moze to the glozy, the flourishyng Wise was comparable to the rich Amell.

Also to the same Palace was reered a Chapell with two closettes, the Quiere of the sayd Chapell filed with cloth of Golde, and thereon frette engrayled bent clothes of Silke, all was then Silke and golde. The aulters of this Chapell were hanged with rich reuesture of cloth of golde of Tissue, embzoudered with pearles.ouer the high aultar was hanged a riche Canaby of maruaylous greatnesse, the aultar was apparayled with fyne payze of Candlestickes of golde, and on the aultar an halpas, and thereon stood the Sacrament all of fyne golde, and on the same halpas stood. xiiij. Images of the bignesse of a childe of foure yeres of age all golde: And all the Copes and Vestmentes so riche as might be prepared or bought in the Citie of Flozens, for all the Copes and Vestmentes were but of one peere, so wouen for the purpose, cloth of Tissue and poudered with red Roses purled with fine gold: the Orfrys set with pearles and pzeious stones. And all the walles and deskes of this Chapell were hanged with right cloth of golde, and three rich great Crosses were there readie to be borne at festiuall tymes, and Basyns, and Senses, Gospellers, Pares, Crewets, holy water vessels, and other ornamentes all of golde.

Also in the first Closet was a trauese for the kinges person of cloth of Golde: And within that the kinges place and Chaire, with Cushins

of

The description of the newe palace made by the king of England at Calice for the receyuing of the French king.



of cloth of Golde: befoze the trauesse was an altare of presence, which altare was adourned with cloth of bzouderie and riche Pearles and precious stones, set in Goldsmithes worke of fine Golde. On the aultar was a deske or halspace, whereon stood a Crucifix of fine Golde, with an Image of the Trinitie, an Image of our Lady, and twelue other Images all of fine Gold and precious stones, two payze of Candelstickes of fine Gold, with Balsens, Crewettes, Dares, and other Ornamentes: the sayde Closet was hanged wyth Tappets embzandered with riche worke, fret with pearles & stones, the rooffe of the same Closet was steled with worke of Inmouled, guilt with fine Golde and Senapar and Vice.

The second Closet was for the Quenes person, the which was as well trimmed and beuotified as the other Closet was.

And from this palace or place into the mightie and strong fortreffe and Castell royall of Guisnes, was a Galerie for the secret passage of the kings person into a secret lodging within the same castell, the moze for the kings ease. And finally to this palace was ioyned all houses of offices, that to such an honorable court should appertaine. In this palace as ye haue heard, was the kings grace lodged and all the nobles after their degrees. And for that the towne of Guisnes was little, and that all the noble men might not there be lodged, they set bp tentes in the field, to the number of twentie and eyght hundred sundrie lodgings, which was a goodly sight. Thus was the king in his Palace royall at Guisnes.

Fraunces the French king was with all his Nobles of the realme of Fraunce, come to the towne of Arde, where was prepared for his coming, many tentes, haies and pavilions, & the same were set and pight in the field. On the French partie also, there was at the same towne of Arde buyded the French kings lodging full well, but not finished, much was the prouisions in Picardie on euerye part through all. The French king commaunded his lodging to be made, a little out of the towne of Arde in the territorie of an olde castle, which by the warre of olde time had bene beaten. On the same place was reedified a house of solace and sport, of large & mightie compasse, which was chiefly sustayned by a great mightie masse, whereby the great ropes and takell strayned, the same mast was stayd. All the rooffe of the same house hong on the same masse, and with takell was strayned and borne, by the supporters of the same masse or tree, the colours of the same was all blew, set with starres of Golde foyle, and the Orbes of the heauens by the craft of colours in the rooffe, were curiously wrought in maner like the skie, or firmament, and a cressant strayned sumdeale towards the towne of Arde, this cressant was couered with frets and knottes made of Iuie Bushes, and bore braunches and other things that longest would be greene for pleasur.

In thys time Lorde Thomas Wolsey Cardinall and Legate a Latere as the kings high Ambassadour rode with noble repaire of Lordes, Gentlemen and Prelates to the towne of Arde, to the French court where of the French king, the same Lorde Cardinal was highly entertayned. Of the noblenesse of this Cardinal, the Frenchmen made bokes, shewing the tryumphant doings of the Cardinals royalty. The number (as they write) of the Gentlemen, knightes and Lordes, all in crimson Vcluet, with the marueylous number of chaines of Golde, the great horse, Mules, coursers, and carriages,

The pompe  
and pride of  
Cardinall  
Wolsey.

ges, that there were, which went befoze the Cardinals coming into Arde with sumpters & Cofers. Of his great crosse and pillers borne, the Willow here or case bzoudered, the two Mantels, with other the Ceremoniall offices, with a great and honorable number of bishops geuing their attendance, the mightie and great number of seruauntes, as yomen, gromes, all clothed in Scarlet, who so readeth of the French booke, shall finde the same wonderfully set foorth.

The king of England beyng at the Castell of Guisnes in the newe palace, many noble men of the French court resorted to his grace, to see hym and the Queene, and to salute them: who of the king were wel enterteyned

When the Lorde Cardinall had sojourned at Arde in the French court by the space of two dayes, and the high and bzigent princely causes in counsaile declared, the Lorde Cardinall tooke his leaue of the French king, and of all the French court, and repaired vnto the Castell of Guisnes, where he founde the king of Englande his souereigne Lorde. And the same king by his letters patents, had geuen full power and aucthoritie to the same Lorde Cardinall, concerning all matters to be debated, touchyng the king and the realme, and also gaue vnto the same Cardinall, full strength, power, and aucthoritie, to affirme and confirme, binde and vnbinde, whatsoeuer should be in question, betweene hym and the French king, as though the king in proper person had bene there presently.

When the Lordes of the French counsaile, sawe the high and great aucthoritie that the Cardinall had, they shewed it vnto the French king, who incontinent commaunded his commission to be made, of lyke power and aucthoritie, that the king of Englande had geuen vnto the sayde Lorde Cardinall: the same power and aucthoritie had the sayd Cardinall, geuen to him by Fraunces the French king, and affirmed by the counsaile royall of Fraunce. Then hastily was sent to the king of Englande the French kings patent, for the Lorde Cardinall sayd humbly to the French king, that he would no such power receyue, without the consent of the king of Englande his souereigne Lord: but when the king of England and his counsaile had sene and beved the French kings patent, and it well considered, then he sent the same patent of power to the Lorde Cardinall with full assent: then the Lorde Cardinall the power receyued with much gladnesse. It was highly esteemed and taken for great loue that the French king had geuen so great power to the king of Englandes subiect.

Thursday the seuenth day of June, in the Vale of Andren, within the Lordship royall of Guisnes, befoze daye, was set and pight a royall riche Tent, all of cloth of Golde, and riche embzouderie of the king of Englands, and dyuers other haies and pavilions: the same riche Tent of Golde, was within hanged of the richest Arras, newly contriued and made, that euer befoze was seene, and a presence of the kings estate, with two Chayzes and riche Cushyns therein: the ground was spred with Carpets of new Turkey making all full of beuotie.

At the houre of meeting appoynted, the Lordes of Englande set their people and seruauntes in good array of battayle, in a playne field directly befoze the Castell of Guisnes. The king of Englande commaunded that hys Garde should be set in the best of the battayle, or bend of footemen and so it was

The great  
credite and  
aucthoritie  
that was  
committed to  
Cardinall  
Wolsey both  
by the King  
of Englande  
and the French  
king.



was done. This battaile of footemen conducted themselues so in order, that from the first to the last, neuer a person of the footemen brake his place or aray, but kept themselues so well, that neuer seruingmen themselues better demeaned. The seruingmen thus set in order in the field, on the left hand of the king of England, somewhat toward y<sup>e</sup> Marres, long while thus abiding, in which time the castel of Guisnes shot a warning peece to y<sup>e</sup> towne of Arde, and in lyke wise the towne of Arde gaue warning to the castell of Gypsnes.

The meeting  
and encount-  
er of the  
king of Eng-  
land and the  
French king.

And forthwith the king of Englande with all the court of the nobles of the realme mounted on horseback, and marched towardes the Waley of Andern in honorable order, all gentle men, Squiers, knightes, and Barons, roade before the king and Bishops also, the Dukes, Marques and Erles, gaue attendaunce next the king.

The french king on his partie marched towarde the encounter wyth all the rufflers and gallantes of the french Court. In which time came to the french king some report, that caused him to tarry, and a light from his horse, then the french men were very doubtfull, and in a staye so still rested, untill a Lorde of fraunce called Mounfire Mozret, the sayde Mozret came to the french king, and shewed him the verie fidelitie of the king of Englande, wherby the french king mounted on horseback, and the better encouraged, marched towards the place appoynted of encounter.

Thus in marchyng the one king to the other, to the king of England came Lorde George Newell Lorde Aburgheny, and openly sayde, sir ye be my king and souereigne, wherfore aboue all I am bounden to shewe you truth, and not to let for none, I haue bene in the french partie, and they be mo in number, double so many, as ye be: with that was y<sup>e</sup> Erle of Shrewsburie Lorde Steward readie and sayde, sy<sup>r</sup> whatsoeuer my Lorde of Burgheny sayth, I my selfe haue bene there, and the frenchmen be moze in feare of you and your subiects, then your subiects be of them: wherfore sayde the Erle, if I were worthis to geue counsaile, your grace should marche forward, so we intende my Lorde sayde the king: then the officers of armes cryed on afore, then in thort whyle was the king on the banke of Anderne: then euery gentleman as they roade tooke his place, and stode still side by side, they<sup>r</sup> regarde or face towardes the Wale of Andern.

Then the king of England shewed himself somedeale forward in bewty & personage, the most goodliest prince y<sup>e</sup> ever reigned ouer the realme of England: his grace was appareled in a garment of cloth of siluer of Damaske, ribbed with cloth of Golde, so thicke as might be, the garment was large, and plited verie thick, and canteled of berye good intaile, of suche shape and making, y<sup>e</sup> it was marueilous to behold. The courser which his grace roade vpon, was trapped in a marueilous besture of a new deuised fassion, the trapper was of fine Golde in Bullion, curiously wrought, pounced and set with antique worke of Romaine figures. Attending on the kings grace of Englande, was the maister of his horse, by name sy<sup>r</sup> Henry Gylford, leading the kings spare horse, the which horse was trapped in a Mantellet byont and back piace, all of fine Golde in Scifers, of deuise with tasselles on cordels pendaunt, the Saddell was of the same sute and worke, so was the Hedstall and raynes. After folowed .ix. hennemen, ryding on Coursers of Naples the same yong Gentlemen were appareled in riche cloth of Tissue, the coursers

in

in harnesse of maruaylous fassion, scaled in fine Golde in Bullion, and all the same horse harnesse were set full of trembling spangles that were large and faire. The Lorde Marques Dorset bare the kings sworde of estate before the kings grace, the Lorde Cardinall did his attendaunce.

Thus in little time, abidyng the comyng of the french king and his, the which in thort time came with a great number of horsemen, freshly appareled, the french king and his retaine, put themselues in place appoynted, direct against the Englishe partie, beholding euery other of both nations, the french men mised muche of the battaile of the footemen, and euerye of the french men to other spake of the multitude of the Englishe men which seemed great, yet were not they so many as the french partie.

When the french king had a little beholden the Englishe men, he put himselfe somewhat before his people, that were there on him attendaunt, the Duke of Burbon bearing a naked sworde byright, the Lorde Admirall of fraunce, & the Countie Cosmen Galias, Maister of the french kings horse, and no mo persons gaue their attendaunce in passing with the french king: when it was percepued that the french kings sworde was bozne naked, then the king of England commaunded the Lorde Marques Dorset to draw out the sword of estate, and beare it by naked in the presence, which was so done.

Then by blew the Trumpets, Sagbuttes, Clarions, and all other Minstrels on both sides, and the kinges disceded downe towarde the botome of the baley of Andern, in sight of both the nations and on horseback, met and embraced the two kings eche other: then the two kinges alighted, and after embraced with benyng and curteous maner eche to other, with sweete and goodly wordes of greeting: and after fewe wordes, these two noble kinges went together into a riche Tent of cloth of Golde, that there was set on the grounde for such purpose: thus arme in arme went the french king fraunces the first of fraunce, and Henry the eyght king of England and of fraunce, together passyng with communication.

When these two princes were in the Tent before rehearsed, the french king sayde, my deare brother and Cosyn, thus farre to my paine haue I trauallyed to see you personally, I thinke verily that you esteeme me as I am. And that I maye to you be your ayde, the realmes and seignories shewe the might of my person: Sir said the king of England, neither your realmes nor other the places of your power, is the matter of my regard, but the steadfastnesse and loyall keeping of promise, comprised in Charters betwene you and me: that obserued and kept, I neuer sawe Prince with my eye, that might of my hart be moze loued. And for your loue I haue passed the seas, into the fardest frontier of my realme to see you presently, the which doing now gladdeth mee. And then were the two kings serued with a banquet, and after mirth, had communication in the banquet time, and there shewed the one the other their pleasure.

After the two kings had ended the banquet, they came forth in open sight and there departed with their companie, the king of Englande to Gypsnes, the french king to Arde. And sundrie dayes were kept sundrie and royall Justes and other pastimes: the perticulers wherof I omit because mention is before made of sundrie of them.

Mondaye the .xi. daye of June, the two Queenes of England and of fraunce



The meeting  
of both the  
Queenes  
of England  
and Fraunce.

Fraunce came to the Campe, where eyther saluted other right honorably, and went into a stage for them prepared, right curiously hanged, and specially there was for the Queene of England, a Capet ail of pearle called Hugues Dike, which was much looked at for the costynesse of the same.

Giftes given  
by the french  
king and the  
king of Eng-  
lande.

And after sundry meetings of the sayde two kinges many daies, and sundry great feastes and banquets, that the one king had made to the other. They in the ende gaue vnto eche other sundry rich and costly giftes and Jewels, as first. The king of England gaue to the french king a Colloz of Jewels of precious stones, called Balastes, the Sanker, furnished with great Diamantes and Perles. The french king gaue to the king of England a Bracelet of precious stones, riche Jewels and fayre, and so departed the sayde two noble kinges, the sayde .xxiiiij. daye of June, which was Sunday and Midsummerday.

During thys triumph so muche people of Picardie and West Flaunders drew to Guyynes to se the king of Englande and his honor, to whome vittailles of the court were in plentie, the Condette by the gate ranne wyne alwayes, there were Wagaboundes, Blowmen, Laborers and of the Bragarie, Wagoners and Beggars that for drunkennesse lay in routes & heays, so great resort thither came, that both knights and Ladies that were come to see the noblenesse, were fayne to lye in haye and strawe, and helde them thereof highly pleased. From the court of the Emperour, nor of the Lady Margaretes court, nor of Flaunders, Brabant, nor Burgoyne, came neuer a person to answer to the chalenge: By that it seemed that there was small loue betwene the Emperour and the french king: Moreover Mounseir Fayot Capitaine of Bullein with Mounseir Chateillon did their deuoir to haue taken the towne of saint Omer, of which doing was thought no goodnesse to the Emperour.

The meeting  
concluded to  
be had in  
England be-  
twene the  
Emperour  
and King  
Henry.

Monday the .xxv. daye of June, the king of Englande and the Queene and all the courte removed from Guyynes to the towne of Calice and there made the king his abode, where was concluded the meetyng of the Emperour with the king, wherefore was made newe and great prouisions.

In the tyme of the triumph there was a muttering that the towne of Calice should be rendered into the french kings hands, & for truth the frenchmen so spake and sayde, wherewith many Englishmen were grieved.

King Henry  
discharged a  
great part  
of his traine.

While the king laye thus in Calice he considered the charge of his nobles, and thought that lesse number of seruautes would now serue them for the tyme of his abode, and so caused the Cardinall to call al the Gentlemen before him which in the kinges name gaue to them thankes with much commendations, and for eschewyng of cost, because the king taried but the Emperours comming, he licensed them to sende home the halfe number of their seruautes and bade them after their long charges to liue waresly, this terme waresly was amongst the most parte taken for barely, at which sayng the Gentlemen sore disdayned.

The King  
retheth to  
Graueling  
to visite the  
Emperour.

Thus in Calice rested the king and the Queene vntill the tenth daye of July. Then the kinges grace with goodly repaire roade to the towne of Graueling in Flaunders there that night to rest and see the Emperour, on the king were waighting the Lozde Cardinall, Dukes, Marquises, Erles, Bishops, Barons, knights, and Gentlemen. The noble Emperour passed the

the water of Graueling, and at a place called Waell, there he met and receyued the king of England, the Emperour made such semblant of loue to all the court of Englande that he wan the loue of the Englishmen, and so passed the Emperour and the king of England to Graueling, where the king lodged the best that might be, all Lozdes, Gentlemen, yemen and all sortes of Englishmen from the highest to the lowest were so chered and feasted, with so louing manner that much they praysed the Emperours court. In Graueling was the Emperours Aunt Margaret, she welcomed the king and other noble men of the realme.

When the french king and his Lozdes had knowledge of the meetings of the Emperour and the king of Englande in the towne of Graueling, they were therewith greatly grieved, as by many thinges appered, for after the Englishmen were in fraunce disdayned, and in their suites there greatly deferred and had litle right and much lesse fauor, so from day to day still more and more began hart brenning, and in conclusion open warre did arise betwene the two realmes.

Wednesday the .xi. day of July, the Emperour and the Lady Margaret came with the king of England to the towne of Calice, the Emperour and the Lady Margaret were lodged in Staple hall, and all Gentlemen and other lodged in other places right wel prepared of all necessaries for their coming: and for solas was builded a banquetting house .lxxx. foote round, after a goodly deuise, builded vpon Mastes of shippes in such maner as I thinke was neuer seene, for in it was the whole sere portrayed, which by reason of the great wind that blew, could not be achieved, the same day at night were sundry riche Maskes and goodly shewes both of noble men and of Ladies.

The Empe-  
rour cometh  
to Calice.

Thursday the .xij. day of July, because the banquet house could not be finished, the Emperour and the Lady Margaret supped with the king and the Queene at the Checker, where the same night after Supper reuelled lxxxviij. Maskes: after the reuels was a banquet: After which banquet the king brought the Emperour and the Lady Margaret to the Staple, and after withdrew him.

Friday the .xiii. day of July, the Emperour did intende to haue departed from Calice, but the counsaile was such that he departed not that night. The charters before time concluded, there were redde, and to the Emperour decia- red all the whole articles of high peace and league tripartite, to which the french king had assented and fully contented, and for the more exemplificati- on of the same, he sent the Lozde de Roche with letters of credence to signifie to the Emperours Maiesty that to the same articles he the french kyng promised in the worde of a king as Prince faythfull, to obserue and kepe for him and his realme and Subiectes. Thus by the Lozde de Roche in the Emperours presence and before the king of England in the name of his maister, they shewed the french kinges will in the towne of Calice with many high and vrgent causes concerning the Princes, whereby the Emperour went not out of Calice that night, by which aboad the Emperours Seruautes were much in doubt of the Emperours person.

Saterday the .xiiii. day of July, about noone the Emperour toke leaue of the Queene of England his Aunte and of her traine of Ladyes, the king with all his nobles conducted the Emperour on his way to a billage towards

lxxxviij.

Flaunders



flaunders called Waell, where the Emperour embraced the king, and him betooke to almightie God, and the king gaue to him a Courser of Naples richely apparayled.

The returne of the King into Eng- lande.

The king tooke leaue of the Duchesse of Sauoy great aunt to the Emperour, and of all Nobles of the Emperours Court, and so departed, smal tyme in Calice the king abode, but in goodly hast shipped, & with the Queene and all other Nobles in safetie tooke lande. And after passed the tyme of Sommer with huntynge and other spoyses honourably, and made no great leastes this yere.

This yere the king kept his Christmasse at his Manor of Grenewich with much noblenesse and open Court. And the .x. day of February in hys awne person Justed to all commers, and the .xij. day his grace and the Erle of Deuonshire with foure aydes answered at the Tournay all commers which were .xvi. persons, noble and riche was their apparell, but in feates of armes the king excelled the rest.

The Duke of Buckyngham accused.

In this tyme was Edward Duke of Buckyngham accused to the king of high treason, wherefore the kinges grace by the aduyce of his counsaile, sent and directed his letters to the said Duke, being at his Manor of Chornbury in the Countie of Gloucester, that incontinent he shoulde come to hys presence all excuses layde asyde. Also the king gaue commaundement to sir William Compton, sir Richard Weston, and sir William Kingston knyghts for the kinges bodie, to take with them secret power and also Sergeaunts at armes, and that they should wisely take hede that while the Duke receiued the kinges letters, he should not conuey himself, which they wisely accomplisshed.

The sayde Duke vpon the sight of the kinges letters remoued, and so iourneyed till he came to Windsoze, and there offered at Saint George, and alwayes not farre from him abowtyng his demeanour, were the same knyghts liyng. The Duke lodged in Windsoze for that night, and as it was well proued, he mercuaylously feared, insomuch that he called vnto him a seruaunt of the kinges named Thomas Warde, the same Thomas Warde was gentleman Harbenger for the king, and demaunded of him what he made there, who answered sayng, that there lay his office, there the Duke perceyued that he could not escape. And so much was he in spirite troubled, that as he was at breakfast, his meate would not do bene, yet he made good countenance, and shortly tooke his horse, and so road til he came to Tothill besides Westminster where he tooke his Barge: befoze this time was the Dukes Chaunceloz taken and as a prisoner kept in the Tower, which had confessed matter of high treason concernyng the kinges person.

When the Duke was in his Barge, he commaunded to land at my Lord Cardinales bridge, where he landed with foure or fiue of his seruaunts, desirynge to see the same Lord Cardinall, but he was answered howe the same Lord was diseased, well sayd the Duke, yet will I drinke of my Lordes wine or I passe, then a Gentleman of my Lords brought the Duke with much reuerence into the Seller, where the Duke dranke.

When he saw & perceyued no there to him was made, he chaunged colour and so departed to his Barge, sayng to his seruaunts, I maruaile where my Chaunceloz is, that he cometh not to me, not knowyng that he was in prison.

The Duke thus in his Barge commyng towarde London, sir Henry Marney

Marney

Marney Capitaine of the Kinges Garde, on him attendyng an hundred yomen of the kinges garde in a Barge on the ryuer of Thames met the same Duke, and without abode boarded the Dukes Barge, and him in the kings name attached. And then from him were put his seruautes, and the Duke was brought to the Hay wharfe, and there landed, the Dukes seruautes were commaunded to go to the Manor of the Rose in Saint Laurence Pountnay, and there to abide till the Kinges pleasure were further knowen.

The Duke of Buckyngham attached or rai- son, and brought to the Tower.

Sir Henry Marney brought the Duke through Thames streete to the Tower of London, the people much mused what the cause might be, and toz troth till it was knowen, among them was much speakyng. There was also attached a Monk of a Charterhouse besydes Bristow called Penton, also Mayster John Delaker the Dukes Contessor, and the Dukes Chaunceloz befoze mentioned, all were in the Tower prisoners. The .xvi. day of April was the same Duke brought to the Tower. Alas the while that euer ambition should be the losse of so noble a man, and so much in the kings fauour, by him all the Lordes and other may beware how they geue credence to false propheties or false hypocrites. For a Monk of the Charterhouse shewed the duke that he should be king of England, which to y kings perion could be no higher treason. Alas that euer he gaue credence to such a false Traymour.

In this tyme inquieres were made in dyners shires of Edward Duke of Buckyngham beyng prisoner in the Tower of London, where by the knyghtes and Gentlemen, there he was endited of high treason for certaine wordes spoken by the same Duke in Blechyngly to the Lorde Aburgany, and the same Lorde was attached for consailment, and so was the Lorde Mountague the Kinges Cosyn, and both ledde to the Tower. And sir Edward Peuell knight, brother to the sayde Lorde Aburganey forbydden the Kinges presence.

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The Duke of Norffolke was made by the kinges letters patentes high Steward of England, to accomplish the high cause of appele of the Pieres of the realme, and to decerne and iudge the causes of the Pieres. &c.

Wherefore shortly after was made in Westminster hall a Scaffolde for the Lordes, and a presence for a Judge, rayled, and counter rayled about, and barred with degrees. The Duke of Norffolke was chiefe Judge, and many Pieres of the realme, as the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Worcester, Deuonshire, Essex, Shrewsbury, Kent, Orforde, and Darby, the Lorde of Saint Johns, Lord Delaware, Lord Fitzwarren, Lord Willoughby, Lord Broke, Lord Cobham, Lord Harbert, and the Lord Morley, sat as Pieres and Judges vpon the same Duke of Buckyngham.

The arraignment of the Duke of Buckyngham.

When the Lordes had taken their places, sir Thomas Louell, and sir Richard Chomley knyghtes, brought the Duke to the barre with the Aye of the Tower befoze him, who humbly bare heddred reuerenced the Duke of Norffolke, and after all the Lordes and the kinges learned Counsaile. Then the Clerke of the counsaile sayde, sir Edward Duke of Buckyngham, holde by thy hande, thou art indited of high treason, for that thou trayterously hast conspired and imagined as farre as in thee lay to shorten the life of our soueraigne Lorde the king: of this treason how wilt thou acquite thee, the Duke answered by my Pieres.

And when the enditement was openly reade, the Duke sayd it is false

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and



and untrue, and conspired and forged, to bring me to my death, and that will I prove, alleagynge many reasons to falsitie the inditement, and agaynst hye reasons the Kinges Atturney alleged the examinations, confessions, and proofes of witness.

The Duke desired the witnesses to be brought forth, then was brought before him sir Gilbert Perke priest his Chaunceloz, first accuser of the same Duke, Maister John Delacourt priest, the Dukes confessor, and his awne hande writyng layde before him to the accusement of the Duke. Charles Knivet Esquier, Colyn to the Duke, and a Monke, Prior of the Charterhouse besydes Bath, which like a false ypocrite had enduced the Duke to the treason, and had dyuers tymes sayde to the Duke, that he should be king of England, but the Duke sayd, that in himselfe he never consented to it. Divers presumptions and accusements were layde to him by Charles Knivet, which he would faine have couered. The depositions were read, and the deponents were deliuered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower.

Then spake the Duke of Norffolke, and sayde my Lord, the King our soveraigne Lorde hath commaunded that you shall have his lawes ministered with favour and right to you: wherefore if you have any other thing to say for your selfe, you shall be heard. Then he was commaunded to withdrawe him, and so was led into Paradise a house so named. The Lordes went to counsaile a great while and after tooke theyr places. Then sayde the Duke of Norffolke to the Duke of Suffolke, what say you of Sir Edward Duke of Buckyngham touchyng the high treasons that he hath bene arraigned of? the Duke of Suffolke answered, he is gyltye, and so sayde the Marques, and all the other Erles and Lordes: Thus was this Prince Duke of Buckyngham found giltye of highe treason by a Duke, a Marques, seven Erles, and. xij. Barons.

The Duke was brought to the barre soze chafyng and sweet mercyfoully, after he had made his reverence, he paused a while. The Duke of Norffolke as a Judge sayde, sir Edward, you have heard howe you be indicted of high treason, you pleaded thereto not giltye, puttyng your selfe to the Pieres of the realme, the which have found you giltye: then the Duke of Norffolke wept and sayde, you shall be led to the Kinges prison and there layd on a Hardell, and so drawen to the place of execution, and there to be hanged, cut downe alive, your members to be cut off & cast into the fyre, your bewels brent before you, your head smitten off, and your body quartered and divided at the Kinges will, and God have mercy on your soule. Amen.

The Duke of Buckyngham sayde, my Lorde of Norffolke, you have sayd as a traytor should be sayd unto, but I was never none, but my Lordes I nothing maligne for that you have done to me, but the eternall God forgene you my death and I do: I will never sue to the king for lyfe, howbeit he is a gracious Prince, and more grace may come from him then I desire. I desire you my Lordes and all my felowes to pray for me.

Then was the edge of the Axe turned towardes him, and so led into a Barge, sir Thomas Louell desired him to sit on the Cushyns and Carpet ordayned for him, he sayde nay, for when I went to Westminster, I was Duke of Buckyngham, now I am but Edward Bowden the most cautiffe of the world. Thus they landed at the Temple, where receyved him sir Nicholas

The duke of Buckynghams judgement.

The Duke of Buckyngham is led through London to the Tower.

cholas Cause, and sir William Sandes Baronets, and led him through the Citie, who desired ever the people to pray for him, of whome some wept and lamented, and sayd this is the ende of euill lyfe. God forgene him, he was a proude Prince, it is pitie that he behaued him so agaynst his king and liege Lord, whom God preserue. Thus about foure of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

Fryday the. xvij. day of May, about .xj. of the Clocke. This Duke with a great power was deliuered to John Byeme, and John Skeuington shirifes, who led him to the Skaffolde on Tower hill, where he sayde he had offended the Kinges grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and desired all noble men to beware by him, and all men to pray for him, and that he trusted to die the Kinges true man. Thus meekely with an Axe he tooke his death. Then the Augustyne Frriers tooke the bodie and head, and buried them.

About this tyme fraunces the french king made open warre agaynst the Emperour Charles both by land and sea. The Prouinces of Arragon, Castell, and all Spaine, Germany, Brabant, Flaunders, and the scades mayntayned the partie of the Emperour. The Kinges highnesse consideryng the murder and effusion of Christen blood, and the trouble that might ensue to all partes of Christendome, by inuasion of the great Turke, sent the Cardinal of Porke his Chaunceloz by name Thomas Wolsey to his towne of Calice to intreate an amitie & peace betwene those two mighty princes. For this boyaige great preparation was made, not onely for the Cardinal, but also for the Erle of Worcester then Lord Chamberleyn, the Lord of Saint Johns, the Lord Ferrers, the Lorde Harbert, the Bishop of Duresme, the Bishop of Ely, the Primate of Armitane, sir Thomas Bulleyn, Sir John Beche, sir John Hussey, sir Richard Wingfelde, sir Henry Gylforde, and many other knightes, Esquiers, Gentlemen, Doctors, and learned men that accompanied him. And thus honourably accompanied he rode through London the. xxv. day of July, and at Thomas Becketts Church the Maior and Aldermen tooke leaue of him, prayng God to sende him good speede. Thus passed he to Cauntozbury where the Archbishoppe, of Cauntozbury, and other Prelates receyued him in pontificalibus and brought him to his lodgyng vnder a Canapie to the Bishops palace. The. viij. day of July he came to Douer: the. xx. daye, he and the other Lordes with their retinues tooke passage, and arriued at Calice in safety, where the Lorde Deputie and the Counsaile receyued them with much honoz, and lodged the Cardinal in the Staple hall.

Shortly after whose arriual, came thether the Chauncelour of fraunce and the Countie de Palays with foure hundred horse, as Ambassadors from the french king, and lykewise from the Emperour came great Ambassadors and when they sate in counsaile, the Emperours Ambassade shewed their commission and power. And euen so did the french kings Ambassade, which was more larger then the Emperours commission.

Thus when the grudges were declared on both sides, when the Emperours Ambassadors consented to peace, the french kings would not. And when the french Ambassadors consented to peace, the Emperours would not. The Cardinal then would haue knitted the Emperour, the king our soueraigne

The Duke of Buckyngham beheaded.

The french king maketh open warre vpon the Emperour.



raigne Lorde, the french king, and the Byshop of Rome in a league and amitie together: the other Ambassadors had no such commission, especially the Byshop of Rome, whereupon letters were sent to Rome in all haste, and the Frenchmen tarped in Calice, till he returned and beheld the towne, with which the counsaile of Calice were not contented. Whereupon the Cardinall rode to the Emperour accompanied with his Ambassadors (and left the French Ambassadors in Calice to abide his returne) and passed by Graueling, Dunkirke, Newport, Dudenborow, and sundry times in the waye he was encountered and receyued with noble men. And without Byuges he was receyued with many noble men, and manye Lordes and other of the Emperours court, and a myle without Byuges the Emperour his awne person met him, and shewed to him and to the other Lordes and Gentlemen of England gracious countenance, and so accompanied the Cardinall into the towne, where great multitude of people beheld them, and so rode to the Emperours palace where he lyghted, and first embrased the Cardinall, and after all the Lords, knights and Gentlemen of England. It is to suppose the Emperour knewe of the commission geuen to the sayde Cardinall, which had the kings power as if his grace had bene present, and also had the great seale with him, which had not bene sene before, or else the Emperour would not haue done him so high honoz and reuerence.

The Englishe Lordes, knightes, Esquiers, yomen of the kings Garde and other beyng to the number of foure hundred and thre score horse, were well lodged euery man after his degree, and euery lodging furnished with fewell, Bread, Bere, Wyne, Beeces, Muttons, Veales, Lambes, Venison, and all maner of daintie viand, as well in fishe as fleshe, with no lacke of spices and banketting dishes.

The next day after the great cheere made to the Lord Cardinall and to all his Lordes, knightes, gentlemen, and all other Lordes and knightes of England (in whose presence) the Cardinall made his proposition concerning peace to be had betwene the sayd Emperour and the French king declaring the calamities, miserie, and wretchednesse that came by warre: and the commodities, benefite, and welth that came by peace, cencorde and tranquillite, which proposition continued a great whyle: and when the Cardinall had made an ende, the Emperour himselfe answered and sayde: The lawe of God byndeth euery man to clayme and aske his right, and that the same lawe byndeth no man to holde, keepe, and withstande another mans right. Our Cousyn of Fraunce doth withhold our rightes and patrimonies, which we haue princely desired, and estsones will, and if he will render to vs our sayde rightes and patrimonies, we are contented to haue peace with him and his subiectes, if not, we trust in God & our right that the troubles by your fatherhed reherfed, shal come vpon him and his adherents. And for the titles of our regalitie, to put that to the Byshop of Rome, we doe consider that king Edward of England the thirde of that name of noble memorie, trarred by iust tittle to recouer the realme of Fraunce from Phillip de Valois, which title by intercession was put to the Byshop of Rome and his Court to discusse, and expended there by the space of twentie and thre yeres vnderdetermined, notwithstanding great pursute and labor was made to haue it ended: Such lyke time should be to vs tedious, wherfoze we entend by the ayde of God to

folow

folow our tittle.

The Cardinall replied and declared the league that was betwene the thre mightiest princes of the worlde, that is to say, the Emperour, the king oure souereigne Lorde Henry the eyght, and the French king, and howe that to the Prince that first moued warre, the other two should be eneymes vnto hym, and sayde, beholde the mightie power and puyssaunt realme, riches, shippes, bytayles, and ordynaunce, Lordes, chiuallrie, horsemen, archers, and communalitie, this is in the high and mightie king of Englande my souereigne Lorde, and he that first warre beginneth, by the sayde league my sayde souereigne Lorde to his honour maye lawfully spred his Banner, and make warre in defence of his friende. For thys and other thinges my souereigne Lorde desires of your highnesse and Maiestie the consent of peace.

My Lorde Cardinall, sayde the Emperour, I esteeme most the honoz of my dere Uncle the king of Englande and trust in hys assurance, that neither his royall person, his realme, his power, Hauie, nor ordynaunce shall be but to our ayde in assisting in our tryed tittle, nor will consent to any thing in dishonouring vs or our Empire: God defende but we should humble our selfe to his request, our high honoz reserued. Lorde God who may esteeme more higher iniuries and wrongs then we in our person, our predecessours, and our louing subiectes haue endured by the house of Fraunce. My Lord Cardinall sayde the Emperour, their pride with our honoz we may and must reprehende and overthrowe by the helpe of God: with these wordes the counsaile brake vp.

All the Lordes and men of honour of Englande that day dynd in the Emperours Court.

When they were set and serued, it came to passe that an honorable man of the Emperours as he sat at dinner sayd thus. It is thought that the kinges Maiestie of Englande entendeth to make a peace. Was that ever he should imagine a thing so much to the dishonoz of the Emperour. The king is his Uncle, is it not come to his heering that all the world heareth? It was so that by the assent of the Bishop of Rome and other Princes to make peace with vs, the French partie after the battaile of Gyngate obtayned by Maximilian then Archduke of Osteriche, where euerie noble man of vs fought with the Frenchmen quarter naked, and slew of them a maruelous number. They desyred the daughter of Maximilian named Margaret to wife, which Lady is Duches of Sauoy and yet liuing, and she being like an Emperours childe was deliuered into their hands as Queene of the realme, with diuers townes in Picardie rendred with her and part of highe Burgonie, and treasure maruelous. Now sithen the same Maximilian had spoused Jane daughter and heire of Fraunces Duke of Britaine, which lande the Frenchmen ouer ranne and spoyled, and she constrained to lye vnto Charles king of Fraunce for a safeconduict to passe through his realme to Maximilian her spouse, and vpon the same safeconduict graunted, the sayd Ladye Jane passing through Fraunce with a small company, was by the same Charles taken at Amboys, and there married her agaynst her will, wherupon he forsoke the Lady Margaret and sent her againe to her father the Emperour without redplinery or rendring againe the townes that were deliuered wyth her. And

wher

Cardinall  
woke carried  
the great  
seale with  
him out of  
England.



where as the Duke of Gelder is subiect to the Emperoz, is he not yet at this day by the procurement of the French king, rebell? And where also by iust title the realme of Naples ought to be vnitid to the crowne of Castell, did not the French king sayne a iournay into the holy lande pretending title by Jeniamp brother to the great Turke being then Captiue in Rome, and by a craftie treatie obtayned the said Jeniamp, and so passed into Naples without perill, and seized all the lande into his handes, and then prisoned he the same Jeniamp? Thus to the great dammage of Castell, he made clayme to Naples by Margaret Queene of Englande late wife to Henrie the sixt.

The king of Nauerne is euermoze vassall to the house of Aragon and Castell, yet the French kyng caused him to rebell, hoping thereby to subdue the sayde Countries.

Of late dayes the French king by false treason caused sir Robert de la March to submit himselfe to the Emperozs maiesty, who receyued him vpon his oth & fidelity, pardoning al offences past, is not this false traitor returned, and is of the French partie? how may that Court, that counsaile, that king, that realme that consenteth to treason and periury by mayntenaunce of traytors be called honorable? hath not the French kyng swozne, and is bounden neuer to retaine the Switchers in wages to make warre against the Emperoz? and yet doth at this day: And albeit that his maiestie speaketh not of these thinges, yet he well considereth them. I trust verely sayd this noble man that God sayth, viue Burgoigne, every man y heard this reherfall, knew that it was true, howbeit he was not answered, but some English knights sayd, Sir you haue sayd well, and as God will all must be. Thus was this narration ended.

In thys season the Emperoz gat the towne of Metz: Also of the Emperours partie a great armie arryued in the Duchy of Mylan, and also the Emperozs power besieged the Noble Citie of Messiers, but the Capitaine called Franciscus was suspected of treason, for he remooued with the hoste from the siege without knowlege of the Emperoz.

The Emperour made a siege volant about the Citie of Tournay, for the rescue whereof and also of Messiers, the French king made a great army and himselfe in person.

Duryng this siege the Frenchmen tooke a Spaniardes ship laden with English mens goodes at Margate within the kings streames, not without great slaughter on both parties, yet the Frenchmen were a hundred and thye score men, and of Spaniards and English men onely. xxb.

The King of Denmarke Christianus came to see the Emperour hys brother in lawe (beyng a stately prince) and meanes was made by the Lord Cardinall that they spake together without any great signe of amitie.

The Lorde Cardinall after he had sojourned in Bruges by the space of iiii. dayes and concluded diuers matters with the Emperoz and accomplished hys commission: he tooke leaue of his maicstie, and lyke wise did all the noble men of Englande, and after conuenient iorneys arryued with all hys company at Calice, where the Ambassadors of Fraunce tarped him, and immediately after his arryuing he treated with them of peace, yet not so earnestly as he did befoze, and that perceyued well the said Ambassadors, and wrote thereof to the French king, yet the welth and prosperitie of both the realmes  
and

and their subiects were highly reasoned betwene the Cardinall and the sayd Ambassadors, especially for fishing, whereupon was concluded that the subiectes of both the princes might freely fishe on the sea, and repaire to anye port of the one or the other prince without robbing, spoiling, or taking by to the second day of February next.

The French king with a mightie armie and himselfe in person repaired to the Countrey of Cambzay, minding to passe the streytes, but they were withstanded by the Emperozs power, yet he continued there from October vnto Nouember wythout any thing doying, to the great displeasure of the French king. The Duke Dalefon heering that, made preparations with the Almaynes to passe the marrys by the poynt Bassans & there the Almaynes had made bridges of Pipes & bessels, and brought thether their great ordinaunce. The Emperour beyng in the towne of Valencian and thercof aduertised, caused strong watch to be made, and as they would haue passed, the Bastarde Emery, and the Capitayne of Gaunt with twelue hundred men met with them, where was a great conflict and many men slayne, and at the last the Almaynes were put to flight and their bridges and other prouisions broken: Of the French partie were slayne in thys conflict. xiiii. hundred men, and of the Burgonians were slayne the Bastard Emery, the Capitaine of Gaunt and foure hundred men.

The Lord Cardinall after he had long treated with the Ambassadors of Fraunce, and coude bring them to no conformitie of peace, he sent to the Emperour the Lord of saint Johns, and sye Thomas Soley knight to aduertise his maicstie thereof.

Lyke wise the sayde Lorde Cardinall sent to the French king the Erle of Worcester, and the Bishop of Ely to exhort his grace to peace, he heard them, but he gaue them but few words to answer, and after they had bene xix. or. xx. dayes in his hoste, they tooke leaue and returned to Calice.

Duryng the continuance of the Cardinall in Calice all wyters and Patentes were there by hym sealed and no Shyrcles chosen for lacke of hys presence.

The king of Hungarie sent an Ambassador to the kinges highnesse for ayde agaynst the Turke, whome the Cardinall honorably entertayned duryng his abode in Calice. His comming was for ayde as men sayde agaynst the French king.

The Lorde Cardinall after the returne of the English Ambassadors from the Emperour and from the French king tooke shipping and landed at the port of Douer, the xxvij. day of Nouember, and there tooke his iorney to Blechyngly, where the kings grace welcommed him, geuing him also thanks for his great paynes and travayle.

The last daye of December the Cardinall accompanied the Emperozs Ambassadors to the court where they were honorably receyued and highlye feasted during their abode there, and many sumptuous and gorgeous disguisings, enterludes and banquetes made in the same season.

This yere was a great pestilence and death in London and other places of the realme, and many noble Capitaynes dyed, as the Lorde Broke, Sir Weston Brodme, Sye John Heron, Sir John Peche and manye other people.

The French king letterd forth with a great power agaynst the Emperour.

A great pestilence.

The



The Bishop of London, Doctor Fitz James, likewise deceased this yere, and Doctor Tunstall was preferred to the same benefice

The Lorde Thomas Hawarde Erle of Surrey, came out of Irelande to the court the .xxv. day of Januarie, when he had bene there the space of .xx. monethes in great trauaile and paine, and often tyme soze troubled by the wild Irish, howbeit by his noblenesse and manhod he brought the Lorde of Irelande to the kinges due obeyssaunce, and had of them many victories to his perpetuall laude and praise.

The Frenchmen this yere spoiled and shamefully robbed the kinges subiectes on euery coast of the Sea, so that whersoeuer the kyng reade his pooore subiectes came with lamentacions and cryes shewing his grace of the crueltie of the frenchmen and of their inhumane dealing with them, but euer the French Ambassadors promised restitution of euery thing, but none was restored.

In this moneth of Januarie the king commaunded all his shippes of warre to be made in a readinesse, which was done with all diligence.

About this time the Duke of Albany arrived in Scotlande, notwithstanding that the french king swore vnto the Cardinall that he should neuer come into Scotland wythout the king our soueraigne Lordes consent, but for all that he had comission from the french king although the french king wrote to the king that he was entred Scotland wythout his assent.

About this time the king wrote in Latine a beheiment booke against Martin Luther and confuted his iudgement, touching Indulgences, and defendeth the Bishop of Romes auctorite, and in the ende repeueth all his disputacions concerning the Sacraments of the Church. The which booke the Pope liked so well that the seconde day of february, the king being at Grenobrich, came thither the Cardinall with a Legation from Leo Bishop of Rome, and also his Ambassadoz, on whome waighted many a noble man, the king met wyth them at his chamber dooze welcming them as though they had both come from Rome. Then sayd the Cardinall, high and victorizous king it hath pleased our Lorde God to indue your grace with a great multitude of manifolde graces as a king elect in fauour of the high Heauen, and so appereth presently by your noble person, so formed & figured in stature and stature with force and pulcritude, which signifieth the present pleasure of our Lorde God wrought in your noble grace. And further he praised his wisdom, prudence, and learning, with many other goodly wordes in the praise of his most noble grace. And finally the Cardinall declared how the sayd Bishoppe of Rome had sent his highnesse an Acte in Bull vnder leade, declaring therein his grace to be the defendoz of the Christian fayth and his successors for euermore.

And when his grace had receyued the said Bull and caused it to be read and published, he went to his Chappell to heere Masse accompanied with many nobles of his realme and also with Ambassadors of sondry Princes, the Cardinall being requested to sing Masse, the Erle of Essex brought the Basin with water, the Duke of Suffolke gaue the assaye, the Duke of Northfolke held the towel, and so proceeded to Masse. And that done he gaue vnto all them cleane remission and blessed the king and the Queene and all the people: then was the Bull estones declared, and trumpettes blew,

The French men robbed and spoiled the kinges subiectes and Merchants vpon euery coast of the Sea.

King Henry the eight wrote a booke against Luther.

This title Defendoz of the fayth, was receyued from Iulij Bishop of Rome.

the thalmes and saggebuttes plaid in honoz of the kynges new style. Thus his highnesse went to dynner. In the middes whereof the king of Herauld and his company began the larges, cryng. Henricus dei gratia rex Anglie, & Francie defensor fidei, & dominus Hibernie. Thus ended the dinner, with much habundance of bitaile and wine, to all maner of people.

The .x. day of february, the Lorde Hodie chiefe Baron of the kinges Eschequer gaue ouer his office, and for him was admitted by the Cardinall, maister John Fitziamas, a right honourable man and well learned.

In this tyme was much businesse betwene the Emperoz and the french king, wherefore the king sent to the sea sixe good shippes, well manned and bittapled for the warre: the Admirall was called Christopher Coe, a man expert on the Sea, for safegarde of the Marchauntes, and other the kinges subiects, that were grieuously spoiled and robbed on the sea, by frenchmen, Scottes, and other rouers.

This tyme the .viij. day of february, the Lorde Dacres warden of the Marches of Scotland, entered into Scotland with fife hundred men, by the kinges commaundement, and there proclaymed that the Scottes should come into the kinges peace, by the first day of Marche folowng, or else to stand at their perilles, the Duke of Albanie beyng then within fife myles, with a mightie power of Scottes.

The .xi. day of february, Sir George Neuell, Lorde a Burgayny, beyng then prisoner in the Tower was brought to Westminster, and there in the kinges Bench confessed his enditement of misprision, in the cause of Edward late Duke of Buckyngham to be true, and after the open confession thereof, led againe to the Tower.

The Lorde Montacute the kinges cosyn, was about this tyme reconciled to his graces fauour, which had bene prisoner in the Tower, wyth sir Edward Neuell knight, this sir Edward Neuell was forbidden the kinges presence, for bearyng fauour to the Duke of Buckyngham.

This yere the second of Marche, certaine noble men of the Empire arrived in England to passe into Spaine, who were honourably receyued, and in honoz of them great iustes and triumphes were made, and that finished, and done, they tooke their leaue and departed on their iourney.

Also this tyme comission was geuen throughout the realme, for general musters to be had, to know what power might be made within the same and also men swozne of what substaunce and landes they were of, and the Cardinall aduertised of the same: not without grudging of the people, and maruailyng why they should be swozne for their atone good.

The Citie of London was this moneth aduertised of the comynng of the Emperoz, wherefore was made great preparation: and the Citizens sent the kinges grace one hundred tall men well harnessed, to furnishe his nauie, appointed to kepe the narrow seas.

The french king certefyed the kinges highnesse, by his letters dated in Marche, howe the Graund capitaine of Fraunce, the Countie de Palais, Mounseur de Lescue, and other noble men of Fraunce, had wonne the towne of Milaine, which was not true, for within fife or sixe dayes after, it was evidently knowen that the frenchmen were beaten backe, and had wonne nothing, to their great shame and reproche.

General musters taken throughout all the realme, and men swozne what substance they were of.

The french king certefyed the kinges highnesse that he had wonne the towne of Milaine.

Howeouer



Moreover the same season the frenche king wrote his letters to the Seignory and commonaltie of Gen, to sende him three Carrectes, and sixe Galyes furnished for the warres, unto his port of West, to maintaine hys warres agaynst the foresayd Emperoz, who made him by the y letters suche a reasonable excuse, that he was contented to spare them for that tyme.

A gracious and a mercifull act of King Henry the eyght.

The kinges highnesse kept this yere his Easter at his Manor of Richmond, and caused his Amner to make inquirie, eight myles round about the sayd Manor, what poore people was in every parishe. And for the eschewing of murder, that most commonly fortuneth euery good Friday, by reason of the great resort of poore people, his grace caused them to be refreshed with hys almose at home at their houses.

About this tyme a rover or theefe of Scotland, called Duncan Camell, was after long fight taken on the sea, by a Squier of Cornwall called master John Arondell, and presented to the kinges highnesse, who committed him to the tower of London, where he remained prisoner a long season after.

Preparation made for warre.

The king like a Prince which foreseth all thinges, sawe what warre was like to ensue, caused the Erle of Surrey his highe Admirall, to put in readinesse his nauie, both for the conductyng of the Emperoz into England, and also for the defence of his subiectes, which were dayly robbed and spoyled on the sea, which Lord Admirall tooke such diligence with the helpe of Sir William Fitzwilliam his vice Admirall, that all the shippes by the beginning of Aprill, were rigged and trimmed, and in especiall the Henry grace of Due, the kings great shipp, was brought out of the riuer of Thames into the Downes, readie to sayle whether God and the king would.

The Justices of this life poisoned by an infectious ayre.

In this yere at the Assise kept at the Castell of Cambridge in Lent, the Justices, and all the Gentlemen, Bayliffes, and other, resortyng thether, tooke such an infection, whether it were of the saour of the prisoners, or of the filth of the house, that many Gentlemen, as sir John Cut, sir Giles Arington knightes, and many other honest yomen thereof dyed, and almose all which were their present, were soze sick and narrowly escaped with their lyues. And this yere also dyed Sir Edward Bowynge, knight of the Garter, Sir John Pechy, and Sir Edward Belknap, valyant Capitaines which were suspected to be poisoned, at a banquet made at Arde, when the two kinges met last.

A pestilence and dearth.

This yere also, was r of without pestilence nor dearth of Cozne, for Wheate was sold this yere in the Citie of London, for. xx. shillings a quarter, and in other places for. xxvi. shillings. viij. pence. And in the same yere in December, dyed Leo Bishop of Rome, for whome was chosen, one Adrian bozne at Utrike the Emperours schoole maister. And in the same moneth Gawan Douglas Bishop of Dunkell in Scotland, fled out of Scotland into England because the Duke of Albanie was arriued in Scotlande, and had taken byon him to be gouernoz of the king, and the realme, to whome the king assigned an honest pencion to liue on. But when the king was aduertised, that the Duke of Albanie was arriued in Scotland, and had taken the rule of the yong king his realme, and he much doubted the sequelle of the matter, considering the Duke to bee heyre apparaint to the Crowne of Scotlande: Wherefore he sent Clarenseaux king at Armes into Scotland, with commaundement, that he should declare to the Duke of Albanie, that

that his pleasure was, that he should depart the realme of Scotland for two causes, the one, because it was promised by the french king, at the last meeting, that he should not come into Scotland, the second was, that the king of England was uncle to the king of Scottes, and by the very bonde of nature, ought to defend his nephewe. Wherefore his nephewe beyng yong, and in the custodie of him, to whome if he should die, the realme of Scotlande should descend, he doubted least he might be brought out of the way, as other Dukes of Albany before had serued the heyres of Scotland: and if he would not auoyde Scotland, then Clarenseaux was commaunded to desyre him, which accordingly did desyre him at holye Rode house in Edenborough to the which he answered, that neither the french king, nor the king of England, should let him to come into his naturall Countrie, by their agreement: also as touchyng the yong king, he sayd, that he loued him as his souereigne Lord, and him would keepe and protect agaynst all other.

When Clarenseaux had reported hys answer to the king, then he knew well that all thys was the french kings doying, wherefore he prouided in all things accordingly. The Erle of Anguiche of Scotlande that had married Ladie Margaret, the king our souereigne Lordes sister, late wyfe unto king James of Scotlande, that was slayne at Floddon field, was by the Duke of Albany, sent by a coloured Ambassade into Fraunce, where shortly after his arriuyng, he was by the french king committed to prison, and hys brother likewise, which escaped after as you shall heare.

Also the sixt day of Marche, the french king commaunded all Englishe mens goodes beyng in Burdeaux, to be attached and put vnder a rest: and likewise deteyned the kings tribute, which he should haue out of Fraunce, and also the french Queenes Dowry, and when the king sent to him for it he euer gaue fayre words, and made delayes, but none was payde, and euer the Ambassadors promised fayre.

The french king attacheth the Englishe mens goods.

The king thys yere kept the day of saint George with great solemnity, at his manour of Richmond, where were elected to the order of the Garter, Done Ferdinando brother to the Emperour, and Archduke of Austrike, and sir Rycharde Wyngfield knight by the Emperours meanes, to the which the Emperour had giuen two hundred pounde pention, out of the house of Burgoyne, which sir Edward Bowynge before had of the Emperours gift. During thys warre betwene the Emperour and the french king, and the king of England liyng still an entreatoz betwene them, the English men were robbed on both sydes, and when their wyues were laden at Burdeaux, and readie to depart, they were attached, and the Marchants put in prison: the poore fisher men on the coast of England, sometime met with the french men and them spoyled, but to no recompence of that they had taken. The Marchants of Englande, that had factozs at Burdeaux, complayned to the king of England, and shewed him how the french king, contrarie to his league and hys safeconduyt vnder hys seale, by his people, had taken their goods & emprisoned their factozs and friends, & can haue no remedie. Likewise complayned all the Marchants, how their shippes were restrayned, in euery port of Fraunce, and their goodes tyfled, and could haue no redresse. The king and his counsaile were sozie to here the complaynts of the Marchants, and so concluded to sende for the french Ambassadors, to whom

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the Cardinall sayde: for how is this chaunce happened? you haue promised euery in the name of the king your mayster that all leagues, promises, and couenants should be kept, and that full restitution should be made of euery hurt and damage, and that firme peace and amity should be kept: but contrary to your saying, our Marchaunts be robbed and spoiled, yea, although he had graunted hys safeconduyt, yet they be robbed, and stayed at Burdeaur, is this the peace that you and your mayster hath promised to be kept? is this the amitie that he was sworne to keepe? Is this the worde of a king? Is this the strength of a Prince to breake his safeconduyte? And where you aduysed our Marchauntes to sue in Fraunce for restitution, and did warraunt them to be restored, you haue put them to coste and losse, for they haue sued there long, and spent their goodes, without any redresse, and now you haue imprisoned them, and kept both them and their goodes, is this iustice? is this restitution? And all this was your procurement, and now we see what is come of your promise, surely this may not be suffered, and beside this the king is informed, that the king your maister hath spoken by him, foule and opprobrious words, yea, in the heering of the Englishe men which were fore greued to heare such wordes, and were not able to be reuenged.

The Ambassadour of Fraunce sayde, that it was not so as it was reported: well sayde the Cardinall, if you note the Counsaile of England so light, as to tell fables, you be misaduised, but I praye you how often times hath the king written to your maister, for restitution of suche robberies as hath bene done, and yet can haue no redresse? wherefore he graunted letters of marke, which may stande with the league, but Mounsigne Chastillon hath taken Marchaunts of England prisoners, and hath sent certayne hether for their raunsome, this is open warre and no peace. Maister President Polliot or Dulteyne the french Ambassadour, answered, that surely the matters which were alleged agaynst his maister the french king, were but forged matters and not true: but he sayde that for a truth, daylie in the Court of Fraunce, were complaintes made agaynst the Englishe men for great robberies done by them, as well on lande as sea, affirming it to be done in the Emperours quarell, and yet the french king for the loue he beareth to England, letteth his subiectes to be unheard, although he daylie lament the great iniurie, done to him and his subiectes by Englishe men: and therefore my Lorde I pray you beleue no such tales, till I haue tolde you the truth.

Then the Cardinall called the foure hostages, that laye here for the payment of money for Courmay, and they foure were deliuered, to my Lord of saint Iohnes, to sir Thomas Louell, to sir Andrew Wyndsoze, and to sir Thomas Deuell, euery knight one to keepe safe, and none of their countrey to speake with them prinely, and the Ambassadour was commaunded to keepe his house in silence, and not to come in presence, till he was sent for, which order sore abashed the french hostages, and the Ambassadour, but there was no remedy, and commaundement was geuen to the Maior of London, to attache all the frenchmen, bodie and goodes, and them to keepe in prison, till he heard farther of the kinges pleasure: then were all the frenchmen in London and about, arrested and brought to prison, so that all the prisons in and about London, were full of them, some of them escaped by speaking dutche, and sayd they were Flemings bozne, which was not tried.

All the french men in London were attached and committed to prison.

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The king for safegarde of his Marchaunts sent .xxiiij. goodly shippes to the Sea, well manned and trimmed for the warres, and seuen other shippes he sent towarde Scotlande, which entered the Frith, and proffered to enter into the Scottish shippes that lay in the hauen, but the Scottes ranne their shippes on lande, and the Englishe men folowed with boates and landed, and set the ships on fire, and at Lithe tooke certayne prisoners, which they brought into Englande, and still the kinges great Maie kept the narrow Seas, for then was neyther peace betwene England and Fraunce, nor open warre as you haue heard.

The king had perfite knowlege, that Charles the Emperour would be at the kings towne of Calice, the .xxiiij. daye of Maye, to passe thoroowe Englande into Spaine, wherefore the king sent the Marques Dorset, accompanied with diuers knightes and gentlemen, to receyue him at Calice, which in all hast sped him thether. Likewise the Cardinall took his iourney towarde Douer the twentieth day of Maye, and rode through London, accompanied with two Ceres .xxxviij. knightes, and a hundred gentlemen, eyght Bishops, ten Abbottes, thirtie Chapleines, all in Veluet and Satin, and yomen seuen hundred, and so by iorneyng he came to Douer the .xxviij. daye beyng Monday. In the meane season tydings were brought to the king, that the french king had sent a great armie toward Calice, and the men of warre lay at Abuille, Muntrell, Bullein and about, nere the English pale. Wherefore the king like a prince that foresawe all, and intending not to be deceyued, wrote to his Nobles, and Cities and townes, to prepare certayne men of warre in a readinesse, which was shortly done, and so they were sent to the Maie, so that they might shortly be at Calice if neede requyred.

On Sunday the .xxv. daye of Maye, the Lorde Marques Dorset, the Bishop of Chichester, and the Lorde de LaWare, with other noble men, at the water of Grauelynge, receyued the Emperour in the name of the king of England, and so the Emperour embraced them, and he hauyng in hys company many noble men, came toward Calice, where at the Turnepike in the Lordship of Marke, he was receyued of sir Edward Gylford Marshall of Calice, with fiftie men of armes richely besene, and also a hundred archers on horsebacke, then in passing forward toward Calice, the ordinaunce shot terribly, and into Calice he was receyued with procession, and then by the Lord Barne deputie there, and the counsaile of the towne: And after he was receyued by the Maior and Aldermen of the towne, and lastly of the Maior and Marchauntes of the staple, and so conueyed to the Checker, and there lodged.

On the Monday, he and all the Nobles of Spaine, Flaunders, and Germany, tooke ship at Calice and landed at Douer, at foure of the clock at after noone, and wyth hym the Duke Balway, the prince of Orange, the Countie of Nassaw, the Countie Walcozd, the Lorde Egmonde, and the Marques of Brandenbrough, all in one ship bote. The Cardinall receyued hym on the Sandes, accompanied with three hundred Lordes, knightes, and gentlemen of Englande: the Emperour embraced the Cardinall, and took hym by the arme, and so passed forward and tooke horses, and rode together

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The coming of Charles the Emperour to Calice.

Note here the state of Cardinall Wolsey.



gether to Dover Castell, where they were lodged. The English Parbiners diligently lodged the Emperours traine, euery man according to his degree. The king of England was come to Cantorburie, the .xxvij. daie of May, and receaued by the Archbysshop: and hearing of the Emperours arriual, with a small companie on the Wednesday, beyng the Assension euen, he rode to Dover, and with much ioye and gladnesse the Emperour and he met, and there taried the Assension day, and on Friday, the king brought the Emperour aborde on his newe ship, called the Henry grace de dieu, a ship of .xv. hundred and rowed about to all his great ships, which then lay in Dover rode, the Emperour and his Lozdes, much prayesed the making of the ships, and especially the artillerie, they sayde, they neuer saw ships so armed.

The same daie at after none, the two noble princes marched forwarde to Cantorbury, where the Maior and Aldermen receiued them, without the towne, with a solempne oration, to whome the Emperours Secretarie answered ornatly. Then the Princes with their swordes bozne naked before them, and the Emperour on the right hand, entered the Citie of Cantorburie, and so with procession were brought to Christs church, where the Archbishop and twelue Prelates mitred, receyued them vnder a Canapie, and so they offered to the sacrament, and the Emperour was brought to the Bishops palace, where he lay for that night, and the king lodged at saint Augustines. The morrowe after, these Princes remoued to Sutyngborne, and the next daie to Rochester, where the Bishop receyued them with the whole Couent, and on Monday they came to Grauesend by one of the clocke, where they tooke their Barges, and there were thirtie Barges appoynted, for the strangers, and so by six of the clocke they landed at Grene which, the same Mondaye the seconde daie of June, where the Emperour was of the king newlye welcomed, and all his nobilitie, and at the hall doore the Queene and the Princes, and all the Ladies, receyued and welcomed hym: and he asked the Queene blessing (for that is the fashion of Spayne, betweene the Aunt and Nephewe) the Emperour had great loye to see the Queene his Aunt, and in especiall his young Colyn germaine the Lady Mary. The Emperour was lodged in the kinges lodging, which was so richely hanged, that the Spaniards wondered at it, and specially at the riche cloth of estate: nothing lacked that might be gotten, to cheere the Emperour and his Lozdes and all that came in his company, were higly feasted.

The Wednesday, the more to do the Emperour pleasure, was prepared a Justes royall: and as the king was arming him, there came one George Luffkin and shewed him that there was one come from his Ambassadoz in Fraunce, the king called for the messenger, and he deliuered the letters, which the king red, and said to sir William Compton, tell the Emperour that I haue newes, if it pleaseth hym to come hether: Sir William Compton went and tolde this to the Emperour, which without delay came to the king, which shewed him the letters from Sir Thomas Cheyney his Ambassadoz, wherein was conteyned the definitiue answer, made aswell to Sir Thomas Cheyney, as to Clarenseaux king at armes of Englande, by the French king, to the kinges requestes: for you shall vnderstand, that the king of England by his Ambassadoz, had often tymes demaunded, both his tribute and his lawfull dette, and also restitution to be made to his subiects grieued, and farther

also

also the league was broken, by making warre on the Emperour, so that now by the league the king of Englande should be enemye, to him that first brake, and did take part with the other, yet he had so much compassion, on shedding of Chrysten blood, that he would not enter warre but shew himselfe a mediator, and an entreator betwene them. And vpon this sir Thomas Cheyney had often moued the French king, and also moued him to take peace with the Emperour for two yeres, so that some mediation of peace might be entreated in the meane season: to all this the French king answered, we haue well considered your Masters desire, to the which we nothing agree, nor holde vs content with his request. Sir sayde the Ambassadour, the king my Master shall be aduertised of your answer by me, wherefore I beseech your grace of safeconduite, to retourne into England: then sayd the king, there is an officer of Armes come out of England, let him come and he shall be heard and haue an answer, to which thing sir Thomas Cheyney answered not, but with reuerence departed, and so on the .xxi. daie of Maie, the sayd officer called Clarenseaux king at Armes, came to the French kinges chamber at Lions, which was accompanied with many noble men and Gentlemen, and then Clarenseaux put on his coate of Armes, and desyred license to speake, and libertie according to the law of Armes, which was to hym graunted: then he declared that where the French king was bound by league tripartite to keepe peace with the Emperour, and with the king of England, & whoe soeuer first brake, the other two to be enemies to him, to the which league the French king was sworne, which league he apparauntly had broken, by making warre on the Emperour, by Sir Robert de la Marche, and by himselfe in person. Wherefore the king by that league must be his enemye, and take part against him.

Also he declared, the French king kept away the kinges rentes, and debtes, due to him. Also that he deteyned the Dower of the French Queene. Also that contrary to his promise, he had sent the duke of Albany into Scotland: Also that contrary to Justice he had imprisoned Marchants, hauing his safeconduit, where they should haue gone in safetie, saying there was no warre proclaymed, betwene hym and the kyng his Master: all these articles with many mo, the king my maister is readye to proue. Nay sayd the French king I began not the warre, nor sent Robert de la March to make warre, but commaunded hym to the contrary, and oz I made warre in proper person, his warre was open, and he had our towne of Courtnay strongly besieged, and as touching the Duke of Albany, it hath cost me .xl. thousand frankes to kepe hym out of Scotland, but I could not let him to go into his owne countrey. Thus the French king excused his vntreuth. Then sayd Clarenseaux, sir I am farther charged to tell you, that the king my soueraigne Lord, holdeth you for his mortall enemye, from this daie forth and all your adherents: well sayde the French king, I looked for this a great while ago, for sith the Cardinall was at Bridges, I looked for no nother, but you haue done your message: then the French king rose and departed, and Clarenseaux was conueighed to his lodging, and shortly after, Sir Thomas Cheyney and he by a safeconduit departed and came to Bulleine, and there Mounsie Fayett Capitaine there, stayed them both till the Ambassadour of Fraunce, which had lien in England, were clerely deliuered out of Calice. The whole

A a a a .iiij.

circum-

Clarenseaux  
king at  
armes ge-  
ueth the  
king defi-  
nition in the  
kings name  
of England.



circumstaunce of the demaundes and defiaunce, and the French kynges answer, was conteyned in the letter, which was brought to the king, which showed it to the Emperour (as you haue heard) but while the King and the Emperour looked on the letter a sodaine noise rose amongst both their subiects, that it was a letter of defiaunce sent to them both by the French king, which was nothing so. Thus now was the warre open of all parties, betwene England and Fraunce, and Spayne.

The coming of the Emperour into London.

On Friday the sixt day of June, the king and the Emperour, with all their companies marched toward London, where in the way, a myle from Saint Georges barre was set a riche Tent of cloth of Golde, in which Tent were two lodgings, one for the Emperour, and another for the king, where these two Princes dwelt. And when the Heraldes had appoynted euery man their rowmes, then euery man set forward in order, richly apparayled in cloth of Golde, Tissue, Siluer, Tynsell, and Veluets of all coloures. There lacked no massy Cheynes, nor curious Collers: an Englishman and a straunger roade euer together, matched accordyng to their degrees. Before the Emperour and the king, were borne two swordes naked, then the two Princes folowed in Coates of cloth of Golde, embraudered with Siluer, both of one suite: after them folowed the kinges Henrcemen, in coates of purple Veluet, pieled and paned with riche cloth of Siluer, and with them were matched the Emperours Henrcemen, in equall number, in coates of crimson Veluet, with two gardes, the one golde, and the other siluer: then folowed the Capitaynes of the gardes, then the Emperours garde on the right hand, and the English garde on the left hand, and so in this order they went forward, and in the way the Maior John Milborne, and his brethren, in fine Skarlet and well horsed, met with the Emperour and the king where one sir Thomas Moore knight, and well learned, made to them an eloquent Oration, in the prayse of the two Princes, and of the peace and loue betwene them, and what comfort it was to their subiectes, to see them in such amitie, and howe that the Maior and Citizens, offered any pleasure or seruice that in them lay, next their souereigne Lord.

An oration made by sir Thomas Moore to the Emperour.

When this was done, they came into Southwarke, where the Clergie receyued them in Copes, with Crosses, and Senses, and so kept the one syde of the strete, all the Citie throughe. When they came by the Marstallie, and the kinges Benche, the Emperour desired pardon of the King, for the prisoners, and he at the Emperours request, pardoned a great number of them. When they were almost at the bridge foote, there was a stay, the king demaunded the cause, and it was tolde him, that the Heraldes had appoynted two gentlemen to ryde together, one was y Ambassadoz from the Marques of Mantua, to the Emperour, and the other from the Citie of Seynes, to the Emperour also, and the Citie, and the Marques were not friendes, the Emperour incontinent, sent his Lorde Chamberleyn to them, sayng: that if they would that day do him honor, he would thank them, and if they would not ride as they were appoynted, he prayed them to depart. When y lord Chamberleyn had tolde this message, they rode forth and made no more curtelie.

When they were come to the draw bridge, there were set Targets, of the armes of the Emperour and his dominions, richly painted, and on the other syde, stode one great Giaunt, representyng Hercules, with a mighty Club

Club in his hande, and on the other syde stode another Giaunt, representyng Sampson, with the Jawe bone of an Ass in his hande. These two Giautes helde a great Table, in the which was written in golden letters, all the Emperours stile. From the draw bridge these two Princes passed, to the middes of the bridge, where was raysed a fayre edifice, with Towers embattayled and Gates, all lyke Masonry, of white and blacke, like Touch and white Marble: about this buildyng was a fayre Pagiant, in the which stode Jason all in harnesse, hauyng betoze him a golden fleece, and on the one syde of hym stode a fiery Dragon, and on the other syde stode two bulles which beastes cast out fire continuallye, and in a tower on the one syde stode a fayre Mayde representyng the Ladie Medea, which was verie straungely and richely apparayled.

And when they had beheld this Pagiant, they came to the Conduite at Gracious streete, and from thence to Leaden hall, and to the Conduite in Cornehill, and so to the great Conduite in Cheape, and to the Standard and little Conduite in Chepe, where at euery of them were verie riche, sumptuous, and costly Pagiantes. And all the way as they went the Citizens well apparayled stode within rayles set on the left syde of the streetes, and the Clergie on the right syde in riche Copes, which sented the Princes as they passed, and all the streetes were richely hanged with clothes of golde, siluer, Veluet and Arras, and in euery house almost Minstrelsy, and in euery strete were these two verses written in letters of Golde.

Carolus, Henricus, viuant defensor vterque

Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesie.

Which verses were also written in other Tables in Golden letters, as ensueth.

Long prosperitie  
To Charles and Henry  
Princes most puyssaunt:

The one of fayth  
The other of the Church  
Chosen defendant.

When they were past the little Conduite they came to the west ende of Pauls Church and there they alighted, and there was a Canopy ready vnder which they two stode and were receyued by the Archebishop of Cauntozbury, and .xxi. Prelates in pontificalles and so they offered at the high autter and returned to horsebacke, and came to the blacke friers where the Emperour was lodged in great roialtie: All his nobles were lodged in his newe palace of Bridewell, out of the which was made a Gallery to the Emperours lodgyng, which Gallery was verie long, and that Gallery and all other Galleries there were hanged with Arras. The kinges Palace was so richely adornoed of all thinges, that my wit is to dull to discriue them, or the riches of the hangyngs, or the sumptuous buyldyng and giltynge of Chambers.

On Whitsonday the .viij. day of June the Emperour and the king with great honour roade to the Church of Saint Paule, and there heard highe Masse. When Masse was done they returned to Bridewell, where the Emperour was highly feasted. The same Sonday at after noone the two princes went by water to Westminster, and roade to the Church, and in ridyng all the sanctuary men cryed mercy and pardon, they were so hastie and pleased so neere that the Sergeautes at Armes coulde scarce keepe them from touchyng the Emperour and the king: The Cardinall gaue them a gentle answer



swere which contented them for a tyme. They were receyued with Proceſſion into the Abbey and heard Euenſong & beheld king Henry the ſeuenthes Chapell and then went into Weſtmiſter hall, at the largerelle whereof the Emperour made manayled, then they turned to Wydeuwell and there ſhipped.

On Monday they dynd in Southwarke with the Duke of Suffolke and hunted there in the Parke, and road to the Manor of Richemond to their lodgyng and the next day to Hampton Court, where they had great chere, and from thence on Thursday to Windſore, where he hunted Fryday & Saterday. And on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday the Princes and their counſayle ſat moſt part in counſayle, & on Corpus Chriſti day, they with great tryumph rode to the College of Wyndſore where the Emperour wore his mantle of the Garter and ſat in his awne ſtall, and gaue to the Perards two hundred crownes: that day both the princes receyued the ſacrament, and after Maſſe both ſware to keepe the promiſes and league ethe to other, for the which amitie great ioy was made on both parties, and after the Maſſe was ended they went to dynner, where was great feaſting.

On Fryday they departed out of Windſore, and by eaſy iourneys came to Wyncheſter, the .xxij. day of June, and in the way thether, the Emperour hunted the Hart. Before the Emperour was come to Wyncheſter, the Erle of Surrey Admyrall of Englande with all the kinges Nauie was come to Hampton, and with him the Lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curſon, Sir Gyles Capell, Syr Nicholas Carew, Syr Rycharde Wyngfield, Sir Rycharde Fernyngham, Frances Bryan, Anthony Brovone, John Ruſſell, of which many were of the kings priuie chamber: theſe with many more departed from Hampton with thirtie ſhips well manned and ordinaunced in the ende of June, noyſing that they ſhould onely ſcoure the ſeas for ſafegarde of the Emperour and his Nauie: But they had priuie inſtructions to go to another place as you ſhall heare after.

All thys whyle was the warre on the parties of Picardie hot, and the Capitayne of Bullayn called Fayet wrote euer mockyng letters to the garrifon of Calice, and ſayde: if the garrifon of Calice would iſſue out, he would meete with them halfe way with foure thouſand men. Whereupon Syr Edward Gylldford Marſhall of Calice, whome the Capitayne of Bullaine called the Fryebzand, becauſe it was his badge, ſet forth out of Calice the eleuen daye of June with twelue hundred men, and went out of Calice, and ſent a Purſuauant to the Capitayne of Bullayne certefiying him that he was comyng with his fryebzand, and bad him keepe promiſe. This officer declared the meſſage to him, but he came not. Forth marched Sir Edward till he came to Marguiſon and tarped to ſee whether the Capitayne of Bullayne would come or no, and when he ſawe he came not, he ſet fyre in the towne, and the light horſemen forerayed the beaſtes and pillage, and bzent Villages all about, which was well perceyued in the Countrie a farre off, and towarde night all the crewe came home with good pillage, and on the morrow Syr Edward Gylldford deliuered a priſoner franke and free, on condition he ſhould tell the Capitayne of Bullaine that he had bene at Marguiſon with his Fryebzand, which truely did his meſſage, for the which the Capitayne brake his head: all the Caſtels and fortreſſes in the Engliſhe pale were

were well manned and bytailed and lacked no artillerie, ſo that the Frenche men could doe them no harne.

When the Emperour and the king laye at Byſhops Waltham they ioyntly ſent letters of deſiaunce to the Duke of Lorraine, as Alpe and confederate with the French king. The firſt day of July the Emperours Nauy ſayled before Hampton, which were .C.lxxx. goodly ſhippes. When the Emperours ſhippes were come, he tooke leaue of the king, and had great giſtes giuen him and much money lent to him, and ſo the ſixt day of July he tooke his ſhip, ſo with all his nauie he made ſaile towarde Spaine where he arrived in ſafetic the tenth day after.

The Emperour ſaith his leaue and departeth out of England.

The king about this very time ſent to the Citie of London to borowe twentie thouſande poundes, which ſoze chafed the Citizens, but the ſumme was promiſed, and for the payment the Mayor ſent for none, but for men of ſubſtaunce. Howbeit the companies ſolde much of their plate. Ths ſumme was payde, and the king ſent his letter promyſing payment of the ſame, and ſo did the Cardinall. The pooze men were content with thys payment and ſayde, let the riche Charles paye, for they may well. Lyke loane was practiſed through all the realme, and priuie ſeales deliuered for the repayment of the ſame.

This ſeaſon the .xxi. day of Maye was the Citie of Geane gotten by the Emperours Capitaine called Octauiano de Columna, which had with him foure thouſande and foure hundred Spanyardes, fiue thouſande Italyans, and foure thouſand Lancknightes: and in the Citie was taken Porter de Nauarro the French kings familier Capitayne, and all the Lordes of Geane which fauoured the French king were taken priſoners or ſlayne, and eſpecially one Octauiano Farragoſo, which ruled there for the French king, was euill puniſhed: the ſpoyle of the Citie that the ſouldiours had, was foure thouſande Dukates beſide the pillage, which was a great thing

The Citie of Geane gotten by the Emperour.

Now let vs retourne to the Lord Admyrall of England which departed from Hampton as you haue heard, and ſo with his nauy ſayled and ſkolozed the Seas, and at the laſt came on the coaſt of Britaine, and commaunded the wyfeſt Maſters and Mariners to boy the hauen of Mozles, which was done, and ſo the next night all the flete came to the hauen of Mozles in ſafety and moored their ſhippes together. Then all men were commaunded to harnelle and to aduaunce their ſtandardes, and all ſouldiers to giue their attendaunce on their Capitaynes, and then the Lord Admyrall appoynted and cauſed .xiiij. peeces of ordynaunce called ſfaucous to be brought to lande and drawne forth with ſtrength of men. Then when all men that ſhould go forward were landed, the Lord Admyrall with banner diſplayed tooke lande on the Eaſt ſide of the hauen the firſt day of July, and with hym a ſayze band of ſouldiers, to the number of ſeauen thouſand, whome the ſayd Lord Admirall and ſir Richard Wyngfield brought in good order of battayle, and cauſed Chriſtopher Mozres the Maſter Gunner to ſee all thinges redy prepared, and then about eyght of the clock the firſt day they marched toward Mozles in good order of battayle with banners diſplayed. The alarme roſe in the Countrie and came to the towne of Mozles whereby the gentlemen of the countrie ſhewed themſelues pricking, but when they heard the Gunnes they fled as though they neuer vſed warre. They of Mozles armed themſelues and

The maner of the ſtauling of Mozles in France and how the ſame was gotten.



and went to the walles and shut the gates and layed ordinaunce to here was most reoperdy. The Englishmen had gone. v. long mile and were now come to the subburbes of the towne: then the English Archers shot, and the Britons them defended: then the Admirall commaunded the towne to be assaulted, then the Lord Fitzwater and the Baron Curson quartered the towne on all sides, the Englishmen shot with long bowes, & the Britons with Crosbowes, which defended themselves manfully. Before the port Hoquet where is a Meason de Dieu\*. At this gate gaue the assault Sir Richard Wingfield, Nicholas Carew, Fraunces Bryan, Sir John Wallop and all their bendes, hauing with them thre peces of ordinaunce called Faucons, which the Maister Gunner of times shot, but the Britons had set the gate full of Arcubushes, then the Gunner sayd, haue at the wicket, and in the smoke of the gunnes let vs enter the gate, the Gentelmen assented, then the sayde Sir Christopher Gunner strake the locke of the wicket, so that it flew open, then in the smoke came to the gate the said Christopher and the other forenamed Gentelmen, and when Christopher came to the gate he found the wicket open and entered, and the gentelmen folowed, the Britons defended themselves, but they were put backe and slayne, then was the grate gate opened and then entered the souldiers that were on the other side of the towne. When the Britons on the walles saw the towne gotten, some fled at the Posterne, & some by another way, the best way that they could.

The Erle of Surrey with Banner displayed tooke the market place. Then the souldiers fell to pillage and rifled the chestes and ware houses of Marchauntes, for the towne of Hoyses was very riche, and specially of linnen cloth, the Gentelmen suffered the souldiers to doe what they would. When the souldiers had taken their pleasure of the town as much for a truth or more then they could beare away.

The Lord Admirall commaunded the Trumpettes to blow, and commaunded all men to sette fyre in all places of the towne, the sayde Market place was set on fyre, and eth subburbs bzent ardantly. Wherefore all men were commaunded to their standerdes, and about fyr of the cloke the armie retreated, and as they passed they bzent diuers villages and places. And when night approched they drew together and all night laye on lande abiding their enemies. And the next day with honoz they tooke their shippes, and when all men were shipped and felwe or none missed: The Lorde Admirall commaunded .xviij. or .xviij. shippes small and great lying in the haven to be bzent. Then they sayled forth and came to anker before saint Belle de Lion, then he commaunded that the Foyst and other small shippes and great botes should be manned to enter into an harborow for shippes called Dympoll or Dimpole, which was sone done, the botes entered the place and some landed, but then the Britons were to strong, and so they toke their botes and bet the Britons on the shore, and the Britons shot great ordinaunce at the Englishmen, but it did them no harme, and yet the Englishmen bzent a shyppe of two hundred and many small vessels. When time came the whole flete sayled into the haven of Brest and with barkes and robbe barges entered the haven and tooke lande, and some Englishmen did so much that they set fyre in houses nere the Castell. And euen as the Englishmen sayled by the coast, the Britons them askried and fortified the landing places, yet day

\* That is an  
Hospital.

Hoyses as  
sauid and  
getten.

ly the Englishmen skymyshed with the Britons and came safelye to their shippes againe: with thys warre was all the Duchy of Britain soze troubled.

When the Lord Admirall had wonne the towne of Hoyses as you haue heard: He called to him certayne Squyres whome for their hardynesse and noble courage he made knights, first Sir Fraunces Bryan, Sir Anthoyne Browne, Sir Richard Cornwall, Sir Thomas Hoze, Sir Gyles Huse, Sir John Russell, Sir John Rapnford, Sir George Cobham, Sir John Cornwalles, Sir Edwarde Wigley and diuers other, and after he wrote letters to the king of his good speede: in the which he much praised al the gentelmen and souldiers for their hardynesse. When he had sayled a while on the seas, he had letters sent from the king that he shoulde retrepte, and so he came withall his flete vnder the Ile of Weyght to a place called the Row, and then he departed from his shippe and came to Estamstede the one and twentie day of July to the king, of whome he was well welcomed you may be sure. And so on Monday the thre and twentie daye of July the king and he came to London to the Cardynals place and there sate in counsaile to determyne what shoulde be done. After this the king dyned wpyth the Cardinall the .xxiiij. daye of July, where he reherfed that he had knowledg that the Admirall of Britaine was in Hoyses with a hundred horsemen & a hundred crossbowes, and yet he fled, & the king much commended the Lord Admirall for his paine and hardynesse, and prayed them of his gard, and specially .i. which left pilfering and neuer went from the Lorde Capitaine.

On the thirde day of July while this enterpryse was done at Hoyses, certayne Frenchmen to the number of thre hundred horsemen came neere to the Castell of Guisnes, and kept themselves in a close couert, and so appeared. viij. or .x. horsemen, and came neere Guisnes: out of the Castell came .viij. English Archers, and issued out of the Gate, and fell with the frenche horsemen in skirmish: to the Frenchmens reskue came foure men of Armes and skirmished with the Archers which were afoote. Then out of Guisnes issued .xii. Similances all Welshemen, and ranne boldelye to the Frenchmen in rescue of the footmen. Then the whole bend of frenche men issued out and set on the Welshemen, the footemen shot while arrowes lasted and were faine to fight with swordes, the Welshemen kept themselves together, and entered into the bend of Frenchmen, and brake their speares, and then fought so with swordes, that they made away, so that they escaped from the bende of thre hundred horsemen, and of the Frenchmen were slaine thre men, and five horse, the footemen were ouerpressed, and solde their liues dere, for the Frenchmen slue them all, and would take none prisoner, they were so angrie with the killyng of their horse.

Also the .xxv. day of July, Sir William Sandes Treasorer of Calice, and Sir Edwarde Guilfozde Marshall, with Banners spread, issued out of Calice with .xiiij. C. men, and went into the french pale lokyng for Hoyses: first Foyat, which was a great mocker and a coward: But when he appeared not, they went to Whitlandbay, and set it on fyre, and the people fled to the Church which was fortified and stood at defence, the body of the Church was wonne, and then they tooke the Steple, and some yelded themselves, but the remnant by counsaile of a priest mainteyned so long, that the Steple was fiered, and then the priest cryed for succour, but it was to late, and so the French



French people was faine to leape the Steple, and diuers perished, and they that were saued were led to Calice as prisoners. Farther the .xxiiij. day of the same Moneth, Thwaites a Capitaine of an Englishe Shippe tooke land beyde Bulleyn, and went by thre myle into the Countrey to a towne called Newe Castell and forayed all the Countrey, and in his returne set fyre on the towne and brent a great part thereof mager the Bullenoyr, and with his bowes and men which onely was bi. scoze, he put backe .lxxx. Bagbushes and thre hundred men of warre of the Countrey and so came to their Shippe with all the bootie and lost no man, notwithstanding they were soze folowed to their ship.

On the .viij. day of July the Cardinall sat in the starre Chamber at Westminster, where he sayde, my Lordes it is reason that you should knowe the honourable enterpryse done by the Lorde Admirall and his company in Briteyne which hath dispoled and destroyed the great towne of Hozles in Briteyne with all the vilages and Countrey adioynng to the same, which is in the Franche Dominion, which mischiese had never risen if Frannces the French king had kept his othe and promise. For he is bound that he should neuer retayne the Swythes from the Emperour, nor that he shall not invade any of the Emperours landes or dominions, which he hath done, for he hath invaded the Countrey of Henaude and Cambrices, and taken Hedynge and Fountreby with many other iniuries. For when the king sent me and other to his great costes the last yere to Calice to treat a vnitie and peace betwene them, all our sayngs were by the French king turned into a mockery. Also contrary to his promise he hath suffered Duke John of Albany to enter the realme of Scotland to the great perill of the yong king, Nephew to our soueraigne Lorde, and also entendeth to mary the Queene of Scottes contrary to the kinges honour. The sayde Franche king also withholdeth the kinges ducities, and his sisters Dowry: wherefore of necessitie the king is entered into warre, for no Prince will suffer the wrong that the French king offereth him, as an untrue and forsworne Prince, wherefore for your abne welth you must now ayde your Prince, trustyng to punishe and chastise him to your great honour and fame.

All Frenchmen and Scottes imprisoned.

Then by commaundement were all Frenchmen and Scottes imprisoned, and the goods seized, and all such as were denizens were commaunded to shew their letters patents, and such as were allowed had all their goodes and the other not, and all Frenchmen and Scottes that had maryed Englishe women, the wyfes & children had halfe the goodes deliuered vnto them, and every denizen to finde suretie for his good abearyng, and all the other if they would be bayled to finde sureties for their truth and allegiaunce, or else to be kept in prison, for the portes were so kept that they could not flye.

The king nowe beyng entered into the warres, thought not to sleepe and let the French king alone, wherefore by his letters he commaunded certayne persons with their potwers to come to London in August. They that were appoynted came accordyngly, every man with such a number as to him was appoynted, and when they had mustered at London before the kinges Commissioners, they were nere .xiiij. thousand men with the Byoners, and they were sent to the Lorde Admirall which lay at Dover with foure thousand men, but because Harvest was not done, the bitaile at Calice was to little

little for so great an armie, wherefore they lay in Kent at townes there a good space, which made bitaile dere there.

In this Sommer the Lorde Rosse, and the Lorde Dacres of the north which were appoynted to keepe the borders agaynst Scotland, did so valyantly, that they burned the good towne of Kelsey, and .lxxx. vilages and ouerthrew .xxiiij. towers of stone with all their Barnkyns or Bulwarkes.

The king also in this Moneth was credibly informed that the Duke of Albany prepared an army roiall of Scottes and Frenchmen to invade England. Wherefore the king appoynted the Erle of Shrewsbury his Lorde Steward to be his Lieutenaunt generall agaynst the sayde Duke and hys inuasions, which directed his letters to the Shyres of Yorke, Darby, Stafford, Shropshire, and all other beyonde Trent, that all men shoulde be in a readinesse.

The .xx. day of August, the Cardinall sent for the Maior, Aldermen, and the most substanciall Commoners of the Citie of London, where he declared to them that the king had appoynted Commissioners through the whole realme of England for to sweare every man of what value he is in moueables, the more to be in redinesse for the defence of this realme. And the king for the loue he beareth you, would haue sit with you himselfe, but for certayne other affayres in his warres to be done is letted, and so hath appoynted me your Commissioner. Wherefore in conuenient tyme certefie me the number of all such as be worth one hundred poundes and upward, to the intent I may sweare them of their values: for first the king asketh of you your louyng heartes and due obeysaunce, the which shall appere by your conformitie to his requestes, and when the value is taken, he desireth onely the tenth part of goodes and landes, which is the least reasonable thing that you can ayde your prince with. I think every one of you wil offer no lesse. As for the spiritualtie, every man is in the shires sworne, & shall and will gladly pay the fourth part to the king, and liue on the thre partes. Nowe to your part I am sure you will not grudge, therefore name me the men of substaunce, and for the meaner sort, meaner Commissioners shall be appoynted. Sir (said a Marchant) if it may please you, howe shall this tenth part to the king be deliuered, in money, plate, or Jewelles? the Cardinall sayde at a value. My Lord sayd the Aldermen, it is not yet two monethes sith the king had of the Citie .xx. M. pound in readie money in loane, whereby the Citie is very bare of money, for Gods sake remember this, that riche Marchantes in ware be bare of money: Well sayde the Cardinall, this must be done, and therefore go about it. So the Aldermen resorted to their Wardes, and named such as they iudged to be of that value, which came before the Cardinall, and moste hūbly besought him that they might not be sworne for the true value of their substaunce for the true valuation to them was vnknoone, and many honest mennes credence was better then his substaunce, and therefore they doubted the perill of periurpe. Well sayde the Cardinall, sith you dread the crime of periurpe, it is a signe of grace, and therefore I will for you borrow of the king a little. Make you your billes of your abone value, likely to report your fame, and then more businesse nedeth not: for you see what two costly armies the king hath ready agaynst both Franunce and Scotland, therefore nowe shewe your selues lyke louyng subiectes, for you be able ynough. And I

The Cardinall beseth the Citizens) crailly and grieuoufly.



date swere the substance of London is no lesse worth then two Millions of golde. Then sayde the Citizens, we would to God that it were so, and the Citie is sore appaired by the great occupieng of Straungers. Well sayde the Cardinall it shall be redressed if I live: But on Saterdag next I shall appoynt one to receyue your Billes, and he that is of credence moze then of substance, let him resoꝛt to me, and I will be secrete and good to him. Thus the Citizens departed in a great agony sayng, that at the last loane summe lent the fift part, and now to haue the tent part was to much. And here note well that the .xx. thousand poundes that was lent, was not taken as the .xx. of e- uery mans substance, but it should be allowed as part of the tenth part, and this baluatio should perfoꝛme by the whole tenth part. Great was y<sup>e</sup> mour- ning and mutinyng of the common people, as it is euer insuche cases of paymentes. But in the ende one Doctoꝛ Tommys, a Secretary to the Car- dinall, came to the Chapter house of Paules, & to him the Citizens brought in their Billes, and on their honestie they were receiued, which values after- ward turned them to displeasure.

Wast begot-  
teth repen-  
taunce.

The Spiritualltie made sute to the Lord Cardinall, that no Tempozal men should syt to examine them, to bee made priuie to their possessions and goddes: Wherefoꝛe Bishops and Abbots were appoynted Commissioners to take the value of their substance.

In this season was great plentie of bittaille sent to Calice, and to the Lorde Admirall were sent Centes, and Paullions, some of .lxx. lodgyngs foꝛ him and other noble men.

The Friday beyng the .xxij. day of August, certayne Welshmen were lodged at a poze village named Cause, because in Calice was verie narrow lodging, and the same night foure hundred frenchmen passed by Calice ha- uen foꝛ lack of good watche, and came into the same Willage, and set fyze in the house where the Welshemen lay, which ranne away naked into the ma- rishe and saued themselves, but their hozses were taken. Thys chaunce happened foꝛ lack of good watch.

The Lorde  
Admirall  
with a good-  
ly company  
of souldiours  
entred into  
France.

When the Lorde Admirall had brought all his men out of the shippes, and that all the souldiours were come out of Englande, and the ordinaunce set on lande, then came into Calice haue. xiiij. shippes out of Spaine from the Emperour, which set on lande thye hundred Spanyardes, which were sent to serue the Lorde Admirall, and vnder him they were put. When all things were readie, the Lorde Admirall set in order his battayles, and foꝛ the foꝛwarde he appointed syꝛ Robert Ratclyffe Lorde Fitzwater, foꝛ Ca- pitayne, and with him dyuers knightes and gentlemen, which Capitayne kept his men in verie good order.

After that battayle followed the ordinaunce, artillerie and other trusses with bittayle and all necessaries, and foꝛ the Capitayne of the hozsemen was appointed syꝛ Edward Gylford, by whome the curreys and belwers of the Countrey were appointed. The middle warde led the Lorde Admirall him- selfe, and in his companie the Lord Edmond Harward his brother, with ma- ny worshipfull knightes, squires and tall yomen: The last battayle was led by two balvaunt knightes of the Garter, syꝛ Wylliam Sandes, and syꝛ Ri- chard Wyngfield, and with them was syꝛ Wycharde Jernyngham with many other. In good order of battayle they passed ouer Debonam brydge the .xxx.  
day

day of August to a place called Calketwell, and there lodged betweene the wyndmill and the marrihe.

The same day came to the Lord Admirall a certayne number of wilde persons, as men out of seruiue and prentises that ran from their maysters and other ydle persons, and him desired that they might be retayued in the kings wages, to whom he answered that the king had appointed the num- ber of suche as should haue wages, which was fully complete, and aduised them to returne into England and not to loyter there. Then sayde a tall yo- man, my Lorde here be many good felowes, that with your fauour woulde ieopard to get oꝛ loose, foꝛ their minde is to be reuenged on the frenchmen, enemies to the king & his realme. Good felow sayd the Lord Admirall, theie mindes be good, but if foꝛ lack of conduyte they should be cast away, it were a losse to the king, and a great courage to the french men. Then all the com- pany cryed, let vs go in the name of God and saint George: then after coun- saile taken, he gaue them a Penon of saint George and bad them aduenture (of which they were called aduenturers) and farther bad them that if they got any bootie they should euer bzing it to the armie, and they should be payde to the vttermost, and then he gaue them money and commaunded them weapons and so the sayde .xxxj. daye, the sayde aduenturers foure hundred in number and mo, set foꝛward befoꝛe the hoste, but howe they did, you shall heare afterwarde.

Aduenturers.

Monday the first day of September the armie remoued toward Guis- nes, which day was verie hote and drinke lacked, and water was not nere, so that some dyed foꝛ faintnesse, and thys night they lay at Gysnes.

Tuesday the second day of September the armie passed toward Arde: And in the golden Waley where the king of Englande and the french king met two yeres befoꝛe, there met with the armie of England two Capitaines of the Burgonions, the one called the Erle of Egmond the Seneschal of Flenade, and the Lorde of Bauers Admirall of Flaunders with five hun- dred hozsemen, like men of warre. The Lorde Admirall in gentle maner receyued these two Capitaynes and their company, and so they loyued them- selues to the Englishe armie, and the same daye they tooke lodging at Arde south from the towne, where they were well bytayed, and there laye Wed- nesday all day, and the Burgonions lay vnder the Castell of Mountozrey. The next daye they remoued to the Wale of Lykes, and there encamped themselves. Sir George Cobham the same day with two thousand men, by the Admiralles commaundement came to the towne of Selloys, and set fyze in the towne, and when the towne was on fyze he assaulted the Castell. They within made resistance, but it auayled not, foꝛ the walles were entered and the souldiours taken, and the castell set on fyze, and with Gunnepowder o- uerthrew the walles: then with haste he remoued to a towne called Bzune brydge and set it on fyze, and also bzent a towne called Senckerke, and also the townes of Botpngham and Mansker, and so returned to the Lorde Ad- mirall which gaue him great thanks. The french men appered in plumpes, but yet they durst not rescue their townes.

On Saterdag the Lorde Admirall remoued with the whole armie to a ground beside saint Nerbyns, and there lay all Sunday, beyng the seventh day of September, where he sent diuers companies out, which foꝛaged



the Countreys and brent manye Villages as farre as they might trauaile: the Lorde Admirall caused the towne of Harbyn to be brent, and tooke the Castell and rased it and btterly destroyed it.

On Monday the. viij. day, he remooued to Dauerne and brent all the townes as he passed, and lying there he brent the towne of Dauerne, and cast downe the Castell of Columberge, and the castell Rew, but the Churches of Dauerne and a house of Nonnes were saued by his commaundemēt.

The same daye was brent Saint Marie de Boys and all the countrey twelue Mile about was of light fire, the people fled and left townes and Castels full of wine, corne, and all other necessaries, so that in Dauerne the Englishemen founde great plentie, which oz they went away they set a fire.

The. ix. day of September the whole armie came before the towne of Boyardes in the which was a Church moze lyk a castell then a Church, for it was deepe dyched with drawe bridges and with Bulwarkes fortified and loyes very warlike. The Admirall beholding it sayde, this is like no house of prayer. Then he commaunded his people to enter the dyches, and pluck downe the drawe bridges, and set fyre in the Church, and with Gunpouder ouerthrew it, and brent the towne and all the vilages adiacent to the same, the people cryed and fled, well was he that might saue himselfe.

The. x. day they came to the towne of Waus, which was nighe the towne called Foucamberge, and there a company of Frenchmen were ascried, for out of a wood they shewed themselves, but they taried not long, but without profer of encounter they departed. Wherefore the whole armie tooke their campe, and there lay til the. xiiij. day which was Saterday, every day sending plumpes out to set fyre in the Country, and on that day they tooke the waye to Frynge oz Frynges, and there brent the towne and destroyed the Castell which was very strong.

The Sunday beyng the. xiiij. daye, the Lorde Admirall with his company in great rayne and yll weather passed by hilles and valeys verie painefully, and with great labor came to a towne called Blaniow, and there taried Monday all day, and there all daye counsayled the Capitaynes both of England and Flaunders oz Burgoyne, what was best to be done.

On Tuesday in the morning came a Trumpet from the Castell of Hedyng and desired to speake with the Capitayne, which incontinent sent for him: my Lorde Capitayne sayde the Trumpet, the Capitayne of Hedyng desireth you to come thether and see the place, and on the walles he will bring you good luck, and he prayeth you not to hurt the Dere in his Parke, and for any other hurt you can doe him he careth not: well sayde the Lorde Admirall, I will send him aunswere by my Trumpet. Incontinent he called a Trumpet, and bad him go to Hedyng to Mounfire de Bees, and to say to him that he will come to the Castell of Hedyng, and if he slaye any of my men with his artillerie, let him trust me, that if I get the Castell, I will saue neyther man, woman, nor childe. So with that message the Trumpet departed and declared it to Mounfire de Bees, which sayde that it was spoken of noble courage, and so the Trumpet returned, and the same daye the campe was remooued and the whole armie came about the Castell of Hedyng, at which time the towne of Hedyng was soze infect with pestilence, wherefore a generall commaundement was geuen, that no man should once come into

Message fro Hedyng.

The aunswere.

Hedyng besieged.

into the towne, howbeit some of the Burgonions did set fire in the houses. When the siege was planted, the ordinaunce was verie light for the wayes were so deepe and the ground so wet, that the great ordinaunce could not be caried. This thing was well debated by the Lorde Admirall and the Capitaynes. After they had bene there a. xi. dayes, first they considered that the Castell could not be obtayned without great ordinaunce, which in no wise could then be caried, and also if they with the light ordinaunce shooting should spend all their powder and not get the Castell, then in them might be reckened great folly, and also they should be in great leopardie to passe without ordinaunce, and further the plague began soze in the armie, wherefore they determined to leaue the siege and returne. But whye they laye at the towne, they beate downe roffes, galleries, chimneis, and such other things as the light ordinaunce would beate downe, which soze defaced the beautie of the Castell. They also destroyed all the Dere in the Parke, which were salowe Dere, and left none for the Capitaine. The English men were clerely determined to haue assaulted the Castell, if the Burgonions would haue done the same: but they refused, which seyng the Englishemen left the assault alone: for though the English men had gotten it, it should haue bene deliuered to the Emperors by the treaty, for he claymed it as his inheritance, which caused the Englishemen to leaue the assault.

The cause whye the Castell was not assaulted.

And so the. xxij. daye of September they rered the siege and set themselves in good order of battayle and passed still onwarde, till they came to Dozlans, and brent the towne, and rased the castell, and from thence came to the good towne of Barrier and brent and spoyled the same. Thus he brent all the waye as he passed: and euer the weather was worse, and men fell sicke, wherefore the Burgonions and the Spaniardes returned into Flaunders about Betwyn.

The siege rayled.

Then the Lorde Admirall sawe that it was no time to keepe the fiede, turned backward in good order of battayle, and came to Calice the sixtene day of October. And while he lay at Calice he sent for William Sandes, Sir Horice Barkeley, for William Fitzwilliam with thre thousand men, which brent Marguison which was newly edified and fortified, they brent also the towne of saint Johnes Rhode and Temple towne, and many Villages. At thys boyage were taken many prisoners. xiiij. M. chepe. xiiij. C. great cartell, as Dren and Kyen, and. xiiij. hundred Hogges, and seuen. C. Mares and hozses, with thys great bootie thys crewe returned to Calice in safetie.

A great prey taken.

Then the Lorde Admirall sent for John Walop with. ii. hundred men to saint Omers to lye there and at Gupsnes, Hammes, and at Marke, and at Dy he left another number, and left Capitaynes to ouer see them, and all the Souldiours had a Monethes wages payde them, and so returned into Englande.

The aduenturers taried still and gat many good prayes, and brought to the garrisons, and lacked nothing: they were much drad of all the commo people, for of them they had great prayes, and daylie learned feates of warre which made them the bolder.

When the Lorde Admirall had set all things in an order on that side the sea, he toke ship and with the Nauy came into the ryuer of Thames, and so

The Lorde Admirall returneth into England.



to the king, of whome he was well welcommed and not vnworthy.

Scottes banished the realme.

In thys season were banished out of Southwarke twelue Scottes, which had dwelt there a long season, and were conueyed from parithe to parithe by the Constable lyke men that had abured the realme, and on their vntermost garment a whyte Crosse befoze and another behinde them. Thus were they conueyed thzough London North warde, tyll they came to Scotlande.

Whyle the Lorde Admirall was thus in Fraunce destroyng the countrey, the noble Erle of Shrewsburie Lorde George Talbot, and Steward of the kings houtholde prepared by the kings commaundement a great armie towarde Scotland: for the king was enformed that Duke John of Albany (which in the parliament of Scotland was made Lorde gouernour of the realme, and of the yong king during his noneage) had rayled a mightie and puyssaunt hoste of Scottes, to the number of foure scoze thousand men, as after was well knowne, which were warlike appointed, and that he with fise hundred frenchmen with hand Gunnes and other great artillerie was coming forward to inuade the west marches of England adioynng toward Scotlande. Wherefoze the king sent worde to the Erle of Shrewsburie, which with all diligence like a noble Capitaine set forward towarde Porke, and wrote to the Erles of Northumberland, Westmerland and Darby, to the Lorde Dacres, Lumley, Clyfforde, Scrope, Latemer, Ogle, Darcy, Conyers, and to all other gentlemen, to be readie within eyght houres warnyng with all their powes, and so in tozning, he with his power which was great, came to the Citie of Porke abyding the ordinaunce and the Lordes, and all other things necessarie in such a case.

In the meane season, the Scottes were come nigh to the Citie of Carlisle & lodged them nigh the water of Esk, not farre from Sulway sandes, and there made their abode. The Erle of Westmerland, the lord Dacres, the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Mountaigle, with the knightes of Lancashire, Westmerland, and Cumberland, were readie with, xxviij. thousande men to haue geuen them battaile.

When the Scottes sawe that they could not enter into England without battaile, the Lordes of Scotland drew to counsaile, and amongst all one wise man sayde, my Lordes, hether we be come by the commaundement of my Lorde Gouernour the Duke of Albany, but for what cause the warre is we should knowe: you all remember that the last warre was to the realme of Scotlande much preiudiciall: for king James the fourth brought the realme of Scotlande to the best that euer it was: and by his warre it was brought to the worst almost that may be, for by that warre was he and his nobilitie slaine, which Scotland soze lamenteth: Wherefoze by mine aduice let vs go to the Duke, and knowe of him the cause. Then they all came to the Dukes Court, and the Erle of Arayn an auncient man spake for them all and sayde, my Lorde Gouernour, by your will and commaundement here is assembled almost all the Nobilitie of Scotland with their power upon a pretence to enter into England, my Lordes here would know the cause and quarell why this warre is begon, if it might please your goodnesse, it should well satisfie their mindes.

The Duke studyed a good while, and sayde: this question would haue bene

The sayng of a Scottish Erle.

bene demaunded or nowe: for well you knowe that I for the very loue that I bere to the realme of Scotland, of the which I haue my name, honoz and linage. I haue passed the seas out of the noble realme of Fraunce into thys realme of Scotland. One great cause to bring you to a vniy when you were in deuision: By reason of which deuision your realme was likely to be conquered and destroyed. Also the french king by my suites and intercession will ioyne with you in ayde against the Englishe Nation: And when thys warre was determined in the Parliament, you made me Capitaine, authorisying me to inuade England with banner displayed: then was no question demaunded of the right or quarell, & that that I haue done is by your assent & agreement, and that I will iustifie: but to answer your demaund, me thinke that you haue iust cause to inuade England with fyze, sword, and blood, if you be not to forgetfull, and without you will beare dishonour and reproche for euer: For you knowe that this realme of Scotland is our inheritaunce as a porcion of the woorld allotted to our nacion and auncetors whome we succede: Then where may be better warre then to maintaine this our naturall inheritaunce: is not dayly sene the great inuasions that the Englishe men on vs make, the great manslaughter, and murders, with robberies, and spoyles that they doe dayly? Is not this a cause of warre? To defende the Countrey is the office of a king, the honour of noble men, and the very seruice of chualtrie, and the duetie naturall of the commonaltie. For I thinke it a iust quarell if we might conquer the realme of England and annex it to our realme and make a Monarchie: for sith the begynnyng of our habitation in this Isle of Briteyne, that nation and we haue bene enemyes, and vs they haue euer hated, and yet we haue withstood them till at the last battaile of Branston, where we bechaunce lost our souereigne Lorde, and many noble men, but that was by treason of his Lord Chamberleyn, and yet I thinke we wanne the field: which murther I thinke al we noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I would that ye should couragiously aduance your seife in thys quarell to get honour and to be reuenged.

Then a sad man called the President of the counsaile sayde, my Lorde, fortune of warre is led by hym that all leadeth, and he striketh the stroke, we can worke no miracles, and here are the Lordes of Englande readye to encounter vs, and sulerly they will fight, for their power shal encrease daily and ours is at the hyst. And if God geue vs y victory as I trust he wil, yet haue we not wonne the field: for ready coming is the Lorde Talbot Erle of Shrewsbury so much dzed in Fraunce as you know well, with a great puyssaunt army, and there is no doubt but the king of Englande will send or bring an other army, yf we should chaunce to get the first battaile: if we get the second fielde that will not be without the losse of many nobles, by reason wherof the realm shalbe weaker. And if we be overcome how many shal be slaine God knoweth: They that fliee ar worthy to be reputed as traytors to the king and so by wilfulnesse and foolish hardinesse the realme shal be in ioperdy to be vndone, and I say while the king is within age, we ought to moue no warre, sith by warre we may bring him to destruction. Alas sayde the Duke here is all the puyssaunce of Scotlande: if we retourne we shall encourage our enemies, and the realme of Scotlande shal euer be rebuked and defamed. All this communication in counsaile was wrytten by one for  
Lother

The answer of the Duke of Albany.



Another Priest and Scot and Secretary to the Queene of Scotz, which was a Secretary there in the host at that time, to a Scottishe Priest that dwelt in London: and farther he wrote that the Scottishe king did much for the French kings pleasure to draw the Lords of England with their powers toward the parte and to put the king of Englande to charges, so that he should not invade France.

After this communication, the Queene of Scottes which doubted the sequelle of this matter, sent worde to the Duke, and him required to common of a peace with the warden of the English Marches, which sent an Herald to the Lorde Daker then warden of the west Marches, the Lorde Daker agreed, and upon hostages went to the Duke of Albany into his campe, where the Queene of Scottes by that tyme was come, and so there was an abstinence of warre taken for a season: and in the meane tyme the Duke and the Queene promised to send Ambassadors to the king of England to conclude a peace: And thus the Scottes returned into their houses. This truce was taken the .xi. day of September betwene Englande and Scotland, this .xiii. yere of the king. The Erle of Shrewsbury hearing of the truce by the Lorde Dacres letters, returned with all his companie, so that he had not gone forward on the Scottes. In this season the Commissioners fate for the loane of the tenth part of euery mans substance in euery shire, the people were sworne and some aduanced themselves more then they were worth of pride, not remembryng what was comyng, and the Commissioners did what they coude to set the people to the bittermost, which after ward turned the people to much heauinesse, and by reason of this great summes of money were leuyed, but the most part were not content, because the loane was so sodainly payed. But vnder the value of .v. pound no man lent a peny.

The warre thus continuynge betwene the French king and the king of England, there was a valiaunt Capitaine Constable of the Castell of Hammes vnder the Lord Mountioy called sir Richard Whethill, the Frenchmen him so much hated, that they deuised a pollicye to take him, and so on Christmasse day at night there issued out of Bulleyn two hundred horsemen, and three hundred footemen, and so much they traueled that altogether were come to a place where Hoppes grew, nere Hammes Castell called Catwal. When they were come thether, they kept themselves couert, and in the meynyng they brake by the Turne pyke by Saint Gertrudes: Then sent they into Hammes Marche .ii. or .x. footemen to take Cattell. In the Castell the alarme rang, but the embullement kept them still close: The Constable perceyued what the alarme ment, and armed him, and so did his archers and tooke his horse, and three Gentlemen went on foote by him. The Frenchmen of purpose driued the Cattell here and there, as though it would not be driuen, sir Richard Whithill pursued them. When the driuers sawe him, they drewe the Cattell into a great fielde: then were the bullement of horsemen and footemen betwene them and Saint Gertrudes, and they sodainly brake out on them, and the three Gentlemen on foote fought valiantly, but they were slaine, the knight alighted and fought on foote manfully, but he was borne downe with Pykes, and sore wounded, and so was compelled to yelde himselfe prisoner: by that tyme were .xxx. archers come out of the Castell, and when they sawe the great number of the Frenchmen, then they knewe that

A truce taken with the Scottes.

that their Capitaine was betrayed, and so returned.

About this time the Duke of Albany sailed out of Scotlande into France, and the French king so much fauored hym, that as it was shewed to the king of England for truth, that when the French king road through Paris he roade on the one hand and Richard de la Polle a Traytor to England and by parliament attaynted on the other hande, and that the Duke had asked of the French king five thousand horsemen and ten thousand Almaynes, and that he had promised the French king that if he had those .xv. thousand men, he woulde doe one of these thre things, eyther slay the king of England in battayle, or else take him prisoner, or else driue him out of his realme. These were shamefull bragges of a noble man and very foolish.

We haue heard befoze how truce was taken by the Duke of Albany and the Lorde Dacres for a season betwene Englande and Scotland, and that Ambassadors should be sent to the king of England, so it was that in October according to their accustomed doublenesse they sent thre personages of small behauior as it seemed, as Ambassadors from Scotlande: they were smally regarded and shortly departed. There commission was to know whether the same tyme or abstinence of warre was by the king assented to or not, and other Commission had they none. Thus they ment craftily as you may perceyue, for in such troublous tyme they may steale unpunished, which they may not do in tyme of peace. Wherefoze the king to be sure of them sent for Henry the sixt Erle of Northumberland, and him made warden of the whole Marches, which thankfully accepted the same, and so departed Lorde warden. But howsoeuer it happened he made suite to the king and his Counsaill and neuer left, till he was discharged of the same, & then the Erle of Surrey Lorde Admirall of England was made general warden, and the Lord Marques Dorset was made warden of the East Marches and middle, and the Lorde Dacres of the West Marches: which three Lordes spedde them thether the sixt day of Marche for the defence of the Borders. For refusyng of this office the Erle of Northumberland was not regarded of his abone Tennantes, which disdeyned him and his blood, and much lamented his folye, all men esteemed him without heart, or loue of honour and chualrie.

The king out of hand sent Commissioners to gather the loane, this was called the practisyng of the loane, which sore emptied mens purses. In the same moneth were musters taken throught the realme, and euery man commaunded to be readie within a dayes warnyng to do the king seruice in harnesse, which caused euery man of honestie to by harnesse and weapon.

The Lorde Marques Dorset warden of the East Marches betwene England and Scotland, accompanied with sir William Bulmer, and sir Arthur Barcie, and many other noble men, the second day of Aprill, then beyng there Thursday, entred into Cuedale, and so ten myle into Galoway, and bent on euery syde townes and billages, and the Scottes in great number shewed themselves on the hilles, and did not approch, and so he all that night layed in the Scottishe ground, and on good Fryday returned with their boty which was foure thousand head of nere into England, when they had bent Crymslay, Howhouse, Dufford mylles Akeforth, Crowlyng, Howes maner, Widdor Crowlyng, Harbottell, Low Bog, Sefforth Maner, Widdor rigge, Wimsed, Broket, Shalwes Haruel, wide open Haught, and other townes

The Duke of Albany returned.

Ambassade from Scotland.

The loane gathered.

A road made into Scotland by the English men.



townes and billages, and yet lost not many men.

A parliament

The .xx. day of Aprill began a Parliament at the blacke Friers in London, and that day the masse of the holy ghost was song, all the Lordes beyng present in their Parliament robes. And when Masse was finished the king came into the Parliament Chamber and there sate downe in the seate royal or thron, and at his secte on the right syde sat the Cardinall of Porke, and the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and at the raile behinde stood Doctor Tunstall Bishop of London, which made to the whole parliament an eloquent oratio, declaring to the people the office of a king. First he must be a man of iudgement, according to the sayng of prophet David Deus iudicium tuum regi da. &c. Also he must be a man of great learning, according to the sayng of the prophete. Erudimini qui iudicatis terram. According to which saynges, he sayde that God had sent vs a prince of great iudgement, of great learning, & great experience, which according to his princely dutie forgat not to studie to sette forward all thinges which might be profitable to his people and Realme, least there might be layde to his charge the sayng of Seneca. Es rex & non habes tempus esse rex? Art thou a king and hast no tyme to be a king? which is asmuch to say, as art thou a king, and doest nothing profitable to thy people? Art thou a king and seest the people haue an insufficient lawe? Art thou a king and wilt not prouide remedie for the mischief of thy people? These things haue moued the kinges highnesse to call this his high Court of Parliament both for the remedie of mischies which be in the common lawe, as recoueryes, foraine vouchers, and corrupt tryals. And for making and ordering of newe estatutes which may be to the highe aduancement of the common wealth, wherefore he willeth the Commons to repayre to the common house, and there to elect them a speaker, or their common mouth, and to certifie the Lorde Chaunceloz of the same, which should thereof make report to the kinges most noble grace, which should declare his pleasure when he would haue him presented befoze his person. This was the cause of the parliament he sayd, but surely of these things no word was spoken in the whole Parliament, and in effect no good act made, except the graunt of a great subsidie were one, but according to this instruction the Commons departed to the common house, and chose for their speaker Sir Thomas Mooze knight and presented him the Saterday after in the Parliament Chamber, where he according to the old vsage disabled himselfe both in witte, learning, and discretion, to speake befoze the king, and brought in for his purpose how one Phormio desyred Hanniball to come to his readyng, which thereto assented, and when Hanniball was come, he began to reade, dere militari, that is of Chivalrie: when Hannibal perceyued him, he called him arrogant foole, because he woulde presume to teache him which was maister of Chivalrie, in the feates of warre. So the speaker sayde, if he should speake befoze the king of learning, and ordering of a common welth and suche other lyke, the king beyng so well learned, and of such prudence and experience, might say to him as Hanniball sayd to Phormio. Wherefore, he desired his grace that the commons might choose them another speaker: the Cardinall answered, that the king knewe his wit, learning and discretion, by long experience in his seruice: wherefore he thought that the commons had chosen him as the most meetest of all, and so he did admit him. Then sir Thomas Mooze gaue to

The oration  
of Doctor  
Tunstall bi-  
shop of Lon-  
don.

The oration  
of Sir Tho-  
mas Mooze.

the

the king his most humble thankes, and despyed of him two petitions: the one if he should be sent from the Commons to the king on message, and mistake their entent, that he might with the kinges pleasure resort agayne to the Commons, for the knowledge of theyr true meanyng: the other was, if in communication and reasonyng any man in the common house should speake moze largely then of dutie he ought to do, that all such offences should be pardoned, and that to be entered of record, which two petitions were graunted, and so thus began the Parliament and continued as you shall here.

Because an euill chaunce happened to the great rebuke of all Christen Princes, I entend briefly to declare the same miserable chaunce. In the beginning of this yere Sultan Solymann called the great Turke, which was but the .viij. of the ligne of Ottoman, the first that tooke vpon him to be a great Capitaine or ruler. And to whome Sultan Solymann his father had lost the Emperres of Constantinople, Trapesonde, Alexandry, and Babilon, with many diuers kingdomes and realmes: which Sultan Solymann the yere befoze had gotten the towne of Belgrado beyng the key of Hungary. Because he sawe all the great Princes in Christendome nowe at discord, thought it most for his honoz and profite to make warre on the Isle of the Rhodes, and to take the same, which Isle had bene kept by the space of two hundred .xiiij. yeres by the brethren or knightes of the order of Saint Iohnes of Jerusalem. Diuers thinges moued him to take this enterprize. One was because this Isle stode so that the religious of the same oftentimes tooke and destroyed his shippes as they came with golde and other riches from Egypt, Sirie and other y Cast parties to Constantinople, so that by them of that Isle he sustayned moze hurt then by all Christendome, because the sayd Isle stood in the entry toward Constantinople. Another motion was, because his father when he dyed charged him to assay to take the Rhodes for to be reuenged of the shame that they had done to his graundfather Mahomet the great Turke which was with dishonour beaten from the siege of the Rhodes. But the greatest occasion of all was, the exhortation of a great Counsaylor of the religion called Andrew Admirall borne in Portugale, which knewe the whole estate and in what case the towne stode in: The cause why this Andrew Admirall bare malice to his religion, was because after the death of Frier Fabrica de Laretto Lorde, maister of their religion, he was not elected to that honour, but one Philip de Wyllyars de Lille Adain of Fraunce was named to be Lord Mayster, wherefore the sayd Andrew prouoked the Turke to come to the Rhodes.

The great Turke seyng so great an occasion offered and desiring honoz and also knowing the fortreffe of the Rhodes to lacke munitions (for surely the brethren of the sayd order were both of such welth and pride, and also luyed after such an vngodly and vngodly fashion, that they neyther tooke heede of their vow and solempne Professon, nor also did foresee the thing to come, so that the great wealth of them, and their euill liuing blinded them that they thought the Turke durst not once attempt to set on their gariso, and so they being eleuate in this poynnt of pride, left their towne vnfurnished and were sodaynly surprysed (as you shall heere) wherefore the sayde Turke couertly prouided for thre hundred sayle, in the which he caryed all his artillery and all other thinges necessary: in the which army were .lx. thousande

Admyers

The Rhodes  
besieged.

Why the  
Turke con-  
quered the  
Rhodes.



The Turkes  
letter.

Myner and Byoners prepared for the only intent to digge and mine: al the rest of the armye of the Turke came by lande to a place called Fisco, which standeth so dyrectly agaynst the Rhodes, that a syer may be seene from the one side to the other, from which place the Turke sent letters to the aboue named Phillipe de Vylliers Lord Maister of the sayde religion, signifying to hym that he woulde haue the sayde Isle for the great damage that they had done to him and to his people, and if they woulde yelde to him the sayd Isle, he promised on his sayth and by Mahomet his first Phrophet, they should haue no dammage nor hurt by him, and that they that would depart should goe in safetie, and they that would tary and serue him should haue good wages, and if they refused this to doe, he sware that he wou'd subuert the walles of their fortreffe and destroye them all and make them slaues, which letter was dated at Constantinople the fyrst day of June. The sayde Lorde Maister and his company were greatly abashed of this letter, but yet like hardy Gentlemen they intended to defende them, and made all the preparations that they could do in so short a space, and wrote to al Princes chris- ten of their neede and distresse. But the Turke like a wily serpent knowing the great deuision amongst the Christen Princes, so that he knew that they could send no succors to the Rhodes, sent two hundred. M. Turkes which arriued in the Isle of the Rhodes on Midsummer day which was the feastfull day of the Rhodians in honoz of saint John Baptist, which sodaine comming soze abashed the Rhodyans being but sixe hundred knights and .v. M. other meete to beare armes: yet of noble courage and trusting in God, they deter- mined to defend the enemies of God, and the .xxviii. daye of July the Turke arriued there in his owne person, which much encouraged his people.

The moun-  
tains

The moun-  
tains

The moun-  
tains

The moun-  
tains

When the Turke was arriued, he bent his ordinance toward the towne and did no great harme, when he saw that the walles were of that defence that ordinance did litle harme, he caused ail his Byoners to cast yearth one banke ouer another styl, tyll they came within a bowshot of the wall. And although that many of the pyoners were slayne with ordinance of the towne they neuer ceased till they had made a banke of yerth higher by ten foote then the wall of the towne, and they there laide their ordinance, so that no person durst stirre on the walles or Bulworckes, & thus with mountaynes of earth was the towne environed, and behinde the mountaynes laye the Bassaus and chiefe Capitaines of the Turke which were ever ready to take their ad- uantage, and dayly did shote into the towne and bet downe houses, and slew the people in the streates, for they vpon this mount might easily see into the towne. Beside this, the Turke caused so many mynes to be made in diuers places, that they within, were not able to make countermynes for lacke of people, in so muche as women were set at worke to digge and carpe, by reason whereof a great part of the walles were ouerthrowne. And if they within had not made countermynes, the towne had bene gotten within a short space. Also the Turkes in September gaue to the Rhodyans foure great assaultes like valiaunt warriors, but the Christen men within, so vali- antly defended them, that at every assault they lost at the least two thousand men, and at the fourth assault they lost ten thousand Turkes and more.

The great Turke seyng the losse of his men at the assaultes, sent for Mustaphaph Basshaw, through whose counsaile he toke on him this enter- pryce and much blamed him that he made him beleue that he might haue the towne

towne within .xii. dayes or in a moneth at the most, wherfore in that furye he woulde haue put him to death, if the other Basshawes had not intreated for hym: but in conclusion the Turke determined clerely to raise his siege and to depart, and so had done if that same night syr Andrewe Admyrall that you haue heard of befoze and a Jew being within the Rhodes had not writ- ten letters and shot them out on quarrels into the Turkes army. By which letters the Turkes knew the necessitie of the towne and feblenesse of the people, which caused him to chaunge his purpose. But this treason was es- spied, and the Traytors taken and put to terrible execution, and the Turke caused so many mynes to be made, that although some tooke none effect, yet by some he ouerthrew both bulwarckes, walles and towers, so that he might enter into the towne: and so on saint Andrewes euen he caused a great as- sault to be geuen, which was very fierce, but yet the Christen men so baly- auntly defended them that they slew thre thousand Turkes and mo, and kept them from entring that day, but the Citizens of the Rhodes after this assault came to the Lorde Maister, and prayed him to haue compassion of them, their wyfes and children, and shewed him that if the towne were taken by assault (as it was like to be) that they all should be cruelly murdered, the Lorde Maister much regarded his honoz, and comforted the people with sayre words, but by chaunce about the same time the great Turke sent a letter into the Rhodes, willing them to deliuer the towne, and they al should haue their liues and goodes, and they that would tary should tary in quiet, and they that woulde depart, should safely depart.

This tray-  
terous act.

Treason  
spied.

When this letter was knobone, then the people cryed out on the Lorde Maister, to take the offer, wherfore he calling all hys counsaile together, seyng that it was not possible to keepe the towne longer, both for lack of ar- tillarie and bittayle, and also because his number was so minished, that scarce he had Souldiours to keepe the walles: wherfore he by great aduise de- termined to take the Turkes offer, and so sent to hym two of hys religion, for the farther conclusion and assurance of the same, which wel entertayned them, and had wrytings sealed of all thinges that they desired, to which two knightes. Myneche Basshaw sware by hys sayth that there was slayne at the siege .lxxiiij. M. Turkes, and .xl. thousand dead of mortalitie and mo.

The yelung  
of the  
Rhodes.

And so on Christmas daye, the great Turke him selfe entered into the Rhodes, and tooke possession thereof, and the Lorde Maister and all his religion, the first day of January tooke ship and sayled to Candy, and so in conclusion came to Rome, and there declared hys chaunce and aduventure. Thus was the towne and the Isle of the Rhodes taken by the great Turke, which was a great succour to all chyztian men, resorting into the East parts of the worlde, which chaunce was much lamented thozow all chyztendome, and muche blame put in all Princes, because they sent no succour nor ayde to the Isle.

And thys yere the Bishop of Duresme died, and the king gaue the sayd Bishoprike to the Cardinall, and he resigned the Bishoprike of Bathe, to Doctor John Clerke maister of the Rolles, and he made syr Henry Har- ney his Vicechamberleyn Lorde priuie seale, and after created him Lorde Harney. In the ende of thys yere, Doctor Blithe Bishop of Chester, was attached for treason, but he quyted himselfe. And about thys season, the

Cardinall  
wolsey made  
Bishop of  
Durham.

C c c c .j.

Cardinall



The Court  
Legation.

Cardinall of Poike beyng Legate, proued Testaments, and did call befoze him all the executozs & administrators of euery Dioces within the realme, so that the Bishops and ordinaries, did prouue no great willes in their Dioces, except he were compounded with, not to their little disauantage. Also by his power Legantine he gaue awaye all the yerely profites of benefices beloning to spirituall persons, by the which doing, he not onely had the hatred of the spiritualty, but also he ranne into the daunger of the Heremite, which he soze after repented, as it shall appere in the .xxj. yere of this king.

1523  
15

The Cardinalls oration.

The Parliament beyng begon, as you haue heard befoze reherfed, the Cardinall accompanied with dyuers Lordes, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the tempozaltie, came the .xxix. day of Aprill into the common house, where he eloquently declared to the commons, how the French king Fraunces, the first, called the most christened king, had so often times broken promise with the king of Englande, and his welbeloued Nephew Charles the Emperoz, that the king of his honor could no longer suffer. For first he declared, that the meeting of the sayde two princes at Gupnes, the sayd French king was sworne, to kepe all the articles conteyned in the tripartie league, made betwene him, the Emperour, and the king of Englande sithe the which time, he hath made warre on the Emperours dominions, by Robert de la Marth his Capitaine. He also hath withholden the tributes and other paymentes, whiche he should pay to the king of Englande, for redemption of Courmay and Terwin, and not with this content, hath not alonely robbed and spoyled the kings subiectes, but also hath sent John Duke of Albany into Scotland to make warre and to invade thys realme, wherefoze the king of necessitie, was driuen to warre and defence, which in no wise could be maynteyned, without great summes of money, and he thought no lesse then eyght hundred thousand pounde, to be raysed of the fift part of euery mans goodes and landes, that is to say foure shillings of euery pounde, for he sayde that the yere following, the king and the Emperour should make such warre in France, as hath not bene sene.

The De-  
maunde.

A great sub-  
stanc.

After that he had declared his matter at length, exhorting the commons to ayde their prince, in time of necessitie, he departed out of the common house. The morrowe after, sye Thomas More beyng speaker, declared all the Cardinalls oration agayne to the commons, and enforced his demaund strongly, sayng: that of duetie men ought not to denie to pay foure shillings of the pound. But for all that, it was denied and proued manifestly, that if the fift part of substance of the realme, were but eyght hundred thousand pound, and if men should pay to the king the fift part of their goodes, in money or plate it was proued, that there was not so much money out of the kings handes, in all the realme, for the fift part of euery mans goodes, is not in money nor plate: For although five men were well monied, five thousand were not so, the Gentlemen of landes, hath not the fift part of the value in coyne: the Marchaunt that is riche of Silke, Wolle, Tynne, Cloth, and such Marchaundise, hath not the fift part in money, the husbände man is riche in corne and cattle, yet he lacketh of that somme. Like wise viaylers and al other artificers, be rich in household stufte, and not in money: and then consequently, if all the money were brought to the kings handes, then men must barter cloth for vittayle, and bread for cheese, and so one thing for another:

A Graunge  
reconyng.

ther: then consider that after this valuation, the king hath had by the waye of loane two shillings of the pound, which is foure hundred thousand pound, and now to haue foure shillings of the pound, which amounteth in the whole twelue hundred thousand pound, which first and last is sixe shillings of the pounde, which is almost the thirde part of euery mans goods, which in coyne cannot be had within this realme, for the prooffe whereof was alleged, that if there were in Englande, but fiftene thousand parishes, and euery parish should geue a hundred Marke, that were but fiftene hundred thousande Marke, which is but ten hundred thousand pound, and how many parishes be in England one with another, able to spare a hundred Markes, out of Cities and townes: and where it is wrytten, that in Englande there be .xl. thousand parish Churches, it was proued that there were not .xiiij. M. parish Churches at this day. Then accompt the whole somme cannot amount aboue ten hundred thousand pound, and the king demaundeth eyght hundred thousand, and he according to this valuation, hath had foure hundred thousand pound, therfoze it was thought, the somme was impossible to be leuied, and if all the coyne were in the kings handes, how should men lyue: Also the king had of the spirituall men the last yere, foure shillings of the pound.

After long reasoning there were certaine appointed, to declare the impossibite of this demaunde to the Cardinall, which according to their commission, declared to him substantially the pouerty & scarcenesse of the realme: all which reasons and demonstrations, he little regarded, and then the sayde persons most meekely beseeched his grace, to moue the kings highnesse, to be content with a moze easier somme, to the which he curiously answered, that he would rather haue his tongue plucked out of his head with a payze of pinsons, then to moue the king to take anye lesse somme: with which answer, they almost dismayed, came and made report to the common house, where euery day was reasoning, but nothing concluded.

Wherefoze the Cardinall came againe to the common house and desired to be reasoned withall, to whom it was answered, that the fashien of the newer house was, to heare and not to reason, but among themselues. Then he shewed the realme to be of great ryches, first because the kinges customes were greater nowe, then they were befoze time: also he alleged sumptuous buydings, plate, riche apparell, of men, women, children, and seruantes, fat feastes, and delicate dishes, which things were all tokens of great abundance: with which repeting of mens substance, as though he had repined or disdayned, that any man should fare well, or be well clothed but hymselfe, the commons greatly grudged. And when he was departed out of the house, it was proued, that honest apparell of the commodities of this realme, abundance of plate, and honest viandes, were profitable to the realme, and not prodigall. After long debating, the commons concluded to graunt two shillings of the pounde, of euery mans landes or goods, that was worth twentie pound, or might dispend twentie pound to be taken for the king and so backwarde of euery twentie shillings, two shillings, and from .xl. shillings to twentie pound, of euery twentie shillings, twelue pence, and vnder .xl. shillings of euery head. .xvi. yeres and backward foure pence, to be payde in two yeres. This graunt was reported to the Cardinall, which therewith was soze discontent, and sayde, that the Lordes had graunted foure shillings of

C c c c .ij.

the



the pound, which was prooued bntreue, for in deede they had graunted no-  
thing, but harkened all vpon the commons.

*I framke of-  
ter of a Gen-  
tlem.*

Then a knight called sye John Hullye of Lincolneshire, sayde, to please  
the Cardinall somewhat, let vs gentlemen of fiftie pounce lande and bp-  
wardes, geue to the king of our landes twelue pence of the pounce, to be  
payde in threere yere: with which motion diuers gentlemen were sore discon-  
tent. And when the question was asked, ten or twelue of the Gentlemen said  
yea, and when the nay should be asked, the commons sayd nothyng, for they  
would not condempne, nor let the Gentlemen to charge themselves, and so  
by ten or twelue persons, the gentlemen were burdened, with twelue pence  
more then other, for the which graunt, sye John Hullye had much euill will.

After thys graunt made, the .xxi. day of May, because of Whitsontyde,  
the Parliament was prorooged to the tenth daye of June: Durynge which  
proroogation, the common people sayde to the Burgesses, Sirs, we heare  
say you will graunt foure shillings of the pound, we aduise you to doe so that  
you may go home, with many euill wordes and threathings.

And in this season, the Cardinall by his pover Legantine, dissolved the  
Conuocation at Paules, called by the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and  
called him and all the clergy, to his Conuocation to Westminster, which was  
nener sene befoze in England, wherof maister Skeltona mery Poet wrote.

*Skelton.*

Gentle Paule lay doovne thy Svveard:

For Peter of V Westminster hath shauen thy Beard.

When the parliament was begunne againe, the landed men of fiftie  
pounce and bpwarde, seying that they were charged, with twelue pence of  
euery pounce of their landes, moued that all such as were worth fiftie pounce  
in goods and bpwarde, should pay also twelue pence of the pounce, in the  
fourth yere. At the which motion was much reasoning, and at the last  
the .xxiiij. daye of June, the question was asked, and doubtfull it was,  
whether the yea or nay were most, then was the house deuided, and all the  
commons seuered themselves, from the knightes of the Shires, so that one  
yea part remayned onely in the knightes of the Shire, and the commons  
stiffely affirmed that the motioners of thys demaunde, were enemies to the  
realme. At the last the Speaker called them altogether, and after long per-  
suading, and priuie labouring of friendes, it was agreed that twelue pence  
of the pounce should be payde the fourth yere, of fiftie pounce in goodes.

*I hard triall*

After this the Parliament the .xxxi. day of July, was adioyned to West-  
minster, and there continued till the .xiiij. day of August, and that day at .iiij.  
of the clock in the night dissolved. Durynge the time of this Parliament the  
.xxiiij. daye of Aprill, was sye Arthur Plantagenet, Bastarde sonne to king  
Edward the fourth, at Bridewell created Viscount Lisle, in the right of his  
wyfe, which was wyfe to Edmond Dudley beheaded.

*Christian  
king of Den-  
marke.*

This yere Chyrtierne king of Denmarke with hys wyfe, which was  
sister to the Emperour Charles, and his threere children, with .xxiiij. shippes  
arrived in Flaunders, cleane banished out of his realmes and dominions, by  
hys Uncle Frederick Duke of Holst, and hys awne subiectes, for his cruel-  
tie as is wozitten. Which Chyrtierne with his wyfe, was well entertained of  
the Duches of Sauoy, and a pencion assigned to him to live on, in Brabant  
and Holland, During the time of his there soioynyng, he made much sute to  
come

come into England, to see and speake with the king, which request was to  
him graunted, and so he and hys Queene, with foure Gentlewomen, and a  
trayne of fourtie persons, poze and euill appareled, landed at Douer the .xv.  
day of June, where he was nobly receyued, by the Erle of Deuonshire, and  
the Byschops of Excester, and Rochester, and dyuers knightes and Esqui-  
ers, and so brought to Grenewiche: where the king and Queene, standing  
bnder their clothes of estate, receyued them into the great hall of Grene-  
wiche. And he dyed with the king, and she with the Queene, both set bnder  
the cloth of estate, and were sumptuously serued of all delicate viands.

*The king of  
Denmarke  
comming in-  
to England.*

And when he had soioyned there a season, euery daye feasted at the  
Court, he was conueyghed to London, and lodged at Bathe place, where  
he hearyng of the watch in London, on saint Peters euen, desired to see it,  
and so was accompanied with the Duke of Suffolke, the Erles of Orford,  
Essex and Kent, and dyuers other Lordes and Ladies, and brought into the  
kings head in Chepe, where the Citie of London made to him and hys wyfe  
a costly banquet. And when he had sene the watch, he sayd, I would to God  
I had so many archers, Pikes, and Halberders, as I sawe this night, then  
I trust I would punishe suche, as haue wrongfully dispossessed me, of my  
realme and Country. And after he had solaced himselfe in London, he resoz-  
ted to the king, of whome he had many great giftes, and likewise had hys  
wyfe of the Queene her Aunt, and so tooke their leaue, and were conueyed  
to Douer. And when he had bene in England. .xxij. dayes, he toke shipping,  
and sayled agayne into Flaunders, prayeing much the king of Englande and  
hys Court.

*The king of  
Denmarke  
commendeth  
the watch of  
London.*

Durynge all thys season, and session of the Parliament, the warre was  
fierce, both betweene England and Fraunce, and England and Scotland,  
in so much that eche part, did as much as in them lay, to hurt the other. For  
on the borders of Scotland lay the valyaunt Erle of Surrey, great Admi-  
rall of Englande, and the Marques Dorset, and hys threere brethren, Sye  
Wylliam Compton, and sir William Kyngston, with dyuers other knightes  
and Esquiers, sent to them by the king, which daylie invaded the realme of  
Scotlande, and threere downe the Castell of Wedorberne, the Castell of  
West Hefgate, the Castell of Blakkater, the Tower of Mackewalles, the  
tower of East Hefgate, and many other, and brent to the number of .xxiiij.  
villages, and haried the Countrey from the East Marches to the West, and  
nener had skirmishe: but they oftentimes shewed themselves in plumges,  
wayting their auantage, howbeit in all thys ioynyng were fewe Englishe  
men lost. Wherefore the Lordes perceyuing that the Scottes entended not  
to make any armie into England, fortified the frontiers on euery part, with  
men and all things necessarie for defence, for stealing or other small rodes.  
After all which things set in a perfitenesse, they returned toward the king,  
and came to the ende of the Parliament.

*Scotland  
toze haried  
and spoiled.*

In this season, the Frenchmen hauing a great desire, to haue the kings  
towne of Calice, deuised first to destroy the haven, by the which they sup-  
posed, that Calice might haue bene lightly gotten, for fault of rescue. Where-  
bpon they laded an olde Ship of foure hundred Tonne, with great Canes  
stone, in the port of Deepe, which Ship had no Mast, but came with a fore-  
sayle, as though the mast had bene cut, and cast ouer the boord in the sea in  
a tempest.

*I this tonke  
with: one in  
Calice haue*



a tempest. And when shee came befoze Calice, euerye man that sawe her, thought she had bene weather driuen, and lost her mast by tempest, and so about ten of the clock at night the .xxiii. day of May, the sayde Ship came befoze Calice haven, as though she would enter for harborow, and so was enterpnyng and missed the Chanell, and turned to the sandes, towarde Rife banke, and the Frenchmen supposyng that they had bene in the very chanell, launched out their Boate, and sodainly set the ship on fire, and lept into their Boate and so scaped by the thoze. When they of Calice sawe the fire, they were soze troubled, and at the last when the water was gone, they perceyued the Shippe consumed, and the goodly Cane stone lyng whole.

Wherefoze the Lorde Barnes Deputie of Calice, the Lorde Barkley Lieutenaunt of the Castell, the Lorde Sandes Treasorer of Calice, and other commaunded all the laborers that might be gotten, to breake the remnant of the Ship, and to carie awaye the stone, and so the sayde stone was brought to Calice: whereupon the sayde Capitaynes sent a letter, to the Capitaine of Bullepyne, by Calice pursuaunt at armes, desiring him to geue thanks, to Mounsie Lodowyke Capitayne of Deepe, for the sendyng of so fayre a Ship, and goodly stone to Calice, which stone the sayde Lordes sent word, they had receyued into the towne of Calice, and that it did them much profite, for the fortification of the sayde towne, desiring him to send moze, and they would receyue it on the same price. To the which letter, the Capitayne of Bullepyne answered, I haue nothing lost, nor they haue nothing gotten of me, tell him that hath lost, with which answer the Pursuaunt departed. Whereupon the Englishmen beyng greued, there issued out of Calice an hundred light men of warre, called auenturers, and came neere Bullepyne, and obteyned a great bootie, whereof the garrison of Bullepyne beyng aduertised, issued out and folowed the Englishmen, and sharply them encountered. The Englishmen shot so, that the French men which were five hundred, lighted and fought soze, so that as it appered evidently, that there were dead on the ground .xlvi. Frenchmen, and .xxij. Englishe men, and the Frenchmen tooke twentie Englishe men prisoners, the residue of the Englishe men kept them together, and so came to Calice, the Capitayne of thys enterpryse was one Latheberie.

The Lorde Sandes Treasorer of Calice, entending to be reuenged on the Frenchmen, called the Counsaile of Calice to hym, and declared to them how the Frenchmen, and in especiall Mounsie de Bees Capitaine of Bullepyne, dayly imagined to destroy the English pale, and that they on the English part, had nothing done yet against them, wherefoze he aduiscd them all to do some acte, and he himselfe would be present, and foremost man. Whereupon it was concluded and commaunded, that euery man shoulde be in a readynesse, at the sounding of a Trumpet, upon which warning, the sayde Lorde Sandes the ninth day of July early in the morning, sent forth two hundred light horses, through the English pale, to stoppe the people from goyng, the one toward the other, least his enterpryse shoulde be ascried, and so the people were kept in all that daye, and in the evening about seauen of the clocke, he himselfe with a Capitayne called Guyot, Thomas Palmer, Ripton, Rafe Broke and other, set forward with light ordinaunce and bitayle, and embattayled themselves in good aray, and marched toward Sandifield

by

by a .vi. of the clock, and there refreshed them selues, and in good order, they came to the water of Slaukes, not far from Bullepyne, which was the tenth day of July.

When they were ascryped a larme was rung all the country, and the Capitaine of Bullepyne sent forth .lxx. men of Armes, and foure hundred footemen with morrice pykes, Crosbowes, and hand gunnes, wherfoze capitaine Guyot was sent with his bande of horsemen, to ayde the English footemen, which were farre behinde, and Capitaine Ripton, was appoynted to fight with the Frenchmen, and sir Thomas Palmer, and Rafe Broke, with the remnaunt of the horsemen, stode for a stalle. Then Capitaine Ripton profered forward with the speres of Calice, and the Frenchmen came on valiantly, then began a soze skirmishe, the Frenchmen both horsemen and footemen, defended the passage at the water of Slaukes, which is but a gut made by force of land water, but after long fight the Englishmen gat ouer the water by pure force, and tooke the Frenchmens Standard, and a Gentleman which was a man of armes of Bullepyne, called Charles de Maruiele, and euer Sir Thomas Palmer and Rafe Broke, stode and ayded where necessitie was most. Thus this skirmishe continued from foure of the clocke in the morning, till nine of the clocke, befoze noone, and euer the Frenchmen increased, but at the last they retreated themselves toward Bullepyne, in which retourne diuers of them were slaine. Or the skirmishe was ended, came the Lorde Sandes with the footemen, with his speare on his thigh, and his helme on his head, and greatly encouraged his company: during which conflict, diuers of Marcardye had gathered them together, and had taken the church of Odirsaell, which was well fortified, and a strong place: whereof the Lord Sandes beyng aduertised, he marched thetherward, and in the way burned all that might be brent, and sent an officer at armes, to them that kept the church of Odirsaell, to yelde the church to hym, which to hym answered that they would stand at defence: then he commaunded an assault, which quickly was done, and the Frenchmen defended themselves, with hande gunnes, Crosbowes, and pykes, so that the Englishmen could not enter. Then the Lorde Sandes commaunded a curtall, which he had with hym, to be shotte to the church, and pierced it through: then they within saw that their defence could not holde, yeldd themselves body and goodes. Out of the Church came .lxxij. Frenchmen, which were taken as prisoners, and all the goodes which they had caried into the church were taken for a bootie. Thus by one of the clocke, the sayde tenth daye of July, was the church of Odirsaell taken.

In this while also, had the Frenchmen manned the steeple of Odingham, which was a very strong Tower, much like a Castell, so whome the Lord Sandes sent an officer at armes, to commaunde them to yelde the fortresse, to whom they answered, that they were Frenchmen, and to him they would not yelde, and if he came thether, they would withstande him: whereupon he and his army marched thetherwarde, and about foure of the clocke after noone, he assaulted the steeple, and the Frenchmen themselves valiantly defended, but sodainly by a chaunce vnknowne, the steeple was a fier, and the Frenchmen fled downe to the quyer, then the Englishmen lightly entered the body of the church, and assaulted the Frenchmen, which cryed mercy and yeldd themselves, and at twelue of the clocke at midnight the assault ended,

and



and there were yelided out of the church fortie prisoners.

After which time the Lord Sandes encamped himselfe, and made good watch for feare of enimies, and in the morning called to him all the Priests, which were in both churches, and stode at defence, and sayd to them, that they ought not to be men of warre, & not withstanding he had them as prisoners, yet for Gods sake he released them, admonishing them, that if euer after they were taken at defence, they should be hanged on the next Galowes: after which monition done, he deliuered them freely.

Hardingham  
Castell brent  
and spoiled.

About eyght of the clocke in the morning, he marched forwarde in good order of battayle, and came to the Castell of Hardingham, the which he brent and spoiled, and so the .xj. day of July he and his company which passed not .xij. hundred men, of which he had lost but only .xij. returned to Calice with great store of bestyall and pyllage.

This same season, the Frenche kyng sent an armie of .xxiij. thousande men, towardes the parties of Flaunders, which secretly enterprised to take a place called Newdike, which is a strong passage, betweene Fraunce and Flaunders, kept by the Fleminges, whereof they beyng aduertised, arrayed a great power of .xiiij. thousande and came to the passage, and slewe of the Frenchmen six hundred: then the Frenchmen reculed, and seuered themselves: some went to Mount Dory, and some to Saint Omers, and some brent the Suburges, they within Mount Dory defended themselves, and hurt the Capitaine of Bulleine, called Moun sire de Bees and slew his horse: wherefore the Frenchmen went thence and brent a village called Arkus: thus was all the frontiers full of Frenchemen, in so much that in the moneth of August, they bette into the towne of Guyfnes, the scourers and the scout-watch, whereof began Alarme, and the Frenchmen which were many in number, alighted as though they would geue assault mayntenaunt, and fierly profered towardes the Ditches, but when the ordinaunce beganne once to shote, it was no nede to bid them go. Then the Englishmen coragiously folowed the chace, but sodaynly out came an embusment of Frenchmen and tooke two Englishmen, and thus all the army of Fraunce, remoued to Syngate beside Trywyn.

The French king seeyng the king of England, dayly more and more encouraged to make warre on him and his dominions, and that the Scots did nothing to his pleasure, for lacke of the Duke John of Albany, whom the Scottes called their Gouvernor. He therefore caused great preparation to be made on all parties for men, Shippes, Harnesse, and Artillery, for the sending of the Duke John of Albany into Scotland, which Duke of a great presumption promised to the French king to driue the king of England out of his realme, as before ye haue heard, which promise was not kept.

The king of England, heeryng that the Duke of Albany, would passe into England, to make warre on his realme, thought to haue him met on the seas, and therefore he prepared a fleete of tall and strong shippes mete to encounter with the sayd Duke and his power, and made Admirall of that iourney, sir William Fitzwilliam, and with him sir Fraunces Brian, sir Anthony Boynez, Seriant Rot, John Hopton, William Gunstone, Anthony Aniuet, Thomas West, and other, which with great diligence laye in wayte to meete with the sayd Duke of Albany, and as they sayled on the French coast, they

determi-

determined to lande, to do some harime to Traypozte, and as they howered there, they were espyed: then the Capitaine of the towne fired the Beakens, sent for ayd of all the fortresses about, and strengthed and manned the towne very warlyke. This notwithstanding, sir William Fitzwilliam and other Capitaynes, left not their enterprize, and so the .xxiij. day of August beyng Sunday, at seuen of the clocke in the morning, they tooke lande in the Haue of Traypozt, at whome the Frenchmen shot out ordinaunce, quatelles, and stones, the Englishmen in the Boates shot likewise, and encouraged by their Capitaynes, assaulted the Frenchmen in their Bulwarkes, the Frenchmen them valiauntly defended, and the English Capitaynes as men wythout feare, them assayed, and yet the number was nothing egall, for the Englishmen were but seuen hundred men, and the Frenchmen sixe thousand. For the well fighting of the Frenchmen, their Bulwarkes were taken, and theyz ordinaunce seased, and all that were about, fled to the towne of Traypozt, and euer the Englishmen folowed shotyng arrowes at them, and sleayng them, in which skirmishe Seriant Rot had his Bowe in his hande striken with a Sonne. Then the Capitaynes cryed Saint George, to the Gates of Traypozt, then euery man aduanced forwarde, and as they were goyng, Christopher Mozres mayster Gonner, espyed a piece of a Masse, which he caused to be taken bp, and then Anthony Kneuet, and Fraunces Neudigate, with their men, ranne with the sayde Masse to the Gate, but the Gate was so strong, that it could not be broken: and also at euery loupe lay a piece of ordinaunce, which continually shot at the Englishmen, which caused them to leaue the gate, and then they set fyre in the suburges, which was a fayze strete and all was brent, and while the Suburges brent, the Englishmen went to the haue, and would haue had out the shippes, but water lacked, wherefore they set fire on them, & brent there .viij. faire ships, besyde other. All this while was there skirmishyng at the Gates, and much murder on both sydes, for the Frenchmen in flyng from their Bulwarkes to the towne, lost .lxxx. persons, and many were hurt with arrowes. The men of the Countrie came thether still, insomuch as the number became very great, which sir William Fitzwilliam perceiuyng, caused his trumpet to blowe a retreat, and with suche prisoners, pillage, and ordinaunce as they had gotten, they returned to theyz Boates, and the Capitaynes sent their Souldiours before, the Frenchmen perceiuyng the Englishmen returned, issued out and found on land, Fraunces Neudigate, Thomas Vagham, Seriant Rotte, and other Capitaynes to the number of .xij. and ranne hastily toward them in great number, which perceiuyng that, bended themselves to sell their lynes dere. Sir William Fitzwilliam perceiuyng the great ieopardie that they were in, turned hys boate toward the lande, and discharged his ordinaunce, and with much paine saued these gentlemen, and them toke into Boates, notwithstanding a great number of Frenche men, which were in the water to let him: and thus the whole army returned to their shippes, after they had bene five houres on lande, and brought with them .xxviij. pieces of fayze ordinaunce, which were in the Bulwarkes, and lost of theyz men not fully .xx. persons, and then euery Capitaine tooke his awone ship, and coasted the seas, euer lookyng for the Duke of Albany, but they heard no tidynges of him.

In the Parliament (as you haue heard) it was concluded, that the king of

of



Charles  
Duke of  
Suffolk cre-  
ated with  
an army into  
France.

of necessitie, must nedes make strong warre on the realme of Fraunce, wher-  
fore the noble Charles Duke of Suffolke, was appoynted as Capitaine ge-  
neral, to passe with an army royal into Fraunce, in the ende of August, which  
with all diligence, prepared all thinges necessary for such a royall enterprize:  
and for the forniture of this armie, there were appoynted to geue their at-  
tendaunce on him, the Lorde Mountacute, and sir Arthur Pole his brother,  
the Lorde Harbert sonne to the Erle of Worcester, the Lorde Ferrers, the  
Lorde Harnay, the Lorde Sands, the Lorde Barkeley, the Lorde Hobbes, and  
Baron Curson, and of knightes, Sir Richard Wingfield, Chaunceloz of the  
Duchy of Lancaster, sir John Weere, sir Edward Heuel, sir William King-  
ston, sir Richard Weston, sir Andzew Winsore, sir Anthony Wingfelde, sir  
Edward Guildford, sir Edward Griuel, sir Edward Chamberleyn, sir Tho-  
mas Luce, sir Guerard Dighby, sir Adrian Foscew, sir William Skeuyn-  
ton Maister of the ordinaunce, sir Thomas Cheyney, sir Richard Cornwal,  
sir William Courtney, sir William Sidney, sir Henry Owen, all these lordes  
and knightes, with many other knightes and couragious Esquiers, and ac-  
tue Gentlemen, came accordyng to the kings commaundement at last, with  
all theyr people and retinue to Douer, where they mustered at seuerall ty-  
mes, as they passed to the sea, and so the number taken, that is to say of Wimi-  
launces, sixe hundred, of Archers on horsebacke, two hundred, of Archers  
on foote three thousand, of Bilmen five thousand, of Pioners and labourers  
two thousand sixe hundred: and when the view was taken on the other syde  
of the sea, there were adioyned to this number. xxij. hundred, which might be  
spared out of the Fortresses, and crewes of Hams, Gypsnes, and Calice, so  
that all the army were. xiiij. thousand, and an hundredth well harnessed, and  
apparayled for the warre, the Pioners onely except: But the Duke him-  
selfe arrived at Calice, the. xxiiij. day of August, with his retinue and Coun-  
saile abiding the armye, and caused all thinges, as vitaille and other, to be  
prepared for the same.

Such commonyng was in England, whether this army should go, be-  
cause that no man except a fewe, knewe the secretnesse: some sayde to Bul-  
leyn, some to Marys, and so euery man iudged accordyng to his awne opini-  
on, as the common vse is.

In this season, because the mortalitie was great in Calice, the Duke  
of Suffolke caused his army to be lodged in Tentes and Hauilions, vpon the  
faire grene beside Saint Peters Church for their more helth, and he accom-  
panyed with dyuers noble men, the. viij. day of September roade to Graue-  
lyng, and thether came to him Christiern king of Denmarke, and the Lorde  
Hilsten, Capitaine generall of Flaunders, which amiably enterterned the  
sayd Duke, and after they had secretly commoned of dyuers matters, concer-  
nyng diuers armyes to invade Fraunce, in sundrie places, the Duke tooke  
leau of the king and other, and came to Calice.

While the armie laye without Calice, they dayly came into the towne,  
and so it happened that a simple felow cut a pursse, as he made to buy apples,  
which incontinent was taken, and brought to the Maiors house to warde,  
which thing diuers Welshmen perceiuyng, and not knowyng what ap-  
percyued to iustice, ranue in great companies to the Maiors house, & would  
haue broken the house, the Officers of the towne entreated, and the Welsh-  
men

They at  
Calice.

men more and more approached, the number of the Welshmen were so great,  
that the watche of Calice strake alarme. Then the Lorde Deputie and the  
Lorde Sandes, did all that in them lay, to bring them to conformitie, but they  
were so rude that they nothing them regarded, the priestes brought forth the  
Sacrament, which also was not regarded. Wherefore the Lorde Ferrers  
was straightly commaunded to appease their rage, for with him they came  
thether, which with great paine and entreatie them appeased: and then all  
the Welshmen were commaunded to the field, and to depart the towne and  
so were all other Capitaines, and afterward diuers of the hed rioters were  
apprehended and soze punished for example. And when all thinges necessary  
were prepared, the Duke issued out of Calice and toke the field, & ordeyned  
his marshall, and Capitaine of the bauntgard, the Lorde Sandes, Capitaine  
of his right wing sir William Kingston, and Capitaine of his left wing, sir  
Guerard Dighby, sir Edward Guildford Marshall of Calice, was Capy-  
taine of all the horsemen, sir Richard Wingfelde Capitaine of the rereward:  
then the Duke with all his armye, as Capitaine of the middle warde, wyth  
Standardes, Banners, and Penons displayed, marched forward in good  
order of battaile, and came to a place called Kalkewell, and there lodged the  
xix. day of September. In which place diuers Souldiours, as Carriers, and  
by land men, which were binnete for the war, (for euery thing to them was  
paine) fell sicke and diseased, wherefore the Duke gaue them leau by pas-  
port to retarne.

And on the. xxij. day of September, he tooke by his campe and came to  
Hanswell, and ther pitched his field, he thus lying in abode for the army of  
Flaunders, which promised to ioyne with him, which as then were not come  
to Saint Omers. He entendyng not to lye still ydely, sent Clarenseur king  
at Armes, to sommon the Castell called Bell Castell, to yelde to him, or else  
he would destroy it with fyre and sworde, the officer of Armes did his mes-  
sage accordyngly, to whome the Capitaine answered, that he would deliuer  
no Castell to the Duke, and if the Duke came thether, he should nothing get,  
for he sayd he was sure of such rescues, that should not be to the Dukes ad-  
uantage: which with this aunswere returned toward the Duke, and in the  
way he met the Lorde Sandes, and the Lorde Ferrers, in array of battaile,  
with five hundred horsemen, and a thousand footemen, to whome he reher-  
sed the aunswere, then sayde the Lordes, we must compell him, if other wise  
he will not. Then the Maister of the ordinaunce was commaunded to pre-  
pare for a battery, which was done, and thether came five hundred horsemen  
of Burgonions, and five hundred footemen, then the ordinaunce with great  
difficultie was brought nere the Castell, and although it were night, the  
Gurmes seased not, and bet the place soze, they within defended the best that  
they might, and when the day began to spring, the Lordes caused to blowe  
to the assault, which heeryng, the Capitaine of the Castell sayd to his Com-  
panions, that they were not able to abyde the assault, and that their suc-  
coz sayled them, wherefore of necessitie they must deliuer the Castell, wher-  
to they agreed, and so he yelded the Castell, his life onely saued, and all other  
at the mercy of the Duke, which pardoned them, and toke them as prisoners  
and deliuered the Castell to sir William Skeuington, which was shortly ra-  
sed downe to the ground, the. xxvij. day of September.

The Sa-  
crament.

The Castell  
called Bell  
Castell assau-  
ted, taken  
and spoiled.

Monday



Fraunces  
Duke of  
Burbon did  
sodaynely be-  
come Eng-  
lish against  
the French  
king.

Monday beyng the. xxiiij. day of September there was a Proclama-  
tion made in the armie, how that Fraunces Duke of Burbon, and Consta-  
ble of Fraunce, was become friend to the king of Englande, and enemye to  
the French king, and was sworne to the king of Englande, and had in hys  
wages for the king of England ten thousand Almaynes to invade Fraunce,  
or to let the French kings purposes, and for this intent to him was sent mo-  
ney in no little somme, but the common people sayde, that neuer was French  
man true to England, howbeit he was true as long as he lived.

To make thys proclamation more apparaunt, you must vnderstande  
that in thys season the French king was ruled by his mother the Countesse of  
Angulesme, and the Admyrall of Fraunce called Lozde Bonnyet, which as  
was reported and sayde, loued the sayde Lady as his Paramour, of which all  
the Court of Fraunce spake much. These two persons so ruled the king, that  
what they sayde was done, and no iudgement nor sentence passed in the Par-  
liament at Marys without their assent, so that nothing was done without  
them, at which thing the nobles of Fraunce soze disdayned, and especially the  
Lozde Fraunces Duke of Burbon and Constable of Fraunce, which hauing  
a sute for the Erledome of Montpelyer, could not be heard speake nor hys  
counsaile neyther. At the last he beyng soze displeased with this vnkinde and  
vniust handlyng, came to the French king beseechyng him of iustice and fauor,  
which flattering him sayde, that all that was in hys pover to doe he would  
gladly accomplishe, and other aunswere had he none, and to encrease hys  
grudge the moze, the French kings mother made a tytyle to the whole Duchy  
of Burbon and Auerne, and the Admyrall and thee so entised the king, that he  
sayde openly that the Duke of Burbon shortly should be as poze as the mea-  
nest gentleman in Fraunce, which woordes reported to hym, caused him to  
hate mortally the French king and hys mother, and so in displeasure departed  
into hys awne Countrie. The king of England beyng hereof aduertised, sent  
to the Duke of Burbon a knight of hys chamber called sir John Russell, a  
man well languaged, which wisely and couertly so behaved himselfe, that he  
came to the Duke to Holyns, and knewe all his intent how he would for-  
sake his king, and serue the king of England and the Emperour agaynst the  
French king, and therevpon toke his othe. The French king not mistrusting  
the aliegeaunce of the Duke of Burbon, sent to the Duke to prepare him to  
go into Italy, for he had prepared a great army to passe the Mountaynes a-  
gaynst the Duke of Myllaine, in which armie he had sixe thousande men of  
armes, and. xxb. thousand footemen. The Duke hearing hereof sayned him-  
selfe sick, and the French king passyng by Holyns, visited and comforted him:  
to whome the Duke promised to come shortly after to Lyons with all his po-  
wer, and caused an horselitter to be caried emptie thzee dayes amongst a cer-  
taine of his Souldiours, as though he were there, but he himselfe fled se-  
cretly into the Countie of Burgoyne pertayning to the Emperour, where he  
retayned ten thousand Almaynes to invade Fraunce, as sone as the French  
king was passed the Mountaynes.

When the French king heard of thys, he sent the Admyrall into Italy  
with his armie, and sent his great mayster to seaze all the Dukes landes. Of  
all these doyngs Sir John Russell brought true worde, for he was present  
with the Duke, and also sawe the French armie, and returned vnespred,  
wherefoze

This Sir  
John Russell  
was after  
Lozde priuie  
seale, and af-  
ter Erie of  
Bedford.

wherefoze he deserued and had of the king and his countaile great thankes.  
wherevpon the king caused the proclamation to be made in the armie, that  
they might knowe that all the power of Fraunce should not trouble them,  
for what with the warres of Italy and for the Duke of Burbons power  
they might doe what they lust, and be vnfought withall, which so proued af-  
ter. Which tydings much encouraged the Englishe Souldiours.

After this proclamation, there were tydings brought to the armie for  
a truth, that one Iherom Vicount, a great famillier friend with the Duke  
of Myllaine entised by the French king, had almost slayne Fraunces Duke  
of Myllaine with a dagger behinde at hys backe, with the which doyng the  
French king aboute all persons sayned himselfe to be most displeased. The  
morowe beyng the. xxix. day of September the Duke with his whole army  
remoued to Arde and there lodged, and the last day of September he remo-  
ued to a Village called Arlike, and from thence the first day of October he  
came to a village betwene Tywyn and saint Omers, called Esquerdes or  
Cordes, where the Duke lay and encamped himselfe abyding his enemies.

Now must I returne to tell you what was done betweene Englande  
and Scotland this same season, whyle the Duke of Suffolke was thus in-  
uading the realme of Fraunce. The Scottes thinking the warre turned in-  
to Fraunce, and that nothing should be attempted agaynst them, began to  
robbe and spoyle on the Marches of Englande, whereof the king heeryng  
sent agayne thether the balyaunt Erie of Surrey, Treasorer and Ad-  
myrall of Englande, which in all hast sped him to the West Marches, and  
sent for an armie of sixe thousand men, and with banner displayed entered by  
the drie Marches, beating downe Castels and fortreffes on euery side. And  
although the Scots be men of high courage, yet they seyng the wise conduite  
of the noble Erie of Surray and his chosen companye, durst not once en-  
counter with him, and so he passed quietly throughe the dales, till he came to  
the strong towne of Jedworth, in which lay a great garrison of Scottishe  
men, which did all the hurt they could to the Englishe men, and hardely in  
great number slain with the Englishe men, so that on both parties dy-  
uers were slain, but in the ende the Abbay, Castell, and towne of Jedworth  
were brent, and all rased a sunder in the open sight of the Scottes. And af-  
ter this he would not returne but encamped himselfe in the Scottishe ground  
abidyng battayle, and lay there from the. xxij. day of September, to the. xxv.  
day. Durynge which time he sent the Lord Daker of Gylderland to a strong  
holde of Doncar called Fernhurst, the which Castell stood very euill to come  
to, for the wayes were hilly, stony, and full of Marishes, and the Scottes  
had bent their ordinaunce that way: yet for all that the English men so fierce-  
ly set on that they gat the Castell, notwithstanding that the Scottes fought  
balyauntly, and many of them were taken, as Dan Car the Lord, the Lord  
of Gradon and dyuers other which was there taken, and so the Lord Da-  
ker returned with his prisoners, and then he was ordayned to keepe the  
watch that night, which set his watches and hys wardes surely. In the  
night sodaynely thzee hundred good Geldyngs brake out of a pasture, which  
were in custodie of the sayde Lozde Dacres campe, and as beastes wood  
and sauage raine enraged, and notwithstanding that men did as muche as  
they might to stop them, yet they ranne as though they were in array of bat-  
taye,

The Castell  
of Fernhurst  
in Scotland  
taken.



A strange chance.

taile, whereof the noyse in the night was so great, that the armie sounded alarme, the horse still in array ranne to the campe where the Erle laye, and bare downe many persons in their way, and so sodainly ranne away, whether it was unknowne: the Lozde Dacres men sayde that the Deuill was sene amongst them: and after the third day the Erle returned into England.

The craftie policie of the Duke of Albany.

When the Erle of Surrey departed from the borders in August as you haue heard heretofore: The Scottes wrote to the Duke of Albany of all their affaires, which was comming into Scotland. But when he heard that the Hauie of England laye in a wayte to fight with him, he durst not adventure, but sate still: And when he heard there was no Capitaynes of name on the borders of England toward Scotlande, he deuised by policie that all his ships should be remoued to the hauen of Brest, and sayde himselfe and caused it to be noysed that he would not sayle into Scotlande that yere. So ranne the voyce all the coastes of Normandie and Britayne, and so passed till the ende of September.

Richard de la poole.

The king of England was informed by such as knew none other, that the Duke of Albany had broken his iorney, and would not passe that yere into Scotland. Wherefore the king of England in the middest of September caused his ships to be layd by in Hauens till the next spring: The Duke of Albany beyng thereof aduertised, boldly then tooke his shippes and shipped his people, and with lxxij. sayle in sight passed by the West partes of England, and coasted Wales, and with great labor landed at Kyrcobrye in the West part of Scotland with all hys people, the xxj. day of September, which were in number thre thousand or there about, and with him was the Traytor Richard de la poole.

The Duke of Albany landeth in Scotland.

When it was knowne in Scotlande that the Lozde Governour was landed, muche gladnesse there was amongst the people. Then the Duke was highly receyued and his people well cherished, and then began a parliament. The king of England heering that the Duke of Albany was landed in Scotland and was vsought withall, was not a little displeasid, and suspected that suche as enforced him that the Duke would not passe that yere, had deceyued him, but there was no remedie: Wherefore he made provisions and put all things in a readynesse, if he would attempt any thing agaynst him and his realme.

The Duke of Albany gouernour of Scotland being in the parliament of the realme with great eloquence declared to them the loue and fauor that Fraunces the french king bare to the realme of Scotlande, in somuch that he being aduertised of the great murders, slaughters, and burninges done by the Englishmen, thought that he suffered no lesse hurt and dammage then they did, accompting himselfe one of their members, and them likewise the members of him and his realme, and for the reuenging of the same, he to be partener as their member, and for the more credite he shewed the french kinges letter, affirming his declaration. When the letters were red, there start by a Baron of Scotlande called the Lozde Forbos, which sayde: the realme of Scotlande for the loue of fraunce suffereth great paine as dayly doth appere, for our Nobles be dayly slayne or taken, our Commonaltie murdered, our landes ouerrunne our houses and fortelles brent and rased, the profites of our landes we lese: which mischiefe we nede not to haue had

but

but for the loue of fraunce, & what helpeth fraunce? A far friend is not sone fet: A mightie neighbour may be a cruell enemye. I affirme this, if we would kepe amitie with the realme of England we were out of all these daungers. God forbid said the Duke of Albany that Scotland euer should seeke a new friende or profer their amitie, to the destroyers of their countrie and nation, but you my Lozds of Scotland ar sufficient of your selues to maintaine your landes, liberty and fredome against your common enemyes the Englishmen. And therefore now let vs together reuenge the hurtcs done to vs and oure countrie: and I on mine honoz shall go with you, and therefore I haue brought with me both treasure, men, and artillery into this realme. I thinke not but we shall so doe that all christendome shall speake of oure noble conquest. To the Dukes request all the court of parliament agreed, and then were commissions sent thzough Scotlande and cryes made that all men should assemble at Doglas dale with bittayle for. xxviij. dayes. The Scottes in all hast prepared, so that the Lozdes were come to the place appointed the xvij. day of October, with bittaille, gunnes, and all other artillery, and so came by easy iourneyes to the riuer of Tweede on a grounde beside Hume castell, and from thence came to Cabdestrene and there lodged.

The Duke of Albany raise: h a great power of Scotland against king Henry and the realme of Englande.

All this doing the king of England knewe well, wherefore with all diligence he caused to be assembled the people of the North part beyond Trent whereof there were thre thousand bering coates of armes with their power and strength, which all were commaunded to resort to the Erle of Surrey with speede. The noble Marquis Dorset Thomas was appoynted to kepe Barwicke with six thousand men, least the Scottes would therto laye siege.

The Duke of Albany which lay on the frontiers heering of the Erle of Surreyes preparing, sent to him an Heralde promising him of his honour to geue him battaile, and if he tooke him in battaile he would put him to courteous ransome and his hodye to be safe: To whome the Erle answered, that much he thanked the Duke of his offer, and that he would abide battaile, promising him that he would geue him battaile if he durst abyde: and if that the sayd Duke were taken prisoner by him or his men he would strike of his head and send it to the king of England his Maister, and bade that he should trust to none other, at which answer the Duke of Albany and the Scots toke great despyte.

A bitter and yet a valiant answer made by the Erle of Surrey vnto the Duke of Albany.

The Erle of Surrey being at Alnwiike, to him came the Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lord Clyfford, the lord Dacres, the lord Lumley, the Lord Dgle, the lord Darcy, and many noble knightes, squiers, and yomen, to the number of. xl. M. And from the kings court was sent to be at the battail sir Nicholas Carew maister of the horse, sir fraunces Bryan, sir Edward Baynton and diuers other. All this army lay on the borders abiding the Scots comming into England which lay still in Scotland, and did nothing till the last day of October beyng Saterday. The night before the Scottes had sent ouer the water into England thre or foure thousand men, to laye siege to a little Castell called the Castell of Warke, which standeth nere the border: the great ordinaunce of Scotlande soze bet the Castell, and Dan Car and the frenchmen which came out of fraunce with the Duke of Albany gaue to the Castell a strong assault: within the Castell was sir William Lyle with a hundred persons, but the Scottes were so many in number

Dddd.ij.

that



that they gotte the vttermost ward called the Barnhyns where the Beastes and barnes were, which seynge, the Capitaine sent in all haste to the Erle of Surrep aduertising him of their distresse, which in all hast assembled his Capytaines to reskue the Castell, therby hopping that Duke John of Albany would enter into England. The Frenchmen and Scottes lay still about the Castell continually shooting ordinaunce, Sunday and Monday the first and second day of Nouember, and then the Scots thinking the place assaultable, coragiouly set on the Castell and by strength entered the second ward. Sir William Lile perceyuing that the Scottes had gotten the false brayes and that nothing remained but only the inner ward or Doungeon, sayde to his company, Sirs for our honoz and manhood let vs issue and fight with the proude Scots & stately frenchmen, for moze thal our honoz be to dye in fight then to be murthered with gunnes, to the which his company that were left agreed: for of his hundred men he had lost almost fortie at the other assaults. Then they issued out boldely and shot coragiouly as men that shot for a vantage, and with shooting and fighting they draue their enemies cleane out of the place and slew of them, and chiefly of the Frenchmen three hundred which lay there dead in sight when the Erle came thether, beside such as died of woundes and were drowned. Then the Scottes remoued their ordinaunce, in great hast ouer the water, and by that time was the Erle of Surrep come with fiue thousand men on horsebacke and all his great army folowed and was very sozy that his enemies were gone, and much praysed Sir William Lile for his baliuantnesse.

When the Duke of Albany and the Lordes of Scotland kneto that the Erle of Surrep approached with his puissant army, they thought it not conuenient to ioperd all the nobilitie of Scotland in one field, considering their chaunce ten yeares before, and therefore they concluded to returne, and so on the second day of Nouember in the night the Duke with all his army retreated moze for his suertie then honoz.

The horsemen of Scotlande kept the fordes that no man should passe to greue the footemen as they returned, and when all the baggages were gone they cast themselues in a plumpe and returned.

When the daye appered, then the Englishmen might plainely see the Scottes how they fled fiftie mens thickenesse, many a lustie Englishman woulde saye haue folowed them on horsebacke, and so woulde the Erle of Surrep with all his hart, but his commission was only to defend the realme and not to invade Scotlande, which thing him soze displeased. Thus brake by the great army of Scotlande to the great rebuke of the Duke of Albany and the nobles of Scotlande which two yeres together had made bragges and assembles and durst not abyde battaile. The Scottes made much braggs that they had beaten doone the walles of Marke Castel, but they spake nothing of their men that they left there, nor how cowardly they returned and would not abyde. After this returne Queene Margaret of Scotland and mother to the pong king, sent to her brother the king of England for an abstinence of warre to be taken betweene the realme of Englaunde and Scotland, to the entent that some way might be taken, that an amytie might be had betwene them: which request was to her graunted, and so the great army of Englaunde was dissolued & the Erle of Surrep returned to the coast.

In

In this season, the Emperoz Charles sent to the king of England two Mules trapped in crimosyn Ueluet curiously embzoudered, all the Buckles, stirropes and all such other garnishyngs were siluer and gilt of marueylous connyng worke. He sent also .xj. Genets full goodly to beholde, trapped with russet veluet richely wrought, and foure Speares, and two Fauelynges of straunge timber and worke richly garnished, and fiue brace of Greyhounds: and to the Queene he sent two Mules, with riche trappers & high Chayers after the Spanishe fashon, all these presentes were thankfully receyued both of the King and Queene.

Now let vs returne to the Duke of Suffolke which lay at Cordes or Esquerdes the .xx. day of September, and thether came to him the armie of Flaunders, whereof was Capitaine the Lord of Fildsteyne, which had with him of Spaniardes, Almaynes, Cleues and other, three thousand footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen well apparayled for the warres in all poyntes.

The Duke of Suffolke beyng thus furnished passed forwarde in wet weather making bridges and wayes, euer looking for battaile, and on the .xviij. day of October he sent the Lorde Sandes Marshall of his armye, and with him three thousand men to a good towne called Anker, which accompanied with diuers knightes and gentlemen in good order of battaile marched toward the towne. The french men perceyuing the Englishmen connyng toward their towne, fled out as fast as they might, and left the towne desolate: then entered the Englishmen, and had there a great bootie, and tooke the Castell called Bonegard, & therein put a garrison of Englishmen, wherof was Capitaine the Lorde Leonard Gray brother to the Marques Dorset to conduct bittaylers to the armie, which now was farre from any succozs of the Englishe part. In this towne was an Abbay of Monkes which receyued humbly the Lordes and Nobles of England, which to them did no hurt nor damage, and then they returned to the Duke.

After this, the .xix. day, the Duke with his army, passed to a billage called Ouede: and there after long counsailing it was determined that the whole armie should passe to a strong towne and well fortifyed called Bray, which towne was well ordinaunced, and had in it .xviij. C. men of warre, the Capitaine thereof was called Adrian, and for succozs to the towne were come Mounfire Pontdomy, the Vicount Lernerdam, the Vicount Turraing, Mounfire Applyngcozt, and Mounfire Dampney, with fiue hundred horsemen, so that in the towne besyde the Inhabitautes were two thousande good men. This towne standeth on the ryuer of Some. .xxiiij. Englishe mile from Arras, and .xiiij. myles aboue Amias: This towne was well ditched and strengthned on euery side.

The .xx. day of this moneth, the Duke commaunded all his great ordinaunce to be brought by foure of the clocke in the moorning before the towne of Bray, they that had the charge thereof so manfully acquitted them, that notwithstanding all the damage that their enemyes could do, brought the ordinaunce before the towne at the houre appoynted. Then eche part shot dreadfully at other, but the Englishe Gunners shot so well, that the walles of the towne were beaten doone and rased with the ordinaunce, insomuche that by .ix. of the clocke the towne was made assaultable. Then the Duke caused to blowe to the assault. Then the Englishmen and Fleminges, and

Dddd. iij.

Burgonians

The present,  
sent by the  
Emperoz to  
the king.

The towne  
of Anker  
taken.

The Scots  
retire and fly  
againe into  
Scotland.

The towne  
of Bray be-  
sieged.



Burgonions lept forth quickly, and notwithstanding that the ditches were deepe, yet they so couragiously entered by the good comfort of the Lorde Sandes, and other noble men that they gat the ditches. The Frenchmen perceiuyng that the towne should be gotten, hastily made traynes of Gunpowder from streete to streete, and house to house, sayng that the Englishmen after their entry into the towne would fall to pillage, and then sodainly sodaine fyre should destroy them. This was the prouision of the Frenchmen: by this tyme the Englishmen were entryng on the walles, and the Frenchmen stode yet at defence with Pykes, Crosbowes, Handgunnes, and Halberdes, but they were to weake, for on all parties entered the Englishmen, and sodainely the Frenchmen fled, and the Englishmen folowed and killed and slue in euery part.

Nowe you must vnderstand that this towne of Bray standeth on the riuer of Some which is there deuided in diuers braunches, and betwene euery braunch is a marishe ground, where on the farsyde of the towne was fortified a Bulwarke full of ordinaunce to kepe the passage ouer the water, and the Frenchmen had losed the planks of the bridge nere a myle aboue Bray, and the horsemen of Fraunce passed by a mille which was to the French foemen a great ayde, for they stood and kept the passage till the footemen were come ouer the bridge, and then they plucked away the planks of the bridge, so that no man shoulde folowe, but euer the Englishmen folowed, and cast planks on the bridge, and passed ouer the bridge, in which passyng diuers were drowned, but with great trauaile all men passed, horsemen and footemen, and fiercely assaulted the Bulwarke, and tooke it with all the ordinaunce, and in it was taken, Capitaine Adrian, and Capitaine Walterlew. The English horsemen folowed the Frenchmen, and diuers of them were slaine and taken, sir Robert Jernyngham brake a speare of the Lorde Mountdozmy. The Lord Leonard Gray did valiantly that day. You must remember that when the Frenchmen issued out of the towne, they forgot not to lay a match to the traine of Gunpowder which they had made, which in short space set the towne all on fyre, so that when the Englishmen returned againe, all was on fyre, so that there they had little profite but Wyne, which to them did great pleasure. Thus was the towne of Bray taken, and destroyed the .xx. day of October.

The Duke consideryng that little succors were for him and his Souldiours in the towne of Bray, because the sayd towne was consumed with fire, he therefore commaunded the bridges to be well repayred for to passe ouer the great riuer of Some into the realme of Fraunce: and when the passage was sure, the Lorde Sandes the .xxj. day of October in the moynyng was prest to passe ouer with the Warwarde. Then some Gentlemen sayde that they would passe no farther forward, and diuers Souldiours were of the same opinion. It was asked why they should feare, and they answered that if they were past ouer the riuer, they were past all succours and bittaille, none coulde be brought to them. By reason of this noyse, the Souldiours stayed, which the Lorde Sandes perceiuyng, saide to the Welchmen which were euill willyng to passe the riuer: Sirs sayde he, beholde what I do, and with that he tooke a Banner of Saint George, and sayde, as many as loue the king of England, and be true to him and to the Crowne, folow me, & then he

The towne  
of Bray taken  
by the  
Duke of  
Suffolke  
and destroyed

he and sir William Kingston set forward and passed the water, which there runneth in three streames, then al other persons couragiously folowed, with the ordinaunce and bittayles.

After the forward folowed the Duke and all his battaile: At this time the armie was sore minished by reason many were diseased, and from the host departed, so the host was not of that strength that it was at the setting out of Calice. When the Englishmen were passed, then folowed the Burgonions in good order, and so that night this armie came to a towne called Kappe, and there encamped themselves, all the Inhabitauntes were fled both out of the towne and Castell: there the Englishmen found a hundred tonne of Wyne, and other good pillage. The garrison that lay at Anker, knowyng that the Duke was passed the riuer of Some, rased the towne and Castell, and came and ioyned with the Dukes armie at Kappe.

There the Duke caused Proclamations to be made in the armie that all the people of Fraunce that would bittaille the armie of England should be well entreated, and haue their bittayles well payed for, and safe goyng and comyng, by the which Proclamation the host was well bittayled, for the people of the country resorted with all thinges necessary.

The Duke thus lyng at Kappe sent to the towne of Roy to yeeld them to the king of England. The towne perceiuyng that their power was not able to withstand the great armie of the Duke, assented to deliuer the towne to the Duke. This was a strong towne well walled, ditched and ordinaunced, but not manned: the Duke sent thether sir Richard Cornwall, and other with foure hundred men to receyue the towne, which went thether in good array, and had the towne to them deliuered, and then they set the Banner of Saint George in the highest part of the towne, and full well this garrison kept the towne of Roy till the Duke came thether with his whole armie.

The Duke and his army the .xxv. day of the sayde moneth remoued to a billage called Lphome, & had there great pillage: for this towne was much haunted of Marchantes, & there kept great markets. The next day he remoued to Dauenker, and the .xxviij. day he remoued and came before the strong towne of Mountdedier, where for defence of warre lacked neyther ditches, walles, nor bulwarke: The horsemen of the English army roade about the towne to view it, at whome the Capitaynes caused diuers peeces to be losed, which shewed well their strength. The Duke sent an officer of armes to sommon the Capitaine to deliuer the towne: the officer departed, and wyth him a trumpet which blew before the Gate, but no person would answer, because they would haue no summons made to them: the officer of armes returned and made report. Then the Dukes skyzers made profer afore the towne, out of the which issued a great company of horsemen and skirmished with the Dukes horsemen, and fought valiantly, but at the last .xl. of the horsemen were taken, with which the Lorde Roche Baron Capitaine of the towne was sore displeased, yet he thought him able to maintain the towne agaynst the whole army. Then the Duke of Suffolke pitched his field and layd his siege round about the towne of Mountdedier, and kept good watch and warde on euery syde: which thing the Lorde Roche Baron perceiuyng, comforted his men of warre, and bad them not be afrayed, but to be of good courage, and sayd that the Duke there should get nothing. When the Duke had

The towne  
of Roy  
deliuered  
to the  
Duke.

The towne  
of Lphome  
taken.

The towne  
of Mount  
dedier  
besieged.



had thus planted his siege, he considered that he was farre from rescue and that lying still and nothing doying was not profitable, he knewe also by report of the prisoners that in the towne of Mountdedier were two thousand footemen, and one thousand horsemen: wherefoze he sent for all the Lordes and Capitaines of his army, and much praysed their hardinesse, and sayd that the noble courage that he sawe in them did much auance him to set forward in all things, the prayse where of should be to them, and not to him, and therfoze now he encouraged them againe to continue still in their valiaunt doying, for with Gods grace he entended to bend his ordinaunce the next morning before the towne, to the which all the Lordes agreed, and praysed much the Dukes courage and forwardnesse.

Sir William Skeuyngton

Sir John Walop.

Adventurers.

Kreekers.

Then was sir William Skeuyngton knight, Maister of the ordinance, commaunded to prepare for the battery, which with all diligence made trenches, and prepared all things meete for the purpose. In this season sir John Walop knight, had with him almost a thousande proper men and hardy, having little wages or none which lived alonely on their aventure, wherefoze of some they were called adventurers, of some they were called Kreekers. These men were light, hardie, and pollitike, and by their manhood and hardinesse had robbed many townes, taken many prisoners, with great booties, and dayly brought to the army horses, mares, vitaille, cloth, cozue, and other necessaryes which might not be missed. Of this company the Frenchmen, and especially they of billages, and passengers were sore afrayed, for they were neuer yde, but doying somthing in one part or other. The Lord Mountdozmy, or Pountremy, heering Mountdedier was besieged, called to him divers great Lordes and Capitaynes to the number of five hundred men of Armes and diny Launces, and a great number of footemen, entending to bring Gunpowder and other necessaryes to the towne of Mountdedier: and as they were thether commyng by night, Thomas Palmer, Capitaine of the skout watch of the Englishe armye them askyed and skirmished with them although they were more in number: manfully fought the French men, but for all that, they were compelled to flie backe, and then the Englishmen them folowed, and slue divers, and two Speares were broken on the brother of the Lorde Pountdozmy, but by the swiftnesse of his horse he saved himselfe, and in this chase were an hundred prisoners taken, which much reioysed the Englishe men.

When the maister of the ordinaunce had all thinges readie, at the houre of foure of the clocke in the morning, he discharged the ordinaunce continually in such fashion, that by viij. of the clocke the .xxviii. day of October the walles were made low, and the towne assaultable. All which while, the great ordinaunce shot still out of the towne till the walles and towne were beaten downe. The Capitaine of the towne perceiuyng this, called to him all the Capitaynes, declaring to them that theyr towne was in foure houres made assaultable, and that surely the Englishmen would assault the towne which should be to their confusion, wherefoze he asked their aduise what was best to be done, all they answered, do as you will: Then he went into a Tower, and caused a Trumpet to blow, and set forth a Banner of truce. Then the Duke commaunded the ordinaunce to cease. Then sir William Skeuyngton came to the walles and demaunded what they would, and the lord Roche

Baron

Baron sayd, that if it pleased the Duke for the loue of the king of England, and his honor, to graunt to him and the other Gentlemen that were there, licence to depart with life, bagge and baggage, they would deliuer the towne of Mountdedier. Then sir William Skeuyngton made report to the Duke which thereto consented, sayng: they be men of warre, their rythes is not great. Then the Lord Sandes and diuers other were appoynted to receiue the towne, and so they entered and set Standardes on the top of the Gates, and tooke the keyes of all the strong houses, Towers, and Bulwarkes. The French men were redie to depart with frullages, and cariages, wyth Crosbowes, Pykes, and Handgunnes, with which doying the Lord Sandes and the Englishmen which were within the towne were not content, & sayd that the Frenchmen should passe without weapon: on this poynt was much alteration, and the Frenchmen were stayed, but the Lord Roche Baron gaue many sayre wordes, and passed forward with a red standard, with a whyte Crosse before him, that seyng sir Thomas Palmer, raine to the standarde and plucked it in pieces. Then sayde the Lord Roche Baron, that it was violently done: to whome he answered that he should beare no standard there lyke a conquerour. Then after long disputation, the Frenchmen sayd, that it was promised them that they should haue their weapons and baggage, and so vpon that they were suffered to depart. The footemen likewise had a standard before them, which was rent by sir Robert Jernyngham. The number which departed truly accompted, were two thousand footemen, five hundred horsemen and odde, well and warlyke appoynted, and they left much baggage behinde them, because they sawe the Englishmen so fast come into the towne, they were in feare of losse of all.

The towne of Mountdedier: and fabric.

When the Frenchmen were departed, the Duke with his whole army entered the towne and there the Englishe men founde fine featherbeds, nappery, coverings, and much houtholde stuffe, and especially of Wyne great plentie, and there the armie rested till the last day of October, and then were all the gates of the towne rased and throbne downe, and all the Bulwarkes lykewise, then the Duke caused all the ordinaunce to be taken, and so removed to the towne of Roze, where he and all his armie rested for a whyle: whereof they were glad, for they had trauelyed sore, and the weather was wet and colde. On the feast of all saints called Alhalon day, the Duke in the chiefe Church of Roze made knightes, the Lorde Harbert, the Lorde Powes, Olyuer Hanners, Arthur Poie, Richard Sandes, Robert Jernyngham, Robert Salisbury, Edmond Benyngfield, Richard Corbet, Thomas Wentworthe, William Storton, Water Mantell, George Warran, Edward Seymour after Erle of Hartford, and Duke of Sommer set, and most worthy gouernour of the kinges maiesties person, and Protector of all hys realmes, dominions and subiects.

The morrow after, the armie removed to a place called Meele, there the Burgonions began to ware wearie, and so did the Englishmen, for euery day was foule weather, and raine both day and night. Wherefoze dyuers companies fell to grudging sayng, now you may see that by our removing we shall be led from place to place all this Wynter, which is to the vtter losse of our lynes: for daylie we see that of our companye dyeth no small number (and truly it was that some dyed but not many) they sayde farther, the Burgonions



gonions haue the great gaine, and doe least for it, for they haue wagons and carie their booties to their Countrie, which is nere hande, and we go before and fight, and we haue no meanes to conuey anye thing into our Countrie for lack of cariage, and so we beate the bushe and they take the byrdes. This grudge was sealed by gentle wordes for a time.

In these iorneyes was commonly spoken that the Duke of Burbon with his ten thousand Almaynes would haue inuaded Fraunce and so ioyned with this armie, but the truth was contrarie, for he turned his host another way and went into prouince and layde siege to Marcellles, wherof the Duke beyng aduertised, not a little mused, and also seyng his men daylie fall sick, was soxie, and yet he so comforted them that euery man was glad to folow his will and entent.

On the sixe day of Nouember the Lorde Sandes beyng Capitayne of the foreward, and the Duke of the middle warde, and sye Richard Wyngfield Capitaine of the rereward came in order of battayle prest to fight, to a village called Ueane, and there rested for that night, and the morrow after the whole armie returned agayne ouer the water of Some, and came to a place called Beaufford: At thys passage the Duke made knightes, John Dudley, and Robert Utrepght Esquires.

The eyght day the Duke remoued to a place called Mount saint Martyne, a very meete place for an armie, and then was the Dukes instructions looked vpon by the Capytaynes, and they perceyuing that they hard nothing of the Duke of Burbons comming, ayde nor counsaile, all they thought and determined to send the Lorde Sandes in post to the king, to declare all the case as it stood and their necessitie, according as he himselve knewe and sawe in all poyntes: which Lorde Sandes tooke great paine, and made good diligence toward the king, and while he was riding, the Duke remoued his armie to a place called Permount and there lodged for a time to rest, and the armie was well bytaylor, but euer the Welshemen muttered and grudged more and more.

After the great raynes and windes that had fallen, came a seruent frost, so sore that many a soldiour dyed for colde, some lost syngers and some toes, but many lost their nayles of their hands, which was to them a great griefe. The Duke all thys notwithstanding remembryng that he came not thither to ye still, the. xiiij. daye remoued to a place two Myle from the Castell of Bobhen and still it frised, in so much that the Maister of the Ordinaunce was compelled of necessitie to set the wheeles of his ordinaunce on hardels for sinking. In the morning the Welshemen set out a shout and cryed home, home, the Brekers hering that, cryed hang hang. For which matter deuision was like to haue fallen, but by pollicy it was ceased. Sir Edward Gyldford Capitaine of the horsemen beved the Castell of Bobhen or Boghan, which euer was thought to be impregnable, but he iudged it might be wonne, for the Castell was enuironed with marises, so that to no mans iudgement it was possible to winne it: But nowe he perceyued that the frost was so great and strong that it might be besieged, and al that night it frised againe: wherefore he desired the Duke to geue him leaue to assault it, which thereto agreed. Then he caused the ordinaunce to be set foorth ouer the marische. When they within the Castell perceyued that the marische fayled them, they were

This John Dudley was after made Erie of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland.

A great frost

The Welshmen were very.

were sore dismayed. Then sye Edward Guildford shot thre great pieces at the Castell, and the Castilian shot thre pieces agayne. Then as the English Somers were preparing to the batterie, the Capitayne seyng hys Castell could not hold by reason that the marische fayled, and that he coulde defende none assault, deliuered the Castell to him to the behoofe of the Emperour, and the king of Englande, and after a small communication had betwene the sayde sye Edward Guildford and the Capitayne, the Capitayne with all his retinue departed, leauing behinde the ordinaunce of Bombards, Curtawes, and demy Curtawes, Slingses, Canons, Volgers, and other ordinaunce, there were. lxxij. pieces, plentie of pelletes and powder. The Duke of Suffolke perceyuing that this Castell stood on the border of Henaude: wherefore the more to please the Henaunders he made Capitaine of the same Castell of Boghan the Senechal of Henaude, to the behoofe of the Emperour and the king of Englande. In thys place the armie was euill bytaylor, because the Frenchmen had stopped the waier of Some, that no bytaylor should passe ouer the ryuer: wherefore the Duke sent to them of Henaude, and especially to them of Valencien to haue ayde of bytaylor, which of their little sent to the armie a little, but yet it did them some seruice, and all thys whyle the seruent frost with bitter windes contynued, which caused many people to die: yet still lay the armie abidyng the answer of the Lord Sandes, which as you haue heard read in poste, and so much trauayled that he came to the king of Englande to his Castell of Wyndsoze, and there declared to the king his message, which was that his people which were in the frenche ground abode much miserie, for the weather was wet, the wayes deepe, long nightes and short dayes, great iorneyes and little bytaylor, which caused the souldiours daylie to die. Also they trusted when they passed the seas according to their instructions to haue ayde of the Duke of Burbon (of whome lithe their departing they neuer heard worde) wherefore the Duke of Suffolke and other nobles of your armye hath sent me to your highnesse to declare their state and condition, their good will to tarie, and the euill chaunces which daylie happeneth to them by God and not by their enemies. Well sayde the king, all thys we knewe before your comming: wherefore we haue appointed the Lorde Mountioy with sixe thousande men, to passe the seas for the reliefe of our armie, which Lorde Mountioy is almost in a readynesse: For we will in no wise that the armie shall breake.

Then the king came to Westminster to the Cardinals place, and there receyued letters from the Duke of Suffolke by sye Robert Jernyngham, of the getting of the Castell of Boghan or Boben: wherefore incontinent it was by the king and his counsaile determined that the Lorde Mountioy should make speede, which did suche diligence that manye of hys Souldiours were come to London well harnessed and weaponed readie to passe the seas. Wherefore the king sent in all haste sye Robert Jernyngham agayne to declare to the Duke the kings pleasure and what ayde was comming toward him. But or sye Robert Jernyngham could come to the Duke, the armie was remoued from Boben and bent the towne, and so came to the Citie of Valencine in Henaude, and there layde by their ordinaunce, and from thence came to the Citie of Courmay (which then was vnder the Emperour and out of the french kings hands) and so tooke their iorney home-

The Castell of Boghan or Boben is yielded to the king and the Emperour.

The duke of Suffolke breaketh by his army, and returneth against the mind of king Henry the eight.

warde



warde thozow Flaunders and the armie there broken and dispatched. But when the Duke met with syz Robert Jernyngham at Bridges in Flaunders and knewe the kinges minde and entent, he did what he might to recreate the souldiours, which could not be, for many Englishe men shipped at Andwarpc, and many at Sluce, and at Mepozt and other Hauens, and they that were at Calice were stayed for a time, but when the Duke sawe that he could not bring al his armie together scarcely the fourth part, he then licensed the remnaunt to depart. Of thys breaking bp of the armie were letters sent to the king, which incontinent stopped the Lozde Mountioy and sent his men into the Countrey agayne. The Duke and other Capitaynes hearing of the kings displeasure, were soze abashed, and did write to their friendes that they had perfite knowledge that the Duke of Burbon had broken by his campe for the extremity of the Winter, and also shewed that their souldiours dyed, and vitayle fayled, which caused them to breake the army, for of truth the souldiours would not abide: with which reasons the king was somewhat appeased, and so on good hope the Duke came to Calice the twelwe day of December, and there abode long, till their friends had sued to the king for their returne. And when it was graunted, and that they were returned, the Duke and the Capitaines came not to the kings pzeence in a long season, to their great heauinesse and displeasure: But at the last all things were taken in good part, and they well receyued, and in great loue, fauour, and familiaritie with the king.

While the Duke of Suffolk was in fraunce and the Erle of Surrey on the Marches of Scotland, the Cardinall sent out commissions in the moneth of October through the realme, that euery man that was worth .xl. pound should pay the whole subsidy befoze graunted out of hande, and befoze the dayes of payment. This payment was called an Anticipation, which is to say, a thing taken, or a thing comming befoze his time or season: This terme was new to y<sup>e</sup> Comunaltie, but they payd well for their learning, for their money was payed out of hand without delay.

The king this yeare kept his Christmas solempnely at his Castell of Wyndsoze and thether came to him the thyrde daye of Januarie the Erle Mountiuer of the royall bloud of Bytayne and pretending to be Duke of the same, which was nere Cosin to the Duke of Burbon and banysed Fraunce. Thys Erle came hastily from the Duke of Burbon and was well entertayned and feasted of the king, and after aunswere made to him by the king, he went to the Cardinal to Hampton court, and so with great spede returned to the sayd Duke into the countrie of Prouince.

In the same season was brought to the court a Gentleman of Scotland called Andrew Steward taken on the sea with diuers letters by one Water Jago a yoman of the kinges, with diuers letters from the Duke of Albany to the French king, by reason whereof the king knew much of their counsaile. This Gentleman payed ransome and was very soone redeemed.

The .xii. day of Januarie six sayze shippes of fraunce well appoynted met with a ship of the kinges of England called the Caterine Galley a ship of forty tonne, the Capitayne whereof was one John Harmer, with a small company, for many of his company were a lande: But he so encoraged his men that all feare was set asyde, and euer as the frenchmen approached, they

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bette them of with arrowes, pikes, and fighting, and still they continued from foure of the clocke in the morning till nine of the clocke, and euer on the coast of England, and the Englishmen dyd the best they could to saue themselves: for by that time shee had spent her powder, arrowes with shooting, and her byls with hewing, and her pikes with keeping them of from comming aboard, and al the company almost soze hurt, and the Capitaine wounded to the death so that they had no other remedy but to sayle. This chace was perceyued by one called Capytayne Markam, Capitayne of the Barke of Sandwyche shippes perceiuing that, lett their chace and made with the Barke of Sandwyche. The Capitaine couragiously comforted his men and made the quarters of his shippe defensable. The Frenchmen set on fierly, and their toppes were higher then the toppe of the English shippe. Out went the ordinaunce, quarels and dartes of the french shippes: the Englishmen shot fierly again, and when the frenchmen profered to enter, the Englishmen bette them of with bylles. The frenchmen at the last with a great gunne bette downe the toppe of the Barke and slue the men in the same, and lastly they strake downe his Mast. This conflict continued from ten of the clocke tyll two at after noone. Then he could make no shifte, but to sayle: and euer the Englishmen shot arrowes, and while the Englishmen had any arrowes the frenchmen durst not enter: But when their arrowes were spent, the frenchmen came aboard all at once and entered the Barke. In this fight were slayne of french men out of hand .xxvij. and .i. soze hurt, and of the Englishmen were slayne .xxiiij. What should I saye, the Englishmen fought valiantly but they were to weake for six talle shippes. Wherefoze they were taken and brought to Depe for a price, but the frenchmen saide they neuer bought price so dere. After this John Harmer Capytayne of the Kateryn Galley dyed and many frenchmen that were hurt died at Depe, so that neyther part wan greatly.

In the last month called December were taken certaine Traytors in the Citie of Couentrie, one called Fraunces Phillip Scholemaister to the kings Henrmen, and one Christopher Pykering clerke of the Larder, and one Anthony Maynille Gentleman, which by the perswasion of the sayd Fraunces Phillip, entended to haue taken the kinges treasure of his subsidye as the Collectors of the same came towarde London, and then to haue raysed men and taken the Castell of Kyllingworth, and then to haue made battayle against the king: wherefoze the sayd Fraunces, Christopher and Anthoyne were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tyborne the .xi. day of february, the residue that were taken, were sent to the Citie of Couentrie and there were executed. One of the kinges Henrmen called Dygby which was one of the conspirators fled the realme, and after had his pardon.

The .xviij. day of Januarie there was a sayze or marquet at the towne of Marguyson in the french kings dominions beside Calice, and for defence of the people and their marchandise, there were appointed two hundred men in harnesse well weaponed: the Souldiers of Gynnes heering of this, departed in the night and came nere to the towne of Marguyson, and closely kept themselves tyll the Market was faire and at the best, then the Englishmen which were .i. Archers and bylles, set sodainly on the Market, that seyng the frenchmen stood manfully at their defence with handgunnes and

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pykes,



pykes, but the Engliche men thotte so wholly together that they draue the Frenchmen out of the towne, and would for succors haue taken the churche but the Englishmen were betweene them and the Churche, so that they had none other remedy but to flee and many French men were slayne. Capitaine John de Bounde, and Capitaine John de Babage and diuers other were taken prisoners, and diuers Marchantes that were there to sell their goodes were also taken, and all their goodes brought in Frenchmens wagones to Gysnes and no Englishman slaine but diuers were soze hurt.

The first day of February the baliannt knight sir Robert Teringham and with him fiftie Demilaunces of the garison of Calice skoured the country to Dirsaell and there tooke a hundred hedde of Beastes, by that doing an askry rose through the country, wherby the Frenchmen gathered together to the number of twelue score, and oz Sir Robert and his companye came to Houndingbridge they were beset rounde about, so that of necessitie they must fight, the Frenchmen set on with handgunnes, Crosbowes and pykes, and for a while there was a strong encounter, but the Englishmen as men desperate (because of the number) fought so fierlye that they caused the Frenchmen to gene backe and slew many of them and tooke. xiii. prisoners, and in the chase they toke seauen moze which made by one and twentie. Then the saide sir Robert returned with his bootie and prisoners and lost no man, but almost all were hurt.

The. v. day of March the king hauing a new harnesse made of his obne deuise and fashon, such as no Armozer befoze that time had seene, thought to assay the same at the tilte, and appointed a Justes to serue him. On foote were appointed the Lorde Marques Dorset and the Erle of Surrey, the king came to the one ende of the tilte, and the Duke of Suffolk to the other: then a Gentleman sayd to the Duke, sir the king is come to the tiltes ende. I see him not sayd the Duke on my faith, for my Headpeere taketh from me my sight: with these wordes God knoweth by what chaunce, the king had his speare deliuered him by the Lorde Marques, the visor of his Headpeere being by a not downe nor fastened, so that his face was cleane naked. Then the Gentleman sayde to the Duke, sir the king commeth, then the Duke set forwarde and charged his speare, and the king likewise braduisedly set toward to the Duke: the people perceiuing the kinges face bare, cryd hold, holde, the Duke neyther saw nor heard, and whether the king remembered that his visor was by or no, se we could tell: Alas what sorrow was it to the people when they saw the splinters of the Dukes speare strike on the kinges Headpeere: for on a suertie the Duke strake the king on the browe right vnder the defence of the Headpeere on the very coyfe, scull, oz bassenet: eue wher vnto the barbet for power oz defence is charnelled, to which coyfe oz bassenet neuer Armozer taketh heede, for it is evermore couered with the visor, barbet and bolant peere, and so that peere is so defended that it forreth of no charge: But when the speare on that place lighted, it was great ieopardie of death in so much that the face was bare, for the Dukes speare brake all to thryuers, and bare the kinges visor oz barbet so farre backe by the counter buffe that all the kinges Headpeere was full of splinters. The Armozers for this matter were much blamed, and so was the Lord Marques for the deliuering of the speare when his face was open, but the king saide that none was to blame but him-

selfe,

The ieopardie that the king was in at a Justes.

selfe, for he intended to haue sayed himselfe and his sight. The Duke incontinently v. armed him, and came to the king, shewing him the closeness of his sight, and sware that he would neuer runne against the king moze: But if the king had beene a litle hurt, the kinges seruantes would haue put the Duke in ieopardy.

Then the king called his Armozers and put all his peeres together and then tooke a speare and ranne sixe courses very well, by the which all men might perceiue that he had no hurt, which was great ioye and comfort to all his subiectes there present.

In this yere the king sent the Lorde Moxley, sir William Hopy knight, and Doctoz Lee his Almoner to Done Ferdinando Archeduke of Austrich, and brother to the Emperoz Charles, with the order of the Garter, which in the towne of Moxrynberge receyued the same, where then were all the princes of Germanie assembled at a counsaill oz dyet, against the bishop of Rome, agaynst whom the Germaines put a hundred grieues.

The. xiiij. day of Aprill one Capitaine Bearton one of the Capitaines of the aduenturers at Gysnes with. xviij. tall men, came to a billage called Wasse, and there tooke a bootie of beastes, by which takyng an askrie arose, and by chaunce certaine of the garrison of Bulleyn were then abroad, and by the cry of the people came where the Engliche men were, the Frenchmen were two hundred horsemen, and with great cryes emironed the Engliche men about, so that the Englishmen could make no defence. Then Capitain Bearton called to the Capitaine of the Frenchmen, and sayde, sir I am a Gentleman, and this enterprize was mine, I haue brought these good felowes to this ieopardie, wherfore we yeelde vs all prisoners to you, and so they deliuered their weapons, the Capitaine was a Gentleman and gently them receyued, then to the men of warre drewe all the prisoners oz chozles of the Countrey nye hande to the number of. viij. oz. viij. score, which desyred to bye the Englishmen that were taken, the Frenchmen were content, and tooke money, then the Englishmen were deliuered to the bylandishe people, and the men of warre roade away.

When the men of warre were departed the rybaudes with Pykes, Fauces, and knyues, fell on the Englishmen which had no weapon, & them slue all. xviij. and cut them in pieces the most shamefully that euer was seene.

Capitaine Bearton murdered.

When knowlege hereof was brought to the Capitaine of Gysnes sir John Gage, he sent for the aduenturers, willyng them to reuenge their Capitaynes death. So all the aduenturers the. xiiij. day gathered together to the number of. xl. archers and pykes, and by good guyde the next day in the moynyng they came to the same billage of Wasse, and there toke. xxxviij. prisoners, and most part were at the murder of Bearton and his company, and of the. xxxviij. they slue. xxxviij. and so they left one, and caryed him with them, but oz they departed they set the towne on fyre, and spared nothing, their yre was so great: the men of warre of fraunce costed the English men, but they would not meddle with them in that rage.

The murders reuenged.

When they came to Gysnes they sware the Frenchman that was left on liue, to declare their message to the Capitaine of Bulleyn, which was that after that day they would saue neyther man, woman, nor childe, that came to their handes for the great crueltie that the bysantz had done to Cap-

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taine Breerton and his companye, wyth which message the frenchemen were discontent, and sayde that the villaynes deserued to haue vengeaunce for their crueltie.

In this yere through bookes and pronostications made and calculate by Astronomers, the people were sore afrayd for the sayd wyrters declared, that this yere should be such Eclipses in watry signes, and such coniunctions, that by waters and floods many people should perish. In somuch that many persons vittayled themselves and went to high groundes for feare of drowning, and specially one Bolton, which was Prior of Saint Bartholomewes in west Smithfield in London, builded him an house vpon Harowe of the hill, onely for feare of this flood, and thether he went and made prouision for all thinges necessary within him, for the space of two Monethes: But the faithful people put their trust & confidence only in God. And this raine was by the wyrters pronosticate to be in february, wherefore when it began to raine in february, the people were much afrayde, and some sayde now it beginneth, but many wise men which thought that the worlde coulde not be drowned againe, contrary to Goddes promise, put their trust in him onely, but because they thought that some great raynes might fall by inclinations of the stars, and that water mylles might stande still and not grynde, they prouided for meale, and yet God be thanked there was not a fairer season in many yeres, and at the last the Astronomers for their excuse sayde, that in their computation, they had mistaken and miscounted in their number an hundred yeres.

The Emperour Charles which also was enemy to the french king, seeing the great armpe that the king of Englande his confederate had in Fraunce, thought it was to him honozable to make warre also on that part of Fraunce that ioyneth to Spaine, and in especially he imagined how to recover the towne of Fountraby, which the frenchmen befoze that tyme had gotten: wherefore he assembled a great puissaunce, and made Capitaine the Lorde Barnardine de Belasco Constable of Castile, which with great diligence came befoze the towne of Fountraby which was strongly fortifyed, and the Capitaine thereof was a flaueroy: but when the Capitaine and his company saw the towne besieged with such a puissance, and also that the sea was so narrowly kept that they could not haue vittaille nor succor, they determined to geue vp the towne: but yet the Capitaine of a high stomack shot out his ordinaunce, and sent his trompet to the Capitain of the Spaniardes to know what prisoners he had of his, and for the communication thereof he desired abstinence of warre till he had communed with the Counsaile of the Spanishe hoste, which to him was graunted. Then was communication for fiue dayes, and nothing ended, for the Spaniardes were haute on the one syde, and the frenchmen proude on the other syde, but on the sixt day it was concluded that the towne should be deliuered wyth ordinaunce and Artillarie, and all the men of warre to depart wyth bagge and baggage, and so the .xxij. day of february was the towne of Fountraby brought againe to the handes of the Emperour, and he that was Capitaine of Fountraby was afterwarde restored to his landes in flauerre by the Emperour, and became his man.

The Bishop of Rome called Pope Clement seeing the great warres that were this yere on all parties, and in especiall betwene the Emperour and

Solon prior of saint Bartholomewes builded a house vpon Harowe of the hill for feare of a flood.

and the king of Englande on the one partie, agaynst fraunces the french king and his alpes, sent an Archebishop of the realme of Naples first to the french king, and after to the Emperour, which declared to the french king the manifold mischiefes that tyme by warre, the great stroke of vengeaunce that God will strike for vniust warre and specially for the death of innocents and effusion of Christen blood, and shewed farther, that the sayd french king made dayly warre on the Emperour, and the king of England without cause, but only because he himselfe would do no right to them, nor to their subiects.

The french king after counsaile taken answered, my Lorde Legate, we assure you that we make no warre, but warre is made on vs, & we stand at the defence, notwithstanding our right is kept from vs, both the Duchy of Millain, and realme of Naples, by the Emperour, and the vsurped Duke, to the which we haue good tittle, and the king of England warreth on vs without cause, notwithstanding that we haue geuen him and many Lordes of his Counsaile diuers sayre pencions, not because we be afrayde of hym, but because we woulde haue his loue and amitie, & when we perceyued that he toke part with the Emperour our mortal enemy, we withdrew our pencions as with right we might, and now with all his power he would conquere our good will, which is against reason, and we claime nothing of him. Well sayd the Ambassadoz, I will first speake with the Emperour, & after with the king of England, and then I will declare to you theyr rightes and demaundes, wyth which the french king seemed to be content.

Then the sayde Ambassadour tooke his leaue and in post came to the Emperour in Spaine, and there exhorted him to peace with many goodly reasons, affirmyng that the warre was vniust and without reasonable cause made on the french king, as the sayd king affirmed. Then the Emperour like a noble prince answered, that the warres were neuer of his beginning: for the french king or he wist had taken the towne of Fountraby, and also had sent an army to conquere the realme of flauerre, and not with this contented, retayned the Swyches which be the Emperours subiectes, and caused them to be enemies to the Emperour, and he also withhelde the Duchie of haute Burgoyne, and the Countie of Arthors wyth diuers other Countreies, and seignories belongyng to him: wherefore his quarell was alway iust, and because the College of Rome should perceiue y<sup>e</sup> whole cause of his warres, he deliuered to y<sup>e</sup> said Ambassadour a scedule, wyth which he departed, refusing all gistes which the Emperour offered him, & came againe to the french king, and rehersted to him the Emperours sayng, but the french king himselfe highly excused and sayd, that he might not lese that that his predecessors left him, & so the Bishop of Romes Ambassadour tooke his leaue and came into England.

In the beginning of this .xvi. yere, the king lay at his Maner of Newhall in Essex, and there kept the feast of saint George, and hearing that the Bishop of Romes Ambassadour was coming into Englande, removed to his Maner of Grenewiche where the sayde Archebishop and Legate came to him, and was highly entertayned, which declared wisely and eloquently the message and entent of his maister, which was to make a peace and concord betwene the princes of christendome, and especially betwene the Emperour, the king of England and the french king, & for that cause he had bene wyth the Emperour, & also wyth the french king, which as he sayde affirmed,

E e e e .iij.

that

An Archebishop sent from the Pope to entreat peace betwene the Emperour and king of England & the french king.

1524  
16



that without cause the king of Englande made on him warre, considering that he to the intent to haue the more amitie and fauor of you and your nobles hath liberally geuen to you and them honorable pencions, which by no duetie as he affirmeth you can nor may clayme, but of his beneuolence and bountie. Also he sayeth that you claime his crowne, realme, and possessions, which toucheth him highly, and of yours he claymeth nothing, and therefore he thinketh of right you ought not to make him warre. Wherefore maye it please your highnesse to tell me your mind, and I shal it declare to the whole Court of Rome God wylling and forget nothing.

Then the Kyng called to him his counsaile and after diuers consultations had, the Ambassadoz was sent for, and there was shewed to him many recordes, prouing the king of Englande to be inheritour to the realme of Fraunce by bloud, and also confirmed by dyuers Charters in the time of king Charles the scuenth. And as concernyng the pencion, to him was shewed dyuers Charters, that it was no pencion of friendship, but due rent for the Duches of Normandie and Guyan, and the Countreies of Aniou and Maine, which are the king of Englandes berie enheritaunce. Farthermore there were shewed to him diuers bondes of the sayde French kinges for the payment for the Citie of Tournay, and other duties which he ought to the king of Englande, all which articles to fulfill, the French king hath oftentimes bene required by Ambassadors, and yet he euer dissembled, and would not conforme himselfe to reason: of all these things were notes wozitten and deliuered to the Byshop of Romes Ambassadour, which tooke his leaue of the king and returned in post accompanied but with three persons. By reason of the comming of this Ambassadoz men hoped that peace should ensue, but it succeeded not this yere: for the thirde daye of Maye the garrison of Bulleyn with dyuers other in the most secret wise that coude be, came to a place within the Englishe pale called Senticas, and sodainely strake by a Droume or Droumslade: the people hearing this in the night were soze abashed, some fled naked and some clothed, the most part fled to the Churche, and the Frenchmen them folowed, and tooke .xxj. prisoners, and then set fyre on the Churche: By this time was all the pale rayled, which thing the Frenchmen perceuyng, left their bootie and returned in all haste with their prisoners to Bulleyn.

In this season the Lordes of Flaunders laye at the siege before Tyzwoyn, and were lykely to haue taken it by famine, whereof the French king beyng aduertised assemb'ed an armie of .xxij. thousand horsemen and footemen vnder the conduit of the Duke of Vandosme, and the Lord Bountozmy, and the French king himselfe came downe to Amvas, and there caused it to be nosped that he would besiege the towne of Valencyen in Henaude, where the Duke of Suffolke the last yere had left the king of Englandes ordinaunce. The king of England hearing of this, sayde, that if the French king besieged Valencyen, he in person would go thether for to rescue hys ordinaunce. The Lorde fynes and other Lordes of Flaunders which laye before Tyzwoyn with .ix. thousand men were aduertised of the French army, but because of the fame that the hoste should go to Valencyen, they sent for no more succours.

When the Frenchmen had all things ready, they left the waye to Valencyen

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Tyzwoyn  
besieged.

lencyen and toke the way directly to Tyzwoyn. When the Lordes of Flaunders perceued that, they were soze abashed, and then they knewe that they were decepued, and that they were not able to abide the purssuance of the French armie. Wherefore they rayled their siege, and put themselves in order of battayle on the Southeast side of Tyzwoyn: the French armie passed forward the sixt daye of Maye toward Tyzwoyn and made no semblance to fight: Howbeit some of them skirmished with the horsemen of Flaunders, but they at the last entered the towne, whereunto they were welcome, and the Lordes of Flaunders departed soze displeased, but there was no remedie. Then ranne a brute that the French army would laye siege to Guynes: wherefore the king caused men and all other things to be put in a readinesse for the speedie rescue thereof if it had so chaunced. But the Frenchmen tooke a better aduise.

In thys Month of Maye s<sup>r</sup> Robert Jernyngham Capitaine of Newnam bridge commoned with Christopher Coo, a Capitayne of dyuers Englishe ships that kept the Sea, which then was in Calice hauen for vitayle, and sayde, Capitaine Coo you know how the Bulleyners haue visited nere to Calice the Englishe pale, and haue burned Sentrycas. If you will promise to set many of your men a lande at the hauen of Bulleyn the .xix. daye of Maye, I with as manye as I can furnishe will meete with you there in Base Bulleyn at the time and houre betweene by appointed, to the which the sayde Christopher agreed and saythfully promised, and so prepared accordingly euery thing necessarie and so sayled toward Bulleyn, s<sup>r</sup> Robert Jernyngham sent worde of this enterprize to s<sup>r</sup> William Fitzwilliam Capitaine of Guynes to know if he would aide any part toward this iourney, which sent worde that he would be at the same auenture himselfe: then all the gentlemen desired him to be Capitaine of that enterprize, which he thankfully and with hart receyued: then all the men of warre and the aduenturers and the Baylie of Marke assembled together, so that when all were come together, they were three hundred horsemen, and of the Countrey and Marke three hundred and of the auenturers. C. lx. and so one an other they were seven hundred men. All these persons met at an houre appointed at Sandyngheld: the night was short so that it was daye or they came nere Bulleyn all set in good order of battayle, but they were ascried before they came nere Bulleyn, and so it chaunced that Christopher Coo with his ships which had winde at will, was come with his foure shippes before Bulleyn somewhat before day, the Bulleyners that kept the watch him espied, & then he manned his Boates and with men and ordinaunce stretched toward the lande, by that time was all Base Bulleyn in harnesse readie to defende the Englishe men from landing, but Capitayne Coo did what he might, and almost all the people of Base Bulleyn were on the shore, that seyng the garrison, made them readie and bent their ordinaunce. Sir William Fitzwilliam hearing the soundes toward the hauen side, knewe well that Christopher Coo was in his businesse, and so encouraged euery man to do well and marched forward with as much speede as might be, in so much that all the Englishe men were on the hilles before Bulleyn in sundry plumpes, then issued out the horsemen of Bulleyn betweene the Castell and Cardons Tower, the light horsemen of the English part them encountered, there was a good fight



fight, the French men shot with Crosbowes, and the Engliche men wyth long bowes, and the great ordinaunce shot terribly, the English men approached the towne walles, this skirnishe was fierce and euer the archers ayded the horsemen. While the horsemen were thus skirnisshyng, the eyght scoze aduenturers which were hardie and balpant men cast themselues about and came to base Bulleyne, and there they were hardily receyued of the French men, yet notwithstanding they lost their barriers and the English men entered, there was shooting on all sides, and a strong fight. The Frenchmen cryed Bulleyne, and the Engliche men saint George Calice: but at the last the frenche men were driuen back and many slayne, and .xliij. taken prisoners, and so they returned to their Capitaine s<sup>r</sup> William Fitzwilliam. All this while was Christopher Coo on land on the sea coast, and bet the French men by to the towne, and when the tide turned, he with all hys came agayne in safetie to their shippes. The Engliche horsemen after long fightyng tooke three of the Frenchmen of armes, and the other reculed to the towne. By thys time by reason of the alarme was all the Countrie of Picardie rayled and much people resozted to Bulleyne on all sides, which doyng s<sup>r</sup> William Fitzwilliam wisely perceyuing, by the sounde of a Trumpet brought all his men together in a plumpe, and then sent them hither and thether to fet hys driftes of beastes that were nere in the Countrie on euery side, which was quickly done, for the aduenturers brought Oren, Kyne, Hozles, and many other pillages, and brent the granges and villages, and so met together, and with their bootie returned in safetie.

The Tuesday folowynge, beyng the last day of May, s<sup>r</sup> William Fitzwilliam, with a hundred and fiftie horsemen, and the aduenturers, and a hundred other persons mo, came to a place called Samer de Boys, the sayde Capitaine wisely considered, that in that place the Frenchmen had dyuers times lurked, and taken at auantage the Engliche men, wherefore he layte his horsemen, & his archers on horseback in a wood, in a waite if the french men folowed the stalle: then he sent forth the aduenturers, which passed farther then the Capitaine would that they should haue done, and sodainly they were ascryed: then on came the frenchmen, the aduenturers sware that they would not flie, but bent themselues to defend their enemies, which were thre hundred horsemen. The frenche men knewe well their hardinesse, but yet they called them Crakers, which by misoundyng was commonly called Brekers, for a suretie these men were hardie, and full of pollicie, and verie farre would ieparde, the frenchmen sent about a Waley, a hundred of the best horsemen, and two hundred footemen, then were the Brekers betwene two bendes of the french men: s<sup>r</sup> William Fitzwilliam, beyng assured of the conduit of the french men, much doubted the chaunce of the aduenturers, wherefore in great haste sent for his stalle of horsemen that he had left couered: and the frenchmen that were befoze the Brekers, came and set on very fast, in hope of their horsemen that were gone about an hill in the Waley. The Englichemen them valiantly defended, then as the horsemen had compassed the hill, the aduenturers were come on a playne: then the horsemen that were come to s<sup>r</sup> William Fitzwilliam, set on the french horsemen, there was a hard and a fierce encounter, for the french men fought soze, but at length they fled, and in the chase were taken. lvi. horsemen, and .xliij. slaine one

one and other, and many Engliche men soze hurt and dyuers slayne, thus the Brekers scaped a narrow hazard.

In June, s<sup>r</sup> William Fitzwilliam, Capitaine of Gupnes, s<sup>r</sup> John Wallop, and Sir John Gage, secretly called to them. ix. C. men of warre such as they trusted, and on Whidsomer day, passed the lowe Countrie of Picardie into the Castell of Hardyngham, or Bigsam and they caried with them but one piece of ordinaunce called a Curtall, thys Sonne they bent against the castel, which was well furnished with harnesse, ordinaunce, and al other artillierie, and things needefull, and the Capitaine also was a balpant and hardie gentleman. The Englichmen euer shot that peere and remoued it from place to place with great paine, & in conclusion made a batterry of the walles, so that they might assault it, then the Trumpet blew to the assault, and the Capitaine with his compaigne stode at defence: then s<sup>r</sup> John Wallop, & s<sup>r</sup> John Gage with the aduenturers or Brekers entred the ditch, and the archers shot at euery loupe arrowes, and the frenchmen likewise shotte quarelles: the Englichemen set by Ladders to the walles, but the frenchmen threwe them downe, at this assault was slaine a Gentleman called Butler, and .xb. other Engliche men, but for all that the assault was not left, for some climed by pikes, and some amended the Ladders, and cryed againe to the assault: but s<sup>r</sup> William Fitzwilliam chiefe Capitaine of this enterpryse, perceyued that they lacked engynes and other thinges for the spedie assault of the Castell, and not willyng to lose his men without cause, caused them to stay, while he and other Capitaynes counsayled together, and as they were concluded once againe to attempt the assault, they heard newes that two thousand horsemen, and two thousand footemen, were at hande to fight with them, they then perceyuing that nine hundred men beyng wery, were no power to encounter wyth foure thousand frenchmen, they in good order returned to the English Fortresses.

Mounfire de Bees Capitaine of Bulleime, well considered all the enterprises, that the Englichmen had done in Picardy and Fraunce, now of late: he determined to requite them, to his honoz and fame, and for that purpose, sent for the Erle of Dampmartine, the Lorde Bountremie, and the Lorde Chastillon, which concluded to enter the English pale, and to shew themselues befoze Calice. Wherefore they assembled all the men of armes and Souldiers, of the garrisons about and so they were. viij. hundred good horsmen, and with Pikes, Gunnes, and Crossebowes. viij. hundred footemen: and when all this company was assembled Mounfire de Bees as Capitaine of this iourney, with the other Lordes, the fourth daye of August wyth banner displayed, came towarde Calice in the euening: and the next daye in the morning by six of the clocke, they came to a village within the English pale, called Bonynge. Then the Alarme rose through al the English pale, and so came to Calice. These lordes of Fraunce sent out their foreriders to serch and ouer see the country, & then they laide an embushment of thre hundred horsemen, at the said towne of Bonynge, and with that bend abode Mounfire Bountremie and Mounfire de Bees rode to Kalkewel with thre hundred fresh horsemen, and all the footemen with banner displayed, and foraged all the Country, of which thre hundred speres, they let one hundred go at large and kept the residue with them.



When the Alarme came to Calice, every man made to horse and harnesse. Then sir Robert Feringham with .lxxx. horsemen with all speede, rode out of Calice to beholde the companie of the Frenchmen. And he sent forth his light horsemen, which met with the skourers of the French men, and because the French men seemed a fewe in number, the English foreriders pressed toward them, which fledde toward Sandifield, and the Englishmen chased after, not being of knowlege of the embushments, that lay at Woynnes, and Kalkewell.

When sir Robert Feringham sawe his light horsemen chase, he followed after soft, to kepe his horse in brette. Then sodainly the French men that were in chase returned, for some of their ayde was nere them. When the Englishmen which passed not .xvi. horse, sawe the Frenchmen returne, they encountered with them manfully, but to the Frenchmen came still mo and mo, so that the Englishmen were constrained to flie another way, to the hie land in great ieopardie, for the Frenchmen them pursued, but by the helpe of the light Geldynges, the Englishmen gat the Sea syde, or sea sandes beyonde Skales: Then were the Englishmen glad and returned, and fought with the Frenchmen hande to hande, for the Frenchmen behinde followed not the chase, but onely twentie horsemen, and with pure fighting the Englishmen tooke one of the French horsemen, and came with hym to Calice, and so were saved.

When sir Robert Feringham sawe his men in chase (as you have heard) and sawe that they were in great ieopardie, he aduanced for their rescue all that he might, which was the saving of the light horsemen, for the French men left them, to encounter with sir Robert Feringham, and so it was that he went so farre forward, that the Frenchmen were betweene hym and Calice. And when he sawe all the bendes and embushments breake out, he sayd to his companie: sirs Saint George to bozow, let these French galantes know what we English men be: Sir sayd his companie, they shall buy us dere. Then he marched toward the high lande: Then approached a great number of horsemen of Fraunce, the Englishmen them valiantly received, and manfully defended, but ever the Frenchmen came fresh and fresh, so that the Englishmen being wery and oppressed with multitude, were faine to flie: and in this chase was taken Thomas Cheyne an Archer, whose horse was tyed, and two other Archers on horsebacke, one called George Karre, and the other Rowlande Atkinson, and thre other of the English pale: sir Robert and the remnant saved themselves the best that they coude.

When sir Robert was returned, the Frenchmen sounded their trompet, and recued to Bulleyn, and sent worde to Calice, that they would visit them oftener. Sir Robert Feringham remembryng this chaunce, thought to be revenged of the same, and so advyng himselfe to what place hee should repare, he remembred that when soever the Englishmen made any iourney to Margyson, the Frenchmen would flie over the water or creke, to a highe ground by boates, and there as it were in an Island save themselves, because on that syde they might ever have succors, for the creke or water, is beyonde the towne of Calice. Therefore the sayd sir Robert caused five great boates to be carryed in Wagons, and so he with other Capitaynes, of Calice, and Guines,

Guines, to the number of thre hundred footemen, with the Arcekers, and .lx. horsemen the .xij. day of August, with Banners displayed, tooke their way to the towne of Margyson, and in the night the light horsemen gaue alarme to the towne of Bulleyn, and tooke two Souldiours prisoners, and brought with them certaine Cattails to their companie. Then the Englishmen marched forward, toward Margyson, that seeing the Frenchmen, tooke their Boates in trust of the water, and passed over, the Englishmen perceived that, and launced their Boates, and so like adventurers entered, and by force passed, and so mo and mo, till a hundred .lx. were passed over: the Countrey began to gather, so that the Frenchmen were thre hundred, which fought with the Englishmen, and would have letted the Boates to land, but the Archers on the other syde draue them backe, and the Englishmen slue at the first encounter .lx. men, and tooke .xl. prisoners, yet the Frenchmen that fled met with new succors, and then began a new battail, and the Frenchmen fought hardily, but at the ende they fled, the most poorest of the people, on the other syde of the water, fled to the Church, and abode at their defence, then was there fyre set in the Church, then the French men lept out of the Church, to their destruction, for of thre hundred there was saved but sixtie on live.

The whole power of Bulleyn was come downe, nere to the place: but when they perceyued that it was to late, and that the Englishmen were returned, they came no further. Thus was sir Robert Feringham even with the Frenchmen, and brought a good bootie, and many prisoners to Calice, which sore grieved the Capitaine of Bulleyn.

The Frenchmen perceyving, that they gat little at the Englishmens handes, thought to take their advauntage of the Fleminges, wherfore they assembled of the garrisons, of Bulleyn and Cirwyn, five hundred footemen, and thre hundred horsemen, and so in good order marched toward saint Omers & they sent to go a foraging one hundred footemen, and as many horsemen, and the rest kept themselves in a stalle. These Frenchmen came by Arlus, nigh to saint Omers, and foraged all the Countrey, the alarme sprang al the Countrey to Turnahan, the Capitaine of Turnahan sent worde to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Capitaine of Guines, that the Frenchmen were a-broade, which made answer, that if the Frenchmen came nere to hym, surely he would speake with them, with which answer the Capitaine of Turnahan being encouraged, sent forth two hundred Fleminges on foote, still the Frenchmen marched toward Turnahan, the Fleminges that were sent from Turnahan, marched toward the waye, tohere the Frenchmen shoulde come, thinking that when the Capitaine of Guines had set on them, that then they would have lven in the chase at the receipt.

The sayd Capitaine of Guines valiantly marched forward, with a hundred horsemen and foure hundred footemen, intending to meete with the Frenchmen, and sodainly as he was passing forward, worde was brought him that the Erle of Damarten, with the garrisons of Mustrel and Abulle, to the nuber of .vi. C. horsemen, were coming forward toward Guines. This heering sir William Fitzwilliam, sware that the Erle should not take paine to come to Guines, for he would meete him on the way: by this meane he left his first enterprise, & marched toward the Erle of Damartin.

The Frenchmen of Cirwin being thereof advertised by a Spye, called all



all the people together, and with their bootie came on forwarde t owarde Turnahan, and sodainely they askryed the pooze Fleminges, which were sent out of the Castell of Turnahan, and when they perceyued the Frenchmen, coming toward them, they turned their backs, and fled like Racco: the Frenchmen folowed a pace, & slue the most part of them, for few escaped.

The Capitaine of Guyfnes came to a fayze Greene, five myle from Guyfnes, and there in good order of battayle, taried for the Erles coming, which heering that the Capitaine of Guyfnes, was readie to receiue hym, made his retorne backward, without any thing doing: when the Capitaine knew the truth of the Erles retorne, he then in all hast, sped hym to meete with the Frenchmen, that were coming to Turnahan, and in the meane waye, he heard tidinges of the chaunce of the Fleminges, and how the Frenchmen were reculed toward Tirwin, which aduenture soze him displeased, but there was no remedy, wherfoze he returned to Guyfnes again, very sozy that the Frenchmen went awaye vnfought withall: The Frenchmen litle medled after this time, wherfoze let vs now retorne, and shewe what warres were kept on the frontires, betwene England and Scotland, in this season.

The one and twentie day of Maye being Trinitie Sunday five hundred Scottes in the morning by severall fordes, entered into Englande, and laye couertly by the high waye, to distresse Marchauntes and Market men, that should passe to Berwike, that day to the faire: for every Trinitie Sunday, there is kept a great fayze, which the Scottes knew well, and as they lay thus lurking, they robbed many Marchauntes, and tooke rich prisoners but at the last they were perceyued, then the Alarme rose, and people began to gather, the Scottes drew together toward Branstone, and the Englishmen them assayled, which so manfully them defended, that if the yong Lorde of Fulbery, had not come with one hundred lyght horsemen, the Scottes had gon away with their bootie, but then began a soze fight, many were hurt on both sides, and some slayne, and at the last the Scottes fled, and in the chace there were two hundred Scottes taken prisoners, and the residue fled and saued themselves.

After this the fift daye of July, sir John a Fenwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and bastard Heron, and diuers other, gathered together. ix. hundred men and entred into Scotland, in the countrey called the Marche, and robbed and spoyled all the countrey, and by chaunce the same season, the Scots had assembled two thousand men, to inuade Englande, and none of these knewe of other, tyll they by aduenture met together. Then began a strong med'ye, for the Scottes fought valiantly a great while, and the Englishmen them hardely assayled, and at the last by fine force, caused them to leaue the grounde and flie, and in the fight were taken two hundred Scottes, and many slaine, of the which prisoners diuers were Gentlemen Sir Raufe of Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and Bastard Heron, with .xxx. other Englishmen well horsed, folowed so far the chace, that they were past rescues of their company, which perceyuing the Scottes sodainly returned, and set on the Englishmen, which oppressed with multitude, were sone overcome, and there was taken sir Raufe a Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and syr other, and Bastard Heron, and seauen other slayne, the remnaunt by chaunce escaped:

The Scots entered England.

ped: the other Englishmen with their two hundred prisoners, returned safely into Englande: the slaying of the Bastard Heron, was moze pleasure to the Scottes, then the taking of the two hundred was displeasure, they hated hym so.

The seauenth day of July the Lorde Maxwell of Scotlande, and Sir Alexander Jordan, with banner displayed, and Scottes to the number of foure thousand, entered into England at the west Marches by Carleile, and began to burne on euery syde: then the Englishmen assembled on euery side and so they were in number two thousand men, and fierly set on the Scots, there was a great fight, for the space of an houre, at the last the Englishmen brake the array of the Scottes, and them discomfited, and tooke three hundred Scottes prisoners, the Englishmen that had taken prisoners, went away with their prisoners: For sir Alexander Jordan and his sonne & diuers were taken prisoners, & by their departing, the company of the Englishmen was much minished, the Lorde Maxwell being a politique man, perceyuing that, and sodainly called his people together, and them encouraged, and began a new skirmishe, and recouered all the prisoners almost, and tooke diuers English men prisoners, this was the chaunce of warre.

After this iourney, in the courte of parliament of Scotland, was much commoning of the warres, which were betwene Englande and Scotlande: some of the Nobles sayd, that Fraunce neuer did so much good to Scotland in twentie yeres, as Scotlande had lost by Englande, in one yere, for the loue and cause of Fraunce: wherfoze they thought it conuenient to make a perpetuall league of amitie, with the King of Englande, and to leaue the frenche kinges parte. Other Nobles which had pencions in Fraunce, declared the olde amitie betwene Fraunce and Scotlande, and how the french king, brought bp many Gentlemen of Scotlande in his Courte, geuing them great liuinges, which the king of Englande would not doe: they also alleged the franchises, and priuileges that the Scottes haue in Fraunce, and speciallye they shewed, that if the kynge of Scottes shoulde breake with Fraunce, and then if it happened the king of England, to inuade Scotlande, which beyng without ayde of any friend, might well by the power of England be conquered. After many long reasons it was thought expedient, to sue to the king of England for a truce, which was done, and a truce graunted tyll saint Andrewes daye.

A parliament holden by the Scots wher in they shewe many causes for the which they ought to beare with Fraunce before Englad.

This yere the first day of September, was Doctor Thomas Hamibal Myster of the Rolles, receyued into London, with Erles and Bishops, and dyuers other nobles and gentlemen, as Ambassador from Clement Bishop of Rome, which brought with him a Rose of Golde (the which sayeth Sledane was consecrated as is accustomed three weekes before Easter) for a token to the king, of the great loue that he bare vnto him, the people as he passed thought to haue sene the Rose, but it was not shewed, till he came to the king to Wyndsoze, on the day of the Natyuitie of our Ladye, on which day after a solempne Masse song by the Cardinall of Porke, the said present was deliuered to the king, which was a tree forged of fine gold, & wrought with branches, leaues and flowers, resembling Roses: this tree was set in a pot of Golde, which pot had three feete of antike fashon: the pot was of measure halfe a pinte, in the byppermost Rose, was a fayze Saphier loupe

A Rose brought from Rome.



perced, the bignesse of an Acozne, the tree was of heigth halfe an Englishe yarde, and in bredth it was a foot. The sayd Ambassadoz in delyuering the same rose, made an oration, declaryng the good minde, loue and fauor, that the Bysshop of Rome bare to the king, in token whereof he sent him that present, which the king thankfully receyued, and deliuered it to him agayne, and so he bare it open before the king, from the Colledge to the great chamber, and there deliuered it to the mayster of the Jewell house, and so there ended hys Legation.

Before this time in the Month of July, Lorde Archebalde Douglas Erle of Anguise, which had married the Queene of Scottes, sister to the king of Englande, and was sent into Fraunce by the Duke of Albany, and there kept, contrarie to hys will and pleasure, and from thence hardely escaped, and came to the king of Englande, to his manor of Grenewiche, and there besought him of his aide and comfort, to whom the king made a gentle aunswere. Thys Erle was not in the fauour of his wyfe the Queene of Scottes, wherefore she caused him to be sent into Fraunce: some sayd that she loued the Duke of Albany better then him, but whatsoeuer the matter was, she wrote to the french king, that if the Erle euer came againe into Scotlande, that the french king should haue no pleasure in Scotlande, that she might let, so that the Erle being in Fraunce, was in ieoperdie of his life. Wherefore secretly he fled and came into England as you haue heard, and one daye at the Castell of Wyndsoze he declared, that in the counsaile of Fraunce when he was there, they happened in communication, to talke of the warres that were then, betweene the Emperour and the french king, and betweene the king of Englande and the french king: there was a Lorde of the counsaile that stood by and sayde, it were better that one person suffered, rather then all the realme should be daylie in this mischiefe. Then was it asked, what he meant by that one person, he aunswere, that if the french Quene, which was lame and bgly were dead, that then wayes might be found, that the french king should marry the Emperours sister, and to haue with her the Duchy of Millain, and then with the money of her marriage, the king of England should be payde, and so a peace might be concluded: to this no aunswere was made, but whether this were true or false, for a truth the french Queene was dead the .xxvi. day of July, & was buried at S. Denise.

The Duke of Burbon this Sommer made sharpe warre on the french kings dominions, and did high enterprizes: wherefore the king of Englande sent his letters to diuers Lordes and gentlemen in this season, the tenor wherof ensueth. Trusty. &c. For as much as (our Lord God be thanked) our armie, vnder the leading of our Cosyn the Duke of Burbon, hath not onely entered the rea'me of Fraunce, gainyng and attayning many towones, Cities, Castels, and places, with the whole countrie of Prouince, without anye resistance of our auncient enemye the french king, but also goeth daylie marchyng, and continually doth chase, and driue before them suche men of warre, as our sayd enemye hath prepared for his defence, in resistance of our Cosyn the Duke of Burbon, and our sayde armie. In such wise that it is thought vndoubtedly, now to be most convenient time and season, eyther in our person (although the yere be somewhat past) or by a Lieutenaut with a payssaunt armie to inuade Fraunce on the other side, both for the recoueryng

The tenor of  
the kinges  
letters sent  
to diuers  
gentlemen in  
England.

ryng of the Crowne, and to compell our sayde enemy, to knowledg his obstinate, wilfull, and erroneous demeanure, wherfore we will and commaund you to be readie with such power as you shall be able to make, vpon the next proclamation to be made, dated the tenth day of September.

After which letters sent forth, euery man made preparation accordinglye, and the people murmured and sayde, that it were much better, that the king should maintayne his warres with his awne subiectes, and spende his treasure on them, then to trust the Duke of Burbon, beyng a Traunger to spende his money.

The king beyng at Wyndsoze, to him came Syr Anthony Fitz Herbert one of the Iustices of the common place, a man of excellent learning in the lawe, as appereth by his workes, Syr Raufe Egerton knight, Doctor Denton Deane of Lichfield, which in the beginning of thys yere, were sent as Commissioners into Irelande, which so wisely endeuored themselves, that they reformed manye iniuries done in the Countie, and brought dyuers of the wilde Irishe by sayre meanes to a submission, and made by the kings auctoritie, the Erle of Kildare deputie of the lande, before whom the great Oonele bare the sworde, and the Lorde Piers Butler, called Erle of Ormound, which was Deputie of Ireland, was by the sayde commissioners, made high Treasorer of Ireland. And when they had set all things in good order, in the Moneth of September they tooke shippyng, and in the same Moneth came to the king, which gaue them hys hartie thankes for their good doyngs.

In this Month the king sent maister John Magnus priest, and Roger Watcliffe Esquier into Scotland, for the suretie of his nephew the king of Scottes, for diuers Lordes of Scotland, wrote to the king, that they doubted the suretie of their king, because the Duke of Albanie, which was heyre apparaunt to the realme of Scotland, had the king in gouernaunce, and also they thought, he beyng a Frenchman borne, should not rule their realme: wherefore they amongst themselves, murmured sore in this matter. The Duke heering that the Lordes of Scotland, had written to the king of England, and also that they repyned and grudged at his doynges, sodainly with all the treasure that he could make, departed from Scotland, and sayled into Fraunce, with which departyng the Commons were nothing sozr, and sone after his departyng, the Ambassadors of England were ioyously receyued into Scotland, and there the sayd Ambassadors tarped, till Marche twelue moneth, in which tyme, there were many conclusions driuen, betweene the two realmes: now let vs returne to Fraunce.

The .xxiii. day of September, three horsemen of the garrison of Bulleyn, which well knew the Hauen of Calice, came at a deepe tyde, and passed ouer Calice haue, by Rise banke in the night, and went behinde the East Wyndmill, and then toke land, and went to a little village called Middleway, and passed the Turne Dikes, and entred into a whelers house, and tooke the man and the wyfe, and .xx. pound in money sterlyng, and went away clere without ascrie or perceiuyng of the watche of Calice, and no man wist where they were become, till the Trompet of Bulleyn brought worde, and demaunded the ransome.

The last day of September, fiftie light horsemen of Calice, apperteynyng



nyng to sir Robert Ferynyngham, rode toward Bulleyn, and passed the water of Marguison, and came to the water of Sclakes nere Bulleyn, where sodainly they encountered. lx. Frenchmen, of the garrison of Bulleyn, there was shotyng with long Bowes and Crosbowes on euery syde, strong was the fight, but at the last the Frenchmen fled, the Englishmen folowed, and tooke thre light horsemen, and when they perceiued the alarme on euery side, they put themselves in array, and with their bootie came to Calice.

The same day sir Thomas Palmer, with. lx. horsemen of Guisnes, encountered with the Capitaine Bertram, leader of the horsemen of the Erle Dammartyn, with. lx. horsemen, there was a strong fight two houres together, but in the ende the Frenchmen fled, and the Englishmen folowed, and tooke. xliij. prisoners, and. xvi. good horse, and with this bootie they returned to Guisnes.

In this busye season, the aduenturers heeryng what the horsemen on their parties had done, and especially perceiuyng that the English horsemen had taken good prisoners, commoned amongst themselves, what was to be done: then one of their Capitaines sayd openly: sirs you see howe long we haue bene here, and wages we haue none, our liuyng ryseth on the gaine of our enemyes, and sith our beginnyng, we haue had good chaunce in all our enterpryses, God be thanked: nowe the winter draweth neere, let vs now aduenture to get some good bootie, to make vs merve with, in the colde weather, and if you will, we shall enterpryse a thing, that I trust to vs shall be profitable. Then all the companie cryed forth, forth. Then with a Banner of saint George, they marched toward a billage, lying toward Houstrell, hauyng only. xxb. light horsemen, to be their scourers, and they were not fully two hundred men. This companie folowyng their scourers, went farre on and had gotten a fayre bootie, of Dren, Kyne and other beastiall, and were nere at their returne, and by chaunce the same day, was the Erle of Dammartyn, & the Capitaine of Houstrell, with the power of the Duke of Wandosme, goyng toward Saint Omers, to burne and destroy that Countrey, and for that purpose they had gathered together. xv. hundred horsemen, and eight hundred footemen, howbeit, the footemen were a large myle behinde the horsemen.

The Frenchmen on horsebacke espyed the English horsemen, which perceiuyng the great number fled, and as the sayd Frenchmen marched forward, they espyed the aduenturers on foote, and made toward them: the Englishmen seeyng the great number of the horsemen, studied to get some hedge, or strong place to fortifie them, but there was no such place in sight, and also they had no such tyme so to do, wherefore the Capitaine sayd: Good felowes and brethren, we haue of long time bene called aduenturers, now is the time come of our aduenture, the Frenchmen will not raunsome vs for nothing, we be amongst them so feared: if any thing saue our lyues, it must be God and our hardynesse, and therefore sayd he, if you see me begin to flie, slay me out of hand. Then euery man cryed God mercy, and made themselves prest to the defence.

The Frenchmen came on, on euery syde, the Englishmen shot their arrowes, and defended them aswell as they coude: the Frenchmen perceiuyng that the Englishmen kept themselves so close, caused diuers of the  
horsemen

horsemen to light a foote, and so they did, and fought with their speares against the pykes, and shot with Crosbowes, on euery syde. Alas the while, for while the Englishmen had arrowes to shote, they were not broke, but close without perill, but when their arrowes were spent, the Englishmen fought valiantly, and slue many Frenchmen that lighted on foote, but in the conclusion the horsemen entered, and killed them all in maner, because there were so many of their company slaine, and tooke few of them prisoners. This was the end of these Companions, called the Brekers or aduenturers, which were as hardie men, as euer serued Prince or Capitaine.

The end of  
aduenturers.

The Duke of Bourbon, with the Marques of Picardie, in the moneth of October, with a great puyssaunce, layd siege to the strong towne of Harcell in Bourgne, and lay there a great space. The French king raised a great armie, and sware that he would rayse the siege, whereof heeryng the Duke of Bourbon, sent for the Marques of Biscare, and his other Capitaynes, and declared to them that his entent was to giue the French king battaille: the Marques of Biscare sayde that the French kinges puyssaunce was great, and theirs small, and sayde: although the Duke of Bourbon, which was a banished man from his Countrey, had no other remedie to reuenge him, but by battaille, yet he said he would not put all the Emperours men, of the which he had the guide, in such a hazard, till the remnaunt of the Emperours power were come. Well sayde the Duke of Bourbon, then you do not as you haue written, both to the Emperour, and to the king of England, which shall be a reproche to your honour: Nay sayd the Marques, I will kepe me from reproche. Then sayd Doctor Richard Pace, Ambassador for the king of England: my Lorde you haue had the king my Maysters wages, I would be glad to heare what way you would take: I will tell you sayd the Marques, the French king hath a great armie gone into Italy, and he himselfe foloweth with another, not to come to fight with vs, I dare assure you: but only to take the Duchie of Millaine vnprouided, which shall do him more pleasure then he had slaine all vs. Also the Emperour shall lesse more then ten Marceles be worth, and the French kinges power shall be more elated, that he will not set by the Emperour, nor the king of England. Therefore my aduice is, to breake by this siege, and with all speede to prevent him in Italy, and if we be entered the townes, and put munitions in the same, he shall lye a colde in the fieldes, and then you shall see what shall become of him, when his beastes dye, and his bittayle spent. To this counsaile the Duke and all the Capitaines agreed, and so brake by the siege, and with all hast departed into Italy, and fortified all the townes in the Duchie of Millain, with men and other necessaries.

The French king heeryng of this, with all his army passed the Mountaynes and camped nere to Millain. It chanced in this Moneth of Nouember the. xliij. day, about the towne of Calice, there fell a great mist, in which mist the Frenchmen came to a billage called Kaufe besyde Newnam bridge, and tooke. xl. beastes, then the Alarme was brought to Calice, which heeryng, the Marshall of Calice, called to him sir Robert Ferynyngham, and they had with them a. C. xx. horsemen, and sent sir Anthonic Brobone to tell the Capitaine of Guisnes, what they entended to doe, but they tarped not for the companie of Guisnes, but marched so farre forward, that they came to the  
water



water of Sclakes, which is nere Bulleyn, and there they set their stale. And in the morning betime, they sent forth a Gentleman called Richard Lamberd with .xx. light horsemen on swift Geldinges, and they came by moone lyght nere Bulleyn, and then they sawe the men of Bulleyn and other thereabout put out their beastes into the field. Then the Englishmen with great diligence brought all the beastes together, and so began to driue them together toward their embushment. Then the alarme began at Bulleyn, and the men of warre issued out of the towne, and fought with the Englishmen, their horses were freche: wherefore they had a great aduantage, but in conclusion three frenchmen were slaine, and their horses taken, and so the light horsemen came with their cattail, nere to the embushment, and the frenchmen folowed, that seying, the Englishmen that kept the stale, came in all haste and rescued their light horsemen, and draue the frenchmen backe, and then made retorne with their beastes, and as they were returning, they had worde brought to them, howe that sir William Fitzwilliam Capitaine of Guisnes with his retinue, were besieging a pile called the Castell of Capell, wherefore they sped them thether in all hast, and when they were come thether, the Capitaine of Guisnes them hartily welcomed, and then they concluded to giue an assault to the Castell, and so both good courage set on, the frenchmen defended it very valiantly a great while, but at the last the Englishmen gat ouer the ditches, and scaled the walles, but the frenchmen still them defended, till the Englishmen had gotten to the highest of the Dungen, and then was there slaying a pace. For there were .liii. persons slaine out of hand, in reuenging the great obstinacie of the frenchmen, and the Castell was rased and bzent. Then sir William Fitzwilliam with his bootie, and sir John Wallop Marshall of Calice, and sir John Jernyngham returned, he to Guisnes, and they to Calice. The same day. xiiij. Burgonions, and. xiiij. Spaniardes, all horsemen of Guisnes, came to the Church of Falske, not far from Durnam at high Masse tyme, and there drew their swordes, and so much did, that all the men in the Church, to the number of fiftie, yelded themselves prisoners, of the which number they tooke eight persons with them, which shoulde be gages for the remnant, and with these eight they came to Guisnes.

Ambassadors sent from James the first King of Scottes.

The .xix. day of December were receiued into London, Lorde Gilbert Keuet Erle of Castelles, sir Robert Cockeburne Bishop of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campskennell, Ambassadors from James the first King of Scottes, by the Bishop of Lyncolne, the Lord of Saint Thones, and diuers other noble men, and were conueyed to their lodgings at Taylers Hall.

The .xxiiij. daye of December, the sayde Ambassadors were conueyed to Grenewiche, accompanied with the sayde Lordes by water, and when they came to the bitter gate, they were receyued of the officers of the house, and so passed through the haule, which was well furnished with people, and so through the bittermost chamber, into the great chamber of presence, where they were receyued and welcomed of all the Princes and Nobles of the realme, and within a short space the king came forth, and set himselfe in a throne of three steps high, vnder his cloth of estate, which was very riche, but his apparell was exceeding rich, both of Goldsmithes worke and perle, and stone, which the Scottes well auised, and then they wisely and humbly made

made their obeyfaunce, and the Byshop in good playne Latine made a solempne oration, in the which he declared, that although the realme of Scotlande and he had often times heard the renoume and fame of hym and his Court, both for the gistes of grace and nature, which were in his person, yet he sayde that his princely countenance, his louely fauor, which he himselfe did see, did much surmount the fame and name, which he hath heard of report. He declared further, that although fortune had him fauored in conquering of regions, and vanquishing of battayles, yet that thing was not so honorable to hym, nor profitable to his realme, as was a good peace, which pleaseth both God and man, and for that cause he shewed, that king James the fift his Nephewe and felow to the king of Englande, had sent them his Ambassadors, to entreate a peace, so that a conuenient marriage might be made, betwene him and the Ladie Marie daughter to the king, which shoulde be a linck necessarie, to knit together the realme of Scotlande and Englande, in perpetuall loue and amitie.

To which oration, the Byshop of London Doctor Tunstall answered and sayde: that the king was at their desire, content to haue peace vpon reasonable conditions, and as touching marriage of his daughter, he woulde so answere them, that they shoulde be contented. Then the king rose from his place and welcomed them, and all the honest persons of the traine, and after communication had, they toke their leaue for that time, and so toke their Barge and came to London.

Friday the .xxx. day of December the Erle of Castelles one of the Scottische Ambassadors tooke his leaue and departed toward Scotlande: for to comen with the counsaile of Scotland, for things which were not in their commission, and left behinde him the Byshop of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campskennell: some sayde the article was, that the Scottes shoulde forsake the french king, and that the king of Scottes shoulde come into Englande, but whatsoeuer it was euery man knewe it not.

In thys Moneth the Cardinall as Legate, by his power Legantyne, would haue visited the Friers Obseruautes, but they in no wise woulde therein condiscende, wherefore .xix. of the same religion, were accursed at Daules Crosse, by one of the same religion, called frere Forest. Of thys frere Forest ye shall here moze hereafter, in the thirtie yere of thys king.

In thys season the french king was in Italy with all his Nobilitie, and to him was Millaine yeilded, but because of pestilence he would not enter, but departed and layde siege to the strong towne of Dauia, whereof was Capitayne a valyaunt Spanyard called Anthony de Leua. The french kings mother being Regent of fraunce, perceyuing that the king her sonne with all his good Capytaynes were in Italy, doubted that the king of Englande, in the next spring time would inuade fraunce. Wherefore shee by the aduise of the counsaile of fraunce, did so much with the king of Englande, that her Stuard of household called John Tokin, had a safeconduit to come into Englande, which was kept close in the house of Docter Larke, a Prebendarie of saint Steuens, and euery day priuily spake with the Cardinall and so secretly he remayned till the .xxiiij. daye of Januarie, at which daye came into London, the President of Roan called Mounfire Wynion, as an Ambassador from fraunces the french king, and was lodged with John Tokin:

The Obseruant Friers would not obey the Cardinall.

Millaine yeilded to the french king

John Tokin a priuie messenger.

Mounfire Wynion an Ambassador from fraunce.



The Cardinall did now grow in suspicion.

John : this John Jokyn was kept priuie, because that no man shoulde knowe that there was any man of Fraunce, here to sollicite any cause for the French king, which after grewe to great trouble. For he shewed hymselfe to straungers, which fauored the french partie, and so at last it was openly knowne to the kings counsaile, and almost to all men: but when the Emperours Ambassadoz knewe thys darke dealyng, he mused not a little & sayde, that the Cardinall did driue priuie driftes, and that by his meanes onely, John Jokyn was come into Englande, to entreat a peace in secret maner, or the kings friendes might know it, and all people sayde that John Jokyn was but a cast away of Heane, and had no liuyng to liue on, but of the Lady Regent, and marueyled why he should be kept close, and so much cherished of the Cardinall. For this keeping close of thys Jokyn, Englishemen were rebuked at the Courte in Flaunders and Brabant. The Emperours Ambassadoz, and the Bishop of Romes Ambassadoz also sore murmured, why thys John Jokyn should be kept as a spirite in close, considering that there was open warre betwene the two kings, & feared that the kings counsaile should be corrupt. This John Jokyn was much with the Cardinall, but neuer was sene with the king nor his counsaile, but for al the secretnesse, Mounseir Pratt the Emperours Ambassadour knewe all the offers that he made for peace (which in deede were very great) and howe he had offered pencions to diuers yong men about the king, of the which some were very glad, and so the noyse by reason of such offers ranne, that a peace was likely to ensue in short space.

Mounseir Pratt the Emperours Ambassadoz.

Mounseir Pratt wrote of this matter in all haste to the Emperour, in the which letters he highly commended the king of Englande for his steadfastnesse: but he saide some of the kinges counsaile loued neyther the Emperour nor the king of England, and wrote to him farther all the maner of the secret keeping of John Jokyn. These letters at last were brought to the Cardinall, by what chaunce it was not openly knowne, and so he sent for Mounseir Pratt, and declared to him the matter, which answered him that he was counsaillour and Ambassadour to the Emperour, and that it was his part, to asserteyne the Emperour of euery thing, that was or might sounde prejudiciall to his maiestie, but howsoeuer that his aunswere was taken, he was not fauored with the Cardinall, but he sayde openly that it was not well ment to the Emperour to stop his packet with letters and to open them, and the Spanyardes sayde, that the Emperour sent them not into Englande to sleepe, but to doe him seruice. The Bishop of Romes Ambassadoz wrote to his maister, that peace was lykely to be concluded betwene Englande and Fraunce, and wylled him to be the first friend to the French king, rather then the second. Of which writing came harme after, as you shall heare.

In this Month tydings came to the king, how the Marques of Biscaire in Italye, had gotten from the french king a Castell, called the Castell saint Angeil, which was a great fortification of his siege at Pauie.

There was in this Moneth a flemyng in Heddyng Castell, which came oftentimes to saint Omers, and promised them if they would come to Heddyng, he would deliuer the Castell: upon thys worde they of saint Omers gathered together seuen hundred footemen, and fife hundred horsemen, and poynted wyth the spie, that the fourth daye of februarye, they would

Treason at Heddyng Castell.

would come thether, and when the false knaue knewe the day, he told Mounseir Pontdozmie Capitaine of Heddyng, which incontinent filled the castell with men of warre, and layde bushes on euery side, and had layde the ordinaunce, all on the one syde of the Castell, that waye that the Flemings should come. The men of warre of saint Omers were conueyed by their spie, mistrusting nothing, to a posterne which was little used, and when there were as many in, as the french men thought sufficient, they let fall the portcolis: Then Mounseir Pontdozmie cried, slay, slay, then the Flemings wist that they were betrayed, and put themselves to fight for their lyues, that seying Mounseir Pontdozmie, commaunded to fire the ordinaunce in suche haste and furie, that the flame was so great and fierce, that it brent the sayde Lorde Pontdozmie, and .xxvij. of hys companions all Gentlemen, the trayne was so hastily fired, that they had no leasure to auoyde. In the fight ten of the Flemings were slayne, and thirtie kept themselves so hardily together, that their liues were graunted them, and so was taken as prisoners, the remnant that entred, lept ouer the Castell wall, and so saued themselves, and tolde newes to their horsemen, which were without, which heering the mischaunce, returned toward saint Omers.

Sunday the fift day of Marche, were receyued into London, Mounseir de Beuer Lord of Camphere, Admirall of Flaunders, and the President of Malines, called Maister John de la Coos, and Maister John de la Gache, as Ambassadours from the Lady Margaret, in the name of the Emperour, for causes of the low countreyes, of Brabant, Flaunders, and Zeland: and on Tuesday they were brought to the king to Bridewell, which nobly them enterteyned, and then they shewed how the Emperours maiesty had commaunded them to obaye the king of England, as Protector and Gouvernor, wherfore they and all theirs, were at hys commaundement, and if they had done otherwise, and not obayed him as their gouernour, they asked him mercy, then the king and they talked together secretly, and then they departed. These Ambassadours demaunded three thinges.

Ambassadours of Flaunders.

1 First, they demaunded the Lady Mary the kinges onely daughter, to be deliuered to them out of hande, and she to be named Emprisse, and to take possession of al the low countreyes, and to be gouernour of the same, this article was not agreed to, for causes.

Articles demaunded of King Henry in the behalfe of the Emperour.

2 Also that all such sommes of money, as the king should geue with her in maryage for a dowry to be made to her, should be payed incontinent this article was also denied.

3 Thirde, that the king of England himselfe, should passe the Sea and make warre in Fraunce, the next Sommer, to this the king sayed he would take aduise.

Thursday the .ix. day of March, at seauen of the clocke in the morning there came a Gentleman in poste, from the Lady Margaret Gouvernesse of Flaunders, and brought letters, shewing how that the foure and twentieth day of februarye, the siege of Pauia, where the french king had lien long, was raysed by force of battayle, and the french king him selfe taken prisoner, and how by the Duke of Burbon, the Viceroy of Naples called Mynouale, and the Marques of Biscaire, and other the Emperours Capitaines the whole power of Fraunce was discoufited, and how the Duke of Albany

The french king taken prisoner at Pauia.

with



The Bishop of Rome became French against the Emperour.

with seauen thousande men, was going to Naples, and howe the Byshop of Rome was become french against the Emperour, and had sent his Cousin in ayde of the french king, wyth a great power. The same day the President of Roan and John Fokin, were going to the courte (for they had not yet spoken with the king) and in Holborne in their way was tidings brought them, of the taking of the king their Maister, & of the losse of the field, which hering this misadventure, returned to their lodging sorowfull, and within short space returned to the Regent of Fraunce. It was thought surely y<sup>e</sup> the king of England, would haue had peace with the french king, if this chaunce had not happened, for al the people of England, grudged against flanders, for their euill entreating, in the time of warre, & also the king was displeasid with them, for enhausing his coine there, which was a cause that money was dayly conueied out of the realme, & many other causes there were of grudge.

A triumph for the taking of the French king.

Saterday the .xi. day of Marche, in the Citie of London for these tydings, were made great fiers and triumph, and the Maioz and Aldermen road about the Citie with trumpettes, and much wyne was layed in diuers places of the Citie, that eueryman myght drinke, and on Tower hill the Ambassadors of Rome, of flanders, and Venice, had a great banquet made in a goodly tent, which pleased them well, and as they returned homeward, all the streates were full of harnised men and Crestets, attending on the Constables, which they prayesd much.

Sonday the .xij. of Marche, the king accompanied with the Ambassadors, of Rome, of the Emperour, of Scotland, & Venice, of Millaine & Florence, roade in his estate to Pauls Church, and there the Cardinall sang Masse, & a .xj. Prelats waigheted on him in pontificalles, & after Masse was done, the quere sang Te deum, & the Minstrels playd on euery side, & when all was done, the king returned to Bridewel, and there kept a solempne dinner. The Bishop of Scotlande was much marked this day, for whensoever he came to the court before this time, his apparel was sumptuous, his whered was euer velvet or crimosin satin: but after the taking of the french king, he ware onely blacke chamlet, by which token men iudged his french hart.

The true reporte of the taking of the French king.

From the .ix. day of Marche to the .xvi. day, the king had no mo letters, of the maner of battaile of Hauie, and that day he receyued a letter from the Duke of Burbon, by a Gentleman called Gropayne: when the king had redde the letter, he came into the Queenes chamber, and there the sayd Gropayne declared the maner of the siege, and how well it was planted, and how the Emperours men entered the french campe by force, and threwe downe their bastiles, and fought with the frenchmen, within their campe, and tooke their king prisoner in the same, and many other which was maruell. For when the french king entred Italy, he had in his gard. .xj. hundred men, and of speres furnished two thousand three hundred & fifty, and of light horsemen eyght hundred and .xx. and of foote men .lviij. thousand and of these the Duke of Albany had but eyght thousande so that there remayned with the french king nine and forty thousand, nine hundred and fifty men, wherof was taken. .xiiij. thousande and mo, beside the great riches, and the goodly ordinance, which were twelue great Bombardes of brasse, and foure and twentie great Canon peeces. .xxiiij. double Curtalles, foure double Canon peeces, two middle Canon peeces, and eight other peeces. After the fielde was done, the french king was put in the custodie of the Viceroy of Naples, which

which much comforted hym, and prayesd his valiauntnesse, and prayed him to be content, for he should haue a gentle ende, then he desired to wright to his mother, which was to him graunted, the very wordes were these.

The french kings letter written to his mother when he was prisoner.

To aduertise you of my infortunate chaunce nothing is left but the honoz, and the life that is saued, and because some other newes shall recomfort you, I haue desired to wright to you this letter, the whych liberally hath bene graunted to me: beseching you to regarde the extremitie of your selfe, in ensiuing your accustomed wisdom. For I hope that at the length God will not forget me, to you recommending your little infants and mine, supplieng you to geue saufeconduite, to passe and returne from Spaine, to this beeter that goeth toward the Emperour, to know in what wise I shall be intreated, and thus right humbly to your good grace, I haue me recommended: This subscribed by your humble and obedient sonne fraunces.

This season the Cardinall obteyned licence of the Bishop of Rome, to suppress diuers Abbayes, to the entent to erect two Colleges, one at Oxford and another at Ipswich, and to endue them with the landes: which Colleges he began so sumptuously, and the scholers were so proude, that euery person iudged, that the ende woulde not be good, as you shall heere, siue yeres hereafter.

The Cardinall first began to suppress Abbayes.

The Erle of Castelles which was sent into Scotlande, returned into England, the .xix. day of Marche, but because the french king was taken, his commission for the most part was determined, and so he and all his companie tooke their leaue of the king and without any rewarde returned into Scotland, the fourth day of Aprill.

The Scots returned into Scotlande.

In this moneth of Marche, the king sent Cutbert Tunstall Bishop of London, and sir Richard Wingfield, Chaunceloz of the Duchy of Lancaster, and knight of the Garter, into Spaine to the Emperour, for great causes concernyng the taking of the french king, and in especial for warres to be made on fraunce, on euery side. For so the king of England and his Counsaile were agreed and determined: and the same moneth the Ambassadors, departed againe into flanders.

Ambassadors sent to the Emperour.

The Counsaile remembryng that it was determined, that the king in proper person should passe the sea, they considered that aboue all thinges, great treasure & plentie of money, must needes be had in a redinesse: wherefore by the Cardinall were deuised straunge Commissions, and sent in the end of Marche to euery shire, and Commissioners appoynted, which were the greatest men of euery shire: & there were priuie instructions sent to them, to say & order the people, & the tenoz was, that the sixt part of euery mans substance, should without delay be payed in money or plate, to the king, for the furniture of his warre: wherefore the Cardinall, as chiefe Commissioner for London, sent for sir William Bayly knight, then Maioz of the Citie, and the Aldermen, and diuers head Commoners, and sayd to them in maner following. You the kinges welbeloued friendes and subiectes, of the Citie of London. I must declare to you, how the king contrary to his abone minde and will, but compelled of very force, is determined to enter into a new war, and for the moze explanation of the truth, you shall vnderstande, that after that fraunces the french king that now is, had obteyned the Crowne and scepter of the realme of fraunce, he most humbly sued to the king our mayster

Commissions.

The proposition of the Cardinall.



ster for peace, loue and amitie, promisyng vpon the Euangelistes to keepe the league then concluded, and also to pay to Lady Mary Queene dowager of Fraunce, her due pencion and dowar, to her graunted by king Lewys her husband. After this he by his Ambassadors, humbly desired the Citie of Tournay which king Lewys befoze tyme had losse: the king which woulde that the Citie of Tournay, should be no cause of grudge, betweene him and the French king, consented that for certayne summes of money, it should be deliuered. And farther the moze to bind amitie betweene them, the king was content, that a communication of mariage shoulde bee had, betweene the Dolphyn of Fraunce, and the Ladie Marie, Princes of Englande, yet for to entreate moze loue, familiaritie, and acquaintaunce, the king to his great cost and charge passed the sea, and met in person with the French king, thinkyng that by reason of personall sight and actuall communication, the moze stable and firme loue, should growe betweene them, then by wrytyng at which tyme it was vndoubtedly thought, that there could no moze loue be knit betweene two persons. There were couenauntes made and swozne, and the king our maister sayde to the French king: Brother, now that you and I be thus knit, I require you to keepe firme peace, & amitie, with my nephew the Emperour: and also suffer not Duke John of Albany, to go into Scotland, for puttyng the yong king my nephew in ieopardie of his person, wherefoze if you loue me, in especiall keepe these two articles: if you obserue these articles, and all other couenauntes betweene vs agreed, I assure you there had neuer Prince a surer friend, then you shall haue of me. Then the French king layde his hand in mine (sayd the Cardinall) and swore by the othe of a king, he would obserue and keepe firmly, these poyntes with many mo, and after the kings were departed, and that the Emperour was come to the king to Calice: the French king sent Mounfire de la Roche Baron with letters, declaring that he was in perfect league and amitie with the Emperour, and this notwithstanding, he within lesse space then half a yere, sent Robert de la Marche to invade the Emperours lande, and made warre in Fauerre, and other places. The king our maister heeryng this, of his meere charitie sent me, and other Nobles with a great traine to Calice, to knowe by whom the warre began, for he promised to be enemye to him that brake first. To which place came from the French king, his Chaunceloz, and Mounfire de la Palice, and many other noble men. And from the Emperour came his Chaunceloz, and the Lord Cheuers, and there in open counsaile, the Emperours Ambassadors did shewe the French kinges letters, signed and sealed, by the which he enforced & began the warre: to which point the French Ambassadors could not aunswere. What should I say, the warre was open on both parties, I sent to the French king Ambassadors, to entreate peace, but in no wise he would consent: wherefoze I with my company returned. In the meane season (although I doubted nothing, the French kinges sayth towarde our Mayster) yet for a moze suretie I obtayned a safeconduit for the Englishe Marchauntes, that they should go to Burdeaur, and vpon suretie of that, our Marchauntes passed, yet he contrary to his safeconduit, tooke the Marchauntes goodes, and put their bodies in prison, which the Turke would not haue done. The king sent gently to him his Heralde Clarenseur, desiryng him to redresse all these enozmities, and to pay him his summes of money,

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The sayng  
of the King  
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due to him, and to the Queene his sister, for her dowar, which to do he refused and denied, which thinges you knowe, the king of his honour might not suffer. Wherefoze mightly he hath these three yeres, kept warre continually both on land and sea, and invaded Fraunce with two armies royall, and bet their townes, Castelles and fortresses, destroyed the people, and passed the water of Some, and profered battaile to the Frenchmen, in their awne Countre, and hath brought the Countre in such penury and wretchednesse, that in many yeres it will not be recovered.

And the moze to hurt and damage the French king, the king hath in wages the Duke of Burbon, which was the greatest strength on the French part: by whose power and ayde of other, which had great summes of money of the king our maister, the French king in person is now taken, and all his nobles in effect, befoze Pavia, and kept as prisoner to the Emperour and the king our maister, and that for great reason: for our maister sent sir Gregory de Cassado his Ambassadour, to the Viceroy of Naples, and to the Duke of Burbon, and the Marques Discaire, with a hundred thousand Crownes, so that they would fight with the French king: for the which money they assented, and so gaue battaile, in the which they slue .xij. thousand men, & drew had geuen vs victorie, the king remembryng the sayng of the Doct that sayeth: It is more maystry to vse victorie gotten, then to get it, thinketh it necessary now in all hast, to make an army royall, and he in person to passe the seas, and to recouer his right inheritance, both of the Crowne of Fraunce as of Normandie, Guyen, Gascoyne, Anjou, and Maine, the wrytynges whereof comprehendyng the very title, you may see heere present if ye list, but I doubt not but you know them well ynough. And now I aske you this question, whether that you thinke it conuenient, that the king should passe with an armie or not, for the king will do by the aduise of his subiectes: to the which many sayde yea, yea.

Well sayd the Cardinall, then must he be made able to go like a Prince, which cannot be without your aydes, and for to shewe you what the Archbysshop of Cantorbury and I, which be primate of the realme haue done, we haue geuen of our landes, and all landes appertaynyng to the Church, the thirde part, and the temporall Lordes, haue geuen of landes and goodes, the first part, and to ieopard their bodies in paine and trauaile, and now sith they which shall aduenture theyr liues, doth profer the first part, what should they geue which abide at home? Forsooth I thinke that halfe your substaunce were to little, not meanyng that the king so asketh. For he demaunde th only no moze of fiftie pound, the first part, and so vpon euery fiftie, aboute fiftie pound, to what summe soeuer it amount to, the first part, that is thre shillings foure pence of the pound, and from .xx. pound, to fiftie pound, and so byward two shillings and .viij. pence of the pound, & from .xx. pound to .xx. shillings .xii. pence of the pound, and thus to be leued accordyng to the first valuation, as appereth by your aboue valuation, which is but a small matter to the thing that is meant. Then they beyng astounded, at last the one sayd, my Lord, sith the last valuation, diuers Marchauntes be decayed, by the seas, and suretieship, and other wayes, so that valuation can not be had. Then answered the Cardinall, sirs, speake not to breake that thing that is concluded, for some

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The Cardinall  
demands  
of a subside.



shall not pay the tenth part, and some moze, it were better that some shoulde suffer indigence, then the king at this tyme should lacke, and therfore beware and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some their heddes: But I will speake to the king to be good to you, so that if he go not over the sea in person, then you shall have your money redelivered, but first let the money be gathered, and lay it where you will, and if the king neede it not, you may take it againe.

The Cardinall's threatenings.

When the Cardinall had thus perswaded the Maior and his brethren and other head Cominers, they tooke their leaue, and euery day after by the space of a fortnight, he sent for a certayne number of Comyners, and tolde them lyke tale, but some spake suche woordes to him, and some goyng from him, that they were sent to warde.

The summe of the Clergy

Howe were Commissioners sent to the clergie, for the fourth part of their landes and moueables, and in euerye assembly the priests answered, that they would pay nothing, except it were graunted by conuocation, otherwise not: for they said that neuer king of England did aske any mans goods but by an order of the lawe, and this commission is not by the order of the lawe: wherefore they sayde, that the Cardinall and all the doers thereof, were enemies to the king, and to the common wealth. Thys infamie was spoken in preachings, and euery where.

The grudge of the common people.

When thys matter was opened throughe Englande, howe the great men toke it, it was maruayle, the poze cursed, the riche repugned, the light wits rayled, but in conclusion, all people curst the Cardinall, and his coadherentes as subuersor of the lawes and libertie of England. For they sayde, if men should geue their goodes by a commission, then were it worse then the taxes of Fraunce, and so England should be bound and not free.

It happened in this time at Redyng in Barke shire, that the commissioners sat for this money to be graunted, and the people in no wise would consent to the sixt part: but of their awne mere minde, for the loue they bare to the king, they graunted the twelth part, that is twentic pence of the pound, the commissioners hearing this, sayde they would send to the Cardinall, desiring him to be content with this offer, and so the Lorde Lisle wrote the letter, so that s<sup>r</sup> Richard Weston would beare it, the which letter at the request of the gentlemen of the Countrey, the sayde s<sup>r</sup> Richard tooke vpon him to carie, and roade to the Cardinall: which therewith was soze grieved, and sayde, but because that the Lorde Lisse wrote, that the matter was but communed of, and not concluded, it should cost the Lorde Lisse his head, and his landes should be solde to pay the king the halues, that by him and you scolissh commissioners he had lost, and all your lyues at the kings will: thesc woordes soze astonied s<sup>r</sup> Richard Weston, but he sayde little.

Howe woordes of the Cardinall

Then the Cardinall wrote letters to all commissioners of the realme that they should keepe their first instruction, and in no wise to swaue one iote, vpon paine of their lyues, and euery man to be valued, according to the valuation taken in the .xiiij. yere. This last poynt soze touched the Citie of London, for the Cardinall in the .xiiij. yere sent one Doctoz Cunes his secret Chapeleine, to the Chapter house of Paules, promising to the Londoners, that whatsoener they valued themselves at, that no man should knowe it but the king, the Cardinall, and he, vpon which promise, many persons for their

Sir Richard Weston.

Precedents are daungerous.

more credite, and to be higher esteemed valued themselves at a greater substance then they were worth: thinking neuer to lend or pay by that confession, for the loane and the subsidie were payde, accordyng as men were selled, and not by maister Cunes booke, when men valued themselves, not knowing what should succede.

Now in this time was that subtile valuation layd to their charge, which when they perceyued, they murmured muche and sayde, they would paye nothyng, except the kings lawes, vnder which they were bound, so determined it: But this notwithstanding, commissioners went out to euery shire, for the leuie of the sayde money, but for all that could be perswaded, sayde, lyed, and flattered, the demaunde could not be assented to, saying, that they that sent forth such commissioners were subuerters of the lawe, and worthy to be punished as Traytors. So that in all the realme were Billes set vp in all places: Some Billes sayde that the king had not payde that he borrowed: Some sayde that the subsidie amounted treble, moze then he had bestowed: other sayde whatsoener was graunted, no good came of it: and other sayde that the Cardinall sent all thz money to Rome, thus was the muttering throughe all the realme, with curses and wepings, that pittie it was to behold.

The muttering of the people.

Durynge thys season that the commissioners sat, and that the Bishoy of London, and other the kings Ambassadors were abiding winde to sayle into Spaine to the Emperour (as you haue heard reherced) Mounfire Pratt the Emperours Ambassadour, which was soze angrie for John Jokyns comyng into Englande, as you haue hard befoze, departed priuely out of the realme of Englande, the .ix. day of Aprill, wythout speaking with the king or the Cardinall, and so much did by safeconduit, that he passed throughe Fraunce in poste, and came to the Emperour befoze the Ambassadors of England came thether, and whether it was by his report or otherwise, the accustomed fauor that the Emperour and his counsaile shewed to the Englishe men, began then to decay, and to shew themselves unkinde to the Englishe nation without cause, as you shall hereafter perceyue.

In thys yere the kyng solowynge of his Hauke, lepte ouer a ditch beside Hythyn, with a polle and the polle brake, so that if one Edmond Moody, a footeman had not lepte into the water and lift by his head, which was fast in the clay, he had bene drowned: but God of his goodnesse preserued him.

The copar-die the king was in.

This yere at Whitsonyde died Thomas Duke of Norffolke, and was honorably buried at Thetford in Suffolke.

The death of Thomas Duke of Norffolke.

In the beginning of thys .xviij. yere, the commissioners in all shires sat, for the leuie of the sixt part of euery mannes goods, but the burden was soze grievous, that it was denied, and the commons in euerye place were so moued, that it was like to haue growen to a rebellion. When thys mischiefe was shewed to the king, he sayde that he neuer knew of that demaund, and therefore with great diligence, he sent his letters to the Citie of London, and to all other places, in the which the king gently wrote, that he would demaunde no somme certayne, but such as his louyng subiectes would graunt to him of their good mindes, towarde the maintenaunce of hys warres: wherefore the Cardinall, the twentieth and sixt day of Aprill, sent for the Maior of London, the Aldermen and counsaile of the same, with the most substantiall persons of the common counsaile, and when they were come to his place

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place at Westminster, he sayde: the king our souereigne Lorde, most graciously considereth the great loue, zeale, and obedience, which you beare vnto hym, and where lyke louing subiectes, without any grudge or againe say, of your louing mindes you haue graunted the sixt part, of all your goodes and substance, freely to be payde, according to the first valuation, the which louing graunt and good minde, he so kindly accepted, that it was maruaile to see. But I my selfe doe consider the great losses, and other charges that daylie hath, and doth to you growe, and that notwithstanding anye losse or charge that happeneth to you, yet you neuer withstood nor againe sayde, any of the kings demaunds or commissions, as it appereth now of late, of which doyngs, I haue highly the king enformed, for the which he gaue you hartie thanks. Then I kneeled downe to his grace, shewing him both your good myndes toward him, and also the charges that you continually sustaine, the which at my desire and petition, was content to call in, and abrogate the same commission, and where he by reason of your awne grauntes, might haue demaunded the sayde somme as a verie debt, yet he is content to release and pardon the same, and will nothing take of you, but of your beneuolence: wherefore take here wyth you the kinges letter, and let it be read to the commons, and I doubt not but you wyll gladly doe, as louyng subiectes should doe.

Here note, that if the Cardinall had not sayde, that the king had released and pardoned the first demaunde, the Citezens would haue answered the Cardinall, that they neuer made no such graunt, and for a suretie no more they did not: and so they held their peace, and departed toward London, sore grudgyng at the lying of the Cardinall, and openly sayng that he was the verie cause, and occasion of this demaunde, and would pluck the peoples hartes from the king.

The xxviii. day of Aprill, in the common counsaile of the Citie, was read the kings letter, according to the effect aboue rehearsed, wherefore the Citezens sent foure Aldermen, and twelue Cominers to Hampton court to geue thanks to the Lord Cardinall, which for businesse as was sayde could not speake with him, wherefore they returned not content. Then euery Alderman assembled hys warde, in their places accustomed, and gently moued them of a beneuolence to be graunted to the king, the which they openly denied, sayng: that they had payde ynough before, with many euill wordes.

The eyght day of May, the Cardinall agayne sent for the Maior and his brethren, which shewed them what they had done: then sayde the Cardinall, you haue no such commission to examine any man, I am your commissioner, I will examine you one by one my selfe, and then I shall knowe the good will that you beare to your prince, for I will aske of you a beneuolence in his name. Then was it answered to the Cardinall, by a counsailler of the Citie, that by the lawe there might no such beneuolence be asked, nor men so examined, for it was contrarie to the statute made the first yere of Richard the thirde, also some persons commyng before your grace, maye for feare graunt that, that all dayes of their lyfe they shall repent, and some to wyne your fauour, will graunt more then they be able to paye of their awne, and so runne in other mens debtes, so that by dreadfull gladnesse, and fearefull boldnesse, men shall not be maisters of themselves, but as men dis-

maicd

maicd, shall graunt that, that their wyfes and children shall sore rewe. The Cardinall heard this sayng verie patiently, and answered: Sir I maruaile that you speake of Richard the thirde, which was an vsurper and a murderer of his awne nephewes: then of so euill a man, howe can the actes be good, make no such allegations, his actes be not honozable. And it please your grace sayde the counsailler, although he did euill, yet in his tyme were many good actes made, not by him onely, but by the consent of the bodye of the who'e realme, which is the Parliament. Then Syr Wylliam Bayly Lorde Maior kneeled downe and besought his grace, that sihe it was enacted by the common counsaile of London, that euery Alderman should sit in his awne warde, for a beneuolence to be graunted, which he perceiued to be against the law, that the same act by the same comon counsaile, might be reuoked and no otherwise: well sayde the Cardinall I am content. But now will I enter into the kings commission: you Maior, and you maister Aldermen, what will you geue: my Lorde sayde the Maior, I praye you pardon me, for if I should enter into any graunt, it might fortune to cost me my life: your lyfe sayde the Cardinall, that is a maruaylous word, for your good will toward the king, will the Citezens put you in ieopardie of your lyfe, that were straunge: for if they would that waye, then must the king come with strong power them to oppresse, wherefore speake no more suche wordes, and with that he studied a little and sayde: My Lorde Maior, let you and your Citezens, if you be grieued with any thing in this demaunde, humbly and after a good fashion come to me, and I shall so entreat you that you shall be content, and no displeasure arise, and so I praye you shewe your neighbors, and so the Maior for that day departed.

The Maior did wisely not to assent to graunte to anye thing, for although he and the Aldermen had assented, the common counsaile would neuer haue assented. So on the next morowe, it was declared to the common counsaile, that their act y was made that euery Alderman should sit for a beneuolence to be graunted, was against a statute lawe: whereupon the saide act was annulled: and then was it declared, that euery man shoulde come to the Cardinall, and to graunt priuily what he would, with this sayng the Citezens were sore grieued, then the Maior gently shewed them, how he durst warrant, that they should be entreated gently, and exhorted them to go thither when they were sent for, which sayng nothinge pleased them: and then in a fury they would haue had Richard Gresham, and John Helwester Officers, and Richard Gibson Sergeant at armes and merchant Taylor, banished out of the common counsaile, and so without answer made, what they would do, they departed home.

In the same season through all the realme, this demaunde was vtterly denied, so that the Commissioners could bring nothing to passe, and yet they assayed both by fayre wayes and foule: some spake faire and flattered, other spake cruell and threatened, and yet coulde not bring their purpose about. For in Kent the Lorde Cobham was Commissioner, and handeled men roughly, and by reason one John Skudder, answered him clubbishly, he sent him to the Tower of London: for which doyng the people muttered, and grudged against the Lorde Cobham, and saide expressly, that they would pay no money, and then they began to accompt the loanes and subsidies

G g g g. iij.

graunted,

The sayng  
of the Cardinall  
to the  
Londoners.

The comon  
counsaile.

The answer  
made to the  
Lorde Cardinall  
by a  
counsailler  
of  
the Citie of  
London.

The flatter-  
ing of the  
Cardinall.



graunted, so that they rekened the kings treasure innumerable, for they accounted that the king had taken of this realme, twenty fiftenes, sith the .xiiij. yeare of his reigne, and in this grudge, they euill entreated sir Thomas Bulleyn at Maidestone.

In Ester the people would not assemble befoze the Commissioners in no houses, but in open places: and in Huntingdon shire, diuers resisted the Commissioners to sit, which were apprehended, and sent to the flete.

Instruction in Suffolke.

The Duke of Suffolke sat in Suffolke this season in like commission, and by gentle handeling he caused the riche Clothiers to assent, and graunt to geue the sixt part, and when they came home to their houses they called to them their Spinners, Carders, Fullers, Weuers, and other Artyficers, which were wont to be set a worke, and haue their liuings by cloth making, and sayd, Sirs we be not able to set you a worke, our goodes be taken from vs, wherefoze trust to your selues, and not to vs, for otherwise it will not be. Then began women to weepe, and yong folkes to crye, and men that had no worke, began to rage, and assemble themselves in companyes. The Duke of Suffolke heeryng of this, commaunded the Constables, that euery mans harnesse should be taken from them, but when that was knowen, then the rumour waxed moze greater, and the people rayled openly on the Duke of Suffolke, and sir Robert Dzurie, and threated them with death, and the Cardinall also, and so of Lanam, Sudbery, Hadley, and other townez about, there rebelled foure thousand men, and put themselves in harnesse, and rang the belles alarme, and began to gather still moze: then the Duke of Suffolke perceiuyng this, began to rayse men, but he coulde get but a small number, and they that came to him sayd, that they would defend him from all perilles, if he hurt not their neighbors, but agaynst their neighbours they would not fight: Yet the Gentlemen that were with the Duke did so much, that all the bridges were broken, so that their assemble was somewhat letted.

The Duke of Suffolke pacified the Commons.

The Duke of Norfolke, high Treasurer and Admirall of Englande, heeryng of this, gathered a great power in Norfolke, and came toward the Commons, and of his noblenesse he sent to the Commons, to knowe their intent, which answered that they would liue and die in the kinges cause, and to the king to be obedient: When the Duke wist that, he came to them, and then all spake at once, so that he wist not what they ment. Then he asked who was their Capitaine, and bade that he should speake: then a well aged man of fiftie yeres and aboue, asked licence of the Duke to speake, which graunted with good will. My Lord sayd this man, whose name was John Grene, sithe you aske who is our Capitaine, forsooth his name is Douertie, for hee and his Cosyn Necessitie, hath brought vs to this doying, for all these persons and many mo, which I would were not here, liue not of our selues, but all wee liue by the substantiall occupiers of this Countrie, and yet they geue vs so little wages for our workmanship, that scarcely wee be able to liue, and thus in penurie we passe the tyme, we, our wyues, and children, and if they by whome we liue, be brought in that case, that they of their little, can not helpe vs to earne our liuyng, then must we perish, and die miserably. I speake this my Lorde for that the clothmakers haue put all these people, and a farre greater number from worke, the husbandmen haue put away their seruantes, and geuen by houtholde, they say, the king asketh so much, that they bee not

Benefit. Necessitie.

not able to doe as they haue done befoze this tyme, and then of necessitie must we die wretchedly: wherefoze my Lorde, now accorpyng to your wisdom consider our necessitie. The Duke was sozy to here their complaint, and well he knewe that it was true: then he sayde, neighbors seuer your selues a sonder, let euery man depart to his home, and choose foorth foure that shall aunswere for the remnant, and on my honour, I will send to the king, and make humble intercession for your pardon, which I trust to obteyne, so that you will depart, then all they aunswered they woulde, and so they departed home.

At the two Dukes requestes, Commissioners of great aucthoritie were sent to them, then the Duke of Norfolke, and the Duke of Suffolke, came to Bery, and thether came many people of the Countrey, in their shirtes, and halters about their neckes, meekely desyng pardon for their offences: the Dukes so wisely handeled themselves, that the Commons were appeased, and in especiall one Mayster Jermyn, tooke much paynes in ridyng and goyng, betweene the Lordes and Commons: then the demaund of money sealed in all the Realme, for well it was perceyued, that the Commons would none pay.

After this, the two Dukes came to London, and brought with them the chiefe Capitaynes of the rebellion, which were put in the flete, and then the king came to Westminster, to the Cardinals place: whereupon this matter, he assembled a great Counsaile, and openly he sayde, that his minde was neuer, to aske any thing of his Commons, which might sound to his dishonor, or to the breche of his lawes, wherefoze he would knowe of whom it was long, that the Commissions were so straight, to demaunde the sixt part of euery mans substance: the Cardinall excused himselfe and sayde, that when it was moued in counsell, how to make the king rich, the kinges Counsaile, and especialy the Judges saied, he might lawfully demaunde any somme by Commission, and that by the assent of the whole counsaile it was done, and tooke God to witnesse, that he neuer maligned nor desired the hinderance of the Commons, but like a true Counsaylour, deuised to enrich the king: And the spirituall men say, that it standeth with Goddes lawe, for Joseph caused the king of Egypt, to take the fift part of euery mannes goodes, but because euery man layeth the burden from him, I am content to take it on me, & to endure the same and noise of the people, for my good will toward the king, and to the comfort of you my Lords, and other the kings Counsaylors, but the eternall God knoweth all. Well sayd the king, some haue enformed me that my realme was neuer so riche, and that there should neuer trouble haue rylen of that demaund, and that men would pay at the first request, but now I finde all contrary, then euery man helde his peace.

The excuse of the Cardinall.

The king was soze moued, that his subiectes were thus stirred, and also he was enformed of the deniall, that the spirituall men had made, and of their sayngs, wherefoze he thought it touched his honour, that his counsaile should attempt, such a doubtfull matter in his name, and to be denyed both of the spiritualtie and tempoaltie, for although some graunted for feare, befoze the Commissioners, yet when they were departed, they denyed it againe. Then the king sayde, I will no moze of this trouble: Let letters be sent to all thires, that this matter may no moze be spoken of, I will pardon all them that

The king soze moued.



The pardon  
of the great  
demaund.

that haue denied the demaund, openly or secretly: Then all the Lordes kneled downe, and hartily thanked the king. Then letters were sent to all commissioners to ceasse, with instructions howe to declare the kinges pardon. In which declaration was shewed, that the Cardinall neuer assented to the first demaunde, and in the instructions was comprehended, that the Lordes and the Judges, and other of the kinges Counsaile, deuised the same demaund, and that the Cardinall folowed the minde of the whole Counsaile, these two poyntes were contrary one to another, which were well marked. And farther the instructions were, that at the humble petition, and supplication of the Cardinall, the sayde great summes, which were demaunded, by the kinges aucthoritie royall, were clerely pardoned and remitted, wherfore the Commissioners willed the people to pray for the Cardinall: but the people tooke all this for a mocke, and sayde God saue the king, for the Cardinall is knownen well ynough, the Commons woulde heere no prayse spoken of the Cardinall, they hated him so much.

The sayng  
to the Mayor  
of London.

The .xix. day of May the Cardinall sent for the Mayor and his brethren and certayne commoners, and made the Mayor to sit downe by him, and then declared, that where the king was determined, in proper person to passe the sea into Fraunce, for which cause he asked of the Citizens of London, and his other subiectes, an ayde towarde his charges, to which request (he said) that the Londoners were at all times conforable, like louing subiectes, but sith the king considereth, the great fall of the French King, which is yet prisoner, and that dayly he hath sute made to him for peace, greatly to his honor and profite, for I trust that all his right and title, shalbe to him deliuered which thinge once agreed, I trust you shall haue peace, and therefore at my humble request, the king hath pardoned you, of all these sommes of money, that of you were demaunded: & if his grace had not passed the seas, although the money had bene gathered, suerly it should haue bene restozed againe, and consequently the king thanketh you as hartely, as any Prince may thanke his subiectes: and forasmuch as peace, is not yet concluded, I counsaile you to shewe your selues, enemies to the Frenchmen, and to saie that you be the kynges, bodie and goodes at his will and pleasure, so that your louing mindes towardes him, may to the Frenchmen appere, you wot well what I meane said the Cardinall.

The pzeati-  
ficate of the  
Cardinall.

Then the Mayor and his companie kneled downe and most hartely thanked the king and him, and so departed. The next daye all this was reherfed to the common counsaile, which humbly thanked the king for the pardon: but two thinges them soze displeased, one was that the Cardinall bad them saye, they were the kinges body and goodes, they sayd that they vsed no dissimulation, for they would not saye they were the kinges, but they thought and were the kings in dede, and not in sayng: the second was, that the Cardinall excused himselfe, that he was ignorant of the first commission: For all they knewe and were present, when he himselfe made to them the first motion, and what soeuer was saide by the Recorder, in his excuse, was taken as a cloke for the raine, and a dissimulation or a mocke, for wise men perceyued all the handelyng of the matter: after the king had pardoned euery offendor.

The

The .xxix. day of May the Lordes sat in the Starre chamber, and there were brought one Deucraux a Gentleman of Huntingdon shire (which woulde not suffer the Commissioners to sit, as you haue heard) and John Scudder of Kent, these two were brought from the Tower, bare footed in their shertes through London, to the Starre chamber, and there the Cardinall shewed them theyr offences, with terrible wordes: and after that, he shewed the kinges mercy extended to them, and declared their pardon, and so they were deliuered.

The morow after beyng the .xxx. day, were the chiefe of the rebelles of Suffolke, brought to the Starre chamber barre, and there the kings counsaile learned, layde soze to them their offence, but the Cardinall declared for them the kinges pardon: then the kinges Attorney, asked suerties for their good aberyng, they answered that they could finde none, then saied the Cardinall I will be one, because you be my countrey men, and my Lord of Suffolke will be another, and so they were discharged, and had money to bring them home: Now here is an ende of this commission, but not an end of inward grudge and hatred, that the commons bare to the Cardinall, and to all those Gentlemen, that behemently set forth that Commission & demaund.

In this troubleous season, the vplandthe men of Germany, called the Bowres, rose in a great number, almost an hundreth thousand, and rebelled agaynst the Princes of Germany, of which a great number were slaine and destroyed.

An insurrec-  
tion in Ger-  
manie.

In Aprill last past, the Tyndall men, with the ayde of the Scottes, to the number of .liij. hundred, did dayly great robberyes in Englande. For to repressse this nest of theeuers were sent, sir Richard Bulmer, and sir Christopher Dacres, with a great company of Englishe men, and to them dyuers men came, and submitted themselves, but the great theeuers kept them in the Mountaynes of Cheuiot, and dayly skirmished wyth the Englishe men, and could not soone be taken: but after long liyng abroade, they scuered, and many of them were taken.

You haue heard befoze how the Cardinall suppressed many monasteries, of the which one was called Beggam in Suffex, the which was verie commodious to the countrey: but so befell the cause, that a riotous company, disguised and birknowne, with painted faces and visers, came to the same Monasterie, and brought with them the Chanons, and put them in their place againe, and promised them that whensoever they rang the Bell, that they would come with a great power and defend them. Thys doynge came to the eare of the kings counsaile, which caused the Chanons to be taken, and they confessed the Capitaynes, which were imprisoned, and soze punished.

Riot at  
Beggam.

The Cardinall about this season, by his power Legantine, sent a Chapeleyne of his, called Doctor John Aley, a man of more learning then bertue, or good conscience, to visite all places religious: this priest roade in his Gowne of Meluet, with a great trayne, & was receyued into euery house of religion with procession, as though the Legate had bene there, & tooke surh great sommes for his visitation, that the religious soze were grieved, and murmured much against it, and in especial, for they were charged with great sommes of money to the king, and now this sodaine visitation or *predation* on, cleane shaued them. The common people spake much against this, and

\*Predation,  
that is a  
robbery,

also



also they sayde, that the Cardinall by visitations, making of Abbottes, probates of testaments, grauntyng of faculties, licenses, and other pollynages in his Courtes Legantines, had made his treasure egall with the kinges, and yet euery yere he sent great sommes to Rome: this was their communication euer against the Cardinall and his high aucthoritie, and the spirituall men most disdayned it.

Elizabeth Blunt the mother of the Duke of Richemond.

You shall vnderstande, the king in his fresche youth was in the cheynes of loue, with a faire damosell called Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to Syr John Blunt knight, which damosell in synging, daunsing, and in all goodly pastimes, exceeded all other, by the which goodly pastimes, the kings hart: and she againe shewed him such fauour, that by him she bare a goodly man childe, of beautie like to the father and mother. This child was well brought by lyke a Princes childe, and when he was six yere of age, the King made him knight, and called him Lorde Henry Fitz Roy, and on Sunday beyng the .xviij. day of June, at the Manor of place of Bridewell, the sayde Lorde led by two Erles, was created Erle of Notyngham, and then he was brought back againe by the sayde two Erles: then the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke led him into the great chamber againe, and the king created him Duke of Richemond and Sommerfet: and the same daye was the Lorde Henry Courteney Erle of Deuonshire, and Colyn Germaine to the king, created Marques of Excester, and the Lorde Henry Brandon, sonne to the Duke of Suffolke and the French Quene the kings sister, a childe of two yere olde, was created Erle of Lincolne, and Syr Thomas Manners Lorde Roos, was created Erle of Rutlande, and Syr Henry Clifford, was created Erle of Cumberland, and the Lorde Fitz Water Syr Robert Radcliffe was created Viscount Fitz Water, and Syr Thomas Bulleyn Treasorer of the Kings household, was created Viscount Rocheford, and at those creations were kept great feastes and disguisings.

The creation of the Duke of Richemond

After this the Cardinall tooke vpon him as the kings chiefe counsailler, to see a reformation in the order of the kings household, wherein he made certaine ordynaunces. He also made all newe officers in the house of the Duke of Richemond, which was then newly begonne: Also at that tyme he ordeyned a counsaile, and stablished another household for the Ladie Marie, then beyng Princesse of the realme, so that all thing that was done, was done by him, and without his assent nothing was done: he toke so much vpon him, and made the king beleue that all thinges should be to his honor, and that he needed not to take any payne, so that to him was the charge of all things committed, at the which wise men beked, and light men laughed, thinking great foly in his highe presumption. And at this time, the sayde Cardinall gaue to the king the lease of the manor of Hampton Court, which he had of the lease of the Lorde of saint Iohnes, and on which he had done great coste. Therefore the king of his gentle nature, licensed him to lie in his Manor of Richemond at his pleasure, and so he laye there at certaine times: but when the common people, and in especiall suche, as had bene king Henry the seuenthes seruauntes, sawe the Cardinall kepe house in the Manor royall of Richemond, which king Henry the seuenth so highly esteemed, it was a maruayle to heare how they grudged and said, see a Boochers Dogge he in the Manor of Richemond: these with manye opprobrious wordes

They called him Boochers Dogge because he was a Boochers sonne.

wordes were spoken agaynst the Cardinall, whose pryde was so high that he nothing regarded, and yet was he hated of most men.

In this season the French kings mother Regent of Fraunce, and the three estates of the realme, assembled together, concerning the estate of their realme: first, they sent a solempne Ambassadoz to the Emperour, with articles (as they thought reasonable) for the deliuerance of the French king, and also for a peace, they sent also a messenger to the king of Englande, for a safeconduit for an Ambassadour to be sent into England, for a treatie of peace, which to the messenger was graunted and deliuered.

Then came ouer as Ambassadour from Fraunce, John Jokyn now called Mounier de Vaux, which as you haue hard in the last yere, was kept secret in Maister Larkes house, and when he came into Englande, he was welcommed of the Cardinall, and there betwene them were such communications, that at the sute of the sayde John Jokyn, a truce was concluded, from the .xiiij. day of July for fortie dayes, betwene England and Fraunce, both on the sea and on the lande. Full well wist John Jokyn what he ment, when he desired peace for fortie dayes, for in that season the Picards might haue a quiet harvest to carie in their corne, which they should not haue, if the garrisons of Calice and Guysses: and other within the Englishe pale, had nat bene restrayned from warre, and also the fishermen of Deepe, Bulleyn and Traiport, had quyet fishyng, by this truce, for the fraunce of England, was come home to harborough, thys truce grieved the men of warre on both parties, it was so sodaine that they wist not well what to doe.

John Jokyn now called Mounier de Vaux Ambassadour from Fraunce.

A truce take in Fraunce. for fortie dayes.

When the Fleminges hard tell of truce, and that they were not comprehended in the same, they began to rayle and sayde, that the king of Englande had not done truely with them, to take a truce without their knowlege: the Englishe men answered, that they had no Ambassadour in Englande, and if that they had had any, they should haue bene made pryue, but the king would send them no worde of his affayres, if they would not sende to knowe, for he ought their maister, nor yet them no such seruise.

The French men in this season, enterprised to enter into Flaunders, by Aetodike, but they were manfully defended by the Flemynge, and because the French men passed by the Englishe pale, and had nothing done to them, the Flemynge were sore displeased with the English men of Calice.

In the latter ende of July came into Englande Mounier de Vaux, chiefe President of Roan, and was brought to the Cardinalls presence at the Manor of Richemond, and when hys commission was shewed, it was doubted whether the aucthoritie were sufficient, because the king his mayster was prisoner in Spaine: but then he shewed aucthoritie, geuen to the Ladie Regent, and certaine nobles of the realme of Fraunce, by the French king in open Parliament, before his goyng into Italy for all things that did or might conuerse the realme during his absence. When the commission was thought reasonable, then was reherfed to the Frenchmen their doubleneste, their vntedfastnesse, and how they had behaued themselves toward the king of Englande: then they answered, if we haue offended you, you haue vs punished, for you haue brent our townes, slayne our people, destroyed our Countrey, so that you haue brought the lowe parties to a long miserie without recouery, and therefore sithe we be the leesters for our offence, yet wee



due for peace, least we be more punished. After long consultation, they offered many offers: first to paye all such sommes of money as were due, both for the yereely tribute, and also for the Citie of Tournay, and the frenche Queenes dower, and farther to recompence the king of Englands his expences done in the warres.

A truce concluded with France by the Ladie Margaret for thre monethes.

Duryng thys treatie, worde was brought to the king of England, that there was a truce sodainely concluded, betwene the realme of Fraunce and the Ladie Margaret Duchesse of Sauoy, and governour of Flaunders and the low Countries, for the space of thre Monthes, so that no entercourse should be betwene them for Marchaunts, but by safeconduit, and that thys Proclamation was proclaymed at saint Omers, the first daye of August, wherupon the king was contented, that a peace should be taken from the xiii. day of August, to the first day of December, which was proclaymed in London: and by this truce euery Englishe man without safeconduyt might passe into Fraunce, and they likewise into England. When thys truce was proclaymed, the people murmured and sayde, nowe hath the Frenchmen gotten their fishyng quietly, and if they had bene kept from that, they had bene vndone, and so with faire wordes they helpe themselves, which if we haue warre againe, shall hurt vs, for this Herryng shall bittayle their townes the next yere. This the common people talked, but it was to no purpose.

Ambassadors into Denmarke

This yere the king sent Doctor Henry Standishe, Bishop of saint Asse and sir John Baker knight into the realme of Denmarke, to common and entreat with the nobles of the Country for the reduction of kyng Christiern, to his realme, crowne, and dignitie, but all that coulde be sayd or perswaded could not bying the Danes to any reason, they hated him so for his great crueltie, and in especiall for the great tyranny that he committed at Stekholme in Swethen, where he despyed a great number of his nobles to a banquet, and after the banquet, strake of their heades. When the Ambassadors of Englands saw that they coulde not bring him in againe: they then began to require, that his sonne might haue the crowne and dominion, which neuer them offended, and was of progeny borne of Lady Isabell, sister to the Emperour Charles the fift which also made great labor and instance for the same: but the Danes answered they would none of his procreation, for they sayde, the sonne would folow the father, or else at the least he would reuenge his fathers wrong, and so with this answer they departed.

Peace concluded and proclaymed betwene the king of Englands and Fraunce.

So much did the Ambassadors of Fraunce, both by offers and entreaties, that the king of England and his counsaile, did condescende to appeale, and the more soner because they saw if warre should continue, money must be demaunded of the commons, which had leuer rebell then pay any more were proclamations of the same, sent to euery Citie and good towne, and the viij. day of September this peace was proclaymed solemnely with a trumpet through the Citie of London, the effect wherof was, that vpon humble suite and large proffers, made by the Lady Regent of Fraunce, and the thre estates of the same, a peace, league, and amitie, was concluded betwene both the kings of England and Fraunce, and their countries and subiectes, so that the subiectes of eyther realme may lawfully passe and repasse, into the others realme and dominions, to by and sell frankly and freely, without let

or interruption, and that this league in no wise, was a breche of the league taken with the Emperour and the Lady Margaret, Gouvernesse of Flaunders in no poynt, but that the sayd Emperour and Lady Margaret, and al other the kings old & auncient confederates and allies, were comprehended in the same, and for due restitution to be made to the frenchmen, there was appointed the reuerend father Cutberd Bishop of London, & for restitution to be made to the Englishmen, was appoynted the chiefe President of Roan.

A truce proclaimed in Spaine betwene the Emperour and the French king.

And on the xi. day of September, was a truce concluded in Spaine, in a towne of Vale Dolito, betwene the Emperour and the French king, from that daye to the ende of December next ensuing, at which time the Emperour had not seene the French kyng, which was conueighed by sea out of Italy into Spaine, to a Castell called Madzill, and there remayned: and shortly after fell soze sicke, and was in great ieoperdy, for the which the Frenchmen cared little, for they sayd that if he died, they should pay no raunsome, and then their realme should be quiet.

This peace betwene England and Fraunce, nothing pleased the Flemyngs, wherfore when they had dronke well, they spake largely, and boasted how they had bittayled the English armies, and found them cartes and cariages, and thought it not kindly done, to refuse them as olde frenches and make peace with olde enemies, but they did not consider what money the Englishmen left in their countrey, nor how the Frenchmen for dread of the Englishmen, would not invade Flaunders, so that they liued quietly, all thys they considered not.

The conclusion of the peace.

In the same moneth this peace was proclaymed, in Paris, Lyons, Roan and Amias: by this peace the king of England, should receyue at certaine daies, xx. hundred thousand Crownes, which then was foure hundred thousand ponde sterling, of the which one payment of fiftie thousand ponde was payed in hande. After this peace taken, all the men of warre, that were about the retinue of Calice, Hammes & Guynes, were called home, and the shippes brought into the hauens, and many a Creker wist not how to liue.

Ambassadors sent out of England into Fraunce.

In the moneth of October were sent into Fraunce, Sir William Fitzwilliam Treasorer of the kings house, and Doctor Taylor, as Ambassadors from the king of England, and were receyued through Fraunce very honorably, and by long iourneys at the last, came to the Citie of Lyons the. xxiiij. day of November, where to them were presented, wine, fishe, flethe, and ware, and they were visited with diuers noble men. And on the. xxvi. daye they were conueyed to the court by two Erles, and at the gate receyued with two Cardinals, and so brought to the Lady Regent, which with much honor them receyued, and then they deliuered the kinges letters, which she tooke in great reuerence, and so with her counsaile, departed into her priuie chamber, and there taried almost two houres, and then came out againe, to whome Doctor Taylor made an eloquent oration in Latiu, of the commodities of peace, and declared that the king his Maister for very loue, and not for no dread nor nede did not condescend to peace. To whom the Bishop of Befanson, Chauncelloz to the Lady Regent made answer: And that done, the Ambassadors were feasted, and serued with men of great estate, and after that they were conueyed to their lodgings.

And on Sunday next ensuing, the Ambassadors were conueyed to the Court,

H h h h. j.



The league  
Kwozne.

Court, and from thence the Lady regent and all the Court, roade solempnly to the cathedraill Church of Lions, and there a Cardinall sang a solempne Masse, and after that Masse was done, the Lady Regent tooke the two Ambassadors, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left hand, and so went by to the high Altar, and there she layde her hand on the Canon and Crucifix of the Masse booke, and there sware to obserue, fulfil, and kepe all the articles and agreementes, concluded in the league and treaty of peace by her Commissioners. And when this was done, the Bishop of Bisanson made an eloquent sermon, taking for his antheme. *Quis est homo qui vult vitā: diligit dies videre bonos, inquirere pacem, &c.* In this sermon he much prayesd the king of England, which assented to peace, & lauded the Cardinall whome he called the Legat of God, for counsailling him to peace: for now was fraunce free, and all hostilitie ceased, and when this sermon was done, Te deum was song, and then the trumptes blew, and all other instruments musaicall, and then the Lady Regent, with all her traine returned to the palace, and there were the Ambassadors highlye feasted, and then Sir William Fitzwilliam tooke his leane, and came shortly into Englande, leauing behinde hym Doctor Taylor, which taried there till the French king was deliuered.

When the articles of peace, were knowne to the Emperoz and his counsaile, full well wist they that the king of England now would be friend to the french king, wherefore he and hys subiectes, shewed themselues moze straunge and unkinde to the Englishmen, then they had bene accustomed. Insomuch that the English Marchauntes, put by a supplication to the Emperoz, shewing him how their goodes were taken, by letters of Marke, their shippes restrayned, new impositions taken of them, and most of all they complayned, that by an act made in Spaine called Premetica which ordaineth that euery cloth, should be of a certaine number of threds, the clothes of Englande here could not be solde, to the great hinderaunce of the English Marchauntes: For the Clothiers of Englande know not the number appointed by the statute, and when they make cloth, they know not to what countrie that cloth shalbe solde, of these thinges the English Marchauntes desired a redresse.

At a day appointed the Englishmen had an aunswere deliuered them in writing, conteyning certaine articles. The first if any wronges be done unto you, our iustice is open in euery place. The seconde, as touchyng letters of Marke, we will be aduised by our Counsaile. The third, as touchyng your shippes we freely graunt that you shall haue our friendship liberally, so that with your awne shippes and goodes, you may go at your pleasure, passyng or makyng abode. And as touchyng customes, or impositions of new: The accident may cause vs so to do, but that shall be in suspence. And finally as touchyng our Premetica, made by the Lordes of our counsaile, and by vs affirmed, we will not breake, but we will suffer to the entent that you English Marchauntes, may bring true and well made cloth, for the which you shall be the better welcome: this was the very aunswere that the English Marchauntes had, of the Emperour and his Counsaile.

In this winter was great death in London, wherefore the Terme was adiozned, and the king for to eschue the plague, kept his Christmase at Eltham

The king  
kepeh a fill  
house.

Eltham with a small number, for no man might come thether, but such as were appoynted by name: this Christmas in the kings house, was called the still Christmase. But the Cardinall in this season, lay at the Manor of Richmond, and there kept open houholde, to Lordes, Ladies, and all other that would come, with playes and disguisynge in most royall maner: which soze greiued the people, and in especiall the kinges seruantes, to see him kepe an open Court, and the king a secret Court.

The Cardinall  
kepeh  
open  
houholde

The Cardinall came to Eltham the .viij. day of January, and taried there till the .xxij. day. In which season the Cardinall, and other of the kings counsaile, sat for a direction to be taken in the kings house, and first it was considered, that the great number of the yomen of the garde were very chargeable, and that there were many officers farre striken in age: which had seruantes in the Court, and so the king was serued with their seruantes, and not with his awne seruantes, which was thought not conuenient. Wherefore first the officers seruantes, were put out of the Court, and many olde officers were put to liue in their Countries, but the king of his bountie enhaunsed their liuinges, for he that had three pound wages, had sixe pounde a moith, without attendaunce, and he that had .xl. shillings, had foure pound, and so euery man after that rate, and yong men were put in their robes. Then was there .lxxij. of the garde, which had .xij. pence the day checked, put out of that wages, and they had sixe pence a day vnchecked, and should dwel in their Countries, and come not at the Court, till they were sent for, except it were for suites: in the which the Cardinall promised them, to be their helper: Alas what sorowe, and what lamentation was made, when all these persons should depart the Court. Some sayde that poore seruantes were bndone and must steale: Some saide that they were found of the reuercions of the officers seruire, so that for them was nothing more set out at the Deser, and it was great charitie to finde them. Other sayd that the yomen of the garde, which were put out, were nowe not able to finde themselues and theyr horse, to do the king seruire. Other sayde, that nowe they would poll, and pill in their Countries, and oppresse the poore people, thus euery man had his sayng.

The Cardinall  
reformeth  
the kinges  
houholde.

At this season the Cardinall made many ordinauntes, concernyng the kinges house, which be at this day called the statutes of Eltham, the which some sayde were moze profitable then honourable.

This Moneth of January was peace concluded, betwene the realmes of England and Scotland, for three yeres, and sixe Monethes, of the which the Scottes were very glad, and especially the borderers, for they were soze hurt by this warre.

A space made  
betwene  
England and  
Scotland.

All this yere was continuall suite made to the Emperoz, and his Counsaile, by the Ladie Regent of Fraunce, and all the realme there, for the deliuerance of Fraunces the frenche king, and after many communications which tooke none effect, was sent into Spaine of Ambassade, the noble Ladie Margaret, late Duches of Blanson, sister to the french king, with a great companie of Nobles and honourable personages. The Emperour Charles met the sayd Ladie in the Market place of the Citie of Toledo, and her right hartily welcomed, and after that the Duches and her companie had refused to agree to certaine articles, which the french king had offered himselfe, the

H h h h .ij.

sayde



Ladie Margaret Duchesse of Blaucon deuised waies for the French king to escape.

sayde Duches had licence of the Emperoz, to go to Madzill, where the french king was kept as prisoner, & there to know his minde. When she was there, she and other deuised such a way, that the french king should haue scaped, and post hozses were layd euery where: this was not so secrete, but the Emperour was thereof enformed, and tooke certaine french men, which confessed how all thinges shoulde haue bene brought to passe. The Duchesse of Allanson heeryng that her priuie deuise was opened, on post hozses with all speede returned into fraunce, leauyng the whole matter at large.

But for all this the Lordes of Fraunce ceased not dayly to sue for the deliuerance of theyr souereigne Lord, and at last to the Emperour was deliuered a booke for the french kings deliuerance. For the Emperour sayce he woulde nothing demaunde of him, for hauyng him he had more then he could geue him. Then the french king and his Counsaile, offered a booke conteyning many articles to the Emperour: and when the Emperour had well vnderstand the contentes of the same, he sayde to the french Ambassadors, is this the full will and agreement of your Mayster, they answered yea: well sayde the Emperour, if this be his awne offer, I trust that he will kepe it. Then the Emperoz thought best to bring the french king to more libertie and to visite him himselfe, which he had not done but in the tyme of his sicknesse. Where the .xiiij. day of februarye, the Emperour accompanied with the great Constable of fraunce, the Duke of Enphantaso, the Duke of Ciuill, the Duke of Passo, the Duke of Aluoy, the Duke of Arberkirke, the Duke of Medena, the Duke of Massedonia, the Marques of Aguler, the Marques Willafranca, the Marques of Sturgus, the Erle of Barcelona, the Erle of Boniuent, the Erle of Jeneuer, the Erle of Salenas, the Erle of Arrowffe, the Erle of Saluator, and .xij. Bishoppes, and a great number of Nobles, came to the Castle of Madzill, to whome was the french king brought with a noble repayre, to whome the Emperoz made low reuence, and declared to him how all victozies consist in the hande of God, and where great debate, warre, and strife, had long continued betweene them, he sayd it was the very handy worke of God, to deliuer him to captiuitie, so that by his restraint of liberty, a generall peace shoulde be concluded through all christendome and now sith you haue offered vs reasonable condicions, we entending not your punishment, noz restraint of your liberty, haue gently receiued your offers, signed with your awne hande.

And soone after a peace was concluded betweene the Emperour and the french king, and the same openly proclayned through all Spain, fraunce, flanders, and the Emperours Dominions, whereof their subiectes were glad, and made fiers and triumphes through al. their Countries. The king of England also shewed himselfe to be very glad of the said peace. Wherefore he heeryng that the french king was at a poynt to be deliuered, sent a knight of his Chamber, called sir Thomas Cheyney to the french king, certefiying him of the great gladnesse that he had of his deliuey, and also the comfort that he had for the conclusion of peace: of which kinde remembraunce, the french king much reioysed. The french king tooke his leaue of the Emperour, and tooke his iourney into fraunce ward, and came to Victoria, in which season the same went, that the Dolphyn which shoulde haue bene deliuered, as one of the hostages, for the french king his father was deafead, and

and so the french king was stayed for .xx. dayes, till the truth was knowne: other sayd that the cause was that there were betwene fountraby and Bayon. xxx. thousande men, and doubted least if he had bene brought downe to fountraby, he might haue bene rescued: but whatsoeuer the cause was, he was restrayned as you haue heard: but shortly after he was deliuered and returned into fraunce the .xxj. day of March which was taken the .xxiiij. day of february in the yere last past.

After that the Emperour had concluded, and taken his leaue of the french king, he rode to the sayre Citie of Ciuill, and there he with great triumph maryed Ladie Isabell daughter to king Emanuell of Portyngale, with whom he had great treasures and summes of money, and great friendship of the Portyngales, for he had .xj. hundred thousand Ducates with her maryage. When this mariage was knowne in England, the Englishmen soze murmured, that the Emperour beyng at Windsor, in the .xiiij. yere of the king, had saythfully promised to mary the Ladie Mary, daughter to the king of England. But for a very truth the Emperours Counsaile was not content with the aunswere made to Mounfire de Beuers the last yere, and so counsayled the Emperoz, not to tary for the Ladie Mary which was yong: and also they sayd that she was begotten of the king of England by his brothers wife. And also an act was made in Spaine, that he should not depart the Countrie, till he had issue. All these thinges were layd to him, which caused him to encline to mariage, and seyng the great offer that the king of Portyngall made to him, he was thereto agreeyng, and so married the Ladie Isabell sister to king John of Portyngall.

The .xxviiij. day of Aprill, in the beginning of this .xxiiij. yere, came to the Court to Grenewiche, Mounfire Brenion chiefe President of Roan, and John Tokyn now called Mounfire de Vaux, which President of Roan, before the king set in a Throne, and accompanied with all his Nobles, and the Ambassadors of Rome, of the Emperour, of Venice and florence beyng there present, made in the Latine tongue a solempne oration, the effect whereof was that he shewed, how dreadfull the warres had bene betweene the realines of Englande and fraunce, what great losse the realine of fraunce had susteyned by the sayde warres: He declared farther of what power the king of England was, and what conquest he might haue made in fraunce, the king beyng prisoner, and knowledged the king of Englands right in the warres, & their wrongs, where he humbly thanked him of his pittie & copassion that he had on them in their necessitie & affliction, that he would consent to peace. To this oration the Chauncelour of the Duchie of Lancaster, by name syr Thomas More made aunswere saying: that it much reioysed the king, that they first considered how by his power he might haue oppzessed, and how by his pittie he had releued them: wherefore he would hereafter that for kindnesse, they shoulde shewe him none unkindnesse, but inuolately to kepe that league which was concluded.

The next daye after beyng Sundaye, the Cardinal song a solempne Masse in the kinges Chapell of Grenewiche, and after Masse the king swore before the french Ambassadors, the foure Ambassadors aboue reherfed beyng present, that he should keepe the peace and league concluded, betweene him and his brother and perpetuall alie the french king, during his lyfe

The mariage of the Emperour.

The oration of the President of Roan

The answers of sir Thomas More to the Ambassadors oration.

The peace sworn.

1528  
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H h h h .iiij.

lyfe



lyfe and a yere after, and after Masse to all Ambassadors was made a great feast.

Because all this Sommer the king tooke his pastime in hunting, and nothing happened worthy to be written of: I will returne to the French king, now come agayne into his realme.

When he was at Paris he sayde and wrote to the Emperour, that he would obserue and keepe his promises in euery point, but what he thought I will not iudge: For shortly after he set forth a booke, called the Apologie or defence agaynst the conuention or agreement made betwene the Emperour and him at Madzill, alleaging that he was compelled to make that agreement, or else he should neuer haue bene deliuered: He alleaged farther that the Lawyers of hys realme cleerely determined, all promises and covenantes made by any persons to his atone hurt, with him that is more of power then he, to be made by compulsion, & so of none effect and not to be performed. He also sayde that the Gouvernoirs of the lawe, determined that no othe or promise is of any effect, where a man is in iopardie of lyfe, or of perpetuall imprisonment or bondage, and most in especiall when it is done by compulsion or threating. Moreouer he sayde that he might geue awaye nothing apperteyning to his crowne, without the assent of his peeres, and the three estates of his realme (to the which he was swozne at the time of his coronation, which would thereto in no wise assent, and therefore he saide that his othe and promise was boyde, and so he declared it to the Viceroy of Naples, beyng then with him as Ambassadour for the Emperour, and offered for his ransome to paye as much money as euer French king payde, with diuers other articles of newe deuised.

When these articles came to the Emperour, he them refused and sayde, that he had desyred nothing impossible of the French king, and if he might not, or would not keepe the appoyntment betwene them made, yet he bad him keepe that poynt of couenaunt, which onely depended in his will, that was that he should yelde himselfe prisoner agayne, and so he should haue his children deliuered: and then he would reasonably common with him of newe articles of agreement, and as to the Apologie set forth by the French king that his othe and promise was boyde, and made by compulsion and threating, it was answered by another booke called the Refutation or Quercommynng of the Apologie, of the conuention of Madzill. Which two workes were so eloquently set forth, with such and so many perswasions and allegations, both on the one part and the other, that it would comber a wyse man (except he were perfectly indifferent) to iudge to which part he should most encline, and giue credence, therefore I leaue it at large.

After that the French king was deliuered, and the peace concluded, the Emperour was fully determined to passe the seas into Italy, and so to Rome, and there to be crowned Emperour, wherefore heeryng the Bishop of Rome, called Pope Clement the seuenth, a man of great wit and vice, and of little vertue or learning: much doubted in himselfe what damage might come to him, if the Emperour had both Naples, Scicill, and the Duchie of Millaine, and also were crowned Emperour. Wherefore he sent to the Venicians, and to the Florentines, and to Fraunces Sforze Duke of Millaine, which had committed treason agaynst the Emperour, and was depriued by iudgement

The French king is returned into his realme.

The vnruth of the french king.

The French kinges Apologie.

The Emperours Refutation.

The Pope stirred up newe warres.

ment of his name and dignitie, and the same geuen to the Duke of Bourbon, but yet by power he kept much of the possession: and declared to them, by what puyssaunce the Emperour would come into Italy, and what great possessions he had there, at euery end of Italy, so that if he were once crowned Emperour, he would looke to haue the seignorie of all Italy: wherefore they consulted and debated for their awne suretie, howe to banishe him and his all Italy by power: and as they were debatyng of this matter, they hard word how the French king was returned into Fraunce, and sought all wayes and meanes howe to breake with the Emperour. When they sawe so open an action offered to them, with all diligence they sent theyr seuerall Ambassadors, that is to say, the Pope twaine, the Duke of Venice called Andrew Gritti, one (which was his secretozie) and the Florentines one, and the Duke of Millaine one, these fiue Ambassadors came to the French king, and declared what ioye & gladnesse their maisters had of his safe returne into his realme, and then they shewed to him howe they by the Bishop of Romes exhortation had deuised a league, which should set a perpetuall peace betwene all princes Christen, and for the more expedicion, they had set forth and agreed vpon articles, for the whole league. When the French king sawe the articles it was as he would haue it, for he thought by the whole power of the Confederates, his children should be deliuered, and he yet agayne once to haue a medlyng in Italy: Wherefore with great gladnesse and solemnitie, he entered into the league, and swore to keepe it, and gaue to the Ambassadors great rewardes.

When this League was thus concluded, it was sent to the king of Englande, which with great deliberation lyke a wise prince, consulted much with his counsaile of this waightie matter, and when all things were fully perceyued, he answered to the Ambassadors, that he thanked much the confederates of their good will, but he would not enter into the league, because he would be an indifferent entreator betwene both parties and a meane for a peace: and so he wrote to the Emperour, which hartily thanked him, and tooke it for great kindnesse: thys league was called the holy league of Clement. When the Bishop of Rome sawe that this league was concluded, because he would shewe that he and the confederates, had iust cause of warre agaynst the Emperour for things done in Italy, he sent to him a letter, dated at Rome the .xxiiij. day of June: But for as much as this is no part ment to the storie of Englande to entreat of the affayres of Italy, I will for a while leaue the Pope and the Emperour, and agayne returne to our matters of Englande.

Thys sommer was great grudge agaynst Marchaunt straungers in London, in so much that if the matter had not bene well pacified, much business might haue folowed, the cause of the grudge was this, there was an act made in the fourth yere of king Henry, that no straunger should bring in no Wyne nor Woade in any aliens ship: so that the Englishe men after that went to Cholose, and brought much Woade to London, and serued all the clothiers repaying to London: and now in thys yere by meanes of gentlemen about the king, the straungers had license to bring in woade in straungers bottomes, so that all London was full of their woade, and also they sent their woade into the countrey, so that the Englishe mens woade in London lay vnought: wherefore s<sup>r</sup> John Allyn knight beyng Maior, sent for a great

The holy league of Clement.

Grudge in London against Marchaunt straungers.



great sort of straungers which were the chiefe Marchaunts of all, and shew-  
 wed unto them what gaynes they had gotten in the Citie, by reason wherof  
 they should auance the City, and not hurt it, wherfore he willed them to sell  
 their woode to the Marchaunts of London, and they should be payde incon-  
 tinent and not to resort to other places in the Countrey with their woode, to  
 the hinderance of the Londoners. The straungers proudly answered the  
 Maior, that they would seeke every place for their auantage, and so in mock-  
 king maner departed. The Maior perceyuing that, called a common coun-  
 sayle in the Moneth of August, and there were many billes layde agaynst  
 the straungers, and at last it was enacted, that no Citezen or free man,  
 should buy or sell in no place, nor exchange nor meddle with certaine straun-  
 gers, called Anthony Bonuice, Laurence Bonuice, Anthony Uuald, An-  
 thony Caueler, Fraunces de Bard, Thomas Calnerant, and a great sort  
 mo whose names I let passe, and if any person did meddle or occupie wyth  
 them contrarie to this act, he should leese his freedome and libertie in the  
 Citie of London: by which act the straungers were so brydeled, that they  
 came to a reasonable poynt and conclusion.

The first in-  
 hauning of  
 the Angell.

In thys season the angell Noble was iust the sixt part of an ounce Troy  
 so that sixe Angels were iust an ounce, which was fortie Shyllings sterling,  
 and the Angell was worth two ounces of Siluer, so that sixe Angels were  
 twelue ounces, which was but fortie Shyllings in Siluer: but in Flaunders,  
 Zaband, and Zeland, the Angell was worth seuen Shyllings foure pence, so  
 that Marchaunts daylie caried ouer much money to the great hinderance  
 of the marchaundise of this realme, for most men caried Golde, and when it  
 was there, it was losse in every noble eyght pence to bring it hether againe:  
 and when the Englishe men spake to the rulers there, to leaue the enhaun-  
 sing of the kings coyne, they laughed them to scozne. The king and his coun-  
 sayle perceiued to what ende this enhaunement in Flaunders, if it were not  
 met with shortly would bring the riches of thys realme: wherfore in the  
 Moneth of September, he by proclamation, enhaunced the Angell to seuen  
 Shyllings foure pence, and the Royall to a. xi. Shyllings, and the crowne to  
 foure Shyllings & foure pence, and this proclamation was made throughe all  
 Englande: and to bring out of Flaunders the great number of Englishe  
 Golde which was there, the king by proclamation agayne the fift day of No-  
 uember, enhaunced the Angell to seuen Shyllings sixe pence, and so euery  
 ounce of Golde should be. xlv. Shyllings, and that an ounce of Siluer should  
 be three Shyllings nine pence in value.

The second  
 inhauning.

Thys yere on Michelmas euen, Thomas Hynde which was chosen  
 Shirife before, was called to take his othe, but he made defaute, where-  
 fore one Simon Rice was chosen which refused, then was one George Ro-  
 binson Mercer chosen, which tooke his othe not to be able. The commons  
 were in such a furie, that they sware that they would haue a Mercer. Mai-  
 ster Nicholas Lambert an Alderman and Grocer, which had a dispensation  
 for the Chriualtie for that yere, seyng this disorde, sayde to the commons,  
 maisters although my time be not come, yet to appease your strife, if you  
 will chose me I will take it, and so he was chosen with great thankes.

In this season a sodayne rumour beganne in Spaine, that the Empe-  
 rour would haue warre with the king of Englande, whereof hearing the  
 Englishe

Englishe Marchaunts, which lay in Spaine at dyuers Portes, concluded  
 to send to Doctoz Edward Lee, Ambassadoz for the king of England in the  
 Emperours Court to knowe the certeintie, which gently answered them,  
 that he trusted that there was no such cause, of the which they should be a-  
 reard, for the king his maister and the Emperour were yet in perfite loue  
 and amitie, and farther he sent them worde, that the king of Englande was  
 not entered into the league of Italy with the confederates, as they would  
 haue him, for he labozeth to make a vniuersall peace, which he could not co-  
 ueniently doe, if he were protectoz or a contractoz in the league, this aun-  
 swere he sent to them from Granada, the fift day of September.

The. xiiij. day of January came to the Court, Don Hugo de Mendosa  
 a great man borne in Spaine of a noble famely, this persen was sent as Am-  
 bassadoz from the Emperour to the king of Englande with large commissi-  
 on, for the Emperour put it to the king of Englandes determination, whe-  
 ther his demaundes which he required of the French king, were reasonable  
 or not, and for the declaration thereof, and for to knowe the king of Eng-  
 landes requit and entreatie concerning the peace, was this Noble man  
 sent into Englande, which manye times consulted with the king and hys  
 counsayle, and he taried here two yeres full.

In this yere the second day of Marche were receiued into London, with  
 a greate company of noble men, the Bishop of Carbe, Fraunces Vicount of  
 of Comaye, and Maister Anthony Wescy, second president of Paris, as  
 Ambassadors from the French king, and so brought through London to the  
 Tailors hall and there lodged, and afterward were conueied to Greenwich  
 to the king, where they were right hartely entertayned, and after their let-  
 ters red and their requestes heard, they departed for a season to London

Ambassadors  
 from the  
 French king.

The French Ambassadors hauing their recourse to the king and his  
 counsaile, much labored to haue in mariage the Lady Mary daughter to  
 the king, and after long counsailling, that matter was put in suspence because  
 the president of Paris, doubted whether the mariage betwene the king and  
 her mother, beyng his brothers wife were good or no: of this first motion  
 grew much businelle or it were ended, as you shall heare afterward. The  
 common people repugned sore against that demaund, for they sayde that the  
 was heire apparant to her father, and if he shoulde dye, they would haue no  
 Frenchman to be king of England, and thus the common people spake, as  
 their mindes serued them.

Of this mo-  
 tion grew all  
 the trouble  
 betwene  
 Queene Ka-  
 theryn and  
 king Henry  
 her husband.

On the. xiiij. daye of March were conueyed from London to Greene-  
 wiche, by the Erle of Rutland and other, the Lorde Gabriell de Salamanka  
 Erle of Ottonbrough, John Burgrau of Siluerberge, and John Faber a  
 famous Clarke, after Bishop of Aien, as Ambassadors from Don Fernan-  
 do, brother to the Emperour, newly elect king of Hungarye and Beame, after  
 the death of his brother in law king Lebys, which was slaine by the Turke  
 the last Sommer, as you haue heard before: this company was welcomed  
 of the high Officers, and after brought into the kinges presence, all the no-  
 bilitie being present, and there after great reuerence made, the sayd Clarke  
 Maister Faber made a notable oration, taking his grounde of the Gospell,  
 Exiit seminare semen suum, and of that he declared how Christ and his disciples  
 went forth to sowe, and howe that seede was good that fell into the good  
 ground,

Ambassadors  
 from the king  
 of Hungary.

An oration  
 made by mai-  
 ster Faber.



ground, and brought forth good fruite, which was the Christian faith: and then he declared how contrary to that sowing, Mahomet had sowne seede, which brought forth euell seede, and shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, & what people they had subdued euen to that day: he declared farther what actes the great Turke then liuing had done, and in especiall he noted the getting of Belgrade, and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he saide) of all the kinges christened: he set forth also what power the Turke had, what diuersities of companies, what armure, what Capitaynes he had, so that he thought, that without a maruelous great number of people, he coulde not be ouerthrowne wherefoze he moste humbly beseched the king, as saint Georges knight, & defendoz of the fayth, to assist the king his Maister, to that godlye warre and verteous purpose. To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas More answered, that much he lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres, which were betwene the two great Princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that act, wherfoze he with all his studie would take paine, first to set an vnitie and peace throughtout all Christendom, and after that he both with money and men, would be ready to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other Prince in Christendome. After this done the Ambassadors were well cherished, and diuers times resorted to the Courte, and had great chere and good rewardes, and so the thirde day of Maie next ensuing, they tooke their leaue and departed homeward.

After that the Ambassadors of Fraunce were departed, the king sent an other Ambassade into Fraunce (that is to say) Sir Thomas Woleyn knight, Viscount of Rocheforth, and sir Anthonie Browne knight, which came to Parys to the Bishop of Bathe, which lay in Fraunce as Ambassadoz for the king of England, and then these three went to the Court, and saw the french king in person sweare to kepe the league and amitie concluded betwene him and the king of England, and there they had great chere and Maskes shewed vnto them, but litle rewards were geuen, and so the Viscount Rochforth returned into England, and so did the Bishop of Bathe shortly after, leauing sir Anthonie Browne behinde for a ligier.

In this moneth of May the tenth day, the king sent sir Fraunces Poynes knight, as Ambassadoz from the king of England, to Charles the Emperour, and with him he sent Clarenseaux, king at armes, to demaunde the one halfe of the treasure and ordinaunce which was taken at Pavia, for so much as that warre, was made as well at the kinges charge, as the Emperours charge: he demaunded also the Duke of Diliaunce, to be deliuered to him, and also it was demaunded that the Emperour should deliuer the Bishop of Rome which was taken this Moneth as you shall heere, and also should bring his armie out of Italy, & if he refused to do any of these pointes, then Clarenseaux in the kinges name of Englande shoulde make to hym defiance.

When it was knowen that warre was like to be had betwene the Emperour and the king of England, the Commons of England sore lamented the chaunce, for all Marchaundise were restrayned to passe into any of the Empe-

The answer

Emperours Dominions, and the Marchants were desyzed by the Cardinal to kepe their martes at Calice, to the which in no wyse they would assent.

This same moneth the king sent two sayre shippes, well manned and bitayled, haung in them diuers cunning men, to seeke straunge Regions: and so forth they set out of the Chamys the .xx. day of May, if they sped well you shall heere at their returne.

Ships sent to seekc straung Regions.

The .xxij. day of May came in post to the king out of Fraunce, the Bishop of Tarbie, this Bishop brought to the king of Englande, the Articles which the French king now offered to the Emperour, which were contrary to the articles swozne at Hadzill in the .xxij. yere of the king, and farther he moued the king of England to be enemie to the Emperour, which request (as all men say) was much furthered by the Cardinall, bicause of the warres in Italy, betwene the Pope and the Emperour: this Bishop made hozt tarieng with the king, for in post againe he returned to Paris, to sir Fraunces Poynes, and Clarenseaux, which taried there for him, and so they ail tooke their iournay toward Spain.

And soone after, there were letters brought to the king of Englande from the French king, of his affayres in Italy: but Sundaye the second day of June, the king receyued letters at the Castell of Wynsore, by the which he perceyued all the order and maner of the sackyng of Rome, and takyng of the Pope: wherfoze the king was sozry, and so were many Prelates: but the Commonaltie little mourned for it, and sayde that the Pope was a Ruffian, and was not meete for the rowne: wherfoze they sayde that he began the mischiese, and so he was well serued. But the Cardinall which tooke this matter highly, called to him the Prelates, and the Clergie, and much mourned the fall of the Bishop of Rome, & saw how the people grudged agaynst the Spiritualtie, for their great pryde, pompe, and all liuyng: wherfoze he came to the king, and sayde: Sir by the onely callyng of God you be made defender of the Christian fayth, nowe consider in what state the Church of Christ now standeth: See, howe the heade of the Church of Rome is in captiuitie: See, howe the holy fathers be brought into thraldom, and be without comfort: nowe shewe your selfe an ayde, and a defender of the Church, and God shall rewarde you.

The king answered, my Lorde, I more lament this euill chaunce, then my tongue can tell, but where you say that I am defender of the fayth, I assure you, that this warre betwene the Emperour and the Pope is not for the fayth, but for temporall possessions and dominions, and now sith Bishop Clement is taken by men of warre, what shoud I doe: my person nor my people cannot him rescue, but if my treasure may helpe him, take that which to you seemeth most conuenient: for the which offer the Cardinall thanked the king on his knee, and thereupon the Cardinall caused to be gathered together of the kinges treasure .xij. scoze thousand pound, which he caried ouer the sea with him, as you shall heere after.

The kinges answer.

The Cardinall hath of the king to releue the Pope twelue scoze thousand pound.

Then the Cardinall sent Commissions, as Legate to all Bishops, commaundyng that they should cause in every parithe Church, solemne Prozessions to be made for the relieuyng of the Pope, and moued the people to fast thre dayes in the weeke, but few men fasted, for the Priestes sayd, that their commaundement was, to exhort the lay people to fast, and not to fast themselues:



Prayer and fasting.

themselves: and the laye people sayde, that the Priestes shoulde first fast, because the very cause of the fastyng, was for a Priest, but none of both almost fasted.

England bishop of Lincoln and other fault with the king's marriage.

This season began a fame in London, that the kinges confessor, beyng Bishop of Lincolne, called Doctor Longland, and diuers other great Clerkes had tolde the king that the mariage betwene him and the Ladie Katheryn, late wyfe to his brother, Prince Arthure, was not good, but damnable, and the king hereupon shoulde mary, the Duches of Alanson, sister to the French king, at the towne of Calice this Sommer, and the Viscount Rochforth had brought with him the picture of the sayde Ladie, and that at his returne out of Fraunce, the Cardinall should passe the Sea to go into Fraunce to fetch her.

This rumoz sprang so much, that the king sent for sir Thomas Seymer Maior of London, and straightly charged him to see that the people should seafe of this communication, vpon paine of the kinges high displeasure.

But whatsoeuer the Commons talked, it was concluded by the king & his Counsaile, that the Cardinall should passe into Fraunce, as his high Ambassadoz, but for what cause no person knewe but the king, till his returne.

Then was much preparation made at Calice, for the receiuyng of the Cardinall, but the common sayng was that the king would come to Calice, and meete with the French king, and for that cause such preparation was made, but he came not there at al, and alwayes the people commoned as they durst of the kinges marriage.

The Cardinall rieth towarde Fraunce.

The third day of July, the Cardinall of Yorke, passed through the Citie of London, accompanied with many Lordes, and Gentlemen, to the number of twelue hundred horse, towarde the Sea syde, and at Cauntozburie he rested, and there to the people declared the destruction of Rome, and howe the Pope was in captiuitie with many Cardinales: wherefore he caused a Letanie to be song by the Monkes of Christs Church, after this maner. S. Maria, ora pro Clemente Papa. S. Petri, ora pro Clemente Papa. and so forth all the Letanie: then he exhorted the people to fast and pray for his deliuerance, which fewe did.

A new found Letanie.

The .xj. day of May, the Cardinall with all his traine, tooke shipping at Douer, and the same day landed at Calice, where he was receyued with Procession, and with the whole garrison of the towne.

Barrelles of Gold.

When the Cardinall was landed, there were set on lande .xxj. Barrelles full of Gold of the kings money, which were deliuered to the Capitain of the Castell in charge: of this money the people much grudged, and said this money shall be spent out of the realme, and yet Englishe men shall haue no part nor profite of it, but onely it shall be spent for the Cardinales pleasure, and the French kinges, and the Popes profite.

The Cardinall was so sore displeased with the Emperour for keepyng the Pope in prison (although it were against his will and knowlege) that he imagined all the wayes and meanes possible, howe to hurt and damage the Emperour, and therefore he sent for the Englishe Marchauntes, willing them to kepe the Mart at Calice, but they answered that the towne of Calice, was a towne of warre, and all Marchauntes must haue libertie at all houres of the night, in the Mart season, which they could not haue at Calice:

also

also the haue is not able to receyue great Hulkes, and Carrikes that come to a Mart: but some Marchauntes to please the Cardinall, brought theyr clothes to Calice, and so caused their friendes of Andwarpe to come to Calice, and to say, that they had bought the Marchauntes clothes, and there at Calice payed the custome, and so caryed them to the towne of Andwarpe at the Englishe mennes charge, and there solde them to the great losse of the Englishe men.

The Mart to be kept at Calice.

While the Cardinall lay in Calice, the Frenchmen dayly resorted to Calice, to welcome the Cardinall, and sodainly there vpon a noyse sprang that Calice should be deliuered, to the French King, which vaine sayng, made many men muse.

But the .xxij. day of July, the Cardinall departed out of Calice, and with him was the Lorde Cutberd Tunstall bishop of London, the Lord Sandes, Chamberlain to the king, the Erie of Darbie, sir Henry Guildford, sir Thomas Moore, with many knightes and squires, to the number of .xij. hundred horse & in the cariages .lxxx. Wagons, and .lx. Hopes and sumpter hordie, and at Sandifield met with him the Countie Brian gouernoz of Picardie, and Hounfire de Bees, Capitaine of Bulleyn, with foure hundred men of armes, well apparayled, with Banners displayed, & all well horsed, which with trumpets and melodie receyued the Cardinall, and at Marguison there met him the Cardinall of Lozayn, and sixe Bishoppes, and .xl. Gentlemen, well furnished, and in their companie foure hundred horse, and so they roade forth to Bulleyn, where the Burges them receyued.

The receiuing of the Cardinall to Bulleyn.

And at the gate was made a Pageant, in the which was a Ronne called holy Church, and three Spanyards, and three Almanes had her violated, and a Cardinall her rescued, and set her vp of newe againe.

Another Pageant, was a Cardinall geuyng a Pace to the king of England & the French king, in token of peace, in another Pageant was the Pope, lying vnder, and the Emperour sitting in his Maestie, and a Cardinall pulled downe the Emperour, and set vp the Pope.

When wise men saw this Pageant, they smiled and sayd, well can the French king flatter, for hard it were for one Cardinall to subdue him that hath pulled downe the Master of all Cardinales.

Many words were spoken in reprove of thys Pageant, but still with great triumph roade these two Cardinales together, to the Abbey vnder a Canapie borne ouer them, and there lodged.

The morow being the thre and twentie day he with all his traine removed toward Nuttrell, and two mile without the towne there met with him the Baylifes, and there to him was made a salempne Oracion, and when he came to the towne he was receyued with the Clergy, and there the Englishe men had strait lodging the number was so great, and so the morow he remooued towarde Abbeuile where he was of the Bayliffe and aduocates of the towne, and then of the garison of men of warre of the towne, receyued with procession, and Pageants to his praise vnder a Canapie, and so brought to the Church, and after to his lodging, and all the Canapies were set with T C for Thomas Cardinall, and so were all his seruantes coates.

The thyrde day of August in the Citie of Amias, came the French king  
I i i i j. in



in a coate of blacke Veluet upon white Satin, and tyed with laces aglaced with golde, and with him the king of Auer, and the Cardinall of Burbon, the great Maister, the Duke of Vandosme, Monsier de Guise, and Monsieur Waudemount his brother, and the French kinges mother, with manye Lordes and Ladies, which were there solemnly receyued.

And on Sunday the fourth day of August, the Cardinal came fro Bickqueny towarde Amias, in which towne he lay the night before, and in the way he was receyued with the prouost of the Citie, and many honorable personages of the Citie, and after them came the Iustices and Aduocates and with an eloquent Oration saluted him, and when he was within halfe a mile of the towne, the French king himselfe with all his nobles mette with him, and louingly embrased him, and welcommed him, and after tooke all the nobles of Englande by the hande, and so brought the sayde Cardinali to Amias: where for him were deuised many Pageauntes, to his prayse, and euer he was called Cardinalis Pacificus, the peateable Cardinal, and so was wrytten at the gate of his lodging.

The French king brought the Cardinal to his lodging, and he would haue brought the king to his Courte againe, but he woulde in no wise suffer him, but left him in his lodging, and the same night the Cardinal road to visite the French kinges mother, and there he had long communication and so departed to his lodging.

The fift day of August, the Cardinal with the great estates of Fraunce was conueyed to the French kinges Courte, where he was of the French king most honorably receyued, which Courte was then kept at Amias, and there remayned moze then three weekes dayly conferring with the French kinges counsaile, and at the last with great solemnitie a Charter of peace was sealed by the French king, and deliuered to the Cardinal.

Now will I returne to sir Fraunces Boynes, and Clarenceaur which were at this time arriued in Spaine, in the towne of Vale Polife, the third day of July, where they found Doctor Lee the kinges Almoner, there Ambassadoz for the king of England, and with him taried til the sixt day of July, and then sir Fraunces Boynes was brought to his presence, & deliuered the kynge his Maisters letter, and beside that prayed his Maistie to consider what the king of England had done for him since his tender age, how that he holpe him at all times with money & treasure, & how that at such time as the Lords of Spaine would not receyue him as their king during his mothers life, yet by the kings meane & his great labor and cost, he was to that realme receyued: And also how the king of Englaride had alwayes defended and protected the countries of Flaunders, Brabant and Zeland, against all persons, and in the quarell of the Emperour he had strongly invaded the realme of Fraunce, so that by his inuasion at home, the Emperour had obtained great victorie in forreine places, which he coulde not haue done, if all the who'e realme of Fraunce had bene without any enemies at home: wherefore the king desired him as reason would, the one halfe of the battayle of Hauie and also for his part he required the Duke of Orleans to be deliuered to him, and also to pay to the king fortie thousand pounce, which he ought to him as money lent, towarde his charges: and farther that he shoulde deliuer the Pope, and make him a reasonable amendes, and no farther to make warre  
on

on him or his dominions. The Emperour after this demaunde answered, sir we assure you that the loue of our Uncle of England, toward vs and the manifold benefits that we haue receyued of hym and by his meanes we shall neuer forget, and although our power be not able to recompence the same, yet our good wyll shall neuer fayle, to endeuour vs to doe hym pleasure: and as concernyng his letters we with our counsaile shall take aduice, and we trust you shall haue a reasonable answer, during which time, you may repose you, and all thinges necessarie shall be at your commaundement: with this answer sir Fraunces departed at this time. When it was knowne in Spayne, that the king of Englande, was alied with the French king, the Spaniards spake largely and sayde that they cared not for the king of Englande, and sayde farther that all this was the drift of the Cardinal by reason whereof the Englishe Marchauntes were euill entreated in Spayne, but the Emperour perceyuing this, gaue a generall commaundement, that all Englishmen shoulde be ordered and reputed as his louing friends.

In this very Moneth tydings was brought to the Emperour, how the inhabitants of Turnay conspired to destroy Monsieur Delanoies their Capitaine, and deuised to bid him to a banquet, and so to slay him and all that loued the Emperour, but as God would, he had knowlege of this treason, and tooke the chiefe Capitaynes, and did on them sharpe execution, for feare whereof many fled into Fraunce.

The Emperour within a day or twayne called to him Doctor Lee, and Sir Fraunces Boynes the king of Englands Ambassadors, and sayde, my Lords, we haue perceyued the king your maisters requests, which be great and of a waightie importaunce, wherefore we entend with all speede to wryte to the king our Uncle, and when we haue receyued answer from him, we shall deliuer you of such things as you demaunde, praying you in the meane season to take pacience, and so for the time they departed.

By thys time was it knowne that the Cardinal of England was with the French king, and full well knew the Emperour that the Cardinal would doe all for to ayde the French king, and to damage him, yet had he a great pencion of the Emperour.

The Englishe Marchauntes fearing the sequele of this matter, conueyed away their goodes daylie out of the Emperours dominions: but still the Englishe Ambassadors came to the Emperours Court, and one day the Emperour sayde to them, my Lordes, I maruaile how the king mine Uncle is moued against mee and my subiectes, I assure you I will not warre with him, I trust in his faithfull promise, and his accustomed goodnesse, and his people I take as my friendes. If he loue the French king I may not so doe, for he to me is but true and keepeth no iust promise, and we neuer compelled him to make any offer, but his offer was of his owne motion, and he also swozne to maintaine the same, which he now refuseth, and to our great prejudice hath perswaded against vs our dere vncle of England by peruers imaginations, which I trust will neuer be our enemy. Thys many times the Emperour would common with the Englishe Ambassadors, which lay in Spaine.

But now must I returne to the Cardinal of Englande which laye at  
Amias,

I i i i j.

Amias,



A great con- sail holden at Ambras in Fraunce, at the which the Cardinall was present.

Ambras, there was a great counsayling from day to daye: First howe the Pope should be deliuered, and the sea of Rome brought to a quietnesse: secondarily how to bring the Emperour to some reasonable agreement, so that the French kings children might be delivered. It was well considered that the Emperour had a great foredell by reason of the sayde two hostages, which fordele might perchaunce so stomack him, that he would agree to no newe conditions nor agreements. Then it was answered on the other side that if a great armie were sent into Italy which might driue the Emperours power out of Italy, then that armie should set the Pope at libertie, and also driue the Emperour to come to their purpose, or else he should leese both the realmes of Naples and Sicile, and the Duchie of Millayne and other dominions, wherefore the French king determined to send an armie royall into Italy vnder the conduyt of Mounsieur Doyt de Labotrick Erle of Foyg, which was appointed afore in June to go to the borders of Italy with a small number, but now to him was assigned eyght thousand Britons with notable Capitaines of the same countrie, and eight thousand Normans with like Capitaines, and eyght thousand Gascoynes, and sixe thousand Burgoyngs, thre thousand Sauoyngs, eyght thousand Swythers and Almaines, and sixe thousand Pyrcardes of which men were five thousand horsemen vnder the conduit of Mounsieur Galvos, and in this armie went Syr Robert Ferynyngham and John Carew of Bakam, and lxxx. other Englishe gentlemen, which were sent thether by the Cardinall from Ambras. When thys armie was assembled, the Cardinall deliuered the king of Englands money that he had brought out of Englande in barrells as you haue heard, with which money was this armie payde two Monethes before hande, and the remnant was deliuered to Sir Robert Ferynyngham, which was called Treasorer of the warres. In this armie were thre thousand cariage men, and aduenturers foure thousande, so that when they were ouer the Mountaynes, they were, lxx. thousand men, and some wyrters say a hundred thousand. This armie was called in Latin Excercitus Anglix & Gallorum Regum, pro Pontifico Romano liberando congregatus, that is to say, the army of the kings of Englande and Fraunce, gathered for the deliuerance of the Byshop of Rome, and so was thys armie reputed. Although fewe people knewe at the beginning in Englande of the conueying of the money ouer the sea, yet when the English coyne was the common payment of the army it was then openly knowen: then many men sayde alas, so much money spent out of the realme, and of thys charge the realme shall not be one peny the better, the king hath had of vs a loane and that is not payde, and the great subledie was graunted to make the king riche, and now is that money to help our olde enemies and the Pope, which neuer shall doe vs good, this the people spake and much worse. Whyle the Cardinall was with the French king, the Pope sent to him a Bull, and made hym Vicar generall vnder him thzough all the king of Englandes dominions, and there by a Bull he created Anthony de Prafo Bishop of Sens and Chaunceloz to the French king a Cardinall with great solempnitie. The Cardinall for hys solace roade wyth the French kyng to Compeigne and Mountdedier, and was euer highly feasted of the king and his mother, and of the Chauncelloz of Fraunce, and of all the nobilitie. Then was it concluded by the Cardinall and the French kings counsayle what articles

English money deliuered.

articles of offer should be sent to the Emperour, which if he refused, then open defiance to be made to him in the name of both the kings. The Cardinall toke his leaue of the French king & his mother (which tolde him that a noble Ambassade should be shortly sent again into England from the realme of Fraunce for fortesifying of all the conclusions) and so the sayde Cardynall with great rewardes returned with all hys traine, and by iourneys the last day of September he came to Rychemond to the king of Englande, and there asserted the king of all hys doyngs, but so could no Lord that then was in commission with him, for they knewe nothing of all his doyngs, which sore grieved their stomackes. The Cardinall which much reioysed in this peace, came the first day of the Terme into the starre chamber, and there by his commaundement were present the Lordes spirituall and tempozall of the kings counsayle, and the Maior and Aldermen of the Citie of London, and the Iudges of the lawe, and all the Justices of peace of all Shyres then beyng at Westminster. And then he sayde, howe muche is the realme of Englande bounde to God for the high peace that now is concluded? A high peace, yea suche a peace as was neuer concluded betweene no realme, for by my labor and industrie I haue hnt the realmes of Englande and Fraunce in such a perfite knot that it shall neuer sayle, for the thre estates of Fraunce (which here we call a Parliamēt) haue affirmed the same, & therfore now my lordes be merry, for I king shall neuer charge you with warres in Fraunce, nor the Maior & other Marchaunts shall neuer be charged farther with expences, so that with exactions for warres of Fraunce you shall no more be charged, for the king shall haue no nede, because that he by this league shall be the richest prince of the world for I assure you he shall haue more treasure out of Fraunce perely, then all his reuenues and customes amount to, yea and counte his wards, forfeits and all such casualties. Now syth you haue such an honorable peace and such a profitable peace, howe much be you bounde to him which hath brought this peace about, for this peace is in secula seculorum. And because this peace is so noble, it is sealed with a seale of Gold, and so he caused all there present to looke on the seale, which was the very great seale of Fraunce printed in fine Golde: at thys tale many a man after laughed to thinke howe the Cardynall lped, for they knewe that that he sayde was for hys awne glozpe, and nothing should folow as he sayde. The French king according to his appointment sent the Lorde Annas of Homozancie great maister of his house, and after that high Constable of Fraunce, and the Bishop of Bayon, the chiefe President of Roan, and Mounsieur de Hunpers, as his Ambassadors to the king of England accompanied with lx. gentlemen well appointed, which the .xiiij. day of October landed at Dover, whose seruautes demeaned themselves so in passyng thzough Kent, that muche businesse was to lodge them in London, but the Cardinall commaunded corporations of the Citie to prouide lodgyng for them, which was neuer scene before, where at the people murmured sore, sayng that the Cardinall was all French. Soon the twentieth day of October the sayde Ambassadors were met on Black heth by the Marques of Exeter, the Byshop of London, the Wycount Rochforde, and Lorde Mountioy with many men of honoz and gentlemen, to the number of five hundred

The returne of the Cardinall into England.

A peace sealed with a seale of Gold

A great Ambassade sent from the French king to the king of England.

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horses



horses and more. The Maior and Aldermen of the Citie of London, and the chiefe commoners on horseback in their Gobones met the sayde Ambassadors at saint Georges barre, and there was made to them a solempne oration, and so from thence they were conueyed through London to the Byshop of Londons palace, and there and nere there about they were all lodged.

Present given by the Citie to the French Ambassadors.

The Citezens of London presented them with fure fat Oxen. xx. scape, twelue Swannes, twelue Cranes. xij. fefantz, foure dosyn of Partriches, twentie loaves of Suger, Comfettes, and other spice, and Ware, and eyght Hoggeheades of Wyne with many other things, which I cannot rehearse.

On Tuesday being the. xxij. daye of September, the sayde Ambassadors were conueyed by water to Grenewiche, where befoze the king sitting under his clothe of estate the foresayde Mounfire Bayon president of Roan made an eloquent proposition in the which he much thanked the king for sending so high an Ambassadoz as the Cardinall was, a man of such prudence and wpt as it appered by the knitting of the league, that like to him could none be found, for by his onely mediation the two princes were accorded so surely as neuer were princes befoze that time, so that by this confederation the Pope and his Cardinals which were in captinitie and thraldome should by the power of these two princes be deliuered, and all the Emperours power should be cleane banished and driven out of Italy, and the Pope should be restored to his olde estate and dignitie agayne.

When this oration was done and an answer made to the same, the king welcommed all the gentlemen of France, and then they had Wyne and spice brought to them, whereof they take part and dranke, and so departed to their Barge. Daily these Ambassadors repaired to the Cardina's place and there were highly enterterned, and the morow after saint Simons daye and Jude, the Byshop of Bayon and a great number of the Frenche gentlemen dined at the Maiors feast, & so they taried in London til Thylonday, on which day the king accompanied with the Ambassadors of France and all his nobility rode to the Cathedrall Church of saint Paule, where the Cardinall sang Masse, & after Masse done the people were desired to pray, that by their prayers Pope Clement might the sooner be deliuered out of captinitie: and when that was done the king of Englande befoze the aulter sware to kepe and perfozme the league. The common people sayde what neede all thys swearing, the French king was once sworne and all his nobilitie, yea and all his good townes, but yet they brake with vs, and so will they agayne when they see an auantage.

The Ambassadors departed.

The next day the great maister and all his company tooke their leaue of the king (except the Byshop of Bayon which abode as Ambassadour in Englande) and were highly rewarded, and so passed to Tower and tooke ship there and landed at Bulleyn.

After that the Frenchmen were departed the commons spake sore agaynst the Cardinall and sayde that the Frenchmen did neuer good to England, and for the Cardina's pleasure re should forsake our olde friends and receiue our olde enemies. When the Cardinall heard of these sayings he was not content, wherfoze he sent a commission to the Maior of London to commaunde all men not to talke of the kinges affayres and busynesse, or of the Quene, or of the kings counsaile. And if any person spake or talked of any

of these matters, then he to be taken and brought to the Cardinall. When this commaundement was once knowne, euerye man mistrusted other and no man durst breake his minde to other.

The Army that was in Italy at the charges of the king of England.

Now let vs speake of the army that the Lord Lawtrick had into Italy at the charges of the king of Englande and the French king for the deliuerance of Pope Clement. The Lorde Lawtrick after that his whole army was come to him to Lions, and that all things necessarie were in readinesse then he set forward with great dillygence: but or he had passed the Mountayns, the Venicianis army was come into Lombardy abiding the coming of the Frenchmen, and in the meane season, they marched toward the Emperours army which lay at the Citie of Myllayne. Wherof hearing Anthonie de Leua with eyght hundred Almaynes and Spaniardes on foote, and as many Italians marched forward to meete wyth them, and by force caused them to take the towne of Meligna for refuge, where he hearing that John de Medices with a great number were coming toward the Venitians, he in the euening or his enemies were aware sodainly set on the sayde John de Medices, which beganne to set his men in an order, but he was so enclosed that he could do nothing, but tooke his horse and fled, and left his companie alone, which were slaine almost all, and lost foure great peeces of ordinaunce, which Anthonie de Leua carreyed with him to Millaine. In which season the Lord Lawtrick with his armie was passed the mountaines and was come to the Citie of Astor abiding the Swichers, where he heard tell how that Lewys Erl of Lodron with a great crew of Almaynes was come to the towne of Boske nie Alexandrie, with money and bittayle to ayde the Almaynes that kept Alexandrie: wherfoze he sent hys hoysmen to stop them that they should not passe to Alexandrie, and after them he followed with his whole armie, and besieged them in Boske, which a certaine dayes defended, but at the last they yelded the towne, and became Souldiours to the Lorde Lawtricke. In this same season Andzew Dozy Admyrall of the French nauye, lay befoze the hauen of Gene, and kept the Genowaies from all Marchandise and bittayles, which to the Citie might repayre, and in especiall he letted certaine shippes of cozne which lay at Mont de Ferry, betwene Gene and Sauona, to come to Gene. The Genowayes which lacked cozne, and were on the land side besieged by a Citizen of their owne whiche was on the French part called Cesar Fulgofus, imagined how to bring the shippes of cozne into the Citie, and when they sawe that Andzew Dozye had but. xliij. Galyes. They prepared sixe Galleys to fight with Andzew Dozye, during which fight the shippes with cozne should enter the hauen. When the Galleyes were abroad, a sodaine tempest rose with such a violence, that Andzew Dozye was faine to take the Port of Sauona for his succour, and so the shippes of cozne came safe into the hauen of Gene, and all the Galleyes in safetie: this good was fortune to Gene at this tyme.

When the Citizens of Gene were thus bitailed, they tooke to them good courage & in warlike maner issued out agaynst Cesar Fulgofus which knewe well that they had little more then thre. C. Spaniardes that could skil of the warre, and as for the remnaunt were neyther of stomacke, nor of experience in warre, wherfoze he boldly set on them, and while they were fighting without, the Citezens within which be cuer mutable, sodainly cried France,



Fraunce, Fraunce, which clamor came to the eares of Adurnus which was imperiall, wherefoze he retired backe into the Citie to appease the rumoz, but their enemies folowed them in such haste that both entered together, and so Geane was become French. Then thether came the Lord Lawtrick, and put there a Capitaine with a retinue for the safe keepyng of the Citie. Then Adurnus Duke of Geane which was in the Castell with diuers of the Emperours friendes, and lacked bittayle, and sawe no comfote of rescue, yelded the Castell vpon condicion to depart with bagge and baggage, and so they did. In the meane season certaine Frenchmen which were left at Boske defaced the towne, and then came befoze Alexandrie, and there kept a siege vnsant that no ayde nor succour should come to the towne, till the whole armie were assembled to bessege the towne. But for all that purpose, by the Downes of Alexandrie, Albericke Barbian with fivie hundred souldiozs came into the towne, which much comforted the garrison there, which was in maner dismayed because their ayde at Boske had fayled them. The Frenchmen besseged the towne and bet it with ordinaunce, and they within manfully defended it, and made newe countermures, so that their enemies could not enter without ieopardie. But at the last the Venicians brought thier great pieces of ordinaunce which so foze bet the walles, that Baptist Lodryn the Capitaine sawe that he was not able to defend it, and so he deliuered the towne vpon this composition, that he and his should depart with bagge and haggage, and he nor his to weare no harnesse agaynst the French king, nor his confederates by the space of sixe Monethes. Then the Lord Lawtrick deliuered the towne to Fraunces Sforzia accordyng to the league, whiche Fraunces put there a conuenient garrison. Thence that army remoued to Belgasse which to them was yelded and also deliuered to the Duke of Millain, and from thence he remoued towarde the Citie of Millain, whereof heeryng Anthonie de Leua fortified the Castell of Millain, and sent Letyx Barbian to defende the Citie of Paue. When the Lord Lawtrick was within. viij. myle of Millain, he sodainly returned towarde Paue, which men iudged to be done for the displeasure that was done there to the Frenchmen when they king was taken, and so the. xix. daye of September they besseged Paue, and dayly betwene them were great skirmishes, but at the last they bet the walles so with great ordinaunce, that they made the towne assaultable. Then the Frenchmen threw into the ditches sagottes, and etapty pypes, and shortly entered the towne. The Capitaine perceiuyng the towne entered, opened the gate, and yelded himselfe prisoner. Then the Frenchmen slue and killed on euery syde, robbed and spoyled houses, and Churches, and spared no person nor place, and of crueltie ransomed one man fivie or six tymes, and the Gascopnes which were most cruell, set fyze on the fayze houses, and had bzent the whole Citie, if the Lord Lawtrick after seven dayes spoylyng had not commaunded them to ceasse. When Paue was thus taken and spoyled, the Lord Lawtrick determined with the Cardinall Innocent Legate of Bonony, which was come for the deliuerance of the Pope incontinent to passe to Rome, and to driue away all the Emperours power from thence, and to restore the Pope to libertie.

Fraunces Sforzia Duke of Millain heeryng of this determination, came to the Lord Lawtrick to Paue and required him first to rid the

Duchy

The great Tower of Paue taken by the french and spoyled.

Duchy of Millayne of the Emperours souldiers rather then to go forwarde and leaue his enemies behinde him. The Lord Lawtrick answered that he was of the same opinion, but the commission that he had of the French king and the king of Englande, was, that with all speede he should go forward to deliuer the Bishop of Rome, which done he saythfully promised that he would retoutne and expulse all the Emperours power out of Lombardy, and in the meane season he would that the Duke and the Venicians should bessege Anthonie de Leua in the Castell of Millayne. Duke Fraunces seemed to be content with this aunswere, but yet he perceyued that the French king cared not for his restoring least he should be imperiall. So for y time the Duke dissimuled the matter, and toke possession of the Citie of Paue. When the Lord Lawtrick had lien. xviij. dayes at Paue, he dismissed the Swychers which in no wise would go with him to Rome, wherefoze he marched forward with his owne army and came to Plesance where he concluded a league with Alphons Duke of Ferrer, and Frederick Marques of Mantua, so that then he knewe well he might passe in safety: and in good order of batrail he marched toward Rome for the finishyng of his enterprize. But or he was passed out of Lombardie, the Emperour had sent letters to the Bishop of Rome, and excused himselfe that he neyther willed nor commaunded such mischiefe to be done, and straightly commaunded his Capitaynes to deliuer him. The prince of Orenge and other Capitaynes of the Emperours heeryng his commaundement, tooke agreement with the Pope and his Cardinales, and so he and. xij. Cardinales were bound to performe certaine articles to the number of. xij. and then he was deliuered out of the Castell Saint Angell the tenth day of December, and was conueyed to Oruyet, where after he had payed certaine money for the souldiozs wages, he was put at full libertie, and the Emperours people departed from him, and thence he remoued to Ancona. When tidynges was brought into Englande of his deliuerance, the Cardinall in great hast caused Te Deum to be song on Newyeres day in the Kinges Chapell, and declared openly that he was escaped, and sayd not deliuered, which made many men to muse: and on Sunday the fift day of January, the Cardinall with great triumph came to the Church of Saint Paule in London, and on him attended diuers prelates of the Clergie, and there Te Deum was song again, and after that Doctor Cappon openly declared, how that Bishop Clement had bene long kept in distress by fault of Tyrautes and Infidels, and so kept as prisoner to the behoofe of Charles the Emperour, till now of late through the prayers of good christen people, he was escaped the handes of his enemyes, for which cause hee willed all men to geue thanks to God: That night were great fiers made in the kinges Court, and in all London. Shortly after this, truth was knowen, that the Pope was deliuered by composition, and not freely escaped as the Cardinall had blowen abroade, but men sayde that he could not leaue his liyng.

Whyle the Lord Lawtreck was thus passing towarde Naples, Syr Fraunces Poynes knight, which was sent with Clarenseaux king of armes into Spaine to the Emperour, returned into Englande befoze Christmas, in the ende of December, and left Clarenseaux behinde, to bring farther answer from the Emperour of things demaunded, wherof he sayd he would take

The Emperour deliuered the Pope out of prison.

Clement Pope deliuered.

The returne and report of Syr Fraunces Poynes.



take longer aduice or he would answere. Thys s<sup>r</sup> Fraunces reported that the Emperour so much fauoured and esteemed the king of Englande, that at his only request and contemplation, he had released and discharged twelue articles, which were most grienous and disprofitable to the French king, not for the French kings sake, but at the intercession of the king of Englande: yet this notwithstanding the Cardinall so inuegled the king, that he so highly fauoured the French king, that all hys causes he toke and reputed as his awne, and did all that he might, to bring the French kings purposes about.

The Emperour before this time had written to the French king, and also aduertised thereof the French Ambassadors that lay in Spaine, that he would that the French king should sende to him a diffinitive answere, if he would withdraw his people out of Italy or not, and let the Duchie of Millaine alone, and to cease of all inuasions or not, and this answere to be taken for a defiance. Then the French Ambassadors before day shewed to the Emperour, the proffer which the French king offered to him in articles, as you haue heard before, in the conclusion taken at Amias by the French king and the Cardinall in August last passed. Which proffers when the Emperour had heard and scene, he sayde to the Ambassador, we thought surely that our Cosyn the French king and we, had bene at a full conclusion, when the league and appointment was agreed at our towne of Madzill: for when he sued for his deliuerance to vs, he and his counsaile offered vs certaine proffers, which we neuer demaunded, but we of pittie hauing compassion of his affliction, accepted the sayde offers, and agreed to his deliuerance, which articles he promised in the othe of a king, and also on the holy Euangelistes, to performe to the vitermost, and them inuoliatly to obserue and keepe. Whereupon we clerely remitted, and deliuered him into his countrey, of all which promises he hath performed none, wherefore we take him as perjured, and not worthy to be trusted, and now he offereth new offers, which he can not performe, as for the money we beleue he is able to pay, but as for the money due for the kingdome of Naples, we knowe no such duetie, for it is our inheritaunce, although king Charles the seventh, by subtiltie once vsurped the same, which he long not enioyed: as to release hys title to Millayne, that release is boyde, for the Duchie is imperiall, and in our gift as many other seignories bee: and as touchyng Courmay, ours it is of right and now in our possession: So that in all these things he would release and render things that he had not: and as to the withdrawing of his armie out of Italy, he shall not nede, for we trust that our armie shall expell them all Italy, maugre their hartes. And as touchyng the king of Auer, the Duke of Gelder, and Robert de la Marche, we of pittie let them alone till we see our time, and then they shall knowe our puyssaunce: And as touchyng his offer to ayde vs with a nauie, we trust we haue suche a nauie provided, that we shall nede none of his: and where he sayth he will marry our sister Queene Alienor, daughter of Dorztyngall, if he had bene true, that he might haue done or this, but now we entend not to geue her to our enemy: and as touchyng her daughter to be married to the Dolphyn, that we leaue in suspence for thys time: But where he sayth that he will defend vs, that toucheth our honour, for well knoweth he that our awne might and puyssaunce, hath euer defended vs, & him and his power hath defaced and ban-

quished,

The Emperours answers were to the sayde articles.

quished, wherefore we neede not of his defence, which is not able to defend hymselfe: and as touchyng the king of Englandes debt, we shall reasonably answere his Ambassadors, for that toucheth not the French king: But nowe my Lordes Ambassadors sayde the Emperour, let the French king your Mayster fulfill the promise that he was swozne to, as a true Prince ought to doe, and then he shall haue his children delyuered, or else according to his othe, let him yelde himselfe prisoner agayne, and so shall his honoz and truth be saued or else not, so with this answere the Ambassadors departed. Neuerthelesse they dayly sued to the Emperour and his counsaile to take the offers which were profered by the French king, and amongs other things the warre was sore layde to the French Ambassadors charge, for that that the French king made warre on the Emperours possessions, without cause and without defiance, to which accusation they answered that that armie was procured by the Cardinall of Englande, when he was at Amias, for the deliuey of Clement Bishop of Rome, and that the king of Englande bare the most charge.

When the Emperour heard this answere, he sent for the Ambassador of Englande, and to him saide: My Lorde Ambassador, I much maruaile why the king your master hath so great loue to the French king, his newe reconciled friend, and withdrawn his loue from me, that am his Cosyn and alie: How fortuneth this that your olde auerant enemies be now in fauour and your olde friendes cast out of fauour. I see well there is indignation had at our estate, and waies sought to grieue vs, which we hope to withstand: But who would haue thought that our Uncle of England, would haue made warre on vs? How would he haue vs graunt his requestes and desires for the French king, seyng he be with himselfe our open enemy? Then the Ambassador discreetly answered, that he neyther heard nor knewe of such doyngs, on his fayth and honoz. Well sayde the Emperour, it is true that is reported, mine Uncle is not the Prince that I haue taken him for, and if he be mine enemy, I must withstande him, and in a great furie, the Emperour withdrew him from the Ambassador to his priuie chamber.

Daylie the Ambassadors both of Englande and of France, sollicitid the Emperour and his counsaile, to accept the French kings offers, which made euer answere, that they would not trust to the newe promise, seyng that the olde promise which was swozne, was not obserued and kept.

Some whosoever indifferently shall consider the articles which were offered in the treatie of Madzill, and the articles offered now at Amias, shall openly perceyue, that the greatest thing which the French king refused to doe, was the deliuey of the Duchie of Burgoyne and the Countie Charoloy, for declaration whereof, the French king sent for all the nobles of both the countreys, and declared to them thys promise and concord taken with the Emperour, which answered that no realme or dominion could be transferred to any forreyn prince or person without the sentence, agreement, and submission of the nobles, and commons of the same countrey, and therefore they would neuer assent to that alteration: This answere was deliuered to Lorde Charles de la Noe Viceroy of Naples, then Ambassador for the Emperour in France, which thereof certefied the Emperours counsaile. But the Emperour and his counsaile thought this to be but a decepte, in so

much

The Cardinall procured warre against the Emperour for the deliuey of the Bishop of Rome.

The saying of the Emperour to the King of Englands Ambassador.



much as the french king had onely called suche of Burgoyne as him pleased, and not the substantiall of the countrey. And farther the Emperour so much desired the Duchie of Burgoyne, because he was the very heire there of bloud descended from Duke Philip, sonne to king John of Fraunce, that by no meanes he would haue that article broken, but that he would haue that Duchie. The french king perceyued his minde and offred to him great sommes of money for the redeeming of that article, the king of England also offred to be suretie for the payment: but all this could not moue the Emperour but he would haue Burgoyne, and all the sayde treatie and agreement performed.

The king of England considering how much he had done for the Emperour, and calling to his remembraunce, both that the Lordes and commons of Spayne, would not haue taken him as king (his mother liuing (although she were Lunatique) because she was heire, without his great labour and intercession, & also that he holpe him to be elected Emperour, which the french king had obtayned, if he had not put therunto his ayde, and sent Doctor Richard Pace his Secretorie to the Electors of Franckeforde, and most of all that he at all times, had succored the sayde Emperour with mony and was not payed, wherefore he was not a litle displeasid with the Emperours wylfulness, but moze with his unkindnesse, and perceyued clerely, that sith by his meanes he was so exalted, that now he had forgotten all the kindnesse to him shewed, wherefore he thought to make him to knowe himselfe by warres, the soner to bring him to accomplish his request, and to make him to remember his olde kindnesse, and so by the aduice of the Cardinall of York (which loued not the Emperour, for the Bishop of Romes case) and other of his counsaile, he sent woord to Clarenseaux king at armes, to make defiaunce to the Emperour, and so Guyan Herault for the french king and the sayde Clarenseaux for the king of Englande, the .xiiiij. day of January, in the City of Burgues in Castile, came before the Emperour beyng nobly accompanied with Dukes, Marqueses, Erles, and Barons, in his great hall, and there made their defiaunces.

When the defiaunces were made by both the kings of Armes, as you haue heard, al the nobles which were present, as y Constable of Castile, y Duke of Maledonia the Duke of Inuancaso, the Duke of Alberkirke, y Duke of Ciuill, the Duke of Passaw, or Hazareth, the Duke of Aluoy, the Marques of Sturgus the Marques of Agular, the Marques of Uillafranca, y Erle Barcelon, the Erle of Salamatero, y Erle Boniuent, the Erle Browen, the Erle Agular, the Erle Salienas, the Erle Geneuer, with six great Lordes Comendatozies Crossed, & many other noble men & Gentlemen, for a truth to the number of seven hundred at the least: all these drew out their swords and sware that the defiaunces, then made should be reuenged, and sayd to the Emperour: Sir if the despyte of this defiaunce be unreuenged, the infamy and rebuke thereof shall remayne to vs and our heires for ever, wherefore our landes, liues and lordshippes, shall be at your commaundement, and while any lyne of your succession remayne, this igneminie shall be ever new and not die, till you haue obtained y double honoz, against all your enemies.

When the Emperour was thus defied, the warre was proclaymed in Ciuill, in Ualedolite, in Burgus, and other places through all Spaine: But when

Richard Pace Secretorie.

Defiaunces made to the Emperour.

when the common people heard of this defiaunce, they wzong themselves by the Berdes and sware, that all their landes and goodes, should be spent for the honoz of the Emperour, and to be reuenged on the french king, whom they called the periured Prince, and so the common people cryed in the stretes, now is come the time, that Spayne shall be renoumed, and reuenged on the frenchmen for their faisenesse, and wzong doynges. But alas sayde they, why should we make warre with the Engliche nation, which euer loued vs and neuer offended vs: but this defiaunce procedeth not of them, but onely of the french king, and of the Cardynall of Englande, which is wozyne french: thus the Spaniards talked, and euer excused the king of England and accused the Cardinall, and sayd that he had a great penzion out of Spaine and that notwithstanding, because he might not haue the Bishoprike of Toledo, he caused all this warre. This proclamation of warre was proclaymed with banners displayed, in the which were paynted a red sworde, & a Cresset burning, against the french king and his partakers, not mening the king of England, by expresse name, but it was reherfed in the proclaymation, that the king of England had manaced, and defied the Emperour, in the french kings quarrell. Then were the English Marchauntes in Spayne attacked and their goodes put in safe custody, and to them was sayd that they were stayed onely, till the Emperour was aduertised how his subiectes were ordered in England.

Cydings of this was first knowne in Fraunce, and from thence letters were sent to the french Ambassadors in London, how both the Ambassadors of Fraunce and of England, beyng in Spaine, and Guyen and Clarenseaux officer at Armes, were retayned by the Emperour as prisoners, which report was false, for they were at libertie, and well cherished, and in especiall all the English Ambassadors and Clarenseaux, were friendly entertayned in all places. When the Cardinall heard this report he was too light of credence (which he repented afterward) and was soze therewith moued, and in his fury the .xiiij. day of February, he caused Don Hugo de Mendosa, the Emperours Ambassador, to be taken out of his house, in Saint Swithines lane in London, and to be brought to sir John Daunces place in Marke lane, as a prisoner, and his house with his goodes were kept by the Cardinalls seruantes, till the kinges pleasure were farther knowne.

The morow after being the .xiiij. day of February, the Cardinall being in the Starre chamber, called before him all Iustices of y peace, and other honest personages to a great number, and to them sayde: My Lordes and all you the kynges louing subiectes, his graces pleasure is that I should declare to you, how that his highnesse, not of his owne seeking, but rather against hys will and intent, is entered into warre. For the elect Emperour Charles the fift, hath him so handled & moued, that he must of necessity with him make warre. First it is not unknovne to you all, how good the king hath bene to him, sith his infancy, how he hath defended his low countries during his noneage: Pea, what payne the king toke by his Ambassadors, to sollicite the Lordes of Spaine, which refused to take him as their king, while his mother liued, and by the kinges onely labor, he came to the kingdom of Spaine, what it cost the king to helpe him to be Emperour, we that be his counsayloz can tell, for if the king had not bene, surely the french

The Cardinall is accused to be the onely author of this warre.

The English Marchauntes arrested in Spaine.

The Cardinall saving in the Star Chamber.

kkkkk.

king



king had bene Emperoz. Beside all these kindneses, he hath lent to the sayd Emperoz, diuers great sommes of money, to defend his countreyes, and what profite his countreyes haue by the resort of Englishemen thither, you that be Marchants can tell, for these things with many mo profites, comodities, & gratuities, the king of him is so litle regarded, that I am halfe ashamed to report it. True it is that Frannces the French king, was to him prisoner (which chaunce hath happened to many high Princes) the kyng our maister, highly regarding the peace of christen Princes, by which peace God might the more be glorified: desyred the Emperoz to take some reasonable ende for his deliuerance, and for that purpose hath sent to him sundry Ambassadors, which gaue them eares, but daled with them, and nothing would doe at all, and regarded no more his requestes, then I would the desire of my seruant (and peradventure not so much) so that for all gratuities and friendships to him, by the king our soueraigne Lord, at all times shewed, he sheweth himsele ingrate and vngentle, and for kindnesse rendzeth vnkindnesse, as for the french king I assure you, he hath humbled himsele as much as a prince may, his honoz saued. He hath offered him so great offers, that except he should geue hym hys realme and crowne, he can offer no more larger, which offers I assure you, soze ministe the betwix of his crowne, which I shall briefely declare vnto you. For he offereth to paye five hundred thousande poundes sterling, whereof three hundred thousande, to be payed in hande, for the remnaunt sufficient Bankers to be bounde, and farther to discharge the Emperoz, of all such sommes of money, as he oweth to the king of England, and to deliuer him a sufficient acquittance for the same. Also where the french king should haue out of the kingdome of Naples an hundred thousande Crownes yerly, the french king will release the same pencion, with all the arerages which are no small some. Also he will re'esse his whole title and right which he hath to the Duchie of Millayne, his very inheritance, and neuer he to challenge or clayme the same nor his posteritie. Also where the Countie of Flaunders maye lawfully appeale to the parliamentes of Fraunce, from iudgements geuen by the Emperoz or his Iustices, he is content to release the same superiority and resorte, which is a great minishment to the prerogatiue royall of the realme of Fraunce, for which of you (sayd the Cardinall) would consent that the king should release his superiority or superiority of Wales, Irelande or Cornewall, I dare saye you would rather spende your liues and goods.

Farther, where the french king bought of the king the Citie of Courmay, for sixe hundred thousand Crownes, and odde, yet he is content to relde and release the same Citie to the Emperour for euer, yea, and besyde this, he offereth to take to wife, Elianoz Queene Dowager of Portugale, without any dowet, yea, in her kirtell, and to indue her with ten thousand Markes sterlyng by the yere, and farther that the childe if it be a Male, which shall be gotten of them two, shall be Duke of Burgoyne, and be partaker of all the honours of Fraunce, which is a great thing: Also that the Dolphyn his sonne and heire, shall marry the daughter of the sayde Ladie Elianoz, without any treasure to be receyued for the same, which proffer is worth two hundred thousand Markes sterlyng.

Furthermore, he will lende the Emperour Shippes and Mariners, to conuey

him to Rome, and also defend him agaynst all men, yea, what will he do more, although the king of Nauarre haue maryed his abone sister, whose Kingdome the Emperour kepeth by force, yet he offereth neyther to ayde nor comfort him agaynst the Emperoz, but in his quarrell to be agaynst him: Also he offereth to forsake his olde and approued friendes, Sir Robert de la Marche, and the Duke of Gelders, which saythfully hath serued the realme of Fraunce, and all for the Emperozs sake. But the Emperour sayde he, is so indurate, so vnkynde, and wilfull, that he neyther regardes these reasonable requestes, nor yet the kinges prayers nor requestes, but answered and sayd: that if the french king can do all this, he shall haue his children. So that the Emperoz will trust no man, but euery man must trust him: Yet the french king offereth farther, to withdraw the puyssaunt army of the Lorde Labotrick in Italy, and yet the same passeth prosperously forward, and is like to do the Emperour more disaduantage, then I will notue reherse: but the Emperour is so proude, and his people so cruell, that he nothing regardeth these offers: for what a crueltie was this, to pull downe Goddes Altar of Rome, and persecute the holy fathers by extreme tyzanny, violated the holy Sacrament, and threwe the hostes downe on the Altare, and like robbers tooke the Dixe: and farther in the Church, they violated Virgins, and supped Matrones, and dispoyled the holy Reliques of the Citie of Rome. And like as the king in huntynge tyme hath slayne three hundred Deere, and the garbage and paunches be cast round about, in euery quarter of the Parke, so (sayd the Cardinall) euery streete lay full of the priuie members and genitures of the Cardinales and holy Prelates: the whole histoie were to abominable to tel. Yet notwithstanding all these offers mocioned, and nothing regardyng this detestable tyzanny, the which euery good Christen man abhorreth, he will encline to no reason, I am sure that I coude shewe you. xx. articles of promise, which he hath broken with the king: so that I assure you he kepeth no promise with our soueraine Lorde, also contra ius Gencium, which I am sure the great Turke would not doe, he kepeth prisoner the kinges Ambassadors Doctor Lee, the french Ambassador, & the Ambassador of Venice: and forasmuch as the Emperoz refuseth these offers, which amount to eyght kinges ransomes, I trust by this warre, we shall bridle him, and bring him to peace, and this occasion of warre, I would all you shoulde declare in your Countrey.

When the Cardinall had sayde, some knocked other on the elbowe, and sayd softly he lieth, other sayde, that euill will sayde neuer well, other sayde that the french Crownes made him speake euill of the Emperour, but they that knewe al that you haue heard before said, that it was shame for him to lie in such an audience. The comon people much lamented, & warre should arise betwene the king & the Emperoz, and especiall theyr consideration was, because the Emperozs dominions, had holpen them with corne, & relieved them with grayne, when they could haue no corne, or little out of Fraunce. And in this rumoz were diuers ships come out of Flaunders, and that parties, laden with Hering, Sturgion, & al other bitaile necessary: beside eight sayre ships, which were laden with corne, all the sayde ships, & all the ships of Spaine, were stayed and arrested, and theyr sayles taken from them, and put in safe custodie. This doying was much talked of by Marchauntes, which frequen-

The murmors  
of the people.

Shippes ar-  
rested.



ted the Emperours Dominions, for they knewe and openly sayd, that the let of the entercourse of Marchauntes, shoulde turne to the great losse of the Princes, but yet the Englishe men were content to obey theyr King and his Counsaile.

The declaration of warre in England against the Emperour, and the restraint of shippes of the Emperours subiects, were shortly knowne to the Lady Margaret Duchesse of Sauoy, and aunte to the Emperour, which was gouernoz of Flaunders, Brabant, and Zeland, and of all the lowe Countries: wherefore she by the aduice of the Emperours Counsaile to her associate, caused all the Englishe men, and their goodes and shippes to be restrayned, and they and theyr goodes were put in safe keepyng. Thus the poore Marchauntes suffered great losse, for the doynges of their Princes, as Horace sayth: Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur achiui. whatsoeuer kings do, the Commons be punished. Now after this sodaine storme, which the Cardinall had moued openly agaynst the Emperour for euill entreatyng of the kinges Ambassadour, he had perfect knowlege that the Emperour, both did the kinges Ambassadoz great honour, and also that he neuer restrayned him from his libertie, whereupon he caused the Emperours Ambassadoz, which befoze was restrayned of his libertie, to be sent to his abone lodgyng agayne, and sayd that by the report made by the French Ambassadoz, he him restrayned, and now sithe he knewe the truth, he mocioned the king for his deliuerance.

The Emperours Ambassadoz, called Don Hugo de Mendosa, dissimuled the matter by apparant signes: and the Cardinall the moze to auoyde suspicion on his behalfe, towarde all the worlde, sayde: the king was informed by the French Ambassadours, that the Ambassadours of both Princes were put in prison, and further he sayde, that Clarenseaux had made the defiance to the Emperour without the kinges commaundement, but onely did it by the mocion of the French Ambassadoz, to accompanie the French Herald, and for this presumptuous act, he should suffer death at Calice at hys returne: all these excuses the Cardinall shewed to the Emperours Ambassadoz, which certefied the Emperour of euery poynt, and sent the letter by poste into Spaine, which letters were opened & copied, by the Capitaine of Bayon, as the post passed that way. And when Clarenseaux returned homeward out of Spaine, the Capitaine gently shewed to him the copie of the letters, that the Emperours Ambassadoz had wrytten. Thinke you not but Clarenseaux was dismayde, to heere his dayes so short: yet he trustyng in his truth, and grace of his Prince, passed forward and came to Bullein, where he heard worde agayne of the daunger that he was in, wherefore like a wyse man he left Calice, and tooke a ship at Bulleyn, and landed at Rye, and came secretly to Hampton Court, where the king laye, and by friendship of sir Nicholas Carew, one of the kinges priuie Chamber, he was brought to the kinges presence, or the Cardinall wist of his returne, and to him shewed the three letters, which the Cardinall had sent to him, chargyng him to make the defiance, or he did intimate the warre. He declared further, that neyther the Ambassadoz of the king, nor the French king, nor he were neuer sequestred from libertie, but gently enterteined, and to the king he shewed a chaine to the value of seuen hundred Ducates, which the Emperour had geuen him, and shewed also the Copie of the Emperours Ambassadoz letters, which he

Clarenseaux  
made a feard

had at Bayon. When the king had heard all the circumstance of his declaration, he mused a great while, and sayde, O Lorde Jesu, he that I trusted most, tolde me all these thinges contrary, well Clarenseaux, I will bee no more of so light credence hereafter, for nowe I see perfectly, that I am made to beleue the thing that was neuer done.

Then the king sent for the Cardinall and priuily talked with him, but whatsoeuer he sayde to him the Cardinall was not very mery, and euer after that time, the king mistrusted him. When the king and his counsaile had well digested the Emperours aunswere, and his gentle demeanoz toward the kinges Ambassadoz, and also had pondered that the lowe Countries of the Emperour, were glad to please the king of Englande and his subiects: wherefore the king commaunded syr John Style knight, to discharge all the Dutchmen and their shippes, and to deliuer their sayles, and gaue them license to returne: May sayde the Dutchmen, the Spaniards and we be the Emperours subiectes, why should not they be also discharged? Sir John Style aunswered them, that his commission was onely to discharge them. The Dutchmen fearing that the frenchmen would take the seas befoze them and so to stop them departed hastily, cursing the Cardynall as aucthoz of this warre.

When the Lady Margaret hard tell, how the Dutche nation with their Shippes and goodes were released, and not the Spaniards, she sent for the Englishe Merchants, and to them sayde: Sirs, sithe the king your maister hath deliuered onely the Dutchmen, and not the Spaniards, we release your bodie free to go at your libertie, but your goods shall remaine till we knowe what shall become of the Spaniards, and when they be deliuered come for your goodes, and you shall haue them deliuered, thus the Englishe men departed, and came to the king, and declared to hym and hys counsaile how they were entreated.

This warre with the Emperour was displeasaut, both to Marchants and clothiers, for the Marchauntes durst not auenture into Spaine, sithe April last past, and now was come the .xj. daye of Marche, wherefore all brode clothes, Kerseis, and Cottons, lay on their handes. In so muche as when the clothiers of Essex, Kent, Wilshire, Suffolke, and other shires which vse cloth making, brought clothes into Blackwell hall of London, to be solde as they were wont to doe: fewe Marchauntes or none bought anye cloth at all. When the Clothiers lacked sale, then they put from them their spinners, carders, tuckers, and suche other that lyue by clothmaking, which caused the people greatly to murmure, and especially in Suffolke, for if the Duke of Norfolk had not wisely appeased them, no doubt but they had fallen to some riotous act. When the kinges counsaile was aduertised of thys inconuenience, the Cardinall sent for a great number of the Marchauntes of London, and to them sayd: Sirs the king is informed, that you vse not your selues like Marchauntes, but like Grassiers and artificers, for where the clothiers doe daylie bring clothes, to your market for your ease, to their great cost, and there be ready to sell them, you of your wilfulnesse will not buy them as you haue bene accustomed to doe: what maner of men be you sayde the Cardinall? I tell you that the king straightly commaundeth you to buy their clothes, as befoze time you haue bene accustomed to doe, vpon paine of his

The wife  
sayng of the  
king.

The king  
now begin-  
neth to smell  
the fallshod of  
the Cardinall

Complaine  
of the Clo-  
thiers.



high displeasure.

The Marchaunts answered, my Lord you knowe well that we haue had no trade outward thys twelue Monethes past, and we haue so manye clothes in our hands, that we knowe not how to bitter them, therfore it were great losse to vs to bye any moze: wherefore we trust you will not moue vs to bye the thing which we can not bitter, for in all places our bent is stopped and forbidden. Well sayde the Cardinall, if you will not bie the clothes at Blackwell hall, they shall be brought to the whyte hall at Westminster, and so you of London shall lose the libertie, and the king shall bie them all, and sell them to Marchaunt straungers. Then answered a wise Marchaunt, my Lorde, the king may bie them as well at Blackwell hall, if it please him, and the straungers will gladlier receyue them there, then at Westminster: You shall not order that matter sayde the Cardinall, and first I will sende into London, to know what clothes you haue in your handes, and that done the king and his counsaile shall appoint who shall bye the clothes I warrant you, with this aunswere the Londoners departed.

When the clothiers hard that the Cardinall toke their part, they waxed proude, and spake euill of the Marchauntes, and when the Marchauntes came to bye clothes, the Clothiers set them hire, then they were accustomed to be solde: but at length they were faine both to abate the price, and also to seeke of the Marchaunt men, for all the Cardinals sayng.

If this warre was displeasunt to manye in Englande (as you haue heard) surely it was as much or moze displeasunt, to the townes and people of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, and Zeland, and in especial to the townes of Andwarpe and Barroo, where the Martes were kept, and where the resort of Englishe men was, for they sayde that their Martes were vndone, if the Englishe men came not there, and if there were no Martes, their Ships, Hyses, and Wagons might rest, and all artificers, Hostes, and Brokers might sleepe, and so the people should fall into miserie and pouertie: of these things daylie complaynts were made to the Ladie Margaret, and the Emperours counsaile, which wisely pondered the complaynts, and after long consultation had, they appoynted certaine Ambassadors to go to the king of Englande, and entreat for a truce, or abstinence of warre, which Ambassadors came into Englande, and associated themselues with Don Hugo de Mendosa, Ambassadoz there for the Emperoz: the one Ambassadour was Brouost of Cassell, and the other maister John Lay soueraine of Flaunders: these three Ambassadors came to the king the xxix. day of Marche to Richemond, and after reuerence done, the Lorde Hugo de Mendosa sayde to the king, for the Emperours Maiestie so much knowlegeth himsele bound to your grace, for manifolde kinde actes and beneuolences done and shewed to him sith his tender age, that he in no wise will take the desiauce, done by your Herault as a paretptory intimation of warre, tyll he had heard farther of your pleasure, and therfore his counsaile hath sent hether these two noble persons and me, to knowe your determinate aunswere, and finall resolution in that behalfe. The king after a good auisement had, answered and sayde: Of warre I am nothing ioyfull, and of warre I am lesse fearefull, I thanke God I haue no cause to care for warre, for I haue both men and money, and all thing ready prepared for the same, (which things I know that

The sayng  
of Hugo de  
Mendosa.

The Kinges  
answere.

other princes lack, for all their high wordes) and therfore to that question of warre I could sone agree, but or I make you a determinate aunswere, some part of my minde I will declare to you, and I tell you although your maister be a great Emperour and a mightie prince, I cannot nor maye not suffer him to beare downe and destroy the realme of Fraunce, which is our true inheritaunce, and for the which our brother and alie the French king, payeth vs verely a great pention and tribute, wherefore we of iustice and equitie, muste maintaine that lande, out of which we haue so faire a rent, and such a profite.

Then sayde the Brouost of Cassell, yea syz and it please you to call to your remembraunce, the olde and auncient loue and familiaritie which hath bene betwene your realme, and the houses of Burgoyne and Flaunders, and the lobbe countreys, I assure you the people of all those Countreys will liue and die with you, aboue all men next their soueraine Lorde, wherefore most noble prince neuer consent, that olde loue that hath so long continued, be now broken and seperated: we say this for no feare, for we be well furnished for warre, both of men and strong Castels, all which before thys time hath bene at your commaundement, and therfore the loue that we haue euer borne you, we continue and offer you now to continue: and where we offer you choise of warre or peace, at your pleasure, surely the Emperoz meaneth that for your honour, as though you should commaund which you would: and if you chose warre, we haue commission to entreate for peace, and you chose peace, we haue like commission to thanke you, and to offer vs and oures at your commaundement. Then sayde the Lord Hugo de Mendosa to the king, syz of verie right the Emperour and his countries ought to haue your loue and fauor, before the French king and his Nation: for the Frenchmen in the time of their affliction, made humble suites and requestes to your grace, which they neuer would do in the time of their prosperity, but the Emperour hath euer continued one man at all times, wherefore he is better to be trusted, then they which neuer were long true to you. Well said the king, sith I haue well perceyued the intent of your coming, I will be auised, and then I will make you an aduised aunswere, and in the meane season I am content that there be an abstinence of warre for a time, so the Ambassadors departed for a season, and the Brouost of Cassell, departed to the Lady Margaret with this aunswere.

After this the king which was wyse, well learned, and a farre castyng Prince, consulted with his Counsaile of this matter, and there after long debating it was considered, that the king was riche, strong, and puyssant ynough to make warre with any Prince Christen, and that no Prince coulde hurt him by warre or inuasion, therfore some thought it best to haue warre, but the king and the wyser sort considered that if he had warre with the Emperoz, that his marchauntes should leese much, and if they lost, the Clothiers and the Clothworkers, of which were a great multitude should leese and be brought to extreme pouertie. For it was considered that the Emperoz was Lorde of all Spaine, Naples, Sardinia, and so southwarde to Epusbaia, and like wyse northwarde from Granelyn, to Rye and Reuell, so that Englishe Marchauntes passyng on those costes were euer in daunger. Also no flame could come into England, but through his dominions, by reason whereof



whereof cloth makynge should decay. Wherefore the king considered, if the marchantes lost, the poozer sozt should leese, and at length he should leese in his customes. Wherefore leavyng the gloze of warre, he tooke mercye on his subiectes and concluded to take a peace for a tyme, till farther communication might be had betwene his counsaill and the Emperours. And upon this poynt letters were sent into Spaine, Fraunce, and Flaunders, and so this matter continued vnderdetermined till aunsweres were brought from outwarde partes.

The suite of the French Ambassadors

In this season the bishop of Bayon which afterwarde was Bishop and Cardinall of Darps beyng Ambassadoz from the French king, and sojourning in London, heard tell howe the Emperours Ambassadors made much suite to the king and his Counsaile, wherefore he came to the Court, and desired to speake with the king, and so was brought to the kinges presence, to whome he sayde: please your highnesse to consider the great and highe peace that is concluded betwene you and your louyng brother, and perpetually alpe the French king my mayster, which is ratified and confirmed by the thre estates of the realme of Fraunce, by the which you haue yerely twentie thousand pound sterlyng, which realme you haue promised to defend against all persons. Nowe in the wyng your loue that ye beare to the French king and his subiectes, if you would make sharpe warre on the Emperours subiectes, I assure you the whole realme of Fraunce would take it so thankfully, that it should neuer be forgotten. Well sayd the king, as touchyng the league and amitie betwene my brother of Fraunce and me, it shall be inuolately kept for me, but sit to enter into warre it needeth no counsaile, but howe to ende warre with honour and profite, men must needes studie. As touchyng the defence of the realme of Fraunce, I assure you it shall be defended to my power, though it be to my losse, and my study is no lesse to haue a peace which might be moze honourable to your mayster then to mine owne selfe. With which sayng the Ambassadoz held him well contented. So that you may perceine that the great pencion and profite that the king of England had out of Fraunce with the great league and amitie concluded and sworne, was the very cause why the king of England so much held with the French king and not for mere loue. For this matter was dayly great counsailes, and one day the Emperours Ambassadoz was present, another day the French kings Ambassadoz was present, but the Cardinall was ever on the French part. So thus continued this dayly counsailes with great studie.

The kings aunswere.

In the same season, a French Crayer of xxx. Tonne, manned wyth xxxiiij. Frenchmen, lay at Margate to wayte for a praye of some Flemynge that should come out of the riuer of Thames, and by chauce a Crayer of France which was apointed to waite the fisher botes betwene Graueling, & Mend, was come by North of Goodwyn landes, to Northland head, and so came to Graueling and tooke in bread. This Crayer was of xxxiiij. tonne and had in her xxxiiij. Flemynge: When she was vntayled she made to the sea ward, and sodainly she espyed the Frenchmen which hounded vnder a saile. The Flemynge mistrusted, and incontinent put themselves in a readinesse, and came so nye that he hayled the Frenchman then y Frenchman shot a piece of ordinaunce, and with that layd the Flemynge aboarde, there was soze fighting, for the Frenchmen had Crossebowes, and the Flemynge had Handgunnes,

gunnes. The Frenchman fell of and would haue bene gone, that seeyng the Flemynge whistled, and after the Frenchman made saile. Nowe the winde was so straynable East, that the Frenchman could saile no whether, but into the Thames, and so he did and the Flemynge folowed, and betoze Graueling the Flemynge boozed the Frenchman, and there they fought againe, but away agayne went the Frenchman, and the Flemynge after with all his sailes and so tarre sayled the Frenchman, that he ranne along the Tower wharfe as though he would haue ryuen his shippe, the Fleming set on and entered the shippe for any thing the Frenchman could do, and cryed I haue taken the theefe. Sir Edmond Wallingham Licutenant of the Tower was on the wharfe, and sawe them fight, called his men and entered the shippes, and tooke both the Capitaynes and theyr men. The Flemynge boldly chalenged his prise, for he sayde that open warre was betwene Fraunce and Flaunders, and sayde farther, that the Frenchman was a Pirate: The kings counsaile tooke by the matter and made an ende betwene them. Thys chauce was much talked of that two shippes should saile in chace from Margate to the Tower wharfe, because that befoze tyme suche a lyke thing had neuer bene heard.

A ship chased to the tower wharfe.

Now let vs returne to the Lorde Lawtricke, which had gotten manye towne in Italy, and had with his great armie besieged the Citie of Naples and so it happened that the Prince of Orange and other Capitaynes the .xix. day of Aprill set on a great part of the French army, and notwithstanding their hardinesse, the Emperours army obteyned the victory, so that from that tyme forth the French men lost, what by pestilence which then was great in Italy, and what by sodaine skirmishes.

The king kept the day of saint George with the companions of the order of the Garter with great solemnitie at his Manor of Richmond, where to him came tidynges of the army of the Lorde Lawtricke in Italy, which letters shewed that the Lorde Lawtricke had sent the Lord Peter de Navarre the thirde day of March last past to a great towne called Melisse with ten thousand Frenchmen, and within the towne were eyght hundred Spanyarde good men of war: The Lord Peter de Navarre besieged the towne, and after gaue to the same a great assault, but the Spanyarde so defended them with ordinaunce and resistences, that they slue siue or sixe thousande Frenchmen, and caused them to retreat. The Lorde Lawtricke heeryng this, came in person wyth a great number to the towne of Melisse, and maruailously bet the towne with ordinaunce and then gaue to it a great and fierce assault, and therewith so soze that the Spanyarde were put backe, yet they defended them, so that it was maruayle to behold, for they slue and destroyed foure. M. Frenchmen. The French army entred the towne on all sydes, and yet the Spanyarde kept the market with their ordinaunce as long as they might, but at the last beyng oppressed with multitude, they all were slaine without mercy, so cruell were the Frenchmen: In this towne was taken the Prince of Melisse, a noble man pertaynyng to the Emperour. Thus was the towne of Melisse taken and spoyled, not greatly to the French mennes profite, for they lost almost tenne thousande men whiche soze diminished theyr power.

1528  
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Melisse taken by the Frenchmen.

Although that this season was an abstinence of warre taken betwene the



the king of Englande and the Ladie Margaret, so that the dutch Nation might safely come and go into Englande, and the Englishmen might safely repaire thether, yet betwene the frenche men and the Fleminges was hot warre on the frontires, and manye a prisoner taken, and manye men slayne, and likewise the one part tooke the other on the seas, and sometime the frenchmen would spoyle Englishe ships, sayng that they had Flemings goodes or Spaniardes goodes, and likewise the Flemings would enter the Englishe ships, and say they had frenchmens goodes, so the English men lost, till the king sent shippes to keepe the sea: But for a truth the Spaniardes were strong on the sea, and to the french men did much harme. The King perceyuing that there was nothing concluded betwene the Emperoz and him, thought not to be behinde hande, wherfore he ordayned that the Lord Sandes should passe to Guines with a thousand souldiours that was five hundred archers, and five hundred horsemen, and that the Duke of Suffolke should passe ouer after with a great armie to inuade Flaunders. These Lords made much preparation, and mustered their men at the Mantels beside saint Johns and was ready to depart, but the Emperours Ambassadoz and the Ambassadour of Flaunders, so much did with the king and his counsaile (and the french king also assented) that truce was taken betwene England, Flaunders, and the countreys of Pycardy on this side the water of Some for eyght Monethes, the peace to beginne the first daye of May, and to endure to the last day of February. This peace was proclaimed in London, the xix. day of June, so that now all Englishe men might lawfully passe into the lowe Countreys but not into Spaine: which sore grieued Marchauntes that haunted that parties. In the same proclamation was farther conteyned, yf a finall peace were not fully agreed betwene the sayde thre princes within the sayde eyght Moneths, that then all Marchauntes should haue two Moneths after to passe into their awne countreys with their wares and marchaundises in safetie. The Emperour sone inclined to this peace, for he sawe that by the Marte many of his friends in high Dutchland and other places toke great profite, and especially his awne lowe Countreys, wherfore he thought not to hurt his friendes, for the displeasure he bare to his enemies of Fraunce, and also to shewe himselve louing to the king of Englande he was content to take this peace.

In this season the Duke Charles of Gelders perceyuing the Emperoz was at warre with Fraunce, raised a great power of horsemen and came to a great towne of Holland called the Hage, where the lawe and iustice is kept for that countrie, by reason wherof the towne was verie riche, and sodaynely he entred the towne without resistence, and spoyled and robbed the towne, and slue diuers persons and with much riches laded their Wagons and so departed and caryed with him diuers riche prisoners. The Ladie Margaret gouernesse of the lowe countreys heering of thys raised a great power vnder the conduyte of the Lorde Fylsteinge, which Lorde with a great payssaunce entered Gelderland and tooke the towne of Hatton, the Castell of Howting and forayed and destroyed the countrie lastly on Whitsunday, beyng the last day of Maye, the Gelders gaue battayle to the Lorde Fylsteinge and fought valyauntly as any men could doe, but yet by fortune of warre they were ouercome and fled, and were chased a great waye and many

many slayne. This chaunce was while the treatie of peare was in England. In the berie ende of May began in the Citie of London the sicknesse called the sweating sicknes, & afterward went through all the realme almost, of the which many dyed within five or sixe houres. By reason of this sicknesse the terme was adiozned and the circuites of Assise also. The king was sore troubled with this plague, for diuers died in the court, of whome one was Sir Fraunces Boynes, which was Ambassadoz in Spaine, and other, so that the king for a space remoued almost euery day, till at the last he came to Tptynhangar a place of the Abbot of saint Albones, and there he with a fewe determined to bide the chaunce that God would send him, which place was so purged daylie with fyres, and other preseruatiues, that neyther he nor the Queene nor none of their company was infected of that disease, such was the pleasure of God. In thys great plague died syr William Compton knight, and William Cary Esquire, which were of the kings priuie chamber, and whome the king highly fauoured and many other worshipfull men and women in Englande.

By reason of this plague the watches which were wont to be kept yerely in London on saint Johns eue at Midsummer & saint Peters eue, wherby the king & his counsaile commaunded to be left for that yere, wherfore the Armours made great suit to the king and declared their great hinderance which was not so much considred as the mischief that might haue ensued if that so great a nuber should haue assembled together in y hote time, & the plague of sweating raigning. Now let vs leaue England at this somer season troubled & vexed with this sweating sicknesse, & let vs returne to the affaires of Italy.

In this season was through all Italy a vniuersall warre, famine and pestilence, or a mozeyn wherof the people died in euery place, and in especially in the Dukes armie which caused the most part of the Almaines to returne into their countrey, wherfore the Duke wisely considered y chaunce and saw that his armie was greatly minished by death, and saw farther that for lacke of vittayle and money he was not able to conuay the remnaunt of his armie to Naples, by the aduise of Anthony de Leua concluded to returne, and so shortly after in good order returned, and lost moze by the pestilence then by his enemies.

The french king was aduertised by the Lord Labotrick how his people decayed sore before Naples, and how the Duke of Brunswike was coming to raise the siege and rescue the Citie, wherfore the french king sent Lorde Fraunces Erle saint Boul brother to the Duke of Wandosme with eyght thousand men to folowe the Duke of Brunswyke to Naples, and if he went not to Naples, then he should ioyne himselve with Fraunces Sforza Duke of Millayne and the Venecians, and so expell Anthony de Leua and all the Emperours souldiours out of Lombardy.

The Spaniardes within Naples were aduertised that new succours were coming to the frenchmen, wherfore they determined to fight with them or their new ayde came, and so one day they issued out of the Citie and fought with the frenchmen and slew many of them, but by force they were compelled to returne. The Lord Labotrick knew well that the Citie could not hold long for lacke of vittayle (for a suertye if vittayle had not come by Sea, the towne had beene pelded) wherfore the Lorde Labotrick suffered his

The swra-  
the sicknesseSir William  
ComptonMidsummer  
watch in L. S.  
don was layd  
downe this  
yere.



The death of  
Naples.

his army to lie still in the plaine field all the heat of the Sommer and brought them not to the shadow, by reason whereof there fell such a disease amongst his army, that they died dayly in great number and he him selfe fell sick & left the army and lay at Nerse, of the which mortallitie there died in the French campe aboute .xxiiiij. M. men, beside the most part of all their horses & bestes of which number as diuers writers doe agree there dyed aboute five thousand Gentlemen, amongst whom there dyed the Lorde Mademont brother to Anthony Duke of Lorraine, the Lorde of Grauntmoint, the Capitayne Malzac, the Lorde Lanall of the Dolphenye, the Capytaine Luper, the Lord Charles Uyuone, Lorde of Chateygnerey sonne to the Lorde Andrew of Uyuone Senechal of Poiteu, & many other noble men of name.

During which plague the towne of Cap (which most of all the townes in the realme of Naples helde on the French part) became imperiall and turned to the Emperors part: Whereof hearing the Lorde Labitick, made therefore great sorrow, and being somewhat amended of his disease, tooke his horse and came to visite the Campe, and when he saw his number so diminished and hys Campe so desolate of people that he perceyued that his enterprise could not be performed, he fell into such a malencholy that his sickness tooke him more feruently then before, so that within two dayes after, which was the one and twentieth day of August he dyed at and his body was fered and conueied after into France.

The returne  
of the king of  
England and  
the French  
kinges camp  
out of Italy.

The Marques of Saluce which was Lieutenant vnder the Lorde Labitricke called to counsaile the Ctle Guy of Hancon and Peter de Hauer and other Capitaynes that were left, & after long consultation they considered their number to be too small eyther to kepe the siege or to abyde battayle, so they passed not five thousand in all. Wherefore they concluded to leaue the siege and to returne, and so the five and twentieth day of August they brake vp their Campe and returned toward France, in which returne the Spaniards euer coasted them, and when they tooke any Frenchmen at aduantage, they eyther slew or toke them. This was the end of this iorney by reason of the great mortallitie, which if it had not happened, the Citie and the whole realme of Naples had bene recovered: For the citie of Naples could not haue holden ten dayes, after the army remoued as they confessed after.

Howe was  
the king fully  
enormed that  
he had in ad-  
ultery.

Now let vs returne to the king of England which was in a great scruple of his conscience and not quiet in his minde, because that diuers Diuines well learned secretly enformed him that he liued in adultery with his brothers wife to the great peryll of his soule, and tolde him farther that the Courte of Rome could not dispence with Gods commaundement and precept. These things were talked among the common people sith the first day of his marriage as you haue heard before, insomuch that now the kinges counsaillors aduised hym to know the truth. Wherefore he like a wise Prince for quieting of his conscience called together the best learned of the realme which were of severall opinyons, wherefore he thought to know the truth by indifferent iudges least peradventure the Spaniards in fauor of the Queene would say that his owne Subiectes were not indifferent iudges: wherefore he wrote his cause to Rome because the best clerkes in Christendome were there, and also he sent to all the vniuersities of Italy and France and to the great Clerkes of all Christendome to know their opinyons, and desired the Court

Courte of Rome to sende into his realme a Legate to heare the cause debated which should be indifferent and of a great iudgement. At whose request the whole consistory of the College of Rome sent hether Laurence Campeius a Priest Cardinal, a man of great wit & experience, but more learned in the papall law then in diuinitie, which was sent as Legate into England the .x. yere of this king as you haue heard in the sayde yere, and with him was ioyned in commission the Cardinal of Porke and Legate of England, and so this Cardinal Campeius by long iourneys came into England, and much preparation was made to receyue him triumphantly into London, but he was so sore bered with the Gout that he refused all such solemnities, and desired hartely that he might without pompe be conueied to his lodgyng for his more quyet and rest, & so the ninth day of October he came from saint Mary Duereis by water to the Bishop of Bathes place without Temple barre where he lodged the last time he was in England: Where he was visited of the Cardinal of Porke and diuers other estates and prelates. And after he had rested him a season and was somewhat releued of his payne, he was brought to the kinges presence then lying at Bridewell by the Cardinal of Porke, and was caried in a Chayre of Crimofin Velvet borne betweene foure persons for he was not able to stande, and the Cardinal of Porke and he late both on the right hand of the kinges throne, and there one Frauncisco Secretary to Cardinal Campeius made an eloquent Oration in the Latine tongue, in the which he reherfed, first with what crueltie the Emperors souldiers had handled the Pope, what tyranny they had shewed to the Cardinales and Priests, what sacrilege and spoyle they had committed in saynt Peters Church, how they had violated Virgyns, rauished mens Wyues, and in conclusyon spoiled, robbed and tormented all the Romanes and inhabitants in the Citie of Rome: and farther he shewed what friendship the College of Rome found at the kings handes and the French kings in the time of that tribulation, that if they had not ioyned together, the Citie of Rome with all their gouernors had bene brought to utter ruyne and decay, for the which he sayd that Pope Clement and all his College of Cardinales and the Senators of the Citie with all the Citizens rendered to the kyng their hartie thanks, and promysed him their loue, fauor, and amytie perpetuall.

Cardinal  
Campeius  
conueth to  
London.

The Oration.

This oration (as concerning the trouble of Rome) was set forth with such lamentacions, & such abhominable actes and tyrannies, that the most part of the herers thought it more eloquent then true. To the which oration Doctor Forouost of Cambridge made a discrete answer: And as to the first poynt he declared that the king much lamented to heare his friends yea or any other christen men to be ordered or handled with such tyranny & oppression: And as touching the second poynt he sayd, that the king did but the dutie of a Christian Prince to releue his friends beyng in captiuitie, for the which he would that the whole Citie of Rome shoulde geue thanks to God and not to him. After which answer made, the two Legates commoned secretly wyth the king a long space, and after departed to their lodgyng.

The answer.

Of the coming of this Legate, the common people beyng ignorant of the truth, and especially women, and other that fauoured the Queene, talked largely, and sayde that the king would for his owne pleasure haue ano-



ther wyfe, and had sent for this Legate to be deuozced from his Queene, with many foolish wordes, insomuch that whosocuer spake agaynst the marriage was of the common people abhorred and reproued, which common rumour and foolish communications were related to the king, wherefore he like a prudent Prince and circumspect doer in all his affayers, and willing all men to knowe his intent and purpose, caused all his nobilitie, Judges, and Counsaylors, with diuers other persons to come to his Palace of Bridewell on Sunday the. viij. day of Nouember at after noone in his great chamber, and there to them sayde as nere as my witte coulde beare awaye these wordes folowynge. Hall.

The kinges  
Deation con-  
cerning hys  
first marriage.

Our trustie and welbeloued subiectes both you of the nobilitie, and you of the meener sort, it is not vnknowne to you howe that we, both by Gods prouision, and true and lawfull inheritaunce haue reigned ouer this realme of England almost the terme of. xx. yerres, Durynge which tyme we haue so ordered vs, thanked be God, that no outward enemy hath oppzessed you nor taken any thing from vs, nor we haue inuaded no realme, but we haue had victorie and honour, so that we thinke that you, nor none of your predecesors neuer liued more quietly, more wealthie, nor in more estimation vnder anye of our noble progenitors: But when we remember our mortalitie, and that we must dye, then we thinke that all our doynge in our lyfe tyme are clerely defaced, and worthe of no memorie, if we leaue you in trouble at the time of our death. For if our true heyre be not knowne at the tyme of our death, see what mischief and trouble shall succede to you and your children. The experience wherof some of you haue seene after the death of our noble Grandfather king Edward the fourth, and some haue heard what mischief and manslaughter continued in this realme betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, by the which discention this realme was lyke to haue bene clerely destroyed. And although it hath pleased almighty God to sende vs a fayre daughter of a noble woman and me begotten to our great comfort and ioy, yet it hath bene tolde vs by diuers great Clerkes, that neyther she is oure lawfull daughter, nor her mother our lawfull wyfe, but that we liue together abhominably and detestably, in open adultery, insomuch that when our Ambassade was last in fraunce, and mocion was made that the Duke of Orleans should marry our sayde daughter, one of the chiefe Counsaylors to the French kinge sayd. It were well done to knowe whether she be the king of England his lawfull daughter or not, for well knowen it is, that he begat her on his brothers wyfe, which is directly agaynst Gods law and his precept. Thinke you not my Lordes that these wordes touch not my bodie and soule, thinke you that these doynge do not dayly and hourely trouble my conscience and bere my spirites, yes we doubt not but and if it were your alone cause euerie man would seeke remedie when the perill of your soule, and the losse of your inheritaunce is openly layde to you. For this onely cause I protest before God & in the word of a Prince, I haue asked counsaile of the greatest Clerkes in Christendome, and for this cause I haue sent for this Legate, as a man indifferent onely to knowe the truth, and to settle my conscience, and for none other cause as God can iudge. And as touchynge the Queene, if it be adiudged by the lawe of God that she is my lawfull wyfe, there was neuer thing more pleasaunt, nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge

charge and cleeryng of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and condicions the which I knowe to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage, of the which she is descended (as all you knowe) she is a woman of most gentlenesse, of most humilitie and burynnesse, yea, and of all good qualities apperteyning to nobilitie, she is without comparison, as I this. xx. yerres almost haue had the true experient, so that if I were to marry againe, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her aboue all other women: But if it be determined by iudgement that our marriage was against Gods law & clerely voyd, then I shall not onely sorow the departynge from so good a Ladie and louynge companion, but much more lament and bewaile my infortunate chaunce, that I haue so long liued in adultery to Gods great displeasure, and haue no true heyre of my bodie to enherit this realme. These be the forces that bere my minde, these be the pangues that trouble my conscience, and for these grieues I seeke a remedie. Therefore I require of you all as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subiectes our minde and entent, accordynge to our true meaning, and desyre them to pray with vs, that the very truth maye be knowne for the discharge of our conscience, and sauyng of our soule, and for the declaration hereof, I haue assembled you together, and now you may depart.

The praise of  
the Queene.

To see what countenance was made amongst the hearers of this Oracion it was a straunge sight, for some sighed and sayde nothing, other were sorry to here the king so troubled in his conscience. Other that fauoured the Queene much sorowed that this matter was now opened, and so every man spake as his heart serued him, but the king euer laboured to knowe the truth for discharge of his conscience.

Shortly after this, the two Legates came to the Queene at the same place of Bridewell, and declared to her howe they were deputed Judges indifferent betweene the king and her, to heere and determine whether the marriage betweene them stood with Gods law or not. When she heard the cause of their coming, no maruaile though she were astonied, for it touched her very nere. And when she had paued a while she answered.

The saying  
of the Legate

Was my Lordes is it now a question whether I be the kinges lawfull wife or no? When I haue bene married to him almost. xx. yerres, and in the meane season neuer question was made before? Diuers Prelates yet beyng aliue, and Lordes also, and priue Counsaylors with the king at that tyme, then adiudged our marriage lawfull and honest, and now to say it is detestable and abhominable, I thinke it great maruaile: and in especiall when I consider what a wise Prince the kinges father was, and also the loue and naturall affection, that king Ferdinando my father bare vnto me: I thinke in my selfe that neyther of our fathers, were so vncircumspect, so vnwyse, and of so small imagination, but they foresaw what might followe of our marriage, and in especiall the king my father, sent to the Court of Rome, and there after long suite, with great cost and charge, obteyned a licence and dispensation, that I being the one brothers wife, and peradventure carnally knowne might without scrupull of conscience, marry with the other brother lawfully, which licence vnder lead I haue yet to shewe, which thinges made me to say and surely beleue, that our marriage was both lawfull, good and Godly: But of this trouble I onely may thanke you my Lorde Cardinall of Yorke, for

The queenes  
answere.

The Queene  
imputeth the  
cause of her  
diuorced vnto  
Cardinall  
Wolsey.



because I have wondered at your highe pride and vaine glozy, and abhorre your voluptuous life, and abhominable Lecherie, and little regard your presumptuous power and tyranny, therefore of malice you have kindled this fire and set this matter abzoche, and in especiall for the great malice that you beare to my nephew the Emperoz, to home I perfectly know you hate worse then a Scorpion, because he would not satisfie your ambition and make you Pope by force, and therefore you haue sayde more then once, that you would trouble him and his friendes, and you haue kept him true promise, for of all his warres and vexations, he onely may thanke you, and as for me his poore aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you put me to, by this new found doubt, God knoweth to whome I commit my cause accordyng to the truth. The Cardinall of Yorke excused himselfe, sayng, that he was not the beginner, nor the mouer of the doubt, and that it was soze agaynst his will, that euer the marriage should come in question, but he sayde that by his superior the bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a Judge to here the cause, which he swore on his profession to heere indifferently, but whatsoeuer was sayde, she beleued him not, and so the Legates toke their leaue of her and departed. These wordes were spoken in French, and wozitten by Cardinall Campeius Secretary, which was present, and by me (sayth Hall) translated as neere as I coude.

The Cardinall excused himselfe.

The king notwithstanding that his minde was vnquiet, yet he kept a good countenance toward the Queene, with as much loue, honor, and gentleness, as could be shewed to such a princeesse, but he absteyned from her bed till the truth was tryed, accordyng as his ghostly counsayle had caused him, which was to him no little paine, for surely he loued her as well, as anye Prince might loue his wife, and seee him againe, and therfore it was great pyttie, that their marriage was not good.

The moze to quicken his spirites, and for recreation, the king kept his Christmas at Grenewiche, with much solempnitie and great plentie of Viands, and thether came the two Legates, which were receiued by two Dukes and diuers Erles, Barons and gentlemen, to whom the king shewed great pleasures, both of Justes, Toynays, Bankets, Maskes, and disguisings, and on the Twelke day he made the lawfull sonne of Cardinall Campeius bozne in wedlock, knight, and gaue him a collar of .S.S. of Golde: but the Queene shewed to them no maner of countenance, and made no great ioy of nothing, her minde was so troubled.

Cardinall Campeius sonne in lawe knight.

This doing in Englands was spzed over all Chrystendome by letters, and in every region except Spaine, and the Emperors dominions, they aduoged the king a wise, a herceous, and a prudent Prince, for tryng out of the truth, considering that the question was not onely doubtfull to learned men in diuinitie, but vpon the vncertainetie of the same, depended the ruine of his realme, and the succession of the same, which was a waightie thing to consider, and no wisdom to let so great a doubt lye vndiscussed.

After Christmas and all Lent till Easter, was none other thing commoned of, but onely of the kings marriage, the Archbishop of Cauntorburie sent for the famous Doctors of both the Uniuersities to Lambeth, and there were euery day disputations, and commonings of thys matter, and because the king perceyued and knewe well, that the Queene was wedded to her

aboue

aboue opinion, and that he would that she should doe nothing without counsayle, he had her chose the best Clarke of his realme, to be of her counsaile, and licensed them to doe the best on her part that they could, accordyng to the truth: then she elected Wylliam Warham Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and Nicholas West Bishop of Elie, Doctors of the lawes, and John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standishe Bishop of saint Aste, Doctors of Diuinitie, and manye other Doctors and well learned men, which for a suretie like men well learned: defended her cause as farre as learning might defend it.

The Queene is licensed to retayne counsaile agaynst the king her husband.

In the beginning of thys yere, in a great Hall within the black Friers of London was ordeyned a solempne place, for the two Legates to sit in, with two Cheyres covered with cloth of Golde, and Cushions of the same, and a Dormant table tailed before, like a solempne Court, all covered with Carpets and Tapissery: on the right hand of the Court was hanged a cloth of estate, with a Chayer and Cushions of riche Tissue, for the king, and on the left hande of the Court, was set a riche Chayer for the Queene. When the place was readie, the king and the Queene were ascited by Docteur Samson, to appere before the Legates, at the forenamed place, the twentieth and eyght day of May, beyng then the morrowe after the feast of Corpus Christi, in proper person, or by their Proctors. At the day assigned, the Legates came to the forenamed place, with Crosses, Billers, Axes, and all the ceremonies belonging to their degrees, and after that they were set (the Cardinall of Yorke sitting on the right hande) their commission was red, and the cause of their coming thether openly declared, the effect whereof was, that the Court of Rome was instructed, that great Clarke and learned men had enforced the king, that his marriage with his brothers wyfe was vnlawfull, dampnable, and directly agaynst the lawe of God, wherefore they were directed and appointed by the sayde Court, to bee Judges in the cause, and to heare what on both parties could be alleged: after this was done, the king was called by name, for whome two Proctors appered, then the Queene was called, which within short space, beyng accompanied with the foure Bishops and other of her counsaile, and a great company of Ladies and gentlewomen folowynge her, came personally before the Legates, and after her obedience, sadly and with great grauitie done, shee appeled from them, as Judges not competent for that cause, to the Court of Rome, and after that done, shee departed agayne. Notwithstanding thys appeale, the Legates sat weekly, and euery day were arguments on both partes, and nothing else done.

1529  
21

The Courte at the Black Friers.

The Queene appealed.

The king which onely desired to haue an ende in this matter, for discharge of his conscience, came to the Court the of June, and the Queene also, where he standing vnder his cloth of estate, sayde these wordes in effect folowynge: My Lordes, Legates of the sea Apostolique which be deputed Judges, in this great and waightie matter, I most hartely beseech you, to ponder my minde and intent, which onely is to haue a finall ende, for the discharge of my conscience: for euery good christian man knoweth what paine and what vnquietnesse he suffereth, which hath his conscience grieued, for I assure you on mine honor, that thys matter hath so vexed my minde, and troubled my spirites, that I can scantly studie any thing, which should

The kings Oration.

Alli. iij.

be



be profitable for my realme and people. And for to haue a quietnesse in body and soule is my desire and request, and not for anye grudge that I beare to her that I haue married, for I dare say that for her womanhood, wisdom, nobilitie, and gentlenesse, neuer prince had such another, and therefore if I would willingly chaunge, I were not wise: wherefore my suite is to you my Lordes at this time, to haue a speedie ende, according to right, for the quietnesse of my minde and conscience onely, and for no other cause as God knoweth.

When the king had sayde, the Queene departed without any thing sayyng, then she was called, to knowe whether she would bide by her appele, or aunswere there befoze the Legates, her Procter aunswered, that she would bide by her appele, that notwithstanding, the counsaylours on bothe sides euery day almost met, and debated this matter substantially, so that at the last the Diuines were all of opinion, that the mariage was against the lawe of God, if she were carnally knowne by the first brother, (which thing she clerely denied) but to that was aunswered, that Prince Arthur her husbande, confessed the act done, when he called for drinke earely in the morning, sayyng: that he had beene in Spaine that night, which was a hote countrie, meaning that he had carnally bled her, farther at the time of the death of Prince Arthur, she thought and iudged that she was with childe, and for that cause the king was deferred from the tytle and creation of the Prince of Wales, almost halfe a yere, which thing could not haue beene iudged, if she had not bene carnally knowne.

Also she her selfe caused a Bull to be purchased, in the which were these wordes, Vel forsan cognitam, which is as much to say, as peradventure carnally knowne, which wordes were not in the first Bull graunted by July, at her second mariage to the king, which second Bull with that clause was onely purchased, to dispence with the second matrimony, although there were carnall copulation befoze, which Bull neded not to haue bene purchased, if there had bene no carnal copulation, for then y first Bull had bene sufficient.

When the Diuines on her side, were beaten from that ground, then they fell to perswasions of naturall reason, how this shoulde not be vndone, for three causes: one was because if it should be broken, the onely childe of the king, shoulde bee a Bastard, which were a great mischief to the realme: Secondly the seperation shoulde be a cause of great vnkindnesse, betweene her kindred and this realme. And the third cause was, that the continuance of so long space, had made the mariage honest: These perswasions with many other, were set forth by the Queenes counsaile, and in especiall by the Bishop of Rochester, which stood stiffe in her cause, but yet Godes precept was not aunswered, wherefore they left that ground and fell to pleading, that the Court of Rome had dispensed with that mariage: To thys some Lawyers sayde, that no earthly person is able to dispence with the positive lawe of God.

When the Legates had heard the opinions of the Diuines, and sawe that their opinion for the most part was agaynst the Matrimony, and that nowe the question was brought to dispute, the auctoritie of the Court of Rome, they began a little to quicken: For they considered that if they should say and determine, that the Court of Rome might not dispence in that case,

that

that fewe men would thinke, that they might dispence in any other case, which shoulde be to them a great losse and hurt. Wherefore they dissimuled the matter, and euer tolde the king, that he shoulde haue an ende shortly, and tracted forth the time with Orations and Sophisticall arguments, till August began to appoach: then Cardinall Campeius sayd, that they might not sit after July, till October, all which season was a vacation in the Court of Rome, and their Court beyng a member of the Court of Rome, they must needes doe the same: this sayyng was reported to the king, which by that sayyng knewe perfutely that he shoulde then haue no ende, and then he complayned to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke, and other nobles of his counsaile, how he was delayed, and wylled them at the next Session, to require them, to make an ende of the cause, and what iudgement soeuer they gaue, he would gladly accept it, for the quietnesse of his conscience.

These noble men came to the place, where the Legates sat, the thirtie day of August, beyng Fryday, whereas Cardinall Campeius, declared in eloquent Latin, and sware on his honoz and sayth that he bare to the church of Rome, that the course of the courtes there be, at the end of July, to suspend all causes, till the fourth day of October, and if any case be treated, and iudged in the meane season, that iudgment to be clerely boyde, and therefore he required the king to take pacience til that time, trusting that then they shoulde proceede toward sentence, so that he shoulde be contented: the Noble men desired them to make an ende, whatsoeuer it were, that day or the next day, which was the last day of July: but they aunswered that they coulde sit no moze till October, which aunswere soze displeased the noble men, which the king had sent thether, in somuch that Charles Duke of Suffolke, seyng the delay, gaue a great clap on the Table with hys hand and sayde: by the Masse, now I see that the olde sayde saw is true, that there was neuer Legate nor Cardinal, that did good in Englande, and with that sayyng all the Tempozall Lordes departed to the king, leauing the Legates sitting one loking on the other soze astonied, because they saw the Tempozall Lordes depart in anger.

You may be sure, that the king was not well content, when he heard of this delay, but yet like a wise Prince, he tooke it patiently, trusting to haue an ende in October ensuyng: But when he heard tell, that a letter was sent for the Cardinall Campeius, that he shoulde wth speede, returne into Italy, and that he provided for his iozney: Then he openly perceued, that the Legates dissimuled the time to haue the matter in the Courte of Rome, for the mainteinaunce of their auctoritie, knowyng perfutely, that there he shoulde be foded forth with argumentes so long that he shoulde be in maner wery, and also all that time, he shoulde be vnquiet in his conscience, which was the greatest care, that he had, but the second care that he tooke, was to see the Cardinall of Yorke (whome he so highly fauored and trusted, and whome he had so highly promoted, both to the Archbishopricke of Yorke, and the Bishopricke of Wynchester, Duresme, and the Abbey of saint Albons, with many other great dignities and promotions, beside the Chauncellozship of Englande) so vnfaithfully to dissimule with him, and not to open the very truth, which caused him clerely to cast him out of his fauor, in the which he had long bene.

When

An oration made by Cardinall Campeius to delay the kings suite.

The sayyng of Charles Duke of Suffolke.

The promotions giuen to the Cardinall of Yorke.



The king  
frowning vpon  
the Cardinall  
every man  
was in his  
pache.

When the Nobles and Prelates perceiued, that the kinges fauor was from the Cardinall soze minished, every man of the kinges Counsaile, began to lay to him such offences, as they knew by hym, and all their accusati- ons were wozitten in a Booke, and all their handes set to it, to the number of thirtie and foure, which Booke they presented to the kyng. When the king saw the Booke he marueiled not a little, for by the articles conteyned in the same, he euidently perceaued the high pride and coueteousnesse of the Car- dinall, and saw openly with what dissimulation and clokyng, he had handled the kinges causes: how he with fayze liyng woordes, had blinded and defrauded the king, most vntruly, which accusations soze moued the king agaynst hym, but yet he kept it close for a time, and so the king rode on his progresse with the Quene to Woodstock. And at the feast of the natiuitie of our Lady, he came to Grafton, beside Stony Stratforde, and thether came the two Legates, and were but meanly receyued, sauing that the king made to them good semblance, and in especiall to Cardinall Campeius, because he came into England at his request: and after dinner the saide Campeius toke his leaue of the king, and then the king him conueied to the Chamber doze, and there they departed, and the Cardinall of Pozke also went with his compa- nyon to Cocester, and on the moztow he came to Grafton to speake with the king, which was then ryding out on huntynge, and he sent him worde by Henry Nozreis, that he should accompany Campeius to London, and when the king came to London, he woulde moze common with him: thus almost disinayed the Cardinall of Pozke, returned to his companion to Cocester, and so they came together to London, where to the Cardinall Campeius, were deliuered great rewarde, and so he toke his tozney toward the Sea side, where the kinges counsaile, caused his chestes and cariages to be ope- ned to se what letters the Cardinall of Pozke had sent to the court of Rome, and there were but a fewe letters founde, for they were sent befoze in poste, but in many chestes were founde, olde hosen, olde coates, and such vile Ruffe, as no honest man would cary to haue it, which search much displeasid Cam- peius, and the moze because his coffers were likewise opened in Chepe, by the rashnesse of a Hoyle, as you haue heard in the tenth yere of the king.

The last time  
the Cardinall  
came to the  
kinges pre-  
sence.

The king  
now began  
neith to fauor  
Lady Anne  
Bulleyne.

Thus departed out of England in high displeasure, the craftie Cardinall Campeius, leauing behinde him his subtill felow, which after their departing from the kyng at Grafton, neuer saw the king, nor came in hys presence. This great Session of the Legates, was communed of through Christendom, and in especiall in Spayne, and other the Emperors dominions, which soze grudged that the Quene should be diuorced from the king: and suerly the most part of the lay people of Englande, which knew not the law of God, soze murmured at the matter, and much the moze, because there was a Gentlewoman in the court, called Anne Bulleyne, daughter to Sir Thomas Bulleyne, Viscount Rocheford, whome the King much fauored in all honestie, and suerly none otherwise, as all the world well knew after.

The king which all the .xx. yere past, had becne ruled by other, and in especiall by the Cardinall of Pozke, began now to be a ruler and a king, yea, a king of such witte, wisdom, and pollicie, that the like hath not reigned ouer this realme, as you shall plainly perceyue hereafter: as well for the set- tyng forth of true doctrine, as also for the augmentation of his Crowne. For when

when

when he perceyued, how the Cardinales had handeled him, and saw plainly that the law of God was clere, that he might not marry his brothers wyfe, thought to sende his Ambassadors to all the Uniuersities in Fraunce, and Italy, to know their determinatiōs, and for that cause he sent Doctoz Sto- kelley, and Doctoz Jore, two great Clerkes into Fraunce, which sped as you shall heere hereafter declared, when the matter serueth.

The king continually studyng on this matter, called a counsaile of the chiefe of his Nobles, to begin at Westminster, the first day of October next ensuyng, and also sommoned a Parliament, to begin the thirde day of No- uember, then immediatly folowng, and declared that the same Counsaile, should deuise diuers actes, necessary and needefull to be passed at the sayde Parliament, for reformation of certain exactions, done by the Clergie to the lay people, to which Counsaile and Parliament, the Cardinall was warned and sommoned, which much comforted him, that he outwardly little abashed: and so he and all the Counsaile, came to the counsaile Chamber at Westmin- ster, and there dyuers dayes communed of diuers thinges, but nothing was fully concluded, and there the Cardinall shewed himselfe, much more hum- blyer then he was wont to be, & the Lordes shewed themselves moze higher and straunger, then they were wont to be, but for all that he abashed not hys countenance, but came into Westminster Hall with all his traine, the first day of the Terme: but none of the kinges seruantes would go befoze, as they were wont to do, and so he sate in the Chauncery, but not in the Starre Chamber, for all the Lordes and other the kinges Counsaile, were gone to Windsor to the king, where they enformed the king, that all thinges that he had done almost, by his power Legantine, were in the case of the Premunire and prouision: and that the Cardinall had forfeited all his landes, tenementes, goodes, and cattayles to the king: wherefore the king willing to order him, according to the order of his lawes, caused his attourney Christopher Hales to sue out a Writte of Premunire agaynst hym, in the which he licenced him to make an attourney.

The king be-  
gunneth to  
rule.

The Cardi-  
nalles pride  
abated.

The Cardi-  
nall in the  
Premunire.

And farther, the .xxij. day of Nouember, he sent the two Dukes of Noz- folk & Suffolke, to his place at Westminster, to fetch away the great Seale of England, which he was loth to deliuer, if there had bene any remedy, but in cōclusion he deliuered it to the two Dukes, which deliuered the same to Doctoz Cayloz maister of the Rolles, to cary it to the king, which so did the next day: and beside this the king sent sir William Fitzwilliam knight of the garter, and treasurer of his house, and doctoz Stephin Gardiner, newly made secre- tary, to see that no goodes should be embesiled out of his house: and further ordeined that the Cardinall should remoue to Albire beside Kingston, there to cary the kings pleasure, and to haue all thinges deliuered to him, which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompeous & superfluous fashion: for all his goodes were seized to the kinges vse. When the seale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the Dukes of Nozfolke & Suffolke, with many Crles, bishops, and Barons, came into the Starre Chamber, the .xix. day of Octo- ber, wher the Duke of Nozfolke declared that the kinges highnesse, for di- uers and sundrie offences, had taken from him the great Seale, and deposed him of all offices, & least that men might complaine for lacke of iustice, he had appoynted him and the Duke of Suffolke, with the assent of the other lords



to sit in the Starre Chamber, to heere and determine causes indifferently, and that of all things the kings pleasure and commaundement was, that they should keepe their handes cloie, from any rewardes takyng, or maintenance, and so that weeke they sat in the Starre Chamber, and determined causes.

On the day of the same moneth, the Cardinall remoued out of his house called Pozke place, with one Crosse, sayng, that he would he had neuer borne more, meanyng that by his Crosse, that he bare as Legate, which degree takyng was his confusion, as you see openly, and so he tooke his barge and went to Putney by water, and there tooke his horse, and rode to Ather, where he remayned till Lent after.

Duryng which tyme, he beeyng called on for an aunswere in the kinges Bench, to the Premunire, for geuyng benefices by preuention, in disturbance of meynes enheritaunce, and diuers other open causes in the Premunire: he accordyng to the kinges licence, constituted John Scute, and Edmond Jenny, apprentices of the Lawe, his attournayes, which by hys awne warrant signed with his hand, confessed all things concernyng the said suite, for they were to open to be cloked or hidden, and so iudgement was geuen, that he should forseyt all his landes, tenementes, goodes, and Catches and should be out of the kinges protection, but for all that the king sent hym a sufficient protection: and of his gentlenesse left to him the Bishoprike of Pozke and Winchester, and gaue to him plate and stuffe conuenient for hys degree, and the Bishoprike of Duresme, he gaue to Doctoz Cusshall Bisshop of London, and the Abbey of Saint Albones, he gaue to the Prior of Perwich, and to London he promoted Doctoz John Stokesley, then Ambassadour to the Uniuersities, for the kinges marriage, as you haue heard before. For all these kindnesse shewed to the Cardinall, yet he still maligned agaynst the king, as you shall perceyue hereafter, by his butrue doynges, whiche brought him to confusion.

The .xxij. day of October, the king came to his manor of Grenewich, and there muche consulted with his Counsaile, for a meete man to be his Chaunceloz, so that in no wyse he were no man of the spiritualtie, and so after long debate, the king resolved himselfe vpon sir Thomas Hooze knight, Chaunceloz of the Duchie of Lancaster, a man well learned in the tongues, and also in the common Lawe, whose witte was fine, and full of imaginati- ons, by reason wherof, he was to much geuen to mocking, which was to his grauitie a great blemish. And then on the Sunday the .xxiiij. day of the same moneth, the king made him his Chauncelour, and deliuered him the great Seale, which Lorde Chauncelour the nexte morrowe after, was ledde into the Chauncerye, by the two Dukes of Norffolk and Suffolke, and there sworne, and then the Place was borne before him

This yere the king of Englande began his high Court of parliament, the thirde day of November. On which day he came by water to his place of Bidewell, and there he and his nobles put on their robes of parliament, and so came to the black friers Church, where a Masse of the holye ghost was solemnly song by the kinges Chapell, & after the Masse, the king, with all the Lords of the parliament, and comunons which were summoned to ap- peare at that day came into the parliament chamber, where the king sat in hys Throne or seat royall, and sye Thomas Hooze his Chauncelour stand-

The Cardinall remoued from Pozke place.

Sir Thomas Hooze made Chauncelour.

The Parliament.

ding on the right hande of the king behinde the barre made an eloquent ora- tion, declaring that like as a good Shepheard, which not alonely keepeth and attendeth well his sheepe, but also forseyeth and prouideth for all thing, which eyther may be hurtfull or noysome to his flock, or maye preferue and defende the same agaynst all perilles that may chaunce to come, so the king which was the Shepheard, ruler, and gouernour of his realme, bigilantly forseying things to come, considered how diuers lawes before this time were made now by long continuance of time and mutation of thynges, verie in- sufficient, and vnersite, and also by the frayle condition of man, diuers new enormities were sprong amongs the people, for the which no lawe was yet made to refozme the same, which was the very cause why at that time the king had summoned his high Court of Parliament: and he resembled the king to a Shepheard, or Heardman for this cause, for if a prince be compar- ed to his riches, he is but a riche man, if a prince be compared to hys ho- nour, he is but an honorable man: but compare him to the multitude of hys people and the number of his flock, then he is a ruler, a gouernour of might and puyssaunce, so that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of sheepe, cometh the name of a Shepheard: as you see that amongst a great flock of sheepe some be rotten and faultie, which the good Shepheard sendeth from the good sheepe, so the great weather which is of late fallen as you all know, so craftely, so scabbedly, ye & so butruly iuggeled with the king, that all men must needes gesse and thinke that he thought in himselfe, that he had no wit to perceiue his crafty doing, or else that he presumed that the king would not see nor know his fraudulent iuggeling and attemptes: but he was deceiued, for his graces sight was so quick and penetrable, that he sawe him, yea and sawe through him, both within and without, so that all thing to him was open, and accordyng to his desert he hath had a gentle cor- rection, which small punishment the king will not to be an example to other offendours, but cleuely declareth that whosoeuer hereafter shall make like at- tempt or comit like offence, shall not escape with like punishment. And because you of the common house be a great multitude, and cannot speake all at one time: Therefore the kings pleasure is, that you shall resort to the nether house, and there amongst your selues accordyng to the olde and ancient cus- tome to chole an able person to be your common mouth and speaker, and after your election so made to aduertise his grace thereof, which wyll de- clare to you his pleasure what daye he will haue him presented in this place.

After this done, the comunons resorted to the nether house, and they chose for their speaker Thomas Audeley Esquire and attorney of the Du- chie of Lancaster, and the same day was the Parliament adiourned to West- minster. On the .viij. day of the same month the king came into the parliament chamber and all the Lordes in there robes, and there the comunons of the nether house presented their speaker, which there made an eloquent ora- tion whiche consisted in two poyntes, the first was, that he muche praysed the king for his equitie and Justice, mixed with mercy and pity, so that none offence was forgotten and left unpunished, nor in the punishment the extre- mitie nor the rigor of the lawe not cruelly extended, which should be a cause to byidle all men from doying lyke offences, and also a comfort to offendours to confesse there crime and offence, and an occasion of amendment and re- conciliation.

An oration made by Sir Thomas Audley.

Thomas Audley chosen speaker.

An Oration.



conciliation.

The second poynt was, that he disabled himselfe, for lack of wpt, learning and discretion to so highe an office, beseeching the king to cause his commons to resort eftsones to their common house, and there to chose an other speaker for that parliament.

To this the king (by the mouth of the Lorde Chauncelour) answered that where he had disabled himselfe in wpt and learning, his awne orzation there made, testified the contrarie, and as touching his discretion and other qualities, the king himselfe had well knobone him and his doyngs, sith he was in his seruice, to be both wise and discrete, and so for an hable man he accepted him, and for the speaker he him admitted.

When the commons were assembled in the nether house, they began to common of their griefes, wherewith the spiritualtie had befoze time grievously oppressed them, both contrarie to the lawe of the realme, and contrarie to all right, and in especiall they were soze moued with sixe great causes.

The great charge of the probate of Sir William Comptons Testament.

1 The first for the excesse fynes, which the ordinaries tooke for probate of Testaments, insomuch that s<sup>r</sup> Henry Guilfozde knight of the Garter and Comptroller of the kings house, declared in the open Parliament on his fidelitie that he and other, being executors to Sir William Compton knight, payde for the probate of his will to the Cardinall and the Archebyschop of Cauntozburie a thousand Marke sterling: after this declaration were shewed so manye extortions done by ordinaries for probates of willes, that it were to much to rehearse.

2 The second cause was the great polling and extreme exactiō, which the spirituall men bled in taking of cozps, presentes, or mortuaries, for the children of the defunct should all die for hunger and go a beggyng, rather then they would of charitie geue to them the siely cow which the dead man ought if he had but onely one, such was the charitie then.

3 The thirde cause was, that priestes beyng surueiozrs, stuardes and officers to Byschoppes, Abbotes, and other spirituall heades, had and occupied fermes, Graunges, and grasing in every countrey, so that the pooze husbandmen could haue nothing but of them, and yet for that they shoulde paye derely.

4 The fourth cause was that Abbottes, Pziorz, and spirituall men kept Tanne houses, and bought and solde Woll, clothe, and all maner of Marchaundise, as other temporall Marchaunts did.

5 The fift cause was because that spirituall persons promoted to great benefices, and hauing their lyuing of their flock, were lyng in the Court in Lordes houses, and tooke all of the parishoners, and nothing spent on them at all, so that for lack of residence both the poze of the parische lacked refreshyng, and vniuersally all the parishoners lacked preaching, and true instruction of Gods worde, to the great perill of their soules.

6 The sixt cause was to see one priest beyng little learned to haue ten or twelue benefices and to be resident on none, and to knowe many well learned scholers in the Uniuerfitie, which were hable to preache and teache, to haue neyther benefice nor exhibition.

These things befoze this time might in no wise be touched nor yet talked of by no man except he would be made an heretike, or lese al that he had for

for the Byschoppes were Chauncelozs, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man durst once presume to attempt anye thing contrarie to their proffite or commoditie.

But now when God had illumined the eyes of the king, and that their subtil doings was once espied: then men began charitably to desire a refozation, and so at this parliament men began to shewe their grudges.

Whereupon the Burgesles of the parliament appointed suche as were learned in the law, beyng of the common house, to drawe one bill of the probates of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, and the thirde for none residence, pluralities, and taking of Fermes by spirituall men.

The learned men tooke much payne, and first set forth the bill of Mortuaries, which passed the common house, and was sent by to the Lordes.

To thys bill, the spirituall Lordes made a fayze face, sayng that surely Priestes and Curates tooke moze then they should, and theretore it were well done to take some reasonable order, thus they spake because it touched them little.

But within two dayes after was sent by the Bill concerning probates of Testaments, at the which the Archebyschop of Cauntozburie in especiall, and all other Byschops in generall both frowned and gruntyd, so that touched there profite, insomuch as Doctoz John Fisher Byschop of Rochester, sayde openly in the parliament chamber these wordes: my Lordes, you see daylie what billes come hether from the common house, and all is to the destruction of the Church, for Gods sake see what a realme the kingdome of Boheme was, and when the Church went downe, then fell the glozy of the kingdome, now with the commons is nothing but downe with the Church, and all this me seemeth is for lacke of fayth onely.

The sayng of John Fisher Byschop of Rochester.

When these words were reported to the commons of the nether house, that the Byschop should say that all their doyngs were for lack of fayth, they tooke the matter grievoussly, for they unagyned that the Byschop esteemed them as heretikes, and so by hys flanderous wordes would haue perswaded the temporall Lordes to haue restrayned their consent from the sayde two billes, which they befoze had passed, as you haue heard befoze.

Wheretore the commons after long debate, determined to sende the speaker of the parliament to the kings highnesse, with a grievous complaint agaynst the Byschop of Rochester, and so on a day when the king was at lecture, Thomas Audeley the speaker for the commons and thirtie of the chiefe of the common house, came to the kings presence in his palace at Westminster, which befoze was called Pozke place and there berie eloquently declared what a dishonour to the king and the realme it was to saye that they which were elected for the wifest men of all the Shires, Cities, and Boroughes within the realme of Englande should be declared in so noble and open presence to lack fayth, which was equiualent to say, that they were infidels and no christians, as yll as Turkes or Sarasins, so that what payne or studie soener they toke for the common wealth, or what actes or lawes so euer they made or stablished, should be taken as lawes made by Panyngs and heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by christian men: wheretore he most humbly besought the kings highnesse, to call the sayde Byschop befoze hym and to cause him to speake moze discretly of such a number as was

A complaint made to the King.

¶ m m m m. j.

in



In the common house.

The king was not well contented with the saying of the Bishop, yet he gently answered the speaker, that he would sende for the Bishop and send them worde what aunswere he made, and so they departed againe. After this the king sent for the Archbishop of Cantorbury, and six other Bishops and for the Bishop of Rochester also, and there declared to him the grudge of the commons, to the which the Bishop answered that he ment the doings of the Bohemians was for lacke of fayth, and not the doings of them that were in the common house, which saying was confirmed by the Bishops being present, which had him in great reputation, and so by that onely saying the king accepted his excuse, and therefore sent worde to the commons by Sir William Fitzwilliam knight Treasorer of his household, which blind excuse pleased the commons nothing at all.

The bishops excuse.

Probate of Testaments.

After this diuers assemblies were kept betwene certain of the Lords and certayne of the commons, for the billes of probates of Testaments, and the mortuaries: the temporallie layd to the spiritualty there sune lawes and constitutions, and the spiritualite soze defended them by prescriptyon and vsage, to whome an aunswere was made by a Gentleman of Greyes Inne: the vsage hath cuer bene of theues to rob on thooters hill, ergo is it lawfull? with this aunswere the spiritual men were soze offended, because there doynge were called robberies, but the Temporall men stood still by there saynges, in so much the sayde Gentleman sayd to the Archebishop of Cantorbury, that both the exaction of probates of Testaments, and the taking of Mortuaries, as they were vsed, were open robbery and theft: after long disputation, the Temporall Lords began to leane to the commons, but for all that, the bylles remayned vnconcluded a while.

The loane recalled.

In the meane season there was a byll assented by the Lordes, and sent downe to the commons, the effect whereof was, that the whole realme by the sayde acte, dyd realease to the king, all such sommes of money as he had borrowed of them at the loane, in the tittene yere of his reigne (as you haue heard before) this byll was soze argued in the common house, but the most parte of the Commons were the kinges seruauntes, and the other were so labored to by other, that the byll was assented to.

When this release of the loane was knowne to the Commons of the Realme, Lorde so they grudged, and spake yll of the whole Parliament, for almost euery man counted it hys dette, and recomed suerly of the payment of the same, and therefore some made there wylles of the same, and some other did set it ouer to other for debte, and so manye men had losse by it, which caused them soze to murmur, but there was no remedy. The king like a good and discrete Prince, seyng that his commons in the parliament house had released the loane, entending somewhat to requite the same, graunted to them a generall Pardon, of all offences, certayne great offences and debtes onely except: also he ayded them for the redress of their grieues against the spiritualty, and caused two new bylles to be made indifferently both for the probate of Testaments & Mortuaries, which billes were so reasonable that the spiritual Lords assented to them although they were soze against their minds, and in especiall the probate of Testaments soze displeasid the Bishops, & the Mortuaries soze displeasid the Persons & Vicars.

After

After these actes thus agreed, the Commons, made another acte for pluralities, of benefices none residence, byng and sellng, and taking of fermes by spiritual persons, which act so displeasid the spiritualty that the Priestes rayled on the Commons of the common house, and called them Heretikes and Scismatikes, for the which diuerse Bylles were punished.

This acte was soze debated aboue in the parliament chamber, and the Lordes spiritual would in no wise consent. Wherfore the king perceyuing the grudge of his Commons, caused eyght Lordes and eyght of his Commons to meete in the Starre Chamber at an after none, and there was soze debating of the cause, insomuche that the Temporall Lordes of the upper house, which were there, tooke part with the Commons, against the spiritual Lordes, and by force of reason caused them to assent to the byll with a litle qualifyng, which byll the next day was wholly agreed to in the Lords house, to the great reioysing of the lay people, and to the great displeasure of the spiritual persons.

Duryng this parliament was brought downe to the commons, the boke of articles which the Lordes had put to the king agaynst the Cardinal, the chiefe articles were these.

First that he without the kings assent had procured to be a Legate, by reason whereof he toke away the right of all Bishops and spiritual persons.

Articles proposed agaynst Cardinal Wolsey.

Item, in all wrytings which he wrote to Rome, or any other forreyn Prince, he wrote Ego & Rex meus, I and my king, as who would saye that the king were his seruaunt.

Item, that he hath slandered the Church of Englande in the Court of Rome, for his suggestion to be a Legat, was to reforme the Church of Englande, which as he wrote was Facta in reprobum censum.

Item, he without the kinges assent, caried the kinges great Seale with him into Flaunders, when he was sent Ambassade to the Emperour.

Item, he without the kinges assent, sent a Commission to Sir Gregoꝝ de Cassado, knight, to conclude a league betwene the king & the Duke of Ferrara, without the kinges knowlege.

Item that he hauyng the French Pockes, presumed to come and bryeth on the king.

Item, that he caused the Cardinals hat to be put on the kinges coyne.

Item, that he would not suffer the kinges Clarke of the Market, to sit at Saint Albones.

Item, that he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obteynng of his dignities to the great enpouerishment of the realme.

These Articles with many moze, were read in the common house, & signed with the Cardinals hand, and was confessed by him: And also there was shewed a wrytyng sealed with his Seale, by the which he gaue to the king all his moueables and vnmoueables.

On the day of the conception of our Lady before Christmaste, the King at Porke place at Westminster, in the Parliament tyme, created the Vicount Rochforth Erle of Wilshire, and the Vicount Fitzwater, was created Erle of Sussex, and the Lord Hastinges, was created Erle of Huntynghton.

When all things were concluded in the Parliament house, the king came to the Parliament Chamber the .xviij. daye of December, and there gaue his

M m m m .ij.

royall



royall assent, to all thinges done by the Lordes, and Commons, and so proroged his Court of Parliament, till the next yere.

After the Parliament was thus ended, the king remoued to Grenewich and there kept his Christmasse with the Queene in great triumph: wyth great plentie of Viandes, and diuers disguysyngs and Enterludes, to the great reioysing of his people.

The king of England beyng aduertised that the Emperoz and the Bishop of Rome were together at Bononie, determined to sende thether a solempne Ambassade, both to declare to them the lawe of God, and the determination of the vniuersities, and also to require the Bishop of Rome to doe iustice accordyng to the truth, and also to shewe to the Emperoz that the king did not moue thys matter for any displeasure that he bare to him or the Queene his Aunt, but onely for the discharge of his conscience, and for the quietnesse of his realme.

When this purpose was agreed by the kinges counsaile, the king appoynted sir Thomas Bulleyn late created Erie of Wilshire, and Doctoz Stokesley elected Bishop of London, and Doctoz Edward Lee, his Almoner, two great Clarke, for his Ambassadors, and with them he sent diuers Doctoz both of the law and diuinitie. These Ambassadors made great preparation, & about the beginnyng of February they set forward, and so much they traualled, that they came to Sauoy where the Duke in the sayre towne of Cambrey, caused them honourably to be receyued and feasted.

So they passed the Mountaynes, and so through the Duchye of Millain, and by long iourneyes they came to Bononie in Lent, where they were honourably receyued by the Maister of the Emperours house, and diuers Lordes and Gentlemen belongyng to the Pope, and within short space the sayd Ambassadors were first conueyed to the Pope, and there declared their message, and shewed the determination of the great Doctoz, and famous Vniuersities. Pope Clement which was a man of no learning, but of a great wit, made to them a gentle answer, and sayde that he would heere the matter disputed when he came to Rome, and accordyng to right he would doe iustice. But his intent was all contrary, for he knewe well that if he should geue sentence, that Pope Iulij could not dispencc with the breche of Goddes lawe, that then the aucthoritie of the Court of Rome would little be regarded, and also he feared the Emperors displeasure, if he should geue sentence agaynst his aunte, so that for feare of losyng aucthoritie, and of the Emperors displeasure, Bishop Clement durst not iudge accordyng to Gods lawe. After they had bene with the Pope, they came to the Emperoz, which them gently receyued, and after they had done their message, he answered them, that he in no wise would be agaynst the lawe of God, and if the court of Rome would adiudge that the matrimonie were not good, he would be content, but he thought all other wise, for he solicited the Pope and all the Cardinales which were his fricndes to stande by the dispensation, which he iudged to be as strong as Gods lawe. After this aunswere they tooke their leaue of the Emperoz, which the next weeke after departed out of Bononie towarde Almaine in good order of battaile, he himselfe in gilt harness, and his Nobles in white harness, with rich coates and trappers very curiously besene.

After that the Emperoz was gone out of Bononie, the Ambassadors of

The Popes  
aunswere.

of England tooke their leaue of the Bishop of Rome, which went towarde Rome againe, and returned toward England, through the Duchie of Millain, which were receyued by the Erie Lodouicke, great Counsaylor to the Duke of Millayn, which Erie conducted them through the whole Duchie of Millain, and payed all their charges by the Dukes commaundement. And when these Ambassadors were passed the Mountaynes, they receyued letters from the king, which appoynted the Erie of Wilshire to go Ambassade to the French king, which then lay at Burdeaux making prouision for money for the redemyng of his children: and the Bishop of London was appoynted to go to Padua, and other Vniuersities in Italy to knowe their opinions in the kings case, and the kings Almoner was appoynted to returne into England, and so he did, thus was the ende of this Ambassade.

You haue heard before, howe the Cardinall was attainted in the Premunire, and howe he was put out of the office of the Chaunceloz, and lay at Asher: In this Lent season the king by the aduice of his Counsaile licenced him to go into his Diocesse of Porke, and gaue him commaundement to kepe him in his Diocesse, and not to returne Southward without the kings speciall licence in writyng.

So he made great prouision to go Northward, and apparailled his seruantes newly, and bought many costly thinges for his household, and so he might well ynough, for he had of the kinges gentlenesse the Bishopricks of Porke, and Winchester, which were no small thinges, but at this tyme diuers of his seruantes departed from him to the kinges service, and in especiall Thomas Crumwell one of hys chiefe Counsaile, and chiefe doer for hym in the suppression of Abbeyes. After that all thinges necessary for his iournay were prepared, he tooke hys iournay northwarde till he came to Southwell, which is in his Diocesse, and there he continued this yere, euer grudging at his fall as you shall heere after: but the landes which he had geuen to his Colleges in Oxford, and Ipswich, were nowe come to the kinges handes, by his attainder in the Premunire, and yet the king of his gentlenesse, and for fauour that he bare to good learning, erected againe the College in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinales College, he called it the kinges College, and endewed it with sayre possessions, and put in new statutes and ordinaunces, and for because the College of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therfore he caused that to be dissolved.

The last Sommer while the peace was treated at Cambrey, as you haue heard before, Ferdinando brother to the Emperour, recovered certaine townes which the Turkes had taken from him in Hungry, and put to flight his enemy John de Uainoda, which falsly named himselfe king of Hungary. This Uainoda destitute of all succours fled to Sultan Soliman the great Turke, desirying him of succour, to recover Hungary agayne. The Turke beyng glad to haue an occasion to destroy Hungary, assembled a puissant army, and entered into Hungary, and made proclamation, that what towne or Citie would not obey king John as their king, should be put to fyre and sword. This proclamation feared the Hungarians, that all in maner yelded themselves subiects to the Uainoda, the Citie of Bude onely except: which at the last was yelded by composition, that they should depart with bag and baggage, but for all their safeconduite signed with the great Turkes hande,

M m m m. iij.

they

Thomas  
Crumwell  
came into the  
kings service.



Crueltie of the Turkes.

they were first robbed of the Janizers, and after that shamefully slaine. When the Turke had thus Bude in possession, he left there the Uainoda and Lewys great Bastard sonne to the Duke of Venice, with fivie thousand footemen, and two thousand horsemen, and he with all hast entered into Au- strice, where his people committed such crueltie and tyranny, as neuer hath bene heard nor written, for of some they put out the eyes, of other they cut of the noses and eares, of other they cut off the priuie members, of women they cut off the Dappes, and rauished Virgins, and of women great woth childe, they cut their bellies and bzent the children: Beside this, as they pas- sed they bzent cozne, trees, houses, and all that woude be bzent, to make the Countrie desolate, and at the last the .xxij. day of September, the Turkes armie came nie to Wienne, a riche and a famous Citie in Austrice. The same was, that he had two hundred and fiftie thousand men in his army, and .xxv. thousand Tentes in the sight of the Citie.

And forasmuch as here is a good occasion geuen somewhat to speake of the vile tyranny of the Turkes, and namely for that I haue heard diuers say (but I trust they did not so inwardly think, as they outwardly spake) that it were no great matter if the great Turke were prince of all Christendome, for we should liue vnder him in a better and quyeter state of life then we do now, into the which erroz God forbid that any Christian person shoulde be caried: Therfore the better to expresse the mosterous tyranny of the Turke, I haue here thought meete to shew the wordes of Sebastian Munster as he expresseth the same in his learned booke of Cosmography.

When (sayth he) the Turke goeth to warre, he hath alwayes woth him a great troupe of people called Marquynions, which are byars and sellers of such prisoners as shall fortune to be taken, whome they call Sclaues and bondemen: And also there goeth with them a great number of Swozdplai- pers and Dapsters of fence. And in hope to haue some Sclaues, they do carry with them a great number of cheynes, Chables, boites and couples of Iron, and amonge their cheynes some are of such length that they may carry fiftie or three score persones in one cheyne, and one Willeyr shall haue the leading of so many.

These pyliererers, I meane the Marquynions and Swozdplayers so sone as any number of prisoners be taken, they sell and make marchandise of them, as they may lawfully do by their law, vpon this condicion that they shal pay vnto the Turke the tenth prisoner or Sclaue, and the rest they may retayne to their vse and commoditie. They haue no marchaundysle among them that is of greater trade, nor of greater gayne, then the byrnyng and sel- linyng of Sclaues and bondmen. And such prisoners as cometh into the Turkes handes, be they males or females he bseth them after this sorte, he selleth the aged and rude vnto housbandmen, and the yong boyes he com- mitteth vnto diuers schooles to be taught in some artes or craftes, and the yong wenches he sendeth also into certayne places to be taught to sow and knyt, and such other exercises, to the entent that afterward they may serue in the common weale more commodiously. And first he causeth them all to deny their fayth and then to be circumcised: and then are they trayned by in their ceremonies vnto the which by nature they are sone dratwone, & after he causeth them to bnderstand the lawes of y land. And if there be in them any

Sebastian Munster de- scribeth the Turkes ti- rannye.

Marquini- on is a byar- and seller of Christian prisoners, whome they call Sclaues.

Syrnyng and sellnyng of pri- soners and bondmen is a great mer- chandysle in Turque.

strength

strength of body and corage of minde, then he causeth them to be sent to the warres and calleth them Janizaries that is deniers of the faith. And if they haue no quicke spirite and yet mightie of bodre, then they are brought by and exercised in shootyng, and haue skolemaisters appoynted to make them excellent therein, and they are forced to render an accompt of their exercise with great extremitie, for those which hit not the white, haue so many tymes as they misse, so many lashes with a whip, and some they bring by in swozde playnyng, and in the exercise of other weapons.

The mayden children that are any thing betwifull are taken to be their Concubynes and Harlots, or at the least to wayte and attend vpon them, to whome they commit most lothsome and filthie busynesse, such as to heare the same named would abhorre any honest good eare.

When they haue newe slaues, they begin with terrible punishmentes, and afterwardes with grieuous threathings, and if that preyale not, then they vse gentle wordes and fayre promises to procure them to be circumci- sed. And as soone as they bring that to passe, then they vse them with much more gentleness. And if any attempt to escape, the payne of fyre is ordry- ned for him. They doe licence the slaues wyllingly to marry, but the children that they bring forth are solde at the discretion of the maister, wherefore the wife and sage be well aduised before they marry.

They doe cruelly intreat those that will not be circumcised. The estate of them which haue no handie craftes is very euill, for they shall learne no- thing there (except they be circumcised) wherefore the priestes and such as are students, and the Gentlemen which haue bene brought by without oc- cupations, are in the worst state of all other when they happen into their handes: For the Marquinion will lay out nothing for them, nor dispend anye thing vpon them, because when he should sell them, he knoweth not who wyll geue any thing for them. These are carryed bareheaded, barefoo- ted and almost all naked. They dratwe them through the frostes, snowes and other the rocks and Mountaynes, both in heate and colde, and they haue neuer rest vntill they die, or else that they chaunce vpon an unhappie maister. There is none so blessed nor fortunate of what estate, age, bebotie or arte soeuer he or they be of, that may be suffered to go into a lodging, if he chaunce to fall sick by the high wayes side. And if any be sick, they force him to go on foote, and if he can not, they set him vpon an euill fauoured Fade: And if he cannot ryde nor holde fast, then they binde him ouerthwart the horse lyke a Male behinde a Saddle. And if he die, then such clothes as he hath vpon him, they pull off and throwe him into the next dicke. But to go forward, they doe not onely lead them captiues and prisoners in cheynes (as is afozesayde) but also they manacle their handes with suche long Boltes as kepeth the one of them from the other a whole yard space, for feare that one of them should fight with another, and also for feare lest they should throwe stones at their keepers. And when night dratweth on, then also they fetter their legges and turne them byside downe, so that they lye openly in the fieldes gapyng into the ayze, and there must rest to abide what weather so- euer cometh.

The enterteynment of the women is somewhat more gentle: they that are strong, marche afoze on fote (but not bymanackled) and suche as are but

The euill b- sage of May- den childzen.

The Turkes practise all meanes to wyne the Christians to be circumci- sed.

Priestes and Gentlemen are euill in- treated of the Turkes.

So cruell and incharitable Turkes.

So ingentle and molle shamefull en- tender



entertainment  
of women  
kinde.

tender and weake, they set them on horses: And if they be not able to abide the shaking of the horse, they put them into Baskets, and carie them as men carie quick wildfoule: But the night is most grievous unto them. For when they are shut vp in close places, they are compelled to suffer the filthy company of the Marquions, most beauly to abuse them, for all the night long is heard among them most pittifull cryes and lamentations made by the yong persons as well Males as females, whome they most wickedly enforce and filthy order, yea they are so vylanous that they spare not their awne little children of sixe or seuen yere of age, so wicked, byle and prone is that nation unto that abhominable sinne agaynst nature.

The Turkes  
are most fil-  
thy Sodomi-  
tes.

The poore  
Christians  
are led like  
beasts to be  
solde in the  
sharke.

Shamelesse  
Turkes.

Tyrannous  
Turkes.

Allone as daye light commeth, then must they marche forwarde lyke Droues of beastes or sheepe, and to the Market they go. The Marchaunts come together and agree vpon a price: But before the Marchaunt paye his money: the slaue shall be striped starke naked that hys maister may see him, and then he beholdeth all hys members, and gropeth and sceleth all hys ioynts, to see if there be any fault or maine in hym. If the Marchaunt doe not lyke hym, then is he returned agayne unto the charge of the Marchaunt. And thus shall he be alwaies bled until such time as a Marchaunt bieth him outright. And when the byer hath bought him, he maye at his pleasure put him to what slavery or grievous labour he himselte lust, be it neuer so byle, and also to vse suche punishment of him, as putting on fetters or collers of yron, and whipping naked with rodde made of wyers or any other cruell punishment that he can deuise, not forcing though he die thereof. If any chaunge to be taken with their wiues and family, those the great Lordes doe willingly vse to put them into their deuyres, & to haue the ouersight of their groundes, their wyues and their Pastures, but the children that are bozne of them are bond.

The Turke  
is cloudy and  
vniuersall.

And finally, when the Turke hath taken any Province of christendome as he hath done to many (if almightie God had bene pleased to the contrary) all the goods of the inhabitants, as well moueable as immoueable are his praye and share. And first of all he rooteth out and destroyeth all noble personages, and namely suche as are of the bloud royall. And if he kylle not the Ecclesiasticall ministers, he taketh from them both their goodes and honours and lyuings, and leaueth them to the wonderment of the worlde, to goe a beggynge.

The Gospell  
may not be  
preached in  
Turquy.

Sermons and preaching of the Gospell of Christ is vtterly forbidden through all Turky: neither shall it be lawfull for any christian man to beare any office in Turky: Neyther to carie any armes, nor to go appareled lyke a Turke. If any doe rayle or outrage at a christian man, or at Jesu Christ, he must be content and holde his peace. And if any chaunce to talke or comon any thing agaynst their religion, the same shall be circumcised in spight of his heart. And if any open their mouth to speake agaynst Mahomet, the same shall be brent quick. The christians doe paye the fourth part of all their frutes, not onely for the rent of their landes, but also for the gayne and profite that they receiue of their handie craftes and occupations. Besides thys, they pay another imposition, which is set vpon them by the polle, for so many heades as euery christian hath in his house, so many Ducates he shall pay yere y vnto the Turke. If the parents be not able to paye it, then will they take

Mahomet is  
the Turkes  
Sauour.

Impositions  
that the Turke  
settech vpon  
the poore  
Christians.

take away the children, and sell them to pay that money, and so bring them into seruitude and bondage. The other number that are fast in Chaynes they go from house to house begging their a mose, and if by that meanes they cannot get wherewithall to paye, then are they put in perpetuall prison, and neuer more suffered to come abroade. And thus much wyrteth Whylster of the tyranny of the Turkes.

The Turke  
assaulteth  
the Citie of  
Vienna.

At the beginning of the siege, the Turke sent certaine to the Lordes of the towne, and willed them to yelde the towne vnto him, and they should depart with bagge and baggage, and if they would kepe it by force, he would surely haue it and put them all to the sword. Now in the Citie was Capitaine Duke Philip of Bavier, Erle Palatine of the Rine, and nephew to the Palsegraue elector, a yong man of Noble courage, and wyth him were twentie thousand Almaynes, and two thousand horsemen, which nothing feared the Turkes threathynge. The Turke perceiuyng their boldnesse, bent his great ordinaunce, which were thre hundred peeces agaynst the walles, and commaunded the towne to be assaulted: the Turkes gaue a great assault, but the Christen men valiantly defended them, so that the Turkes were compelled to flie, and many of them were slaine.

The fourth day of October, the Turke bent all his ordinaunce agaynst the wall, which so shooke the wall, that all men within supposed that the walles would haue fallen downe, but they did little harme, which was soone amended. The sixt day of October, viij. thousand christen men issued out of the towne, and came where the Turkes Miners were working, and slue a great number and destroyed the mines. The same day the Turkes gaue a great assault to the Citie: the Christen men valiantly them defended, and threw downe great loggs, and barres of yron, and slue many Turkes. Thus the Turkes assaulted the Citie a leuen tymes, and so many tymes they were beaten away, but the great and terrible assault was the .xij. day of October, at the which assault the christen men so valiantly defended themselves, and slue and hurt so many of the Turkes, that after that day for no commaundement that the Turke could geue, they would no more geue assault.

The Turke perceiued well both the strength of the Citie, and the courage of the Capitaynes within, and also the winter there was muche more colder then in his countries, which sore troubled him & his people, wherefore he called his Counsaile, and concluded to breake by his siege and to depart, and so the .xiiij. day of October he shot great stones into the Citie all day till night: and about ten of the clocke in the night he caused his tentes to be taken vp, and set fyre on the straw, and such other stufte, and so remoued all his armie, towarde Bude, sayng fiftie thousand horsemen which taried all the next day behinde, carryng with him a great number of Christian prisoners, which he put to the wyues, and such other vile seruite. At this siege the Turke lost by murder, sicknesse, and colde, aboue .lxxx. thousand men, as one of his Bassades did afterwarde confesse.

The number  
of the turkes  
that died.

Thus was the Citie of Vienna defended agaynst the great Turke, and at his power, which was to him a great displeasure, and in especially because he neuer besieged Citie before, but eyther it was yelded, or taken.

In this yere the Emperour gaue to the Lorde Mayster of saint Johns of Jerusalem, and his brethren, the Island of Malta, lying betwene Scicile, and

The Isle of  
Malta first  
geuen to the  
and



order of the  
lanthornes.

1550  
22

and Barbarie, there to employ themselves on Christs enemies, which lord  
Maiter had no place sure to enhabite there, sith he was put from the Rhodes  
by this Turke that besieged Vienne, as you have heard before.

In this yere, the wilde Irishemen knowyng the Erle of Kildare to be  
in Englande, entered his lande, and spoiled and byent his Countrey, and di-  
uers other Countries, and the Erle of Offery being the kinges Deputie,  
made little resistance, for lacke of power, wherefore the king sent the Erle  
of Kildare into Ireland, and with him Sir William Skeuyngton knight,  
Mayer of the kinges ordinaunce, and diuers Gunners with him, which so  
politikely ordered themselves, that their enemies were glad to offer amends  
and to treat for truce, & so Sir William Skeuyngton the next yere returned  
into England leauyng there the Erle of Kildare for the kinges deputie.

The Emperour as you have heard the last yere, passed out of Italy in-  
to Germany and was receyued with great honor and triumph into the City  
of Ausborough or August, where in June were present all the electors and  
almost all the Princes of the Empire: there was kept a great counsaile, for  
the Princes of Germanie were of two seuerall opynions, and of seuerall  
names, the part that fauored the Pope and all thinges done by his autho-  
rity were called Catholical, and the other part which folowed and preached  
onely the Gospell of Christ were called Euangelicall. Of these and other  
thinges concerning our sayth there were many counsailes: but Cardynall  
Campeius the Popes Legat would not suffer the Euangelicall persons  
(whom he called Lutherans) to argue against the Catholical men (whome  
the Euangelicall persons called Papistes) least by opening of the scripture  
the auctority of the Court of Rome should haue bene damned, and therfore  
the Emperour put off the matter till another time: But this matter was not  
so let slippe, for of this mocion men so serched the law of God that within a  
few yeres after, many people refused the Pope for the head of the Churche  
and forsooke him and his pardons.

Procla-  
mation.

On the. xix. day of September in the Citie of London was made this  
proclamation. The kings highnesse straightly chargeth and commaundeth  
that no manner of person of what estate, degre or condicion soeuer he or they  
be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase from the court of Rome or else  
where, nor vse and put in execution, diuulge, or publish any thing heretofore  
within this yere passed, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing  
matter preiudiciall to the high auctoritie, iurisdiction and prerogatiue roy-  
all, of this his sayd realme, or to the let, hynderaunce or impechment of his  
graces noble and vertuous entended purposes in the premisses, bypon paine  
of incurring his highnesse indignation and imprizonment and farther punif-  
ment of their bodies for their so doing at his graces pleasure, to the dreadfull  
example of all other.

This proclamation was much mused at, and euery worde of the same  
well noted. Some sayd that it was because that the Queene had purchased  
a new Bull for the ratification of her marriage, other saide that it was made  
because the Cardinall had purchased a Bull to curse the king, if he would  
not restore him to his olde dignities, and that the king should suffer him to  
correct the spiritualtie and he not to meddle with the same. This inuencion  
sounded most to the truth as you shall here afterward.

In

In October the riuer of Tiber was of such an heighth that in Rome and  
other places about Rome almost twelue thousand persons were drowned,  
and in the next moneth Zelande, Hollande and Brabant were soze noyed  
with waters, and many people and much cattell were drowned.

The Citie of  
Rome, and  
Zeland, Hol-  
land & Bra-  
bant ouerflo-  
wen with  
great waters

You haue heard in the last yere, howe the Cardinall of Porke was at-  
tainted in the Premunire, and that notwithstanding the king had geuen him  
the Bishoprikes of Porke and Winchester, with great plentie of substance,  
and had licenced him to lie in his Dioces of Porke. He being thus in his Dio-  
ceses grudgynge at his fall, and not remembryng the kinges kindnesse shewed  
to him, wrote to the Court of Rome, and diuers other Princes letters in re-  
proche of the king, and in asmuch as in him lay, he stirred them to reuenge  
his cause against the king and his realme, insomuch that diuers opprobrious  
wordes of the king, was spoken to Docto Edward Kerne the kinges Ora-  
tor at Rome, and it was sayde to him that for the Cardinalles sake, the king  
should haue the worse speede in the suite of his matrimonie. The Cardinall  
also would speake sayre to the people to winne their heartes, and declared  
euer that he was vniustly, and vntreuly ordered, which sayre speakyng made  
many men beleue that he sayd true, and to Gentlemen he gaue great gistes  
to allure them vnto him. And to be had in the moze reputation among the  
people, he determined to be installed or inthronised at Porke, with all the  
pompe that might be, & caused a trone to be erected in the Cathedrall Church  
in suche an heighth and fashion as was neuer sene, and sent to all the Lordes,  
Abbottes, Priors, Knightes, Esquiers, and Gentlemen of his Dioces, to be  
at his manor of Cabod the sixt day of Nouember, and so to bring him to  
Porke with all maner of pompe and solemnitie.

The pride of  
the Cardinall

The king which knewe his doynge and priue conueyance, all this  
yere dissimuled the matter to see what he would do at length, till that he sawe  
his proude heart so high exalted, that he would be so triumphantly installed,  
without makyng the king priue, yea and in maner in disdaine of the king,  
thought it not meete nor conuenient to suffer him any lenger to continue in  
his malicious and proude purposes and attemptes: wherefore he directed  
his letters to Henry the sixt Erle of Northumberland, willyng him woth all  
diligence to arrest the Cardinall, and to deliuer him to the Erle of Shrews-  
bury great steward of the kinges household: When the Erle had seene the  
letter, he with a conuenient number came to the Manor of Cabod, the  
fourth day of Nouember, and when he was brought to the Cardinall in his  
Chamber, he sayd to him, my Lorde, I pray you take pacience, for here I ar-  
rest you. Arrest me sayde the Cardinall, yea sayd the Erle, I haue a com-  
maundement so to do: you haue no such power sayde the Cardinall, for I am  
both a Cardinall and a Legate de Latere, and a Peere of the Colledge of  
Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any tempozall power, for I am not  
subiect to that power, wherefore if you arrest me, I will withstand it: well  
sayde the Erle, here is the kinges Commission (which he shewed him) and  
therefore I charge you to obey, the Cardinall somewhat remembred him-  
selfe and sayde, well my Lorde, I am content to obey, but although that  
I by negligence fell into punishment of the premunire, and lost by the law  
all my landes and goodes, yet my person was in the kings protection, and I  
was pardoned that offence, wherefore I maruaile why I nowe should be  
arrested,

The Cardy-  
nall arrested.



arrested, and specially considering I am a member of the sea Apostolike, on whom no tempoꝛall man ought to lay violent handes: well I see the king lacketh good Counsaile. Well sayde the Erle when I was sworn Warden of the Marches, you your selfe tolde me, that I might with my staffe arrest all men vnder the degree of a king, and nowe I am moze stronger, for I haue a Commission so to do which you haue seene. The Cardinall at length obeyed, and was kept in his priuie Chamber, and his goodes sealed, and his officers discharged, and his Whisition called Doctoꝛ Augustine, was likewise arrested, and brought to the Tower by sir Walter Welthe, one of the Kinges Chamber. The sixt day of Nouember he was conveyed from Ca- wood to Sheffielde Castell, and there deliuered to the Erle of Shrewsburie keepyng, till the Kinges pleasure were knowne: Of this attachement was much commonyng amongst the common people, wherefoze manye were glad, for surely he was not in the fauoz of the commonaltie.

When the Cardinall was thus arrested, the king sent Syr Wylliam Kyngston knight, Capitayne of the Garde, and Constable of the Tower of London with certaine of the yomen of the Garde to Sheffield, to fetch the Cardinall to the Tower. When the Cardinall sawe the Capitayne of the Garde, he was sore astonnyed and shortly became sick, for then he perceyued some great tronble toward him, and for that cause men sayde that he wyl- lingly tooke so much quantitie of strong purgation that his nature was not hable to beare it: But Syr Wylliam Kyngston comforted him, and by easie iorneyes he brought him to the Abbay of Leicester the .xxvij. day of Nouem- ber, where for very feeblenesse of nature caused by purgations and vomites he dyed the second night folowing, and in the same Abbay lyeth buried. This Cardinall as you may perceyue in thys storie was of a great stomach, for he compted himselfe egall with Princes, and by craftie suggestion gat into his handes innumerable treasure: He forced litle on Symony and was not pittifull and stood affectionate in his awne opinion: In open presence he would lye and say vntruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: He would promise much and performe litle: He was vicious of his body and gaue the clergie euill example: He hated sore the Citie of London and feared it: It was tolde him that he should die in the waye toward London, wherefoze he feared least the commons of the Citie would arise in riotous maner and so sleigh him, yet for all that he dyed in the waye toward London. The autho- rite of this Cardinall set the Clergie in such a pryde that they disdaind all men, wherefoze when he was fallen they folowed after as you shall heare.

After the Cardinall was deade, the king remooued from Hampton Court to Grenewiche, where he wyth Queene Katheryn kept a solempne Christmas, and on the twelue night he sat in the hall in his estate, where as were diuers Enterludes, riche Maskes and disportes, and after that a great Banket. And after Christmasse he came to his Manoz of Westmyn- ster, which was called Porke place, for after that the Cardinall was attayn- ted in the Pꝛemunire and was gone Northwarde, he made a feoffement of the same place to the king, and the Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of Porke by their wytyng confirmed the same feoffement, and then the king chaunged the name and called it the Kinges Manoz of Westminster and no moze Porke place.

The

The whole Clergie of Englande euer supported and mayntayned the power Legantyne of the Cardinall, wherefoze the Kinges counsaile learned sayde plainely that they were in the Pꝛemunire, the spirituall Lordes were called by procelle into the Kinges Benche to aunswere, but befoze their daye of apperaunce they in their Conuocation concluded an humble submission in wytyng, and offered the king a hundred thousande pounde to be their good Lorde, and also to geue them a pardon of all offences touchyng the Pꝛemunire by act of parliament, the which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the Clergie called the king supreme head of the Church of Englande, which thing they neuer confessed befoze, whereupon many things folowed after as you shall here.

The king  
first named  
it pꝛemunire.

When the parliament was begun the sixt day of January, the pardon of the spirituall persons was signed with the Kinges hande and sent to the Lordes, which in tyme conuenient assented to the Bill and sent it to the commons in the lower house, and when it was red, dyuers frowarde persons would in no wise assent to it, except all men were pardoned, sayng that all men which had anye thing to doe with the Cardinall were in the same case: the wyser sort aunswored that they would not compell the king to geue them his pardon, and beside that it was vncharitably done of them to hurt the Clergie, and to doe themselves no good, wherfoze they aduised them to con- sent to the Bill and after to sue to the king for their pardon, which counsaile was not folowed, but they determined first to sende the speaker to the king or they would assent to the Bill, whereupon Thomas Audely speaker for the commons with a conuenient number of the common house came to the Kinges presence and there eloquently he declared to the king how the commons sore lamented and bewayled their chaunce to thinke or imagine themselves to be out of his gracious fauour, because that he had graciously geuen his pardon of the Pꝛemunire to his spirituall subjects and not to them, wherfoze they most humbly besought his grace of his accustomed goodnesse and clemency to include them in the same pardon.

The king wisely answered that he was their prince and soueraigne Lord, and that they ought not to restraine him of his libertie, nor to compell hym to shew his mercy, for it was at his pleasure to vse the extremity of his lawes or mitigate and pardon the same, wherfoze sithe they denyed to assent to the pardon of the spirituall persons, which pardon he sayde he might geue with- out their assent by his great seale, he would be well aduised or he pardoned them, because he would not be noted to be compelled to do it: with this aun- swere the speaker and the commons departed very sorowfnill & pensiue, and some light persons sayd that Thomas Crumwell which was newly come to the fauoz of the king had disclosed the secrets of the commons, which thing caused the king to be so extreme.

The kyng like a good prince considered how sorowfull his Commons were of the aunswere that he had made them, & thought that they were not quyet, wherfoze of his owne motion he caused a pardon of the Pꝛemunire to be drauone, and signed it with his hand and sent it to the common house by Christopher Hales his attornay, which Syll was sone assented to. Then the Commons louingly thanked the king and much prayfed his great wise- dome that he had denied it to them when they vnwoꝛthely demaunded it, and

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had



had bouifully grauted it when he perceyued that they sorowed & lamented.

While the Parliament sate, on the .xxx. day of Marche at after noone there came into the common house the Lord Chauncelloz and diuers Lords of the Spirituallie and Tempozallie to the number of twelue, and there the Lord Chauncelloz sayde, you of this worshipfull house I am sure be not so ignozant but you know well that the kyng our souereigne Lord hath married his brothers wife, for she was both wedded and bedded with his brother prince Arthure, and therefore you may fuerly say that he hath married his brothers wife, if this mariage be good or no many Clerkes do doubt. Wherefore the king like a berteous prince willing to be satisfied in his conscience and also for the fuerie of his realme hath with great deliberation consulted with great Clerkes, and hath sent my Lord of London here present to the chiefe Uniuersities of all Chyristendome to knowe their opinion and iudgment in that behalfe. And although the Uniuersities of Cambridge and Oxfozd had bene sufficient to discusse the cause, yet because they be in his realme and to auoide al suspition of partiality, he hath sent into the realme of Fraunce, Italy the Popes dominions, and Venisians to knowe their iudgment in that behalfe, which haue concluded, witten and sealed their determinations accordyng as you shall here red. Then Sir Bryan Tuke tooke out of a booke twelue wrytinges sealed, and read them worde by worde translated out of latin into the English tongue.

After these determinations were read, there were shewed aboue an hundred booke drawne by Doctozs of straunge Regions, which all agreed the kinges Maryage to be vnlawfull, which were not red, for the day was spent. Then the Chauncelloz sayd: Now you of thys common house, may reporte in your countries what you haue seene and heard and then all men shall openly perceyue that the king hath not attempted this matter of will or pleasure, as some straungers reporte, but onely for the discharge of hys conscience and fuerie of the succession of his realme: this is the cause of our repayze hether to you, and now we will depart.

When these determinations were published, al wise men in the realme much abhorred that mariage: but women and such as were more wilfull then wise or learned, spake against the determination, and sayde that the Uniuersities were corrupt and entysed so to do, which is not to be thought. The king himselfe sore lamented his chaunce and made no manner of mirth nor pastime as he was wont to do, and dined and resorted to the Queene as he was accustomed, and minished nothing of her estate, and much loued and cherished their daughter the Lady Mary: but in no wise he would not come to her bed. When Ester began to draw nere, the parliament for that time ended, and was proroged till the last day of Marche, in the next yere.

In the Parliament aforesayde was an act made, that whosoever did poyson any person should be boyled in hote water to the death: which act was made bycause one Richard Roose, in the parliament time had poysoned diuers persons at the Bishop of Rochesters place, which Richard, according to the same acte, was boyled in Smythfield the Teneber Wednesday following, to the terrible example of all other.

This wynter season, on the .xxvi. day of January, in the Citie of Lymborne in Dorsetshire, was a wonderous Earthquake, which destroyed many

The Acte of  
Poysoning.

In Earth-  
quake.

up houses and Towres, and slew manye people by the falling downe of the same, the kinges pallace shooke so, that he and the Queene and the Ladies fled out of their Pallace, without any seruauntes, and sought succoz where they might get it, and sodaynly the quaking ceased: Then the rockes opened, and out sprang the water, then the shippes in the haue were like to haue perished: Then the Earth quaked againe, and did more harme then before, and at night it ceased: By which Earthquake, many men were murdered and destroyed.

When the vniuersitie aforesayde, and a great number of clerkes and well learned men had determined the kinges mariage to be vnlawfull, detestable, and against Godes law, as you haue heard, the king wylling the Queene to haue knowledge of the same, sent to her diuers Lordes of the counsaile the last day of Maye being the Wednesday in whittson weeke: the which Lordes, in her chamber at Greenewiche, declared to her all the determination as you haue heard, and asked her whether she woulde for the quyetnesse of the kinges conscience, put the matter to foure Prelates, and foure Tempozall Lordes of this realme, or abyde by her appele. The Queene answered: the king my father which concluded my mariage, I am sure, was not so ignozant but he asked counsaile of clerkes and well learned men before he married me the second time: for he had had any doubt in my mariage, he would not haue disbursed so great a treasure as he did, and then all Doctozs in manner agreed my mariage to be good, insomuch that the Pope himselfe, which knew best what was to be done, did both dispruce and ratefie my seconde mariage againe whose doynges I meruaile that any man wyll speake or wryte: And as to the determination of the Uniuersitie, I am a woman and lack wyt and learning to aunswere to them, but to God I commit the iudgement of that, whether they haue done iustly or percially: for this I am sure, that neyther the kinges father, nor my father would haue condiscended to our mariage, if it had bene declared to be vnlawfull: and where you saye that I should put the cause to eyght persons of this realme for quyetnesse of the kings conscience, I praye God sende his grace a quyet conscience: and thys shall be your aunswere: That I say I am hys lawfull wyfe, and him lawfully maryed, and by the order of the holy Church I was to him espoused as his true wyfe, although I was not so worthy, and in that point I will abide till the Court of Rome which was priuie to the beginning haue made thereof a determination and finall ending. With thys aunswere the Lordes departed to the king, which was sozie to heare of her wilfull opinion, and in especiall that she more trusted to the Popes lawe, then in keeping the precepts of God.

The king like a polittique prince, perceiued that the Marchant straungers, and in especiall Italyans, Spanyards & Portyngales daylie brought Gade, Oyle, Silke, Clothes of Golde, Veluet, and other Marchaundise into this realme, and therefore receyued readie money, which money they euer deliuered to other Marchauntes by exchange, and neuer employed the same money on the comodities of this realme, so that thereby the king was hyndered in his custome outwarde, and also the comodities of his realme were not vttered, to the great hinderance of his subiectes: wherefore he caused a proclamation to be made in Midsummer Terme, accordyng to an

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olde

Message sent  
to the Queene



A proclamation  
of ex-  
change.

olde Statute made in the time of king Rycharde the second : That no person should make any exchaunge contrarie to the true meaning of the same Act and Statute , upon payne to be taken the kings moztall enemye, and to for- feyt all that he might for feyt . After thys proclamation, many clothes and o- ther commodities of this realme were well solde, but shortly after War- chauntes fell to exchaunge agayne, and the Proclamation was shortlye for- gotten.

The king and the Queene after Whytfontide remoued to Windsor, and there continued tyll the .xiiij. day of July, on which day the king remoued to Woodstock and left her at Wyndsoze, where she laye a while, and after remoued to the Moore, and afterward to Estamsted: and after this day the king and she neuer sawe together. Wherefore the common people daylie murmured and spake their foolish fantasies. But the affayres of princes be not ordered by the common people, noz it were not conuenient that all things were opened to them.

The king  
sendeth cer-  
taine Lords  
to the Queene  
to perswade  
her to consent  
to the deuy-  
sment.

After this the king sent certayne Lords to the Queene to Estamsted, to aduise her to be confirmable to the laboure of God, and to letre vnto her, that all the Uniuersities had cleerely determined, that the Pope could in no wise dispence with her mariage, and therefore the dispensation to which she most trusted of all, was clerely voyde and of none effect. These, with many mo causes and aduiseiments were declared to her, which nothing moued her at all, but still she sayde: Truly I am the kings true wyfe, and to him mar- ryed: and if all Doctors were dead, or law, or learning so farre out of mans minde at that time of our mariage, yet I can not thinke that the Courte of Rome, and the whole Church of Englande would consent to a thing un- lawfull and detestable (as you call it) but still I say I am his wife, and for him will I pray. With this aunswere the Lordes departed, and came to the king and made report as you haue heard.

This mariage was not alonely talked of in Englande, but in Fraunce Spayne, Italy, yea, through all christendome in maner, and especially in the Emperours Court, in so much as a great Marques of Spaine sayde to Syr Nicholas Haruy knight being the kings Ambassadoz in the Emperours Court at Gaunt: My Lozde Ambassadoz of England, I maruaile not a little why the king your maister dalyeth so with the Emperours Aunte, shee is descended I assure you of a noble bloud, and high parentage, the Empe- rours Maiestic maye not noz wyll not suffer such inturie to be done to hys bloud and lynage, that she should whole .xxij. yeres and moze serue him as his wyfe and bedfelow, and now to reiect her, what prince y maner is that, therein is neyther loue noz loyaltie: For if a pooze betlet had so long serued a Prince, what heart could he haue then reiected him or put him from him: it can not be sayd that your king is well counsayled: the matter is much mar- uayled at amongst Christian Princes, and thinke her not to be honestly handeled nor honorably: And if it be so that she be not his wife (because shee was once his brothers wyfe) as your Doctors say and affirme, then no man can excuse your king nor say but that she hath beene euill handeled, and kept like a Concubine or Paramour for the bodily appetite, which is a great spot, shame and rebuke to her, and to her whole lynage, which spot no waies can be sponged out nor recompenced, for shame in a kyndred can by no treasure be

be redeemed: If the king your maister remember well this matter, he shall fynde that it transcendeth farre aboute the losse of earthly possessions, I would he would be better aduised.

The Englyshe Ambassadour answered: My Lozde, my commission extendeth not to aunswere this matter, but to enforze you of the truth, I will somewhat say beside my commission: first I say to you, that the king my maister neuer ment in this matter but honorably, truly, and vertuously, both for the pleasure of God and the profite and suretie of his realme, noz neuer was noz will be any Prince that euer was better contented and pleas- sed with a woman then he hath bene with her, noz neuer prince moze loued, cherished, noz honoured a woman then the king my maister hath done her, and would with heart, minde, and will her still keepe as hys wyfe, if Gods lawe would suffer it: My Lozde if you remember well all thyng, you shall fynde that this doubt was first moued in the counsaile of Spayne, when the Emperour and the King of Englande were agreed, that the Emperour should marry the Ladie Marie the kings daughter: vpon that comunica- tion this doubt was put to the Emperours counsaile, whether shee were the kings lawfull daughter or not, because that it was well knowne that he had maryed his brothers wyfe.

In Answer

This matter was not so secret but it spred into the counsaile both of Fraunce and Flaunders to the great defamacion of the king of Englande, and to the great vncertainetie of the succession of his realme, whereof when he was aduertised, I thinke neuer prince tooke it moze sorowfully noz moze heauily, and for satisfiing of his conscience, he called his Clergie and felt their opinions, and not trustyng his awne subiectes onely (which I en- sure you be excellently learned) sent to all the Uniuersities of Fraunce, Ita- ly, and dyuers other realmes to knowe their iudgements in this case, and surely the king my maister sore lamenteth this chaunce, and bewyleth the tyme mispent if it so succede, for then is his realme destitute of a lawfull heyre begotten of his bodie, which is the greatest displeasure that maye come to a prince: the mariage was well ment both of the kings father and the Queenes father, and they maryed together by the aduise and coun- saile of their friendes, and louingly continued together as man and wyfe without any scruple or doubt, tyll you of Spayne moued first the question and put the mariage in ambiguitie, and therefore you cannot with honour thinke but that the king hath done lyke a wise prince to searche out the soluti- on of your doubt, which so neere toucheth his soule and the suretie of his realme: And all thing that he hath done, he hath done by great aduiseiment, and with a great deliberation, wherefore no reasonable man can saye but he hath done lyke a wise and verteous prince. The Marques hearing thys aunswere sayde, that the king did wisely to trie the truth, and was somewhat ashamed of that that hee had spoken, as I was enforced by them that were present.

You haue heard before how the Clergy in their conuocation had graun- ted to the king the somme of one hundred thousand pounde to be pardoned of the Premunire: for leuyng of the which somme, every Bishop in hys Dioces called before hym all the Priestes as well Chauntrie and parrythe Priestes, as Persones and Vicars, amongst whome Doctor John Stoke-

The Clergie  
graunted to  
the king fran-  
chise of them-  
selues one  
hundred  
thousand  
pounde, to be  
pardoned of  
the Premunire.

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ley



ney Bishop of London, a man of great witt and learning, but of little discretion and humanity (which caused hym to be out of the fauor of the common people) called before him all the Priestes within the Citie of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendiaries, the first day of Septēber beyng Fryday, in the Chapter house of saynt Paull, at which day the Priestes appeared, and the Bishoppes policie was to haue onely six or eyght priestes together, and by perswasion to haue caused them to graunt some portion toward the payment of the foresayde one hundreth thousand pounde, but the number of the priestes was so great, for they were six hundred at the leaste, and with them came many Tempozall men to heare the matter, that the Bishop was disapointed of his purpose: for when the Bishops Officers called in certaine priestes by name into the Chapter house: with that a great number entred, for they put the Bishops Officers that kept the doze a side. After this the Officers got the doze wut agayne: then the priestes without sayde: We wyll not be kept without, and our fellowes be within: we knowe not what the bishop will doe with them. The Tempozall men beyng present stomoked and comforted the priestes to enter, so that by force they opened the doze, and one strake the Bishoppes Officer ouer the face and entred the Chapter house, and many Tempozall men with them, and long it was or any s'p'ence coulde be made: & at last when they were appeased, the Bishop stood by and sayd: Brethren, I maruaile not a litle why you be so heddy and know not what shal be said to you, therfore I pray you to kepe silence and to heere me patiently: My friendes all, you know well that we be men frayle of condicion and no Angelles, and by traylty and lack of wisdom we haue misdeaned our selues toward the king our Soueraigne Lorde and his lawes, so that all we of the Clergy were in the P'remunire, by reason wherof, all our promotions, landes goodes, and Catelles, were to hym forfayte and our bodyes ready to be enprisoned, yet his grace moued with pitie and compassion, demaunded of vs what wee coulde say why he shoulde not extend his lawes vpon vs, then the fathers of the Clergye humbly besought his grace of mercye, to whome he answered that he was euer enclyned to mercy: then for all our great offences we had litle penaunce, for where he might by rigor of his law haue taken all our liuelod, goodes and Catelles, he was contented with one hundred. M. poundes to be payde in fiue yeres: and although that this somme be moze then we may easly beare, yet by the rygor of his lawes we shoulde haue borne the whole burden: wherfore my brethren, I charitably exhorte you to beare your partes of your liuelod and salary toward the payment of this somme graunted. Then it was shortly sayde to the Bishop: My Lorde twentie nobles a yere is but a bare liuing for a priest, for now bittaille and euery thing in maner is so dere, that puerie in maner inforceth vs to say nay: beside that, my Lorde we neuer offended in the P'remunire, for we neuer medled with the Cardinalles faculties, let the Bishops and Abbottes which haue offended pay. Then the Bishops officers gaue to the priestes high wordes, which caused them to be the moze obstinate. Also diuers tempozall men which were present comforted the priestes, and bade them agree to no payment. In this rumoz, diuers of the Bishops seruautes were buffeted and stricken so that the Bishop began to be afrayde, and with sayre wordes appeased the noyse, and for all thinges

The bishops  
sayng.

which

which were done or sayde, there he pardoned them and gaue to them hys blessing, and prayed them to depart in charitie. And then they departed thinking to heare no moze of the matter, but they were deceyued, for the Bishop went to sir Thomas Hooze then beyng Lorde Chaunceloz (which greatly fauoured the Bishop, and the Clergie) and to him made a grieuous complaint and declared the fact very grieuouly, wherupon commaundement was sent to sir Thomas Barginoz Maioz of the Citie, to attache certaine priestes and tempozall men, and so. xv. priestes, and fiue tempozall men were arrested, of the which, some were sent to the Tower, some to the flete, and other prisons, where they remayned long after.

In this season were diuers preachinges in the realme, one contrary to another concernyng the kings mariage, and in especiall one Thomas Abell Clerke, both preached and wrote a Booke, that the mariage was lawfull, which caused many simple men to beleue his opinion: This Abell was the Quenes Chaplaine, and wrote this booke to please her withall: Wherfore the king caused a determination of the Uniuersities, and all the iudgements of great Clerkes to be compyled into a Booke, and to be printed, whiche Booke did satisfie the myndes of all indifferent and discrete persons: But some men were partiall, that neyther learnyng, noz reason could satisfie their wilfull myndes.

Thomas  
Abell.

This yere the king kept his Christmasse at Greenwich with great solemnitie, but all men sayde that there was no mirth in that Christmasse, because the Queene and the Ladies were absent.

After Christmasse, the. xv. day of January the Parliament began to sit and amongest dyuers griefes which the Commons were grieued with, they forecomplained of the crueltie of the Ordinaries, for calling men before them Ex officio: that is, by reason of their office: For the Ordinaries would send for men, and lay accusations to them of Herisie, and saye they were accused, and lay Articles to them, but no Accuser shoulde be brought forth, which to the Commons was very dreadfull and grieuous: for the party so assited must either abiure or be burned, for Purgation he might make none.

The Parlia-  
ment.

When this matter and other Cractiōns done by the Clergie in theyr Courts were long debated in the common house, at the last it was concluded and agreed, that all the griefes which the tempozall men were grieued with, should be put in writyng, and deliuered to the king, which by great aduice was done: Wherfore the. xvij. day of March the Common speaker accompanied with diuers Knightes and Burgeses of the Common house, came to the kings presence, and there declared to him how the Tempozall men of his realme were sore agriened with the cruell demeanour of the prelates and Ordinaries, which touched both their bodies and goodes, at which griefes, the Speaker deliuered to the king in writyng, most humbly beseeching his grace to take such an order and direction in that case, as to his high wisdom might seeme most conuenient. Further he beseeched the king to consider what paine, charge and cost, his humble subiectes of the nether house had susteyned sith the beginning of this Parliament, and that it would please his grace of his Princely benignitte to dissolve his Court of Parliament, that his subiectes might repayre into their Countre.

The speaker  
of the parlia-  
ment in the  
name of the  
commons de-  
liuerech to  
the king. s'c-  
taine articles  
against the  
Clergie.

When the king had receyued the supplication of the Commons, he p'au-  
sed



The kinges  
sayng.

sed a while, and then sayde : it is not the office of a king which is a Iudge to be to lyght of credence, noz I haue not, noz will not vse the same : for I will heare the partie that is accused speake or I giue any sentence : your Booke containeth diuers articles of great and weightie matters, and as I perceiue it is agaynst the Spirituall persons and prelates of our Realme, of which thing you desyre a redresse and a reformation, which desire and request is meere contrariaunt to your last petition : for you require to haue the parliament dissolved and to depart into your countries, and yet you would haue a reformation of your grieues with all diligence. Although that your paines haue bene great in taryng, I assure you mine hath bene no lesse then yours, and yet all the payne that I take for your wealthes, is to me a pleasure: therefore if you will haue profite of your complaint, you must tary the tyme, or else to be without remedie : I much commend you that you will not contend noz stand in strife with the Spirituall men, which be your Christen brethren but much moze me thinketh that you should not contend with mee, that am your soueraigne Lorde and king, considering that I seeke peace and quietnesse of you : for I haue sent to you a Bill concerning wardes and primer feason, in the which thinges I am greatly wronged : Wherefore I haue offered you reason as I thinke, yea, and so thinketh all the Lordes, for they haue set their handes to the Booke : Therefore I assure you, if you will not take some reasonable ende nowe when it is offered, I will search out the extremitie of the law, and then will I not offer you so much againe : With this aunswere, the Speaker and his companie departed. The cause why the king spake these wordes was this : Feoly men made feoffements of theyr landes to their bles, and declared their willes of there landes with such remainders, that not alonely the king, but all other Lordes lost their Wardes, Mariages, and relieves, and the king also lost his primer feason, & the profite of the lyuerey, which was to him very preiudiciall, & a great losse : Wherefore he, like an indifferent Prince, not willyng to take ail, noz to lose ail, caused a Bill to be drawn by his learned counsaile, in the which was deuised, that every man might make his will of the halfe of his land, so that he left the other halfe to the heyre by discent. When this Bill came first amongest the Commons, Lord howe the ignozant persons were grieued, and how shamefully they spake of the Bill, and of the kinges learned Counsaile : But the wise men which vnderstoode & saw the mischiefe to come, would gladly haue had the Bill to be assented to, or at the least to haue put the king in a suretie of the thirde or fourth part, which offer I was credibly informed the king would haue taken : But many frowarde and wilfull persons, not regarding what might ensue (as it did in deede) would neither consent to the Bill as the Lordes had agreed & set to their handes, noz yet agree to no reasonable qualification of the same, which afterward they soze repented: for after this, the king called the Iudges, and best learned men of his realme, & they disputed this matter in the Chauncery, and agreed that lande could not be willed by the order of the Common lawe : Whereupon an act was made, that no man might declare his will of no part of his lande : which Act soze grieued the Lordes and Gentlemen that had many children to set forth. Therefore you may iudge what mischiefe commeth of wilfull blindnesse, and lacke of foresight in so great causes.

This

Note here  
what it is to  
stand with  
a Prince.

This Parliament was prozoged till the tenth day of Aprill, in the which Parliament was an Act made, that Bischoppes should pay no moze Annates or money for their Bulles to the Pope : for it was openly proued, that there was payde for the Bulles of Bischops, since the fourth yere of king Henry the seventh, the kinges father, till this yere, one hundredeth. lx. thousande pounde sterlyng, besyde all other Dispensations, and pardons, whereof the summe was incredible.

Bulles of  
Rome carryed  
great exchaunge  
out of Eng-  
lands.

When the Parliament was begonne againe after Easter, there came downe to the Common house the Lorde Chaunceloz, the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, the Erles of Arundell, Orford, Northumberland, Rutland, Wilshire, and Suffer, and after they were set, the Lorde Chaunceloz declared, how the king was aduertised by his Counsaile, and in especiall by the Duke of Norfolke, how on the Marches betwene England and Scotland was very litle habitation on the Englishe syde, but on the Scottishe side was great habitation, and the Scottes dwelled euen lust on the Border, by reason whereof they inuaded Englande dyuers tymes, and did to the kinges subiectes great hurt, and displeasure : Wherefore the king intended to make dwelling houses there, and also to make newe diuers pyles and stoppes to let the Scottishe men from their inuasions, to the great commodity of all his people there dwelling, which things could not be done without great cost : Wherefore considering the kinges good entent, he sayde that the Lordes thought it conuenient to graunt to the king some reasonable aide toward his charges, and prayed the Commons to consult on the same, and then he and all the Lordes departed.

After their departure, the Commons considering the kinges good entent, louyngly graunted to him a fiftene toward his charges, but this graunt was not enacted at this Session, because that sodainly became a Pestilence in Westminster, wherefore the Parliament was prozoged till the next yere.

In this yere was an olde Colle demaunded in Flaunders of Englishe men, called the Colle of the Hounde, which is a Riuer and a passage : The Colle is. xij. pence of a fardell. This Colle had bene often tymes demaunded but neuer payed : insomuch that king Henry the seventh, for the demaund of that Colle prohibited all his subiectes to kepe any Hart at Andwarpe or Barow, but caused the Hartes to be kept at Calice : at which tyme it was agreed that the sayde Colle should neuer be demaunded, so that the Englishe men would resort againe into the Dukes Countrie, and after that, it was not demaunded till nowe : Wherefore the king sent Doctor Knight, and other to Calice, and thether came the Emperours Commissioners, and the matter was put in suspence for a tyme.

Colle of the  
Hounde.

We haue heard befoze how the king had purchased the Bishop of Porke place, which was a fayre Bischoppes house, but not meete for a king : Wherefore the king purchased all the Medowes about saint James, and all the whole house of saint James, and there made a fayre Hansson and a Marke, and buyde many costly and comodious houses for great pleasure, which now is called saint James house.

The buyde-  
ding of the  
kynges house  
called Saint  
James.

In the beginning of this yere, the Lady Anne Bulleyme was so much in the kinges fauour, that the common people which knewe not the kinges true entent, sayde and thought that the absence of the Quene was onely for her

1531  
23  
Lady Anne  
Bulleyme.



her sake, which was not true : for the king was openly rebuked of preachers for keping company with his brothers wife, which was the occasion that he eschued her companie, till the truth were tryed.

The king calleth the speaker and certain other of the comon house unto him and deliuereth them the answers that the clergy made to articles deliuered to the king the last yere.

The last day of Aprill the parliament sytting, the kyng sent for Thomas Wodeley speaker of the common house, and certaine other, and declared to them, how they had exhibited a booke of their greues, the last yere agaynst the spiritualtie, which at their requestes, he had deliuered to his spirituall subiectes, to make aunswere there to, but he could haue no aunswere, till within thre dayes last past, which aunswere he deliuered to the speaker sayng : we thinke their aunswere will finally please you, for it seemeth to vs very slender, you be a great sort of wisemen, I doubt not but you will looke circumspectly on the matter, and we will be indifferent betwene you. And for a truth their aunswere was verie Sophistical, and nothing auoyding the griefes of the laye people : and farther the king sayde, that he marryled not a little, why one of the parliament house spake openly of the absence of the Queene from him, which matter was not to be determined there, for he sayd it touched his soule, and wished the matrimony to be good, for then had he neuer bene bered in conscience, but the Doctozs of the Universities sayde he, haue determined the mariage to be voyde, and detestable before God, which grudge of conscience, caused mee to absteyne from her company, and no foolish or wanton appetite : for I am sayde he. xij. yere olde, at which age the lust of man is not so quick, as in lustie youth : and sayng in Spayne and Portyngall it hath not bene sene, that one man hath marryed two sisters, the one being carnally knowne before, but the brother to mary the brothers wyfe was so abhorred amongst all nations, that I neuer heard it, that any christen man did it, but by my selfe : wherefoze you see my conscience troubled and so I pray you report : so the speaker departed, and declared to the commons the kinges sayng, both of the spirituall mens answer, and also concerning the kinges mariage, which slight aunswere displeaseth the commons.

The occasion why the king spake of this mariage, was because one Temse in the common house, moued the commons to sue to the king to take the Quene againe into his company, and declared certaine great mischiefs, as in Bastarding the Ladie Marie the kings onely childe, and diuers other inconueniences, which wordes were reported to the king, which was the cause that he declared his conscience.

The king ayme sendeth for the speaker and other and deliuereth them an othe for the Clergy.

The. xi. day of May, the king sent for the speaker againe, and twelue of the common house, hauing with him eight Lordes, and sayde to them, welbeloued subiectes, we thought that the Clergie of our realme had bene our subiectes wholly, but now we haue well perceyued that they be but halfe our subiectes, yea, and scace our subiectes : for all the Prelates at their consecration made an othe to the Pope, cleane contrarie to the othe that they make to vs, so that they seme to be his subiectes, & not ours, the copy of both the othes I deliuer here to you, requiring you to inuent some order, that we be not thus deluded of our spirituall subiectes. The speaker departed, and caused the othes to be red in the common house, the berye tenour whereof ensueth.

As therto the Pope.

I John Bysshop or Abbot of A. from this houre forthwarde, shall be saythfull

full and obedient to Saint Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my Lorde the Pope, and his successozs Canonically enterung, I shall not be of counsaile nor consent, that they shall leese eyther lyfe or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any meanes, their counsaile to mee credited, by them their messengers or letters, I shall not wyllingly discouer to any person : the papacie of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the Regalie of saint Peter, I shall help and retaine, and defend agaynst all men : the Legate of the Sea Apostolike, going and comming, I shall honourably entreate, the rightes, honours, priuileges, auctorities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and his successozs, I shall cause to be conserued, defended, augmented, and promoted, I shall not be in counsaile, treatie, or any act, in the which any thing shall be imagined agaynst him, or the Church of Rome, their rightes, states, honours, or powers. And if I knowe anye such to be moued or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as sone as I can, I shall aduertise him, or such as may geue him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinaunces, Sentences, dispositions, reseruacions, prouisions, and commaundementes Apostolike, to my power I shall keepe and cause to be kept of other : Heretikes, Schismatikes, and rebels to our holy father and his successozs, I shall resist and persecute to my power, I shall come to the Synode, when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonically impediment, the lightes of the Apostles I shall visite yerey personally, or by my deputie, I shall not alien nor sell my possessions without the Popes counsaile : so God me helpe and the holpe Euangelistes.

I John Bysshop of A. utterly renounce and clerely forsake all suche clauses, wordes, sentences, and grauntes, which I haue or shall haue hereafter of the Popes holynesse, of and for the Bysshoprike of A. that in any wise hath bene, is or hereafter may be hurtfull, or prejudiciall to your highnesse, your heires, successozs, dignitie, priuilege, or estate royall : and also I doe sweare that I shall be faithfull and true, and faith and truth I shall beare to you my soueraigne Lorde, and to your heires kinges of the same, of life and limme, and yearthly worshop aboute all creatures, for to liue and die with you and youres, agaynst all people, and diligently I shall be attendaunt to all your needes and businesse, after my wit and power, and your counsaile I shall keepe and holde, knowleging my selfe to holde my Bysshopricke of you onely, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalties of the same, promising as before, that I shall be faithfull, true, and obedient subiect to your sayde highnesse heires, and successozs during my life, and the seruices and other things due to your highnesse, for the restitution of the temporalties of the same Bysshoprike I shall truly doe and obediently performe, so God me helpe and all saintes.

Othe to the king.

The opening of these othes, was one of the occasions, why the Pope within two yere following, lost all his iurisdiction in England, as you shall heare afterward. The. xiiij. day the parliament was proroged till the fourth day of Februarie next ensuyng. After which prorogation, Syr Thomas Moore Chauncelloz of Englande, after long sutes made to the king to be discharged of that office the sixtene day of May, he deliuered to the king at Westminster, the great seale of Englande, and was with the kings fauor discharged,

Sir Thomas Moore discharged of the Chauncellozship.



discharged, which seale the king kept till whitson tyde following, and on the Monday in whitson weeke, he dubbed Thomas Wodeley speaker of the parliament knight, and made him Lord keeper of the great Seale, and so was he called.

Thomas Wodeley Lord keeper of the Seale.

The king understanding that the Pope and French king met at Harcelles thought it mete first to talke with the French king.

The meeting appointed of the French king and the king of Englande betwene Calice and Bulleyn.

Lady Anne Bulleyn made Marchioness of Penbroke.

A new league

The king beyng in progresse this Sommer was aduertised that the Pope and the French king had appoynted to meete at Harcelles in Pro-uince, in the beginning of the next spring, wherefore the king lyke a wyse and pollitike prince, thought it conuenient to speake with the French king in his awne person, before the Pope and he should come together, and to declare to him both the determinatiō of the Uniuersities and Doctozs, concerning his matrimonie, and also the generall counsayles, which ordeyned suche causes, to be tried in the prouinces and Countreys, where the doubt should ryse, trusting that the French king should cause the Pope to encline to Gods lawe, and to leaue his awne traditions, and boyde dispensations, wherebpon both the princes concluded to meete in October following, betwene Calice and Bulleyn: wherefore the king of Englande sent out bys letters to his nobilitie, prelates, and seruauntes, commaundyng them to be readie at Cauntzburie, the xxvj. daye of September, to passe the Seas with him, for the accomplishynge of the enteruew betwene him and his brother the French king. Many men were sozpy to heare, that the king should passe the Sea in winter, and especially in October, when the seas be rough, but their sayings letted not his purpose: for he marched forward from Ampthill to Wyndsoze, where on Sunday beyng the first day of September, he created the Ladie Anne Bulleyn, Marchionesse of Penbroke, and gaue to her one thousand pounde lande by the yere, and that solemnitie finished, he rode to the Colledge to Masse, and when the Masse was ended, a newe league was concluded and swozne, betwene the king and the French king, Messire Pomozay the French Ambassadoz then being present. After which othe taken, Doctoz Fox the kings Amner made an eloquent oration in Latin, in praise of peace, loue, and amitie: which done the Trumpets blew, and the king returned to the Castel, where was kept a solempne feast. From thence the king remoued to Grenewich, & so forward to Cauntzburie, where at the day appointed, he found redie furnished al such as were commaunded to passe the sea with him, wel & richely adourned, both they and their seruauntes.

The tenth day of October, the king came to Douer, and on the xi. day in the morning beyng Fryday, at three of the clocke, he tooke chyping in Douer rode, and before ten of the clocke the same daye, he with the Ladie Marchionesse of Penbroke landed at Calice, where he was honorably receyued with procession, and brought to Saint Nicholas Churche, where he heard Masse, and so to his place called the Exchequer, where he lodged, and on the Sundaye after came to Calice, the Lord Roche Baron, and Mounseur de Moutpesat, messengers from the French king, aduertising the king of Englande, that the French king would repayre to Abouille the same night marchynge toward Bulleyn, of which tydings the king was verie glad: but sodainly came a messenger and reported that the great Maister of Fraunce, and the Archebishop of Roan, with dyuers noble men of Fraunce were come to Sandifield, intending to come to Calice, to salute the king, from the king their maister. He beyng thereof aduertised, sent in

in great haste the .xv. day of October, the Duke of Norfolke, the Marques of Excester, the Erles of Orford, Darby, and Rutlande, the Lord Sandes, and the Lord Fitzwater, with three hundred Gentlemen, which honorably receyued the French Lordes at the Englishe pale, and so brought them to the kings presence in Calice, which stood vnder a rich cloth of estate of such value that they muche mused of the ryches. The king (as he that knewe all honoz and nurture) receyued the French Lordes very louingly and amiably, and with them tooke a day and place of meeting: these Lordes were highly feasted, and after departed to Bulleyn.

While the king lay thus in Calice, he beved the walles, towers, and Bulwarkes, and deuised certaine newe fortifications, for the maintenance and defence of the towne. The towne of Calice had at this season .xxiiij. C. beddes, and stabling for two thousand horses, beside the villages adiacent.

The twentieth day of this moneth, the king beyng aduertised, that the French king was come to a Village called Marguison nigh to the Englishe pale, marched out of Calice the next day after, accompanied with the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, and with the Marques of Dorset and Excester, the Erles of Arrondell, Orfode, Surrey, Essex, Derby, Rutlande, Huntingdon, and Suffex, and diuerse Viscountes, Barones, knights of the Garter, and Gentlemen, freshly appareled, and richly trymmed, and so passed toward the place, appoynted for the enteruew, leuing behind them the greatest part of the yomen of Calice, because that Bulleyn was to litle for both the traynes. For the Frenchmen sayde their trayne was twentie thousande horse, which caused the Englishmen to cast many perilles, and especially because it was bruted abroad, that the French king should saye the king of England was once his enemy, and mayntayned the Emperoz and the Duke of Burbon against him, & now was become his most friende. The rehering of these olde grudges, many Englishmen suspected, and very loth that the king should go to Bulleyn, but the king continued still in his iourney, and came to Sandingfield, and a litle from that place in a valey, was the French king nobely accompanied with three hundred horse, and not many more. The kinges trayne waied on the left hande, to geue the French king and his trayne the right hande: likewise did the French part, to geue the Englishmen the right hand: so the two kinges with all louing honoz, met with bare heddes, and embraced other in such fashion, that all that beheld them reioysed. And at their meeting the French king sayd openly, to the king of England: Syr you be the same persone, that I am moste bounde to in the worlde, and sith it hath pleased you, in persone to visite me, I am bound in person to seke you, and for the very friendship, that I haue found in you, I am yours and will be, and so I requyre you to take me: the king of England soberly answered, if euer I did thing to your liking I am glad, and as touching the payne to come hether to se you, I assure you it is my comfort, yea, and I had come farther to haue visited you. Then the kinges embraced the Lordes and estates, as the French king the Lordes of England, and the king of England the Lordes of Fraunce, and that done, they set forward toward Bulleyn, and in ryding they cast of Haukes called Sakers, to the kytes, which made to them great spozte. And in a valey beyond Sandingfielde, the king of Nauer met the Kinges, and there they a-

The meeting of the French king and the king of Englande.

The kinges apparell.

The saluting of the French king.

0000.

lighted



lighted and dranke, and after that they mounted on horsebacke, and with hauking and other princely pastime, they came nere to Bulleyn, where on a hyl stode ranged in a fayre bande, the number of five hundred men on horsebacke, of whome the chiefe were, the french kinges three sonnes, the Dolphin, the Duke of Orleans, and the Duke of Angouleme, and on them gaue attendaunce, the Admirall of Fraunce, and thre Cardinales, with diuerse other nobles of Fraunce, these three Princes marched forward, and welcomed the king of Englande: which them well behelde and louingly them receyued, as he that coude as much nurture, as any Prince that eu er was. Then the french king sayd to his children openly: My children I am your father, but to this Prince here you are as much bounde, as to me your naturall father, for he redemed me and you from captiuitie: wherefore on my blessing I charge you, to be to him louing alwayes. The king of Englande ceased the french kinges tale, and embrased the yong Princes, eche after other. Then all the noble company came to Bulleyn, where was a great shot of Artillery, for on the one side they shotte great pelletes, which made a great noise: then these two Princes offered at our lady of Bulleyn and the french king brought the king of Englande to his lodging, in the Abbay directly against his owne lodging, where the king of England had diuerse chambers richly furnished. Euery man was appoynted to his lodging (which there was very strayght) according to his degree, and great chere was made to all the Englishmen: the Poultries, Larders, Spicers, and sellers of wine were all open, and likewise Hay and Litter, and all other thinges, aske and haue, and no man durst take any money, for the french king payd for all.

In the Church of Bulleyn was a trauers set vp by the french king, open on euery syde sauyng it was sieled with blew beluet, embraudered with flower Delices of gold, the pillers were hanged with the same worke: On the french kinges right hande, was another trauers sieled, and curtined all of white Hatten, embraudered with Cables cast, of cut cloth of Golde, embraudered and gilted after the fashion that Mariners call their ropes: this trauers was balenced of lyke worke, and fringed with fine golde. Dayly the kinges heard their Masses in these trauerses, and commonly they went together to Masse. Diuers tymes the kinges commoned together in counsaile, and sometye in the moornyng or the Princes were stirryng, their Counsailes met, and sat together a great whyle.

While the king of England lay thus at Bulleyn, the french king to the w himselfe lounyng to the noble men of England, the .xxv. day of October, called a Chapiter of the Companions of his order, called Saint Michell, of whom the king of Eng'and was one, and so there elected Thomas Duke of Norfolke, and Charles Duke of Suffolk, to be companions of the sayde Order, which were brought into the sayd Chapiter, and had their Collers deliuered to them, and were sworne to the Statutes of the Order, their obeyfaunce to their souereigne Lorde, alwayes reserued: which Dukes thanked the french king, and gaue to the officers of Armes two hundred Crownes a peece. And these two kinges rested at Bulleyn, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and on Friday the .xxvi. day of October, they departed out of Bulleyn to Calice: the french kinges traine was twelue hundred persons,

The french kinges three sonnes.

The kinges coming to Bulleyn.

persons, and so many horse or more, and without Calice two myle, met with them the Duke of Richmond, the kinges bastard sonne of England, a goodly yong Prince, and full of fauour and beautie, with a great companie of noble men, which were not at Bulleyn, so the Duke with his companie, embraced the french king, and so did other noble men, then the Lordes of England set forward, as the dukes of Richmond, Norfolke, and Suffolke the Marques of Excester, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Surrey, Darby, Worcester, Rutlande, Suffex, and Huntingdon, the Viscountes of Lille, and Rochford, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Lincolne, and Bath, the Lorde William Haward, the Lorde Watreuerse, the Lorde Montacute, the Lorde Cobham, the Lorde Sandes, the Lorde Gray, the Lorde Montdant, the Lorde Leonard Gray, the Lorde Clinton, and sir William Fitzwilliam knight, treasurer of the kings house, & sir William Paulet, Comptroler of the same, with a great number of knightes, besyde the lustie Esquiers, and yong Gentlemen. These noble personages and Gentlemen of England accompanied the french Lordes to Newnam Bridge, where as Thomas Palmer Capitaine of the Fortresse, with a fayre companie of Souldiours saluted the kinges, and so they passed towarde Calice: where at their coming, that what out of the towne and Castell, and what out of Ricebanke, and the Shippes in the Hauen, the frenchmen sayde they neuer heard such a shot: and when they were entered the Mill gate, all the Souldiours of the towne stode on the one syde, appareled in red and blewe, and on the other syde of the stretes, stode all the seruyng men of England in cotes of french Tawney, with their Lordes and Maisters deuises embraudered, and euery man a Scarlet Cap and a white feather, which made a goodly shewe: there were lodged in Calice that night, besyde the towne dwellers, eight thousand persons at the least. The King of England brought the french king to his lodging, to the Staple Inne, where he was most honourably lodged, and all thinges furnished that belonges to the same. If the french king made good cheere to the king of England, and his traine at Bulleyn, I assure you he and his traine, were requited at Calice, for the plentie of wilde foule, Venison, fishe, and all other thinges which were there, it was maruaile to see, for the kinges Officers of England, had made preparation in euery place, so that the frenchmen were serued, with such multitude of diuers fishes, this Friday and Saterday, that the Maisters of the french kinges household, much wondered at the prouision. In likewise on the Sunday, they had all maner of flesh, foule, spice, Venison, both of falow Dere, and red Dere, and as for wine they lacked none, so that well was the Englishe man that might well entertaine the french man: the Lordes of Fraunce neuer fetched their biandes, but they were sent to them, and often tyme their propozcion of bitaile was so aboundant, that they refused a great part thereof.

While the kinges were thus in Calice, they roade euery day to saint Marie Church, where were set two trauerses, the one for the french king: the other for the king of England. The Sunday at night, the french king supped with the king of England. The french king was serued with thre courses, and his meate dressed after the french fashion, and the king of England had like courses after the English fashion, the first course of euery king was .xl. dishes, the second .lx. the third .lxx. which were costly and pleasant. After supper,

This Sir William is he that nowe is Lord Treasurer of Englande.

The receauing of the french king into Calice.

The trauerses.

The supper made to the french king.



per, was a sumptuous and royall maske.

The Tuesday next following, being the .xxx. day of October, the two kinges departed out of Calice, and came nere to Sandingfield, and there alighted in a fayre greene place, where was a Table set, and there the English men serued the French men of wine, Iporras, fruite, and spice abundantly. When the two kinges had comuned a little, they mounted on their horses, and at the very entring of the French ground, they tooke handes, and with Princely countenance, louyng behaviour, and hartie wordes, eche embraced other, and so there departed.

The kinges departure.

While the king of England was in the French kinges dominions, he had the upper hande, and likewise had the French king in his dominion, and as the French king payed all the English mens charges at Bulleyn, so did the king of England at Calice, so that euery thing was recompensed: sayyng that the king of England gaue to the French king, diuers precious iewels, and great horses, and to his Nobles great plentie of Plate, for the which I could neuer heere, that he gaue the king of England any other thing, but the white Cowne, as you haue heard, but to the Lordes of the kings counsaile, he gaue certaine Plate and Chaynes.

When the king was returned to Calice, many Gentlemen tooke shippe to sayle into England, but the winde was so contrariant, that diuers of them were drinen backe againe into Calice, and diuers into Flaunders, and in November rose such a winde, out of the North and Northwest, that all the shippes in Calice haue were in great leopordie, and in especiall the Hoxes, at which season was such a spring tyde, that it brake the walles of Holland, and Zelend, and drowned diuers townes in Flaunders, insomuch that the water rose three foote above the Wharfe, where the Key stood in Andwarp: This storme continued till the fourth day of November, but for all that the winde chaunged not. The .viij. day rose such a winde, tempest, and thunder, that no man could conveniently stirre in the stretes of Calice: much lamentation was made for them that had taken shippe into Englande, for no man knew what was become of them. On Sunday the weather was fayre, the king caused his bed and other thinges to be shipped, and intended to depart, but sodainly rose such a mist, that no Maister could guyde a shippe, and so he tarped that day. On Tuesday at midnight he tooke ship, and landed at Dover the morow after, being the .xiiij. day of November, at fife of the clocke in the morning, wherfore the Saturday after, was song Te Deum in the Cathedral Church of Saint Paule in Lonvon: The Lord keeper of the great seale, the Maior of London, (and diuers other noble and sad persons, which made their abode in London, for the gouernaunce of the realme in the kings absence) being present. The king after his returne, married princely the Lady Anne Bulleyn, on saint Erkenwaldes day being the last day of Aprill.

A great flood in Holland and Zelend.

The king married to Lady Anne Bulleyn.

When the king should passe over the sea, he considered that the Scottes had robbed his subiects, both by sea and land, and that no redresse was made for the same, imagined that in his absence they would attempt some outrageous enterprize against his people, wherfore like a prudent Prince, to be in a furetie, he sent sir Arthur Darcy knight, with three hundred tall men to Barwicke, to defend the inuasions of the Scottes. The Scottes heeryng of his coming, came into Northumberland, by the middle Marches, and came to a place

a place called Fowbery, and in their iourney fired certaine villages and returned. Sir Arthur Darcy heeryng of this aduenture, was nothing content. Now at this season they lay at Barwicke, Archibalde Douglas Erle of Angus, which had married the Queene of Scottes the kings sister, and was banished Scotland, and she was from him diuorced, and married to another. The Scottes bragged of their enterprize, & sayd that sir Arthur had brought them good lucke, and sayd, that he and the Erle of Angus, slept well in Barwicke: they heeryng of this brag, made a roade with foure hundred men into Scotland, and set a village on fire: then shortly assembled together. viij. hundred Scottes. When the Englishmen perceyued the Scottes, they caused their trumpet to blow a retreat, and the Erle and .xx. with him, shewed him selfe on a hill, euen in the face of the Scottes, and the trumpet blew at their backes, so that the Scottes thought that there had beene two companies, which caused the Scottes to fle, and the Englishmen folowed, and slew a great number, and tooke many prisoners, and brought them to Barwicke the .xx. day of October.

Margaret Queene of Scots diuorced from the Erle of Angus, and married to another.

The king this yere kept his Christmasse at Greenewich, and after Christmasse sir Thomas Ardeley, Lord keeper of the great Scale, was made Chaunceloz of England, and when the Parliament began, because the office of the Speaker was boyde, Humfrey Wingfielde of Grayes Inne, was elected Speaker of the Parliament, which was presented accordyng as you haue heard of the other Speaker before. In the which Parliament was made an acte, that no person should appeale for any cause out of this realme, to the Court of Rome, but from Commissary to the Bishop, and from Bishop to Archbishop, and from Archbishop to the King, and all causes of the King, to be tryed in the upper house of the Conuocation. And in the same Parliament was enacted, that Queene Katheryn should from thenceforth, be no more called Queene, but princes Dowager of prince Arthur.

Sir Thomas Ardeley made chaunceloz.

All appeales to the Court of Rome to be bidden.

Queene Katheryn called Princes Dowager.

In this Sommer season last past, died William Warham Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and to that Bishopricke was named Doctor Thomas Cranmer, the kings Chaplajn, a man of good learning, and of a veruous life, which also not long before, was the kings Ambassadour to the Bishop of Rome, which was consecrate in Lent.

Thomas Cranmer elected Archebishop of Cauntorbury.

After the King perceyuyng his newe wife Queene Anne, to be great with childe, caused all officers necessary, to be appoynted to her, and so on Easter eue, she went to her Closet openly as Queene, with all solemnitie, and then the king appoynted the day of her coronation, to be kept on Whitsun Sunday next following, and writynges were sent to all Shriues, to certifie the names of men of fortie ponde, to receyue the order of knightthod, or else to make a fine: the asselment of which fines, were appoynted to Thomas Cromwell, maister of the kings Jewell house, and Counsayloz to the king, and newly in his high fauor, which so pollitikely handeled the matter, that he rayled of that selluyng of fines, a great somme of money to the kings vse: Also the king wrote letters to the Citie of London, to prepare Pageauntes agaynst the same coronation.

The Ladye Anne Bulleyn openly published to be Queene.

Thomas Cromwell maister of the kings Jewell house.

The king in the beginning of this .xxv. yere, kept the day of Saint George, at his Manor of Greenewich, with great solempnitie, and the Court was greatly replenished, with Lordes, knightes, and with Ladies

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and Gentlewomen, to a great number, with all solace and pleasure. You haue heard the last yere, how the Parliament had enacted, that no person shoulde after a day, appele to Rome for any cause, whatsoeuer it were, and that the Quene, now called the princes Dowager, had appealed to the court of Rome, befoze the acte made, so that it was doubted, whether that appeale were good or not. This question was well handled in the parliament house but much better in the Conuocation house, but in both houses it was alleged yea, and by bookes shewed, that in the Counsailes of Calcedon, Africke, Coletane, and diuers other famous Counsailes in the primatiue Church yea, in the time of Saint Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause rising in one prouince, should be determined in the same, and that neyther the patriarcke of Constantinople, shoulde medle in causes moued in the iurisdiction of the patryarcke of Antioche, nor no Bishop shoulde entermit, with in an others prouince or countrey: which thinges were so clerly opened and so conningly set forth to all intentes, that euery man that had witte, and was determined to follow the truth, and not affectionate nor wilfully wedded to his owne minde, might plainly se that all appeles made to Rome, were clerly boyde and of none effecte: which doctrines and counsailes, were shewed to the Lady Katerin Princes Dowager, but shee (as women loue to lose no dignitie) euer continued in her olde song, trusting more to the Popes parciality, then to the determination of Christes berytye. Wherebpon the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, accompanied with the Bishops of London, Wynchester, Bathe, Lincolne, and diuerse other great Clerkes, in a greate number roade to Dunstable, which is six myle from Amphyl, where the princes Dowager lay, and there by a Doctoz called Doctoz Lee, she was assited to appere befoze the said Archebishop, in cause of matrimony, in the sayde towne of Dunstable, & at the day of apparaunce she woulde not appere, but made defaute, and so she was called peremtozpe, euery day fiftene dayes together, and at the last for lack of apparaunce, and for contumacie, by the assent of all the learned men there beyng present, shee was dinorsed from the king, and there marage declared to be boyde and of none effecte, which sentence geuen, the Archebshoppe and all the other returned whether it pleased them.

In the moneth of Maye Pope Clement sent an Oratoz to the kyng at Grenewich certefying hym that he had appoynted a generall counsaile to be kept at Mantua the yere folowing, and therof had aduertised al princes Christen, requiring the king likewise as he did all other princes Christen for the vniuersall welth of all Christendome, and for the quieting of opinions newly growne, to appere there personally: to the which it was answered that it was bothe ieoperdous for the king, and for his whole realme to haue their Prince absent for feare of inuasions by outward enemies, but he sayde he would send thether a sufficient procuraty and conuenient Doctozs, and desired to see the Oratoz's commission.

When he with an euill wyll had shewed his commission, there appered neyther place nor time of the counsaile. For the king knewe well befoze hys comming that the Marques of Mantua had made a full deniall to the Pope that he would haue no such assemble to be kept in his Citie nor dominions, for dyuers great and bygent causes, and so the Popes Oratoz departed with

A question of Appales.

Quene Katherine in deuoiced at Dunstable.

The Pope tenderly to the king to aduertise him that he had summoned a generall counsaile to be kept at Mantua.

The kinges answer.

an vncertaine aunswere to an vncertaine demaunde, but not bntrewarded.

The King beyng aduertised by the Frenche king howe that he and the Pope shoulde meete at Aece in June folowng, thought it couenient to send a solemne Ambassade to the Frenche king both to accompany him to Aece, and also to common with the Byshop of Rome concerning his vnlawfull stay in the kinges deuorise: wherbyon he appointed the Duke of Norfolke, the Lorde Rocheford brother to the newe Queene, Sir William Pawlet Comptroller of the kings household, Syr Anthony Browne, and Syr Fraunces Bryan knightes to be his Ambassadors, which made great prouision for that purpose, and so with the number of .C.lx. horses came to Douer and so to Calice on Whitso euen (on which day the Quene made her entrie through the Citie of London towarde her coronation) where they made their abode a certayne space, and passed through all Fraunce till they came to Lyons, where they remayned a space as you shall heare after.

This berie season was daylie skirmishing betweene the borderers of the Marches of Englande and Scotlande, and yet no warre proclaymed, and many robberies, murders and manlaughters done on both partes, and although the Comissioners of the realmes of England and of Scotland at Newcastel vpon Tyne were entreating a truce & amittie, yet during the communication the Scottes ceased not to robbe both by sea and lande, and toke dyuers little botes laden with cozne and fishe, whereof hearing the king of Englande, he decked and bittayled diuers shippes of warre, and sent them to the North seas to defende his subiectes. The Scottes hearing that the Englishe Hauie was come on their coste, in all haste fledde home to their harbor, but yet the Englishe men folowed them, and fetched manye of their prayes out of their hauens mauger of their heades.

In the beginning of Maye the king caused open proclamations to be made that all men that claymed to doe any seruice or execute any office at the solemne feast of the coronation, by the way of tenoz, graunt or prescription should put their graunt three weekes after Easter in the Starre chamber befoze Charles Duke of Suffolke for that time high stewarde of England and the Lorde Chaunceloz and other commissioners.

The Duke of Norfolke claymed to be Erle Marshall and to exercise his office at that feast. The Erle of Arondell claymed to be high Butler and to exercise the same: the Erle of Orford claymed to be Chamberlayne: the Vicount Lille claymed to be Panter: the Lorde Burgaine to be chiefe Larderer, and the Lorde Bzaye claymed to be Almoner, and Syr Henry Wiat knight claymed to be Crower: Al these noble personages desired their offices with their fees. Beside these the Maior of London claymed to serue the Quene with a Cup of Golde and a Cup of assay of the same, and that twelue Citezens should attende on the Cupborde and the Maior to haue the Cup, and Cup of assay for his labor, which petition was allowed. The fiue Portes claymed to beare a Canapie ouer the Quenes head the day of the coronation with foure guilt Belles, and to haue the same for a rewarde, which also to them was allowed. Diuers other put in petie claymes which were not allowed, because they seemed onely to be done at the kings coronation. All this season great purueiaunce was made of all maner of Vitailles, and Lordes, knightes and Squiers were sent for out of all Countries, which came to London

A solemne Ambassade sent to accompanye the French king to meete with the Pope at Aece.

The Scottes robbe and spoyle vpon the borders of Englande.

Proclamati- ons made for prouision of the Quenes coronation.



London at their day with a great number of people.

After that the kings highnesse had addressed his gracious letters to the Maior and commonaltie of the Citie, signifying to them that his pleasure was to solempnise and celebrate the coronation of his most deare and welbeloued wyfe Quene Anne at Westminster the Whitsonday next ensuing, willing them to make preparation as well to fetch her grace from Grenewiche to the Tower by water as to see the Citie ordered and garnished with Pageiantes in places accustomed, for the honor of her grace. When she should be conueyed from the Tower to Westminster, there was a common counsaile called, and commaundement was geuen to the Haberdashers (of which craft the Maior s<sup>r</sup> Stephen Decock then was) that they should prepare a Barge for the Batchelers with a waster and a foyst garnished with Banners and streamers, likewise as they vse to doe when the Maior is presented at Westminster on the morowe after Symon and Jude. Also all other craftes were commaunded to prepare Barges and to garnishe them not onely with their Banners accustomed, but also to deck them with Targets by the sides of the Barges, and to set vp all suche seemely Banners and Bannozets as they had in their halles or could get meete to furnishe their sayde Barges, and euerye Barge to haue mynstrelle, according to which commaundements great preparation was made for all things necessarie for suche a noble triumph.

The xix. day of May the Maior and his brethren all in Scarlet, and such as were knights had collers of Esses and the remnaunt hauing good Chaynes, and the counsaile of the Citie with them assembled at saint Marthe byll, and at one of the clock dissended to the Newstayre to their Barge, which was garnished with many goodly Banners and streamers, & richely covered, in which Barge were Shalmes, Shagbushes and dyuers other instruments, which continually made goodly armony. After that the Maior and his brethren were in their Barge seing that al the companies to þ number of fiftie Barges were readie to wayte vpon them. They gaue commaundement to the companies that no Barge should rowe neerer to another then twice the length of the Barge vpon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there were thre light Wheryes prepared, and in euery one of them two officers to call on them to keepe their order, after which commaundement geuen they set forth in order as hereafter is described.

First before the Maiors Barge was a foyst or waster full of ordynance, in which foyst was a great Dragon continually mooung, and casting wilde fyre: and round about the sayde foyst stood terrible monsters and wilde men casting fire, and making hideous noyses: Next after the foyst a good distaunce came the Maiors Barge, on whose right hand was the Batchelers Barge, in the which were Trumpets and diuers other melodious Instruments. The deckes of the sayde Barge and the sailyardes and the top Castels were hanged with riche cloth of Golde and silke. At the foreship and the sterne were two great banners riche beaten with the armes of the king and the Quene, and on the top Castell also was a long streamer newly beaten with the sayde armes.

At thre of the clock the Quene appered in rich clothe of Gold & entered into her Barge accompanied with diuers Ladies and gentlewomē, and

incontinent

The Maior and the companies went to Grenewiche and attended vpon the Quene to the tower.

incontinent the Citizens set forwardes in their order, their Musicians continually playng, and the Batchelers Barge goyng on the Queenes right hand, which she toke great pleasure to behold. About the Queenes Barge were many Noble men, as the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Erie of Wiltshire her father, the Erles of Arondell, Darby, Rutland, Worcester, Huintyngton, Suffex, Oxford, and many Bishoppes and noble men euery one in his Barge, which was a goodly sight to beholde. Shee thus being accompanied rowed toward the Tower, and in the meane waye the Shippes which were commaunded to lye on the thoze for lettynge of the Barges shot diuers peales of Gornes, and or shee landed there was a maruailous shot out of the Tower as euer was harde there. And at her landing there met with her the Lozde Chamberlaine with the officers of armes and brought her to the king, which receyued her with louyng countenance at the posterne by the water side, and kyssed her, and then she turned back agayne and thanked the Maior and the citezens with many goodly wordes, and so entered into the Tower. After which entry the Citezens all this while houed before the Tower, making great melodie and went not a land, for none were assigned to lande but the Maior, the Recorder and two Aldermen. But for to speake of the people that stood on euery thoze to behold the sight, he that sawe it not, will not beleue it.

On the next day being Whitson euen, the Quenes maiestie accompanied with a great number of Lozdes and Ladies richly appointed, came through the Citie of London which was richely bewtifified, and so passed to Westminster. And there in the middes of the hall she was taken out of her Chariote, and then she gaue her hartie thanks to the Lozdes and Ladyes, and to the Maior and other that had geuen their attendaunce on her and so withdrew her selfe with a few Ladyes to the Whitehall to the king by water.

The next day beyng Sondaye, she was crowned with all the solempnity and honor, that euer Quene of this realme was, and was as royally serued. And so soone as dinner was done, which was almost six of the clock at night, the Quene priuely returned by water to the king beyng at þ Whitehall. Then two daies after were holden before the kings gate royal Justes. And on Wednesday, the king sent for the Maior & his brethren to Westminster, & there he himself gaue to them hartly thanks, with many goodly wordes. On Midsummer day after, the Lady Mary the French Quene dyed in Suffolke, who was the late wyfe of Lewys the twelue, and after maryed to Charles Duke of Suffolke.

The seventh day of September beyng Sunday, betwene thre and foure of the clocke at after noone, the Quene was deliuered of a fayre Lady which day the Duke of Norffolke came home to the Christnyng, and for the Queenes good deliuerance, Te deum was song incontinently, and great preparation was made for the Christnyng: and the Maior and his brethren and xl. of the chiefe of the Citizens, were commaunded to be at the Christnyng, the Wednesday folowing, vpon which day the Maior s<sup>r</sup> Stephen Decocke, in a gowne of Crimessin Veluet, with his collar of SS, and all the Aldermen in Scarlette with Collers and Cheynes, and all the Counsaile of the Citie with them, tooke their Barge after Dinner, at one of the clocke, and the Citizens had another Barge, and so rowed to Grenewich, where were many Lozdes, knights, and Gentlemen assembled. All the

The coronation of queene Anne.

The christening of the Ladie Elizabeth.



the walles betwene the kinges place and the friers, were hanged with Arras, and all the way strawed with greene Kullhes: the Friers Church was also hanged with Arras. The fount was of siluer, and stode in the middes of the Church, three steppes high, which was couered with a fine cloth, and diuers Gentlemen with Aperns, and Towels about their neckes, gaue attendance about it, that no filth should come in the fount, ouer it hung a square Canapie of Crimosyn Satten, fringed with golde, about it was a rayle couered with red Say: betwene the Quier and the bodie of the Church, was a close place with a panne of fire, to make the childe readie in: when all these things were ordered, the childe was brought to the hall, and then euery man set forward: first the citezens two and two, then gentlemen, Esquires, & Chapeleins, next after them the Aldermen, and the Maior, alone: next the Maior the kinges Counsaile, the kinges Chapell in Copes: then Barons, Bishops, Erles, then came the Erle of Essex, bearyng the couered Basong gilte, after him the Marques of Excester with the Taper of Virgin ware, next him the Marques Dorset, bearyng the salt, behind him the Ladie Mary of Nozfolke, bearyng the Cresom, which was verpe riche of pearle and stone, the olde Duches of Nozfolke bare the childe, in a Mantell of purple Velvet, with a long traine furred with Armine. The Duke of Nozfolke, with his Marshall, went on the right hand of the sayd Duches, and the Duke of Suffolke on the left hand, and before them went the officers of Armes: the Countesse of Kent bare the long traine of the childes Mantell, and betwene the Countesse of Kent, and the childe, went the Erle of Wilshire on the right hand, and the Erle of Darbie on the left hande, suppoztynge the sayd traine: in the middes cur the sayd childe was bozne a Canapie by the Lord Rochford, the Lord Hurst, the Lord William Harward, and by the Lord Thomas Harward the elder: After the childe folowed many Ladies, and gentlewomen. When the childe was come to the Church doze, the bishop of London met it with diuers Bishops, and Abbottes mitred, and began the obseruances of the Sacrament. The Godfather was the Lord Archbishop of Cantorbury: the Godmothers were the olde Duches of Nozfolke, and the olde Marchionesse of Dorset Widowes, and the childe was named Elizabeth. And after that all thing was done, at the Church doze the childe was brought to the Font, and christened, & this done, Garter chiefe king at armes cryed aloude, God of his infinite goodnesse, send prosperous life and long, to the high and mightie Princes of England Elizabeth: and then the Trumpets blew, then the childe was brought by to the Altare, and the Gospell sayd ouer it: and after that immediately the Archbishop of Cantorbury confirmed it, the Marchionesse of Excester beyng Godmother, the Archbishop of Cantorbury, gaue to the Princes a standyng Cup of golde, the Duches of Nozfolke gaue to her a standyng Cup of golde, fretted wyth pearle: the Marchionesse of Dorset gaue three gilt Boules, pounced with a couer: and the Marchionesse of Excester, gaue three standyng Boules grauen, all gilt with a couer. Then was brought in Wafers, Comfites, Pporras, in such plentie, that euery man had asmuch as he would desire. Then they set forwards, the trumpets goyng before in the same order, toward the kinges place, as they did when they came thetherwarde, sayyng that the giftes that the Godfather, and the Godmothers gaue, were bozne before the childe by

The giftes that the Godfathers and Godmothers gaue to the Ladie Elizabeth now our gracious soueraigne lady and Queene at the time of her christning

foure

foure persons, that is to say: first sir John Dudley, bare the gift of the Ladie of Excester: the Lord Thomas Harward the yonger, bare the gift of the Ladie of Dorset: the Lord Fitzwater, bare the gift of the Ladie of Nozfolke, and the Erle of Worcester, bare the gift of the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and all the one syde as they went, was full of staffe Torches, to the number of fife hundred, bozne by the Garde, and other of the kinges seruants, and about the childe were bozne, many other proper Torches bozne by Gentlemen: and in this order they brought the Princes to the Queenes Chamber, and tarped there a while, and at the last the Dukes of Nozfolke, and Suffolke, came out from the king, thankyng the Maior of London and his brethren, and commaunded them to geue all the other thanks in the kinges name: and from thence they were had to the Seller to drinke, and so went to there Barges.

About this season was espyed a newe found Saint, and holy Hipocrite, called the holy Mayde of Kent, which by the great labor, diligence, and paine takyng of the Archbishop of Cantorbury, and the Lord Cromwell, and one called mayster Hugh Latimer, a deuine (which shortly after was made Bishop of Worcester) the iugglyng and craftie deceit of this Mayde, was manifested and brought to light: whereupon after diuers examinations, shee with al her adherentes, were in Nouember brought to the starre Chamber: whose names were these, Elizabeth Barton, which was shee that called herselfe the holy Mayde of Kent, Richard Maister, priest, person of Aldington in the Countie of Kent, Edward Bockyng, Doctor in Diuinitie, Monke of Cantorbury, Richard Deryng, also Monke of Cantorbury, Edward Chwaites Gentleman, Thomas Laurence, Register to the Archdeacon of Cantorbury, Henry Golde, person of Aldermary, Bachelor of Diuinitie, Hugh Rich Frier Obseruaunt, Richard Risby, and Thomas Golde Gentleman. These all beeyng in the starre Chamber, before diuers of the kinges Counsaile, confessed their feyned hipocrisie, and dissimuled sanctitie, and trayterous purposes and intents, and they were there by the kings counsaile adiudged, to stand at Paules Crosse, where they with their owne hands, should deliuer eche of them to the preacher that should be appoynted, a bill declaryng their subtile, craftie, and superstitious doynges. Which then the next Sunday after, they all aboute reherfed, standyng on a stage at Paules Crosse, made for that purpose did accomplishe: but for their treasons committed, the matter thereof was respited to the Parliament next folowynge, where all they abovesayd, with other as after ye shall heere, were attainted by act of Parliament, and suffered death as traytors, by hangyng, drawyng, and quarteryng at Tyborne.

In September the king of Scottes, sent hys Commissioners to the towne of Newe Castell, where were for the kyng of Englande Commissioners, sir Thomas Clifford, and Doctor Magnus, and sir Raufe Elderkare. And first the Scottes without any long communication, demanded great amendes, sayyng, that the Englishmen had robbed and spoyled them to their losse, and that greatly, and sayde that the kyng of England of his honoz, must nedes make satisfaction, if he would be called honorable. Then it was answered, that notwithstanding the leagues, wrytten, sealed and sworn, the Scottish nation woulde neuer kepe peace, insomuch, whyle we be here intrating,

Elizabeth Barton the holy Mayde of Kent,

A meeting betwene the English Ambassadors and the Scottes.



treating, your people are robbing : whereioze the king demaundeth of you, the goodes and prisoners taken contrary to the peace, wherfoze we here deliuer you a writing, which the Scottes receyued, and at their next meeting they sayde, that the shippes to them were lawfull prizes, by reason that the Erie of Anguiche, was mayntayned in England, which is rebell to our king, and the Erie and you haue done to vs much skathe, and we haue taken a few shippes, in recompence of somme part of our great losses, which we maye not deliuer, and therfoze we pray you demaunde them not : but here we deliuer you our booke, which amounteth to a greater somme by ten thousande marke. The English Commissioners receyued the booke, and in the same the Scottes demaunded, recompence for burning their towncs, and destroyng many of their strong Pyles, aboue .xxiiij. which were destroyed from the .xxiiij. day of Apill, in the last .xxiiij. yere of the king, to the .xxx. daye of Apill. The Englishe Commissioners answered, that if the Scottes would sende to the king of Englande, they doubted not, but they should haue a good answer for the king of Englande bade them chose peace or warre : so they agreed to sende to both their kinges letters of their doyngs, which in hast was done. And after much suite of the Scots part, when they had much demaunded, & litle or nothing was graunted, they then beyng wery of warre desired peace, which was concluded during both the kinges liues, and the .xx. day of Maie, in the next yere of the king folowing, it was openly proclaymed, to the great comfort & reioysing of all louers of peace.

The peace concluded with the Scottes.

The .xxviii. day of December, the Duke of Suffolke was sent by the kyng and his Counsaile, to Bugden beside Huntingdon, where the Lady Katherin Princes Dowager laye. For the king was aduertised, and had good proues of the same, that she of froward mind would consent neyther to the determination of the Uniuersities, nor yet to the whole conuocation of the realme, but beyng counsailed by a fewe Spanyardes, which had litle learning, did all that she coulde to infringe the determination of the sayde Uniuersities and Clergy. In somuch that she wrote to the Pope, and to other Potentates, to grieue the king and his realme, because he would not folow her minde, and breake the commaundement of God. Wherefoze the kinges Counsaile mocioned the king, that such as were about her, and moued her therfo, should be put from her, for they thought it no reason, that she should haue such libertie to worke that thing, by the which the king and his realme, might haue detriment or damage. Wherefoze the sayde Duke was sent to her, which shewed to her openly, Articles of her sypes to the Pope, and how she sought meanes to grieue the king and his realme, which hereafter she should not be suffered to do. For the same time was a Curse sent from the Pope, which accursed both the king and the whole realme, which Curse the bearer thereof, beyng not belike the hardyest man that euer shewed himselfe in fronte of battayle, thought it a great deale more better for hym to bestow it without the kings dominons, and therfoze set it by in the towne of Dunkercke in Flaunders, where it was taken doone by William Locke Mercer of London. The Queene answered the Duke very highly and obstinately, with many high wordes, and sodainly in a fury she departed from him, into her priuie chamber and shut the dooze. He seeing that, brake all the order of the Queenes Court, and discharged a great sort of her household

The Pope accursed the king and his realme.

William Locke Mercer.

holde Seruautes, and yet left there a conuenient number, to serue her like a Princes. There was great lamentation among them that departed, but there was no remedy. Then they that remayned to serue her, were sworne to serue her as a Princes Dowager, and not as Queene, some sayd that they were sworne to her as Queene, and otherwise they would not serue, and so they departed. Other that were sworne to her as Princes, and remayned there, she them vtterly refused for her Seruautes, wherfoze she remayned with the lesse number of Seruautes.

The princes Dowager was very heady and wilfull.

The king kept his Christmas at Greenewiche, with great solemnitie, and after Christmas began the parliament. In which parliament Elizabeth Barton called the holy Mayde of Kent, with all her ayders and abettors, of whome ye haue heard before, was attaynted, and her great and greuous offences appereth in the statute made in this present parliament and the one and twenty day of Apill next following she with her adherents were drawne to Tiborne and there executed.

The parliament

And at the place of execution, and the present time that she suffered she sayde these wordes, hether am I come to die, and I haue not bene the enely cause of myne awne death, which most iustly I haue deserued, but also I am the cause of the death of all these persons which at thys time here suffer : and yet to saye the truth I am not so much to be blaied, considering it was well knowne vnto these learned men, that I was a pooze wenche without learning, and therfoze they might haue easily perceyued that the thinges that were done by me could not proceede in no such sort, but their capacities and learning coulde right well iudge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether fayned : but because the things which I fayned was profitable vnto them, and therfoze they much praised mee and bare me in hande that it was the holy ghost, and not I that did them, and then I being puffed up with their prayes, fell into a certaine pride and foolish phantasie with my selfe, and thought I might saye what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case, and for the which now I crye God and the kinges highnesse most hartely mercie, and desire all you good people to pray to God to haue mercie on me, and all them that here suffer with me.

In this parliament also was made the act of succession for the suretie of the crowne, to the which euerye person beyng of lawfull age should be sworne vpon the payne expressed in that act, as in the same ye may most euidently see.

Monday the .xxiiij. day of Marche in the parliament time were solemnly receyued into London as Ambassadors from James the fift king of Scottes, the Byschop of Aberdune, the Abbot of Lynlos, and Adam Otterborne the kinges Atturney, with diuers Gentlemen on them attendaunt, which were brought to the Taylers hall and there lodged. And on the day of the Annunciation of our Lady they were brought to the kinges place at Westminster, where they shewed their Commission and Message, for the which the king appointed them dayes to counsaile. And shortly after commissioners were appointed as you shall here.

The .xxx. daye of Marche the parliament was proroged, and there euerye Lorde and Burgesse as before, were sworne to the act of succession and subscribed their handes to a Parchement fixed to the same othe. Thys



Parliament was proroged till the thirde day of November next. After this, commissions were sent ouer all Englande to take the othe of all men and women to the act of succession, at which fewe repyned, except Doctor John Fisher, s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Moore knight late Lorde Chaunceloz, and Doctor Nicholas Wylion Parson of saint Thomas Apostles in London: wherfoze these thre persons after long exhortation to them made by the Bysshop of Cauntorbury at Lambeth, and expresse deniall of them to be sworne, they were sent to the Tower where they remayned and were oftentimes morioned to be sworne: but the Bysshop and s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Moore sayde that they had in their writings written the princesse Dowager Quene, and therfoze they might not go against that, and the Doctor sayde that he in preaching called her Queene, which he would not with say, howbeit at length he was very well contented, and dissembled the matter and so escaped: But the other twaine stood against all the realme in their opinion.

In this yere it chaunced that two Marchaunt straungers fell in loue with a Harlot which was called Wolfes wyfe, and this Harlot had often haunted the straungers chambers. And so on a tyme the sayde Harlot appointed these straungers to come to Westminster, and shee had prepared for them a boate, in the which boate was but one man to rowe, which was a strong theefe, and in the ende of the boate lay Wolfe her husbände covered with a leather that boate men vse to couer their Cushins wyth, and so these straungers sat them downe mistrusting nothing, and when thys boteman had brought them as farre as a place that is called the Turning tree, sodainely stepped by the sayde Wolfe and with his dagger thrust the one of them thorow, the other cryed out to saue his lyfe, and offered a great somme of money to the boate man and him to saue his life, but no pzofer would be heard, noz mercie would they extende, but as cruell murderers without pittie slue the other also and bounde them face to face, and so threw them into the Thames in the aforesayde place, where they were long after before they were found. But immediatly the Harlot Wolfes wyfe went to the straungers chambers, and tooke from thence so much as she could come by. And at the last she and her husbände as they deserued, were apprehended, arraigned and hanged at the foresayde turning tree, where she hanged still was not cut downe, but till such tyme as it was knowne that beastly and filthy wretches had most shamefully abused her being dead.

The ninth day of July was the Lorde Dacres of the North arreigned at Westminster of high treason, where the Duke of Norfolke sat as iudge and high Steward of England. The sayde Lorde Dacres beyng brought to the barre with the Bre of the Tower before him, after his inditement read, not onely imzoooued the sayd inditement as false and maliciously deuised agaynst him and answered every parte and matter therein containned, but also so manly, wittily, and directly confuted his accusozs which there were readie to auouche their accusacions, that to their great shames, and to his great honour, he was founde that day by his pecces not guiltie, for the which vndoubtedly the commons exceedingly ioyed and reioysed at, insomuche as there was in the Hall at those wordes not guiltie, the greatest shoute and crye of ioye that the lyke noman lyuing can remember that euer he heard,

The

The .xiiij. day of August was a great fyre at Temple barre and diuers houses bzent. And the .xvi. day of the same moneth was burned the kinges stable at Charing crosse otherwise called the Newse, wherem was bzent many great Hozses and great stoze of hay.

In this yere the thirde day of November the kynges highnesse helde his high courte of parliament, in the which was concluded and made many and sondrie good, wholsome, and godly statutes: but among all, one spect- all estatute, which aucthorised the kynges highnesse to be supreme heade of the church of England, by the which the Pope with all his College of Cardinales with all their Pardons and Indulgences was vtterly abolished out of this realme. In this parliament also was geuen to the kynges highnesse the first frutes and tenthes of all dignities and spirituall promotions. And in the ende of the same parliament the kynges maiestie most graciously graunted (and willed it by the same parliament to be established) his most gracious and generall free pardon.

This yere also came in the great Admyrall of Fraunce: which Admyrall was honorably receyued, and at his departing was liberally rewarded.

In this tyme died the Erie of Kildare prisoner in the Tower: And euen at the same tyme Thomas Fitzgarard hys sonne began to rebell agaynst the kyng and tooke all the kynges Ordinaunce, and sent Ambassadors to the Emperour to haue intreated him to take parte with him. Also he slew the Bishop of Downe and bzent and robbed all such as would not obey him: But at the last he was apprehended and had as he deserued as after shall appeare.

In the beginning of thys yere the Duke of Norfolke and the Bysshop of Ely went to Calice, and thether came the Admirall of Fraunce.

And the .xix. day of June was thre Honkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyborne, and their quarters set by aboute Londō for denyng the kyng to be supreme head of the Church. Their names were Cromwell, Whiddlemoze and Audigate. These men when they were arreigned at Westminster, behanded themselues very stiffely and stubbornly, for hearing their inditement red how trayterously they had spoken agaynst the kyngs maiestie his crowne and dignitie, they neuer blushed nor abaished at it, but very foolishly and hypocritically knowleged their treason which maliciously they auouched, hauing no learning for their defence, but rather beyng asked dyuers questions, they vsed a malicious silence, thinking as by their examinations afterwarde in the Tower of London it did appeare, for so they sayde, that they thought those men which was the Lorde Cromwell and other that there sat vpon them in iudgement to be heretiques and not of the Church of God, and therfoze not worthy to be eyther answered or spoken vnto. And therfoze as they deserued, they receyued as you haue heard before.

Also the .xxij. day of the same month John Fisher Bysshop of Rochester was beheded, and his head set vpon London bridge. This Bysshop was of very many men lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learning and a maior of very good lyfe, but yet wonderfully deceiued, for he maintained the Pope to be supreme head of the Church, and denyed the kyngs tytles therein, who albeit he was learned, yea, and that very notably learned, yet

pppp. ij.

haue

The .xviij.

The Pope abolished.

The first frutes and tenths geuen to the kyng.

Thomas Fitzgarard rebelled.

1534  
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Cromwell Whiddlemoze Audigate.

John Fisher Bishop of Rochester beheded.

1534  
25  
The Lorde Dacres of the North.



haue you heard howe he was deceyued with Elizabeth Barton that called her selfe the holy Mayde of Kent, and no doubt so was he in the detence of that vsurped aucthoritie, the moze pitie.

Sir Thomas More beheaded.

Also the sixt day of July was Sir Thomas More beheaded for the like treason before rehearsed, which as you haue heard was for the denyng of the kings Maiestie supremitie. This man being learned as you haue heard before, was Lozde Chauncelour of Englande, and beside his learning he had a great wit, and in talking verie pleasant and merie conceited, and that euen to his last houer: Insomuch as at hys comming to the Tower, one of the officers demaunded his vpper garment for his fee (meaning hys Bowne) and he answered, he should haue it, and toke him his Cap, saying it was the vppermost garnēt that he had. Likewise, euen going to his death at the Tower gate, a poze woman called to him and besought him to declare that he had certayn euidences of hers in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreat she might haue them agayne, or else she was vndone. He answered good woman haue pacience a little while, for the king is so good vnto me that euē within this halfe houre he will discharge me of all busineses, and help thee himselfe. Also when he went by the staires on the Scaffold, he desired one of the Shriefes officers to geue him his hande to helpe him bp, and sayde, when I come downe agayne, let me shift for my selfe as well as I can. Also the hangman kneeled downe to him asking him forgeuenesse of his death (as the maner is) to whome he sayde I forgeue thee, but I promise thee that thou shalt neuer haue honestie of the stryking of my head, my neck is so short. Also euen when he should lay downe his head on the block, he hauing a great gray beard, striked out his heard and sayde to the hangman, I pray you let me laye my beard over the block least ye should cut it.

This yere in the time that the king went his progresse, which was to Gloucester, and so Westwarde, the king of Scotis was installed at Wyndsoze by the Lozde Crispyn his procurator. And in October folowynge Stephyn Gardiner Bishop of Winchester was sent Ambassadoz into France, where he remayned thre yeres after.

The king of Scots made knight of the Garter.

In Nouember was a solempne Procession through the Citie of London of all the priestes and religious in and about the Citie, for the recouering of the French king to his helth. And the .viij. day of January folowynge, died the princes dowagar at Kimbalton, and was buryed at Peterborough.

The death of the Prince Dowager.

And in february folowynge, was Queene Anne brought a bedde of a childe before her tyme, which was borne dead.

Queene Anne brought a bed before her tyme.

The fourth day of february the king helde his highe Court of Parliament at Westminster, in the which was many good and wholesome Statutes and lawes made and concluded. And in this tyme was geuen vnto the king by the consent of the great and fatte Abbottes, all religious houses that were of the value of three hundred Marke and vnder, in hope that their great Monasteries should haue continued still: But euen at that tyme one sayde in the Parliament house, that these were as thornes, but the great Abbottes were putrified olde Okes, and they must needes folowe: and so will other do in Christendome quod Doctor Stokesley Bishop of London or manye yeres be passed.

Abbeys of value of three hundred Markes and vnder geuen to the king.

About

About this tyme sayth Sleydan, the king of England sent certaine Ambassadors into Germany to the Protestants to conclude a league with them, among the which Ambassadors was chiefe Edward Foxe Bishop of Hereford. And after great conference and long communication had, at the last it was agreed that the king and they were content to enter into league vpon these condicions: 1 First that the king should set forth the pure Doctrine of the Gospell which they professed at Aspurge, and maintaine the same with them in a lawfull Counsaile if any such shall be.

2 That neyther of them admyt the calling or place of a Counsaile, but by common assent: neuertheless if it may appere by certaine and manifest reasons that any such counsaile is like to be, as hath bene declared to Peter Paule, Uerger, the Bishops Legate, that it be not refused: But in case the Bishop continue his purpose, that then his enterpryse be letted, and by open protestation to be refused.

3 And like as the king hath ioyned himselfe to their religion, so likewise to ioyne with them in league also, and to be called the Patrone and defender of the same.

4 That common opinion of the supremacie of the Bishop of Rome, to bee bitterly reiected for euer.

5 If any warre be attempted agaynst eyther part, for religion or other cause, that no ayde be geuen vnto him that inuoceth the same.

6 That for the defence of the league, the king shall pay one hundred thousand Crownes, whereof the one halfe the Confederatours shall and maye employ when neede shall require, and the rest of their charges to be borne of their owne money which they shall contribute among them: But if the warre shall long endure, and the force of the enemy driue them to it: then the king to disburse two hundred thousand Crownes, forasmuch as they if the like chaunce should fortune, stand also bound, not onely to spend their goodes but their bloud and life also. And of this somme also, the lyke consideration to be had as before, and that it be not employed to any other vse, then to defend the league, and the remainder to be restored when the warre is finished.

7 That the Ambassadors shall write to the king hereof, and when they knowe his minde, to aduertise the Duke of Saxon, and Landgraue Wambesse thereof, that after a common Ambassade may be sent vnto him.

Now when the Ambassadors had sent these requests vnto the king they departed to Wyttenbergh. And shortly after came letters from the king of England to the Protestantes, purportynge the kinges minde therein, and the Ambassadors do aduertise the Prince elector hereof. And the .xij. day of March at Wittenbergh, whether the Duke was at that tyme come, speaking first many thinges of the kinges great good will, the Ambassadors declare howe that the most part of the requestes do content him, if a fewe might be amended. And albeit that in England all thing is quiet, neyther is there any cause wherefore the king should feare any man, and if haply any cause hath bene, the same is now taken away by the death of his wyfe forsaken, neuertheless to recouer and mainteyn the true Doctrine, he doth not refuse to destrye the somme of money which they requyre, so that the league go forward, and hereof he will treate moze at large with their Ambassadors. And where they offer vnto him this honour, that he should be defender and patrone of



the league, he geueth them great thankes, and acknowlegeth their good will. And although he vnderstand with how much enuy and displeasure, the same is annexed, yet for the common we:ties sake, he could be content it they can agree vpon the first and second demaunde. For onlesse there be an vni- formity in doctrine, he supposeth that this charge cannot be greatly to his ho- nour: But he would chiefly wishe that the learned of his realme and theirs might be wholly of one opinion. And where he seeth well that the same will not be, onlesse certaine places of the confession and Apologie of their doctrine may be fore by private talke be something qualified: Therefore he despyeth them instantly to send their Ambassadors, and amongst them some one that is excellently learned, which may conferre with his Deuies of the whole doctrine and ceremonies, and determine the matter. And where he seeth himselfe so liberall vnto them, he requireth againe, that in case any man at- tempt warre against him: first they will ayde him eyther with five hundred horsemen, or else with .x. ships well manned and furnished for foure months. Furthermore, that vpon his awne charges they shall prouide for him two thousand horsemen, and five thousand footemen.

Nowe when the Duke had heard the Ambassadors, he answered them that in as much as these thinges concerne not him alone, but his comfortes also, he will make them priue vnto it, and vse their counsaile in the same.

But shortly after as will appere in the yere folowynge, the king hauynge condemned his wife Queene Anne of Adultery & incest. But (sayth Sley- dan) vniustly as it is supposed and proued since, caused her head to be stricken off, after she had borne him a daughter that be wotifull Ladie Elizabeth, nowe Queene of England. And with her were executed certain Gentlemen of the kings priue Chamber, Nozys, Weston, Brewton, and one Markes, which Markes contrary to his conscience, for hope of preferment, subscribed to a bill, whereby he condemned both himselfe, and all the rest. And he was prouoked ther vnto by the lord Admirall Fitzwilliams, that was after Erie of South- hampton, who sayd vnto him, subscribe Markes, & see what will come of it, & he subscribed, and receyued therefore a reward vnlooked for. And also the lord Rocheford the Queenes brother, through the false accusation of the Crumpe- et his wyfe, which afterwards suffered therfore accordyng to her desertes, was in lyke maner put to death. Which dolefull tragidie tooke cleane away the former purposed Ambassade that should haue bene sent into England.

On May day were a solempne Justes kept at Grenewich, and sodain- ly from the Justes the king departed hauynge not aboue .vi. persons with him, and came in the Evening from Grenewich to his place at Westminster. Of this sodain departyng many men mused, but most chiefly the Queene, who the next day was apprehended and brought from Grenewich to the Tower of London, where after she was arreigned of high treason, and con- demned. Also at the same tyme was likewise apprehended, the Lord Roche- ford brother to the said Queene, & Henry Nozys, Mark Smeton, William a Swinton, & Sir Fraunces Weston, all of the kings priue Chamber. All these were likewise committed to the Tower, and after arreigned & condemned of high treason. And all the Gentlemen were beheaded on the scaffold at the Tower hill: But the Queene was with a Sworde beheaded within the Tower. And these folowynge were the wordes that she spake the day of her death

1535  
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Queene Anne  
sent to the  
Tower.

death which was the .xix. day of May. 1536.

Good Christenpeople, I am come hether to dye, for according to the lawe and by the lawe I am iudged to dye, and therefore I will speake no- thing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speake any thing of that wherof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God saue the king and send him long to reigne ouer you, for a gentler nor a more merciful prince was there neuer: and to me was euer a good, a gentle, and soueraigne Lorde. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to iudge the best. And thus I take my leaue of the world & of you all, and I hartelye desire you all to pray for me. O Lord haue mercy on me, to God I comend my soule. And then she kneled downe sayng: to christ I comend my soule, Jesu receiue my soule diuers times, till y her head was stricken of with the sword.

The weke before Whitsontyde the kyng maryed Lady Jane daughter to the right worshipfull Syr John Seymer knight, which at Whitsontyde was openly shewed as Queene.

In the parliament season Lorde Thomas harward without the kinges assent affied the Lady Margaret Douglas daughter to the Quene of Scot- tes and Aere to the king: for which presumptuous acte he was attainted of treason, and an act made for the like offenders, and so he dyed in the Tower, and she was long there as prisoner.

In the time of this parliament, the Bishops and all the Clergy of the realme held a solempne conuocation at Paules Church in London, where after much disputacion & debating of matters they published a booke of reli- gio intituled. Articles deuised by the kings highnesse &c. In this booke is spe- cially mencioned but thre Sacraments, with the which the Lincolnsyremē (I meane their ignorant priestes) were offended, & of that occasion deprauid the kings doings. And this was their first beginning, as ye shal plainly here.

After this booke which passed by the kynges auctoritie with the con- sent of the Clergy, was published, certaine Injunctions were that tyme ge- uen whereby a number of their holy dayes, was abrogated and specially such as fell in the Harvest time, the keeping of which was much to the hinde- raunce of the gathering in of cozne, hay, fruite, and other such like necessarie and profitable commodities.

These articles thus ordained and to the people delivered. The inhabi- tauntes of the North partes beyng at that time very ignorant and rude, knowing not what true religion ment, but altogether nosled in supersticion and popery, and also by the meanes of certayne Abbotes and ignorant Priestes not a litle stirred and prouoked for the suppressiō of certain Ho- nasteries, and for the extirpation and abolishing of the Bishoppe of Rome now taking an occasion at this booke, sayng see fricndes now is taken from vs foure of the seuen Sacramentes, and shortly you shall lose the other thre also, and thus the fayth of holy Church shall bitterly be suppressed and aboli- shed and therefore sodainly they spred abroade and raysed great and shame- full slaunders onely to moue the people to sedicion and rebellion, and to kin- dle in the people hatefull and malicious mindes against the kinges maiestie and the maiestates of the realme, sayng, let vs fully bende our selues to the mayntenance of religion, and rather then to suffer it thus to decaye, euen to dye in the field. And amongst them also were to many, euen of the nobilitie that

The wordes  
of Anne  
sent to  
her  
death.

Ladie Jane  
Seymer mar-  
ried to the  
king.

Lorde Tho-  
mas Harward  
committed to  
the tower.

The Insur-  
rection in  
Lincolnsyre.



that did not a litle prouoke and stirre by the ignozant & rude people the more stidly to rebell and stande therein, faythfully promising them both ayde and succoz against the king and their owne native countrye (like foolish and wicked men) thinking by their so doyng to haue done God high pleasure and seruice. There were also certayne other malicious and bulye persons who added Oyle (as the adage sayth) to the Fornace: These made open clamors in euery place where oportunitie serued, that Christen religion should be vtterly violatē, dyspyed and set a side, and that rather then so, it be heued and was the partes of euery true Christen man to defende it euen to the death, and not to admyt and suffer by any meanes the fayth (in the which their forefathers so long and so many thousand yeres haue liued and cōtinued) now to be subuerted and destroyed. Amongest these were many priestes which deceyued also the people with many false fables & benemous lyes and imagnations (which could neuer enter nor take place in the hart of any good man, nor faithfull subiect) sayng that al maner of prayer and fasting and all Gods seruice should vtterly be destroyed & taken away, that no man should marry a wife or be partaker of the Sacraments, or at the length should eate a piece of rost meate, but he shoulde for the same first pay vnto the king a certayne somme of money, and that they should be brought in more bondage and in a more wicked maner of life, then the Sarazins be vnder the great Turke. With these and such other like errors and slaundersous tales, the people thus instructed (or as I may trulier speake) deceyued and mocked, beyng to light of credyt, incontinent to the helpe and mayntenaunce of religion once established and confirmed, they stidly and stoutely did conspire and agree: And in a part of Lincolneshyre, first they assembled and shortly after, ioyned into an army, beyng (as it was supposed) of men apt and fitte for the warre, in number aboue twentie thousand.

Agaynst these trayterous rebelles, wyth all the haste and speede that might be (after he heard thereof) the kinges royall maiestie, in his awne proper person, furnished with a goodly and warlike armie, lacking nothing that to such a companie should appertaine, marched toward them. But these rebels hearing that his maiestie was present with his power and army royall, feared what would follow of this matter, and suche as were noble men and Gentlemen, that before fauoured them began to withdrayw themselves, so that they were destitute of Capitaines, & at the last they in writing made certayne petitions to the kinges maiestie, professing that they neuer intended hurt toward his royall person. The kinges maiestie receiued their petitions and made aunswere vnto them as followeth.

First we begin and make aunswere to the foure and sixe articles, because vpon them dependeth much of the rest, concerning choosing of counsaylors, I neuer haue red, heard, nor knowne, that princes counsaylors, and prelates should be appointed by rude and ignozant common people, nor that they were persons meete nor of habilitie to discernē and choose mete and sufficient counsaylors for a prince: how presumptuous then are ye the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realme, and of the least experience to finde fault with your prince for the electing of his counsaylors and prelates, and to take vpon you contrarie to Gods lawe and mans lawe to rule your prince, whome ye are bounde by all lawes

lawes to obey and serue with both your lynes, landes and goodes: and for no worldly cause to withstand: the contrarie wherof you like Traytors and rebelles haue attempted and not like true subiects as ye name your selues.

As to the suppression of religious houses and Monasteries, we wyll that ye and all our subiectes should well knowe that this is graunted vs by all the nobles spirituall and tempozall, of this our realme, and by all the commons in the same by act of Parliament, and not set forth by any counsaylor or counsaylors vppon there meere will and phantastie, as ye full fa. selfe would perswade our realme to beleue.

And where ye allege that the seruice of God is muche diminished, the truth therof is contrarie, for there be no houses suppressed where God was well serued, but where most vice, mischief and abhominacion of lyming was bled, and that doth wel appere by there awne confessions subscribed with their awne handes in the time of their visitacions, and yet we suffered a great many of them (more then we needed by the act) to stand wherē in if they amende not their liuing, we feare, we haue more to aunswere for then for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitalitie for the reliefe of the poore, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirme that they haue bene a great reliefe of the poore people, when a great many of the most part hath not past foure or five religious persons in them, and dyuers, but one which spent the substance of the goods of their houses in noysshing of vice, and abhominable lyming. Nowe what unkindnesse and unnaturalitie may we impute to you and all our subiectes that be of that minde, that had leuer suche an vnchristie sort of vicious persons, should enioye suche possessions, profites and Emolumentes, as growe of the sayde houses, to the maintenance of their vnchristie life, then we your naturall prince, souereigne Lord and king, which doth and hath spent more in your defences of our awne, then sixe times they be worth? As touchyng the act of vles, we maruayle what madnesse is in your brayne, or vpon what ground ye would take auctorizty vpon you to cause vs to breake these lawes and statutes, which by all the nobles, knightes, and Gentlemen of this realme (whome the same chiefly toucheth) hath bene graunted and assented to: seyng in no maner of thinges it toucheth you the base commons of our realme.

Also the groundes of all those vles were false, and neuer admitted by any lawe: but vsurped vpon the prince, contrarie to all equitie and iustice, as it hath bene openly both disputed and declared by all the wel learned men in the realme of England in Westminster hall: wherby ye maye well perceyue howe mad and vreasonable your demaundes be, both in that and in the rest, and howe vnmeete it is for vs and dishonorable, to graunt or assent vnto, and lesse meete and decent for you in such a rebellious sort to demand the same of your prince.

As touchyng the fiftene which ye demand of vs to be released, thinke ye that we be so faint harted, that perforce ye of one shire (were ye a great many mo) could compell vs with your insurrections and such rebellious demeanoz to remit the same: or thinke ye that any man will or may take you to be true subiectes, that first make and thewe a louing graunt, and then perforce would compell your souereigne Lord and king to release the same: the time of payment wherof is not yet come, ye, and scing the same will not

counter-

False and  
slaundersous  
rumors.

The kinges  
aunswere to  
the rebels of  
Lincolneshyre



counteruaile the tenth penie of the charges, which we doe and daily susteyne for your tuition and safegard: make you sure by your occasions of these your ingratitude, unnaturalnesse and unkindnes to vs now administered, ye geue vs cause which hath alwayes bene as much dedicate to your welth as ever was king, not so much to set or studie for the setting forwarde of the same, seying how unkindly and untruely ye deale now with vs, without any cause or occasion: and doubt ye not, though you haue no grace nor naturalnesse in you to consider your ductie of alleageance to your king and souereigne Lorde, the rest of our realme we doubt not hath: and we and they shall so looke on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if according to your former letters you submit not your selues.

As touching the first frutes, we let you wit, it is a thing graunted vs by act of parliament also, for the supportation of parte of the great and excessive charges, which we support and beare for the maintenaunce of your welthes and other our subiects: and we haue knowne also that ye our commons haue much complayned in times past, that the most part of our goods, landes and possessions of the realme, were in the spirituall mens handes: and yet bearing vs in hande that ye be as louing subiectes to vs as maye be, ye cannot finde in your hartes that your prince and souereigne Lord should haue any parte thereof (and yet it is nothing prejudiciall vnto you our commons) but to rebell and unlawfully rise against your prince, contrarie to the ductie of alleageance and Gods commaundement, Sirs remember your folies and trayterous demeanors, and shame not your native Countrie of England, nor offende no more so grievously your vndoubted king and naturall prince, which alwayes hath shewed himselfe most louing vnto you, and remember your ductie of alleageance, and that ye are bound to obey vs your king, both by Gods commaundement and law of nature.

Wherefore we charge you estones vpon the foresayde bonds and paynes, that ye withdraw your selues to your owne houses, euery man, and no more to assemble contrary to our lawes and your alleageances, and to cause the prouokers of you to this mischief, to be deliuered to our Lieutenants hands, or oures, and you your selues to submit you to such condigne punishment as we and our nobles shall thinke you worthy: for doubt you not else that we and our nobles cannot will suffer this iniurie at your handes vnto us, if ye geue not place to vs of souereignie, and shewe your selues, as bounden and obedient subiects, and no more to entremedde your selues from henceforth with the waighty affaires of the realme, the directio wherof onely appertaineth to vs your king, and such noble men and counsaillors as we list to elect and choose to haue the ordering of the same, and thus we pray vnto almighty God, to geue you grace to doe your duties, to be your selues toward vs like true and faithfull subiectes, so as we may haue cause, to order you thereafter; and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliuer into the handes of our Lieutenants a hundred persons, to be ordered according to their demerites, at our will and pleasure, then by your obstinacie and wilfulnesse, to put your selues, your wiues, children, landes, goodes, and castles, besides the indignation of God, in the vtter aduenture of totall destruction, and vtter ruine, by force and violence of the sword.

After the Lincolnshire men had receyued this the kinges aunswere as foresayde,

foresayde, made to their petitions, eche mistrustynge other who should be needed to be the greatest medler, euen very sodainly they began to thinke, and out of hand they were all deuided, and euery man at home in his owne house in peace: But the Capitaynes of these rebelles escaped not all clere, but were after ward apprehended, and had as they deserued: he that tooke vpon him as Capitaine of this rowte named himselfe Capitaine Cobler, but it was a Monke called Doctor Wakerel, with diuers other, which after ward were taken and executed.

All these thinges thus ended, the Countrey appeased, and all thinges in quiet, the kinges maiestie retired, and brake vp his army.

But see, euen within fixe dayes folowynge, was the king truly certified, that there was a newe insurrection made by the Northren men, which had assembled themselves into a house and great armie of warlike men, & well appoynted both with Capitaynes, horse, harness, and artillery, to the number of fortie thousand men, which had encamped themselves in Northshire: And these men had eche of them to other bounde themselves by their othe, to be faythfull and obedient to his Capitaine: they also declared by their proclamations solemply made, that this their insurrection, should extend no farther but onely to the maintenaunce and defence of the fayth of Christ, and deliuerance of holy Church sore decayed and oppressed, and also for the furtheraunce aswell of priuate as publike matters in the realme touchynge the welth of all the kings poore subiectes. They named this their sedicious and trayterous voyage, an holy and blessed Pilgrimage: they had also certaine Banners in the field, wherupon was painted Christ hangynge on the crosse on the one syde, and a Chalice with a painted Cake in it on the other syde, with diuers other Banners of like hypocrisie, and feyned sanctitie: the soldiers also had a certaine cognisaunce or badge, embzodered or set vpon the sleeves of there coates which was the similitude of the fiue woundes of Christ, and in the middest thereof was written the name of our Lord, and thus the rebellious garrison of Sathan, with his false and counterfeited signes of holinesse, set forth and decked themselves, onely to delude and deceyue the simple and ignozant people.

After that the kinges highnesse was credibly certified of this newe insurged resurrection, he making no delay in so waightie a matter, caused with all speede the Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, the Marques of Excester, the Erle of Shrewsbury with other, accompanied with his mightie and royal armie, which was of great power and strength, forthwith to set vpon the rebelles: But when these noble Capitaynes and Counsaillors approached the rebelles, and perceyued their number, and sawe how they were bent to battail, they practised with great pollicie to haue pacified al without bloodsheddyng, but the Northren men were so stiffe necked, that they would in no wise stoupe, but stoutely stode & maintained their wicked enterprize, wherefore the Nobles abouesayde perceyving and seeyng none other way to pacifie these wretched rebelles, agreed vpon a battaile, the battaile was appoynted, and the day was assigned: but see, the same night which was the night before the daye of the battaile appoynted, fell a small rayne nothing to speake of: but yet as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very small foorde, and that men in maner the day before, might haue

Doctor Wakerel other-  
wise called  
Capitayne  
Cobler.

A newe insur-  
rection in the  
North.

The Rebelles  
named their  
enterprize an  
holy and bled-  
sed pilgrimage.

A true mir-  
racle of God,  
gone



gone by thod ouer, sodainly rose of such a heighth, deepenesse, and bredth, that the like no man that there did inhabite, could tel that euer they saw it so afore, so that the day euen when the houre of battaile should come, it was impossible for the one army to come at the other.

After this appointment made betwene both the armies (disappointed as it is to be thought onely by God, who extended his great mercy, and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons, that in that deadly slaughter had like to haue bene murdered) could take no place: Then by the great wisdom and pollicie of the sayd Capitaynes, a communication was had, and a pardon of the kinges Maiestie obtayned, for all the Capitaynes and chiefe doers of this insurrection, and they promised that such thinges as they found themselves agriued withall they should gently be heard, and their reasonable petitions graunted, and that their articles should be presented to the kinges Maiestie, that by his highnesse aucthoritie, and wisdom of his Counsaile, all thinges should be brought to good order and conclusion: and with this order euery man quietly departed, and those which betoze were bent as hote as fire to fight, beyng letted thereof by God, went now peaceably to their houses, and were as colde as water. A domino factum est illud.

In this tyme of insurrection, and in the rage of hurly burly, euen when the kings army and the rebels were readie to toyne, the kinges Banner beyng displayed, and the kinges Maiestie then lying at Windsor, there was a Boocher dwelling within fiue myle of Windsor, which caused a priest to preach, that all such as tooke part with the Porkebiremen, whom he named Gods people, did fight and defend Gods quarell, and farther the sayd Boocher in selling of his meate, one did bid him a lesse price of a sheepe then he made of it, he answered nay by Gods soule, I had rather y good felowes of the North had it among them, & a score more of the best I haue: This priest and Boocher were accused to the kings maiestie Counsaile of the treasons abouesaid on the Monday in the morning, & the same day they were both sent for, which confessed their treasons, and so according to the law marshall, they were adiudged to die: and so the sayde Monday, they were both examined, condemned, and hanged, the Boocher was hanged on a new payze of Gallowes set on the Bridge ende before the Castell gate: and the priest was hanged on a tree at the foote of Windsor bridge.

This yere in December was the Chamys of London all frozen ouer, wherefore the kinges Maiestie with his beautifull spouse Queene Jane, roade throughout the Citie of London to Greenwich: And this Christmasse the king by his Messengers and Heraulds, sent downe to the North his generall pardons to all capitall offenders: and shortly after came Aske to London, and so to the Court to the king: this Aske was the chiefe Capitaine of the last rebellion in the North, and now both pardoned of the king, and bys grace receined him into his fauor, and gaue unto him apparell and great rewardes, but as after ye shall perceyue, Aske enjoyed not the king his newe friendes kindnesse a yere and a day, and pitie it was that he had any fauour at all, for there liued not a beryer wretch aswell in person, as in condicions and dedes, specially agaynst his annoynted gouernor and sauereigne Lord.

The thirde day of february, was Thomas Fitz Carrad late Erle of Kildare, and fiue of his Uncles, drawen, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne,

A Boocher and a Priest hanged at Windsor.

A great frost.

Aske a rebell of the North.

for

for highe treason.

Also in the sayde Moneth, Nichol Husgraue, Thomas Tilbie, with other began a new rebellion at Kirbie Staphan in Westmerland, with. viij. thousand persons, and besieged the Citie of Carlile, from whence they were beaten, with the onely power of the Citie, and in their returnyng the Duke of Nozfolke who then was made Lieutenaunt of the North, encountered with them, and tooke the Capitaynes, and according to the law martiall, arrayned thre score and fourtene of them, and hanged them on Carlile walles, but Husgraue escaped. And in the same moneth of february began yet another insurrection, by the entisement of sir fraunces Bygod, a man no doubt that loued God, and feared his Prince, with a right obedient & louyng feare: but nowe beyng deceyued, and prouoked therunto by false rebellious persons, it was his fortune to taste of the ende which appertayneth to rebelles: such are men when God leaueth them to their selues, and when they will enterpryse the doying of that thing which Gods most holy worde bitterly forbiddeth: This Bygod was apprehended and brought to the Tower of London, & this last rebellion began in Settrington, and in Pikeryn Leigh, and Scarborough.

Also in the latter end of this yere, the Lorde Darcy, Aske, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his wife, sir Thomas Percy brother to the Erle of Northumberland, sir Stephen Hamelton, Nicholas Tempest, Esquier, William Lomley, sonne to the Lord Lomley, began againe to conspire, although they befoze had euery one of them their pardons: and nowe they were all taken and brought to the Tower of London.

In this yere one Robert Packyngton, Mercer of London, a man of good substaunce, and yet not so rich as honest and wise, this man dwelled in Chepeside at the signe of the Legge, and vsed dayly at foure of the clocke Winter and Summer to rise and go to Masse at a Church then called saynt Thomas of Acres (but now named the Mercers Chappell) and one morning among all other, beyng a great mistie morning such as hath seldome bene sene, euen as he was crossing the streete from his house to the Church, he was sodaynely murdered with a Sonne, which of the neighbors was playnely heard, and by a great number of Laborers at the same time standing at Soper lane ende, he was sene go forth of his house, and also the ciap of the Sonne was hard, but the dede doer was neuer espied nor knowne, but many were suspected, but none coulde be founde faultie: howbeit it is trew, that forasmuch as he was knowne to be a man of great corage and one that both could speake and also would be heard: and that the same time he was one of the Burgesses of the Citie of London & had talked somewhat against the couetousnesse and crueltie of the Clergy, he was had in contempt with them, and therefore most like by one of them thus shamefully murdered, as you perceyue that Mayster Honne was in the syxt yere of the reigne of this King.

In June the Lorde Darcy and the Lorde Holfey were arreigned at Westminster befoze the Marques of Ercester, then high Stuard of Englande, and they were both found gylty and had their iudgement as in cases of high treason.

Shortly after were also arreigned sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Darcy, and lord Holfey con- dempned of high treason.

Q q q q .i.

Percy,

A new rebellion in Westmerland.

Sir Fraunces Bygod.

Robert Aske taken.

Robert Packyngton.

1536  
28  
The Lorde Darcy, & lord Holfey condemned of high treason.



Percey, Sir fraunces Wigod, Sir Stephen Hamelton, syz John Bulmer and his wife, which some reported was not his wife, but his paramour, also William Lomley, Nicholas Tempest, and the Abbates of Jerney and Rivers, and Robert Aske, and all founde gyltie of high treason, and all put to death at Ciborne, sauing sir Robert Costable, which was hanged in chaines on Beuerley Gate at Hull, and Aske was also hanged in chaines at Porke on a Tower, and sir John Bulmers Paramour was bzent in Smithfield in London: And in the latter ende of June, was the Lozde Darcy beheaded at Tower hill and shortly after was the Lord Hosley beheaded at Lincolne.

This yere at the feast of saint George, was the Lozde Cromwell made knight of the Garter.

In October on S. Edwards euen was bozne at Hampton Court the noble Impe prince Edward, whose godfathers at the chzistening were y Arch- bishop of Cantorburie, & the Duke of Norfolke & his Godmother the Lady Mary the kinges daughter, and at the bishopyng was Godfather the Duke of Suffolke: At the birth of this noble prince was great fiers made through the whole realme, and great ioye made with thankes geuing to almightie God which had sent so noble a prince to succede in y crowne of this realme. But Lozde what lamentation shortly after was made for the death of his noble and gracious mother Quene Jane, which departed out of this life the xiiij. day of October next followyng: and of none in the realme was it moze heavilier taken then of the kings maiesty himself, whose death caused y king in nediatly to remoue vnto Westminster where he mourned and kept himselfe close and secret a great while: and the eyght day of Nouember y corse of the Quene was caried to Wyndsoze with great solempnitie, and there was buried in the middes of the Quere in the Castell Church: And at the same tunc was made in Paules a solempne Herce for her, where was a masse and dirigie, and in like maner was song a Masse and dirigie in euey parishe church in London.

The kings maiesty kept his Christmaste at Grenewiche in his mourning apparell, and so was all the Court till the moztowe after Candemas day and then he and all other chaunged.

Also this yere the Viscount Beauchamp was created Erle of Hertford and sir William Fitzwilliam high Admirall created Erle of Southampton.

This yere James king of Scottes married the Lady Magdalene, the French kings eldest daughter.

In Maye there was a frier called frier forest, one of the obseruant friers, but he might haue bene moze truelet named as after shall appere, an obstinate frier, this obstinate frier had secretly in cofessions declared to many of the kings subiects that y king was not supreme head & being thereof accused & apzehended, he was examined how he could say y the king was not supreme head of y Church, when he himself had sworne to the cotrarie, he answered that he toke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man neuer costented ther vnto: at this answer the lozds who examined him looked very straungely at the dissimulation of the frier, but beng farther accused of diuers heretical and dampnable articles, that he helde contrarie to the scripture of God, he was after sundrie examinattions conuined and confuted, and gladly submitted himselfe to abide the punishment of the Church: But vpon this his submission, hauing moze libertie then befoze he had, as well to

talke with whome he would, as also who that would to talke with him, certayne such outwarde men as he was so talked with him and so incensed him, that the outwarde frier was so farre from his open submission as euer he was, and when his abiuration was sent him to read and looke vpon, he vtterly refused it, and obstinately stood in all his heresies, and treasons befoze conspired. All gentle meanes that was possible to be sought for his reconciliation was had, but the moze gentler that the maiestates were to hym, the moze obstinate was the frier, and would neyther argue nor aunswere: wherefoze iustly he was condempned, and after for him was prepared in Smithfield in London a Gallowes on the which he was hanged in chaines by the middle and armeholes all quick, and vnder the Gallowes was made a fyre, and so he consumed and bzent to death. At his comming to the place of execution, there was prepared a great Skaffolde, on which sate the nobles of the realme, and the kings maiesties most honozable counsaile, onely to haue graunted pardon to that wretched creature, if any sparke of repentaunce would haue happened in him: there was also prepared a Pulpit where a right reuerend father in God and a renoumed and famous Clarke the Bpshoppe of Worcester called Hugh Latimer, declared to hym his errors and openly and manifestly by the scripture of God confuted them, and with many good and godly exhortations moued him to repentaunce, but such was his trowardnesse that he neyther would heare nor speake: And a little befoze the execution, a houg and a great Image was brought to the Gallowes, which Image was brought out of Wales, and of the Welchmen much sought and worshipped: This Image was called Daruell Gatheren, and the Welchmen had a prophesie that this Image should set a whole Forest a fyre, which prophesie now toke effect, for he set this Fryer Forest on fyre and consumed him to nothing. This frier when he sawe the fyre come and that present death was at hande, caught holde vpon the ladder, which he would not let go, but so vnpaciently tooke his death, that no man that euer put his trust in God neuer so vnquietly nor so vngodly ended his lyfe: if men might iudge him by his outward man, he appered to haue little knowledge of God and his sincere truth, and lesse trust in him at his ending. Vpon the Gallowes that he died on, was set by in great letters these verses folowing,

David Daruell Gatheren,  
As sayth the VWelshmen  
Fetched outlavves out of hell.  
Novv is he come vvith speare and shielde,  
In harnessse to burne in Smithfielde  
For in V Vales he may not dyvell.

And Forest the Fryer  
That obstinate lyer  
That vvilfully shall be dead,  
In his contumacie,  
The Gospell doth denie  
The king to be supreme head.

In July was Edmond Coningsbye attaynted of treason, for counterefeating of the kinges Signe Manuell: And in August was Edward Clifford for the same cause attaynted and both put to execution as Traytors at Ciborne. And the Sondag after Bartelmewday, was one Cratwell Hangman of London, and two persones moze hanged at the Westling place on the backside of Clerkenwell beside London, for robbing of a Booth in Bartelmew sayre, at which execution was aboute twentie thousande people as I my selfe iudged sayth Hall.

In this month of August, the king of Scottes married the Ladye Ma-

D q q q . ij.

rye

Lord Cromwell made knight of the Garter.

The birth of Prince Edward, late our Quereingne Lord & King Edward the first.

Quene Jane departed.

Quene Jane buried.

James king of Scottes married the french kings daughter.

1537

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Frier Forest condemned and bzent.

Hugh Latimer Bishop of Worcester

Prophecy of Daruell Gatheren.

Cratwell Hangman hanged.



Idolatrous  
Images sup-  
pressed.

All convent-  
ual religions  
suppressed.

rye late Duches of Longuile. And in September by the speciall motion of the Lorde Cromwell all the notable Images vnto the which were made any speciall Pilgrimages and Offeringes, were bitterly taken away, as the Images of Wallingham, Epswicke, Worcester, the Lady of Wilsdon, with many other. And likewise the Shrynes of counterfeited Saintes, as the Shryne of Thomas Becket and diuerse other. And euen soorthwith by the meanes of the sayd Cromwell all the orders of superstitious and begging fryers, as White, Gray, Blacke, Augustine, Croched Fryers, and likewise all the puling Nonnes, with their Cloysters and Houses were suppressed and put downe.

In this season, suite was made by the Emperoz to the kinges maiestie that he would take to wyfe the Duches of Myllayne, but in this matter the Emperozs counsaile so dalled with the king that shortly he left of that suite: of the which breaking of with the Emperoz, the Duke of Cleue heard, and therefore forthwith he made suite to the kinges maiestie, for his sayre suster the Lady Anne: vndoubtedly the Emperozs counsaile thought by a cautell to haue brought the King to sue to the Bishoppe of Rome for a licence which thing the kinges maiestie soone smelied and perceyued, whereabout they went.

The Lorde  
Marques of  
Excester and  
other accused  
and condemn-  
ed of high  
treason.

The thirde day of Nouember were Henry Marques of Excester and Erle of Denonshire, and sir Henry Poole knight and Lorde Mountagew and sir Edward Neuell brother to the Lorde Burgany sent to the Tower which three were accused by syr Gesserie Poole brother to the Lord Mountagew, of high treason, and the two Lordes were arreigned the last day of December, at Westminster before the Lorde Audeley of Waldon, Lorde Chauncelloz, and then high Seward of Englande, and there founde gilty, likewise on the thirde daye after was arreigned Sir Edward Neuell, Syr Gesserie Poole and two Priestes called Crostes and Collyns, and one Holand a Mariner and ail attainted, and the ninth day of January were the sayde two Lordes and Sir Edward Neuell beheaded at the Tower hyll, and the two Priestes and Holand were drawne to Tiborne and there hanged and quartered, and Syr Gesserie Poole was pardoned.

On Althwednesday were John Johnes, John Potter, and Wylliam Hawering, hanged in the Princes Liueries, because they were the princes Seruants, on the South side of Paules Churchyard for killing of Roger Cholmeley Esquyre in the same place of malice pretended.

Also on the thirde daye of Marche, was sir Nicholas Carew of Beddington, in the County of Surrey knight of the Garter, and Maister of the kinges horse, before attainted of treason, beheaded at the Tower hyll, wher he made a goodly confession, both of his follye and superstitious fayth, geuing God most hartly thanks that euer he came in the prison of the Tower, where he first sauored the life and sweetnesse of Gods most holye worde, meaning the Bible in Englishe, which there he reade by the meane of one Thomas Philips then keeper of that prison, but before he was a Citezen and Poyntmaker of London, which Philips two yeres before had bene there prisoner himselfe, and sore troubled as well by syr Thomas More as also by Doctor Stokelley Bishop of London, who often times examined the sayd Philips, and layde many articles to his charge, but he so wisely and coldely

Sir Nicho-  
las Carew  
beheaded.

Thomas  
Philips.

coldely bled him selfe, that he maugre their euill willes, escaped clerely their handes.

At this time the Pope summoned a generall counsaile to be holden at Mantua. And hereunto king Henry in the name of him selfe & his Nobles publieth a writing, sayng that where there is a Counsaile called by the Bishop of Rome, tye which he hath none aucthoritie to do, and called at such a time, when moztall warre is betweene the Emperoz and the French kyng, and the place appoynted at Mantua, whether it is neyther safe nor comodious for all men to come. He in dedde desyrezth a Christian counsaile with all his heart, but vnto the Bishoppes counsaile, he will neyther come himselfe nor yet send his Ambassadors: for this is alwayes their fashion, that for their owne lucre sake, they will in such maner of assemblies oppresse Chyrst and his beritie: And for his part he wyll haue nothing to do with the Bishop of Rome, nor regarde th no more his decree, then the writing of any other Bishop: adding that counsailes were wont to be called by the aucthoritie of the Emperoz and kinges, which maner ought to be restozed especially at this tyme when the Bishoppe hath so many graue persons to accuse him. Yet neuerthelesse can he neyther be reprechended without the daunger of a mannes life, nor accused presently: but in a lawfull counsaile: neyther is their any prouision made for him or his by safecouduite, although there were yet manifest daungers that should let him that he coulde not come: for it is no newes to the Bishoppes to falsifie their fayth, and to spynke and defile themselues with innocent bloud. And albeit it should be lawfull for others to repayze thether, yet were it no safety for him, whom the Bishop hath layde wayte for, whom he hateth deadly, whom he seketh to bring in hatred with other kings, for none other cause assuredly, then for that his Tyranny is exiled out of his realme, and his yerey reuenues taken away, which thing in very dedde he taketh in mozt euill part, & so much the worse for that he feareth lest other kings warned through his example, will hereafter do the like.

The ninth day of Marche, the king created at Westminster sir William Pawlet knight Treasozer of his household, Lorde Saint John, and sir John Russell Comptroller of his house, Lorde Russell.

The same time the king caused all the Hauens to be fortiefied, and rode to Douer, and caused Bulwarkes to be made on the Sea coastes, and sent commissioners throughout all the realme, to haue his people muster: and at the same season on Easter daye, was there three score vnknowne shippes lying in the downes, wherfore all Kent arose, and mustered in harnesse the same daye.

The eyght and twentie daye of Aprill, began a Parliament at Westminster, in the which Margaret Countesse of Salisburie, Gertrude wyfe to the Marques of Excester, Reignolde Poole Cardinall, brother to the Lorde Mountagew, syr Adrian Folkew, Thomas Dingley knight of saint Johnes, and diuers other were attainted of highe treason, which Folkew and Dingley were the tenth day of July beheaded.

The kinges highnesse which neuer ceased to studie and take payne both for the aduancement of the common welth of this his realme of Englande, of the which he was the oncly supreme gouernoz and head, and also for the defence of the same, was lately enforzmed by his trustie and faythfull friends,

The answers  
of king Hen-  
ry the eyght  
for coming  
to the general  
counsaile.

Sir William  
Pawlet Lord  
Saint John.  
Sir John  
Russell, Lord  
Russell.

Bulwarkes  
made by king  
Henry the  
eyght.

1538  
30  
Margaret  
Countesse of  
Salisburie.

Cardinall  
Poole.



friendes, that the cankerd and cruell serpent the Bishop of Rome, by that Archetraylor Reignoide Poole, enemye to Gods worde, and his naturall Countre, had moued and stirred diuers great Princes and Potentates of Chyristendome to inuade the realme of Englande, and vtterly to destroye the whole nation of the same: wherfore his Maiestie in his awne person, without any delay tooke very laborious and painfull iourneys towardes the sea, coastes. Also he sent diuers of his nobles and Counsayloz to view & search all the Portes and daungers on the coastes, where any meete or conuenient landyng place might be supposed, aswell on the Borders of England, as also of Wales. And in all such doubtfull places, his highnesse caused diuers and many Bulwarkes, and fortifications to be made. And further his highnesse caused the Lorde Admirall Erle of Southhampton to pzeare in readinesse shippes for the sea, to his great cost and charges.

And besyde this, to haue all his people in a readinesse, he directed hys Commissions thozoughout the realme to haue his people mustered, and the harnesse and weapons seene and viewed, to the entent that all things should be in a readinesse, if his enemies would make any attempt into this realme: And amongst other, one Commission was directed to the right worshipfull sir Thomas Forman knight, Maior of London, and his brethren, for to certifye all the names of all men betwene the ages of. lx. and. xviij. and the number of harnesses, weapons, with their kinds and diuersities: wherby in the sayde Lorde Maior and his brethren, every one hauyng with them one of the Counsaile or learned men of the Citie repayzed to their wardes, and there by the othe of the common counsaile and Constables of the same wardes tooke the number of the men, harnesses, and weapons, accordyng to their Commission. And after that they had well viewed their Bookes, and the number of the persons, they thought it not expedient to admitt the whole number of such as were certified for hable and apt persons for to muster: Wherfore then they assembled themselves againe, and chose out of the most hable persons, and put by the other, and specially all such as had no harnesse, nor for whom no harnesse could be provided. But when they were credibly aduertised by the kinges Counsaylor Thomas Lord Cromwell knight of the noble order of the Garter Lorde priuie Seale (to whose prudence and goodnesse the Citie was touch bounden) that the king himselfe would see the people of the Citie Muster in a conuenient number, and not to set forth all their power, but to leaue some at home to keepe the Citie. Then euerie Alderman repayzed to his ward, and there put asyde all such as had Jackes, coates of Plate, coates of Mayle, and Briganders, and appoynted none but such as had white harnesse, except such as should beare Morische pykes, which had no harnesse but sculles: and they appoynted none but such as had white harnesse, neyther did they admit any that was a straunger, although they were Denizens. When it was knowen that the king would see the muster, Lord how glad the people were to pzeare, and what desyre they had to do their Prince seruice, it woulde haue made any faythfull subiectes heart to haue reioysed. Then every man beyng of any substance provided himselfe a coate of white Silke, and garnished their Bassenets with turnes lyke Cappes of Silke set with Duches, furnished with Cheynes of Golde and feathers: other gylted their Harnesse, their Halbardes, and Pollaxes.

Some,

Bulwarkes  
made.

The great  
Muster in  
London.

Some, and especiall certaine Goldsmithes had their breast plates, yea and their whole harnesse of syluer bullion. The Constables were all in Jorsets of white Silke, with Cheynes, and Battell Axes. The meaner sort of people were all in coates of white cloth curiously trymmed with the Armes of the Citie before and behinde. The Lorde Maior himselfe was in a fayre Armoz the crestes thereof were gylt, and ouer that a coat of black Veluet with halfe sleues, and so was sir Roger Cholmley knight Recorder of London, and all the other Aldermen and Shirifes, and suche as had bene Shirifes, all well mounted on stirryng horses richely trapped and covered, with Battelaxes in their handes, and Hases and Chaynes about their neckes. The Lorde Maior had foure footemen all in whyte Sylke, cut, ruffed, and pounced: he had also two Pages well mounted on stirryng Coursers, richely trapped and appareled in coates of Crimosyn Veluet, and cloth of Golde paled, with Chaynes of Golde, the one bearyng his helme, and the other his Axe. He also had .xviij. tall men on foote with gylt Halbardes, whose Dublets were white sylke, and hosen, dublets, and shoes all white, cut after the Almaine fashion, puffed and pulled out with red sarrenet, every one hauyng a white leather Jerkin all to cut, and Chaynes about their neckes, with feathers and Brooches on their Cappes. The Recorder and euery Alderman had about him foure Halberdes trymmed warlyke.

The Chamberlayne of the Citie, and the Councelloz of the same and the Aldermens Deputies, which were appoynted to be Wyffellers on horsebacke, were all in white Daninaskie Coates on their harnesse, mounted on good horses well trapped, with great Chaynes about their neckes, and proper Jauelyns or Battelaxes in their handes, and Cappes of Veluet richely decked.

The Wyffellers on foote, foure hundred proper and light persons all appareled in white Silke or Jerkyngs of leather cutte, with white hose and shoes, every man hauyng a Jauelyn or Slaughter sword to keepe the people in array and Chaynes about their neckes, and white feathers in their Cappes.

The Minstres were all in white, with the armes of the Citie, and so was every other person at this Muster without any diuersitie, sayyng the Lorde Maior, the Recorder and his brethren, who had Crosses of Veluet or Satten pyled with golde.

The Standard bearers were the tallest men of every ward, for whom were made .xxx. new Standardes of the deuise of the Citie besyde banners.

When every thing was prepared, every Alderman mustered his awne ward in the fieldes, viewyng every man in his harnesse, and to cause such as could shote, to take Bowes in their handes, and the other Billes or Pykes.

The .viij. day of May, accordyng to the kinges pleasure, every Alderman in order of battaile with his ward came into the common field at White ende, and then all the Comnes leuered themselves into one place, the Pykes in another, and the Bowmen in another, and likewise the Bilmen, and there trynged and snayled, which was a goodly sight to beholde: for all the fieldes from white Chapell to White ende, and from Bednall Greene to Ratclyffe, and to Stepney were all covered with harnesse, men, and weapons, and in especiall the battaile of Pykes seemed to be a great Forrest. Then euery part was deuided into three partes, the Pykes in three partes, and so the other.



other. Then were appoynted thre battayles, a foze warde, middlewarde, and rerewarde.

The order of the myght. r. in goyng.

About viij. of the clocke in the mozning marched forward the lyght pe- ces of ordinaunce, with stone and powder, after them folowed the Prynces, and fyfies, and immediately after them a Guydon of the armes of the Cite. Then folowed maister Sadler Capitaine of the Gunners, bypon a good horse in harnesse, and a coate of Ueluet with a Chaine of Golde, and toure Halbardes about him appareled as befoze is reherfed. Then folowed the Gunners foure in a ranke, euery one goyng five foote a sinder, euery mans shoulder euen with another, which shot altogether in diuers places berpe cherefully, and especially befoze the kinges Maieste, which at that time sate in his new gate house at his Palace at Westminster, where he viewed all the whole company: In like maner passed the second and third battailes, all wel and richly appoynted. They passed as is sayd, the foremost Capitaine at. ix. of the clocke in the mozning by the little Conduit entryng into Paules Church yarde, and so directly to Westminster, and so through the Sanctuary, and round about the Parke of Saint James, and so vp into the field, and came home through Holborne: and as the first Capitaine entered againe to the little Conduite, the last of the Myster entered Paules Churchyard, which then was foure of the clocke at after noone. The number was. xv. thou- sand, besyde Wyfflers and other wayfers.

1539  
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The great Duche and Ddonele.

In August the great Once and Odonele entered into the Engllthe pale in Irelande, and bzent almost twentie myle within the same: where- fore the Lorde Grey then Deputie there, assembled a great power and met with them the. xxx. day of August and put them to flight: And therefore the king sent ouer five hundred fresh souldiours to arde his deputie.

Embassadors sent out of Germanie for the conclusion of a marriage betwene the king and the Lady Anne of Cleue.

In the ende of September the. xvi. day of that moneth came to Lon- don Duke Frederyke of Bayre Countie of Palantine oz Palsgrau of the Ryne, and the. xviii. day came to London, the Marshall or Duke John Frederick prince Elector of Saxony, and the Chaunceloz of William Duke of Cleue, Gulycke, Selder and Berry: the Palsgrau was receyued and conducted to Wyndsoze by the Duke of Suffolke: & the other were accom- panied with other nobles, and the. xxiiij. day of the same moerth they al came to Wyndsoze, where eyght dayes they continually were feasted and hunted, with all pleasure that might be shewed vnto them: and the Palsgrau sco- tly departed and was honorably rewarded: and at that season was conclud- ed the marriage betwene the king and the Lady Anne, sister to Duke William of Cleue, and great preparation was made for the receiuyng of her.

Hugh Fer- rington, Rugges, Dypou.

The. xiiij. day of Nouember Hugh feringdon Abbot of Redyng and two Prystes, the one called Rugges, and the other Dnyon, were attaynted of high treason, for denyng the king to be supzeme head of the Church, and were drawne, hanged and quartered at Redyng. This Abbot was a sub- borne Donke and bitterly without learning. The same day was Rycharde Whityng Abbot of Glasenbury likewise attaynted and hanged on Tower hill beside his monasterie, for the sayde case and other great treasons, which also was quartered: and the first daye of December was John Beche Ab- bot of Colchester put to execution for the same confederacie and treason.

Richard Whityng Abbot.

John Beche Abbot.

In December were appointed to wayte on the kinges highnesse person fiftie

fiftie Gentlemen called Pencioners oz Speares, lyke as they were in the first yere of the king.

Pencioners.

The. xi. daye of December at the Turnepike on this side Grauelynge was the Lady Anne of Cleue receyued by the Lorde Lisle, Deputie of the towne of Calice, & with the speares and horsemen belonging to the retinue there, all beyng freshe and warlike appareled, and so marchyng toward Ca- lice a mile and moze from the towne met her Grace the Erle of Southamp- ton great Admirall of Englande, and appareled in a Coate of purple Uel- uet cut on cloth of Golde, and tyed with great Aglets and Trefoiles of gold, to the number of foure hundred, and baudrick wise he ware a chayne, at the which did hang a Whyftell of Golde set with riche stones of a great value. And in his companie thirtie Gentlemen of the kings houtholde berie richely appareled with great and massy chaynes, and in especiall syz Fraunces Bri- an, and syz Thomas Seymers chaynes were of great valure and straunge fashion. Beside this the Lorde Admirall had a great number of Gentlemen in blew Ueluet and crymosyn Sattyn, and hys yomen in Danmask of the same colours, and the Maryners of his ship in Sattyn of Bridges, both coates and stoppes of the same colours, which Lorde Admirall with lowe obeysaunce welcommed her, and so brought her into Calice by the Lanterne gate, where the ships lay in the hauen garnished with their banners, pencels and flagges, pleasauntly to beholde. And at her entrie was shot such a peale of Gornes, that all the retinue much maruayled at it. And at her entrie into the towne, the Mayo: of the towne presented her with an hundred Marke in golde. And befoze the Staple hall stood the Marchaunts of the Staple well appareled, which likewise presented her with an hundred souereynes of Golde in a riche Purse, which hartely thanked them, and so she roade to the kings place called the Checker, and there she laye fiftene dayes for lack of prosperous winde. During which time goodly iustes and costly bankets were made to her for her solace and recreation. And on saint Johns daye in Christmas, she with fiftie sayle toke passage about none and landed at Deele in the dozones about five of the clock, where sir Thomas Cheiney lord Mar- den of the Portes receyued her, and there she tarped a space in a Castell newly built, and thether came the Duke and Dutchesse of Suffolke, and the Byshop of Chichester, with a great number of knightes and Esquires and Ladies of Kent and other which welcommed her grace, & so that night brought her to Douer Castell, where she rested till Monday: on which day for all the storme that then was she marched toward Cauntozburie, and on Baram downe met her the Archebishop of Cauntozbury accompanied with the Byshop of Ely, saint Alse, saint Daues and Douer, and a great compa- nie of Gentlemen well appareled, and so brought her to saint Austens with- out Caunterburie, where she lay that night: and on the next daye she came to Snytyngburne and there lodged that night. And as she passed towarde Rochester on Newe yeares euen on Reynam downe, met her the Duke of Norffolke and the Lorde Dacre of the South, and the Lorde Mountiope with a great company of knightes and Esquires of Norffolke and Suffolke, and the Barons of the Erchequer, all in coates of Ueluet with chaynes of Golde, which brought her to Rochester, where she laye in the Palace all New yeares day. On which day the king which soze desired to see her grace accom-

The recep- uing of the Lady Anne of Cleue.

The landing of the Lady Anne of Cleue



The king secretly meeteth  
and salueth  
the Lady  
Anne of  
Cleves.

accompanied with no more then eyght persons of his priue chamber, and both he and they all apparelled in Harble coates priuily came to Rochester, and sodaynly came to her presence, which therewith was somewhat astonied: but after he had spoken and welcommed her, shee with most gracious and louing countenance and behauior him receyued and welcomed on her knees, whome he gently toke by and kissed: and all that afternone communed and deuised with her, and that night supped with her, and the next day he departed to Grenewiche, and she came to Dartford.

The receyuing of the  
Lady Anne  
of Cleues at  
Blackheth.

On the morowe beyng the thirde day of January, and Saturday in a fayre playne on blackheth, more neerer the foote of Shooters hill, then the ascendent of the hill called blackheth hill, was pitched a riche tent of cloth of Golde and dyuers other tentes and pavilions, in the which were made syres and perfumes for her and suche Ladies as should receyue her grace: and from the tentes to the Parke gate of Grenewich were all bushes and firres cut downe, and a large and ample waye made for the thewe of all persons. And first next to the parke pale on the East side, stood the Marchaunts of the Stillyard: and the West side stood the Marchaunts of Fean, Florence and Venice, and the Spaniards in coates of Veluet. Then on both sides of the waye stood the Marchauntes of the Citie of London and Aldermen with the counsailors of the sayde Citie to the number of a. C. lx. which were mixed with the Esquires: Next byward toward the tentes stood knights: Veluet and chaines of Golde, truly accompted to the number of twelue. C. and aboue, besioe them that came with the king and her grace, which were first hundred in Veluet coates and chaines of Golde. Behind the Gentlemen stood the seruyng men in good order, well horsed and apparelled, that whosoever had well biewed them might saye that they for tall and comely personages and cleue of lymme and body, were able to geue the greatest prince in Christendome a mortall breakefast if he were the kings enemie: And of this sort the Gentlemen appertayning to the Lorde Chauncelloz, the Lorde priuie Seale and the Lorde Admirall and diuers other Lordes, beside the costly lpyeries and comely horses, wore chaynes of golde.

Pensioners.

Thus was the lane ordered in rankes, from the Parke gate toward the crosse on the heth, which was betwene the rankes and the tentes, and in this order they continued till the king and shee were returned.

About twelue of the clock her grace with all the company which were of her awne nation to the number of a hundred horse, accompanied with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke, the Archebishop of Caunterburie and other Bishops, Lordes and knightes, which had receyued and conueyed her as you haue heard befoze, came downe Shooters hill toward the tentes, and a good space from the tentes met her the Erle of Rutlande her Lorde Chamberleyn, sye Thomas Denyre her Chauncelloz, and all her counsailors and officers, amongst whom Doctoz Day apoynted to be her Almoner made to her an eloquent oration in Latine, presenting to her on the kings behalfe all the officers and seruaunts: which oration was answered vnto by the Duke her brothers secretozie there beyng present: which done, the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the Queene of Scots, the Ladie Marques Dorset, daughter to the Frenche Queene beyng Accres to the king,

king, and the Duchesse of Richemond, and the Countesse of Rutlande and Hertford with diuers other Ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of. lxx. saluted and welcomed her grace, which alighted out of her Chariot, in the which she had ridden all her long iourney, and with most goodly demaioz and louing countenance gaue to them hartie thanks and kissed them all, and after all her counsailors and officers kissed her hande, which done, she with all the Ladies entered the tentes, and there warmed them a space.

When the king knew that shee was arrived in her tent, he with all diligence set out through the parke. And first issued the kings Trompets, then the kings officers beyng swozne of his counsaille, next after them followed the gentlemen of the kunges priue chamber, some apparelled in coates of Veluet embzodered: other had their coates garded with chaynes of Golde, betie riche to beholde, which were well horsed and trapped: after them ensued Barons, the yongest first, and so Sir Wylliam Hollis knight Lord Maior of London rode with the Lorde Par beyng yongest Baron. Then folowed Bishopps apparelled in black Sattin. Then immediatly folowed the Erles, and then Duke Philip of Bavier and Countie Palantine of the Rhyne, richely apparelled with the liuerey of the Coyfant or Golden fleece about his necke. Then folowed the Ambassadors of the Frenche king and the Emperour, next folowed the Lorde Priuie Seale, Lorde Cromwell, and the Lorde Chauncelloz: then Garter king of Armes, and the other Officers of Armes and the Sericauntes at Armes gaue their attendaunce on enery side of the Lordes: which Lordes for the most part were apparelled in purple veluet, the Lorde Marques Dorset in the same sulte bare the kings sword of estate. After him a good distance folowed the kings highnesse mounted on a goodly Courser, trapped in rich cloth of Gold trauced laticewise square, all ouer embzodered with Golde of Dammaske, pyzled on euery syde of the embzodery, the buckles and pendentes were all of fine Gold. His person was apparelled in a coate of purple Veluet, somewhat made like a frocke, all ouer embzodered with flatte Golde of Dammaske with small lace myxed betweene, of the same golde, and other laces of the same so goyng trauced wise, that the ground litle appered: about which garment was a riche garde very curiously embzodered, the sleeves and brest were cutte, lined with cloth of golde, and tyed together with great buttons of Diamondes, Rubies, and Orient Perle, his sword and sworde gyrdle adozned with stones and especiall Emerodes, his night cappe garnished with stone, but his bonnet was so rich of Juels that few men could balew them. Beside all this he wore in baudricke wise a collar of such balistes and Perle that few men euer saw the like: and about hys person ranne ten footemen all richely apparelled in Goldsmithes worke. And notwithstanding that this riche apparell and precious Juels were pleasaunt to the nobles and all other beyng present to beholde, yet his princely countenance, hys goodly personage and royall gesture so farre exceeded all other creatures beyng present, that in comparison of his person, all his ryche apparell was litle esteemed. After him folowed his Lorde Chamberleyn, then came Sye Anthony Brotonne Maister of his Horse, a goodly Gentleman and a comly personage, well horsed, trapped, and richly apparelled, leading the kings horse of estate by a long reigne of Golde, which horse was trapped in maner lyke a barde with



with crimosyn beluet and satten, all ouer embzodered with golde after an anyke fashon, very curiously wzought. Then folowed the pages of honoz in coates of rich tinsell and crimosyn Beluet paled, ryding on great Coursers all trapped in crimosyn Beluet, embzodered with new deuises and knots of golde which were both pleasaunt and costly to behold. Then folowed Syr Anthony Wyngfield Capitayne of the Gard, and then the Gard well hozled and in riche cotes. In this order the king rode to the last ende of the ranke, where the speares oz Pencyoners stood: and there euery person that came with the king, placed himself on the one side oz the other, the king stading in the midg.

When her grace was aduertised of the kinges comming, she issued out of her tent beyng apparelled in a riche gobone of cloth of golde reysed, made round without any frayne after the Dutch fashon, and on her head a halke, and ouer that a round Bonnet oz rappe set full of Dryent Pearle of a very proper fashon, and befoze that shee had a cornet of blacke Beluet, and about her necke shee had a partelet set full of rich stone which glystered al the field. And at the doze of the Tent shee mounted on a fayze Horse richly trapped, with her footemen about her in Golde Smythes wozke embzodered with the blacke Lion, and on his shoulder a Carbuncle of golde, and so she marched toward the king: which perceyning her to appzoche came foze ward somewhat beyond the Crosse on black Heth, and there paused a litle in a fayze place tyll shee came nerer: then he put of his Bonnet, and came foze ward to her, and with most louely countenance and princely behauiour saluted, welcommed and embrased her to the great reioysing of the beholders: and she likewise not forgetting her dutie, with most amiable aspect and womanly behauiour receyued his grace with many swete words and great thanks and praيسings geuen to hym. And while they two were thus commoning, the fiftie Pencyoners and the Garde departed to furnish the Courte and Hall of Grenewiche. And when the king had talked with her a litle while, he put her on his right hande, and so wyth their footemen they rode as though they had bene compyled together. O what a sight was this to see so goodly a Prince and so noble a king to ryde with so fayze a Lady of so goodly a stature and so womanly a countenance, and in especiall of so good qualities, I thinke no creature could see them but his heart reioysed.

Now when the king and shee were met and both their companies ioyned together, they returned through the rankes of the knightes and Esquyers which stode still all this while and remoued not, in this order: first her Trompettes went foze ward, which were twelue in number besyde two Kettle Drummes on hozbacks, then folowed the kinges Trompettes, then the kinges Councelloz, then the Gentlemen of the priue chamber, then the Gentlemen of her Graces countrey in coates of Beluet, all on great hozles: after them the Maior of London in crimosyn beluet with a riche collar, coupled with the yongest Baron, then all the Barons, next following Bischoppes then Erles with whom rode the Erles of Quersteyne and Waldocke of her countrey, then Dukes and the Archbishop of Cauntozbury, and Duke Philippe of Sawire, next folowed the Ambassadors, then the Lorde Priuiescale and the Lorde Chauncelloz, then the Lorde Marques with the kings sword, next folowed the king himselfe equally with his fayze Ladye, and behinde him rode Syr Anthony Wozbone with the kinges hozle of estate as you heard befoze,

befoze, and behinde her rode Sir John Dudley Mayster of her hozses, leading her spare palferay trapped in rich Tissue downe to the grounde: after them folowed the Henemen oz Pages of honoz, then folowed the Ladye Margaret Douglas, the Ladye Marques Dorette, the Dutchesse of Richmounde and Suffolke, the Countesses of Rutlande and Hertfozde, and other Countesses: Then folowed hir Graces Chariot in the which she rode all her iourney, well carued and gilte with Armes of her countrey curiously wzought and couered with cloth of golde, all the hozses were trapped with blacke beluet, and on them rode Pages of honoz in coates of beluet, in the which Chariot rode three auncient Ladies of her countrey: nexte after the Chariot folowed sixe Ladies and Gentlewomen of her Countrey all richly apparalcd with Cappes set with Perle, and great Chaynes of dyuers fashions, after the vsage of their Countrey, which were very fayze of face, and with them rode sixe Ladyes of England well besene. Then folowed another Chariot likewise gilt, and furnished as the other was: after that Chariot folowed ten Englishe Ladies well appareled, next them another Chariot all couered with black cloth, and in that foure Gentlewomen which were her Graces Chamberers: then folowed all the remnant of the Ladies Gentlewomen, and Maydens in a great number, which did weare that day French whodes: last of all came another Chariot all blacke, with thze Lauzers appertaynyng to her grace: next after folowed a Hozsitter of cloth of Golde and Crimosyn Beluet bpon Beluet paled, with hozses trapped accordyngly which the king sent her, then folowed the seruyng men of her traine, all clothed in blacke and on great hozses.

In this order they rode through the rankes, and so through the Parke, and at the late Friers wall all men alighted sauyng the king, the two Maysters of the hozses and the Henemen which rode to the hall doze, and the Ladyes rode to the Court gate. And as they passed they behelde on the wharfe how the Citizens of London were rowyng by and downe on the Thames euen befoze them, euery craft in his Barge garnished with Banners, Flagges, Streamers, Pencelles, and Targettes, some paynted and beaten wyth the kinges Armes, some with her Graces armes, and some with the Armes of their Craft oz Mistry: Besyde the Barges of euery Craft, there was a Barge made like a ship, called the Batchelers Barge, decked with clothe of Golde, penons, pencelles, and Targets, in great number, on whom wayted a foyst that shot great peeces of Artillary. And in euery Barge was dyuers soztes of Instrumentes, and children and men singyng, which sang and played altogether, as the king and the Lady passed on the wharfe, which sight and noyse they much praysed and allowed.

When the king and shee were within the vtter Court, they alighted from their hozses, and the king louingly embrased her, and kissed her, bidding her welcome to her awne, and led her by her left arine through the hall which was furnished beneath the harth with the kings Garde, and aboue the harth with the fiftie Pencioners with their Battelaxes, and so brought her by to her priue Chamber, where he left her for that tyme.

And asone as the king and shee was entered the Court, was shot out of the Tower of Grenewich and thereabout, a great peale of Gunnes.

When the kinges company and hers was entered the Parke, as you haue



haue heard, then all the hozsemen on Blackheth brake their array, and had licence to depart to London, or to their lodgyng. To see howe long it was or the hozsemen could passe, and howe late it was in the night ere the footemen could get ouer London Bridge, I assure you it was wonderous to beholde, the number was so great.

Thus this noble Ladie remayned bmaried bntill the Tuesday folowpnyng beyng the daye of the Epiphantie: On which day about. viij. of the clocke in the moznyng, his Grace beyng appareled in a Gowne of clothe of golde, rayled with great flowers of siluer, furred with blacke Jennets, bys coate Crimosin Sattyn, all to cut and enbrodered, and tyed with great Diamondes, and a rich Coller about his necke, came solempnly with his nobilitie into the Gallary next the Closets, and there paused.

Then the Lordes went to fetch the Ladie Anne, which was appareled in a Gowne of riche clothe of golde, set full of large flowers of great and orient pearle, made after the Dutch fashion round, her heave hangyng do bene, which was fayre, yelow, and long: On her head a Coronall of golde replenished with great stone, & set about full of bzaunches of Rosemary. And about her necke and middle, Jewels of great value and estimation: In this apparell she goyng betwene the Erle of Quersteyn, and the Graunde Mayster Hostoden, which had the conduite and order of the perfozmaunce of her marriage, with most demure countenance and sad behauiour, passed through the kings Chamber, all the Lordes goyng befoze her, till they came to the Gallary where the king was, to whom she made thzee low obeysances and curtesies. Then the Archbishop of Cauntozbury receyued them, and maryed them together, and the Erle of Quersteyn did geue her: and about her maryng Ring was written: GOD SEND ME VVEL TO KEPE.

When the mariage was celebrate, they went hande in hande into the kings Closet, and there heard Masse, and offered their Tapers, and after Masse had wine and spices, and that done the king departed to his Chamber, and all the Ladies wayted on her to her Chamber, the Duke of Nozfolke goyng on the right hande, and the Duke of Suffolke on the left hande of her grace.

After. ix. of the clocke, the king with a gowne of riche Tissue lyned with Crimosyn Veluet enbrodered, came to his Closet, and she in her heare in the same apparell that she was maryed in, came to her Closet with her Sergeaunt of Armes, and all her Officers, like a Queene, befoze her. And so the king and she went openly on Prozession, and offered and dyed together. And after dinner she chaunged into a Gowne lyke a mannes Gowne, of Tissue with long sleeves gyzt to her, furred with rich Sables, her narrow sleeves were very costly, but on her head she had a Cap as she ware on the Saterday befoze with a Coznet of Laune, which Cap was so riche of Perle and stone, that it was iudged to be of great value. And after her fashion, her ladies and gentlewomen were appareled very rich and costly with Chaines of diuers fashions, and in this apparell she went that night to Euen song, and after supped with the king: and after supper were Bankettes, Maskes, and diuers disportes, till the tyme came that it pleased the king and her to take their rest.

The Sunday after were kept solempne Justes, which much pleased the

the straungers. On which day she was appareled after the English fashion, with a French Whood, which so set foorth her beautie and good visage, that euery creature reioysed to behold her.

When the Erle of Querstein, and other Lordes and Ladyes which had geuen their attendaunce on her grace all that iournay, and had becne highly feasted of the King and other Nobles very sumptuously, they tooke their leaue and had great gistes geuen to them, both in money and plate, and so returned toward their countrey, leauyng behind them the Erle of Waldock, and diuers other gentlemen and Damosels, which were retayned with her grace, till she were better acquainted in the realme.

The fourth day of February next ensuyng, the king and she came to Westminster by water, accompanied with many Nobles and Prelates in Barges on whom the Maior and his brethren in scarlet, and. xij. of the chiefe companies of the Citie, all in Barges garnished with Banners, Pennons, & Targets, richly couered and replenished with musitians, gaue their attendaunce, and by the way all the shippes shot their ordinaunce, and out of the Tower was shot a great peale of Gunnes, in goodly order.

The. xxiij. day of February, were foure readers sent for to the Starre Chamber, of euery house of the foure principall Innes of Court one, where late the Lord Chaunceloz, the Lord Priuie seale, and. xiiij. of the chiefe of the kings Counsaile, and there the Lord Chaunceloz declared, howe Sir John Shelton knight, had by the aduise of sir Humfrey Browne knight the kings Serieaunt, sir Nicholas Hare knight, the kings Counsayloz, and Speaker of the Parliament, and William Coignesby Esquier, attourney of the Duchie of Lancaster, all beyng his seruantes and of his fee, declared a fraudulent will of his landes, contrary to the statute made, Anno. xxvij. to the great hinderaunce of the kings prerogatiue, and the true meanyng of the sayd statute, and also to the euill example of all other, that should defraude their Lords of their seigniozies. Wherefoze the sayd sir Humfray Browne, and sir Nicholas Hare, were that day by the who'e Counsaile of the king dismissed of their Offices and seruice to the king, and sent to the Tower: and within thzee dayes after was William Coignesby sent thether, where they remayned ten dayes, and after were deliuered: but they thzee lost all theyz Offices, that they had of the king.

The. xij. day of Aprill began a Parliament, and sir Nicholas Hare was restored to the office of Speaker, in the which was freely graunted without contradictions, foure fiftenes and a subledie, of two shillinges of landes, and xij. pence of goodes, toward the great charges of Bulwarkes.

The. xviii. day of Aprill, at Westminster was Thomas Lord Cromwell created Erle of Essex, and made great Chamberlein of England, which euer the Erles of Orenford had, which promotions he enioyed thort tyme, as in the next yere may appere.

In this Parliament also the religion of saint Johns in England, which of most men was named the knightes of the Rhodes, was dissolued, whereof heeryng sir William Weston knight, Prior of saint Johns, for thought dyed on the Ascention day, beyng the fift day of May.

In this moneth was sent to the Tower, Doctoz Wilson, and Doctoz Sampson Byshop of Chichester, for relieuing of certaine Traitcrous persons,

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Sir John Shelton, Sir Humfrey Browne, Sir Nicholas Hare.

Thomas Lord Cromwell created Erle of Essex.

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Richard Farmer Grocer condemned in a Premunire.

sons, which denied the kings supremacie: and for the same offence was one Richard Farmer Grocer of London, a riche and welthy man, and of good estimation in the Citie, committed to the Marshall See, and after in Westmynster hall was arraigned and attaynted in the Premunire, and losse all hys goodes.

Thomas Lord Cromwell committed to the Tower.

The ninth day of July, Thomas Lorde Cromwell, late made Erle of Essex, as befoze you haue heard, beyng in the counsaile chamber, was so dainely apprehended and committed to the Tower of London, the which many lamented, but mo reioysed, and specially such, as eyther had beene religious men, or fauoured religious persons, for they banqueted, and triumphed together that night, many wyshing that that day, had bene seuen yere befoze, and some feating least he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be merie. Other who knew nothing but truth by hym, both lamented him, and hartely prayed for him: But this is true, that of certayne of the Clergie, he was detestably hated, and specially suche as had bozne foyng, and by hys meanes was put from it, for in dedde he was a man, that in all his doings seemed not to fauor any kinde of Popery, nor could not abide the snuffing pride of some prelates, which vndoubtedly whatsoeuer else was the cause of his death, did shorten his life, and procured the ende that he was brought vnto: which was that the .xix. day of the sayde Month, he was attaynted by Parliament, and never came to his aunswere, which fawne many reported, he was causer of the makynge thereof, but that is falsie and vntrue: The articles for the which he dyed, appereth in the Recorde, where his attaynder is witten, which are so long to be here reherfed, but to conclude he was there attaynted of heresie, and highe treason. And the .xxviii. day of July was brought to the Scaffolde on the Tower hill, where he sayde these wordes folowynge.

The wordes of the Lorde Cromwell spoken at his death.

I am come hether to die, and not to purge my selfe, as many haue, some thinke that I will, for if I should so doe, I were a verie wretche and miser: I am by the lawe condemned to die, and I thanke my Lorde God that hath appointed me this death, for mine offence: For sithence the time that I haue had yeres of discretion, I haue sinned a synner, and offended my Lorde God, for the which I aske him hartily forgeuenesse. And it is not vnknowne to many of you, that I haue bene a great trauayler in this worlde, and beyng but of a base degree, was called to highe estate, and sithence the time I came therevnto, I haue offended my prince, for the which I aske him hartily forgeuenesse, and beseech you all to pray to God with mee, that he wyll forgeue me. O father forgeue mee, O sonne forgeue mee, O holy ghost forgeue me: O thre persons in one God forgeue me. And now I pray you that be here, to beare mee recorde, I die in the Catholike fayth, not doubting in any article of my faith, no nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church. Many haue slaudered me, and reported that I haue beene a bearer of such as hath maintayned euil opinions, which is vntrue, but I confesse that lyke as God by his holy spiritz, doth instruct vs in the truth, so the Deuill is readie to seduce vs, and I haue bene seduced: but beare me wytnesse that I die in the catholike faith of the ho'y Church. And I hartily desire you to pray for the kings grace, that he may long liue with you, in helth and prosperite. And after him that his sonne prince Edward that goodly

ympe,

ympe, may long raigne ouer you. And once agayne I desire you to pray for mee, that so long as lyfe remaineth in this flethe, I wauer nothing in my faith. And then made he his prayer, which was long, but not so long, as both Godly and learned, and after committed his soule into the handes of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the Ire, by a ragged and bootherly miser, which very vngoodly perfozmed the office.

On saint Peters euen, was kept the Serieants feast at saint Iohnes with all plentie of vittayle. At which feast were made ten Serieauntes, thre out of Greys Inne, and thre out of Lyncolnes Inne, and of euery of the Temples two. At which feast were present, all the Lordes and commons of the parliament, beside the Maior and the Aldermen, and a great number of the commons of the Citie of London.

The morrowe after Midsummer dawe, the king caused the Quene to remoue to Richemond, purposing it to be moze for her helth, open ayre and pleasure: but the sixt dawe of July, certaine Lordes came downe into the nether house, which expressely declared causes, that the mariage betwene the king and her was not lawfull, and in conclusion, the matter was by the conuocation clerely determined, that the king might lawfully marry where he would, and so might she: and so were they cleerely deuorced and seprated, and by the parliament enacted and concluded, that shee should be taken no moze as Quene, but called the Lady Anne of Cleue.

In this yere the Lord Leonard Grey, brother to Thomas Lord Marques Dorset, beyng the kings Lieutenaunt in Irelande, practised sundre seates for his profite, as in deliuering Traitors beyng hostages, and especially his Nephew Fitzgarard, brother to Thomas Fitzgarard befoze executed, and also caused such of the Irishe men, as he had intelligence with all, to invade suche of the kings friendes, as he fauored not: wherefoze the king sent for him, and he mistrusting and seing no refuge, wrote to the kings enemies to invade the English pale after his departure. And also he kept the kings treasure to his awne vse, without retaining souldiours according to his commission, wherpon when he came to London, he was sent to the Tower.

In Iulye the Prince of Salerne, in the realme of Naples, and the Lorde Lois Deuola, came into Englande to see the king, which had highe chere and great rewards, and so departed. And after them came Done Frederick Marques of Padulla, brother to the Duke of Ferrare, and the Prince of Macedonia, and the Marques of Terra Noua, and Founfire de Flagy, and sirtene other Gentlemen, from the Emperors Court into England to see the king, which on the day of Mary Magdalene came to the Court to Westminster, and were highly feasted and well enterteyned, and with great rewardes departed.

The twentie and eight day of July as you haue heard befoze in this yere, was the Lorde Cromwell beheaded, and with him likewise was beheaded the Lorde Hungerford of Heytesburie, which Lorde Hungerford at the time of his death, seemed to be verie vnquyet in his minde, and rather in a frensie then otherwise.

The thirtie dawe of July, were drabone on herdels out of the Tower to Smithfielde, Robert Barnes Doctor in diuinitie, Thomas Caret and Wylliam Iherome Bachelers in Diuinitie: Powell, Fetherston, and

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Abell.

Serieauntes feaste.

The Lordes & Commons of the parliament broden to the Serieauntes feaste.

Quene Anne deuorced, and called Ladye Anne of Cleue.

Lorde Leonard Grey.

Lorde Hungerford beheaded.

Barnes, Caret and Jerom.



Abell. The first three were drawne to the stake, there befoze set vp, and were burned: and the latter three drawne to the Galowes, likewise there set vp, and were hanged, hedded, and quartered.

Dowell, Fetherston, and Abell.

The last three which were Dowell, Fetherston, and Abell, were put to death for treason, and in their attaindor, is speciall mention made of their offences, which was for the denyng of the kings supremacie, and affirming that his mariage with the Ladie Katheryn was good: These with other were the treasons, that they were attaynted of, and suffered death for.

Thomas Epsam an obstinate Monk.

The fourth daye of August Thomas Epsam, sometime Monke of Westminster, which had bene prisoner for treason, thre yeres and moze in Newgate, came befoze the Justices of Gaole deliuery at Newgate, & would not aske the kinges pardon, nor be swozne to be true to him, wheretoze his Monkes garment was plucked from his back, and he repried till the king knewe hys malicious obstinacie: and this was the laste Monke that was sene in his clothing in Englande.

In this Moneth were certayne Commissioners sent by the king into Irelande, to enquire of the Lorde Leonard Gray, which certified dyuers articles agaynst him, as ye shall heare in the next yere following.

Katheryn Haward the wedded as Queene

The eyght day of August, was the Lady Katheryn Haward, here to the Duke of Norfolke, and daughter to the Lorde Edmond Haward, shewed openly as Queene at Hampton Court, which dignitie she enjoyed not long, as after ye shall heare.

A great death and strange sickness.

In the latter ende of this month was vniuersally through the realme great death, by reason of newe hote Agues and Fluxes, and some pestilence, in which season was such a drought, that Welles & small rivers were cleane dried, so that much Cattle dyed for lack of water: and the Thames was so shalowe, and the freshe water of so small strength, that the salt water flowed about London brydge, till the rayne had increased the freshe waters.

Raufe Egerton hangd

On the .xxij. daye of December, was Raufe Egerton seruaunt to the Lorde Audeley Chauncelour, hanged, drawen, and quartered, for counterfeiting of the kinges great seale, & had sealed a great number of licenses for Denizens, & one Thomas Harman that wrote them, was also executed: for the statute made the last parliament was very extreme against straungers, and namely against those which were not Denizens, which caused them to offer to Egerton great sommes of money to helpe them to be Denizens, the desire whercof caused hym to practyse, that which brought him to the ende, that befoze is declared.

The bapting of the Castell of Arde.

In the end of thys yere the French king made a strong Castel at Arde, and also a brydge ouer into the Englishe pale, which brydge the Crewe of Calice did beat downe, and the Frenchmen reedified the same, and the Englishe men bet it downe agayne. And after the king of Englande sent fiftene hundred workemen, to wall and fortifie Guyynes, and sent with them five hundred men of warre, wyth Capitaynes to defend them. The noyes ranne in Fraunce, that there were fiftie thousand Englishe men landed at Calice with great ordinaunce: wherfore the French king sent in all haste, the Duke of Wandosme, and diuers other Capitaynes, to the Frontiers of Picardy to defend the same. The king of Englande hearing thereof, sent the Erles of Surrey and Southampton and the Lorde Russell, his great Admirall

mirall into the marches of Calice, to set an order there: and after them sent two. Light horsemen of the borderers of Scotlande: whome the french men called Stradiates, which Lordes when they had set all things in a good order shortly returned.

In the beginning of this yere, fine Priestes in Porke shyre began a new rebellion, with the assent of one Leigh a Gentleman, and nine Temporall men, which were apprehended, and shortly after in diuerse places put in execution, insomuch that on the .xviij. day of Maye, the sayde Leigh and one Caterfall, and Chornton, were drawne through London to Tiborne, and there were executed. And Syr John Neuell knight, was executed for the same at Porke.

1541

33 A new rebellion.

Leigh Caterfall Chornton Sir John Neuell

On the same day was Margarete Countesse of Salisbury, which had bene long prisoner in the Tower, behedded in the Tower, and shee was the last of the right line and name of Plantagenet.

Margaret Countesse of Salisbury behedded.

The ninth day of June, were Dampozt and Chapman, two of the kings Gard, hanged at Greenewiche by the Friers Wall, for robberies in example of all other.

Dampozt, Chapman.

During this season, the commissioners that befoze were sent into Irelande, to inquire of the Lord Gray, certified twentie articles of high treason against him, wherupon he was arreigned and tryed by knyghtes, because he was a Lorde of name, but no Lorde of the parliament: howbeit he discharged the Jury, and confessed the inditement, and thereupon was iudged, and after behedded at the Tower hill, where he ended his life very quietly and godly.

The Lorde Leonard Gray condemned.

In this season was arreigned and condemned three Gentlemen, called Mantell, Roydon, and Frowdes, and were hanged at Saint Thomas of Wateringes. Likewise was Thomas fines Lorde Dacres of the South arreigned befoze the Lorde Audeley of Walden, then Chauncelloz of England, and that day Stuard of the same at Westminster, and there befoze the sayd Lorde Chauncelloz and his Dercs, he confessed the Indytement, and so had iudgement to be hanged. And the twentie and nine daye of June, beyng Saint Peters day at after noone, he was led on foote, betwene the two Shryfes of London, from the Tower through the Citie to Tiborne, where he was strangled, as common murderers are, and his bodye buried in the Church of Saint Sepulchers. The cause of the death of this noble man, and the other Gentlemen, was a murder of a simple man, and an vnlawfull assemblie made in Sussex. Great moane was made for them all, but most speciall for Mantell, who was as witty, and as toward a Gentleman, as any was in the realme, and a man hable to haue done good seruire.

Mantell, Roydon, Frowdes,

The Lorde Dacres of South hanged

This Sommer the king kept his progresse to Porke and passed through Lincolneshire, where was made to him an humble submission by the Temporallie, confessing their offence, and thanking the king for his pardon: and the towne of Staunforde gaue the king twentie pounce, and Lyncolne presented forty pounce, and Boston fiftie pounce that part which is called Linsey gaue three hundred pounce, and Kestren and the Church of Lincolne gaue fiftie pounce. And when he entred into Porke shire, he was met with two hundred Gentlemen of the same Shire, in coates of Weluet, and foure thousand tall yomen, and Seruing men, well hozsed: which on their knees made

Submissions



made a submission, by the mouth of sir Robert Bowes, and gaue to the king nine hundred pound. And on Barnefoale met the king, the Archebshoppe of Yorke, with thre hundred Priestes and moze, and made a like submission, and gaue the king six hundred pounde. Like submission was made by the Maroz of Yorke, New Castell, and Hull, and eche of them gaue to the king an hundred pound. When the king had bene at York twelue dayes, he came to Hull, and deuised there certaine fortifications, and passed ouer the water of Humber, and so through Lincolne Shyre, and at Alhalontide came to Hampton Court.

At this time the Queene late befoze married to the king called Queene Katheryn Hawarde was accused to the king of dissolute liuing befoze her maryage, with fraunces Diram, and that was not secretely, but many knew of it. And sith her marriage shee was behemently suspected with Thomas Culpeper, which was brought to her chamber at Lincolne in August last in the progresse time, by the Lady Rocheford, and were together alone, from a xi. of the clocke at night, till foure of the clocke in the morning, and to him shee gaue a Chayne, and a rich Cap. Upon this the king remoued to London, & she was sent to Sion, and there kept close, but yet serued as Queene. And for the offence confessed by Culpeper and Diram, they were put to deeth at Tibozne, the tenth day of December. And the two and twentie day of the same moneth, were arreyned at Westminster, the Lozde William Hawarde and his wife, which Lozde William was Uncle to the Queene, Katheryne Cilney which was of counsaile of her hauing to do with Diram, Elizabeth Cilney, Boulmer, Westwoude, the Queenes women, and Walgrau and William Asby, and Dampozt Gentlemen, and seruaunts to the olde Dukes of Norffolke, and Margaret Benet a Butter wife, all indited of misprision, for concealing the euill demeanoz of the Queene, to the slaunder of the king, and his succession: all they confessed it, and had iudgement to perpetuall prison, and to lose their goodes and the profite of their landes, during their liues: howbeit shortly after, diuerse of them were deliuered by the kinges pardon.

The. xvi. day of January the Parliament beganne, in the which the Lozdes and Commons assented, to desire of the king certaine petitions.

- 1 First that he would not bere himself with the Queenes offence, and that she and the Ladie Rocheford, might be attainted by parliament.
- 2 Also because protracting of tyme, which the moze should be to his quietnesse, that he would vnder his great seale, geue hys royall assent, without tariyng the ende of the parliament.
- 3 Also, that Diram and Culpepper, befoze attaynted by the common law, might also be attainted by parliament.
- 4 Also, that Agnes Duchesse of Norffolke, and Katheryn Countesse of Bridgewater her daughter, which were for concealyng the said offence committed to the Tower, Indited of misprision, and the Lozde William and othyer, arreigned of the same, might be liketoyse attainted.
- 5 Also, that whosoener had spoken or done any act, in the detestation of her abhominable liuyng, should be pardoned.

To the which petitions the king graunted, sayng that he thanked the Commons, that they tooke his sorow to be theirs. Whereupon the Queene and

Queene Katheryn beheaded.

Culpeper, Diram, Lozde William Hawarde Katheryn Cilney, Elizabeth Cilney, Boulmer, Westwoude, Walgrau, William Asby Dampozt, Margaret Benet.

Petitions made to the king by the parliament house.

Agnes Duchesse of Norffolke, Katheryn Countesse of Bridgewater.

and the Ladie Rocheford were attainted by both the houses. And on Saterday being the. xi. day of february, the king sent his roial assent, by his great Seale: and then all the Lozdes were in their Robes, and the common house called by, and there the acte read, and his assent declared. And so on the thirtene daye, these two Ladies were behedded on the greene, within the Tower with an axe, and confessed their offences, and died repentaunt. And shortly after the king maryed the Lady Katheryn Parre that had bene wife to the Lozde Latimer, and she was sister to the Marques of Northampton.

At this Parliament the king was proclaimed king of Ireland, which name his predecessors neuer had, but were alwayes called Lozdes of Ireland.

In the beginnyng of Marche died sir Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle bastard to king Edward the fourth, in the Tower of London vntattainted, when he should haue bene deliuered, and put at his libertie. And the. xii. day of the sayd moneth, sir John Wodeley sonne and heire to the sayd Lozde Lilles wyfe, was at Westminster created Viscount Lisle.

The Parliament sitting, in Lent one George Ferrers Bourgeois for the towne of Plimouth, was arested in London vpon a condemnation, at the suite of one Whyte, whereupon the Serieaunt at Armes of the common house, was sent to the Counter in Breadstreete to fetch him: but the Clerkes would not deliuer him, wherefoze the Serieaunt and his man, would haue brought him away perforce. Diuers of the Shirifes officers there present, withstood the Serieaunt, so that they fell to quarrelling: and the Serieaunts man was sore hurt. After the fray ended, the Shirifes of London, whose names were Rowland Hill, and Henry Suckly came to the counter, and first denyed the deliury of the prisoner, howbeit afterward they deliuered him. But this matter was so taken in the common house, that the Shirifes and the Clerke, and fine officers, and the partie plaintife, were sent to the Tower, and there lay two dayes, and were deliuered againe by the Speaker and common house.

In this yere James Erle of Desmond came to the king, and was honourably enterteyned and well rewarded. And in September the great Onele came to Greenwich, where he and a Capitaine of the North parts of Ireland called Magannysse, and the Bishop of Cloar, made their submission in writyng, confessyng their offences, and promisyng to serue the king and his heires truely: which submission by the king considered, he vpon the first day of October created at Greenwich the said sir Eustace Onele called great Onele (because he was the chiefe of his linage called Onele) Erle of Cereowen, commonly called Tyrone, and gaue hym a great Chayne, and made Magannysse and his Cosyn knyghtes, and gaue them both Chaynes, and he gaue to the Lozde Mathias, sonne to the Erle, the Barony of Duncan.

At this season the kinges Maiestie prepared for warre unto Scotland, the cause why this war was made is most manifestly declared by that which foloweth, which the kinges Maiestie published by this title. A declaration conteynyng the iust causes and considerations of this present vwarre vwith the Scottes, vwherein also appereth the true and right tycle that the kinges most royall Maiestie hath to his souereigntie of Scotland. And it beginneth thus.

¶ Being now enforced to the warre, which we haue alwayes hether to so much

Queene Katheryn and the Ladie Rocheford beheaded.

The king proclaimed king of Ireland.

George Ferrers.

1542  
34  
James Erle of Desmond in Ireland. The great Onele.

Eustace Onele called great Onele made Erle of Cereowen.



A declaratio  
of the cause  
of warre  
with Scot-  
land for fourth  
of the king.

much abhorred and fled, by our neighbor and nephe to the king of Scots, one who aboue all other, for our manifold benefites towardes him, hath moſte iuſt cauſe to loue vs, to honour vs, and to reioyce in our quietneſſe: We haue thought good to notifie vnto the worlde his doynges and behauiour in the prouocation of this warre, and like wyſe the meanes and wayes by vs to ex- chue and aduoyde it, and the iuſt and true occaſions, whereby we be nowe prouoked to proſecute the ſame, and by vtterance and diſmullyng of that matter, to diſburden ſome part of our inward diſpleaſure and grieſe, and the circumſtaunces knowen, to lament openly with the worlde, the infidelity of this tyme, in which thinges of ſuch enormitie do breſt out and appere.

The king of Scottes our nephew and neighbor, whom we in his youth and tender age preſerued and mainteyned from the great daunger of other, and by our aucthoritie and power conducted him ſafely to the reall poſſeſſion of his eſtate, he now copelleth and forceth vs for preſeruation of our honor and right, to ble our pyſſaunce and power agaynſt him. The lyke un- kindeneſſe hath bene heretofore ſhewed by other inſemblable caſes agaynſt Gods lawe, mans law, and all humanitie: but the oftner it chaunceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the perſons of Princes for the raritie of them can ſo happen but ſeldome, as it hath now come to paſſe.

It hath bene verie rarely and ſeldome ſeene befoze, that a king of Scottes hath had in marriage a daughter of England: We can not, ne wyll not reſpetch the king our fathers act therein, but lament and be ſozy it toke no better effect. The king our father in that matter mynded loue, amitie, and perpetuall friendſhip betweene the poſteritie of both, which how ſone it fayled, the death of the king of Scottes, as a due puniſhment of God for his uniuſt inuaſion into this our realme, is and ſhall be a perpetuall teſtimonie to their reproche for euer, and yet in that preſent tyme could not the unkind- neſſe of the father extinguiſhe in vs the naturall loue of our nephew his ſonne, beyng then in the miſerable age of tender youth: but we then forget- tyng the diſpleaſure that ſhoulde haue worthily prouoked vs to inuaide that realme, nouriſhed & brought vp our nephew to achieue his fathers poſſeſſion and gouernemēt, wherein he now ſo unkindly bleth & behaueh him toward vs, as he compelleth vs to take armour and warre agaynſt him.

It is ſpecially to be noted, vpon what groundes, and by what meanes we be compelled to this warre, wherein among other is our chiefe grieſe and diſpleaſure, that vnder a colour of fayze ſpeche and flatterynge wordes, we be in deedes ſo iniured, contemned and diſpysed, as we ought not with ſuffe- rance to pretermit and paſſe ouer. Wordes, wrytynges, letters, meſſages, ambaffades, excuſes, allegations, could not more pleaſauntly, more gently, ne more reuerently be deuſed and ſent, then hath bene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs, and euer we truſted the tree would bring forth good fruite, that was of the one part of ſo good a ſtocke, and continually in appa- rance put forth ſo fayze buddeſ: and therefore would hardily beleue or gene eare to other, that euer alleged the dedes of the contrary, beyng neuer- theleſſe the ſame dedes ſo manifeſt, as we muſt nedes haue regarded them, had we not bene ſo lothe to thinke euill of our nephew, whom we had ſo ma- ny wayes bound to be of the beſt ſort toward vs. And therefore hauynge a meſſage ſent vnto vs the yere paſt from our ſayd nephew, and a promiſe made

made for the repayring of the ſayd king of Scottes vnto vs to Porke, and af- ter great preparation on our part made therfoze, the ſame meetynge was not onely diſappoynted, but alſo at our beyng at Porke, in the licu thereof, an in- uaſion made by our ſayde nephew his ſubiectes into our realme, declaryng an euident contempt and diſpyte of vs: We were yet glad to impute the de- fault of the meetynge to the aduiſe of his Counſaile, and the inuaſion of the lewdneſſe of his ſubiectes: and accordynge thereto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to ſuch Ambaffadors, as repayred hither at Chriſtmaffe af- terwarde, as if no ſuch cauſes of diſpleaſure had occurred, ſpecially conſide- ryng the good wordes, ſweete wordes, pleaſaunt wordes, eſtſoones propo- ned by the ſayde Ambaffadors, not onely to excuſe that was paſt, but alſo to perſwade kindneſſe and perfite amitie to enſue. And albeit the king of Scots hauynge contrary to the article of the league of amitie, receyued and enter- tyned ſuch rebels, as were of the chiefe and principle, in ſtirryng the inſurrec- tion in the North agaynſt vs with refusall befoze tyme, vpon request made to reſtoze the ſame: yet neuertheleſſe vpon offer made, the ſayde Ambaffa- dors, to ſende comiſſion to the Borderers, to determine the debates of the confines in the ſame, with ſo great a pretence of amitie, and ſo fayze wordes, as could be in ſpeche deſired: we were content for the tyme to forbear to preſſe them ouer extremely in the matter of rebelles. Albeit we neuer remitted the ſame, but deſpyous to make tryall of our ſayd nephew in ſome correſpondence of deedes, condeſcended to the ſendynge of Comiſſio- ners to the Borders, which to our great charge we did, & the king of Scots our ſayd nephew the ſembleable. Where after great trauaile made by our Comiſſioners, this fruite enſued, that beyng for our part chalenged a piece of our ground, plainely vſurped by the Scottes, and of no great value, being alſo for the ſame ſhewed ſuch euidence, as more ſubſtanciall, more autentique, more plain and euident cannot be brought forth for any part of ground with- in our realme. The ſame was neuertheleſſe by them denyed, reſuſed, and the euidence onely for this cauſe reiected, that it was made (as they alleged) by Engliſhmen. And yet it was ſo auncient, as it could not be counterſeyt now, and the value of the ground ſo litle, and of ſo ſmal waight, as no man would haue attempted to falſifie for ſuch a matter. And yet this denyall beyng in this wyſe made vnto our Comiſſioners, they neuertheleſſe by our com- maundement departed as friendes fro the Comiſſioners of Scotland, takynge order as hath bene accuſtomed for good rule vpon the Borders in the meane tyme.

After which their reſeſſe, the Lord Marſhel, Warden of the Weſt Mar- ches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule, but yet added therewith that the Borderers of Scotlande ſhoulde withdraw their goodes from the Borderers of England: And incontinent after the Scottiſh men Borderers, the fourth of July, entered into our realme ſodainely, and ſpoyled our ſub- iectes, contrary to our leagues, enen after ſuch extremitie, as it had bene in tyme of open warre. Whereat we much maruayled, and were copelled ther- foze to furniſhe our Border with a garrilon for defence of the ſame. Where- vpon the king of Scottes ſent vnto vs James Leymouth, Maifter of hys houſeholde, with letters deuſed in the moſt pleaſaunt maner, offerynge re- dreſſe and refozation of all attemptes. And yet neuertheleſſe at the entry

James Ley-  
mouth Am-  
baſſador  
from the  
Scottiſh  
king.

of



of the sayd Leymouth into England, a great number of the Scottes, then not looked for, made a forrey into our Borders, to the great annoyauce of our Subiects, and to their extreme detrimēt, wherewith, and with that benefely dissimulation, we were not a litte moued, as reason would we should. And yet did we not finally so extremely persecute and continue our sayd displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the sayd Leymouth, and suffered oure selfe to be somewhat altered by his wordes and sayre promises, tending to the perswasion that we euer desired to find the king of Scots such a nephew vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloud with our gratuitie vnto hym did require. In the meane tyme of these sayre wordes, the deedes of the Borderers were as extreme as might be, and our Subiectes spoiled: and in a roade made by Syr Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the same Syr Robert Bowes with many other taken prisoners, and yet deteyned in Scotland, without putting them to fine and raunsome, as hath bene euer accustomed. And beyng at the same time a surleasaunce made on both sides, at the suite of the sayde Leymouth for a season: the Scottes ceased not to make sundry inuasions into our realme in such wise, as we were compelled to forget sayre wordes, and onely to consider the king of Scots dedes which appered vnto vs of that sorte, as they ought not for our dutie in defence of our Subiectes, ne could not in respect of our honor, be passed ouer vnto reformed: and therfore put in a redinesse our armye, as a due meane wherby we might attaine such a peace, as for the safegarde of our Subiectes we be bounde to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowlege had thereof, the king of Scottes ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of sayre wordes, which in our naturall inclynation wrought estones their accustomed effect, euer more desirous to finde in the king of Scottes such regarde and respect to be declared in dedes as the correspondēce of naturall loue in the nephew to such an Uncle, as we haue shewed our selfe towardes him, doth require. Wherfore vpon new request and suite made vnto vs, we determined to stay our army at Porke, appoynting the Duke of Norfolke our Lieutenaunt, the Lorde Priuiescale, the Bishop of Durham, and the Maister of our hozles, there to common, treat, and conclude with the Ambassadors of Scotlande, for an amytie and peace vpon such condicion, as by reason and equitye were indifferent, wherby the warre might be eschued, beyng by sundry inuasion of the Scottes than opened and manifest.

In this communication betwene our and their Commissioners, after diuers degrees of commission, shewed by the Scottes, and finally one that was by our commissioners allowed, matters were proponed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficile or hard of our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the Commissioners of Scotlande sayde, they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe, that the king of Scottes our Nephieu, might haue a meeting with vs, all matters should easely be componed and determined. Wher vpon they left speaking of anye articles of amitie, and the Ambassadors of Scotlande made much outward ioy in communication of meeting, they shewed themselves in wordes, fashion and behauor much to delight in it, so reioice in it, & therewith thought it easie and facile to be concluded and accomplished and for their part they tooke it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and

most

most certaytie to take effect, and onely desyred six daies to obtaine aunswere from their Maister, and our army from that time to stay and go no further: Wherunto our Commissioners then agreed.

After these six dayes was sent a Commission out of Scotlande, with powet to conclude a meting precisely at such a place, as they knew well we would not, ne could not in winter obserue and kepe, wherewith when our Commissioners were discontent, the Ambassadors of Scotlande to releue that displeasure, and to temper the matter, wherby to win more time, shewed forth their instructions, wherein libertie was geuen to the Ambassadors to exceede their commission in the apoyntment of the place, and to consent to any other that by our Commissioners should be thought conuenient, which manner of proceeding, when our Commissioners refused, alleging that they would not conclude a meeting with men, hauing no commission thereto. The Ambassadors of Scotland vpon pretence to send for a more ample and larger commission agreeable to their instructions for appoyntment of the place, obteyned a delay of other six dayes to send for the sayde ample Commission without restraynt of place. And after those six dayes they brought forth a new commission, made in a good forme, and without exception: But therewith they shewed also new instructions, conteyning such a restraynt as the former commission did conteyn, so as the liberty geuen to the Commissioners in the commission was now at the last remoued and taken away by the instructions, with addicion of a speciall charge to the Ambassadors not to exceede the same.

And thus first the Ambassadors of Scotlande seemed to haue will and desire to conclude a place seemly and conuenient, which for want of commission they might not do, and at the last might haue concluded a meeting by vertue of their commission, and then for feare of the commaundement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partely to excuse their king, who should seme secretly to wyll more, then in the commission he did openly professe. And then with an ample commission from the king, they shewed their secret instructions for defence of themselves why they proceeded not according to their commission, not caring how much they charged therein their king, whose fault they disclosed to discharge themselves, trusting that by benefite of the winter approaching, and the time lost in their communication their Maister should be defended against our power for this yere, without doying for their part that by honor, right, laber, and leagues they be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane time our Subiectes beyng taken prisoners in Scotland could not be deliuered vpon any raunsome, contrary to all custome and vsage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre, and in this meane time stayed a great part of our armye already prested, and in our wages to go forward. In this time Ambassadors (as ye haue heard) assembled to talke of an amytie but concluded none. The treating of amytie was put ouer by communication of a meeting.

The communication of meeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalfe, as it appereth a playne deuise onely inuented for a delay, which hath geuen vs light, wher vpon more certainly to iudge the king of Scottes inward affection towards vs, whose deedes and wordes well wayed and considered, doth vs playnely to vnderstande,

S l l l . i .

how

Subiects and  
crafty Scots



how he hath continually labored to abuse vs with swete and plefaunt wordes and to satistie the appetites of other at home and abroade with his unkinde and displeaunt deedes. In his wordes he professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kindred, he knowledgeth benefites, onely the fault is that he speaketh another language to all the worlde in deedes, and thereby so toucheth vs in honoz and denegation of iustice, as we be inforced and compelled to vse the sword, which God hath put in oure hande as an extreme remedie, wherby to obteyne both quyetnesse for our subiectes; and also that is due vnto vs by right, pactes and leagues.

We haue patiently suffered many delusions, and notably the last yere when we made preparation at Pozke for his repaire to vs: But should we suffer our people and subiectes to be so oft spoiled without remedie? This is done by the Scottes whatsoeuer their wordes be. Should we suffer our rebels to be deteyned contrarie to the leagues without remedie? This is also done by them whatsoeuer their wordes be. Should we suffer our lande to be vsurped contrarie to our most playne euidence, onely vpon a will, pride, and arrogancie of the other partie? This is done by them whatsoeuer their wordes be. And all these be ouer presumptuously done agaynst vs, and geue suche stignification of their arrogancie, as it is nesarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, leaist they should gather further courage to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter, if we had not evidently perceyued the lack of such affection as proximity of bloud should require, we would much rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximity of bloud to our Nephewe, than we did heretofore the inuasion of his father. But considering we be so surely ascertayned of the lack thereof, and that our bloud is there frozne with the colde aire of Scotlande, there was neuer prince moze violently compelled to warre then we be, by the unkinde dealing, vnjust behauior, vnprincely demeanoz of him that yet in nature is our Nephewe, and in his actes and deedes declareth himselfe not to be moued therewith, ne to haue suche earnest regard to the obseruation of his pactes and leagues, ne such respect to the intertainment of the administration of Justice, as naturall equitie byndeth, and conseruation of amity doth require: which we much lament and be soze for, and haue no we our force and puyssaunce agaynst him, not for reuengement of our private displeasure (beyng so often deluded as we haue beene) but for recovery of our right, the preseruation of our subiectes from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues as haue passed betweene vs, firmly trustyng, that almightie God vnder whom we reigne, will assist and ayde our iust proceedings herein to the furtheraunce and aduancement of the right, which we doubt not shall euer preuaile agaynst wrong, falshood, decept, and dissimulation.

Hetherto it appereth howe this present warre hath not proceeded of any demaund of our right of superiority, which the kinges of Scots haue alwaies knowleged by homage and fealtie to our progenitozs euen from the beginning: But this warre hath bene prouoked and occasioned vpon present matter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrong ministred by the Nephewe to the Uncle most vnaturally, and supported contrary to the desertes of our benefites most vnkindly. If we had minded the possession of Scotland, and

by

by the motion of warre to attaine the same, there was neuer king of this realme had moze oportunitie in the minority of our Nephewe. For in anye other realme a prince that hath moze iust title, moze euident title, moze certaine title, to any realme that he can claime, then we haue to Scotland, not deuised by pretence of mariage, not imagined by couenaunt, nor contrived by inuention of argument, but lineally descended from the beginning of that estate established by our progenitozs, and recognised successively of the kinges of Scotlande by deedes, wordes, actes and wytyngs continually almost without interruption, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitoz king Henry the first, in whose time the Scottes abused the ciuill warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnesse, in omitting of their duetie: which for the proximity of bloud betweene vs, we haue bene facke to require of them, beyng also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer bene alwayes glad, rather without prejudice to omit to demaunde our right if it might conserue peace, then by demaunding thereof to be sene to moue warre, specially agaynst our neighbor, agaynst our Nephewe, agaynst him whome we haue preserued from daunger, and in suche a time as it were expedient for all christendome to be vniite in peace, wherby to be the moze able to resist the common enimie the Turke.

But for what considerations we haue omitted to speake hetherto of the matter, it is neuerthelesse true, that the kinges of Scottes haue alwayes knowleged the kinges of England superior Lordes of the realme of Scotlande, and haue done homage and fealtie for the same.

This appereth first by historie, wyitten by suche as for confirmation of the truth in memorie, haue truly noted and signified the same.

Secondly it appereth by instruments of homage made by the kinges of Scottes, and diuers notable personages of Scotlande, at diuers and sundrie times sealed with their Seales, and remainyng in oure treasure. Thirdly it appereth by Registers & Records iudicially and authentically made, yet preserued for confirmation of the same. So as the matter of tytle beyng most playne, is furnished also with all maner of euidences for declaration thereof.

First as concerning histories, which be called bytnesses of times, the light of truth, and the life of memorie, and finally the convenient waye and meane, whereby the things of antiquitie maye be brought to mans knowledge, they shew as playnely this matter as could be wyshed or required, with such a consent of wyriters, as could not so agree vpon an vntruth, conteyning a declaratio of such matter as hath most euident probabilitie and apperaunce. For as it is probable and likely, that for the better administration of iustice amongst rude people, two or moe of one estate might be rulers in one Countrie vniite, as this Isle is: so is it probable & likely, that in the beginning it was so ordered for auoyding dissension, that there should be one superior in right, of whome the sayde estates should depende. According

Scotland,

Scotland,

The title of  
Scotland  
is  
the  
kinges  
of  
England  
be  
the  
first  
Lords

State of  
whome this  
realme was  
first called  
Britaine.



Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Lochrine that now is called England: unto whom as being the elder sone, the other two brethren should doe homage recognising and knowleging him as their superior. Now consider if Brutus conquered all this Ilande, as the historie sayth he did, and then in his abone time made this order of superiority as afoze: how can there be a tytle deuised of a moze playne beginning, a moze iust beginning, a moze conuenient beginning for the order of this Iland, at that time specially when the people were rude, which cannot without continuall strife and variaunce conteyne two or three rulers in all points equal without any maner of superiority, the inwarde conscience and remorse of which superiority should in some part dulle and diminish the peruerse courage of resistance and rebellio. The first diuision of this Ile we find it wrytten after this sort without cause of suspicion why they should wryte amisse. And according hereunto we find also in histories set forth by dyuers, howe for transgression agaynst thys superiority, our predecessors haue chastised the kings of Scottes, and some deposed, and put other in their places.

We will here omit to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not distinctly to commit to wryting, but some authors, as Anthonius Sabellicus amongst other diligently enserching, what he might truely wyte of al Europe, and the Ilandes adioyning, ouer and besides that which he wryteth of the nature, maners, and conditions of the Scottes, which who so list to read, shall finde to haue bene the verie same in times past, that we finde them now at this present, he calleth Scotlande part of Englande, which is agreeable to the deuision afozesayde, beyng in dedde as in the lande continuall without seperation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie brite unto the same, as by particuler declarations shall most manifestly appere by the testimonie of suche as haue left wryting for prooffe and confirmation therof. In which matter passing ouer the death of king Humber, the actes of Dunwald king of this realme, the deuision of Belin and Bzene, the victories of king Arthur, we shall beginne at the yere of our Lorde. 900. which is .642. yeres past, a time of sufficient aunciency from which we shall make speciall declaration and euidence of the execution, of our right and title of superiority, euermoze continued and preserved hether to.

Edwarde the first befoze the conquest, sonne to Alured kyng of Englande had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notozious and manifest, as Maryan a Scot wryting that storie in those dayes, graunteth, confesseth, and testifieth the same, & this dominion continued in that state. xxiiij. yere: At which tyme Athelstaine succeeded in the crowne of Englande, and hauing by battayle conquered Scotlande, he made one Constantine king of that partie, to rule and gouerne the Countrie of Scotland vnder him, addyng this princely worde, that it was moze honoz to him to make a king, then to be a king.

Twentie and foure yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde 947. Eldred king our progenitor, Athelstaines brother, tooke homage of Trise then king of Scottes.

Thirtie yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lorde .977. king Edgar our predecessor tooke homage of Kinald king of Scots. Here was

The homage of the Scottes done to the king of Eng land from times to times.

To make a king is moze honozable then to be a king.

Arnald king of Scottes.

was a little trouble in Englande by the death of Saint Edwarde king and martir, destroyed by the deceit of his mother in law: but yet within memory. Forty yeres after the homage done by Kynald to king Edgare, that is to saye, in the yere of our Lorde. 1017. Malcolme king of Scottes did homage to knite our predecessor. After this homage done the Scottes bitred some piece of their naturall dispoition, whereupon by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the Confessor. xxxix. yere after that homage done, that is to saye, the yere of our Lorde. 1056. Malcolme king of Scottes was banquished, and the realme of Scotland geuen to Malcolme his sonne by our sayde progenitor saint Edward: unto whome the sayd Malcolme made homage and fealtie.

Malcolme king of Scottes.

Within .xi. yeres after that William Conquerour entered this realme, whereof he accounted no perfect conquest, untill he had likewise subdued the Scottes, and therefore in the sayde yere, which was in the yere of our Lorde a thousand. lxxiiij. the sayd Malcolme king of Scottes did homage to the sayde William Conquerour, as his superior by conquest kyng of Englande.

William the Conquerour.

xxv. yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde. M. xciiij. the sayde Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conquerour: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewise sayled of his dutie, and therefore was ordeyned in that estate by the sayde William Rufus, Edgar brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did his homage and fealtie accordingly.

Seuen yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lorde. M. C. the sayde Edgar king of Scottes, did homage to Henry the first, our progenitor.

Edgar king of Scottes.

xxviiij. yere after that David king of Scottes did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heyre to Henry the first. Wherefore being after requited by Stephen, then obteynnyng possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the sayde Matilde, and thereupon forbore. After which Dauidys death, which ensued shortly after, the Sonne of the sayde Dauid made homage to the sayde King Stephyn.

David king of Scottes.

fourtene yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lorde. M. Cij. William king of Scottes, and David his brother, with all the Nobles of Scotland made homage to Henry the secondes sonne, with a referuation of their duetie to Henry the second his father.

William king of Scottes.

xxv. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lorde. M. Cxxv. William king of Scotland, after much rebellion and resistance, according to their naturall inclination, king Henry the second, then beyng in Normandie, William then king of Scottes knowleged finally his error, and made hys peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the Nobilitie of Scot and, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within .v. yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde. M. C. lxxx. the sayde William king of Scottes, came to our Citie of Cauntorburge, and there did homage to our noble progenitor King Rycharde the first.



fourtene yeres after that, the sayd William did homage to our progenitor king John, upon a hill besydes Lyncolne, making his othe upon the Crosse of Hubert then Archbishop of Cauntorbury, beyng there present a merueylous multitude assembled for that purpose.

Alexander  
king of  
Scottes.

xxvi. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord. M. CC. xvi. Alexander king of Scottes maryed Margaret, the daughter of our progenitor Henry the thirde, at our Citie of Porke, in the feast of Chyrlmasse: at which time the sayde Alexander king of Scottes repayed to the sayde feast of coronation, and there did his dutie as aforesayd.

John Bay  
koll king of  
Scottes.

Within. xxviii. yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde. M. CC. lxxxi. John Balioll king of Scottes, made his homage and fealite to the sayd king Edward the first, our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruce to vsurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to moue sedition therefore, agaynst them of the house of Baliol, which made for a season some interruption in the sayde homage: but yet no intermission without the termes of memorie. For within. xliii. yere after, which was the yere of our Lorde. M. CCC. vi. Edward Balioll after a great victorie had in Scotland agaynst the other faction, and enioyng the Crowne of Scotland made homage to our progenitor Edward the thirde.

Dauid  
Bruce king  
of Scottes.

And. xx. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord. M. CCC. xvi. Dauid Bruce, who was euer in the contrary faction, did neuertheless in the title of the Crowne of Scotland, wherof he was then in possession, make homage to our sayd progenitor Edward the thirde.

Edward  
Balioll  
king of  
Scottes.

Within. ix. yeres after this, Edward the thirde, to chastice the infidelity of the Scottes, made warre agaynst them: where after great victories, Edward Balioll hauyng the iust and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendered ceterely the same to our said progenitor at the towne of Roxborough in Scotland: where our sayd progenitor accepted the same, and then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a tyme enterterned it, and enioyed it, as very proprietary and owner of the realme, as on the one party by confiscation acquitted, and on the other part by free will surrendered vnto him.

James  
Stewart king  
of Scottes.

And then after the death of our sayd progenitor Edward the thirde, began sedicions and insurrections in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitor Richard the second, which was augmented by the alteration of the state of the sayd Richard, and the deuolution of the same, to Henry the fourth, so as the Scottes had some leysure to play their bagues, and folow their accustomed maner. And yet Henry the fift for recovery of his right in Fraunce commaunded the king of Scots to attend vpon him in that iourney. And in this time the realme of Scotland beyng descended to the house of the Stewardes, of which our prepheto directly commeth, James Stewart king of Scottes, in the yere of our Lorde. M. CCC. xxiiij. made homage to Henry the fift at Windsoze. Which homage was distant from the tyme of the other homage made by Dauid Bruce. lx. yeres and more, but farre within the freshe memorie of man.

All which homages and fealties as they appere by story to haue bene made and done at times and season as aforesaid: so do there remaine instrumentes made thereupon and sealed with the seales of the kinges of Scotland testifying the same. And yet doth it appere by story, howe the Scottes practised

practised to steale out of our treasury diuers of these instruments, which neuertheless were after recovered againe. And to the intent ye may knowe of what fourme and tenour the sayd instrumentes be, here is inserted the effect in worde and sentence as they be made, which we do, to mete with the cauellation and contriued euasion of the Scottes, allegyng the homage to haue bene made for the Erledome of Huntyngdon, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hande, to say he was cut with a Sicke. And therefore the tenour of the homage is this.

I John. A. king of Scottes shall be true and faythfull vnto you Lorde Edward by the grace of God king of England, the noble and superiour Lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I holde, and clayme to holde of you: and I shall beare to you my fayth and fidelitie of life and limme, and worldly honour agaynst all men, and faythfully I shall knowlege, and shall do to you seruite due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesayd, as God so help and these holy Euangelistes.

The oth that  
the king of  
Scots tak. th  
when he doth  
his homage.

Now for the thirde part touchyng recordes and registers, we haue them so formall, so autentiquall, so seriously handled, and with suche circumstances declaryng the matters, as they be ought to be a great corroboration of that hath bene in stories written and reported in this matter. For amonges other thynges, we haue the solempne act, and iudiciall processe of our progenitor Edward the first, in discussyon of the title of Scotland, when the same was chalenged by. xli. competitor: That is to say.

Of this ye  
may see  
more in the  
xxiiij. yere of  
king Edward  
the first

- |                                      |                         |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Florentinus comes Holandie,          | Patricius Galightly.    |
| Patricius de Dubar comes de Merchia, | Rogerus de Mundeuille   |
| V Villielmus de Vesty                | Ioannes de Comyn.       |
| V Villielmus de Ros                  | D. Ioannes de Haltinges |
| Robertus de Pinbeny                  | Ioannes de Balliolo     |
| Nicholaus de Soules                  | Robertus de Bruce       |
|                                      | Ercius rex Norvegie.    |

And finally after a great consultation and mature deliberation, wyth discussion of the allegations proponed on all parties, sentence was geuen for the tittle of Baliol, accordyng wherevnto he enioyed the realme. But for confirmation of the ductie of the homage before that tyme obserued by the king of Scottes, it appereth in those recordes howe when those competitor of the realme of Scotlande repaired to our sayde progenitor, as to the chiefe Lorde for discussion of the same, in as much as the aucthoritie of the iudgement to be geuen depended thereupon: It was then ordered that the whole parliament of Scotlande, spirituall, tempoꝛall and of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considering vpon what grounde and foundation the kinges of Scotlande had in tymes past made the sayde homages and recognition of superiortie, the sayde parliament finding the same good and true, should if they so denied it, yeelde and geue place, and by expresse consent recognise the same. At which parliament was alleged vnto them, as appereth in the same recordes, not onely these actes of the Princes before those dayes, and before reherfed: but also besides the testimonie of stories, the wrytings and letters of foꝛeyn princes, at that time recityng and reherfing the same: wher vpon the sayde parliament did there agree to this

our



our superiortie, and ensuyng their determination did particularly and severally make homage and fealtie with proclamation, that whosoever withdrew himselfe from doynge his ductie therein, should be reputed as a rebel: And so all made homage and fealtie to our progenitor Edward the first. The realme of Scotland was in the time of the discussion of the title ruled by Gardians deputed by him and all Castels and holdes were surrendered to him as to the superior Lorde in the time of vacation, benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that time from the mere gift of our sayde progenitor, as in the right of this crowne of Englande, Shirifes named and appointed, wittes and preceptes made, obeyed, and executed: and finally all that we doe now in the Duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitor for the tyme of our contention for that tytle in the realme of Scotlande, by the consent of an agreement of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At which time the Bishops of saint Andrewes and Glascoo were not as they now be Archebishops, but recognised the Archebishop of Yorke, which extended ouer all that Countrey.

Nowe if the Scottes will take exception to the homage of their princes as made in warre and by force which is not true: what will they saye or can they for shame allege agaynst their awne parliament, not of some but of all confirmed and testified by their writings and scales: whereunto nothing enforced them, but right and reason, beyng passed in peace and quiet without armour or compulsion. If they say they did it not, they speake lyke the mischies, if they say they did it, then doe they now lyke themselves, to withdrowe their ductie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appereth unto you the beginning of the right of superiortie, with a perpetuall continuance, without intermission within memorie, certayne omission and forbearynge upon the groundes and occasions befoze specified we denie not. Whereby they haue many times sought and taken their oportunitie to withdrowe the doing of their ductie in knowlege of our superiortie over them, which to avoide, they haue not cared what they sayde or alleged, though it were never so untrue: lying alwayes in a wayt when they might annoy this realme, not without their awne great daunger, perill, and extreme detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their ductie, so God ever granted unto this realme force to compell them thereunto within memorie, notwithstanding any their interruption by resilience, which unto the time of our progenitor Henry the sixt never indured so long as it made intermission within time of minde, whereby the possession might seme to be empayred, from the time of Henry the sixt unto the seventh yere of our regne, our realme hath bene for a season lacerate and torne by diuersitie of tytes till oure time and sythence by warre outwardly bered and troubled: The story is so lamentable for some part therof, as were tedious to cherse.

Sythens the death of our progenitor, Henry the sixt our Graundfather Edward the fourth reigned, who after great traueyles to attain quietnesse in this realme, finally in the time of preparation of warre against Scotlande, dyed.

Richard the third then usurped for a small tyme in yeres, whome the King our father by the strength of Gods hande ouerthrew in battayle, and most iustly attained the possession this realme, who neuertheless after the

great

great tempestuous stormes, finding all matters not yet brought to a perfect quiet and rest, ceased and forbore to require of the Scottes to do their duty thinking it policie rather for that time to assay to tame their nature by the pleasant coniunction and conuersation of affinitie, then to charge them with their faulte, and require dutie of them, when oportunitie serued not, by force and feare to constraine and compell them.

And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father, without demaund of this homage. And beyng our reigne nowe foure and thirty yeres, we were .xxj. yere letted by our Nephew his minorite, beyng then moze careful how to bring him out of daunger, to the place of a king, then to receyue of him homage when he had full possession of the same. Wherefoze beyng now passed sithens the last homage made by the king of Scottes to our progenitor Henry the sixt a hundred .xxij. yeere, at which tyme the homage was done at Windesore by James Steward, then king of Scottes, as afoze. Ibj. of these yeres the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble whereof engendered also some businesse in the tyme of the king our father, which was .xxiiij. yere: And in our time .xxj. yere hath passed in the minoritye of our Nephew. So as finally the Scottes resorting to their onely defence of discontinuance of possession, can onely allege iustly but .xiiij. yere of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times sithens the homage done by James Steward, such as the silence in them had they bene neuer so long, could not haue ingendered prejudice to the losse of any ryght, that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to king Edward for not demaunding homage beyng in strife for that estate, wherunto the homage was due? What should Richard the third serche for homage in Scotlande, that had nether right ne leasure to haue homage done unto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowynge the Scottes nature, neuer to do their dutie but for feare, if he demaunded not that of them, which they would exchue if they might, beyng his realme not clerely then purged from yll seede of sedicion, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuile warres befoze.

Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious to the purpose, is not alleageable in prescription for the losse of any right. And the minorite of the king of Scottes hath endured .xxj. yeres of our reigne, which beyng an impediment on their parte, the whole prescription of the Scottes, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced evidently to .xiiij. yeres, which .xiiij. yere without excuse we haue ceased and forborne to demaunde our dutie, like as the Scottes haue likewise ceased to offer and tender the same. For which cause neuertheless we do not enter this warre, ne minded to demaund any such matter, now beyng rather desirous to reioyce and take comfort in the friendship of our Nephew, as our neighbour, then to moue matter unto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate such naturall inclination of loue, as he shoulde haue towarde vs. But such be the woorkes of God, superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due superiortie may be knowne, demaunded and required, to the entent that accordyng thereunto all thinges gouerned in due order here, we maye to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honoz and gloze: which he graunt vs to do, in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shall be meete and conuenient for vs.

When



The king sent a great army into Scotland.

When the king had set forth the declaration of the cause of his warre as is aboue mencioned. Then he sent forth the Duke of Norfolke Liueutenant generall, accompanied with the Erles of Shrewsburie, Darby, Comberland, Surrey, Hertford, Anguyth, Rutland, and the Lordes of the North partes, and s<sup>r</sup> Anthony Browne Maister of the kinges Horse, S<sup>r</sup> John Gage Comptroller of the kinges house, and twentie thousande men well appoynted, which entred Scotlande the .xxi. day of October, and taried there eyght dayes without battayle, and bzent the townes of Barton, Ramrige, Styne, Gradyn, Shylles, Lang Ednem, Newton, Skilshell, Newthorne, Smellem Spittle, the two Herdens, Slederike, and the two Broclawes, flozys and the faire Crotte, Edeem Spittell, Roxborough, Kelsey and the Abbey, Lang Spronstow, Ryden, & Hadpyngton. And while the Duke was at Farneton in Scotland, y fourth day there came to speake with him halfe a myle from the hoste, from the king of Scottes, the Bishop of Orkeney and James Leiremouth Master of the household, to entreate peace, but they agreed not. And the armye lay so longe in Scotland as they might for hunger and colde without any countenance of harme, and so for necessitie returned to Barwicke. And all this iourney the Standard of the Erle of Hampton which died at new Castell, was bozne in the foreward, because he was appoynted Capitaine of the same.

The king of Scottes heeryng that the armie was returned, rased an armie of .xv. thousand chosen men of all partes of his realme vnder the guydyng of the Lord Marwell Wardeyn of his west Marches, bostyng to tarry as long in England, as the Duke did in Scotland. And so on Friday beyng Saint Katherynes euen, they passed ouer the water of Esk, and bzent certaine houses of the Greues on the very border. Thomas bassard Dacres with Jacke of Musgrave sent worde to s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Wharton Wardeyn for the king on the west Marches, to come on to succor them: howbeit the sayde two ballant Captaines, although the Scots entred fiercelly, yet they manfully and couragiously set on them, with an hundred light horse, and left a stale on the syde of a hill, wherewithall the Scottes were wonderfully dismayde, eyther thinkyng that the Duke of Norfolke had bene come to the West marches with his great armie, or else they thought that some greater armie came, namely when they espyed s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Wharton, commyng with thre hundred men only. But at that time, so God ordeined it to be, that they at the first bzont fled, and the Englishmen folowed, and there were taken prisoners the Erles of Castelles, and Glancarne, the Lorde Marwell, Admirall and Wardein, the Lorde Flemmyng, the Lorde Sommerwell, the Lorde Oliphant, the Lorde Gray, s<sup>r</sup> Oliuer Senclere the kinges minion, John Rolfe Lorde Dragy, Robert Eskyn sonne to the Lorde Eskyn. Carre Lorde of Gredon, the Lorde Marwelles two brethren, John Kelsey Bassard to the Erle of Rothus, and two hundred Gentlemen more, and aboue .viij. hundred common people, insomuch that some one man, yea, and women had thre or foure prisoners. They tooke also .xxiiij. Gunnes, foure Cartes with speares, and ten pavilions. This was onely the handstroke of God, for the Cardinall of Scotland promised them heauen for destruction of England.

The king of Scottes tooke a great thought for this discomfiture, and also because that an English Herald called Sommerfet was slain at Dunbarre,

The victory at the water of Esk.

A great number of the Nobilitie of Scotland taken prisoners.

This was called the battail of Solymie Halls.

The death of the Scottish king.

barre, which things together he tooke so impatiently, that he dyed in a frensie. Although many reported that the king himselfe was at this bickeryng, and there receyued his deathes wound, and fled therewith into Scotlande. But howsoener it was, true it is as is aforesayde he dyed, and the Queene his wyfe was deliuered of a daughter, on our Ladie euen before Christmas called Mary. Of the prisoners aforesayd .xxiiij. of the chiefe of them, were brought by to the Tower of London, and there were two dayes. And on saint Thomas day the Apostle before Christmasse, they were solemnly conueyed through London to Westminster, where the kinges Counsaile late, and there the Lord Chaunceloz, declared to them their vnruth, unkindnesse, and false dissimulation, declaryng farther how the king had cause of warre against them, both for the dewyng of their homages, and also for their trayterous inuasions without defiaunce, and also for keepyng his subiectes prisoners without redemption, contrary to the olde lawes of the Marches, for which doynges, God as they might perceyue had scourged them: Howbeit the king more regardyng his honour, then his Princely power, was content to shewe to them kindnesse, for unkindnesse, and right for wrong. And although he might haue kept them in straight prison, by iust lawe of Armes, yet he was content that they should haue libertie to be with the nobles of his realme, in their houses. And so accordyng to their estates, they were appointed to Dukes, Erles, Bishops, Knightes and other Gentlemen, which so entertained them, that they confessed themselues neuer to be better entertained nor to haue had greater there. But after their new gladnes, tidyngs came to them, of the death of their king, which they sore lamented, and heeryng that he had left an only daughter his heyre, they wisshed her in England, to be married to the prince the kings sonne. The king and his Counsaile, perceyving the ouerture nowe to be made, which way without warre these two realmes might be brought into one, sent for all the prisoners few lackyng, to his Manor of Hampton Court, on saint Stephens day, where they were so well entertained, both of the king and his nobles, that they sayd, they neuer saw king but him, and sayd that God was better serued here, then in their Countrey: howbeit their Birkmen preached, that in England was neither Masse, nor any seruice of God. And they promised the king, to do al that in them lay with their frendes to performe as much as he required. Wheredpon not without great rewardes, they departed toward Scotland on Newyeres day, and by the way they saw the Prince, and came to Newcastell to the Duke of Suffolk, who vpon hostages deliuered them, and so they entered Scotland and were well and gladly welcomed.

Likewise the Erle of Angus, which was banished Scotland, and had of the kinges fee, yerely a thousande marke, and Sir George Douglas hys Brother had fine hundredth Marke. These were accepted into Scotland, and restored by the last kinges will, and the Erle of Angus and diuers of the Lordes that were prisoners, were made of the priue Counsaile of the realme, by the Erle of Arrein, gouerno<sup>r</sup> of the yong Queene, and the realme, as next heire apparant: notwithstanding that the Archebishop of Saint Andrews and Cardinal, enemye mortal to the king and realme of England, for the Bishop of Romes auctoritie (and partly set on by the French king, for the same cause) had forged a will, that the king had made him Gouernour,

The birth of Mary daughter to the king of Scottes.

The first mention of the marriage of the heyre of Scotland with prince Edward here of England began of the Scottes.



uermour, associate with two Erles of his affinitie, both of the realme and of the young Queene, contrary to the lawes of Scotland. Whereupon the sayd Erle of Arrain, accordyng to his right, with the helpe of his friendes, tooke vpon him the rule of Gouvernor, and put the sayde false Cardinall in prisen, and deliuered sir Robert Bowes and other prisoners, by their bandes, accordyng to the custome of the Marches. And so in March next folowynge, the Scottes began their Parliament.

All this yere there was neither perfite peace, noz open warre, betwene England and Fraunce, but ships were taken on both sydes, and Marchants robbed. And at the last the Marchauntes goodes on both parties were seized, and likewise the Ambassadors of both realmes were slayed: howbeit shortly after, the Ambassadors were deliuered, but yet the Marchauntes were robbed, and no warre proclaymed.

In the end of this yere, came from the Gouvernor of Scotlande as Ambassadors, sir William Hambleton, James Leymouth, and the Secretorie of Scotland, whose message was so meanelly liked, that they were faine to sende an Herald into Scotland, for other Ambassadors, and so hether came the Erle of Glancarne, and sir George Douglas, and whatsoeuer their answer was, sir George returned in post, and within .xx. dayes, came againe with an honest answer, but that honestie endured a small tyme.

In the beginning of thys yere on Trinitie Sunday, was a rebw league sworn betwene the king and the Emperour at Hampton Court, to be friends to their friendes, and enemies to their enemies.

The thirde daye of June came to the Court, from the realme of Irelande, the Lorde Obryn, the Lorde Hacke William Brough, the Lorde Hacke Gilpatrick. And in Iulye the sayde Obryn was created Erle of Colvoun, and Lorde Hacke William was created Erle of Claurikard, and syr Dunon Obryn was made Baron of Ebzanky, and so with rewardes they toke their leaue, and returned. Also the same Moneth the Scottishe Ambassadors returned with great rewardes.

At this season the king and the Emperour sent Garter and Ceylon kings at armes to demanda certayne things of the French king, which if he did denie, then to desie him, but he would not suffer them to come within his lande, and so they returned. Whereupon the sayde demands were shewed to the Ambassador at Westminster. And in Iuly the king sent over sixe thousand tall men, wherof was Capitayne generall, syr John Malloy, and syr Thomas Seymour Marshall, and syr Richard Cromwell Capytayne of the horsemen, which assaulted a towne called Laudersey, vnto the which assault came the Emperour in proper person: And shortly after came doone the French king in proper person with a great armie, and offered the Emperour battayle, by reason wherof the siege was raysed, and streight the Frenchmen bittayled the towne, which was the onely cause of their commynge. For the next day the Emperour beyng redie at the houre appoynted to geue battail, & the french men made great shew, as though they would haue come forward, but they dalyed of al that day, and in the night they ran away, and trusted some to their horses, and some to their legges lyke tall felowes.

And in thys time by reason of a statute that was lately made, commonly called the statute of sixe articles, there was many men in trouble namely at

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A peace concluded betwene the Emperour and the king of England. Certaine Irish Lordes come into England.

warre with France.

Laudersey.

at Wyndsoze, but for this and suche other that concerne religion, I referre you to the boke of the monuments of the Church published by maister Fox.

The Lords of Scotland who in the last yere (as you haue heard) were taken prisoners in England, were at New yeres tyde released and sent home ransom fre into Scotland vpon their othes and promise to do that in them lay for the conclusio of a mariage to be had betwene Mary the sole and only heire of Scotland, and Edward the prince and heire of England, who immediately vpon their returne did cause to be sommoned & conuocated a parliament in Scotland, and in the same concluded, agreed & determined the aforesaid mariage, and confirming their act vnder their great seale, sent the same vnto king Henry the eight. And for the better conclusion and solemnization thereof: there was time and place appointed: But here vnto the Cardinal of saint Andrewes would not agree: Wherefore the Lordes committed hym to safe custodie, and shortly after by the meanes of the French king, the Lordes of Scotlande went from all that they had done, and namelye the Lorde Hambleton the gouernour, who went both from his oth and promise, the which was the occasion that king Henrye made agayne newe promise for warre, and sent into Scotlande a great power to theyr no little losse and detryment, as in the yere next following shall be shewed.

This yere was in London a great death of the pestilence, and therefore Michelmass terme was adiourned to saint Albones, and there was it kept to the ende.

In the weke of Christmasse came to the king to Hampton Court Ferdinando de Gonzaga Viceroy of Sicile prince of Malfeta Duke of Juano Capytaine generall of the chualrie and armie of the Emperour Charles, which came to the king to appoint what time the armie and the Emperour should be readie to invade Fraunce, and the appointment taken he departed and had for his rewarde a. C. liii. ounces in golden plate, and foure thousand three ounces in gyrlt plate, which all was very curiously wrought. And all the time that he lay here, he lay at the kings cost.

The Sunday before Christmas was Lord William Parre, brother to the Queene, which had married the daughter and heire of Lorde Henrye Burchier Erle of Essex, at Hampton Court, created Erle of Essex. And sir William Parre knight Uncle to them both, was made Lorde Parre of Hoxton and Chamberlayne to the Queene. And on Newyeres day was Sir Thomas Wriothesley the kings secretarie, made Lorde Wriothesley of Tichefelde.

Also this yere was open warre proclaymed with Fraunce, and licence geuen to the kings subiectes to seaze vpon the french men and their goods, as in like cases before had bene accustomed.

This yere the king sent a great armie into Scotlande by Sea, and he made the Erle of Hertford Lieutenaut generall of the same. And the Viscount Lisle high Admirall, which halpaunt capitaynes so sped them, that the thirde day of May the Lorde Admirall arriued with all his flecte, which was two. C. sayle in the Fryth, where hee landed dpuers of hys men, and there tooke diuers vessels, which after did high seruire. And shortly they approached vnto the towne of Lith where they landed their men, and marched forward in thre great battayles, wherof the Lorde Admirall led the ha-

wardes, C t t t . j .

A pestilence. Michelmass terme kept at saint Albones

Lord William Parre created Erle of Essex.

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A great army sent into Scotlande.



warde, the Erle of Shrewesburge the arerwarde, and the Noble Erle of Hertford being Lieutenaunt of the battaile: where they founde the Scottes assembled to the number of sixe thousande horsemen beside footemen to stop the passage of the army. And at the first the Scottes made towarde the Englishe men as though they woulde haue set on the bawarde, but when they perceyued the Englishe men so willing to encounter with them, namely the Cardinall who was there present, which perceyued the deuotion the Englishe men had to see hys holynesse, after certayne shot on both sides, they made a sodayne retreat, and leauing their artillarye behinde them fledde towarde Edenborough. The first man that fled was the Cardinall like a valiaunt Champion, and with him the Gouernour, the Erle of Huntley, Murray and Bothwell, with many other great men of the realme. And shortly after the English men mauger all the Scottes might doe, entred the towne of Lich where that night the army encamped them, and there they found such riches as they thought not to haue founde in any towne of Scotland.

Lich taken and spoiled.

The next day the Armye went towardes Edenborough towne, and when they aproched nere, the Prouost of the towne accompanied with one or two Burgessees, and two or three Officers at armes desired to speake with the kings Lieutenaunt, and in the name of all the towne said, that the keys of the towne should be deliuered vnto his Lordship conditionallye that they might goe with bag and baggage, & the towne to be saued from fire: Wherevnto answer was made by the sayd Lieutenaunt, that whereas the Scots had so manifestly broken their promises confirmed by othes and Seales and certefied by the whole Parliament, as is evidently knowne to the whole worlde, he was sent thether by the kings highnesse to take vengeance of their detestable falshood, to declare and shewe the force of his highnesse sworde to all such as should make any resistance vnto his graces power sent thether for that purpose: And therefore he tolde to them resolutely that vnlesse they would yelde by the towne frankly without condition, and cause man, woman and childe, to issue into the fieldes, submitting them to his will and pleasure, he would put them to the sworde, and their towne to the fire. The Prouost answered that it were better for them to stande to their defence. Wherevpon commaundement was geuen to the saide Prouost and Officers at armes vpon their perill to depart. And forthwith the Lozde Lieutenaunt sent to the baward that they should march towards the towne which courageously set forward, and the Englishe Gunners manfully set on the gates, specially Sir Christopher Morice, that they did beat the Scottes from their Ordinance, and so entred the gate called Cany gate by fine force and there slue a great number of the Scottes: And finally, it was determined by the sayde Lozde Lieutenaunt vtterly to ruinate and destroy the saide towne with fire, which thing immediatly was attempted, but because night was come, the armye withdrew to their campe, & then a fre the next day set fire where none was beioze, which continued that daye and two dayes after burning. And shortly after came vnto this armye by lande foure thousand light horsemen sent by the king, which after they were come, the armie forsoke their shippes and sent them whome laden with spoyle and Gunshot which they founde there, and dislodged their campe out of the towne of Lich, and set fire in euery house, and bzent it to the ground: and so returned home by

Edenborough bzent and spoiled.

by lande, through all the mayne countrey of Scotland, burning and destroyng euery pple, fortresse and Village that was in their walke, and so with great honor to the great reioysing aswell of the kings maiestie as of all his faythfull and louing subiectes, they returned againe into England with the losse skant of fortie persons: and because their great exploit may be the better knowne, here shall follow the names of the chiefe Boroughes, Castels and townes bzent and desolated by this royall army.

The Borough and towne of Edenborough with the Abbey called holy Roode house, and the kings palace adioyning to the same.

The Abbey of New bottle: parte of Huskeborough towne, with the Chappell of our Lady Labret.

Haddington towne with the Friers and Honry. Lawreston with the Graunge, the towne of Lith bzent, and the hauen and Pier destroyed, the Castell and billage of Cragmiller, Preston towne and the Castell, a Castell of Oliuer Sanctlers, the towne of Dumbarre.

- |              |                 |                                |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Dilaw,       | Wester Crag,    | Enderleigh the pile and towne, |
| Broughton,   | Chester Felles, | Crawnend,                      |
| Dudiston,    | Stanhouse,      | The Ficket,                    |
| Beuerton,    | Crauent,        | Shenstone,                     |
| Markle,      | Crapzen,        | Kirkland hyll,                 |
| Hatherwoike, | Belton,         | East Barnes,                   |
| Bowland,     | Butterden,      | Quickwood,                     |
| Blackborne,  | Raunto,         | Bildy and the Tower,           |

Also townes and billages bzent vpon the Sea by the English fleete, which I cannot name the halfe.

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|----------|----------------|--------------------|
| Kinkone, | Saint Minetes, | The Queenes Ferry, |
|----------|----------------|--------------------|
- Parte of Belyntwaynes, the Bzent Islande, with many other whose names I could not come by.

In this yere also the kings Maiestie prepared two great armies to Fraunce, the one was conducted and led by the Duke of Norfolke, and the gentle Lozde Russell Lozde priuie seale, which encamped at Nuttrell and besieged the towne, where they laye a long time, and left the towne as they founde it: The other armie was led by the valyaunt Duke of Suffolke which was the kings Luetenaunt of that armie, and beyng accompanied with the Lozde Chamberleyn, the Erle of Arondell Marshall of the field, and syr John Gage Comptroller of the kings house, & syr Anthony Browne maister of the kings horses, with dyuers & many other Capitaynes: the .xix. day of July encamped befoze Bulleyn on the East side of the same vpon the hill, where after many sharpe skirmishes they gayned first the olde man, and shortly after basse Boleyn.

A great camp at Nuttrell

Bulleyn besieged.

The fourtene day of July the kings maiestie in his royall person passed the seas from Dover to Calice, and the five and twentie day encamped him selfe befoze Bulleyn, on the North side within lesse then halfe a mile of the towne, where his grace remayned till the towne was surrendered vnto his maiesty: the which towne he so sore assaulted and so besieged with such abundance of great ordinaunce, that neuer was there a more valyaunter assault made, for beside the vndermyning of the Castell, tower and walles, the towne was so beaten with ordinaunce, that there was not left one house

The King in his owne person encampeth him selfe befoze Bulleyn.

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whole therein : and so soze was layde to the charge of the Frenchmen that after the king had assaulted them by the space of a Month, they sent forth of the towne to the king two of their chiefe Capitaynes, called Semble- mound, and Mounfire de Haies, which declared that the chiefe Capitayne of the towne with his retinue was contented to deliuer the towne vnto his grace, so that they might passe with bagge and baggage, which request the kings maiestie, mercifully graunted them. And so on the next day, the Duke of Suffolke rode into Bulleyn, to whome in the kings name, they deliuered the keyes of the towne. And at after none departed out of Bulleyn all the frenche men. The number of the men of warre, that were strong and galant, that came out of the towne were of horsmen. lxxij. of foemen. xv. C. lxxij. of Scners eyght hundred, of hurmen. lxxij. of women and children. xix. C. xxij. So there was in all that came out of the towne, foure thousand, toure hundred, fittie and foure, beside a great number of aged, sick, and hurt persons, that was not able to go forth of the towne. The last person that came forth, was Mounfire de Uruiue, great Capitaine of the towne, which when he approched neere the place where the king stode, he alighted from his horse, and came to the king. And after he had talked with him a space, the king toke him by the hand, & he reuerently kneeling vpon his knees, kised his hand, & afterward mounted vpon hys horse, & so departed.

The xxvij. day, the kings highnesse hauing the Lu. de bozne naked befoze him, by the Lorde Marques Dorset, like a noble and halant Conquerour rode into Bulleyn, and all the Trompetters standing on the walles of the towne, sounded their Trompetts, at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of all the kings true subiectes, the same beholding. And in the enteriug, there met him the Duke of Suffolke, and deliuered vnto him the keyes of the towne, & so he roade toward his lodgyng, which was prepared for him on the South syde of the towne. And within two dayes after, the king rode about all the towne within the walles, and commaunded that our Lady Church of Bulleyn, should be defaced & plucked downe, where he appointed a Mount to be made, for the great force & strength of the towne.

When the king had set all thinges there in suche order, as to his wisdom was thought best, he returned, to the great reioysing of all his lo- uing subiectes.

In the meane season, that the king lay befoze Bulleyn, and was like to haue conquered the same, as at the last he did, as befoze you haue heard, the Emperour tooke a peace with the frenche king, to the no little grieffe and displeasure of the kings Maiestie, and that was the cause that the king so sodainly brake by his armie, aswell at Bulleyn, as also at Butterell, and so he returned.

Shortly after, diuers and many sharpe skirmishes were made by the Frenchmen at Bulleyn namely by the Dolphyn, who with a great power in the night season stole vpon Base Bulleyn, takyng there a great sort of sick persons, and women in there beddes, whome without mercy they slue. Howbeit so manfully the Englishmen, which escaped out of Base Bulleyn beha- ued themselves, gettyng weapons out of the highe towne, that they beate the frenche men againe out of the Base Towne, and after with the helpe of the high towne, they slue a great number of them, and so againe poss- sessed

The kings entrance into Bulleyn.

The Dolphyn stealeth vpon Bulleyn and did much hurt.

sed quietly, the sayd Base towne : Besyde I say this skirmishe and many mo, Mounfire de Bees came with. xv. thousand men, and encamped right agaynst the towne on the other syde of the water, extendyng there to haue builded a fort. But the fourth day of February, he was set vpon in his aboue Campe, by the moit valiant and fortunat Erle of Hertford, and Lord Lillie, the Lorde Gray and other : at whose commyng the sayde Mounfire de Bees, with all his puyssaunce fled, leauyng behinde them all their Ordinaunce, Centes, and Plate.

The seuenth day of June, a great armie of Frenchmen, came nere to the haue of Bulleyn, and skirmished with the Englishmen, to the no great gaine of the Frenchmen: but this armie which was accompted to the number of. xx. thousande there encamped, began againe to builde a fort, which before they departed accomplished the same.

In June the Lorde Lisse Admirall of England, with the English flete entered the mouth of Sain, and came befoze new Hauen, where the great armie of France lay, which were two hundred shippes, and. xxvj. Gallies of force, whereof the Bishop of Rome had sent. xx. well furnished with men and money, to ayde the french king. The Englishmen beyng but an hundred. lv. saile, and all great shippes, did not determine to set on the whole nauie, but shot certaine peeces of ordinaunce at them, which caused the Gallies to come abroade, and shot at the Englishmen, which Gallies had great ad- uantage, by reason of the calme weather : twise eche part assaulted other with ordinaunce, but sodainly the winde rose so great, that the Gallies could not endure the rage of the seas : and the Englishmen were compelled to enter the maine seas, for feare of flattes, and so sailed vnto Portesmouth, where the king then lay, for he had knowlege by his espials, that the french armie intended to land in the Isle of Wight, wherefoze he repayed to that cost to see his realme defended.

After the departyng of the English nauie from new Hauen, the Ad- mirall of France, called the Lorde Danibalt, a man of great experiance, halled by his sayles, and with his whole nauie, came to the poyn of the Isle of Wight, called Saint Helenes poyn, and there in good order cast their Ankers, and sent. xvj. of his Gallies daily to the very Hauen of Portesmouth. The English nauie lying in the haue, made them prest and set out towards them, and stil the one shot at the other. But one day aboue al other, the whole nauie of the Englishmen made out, and purposed to set on the Frenchmen: but in their setting forward, a goodly shippe of Englande called the Marye Rose, was by to much folly drowned in the middes of the Hauen, for she was laden with to much ordinaunce, and the portes left open, which were berye low, and the great ordinaunce vnbreeched, so that when the ship should turne the water entered, and sodainly she sank. In her was Sir George Carewe knight, Capitaine of the sayde shippe, and foure hundred men, and much ordinaunce.

At the same tyme certaine of the Frenchmen landed in the Isle of Wight, where there Capitaine was slaine and many other, and were both to theyr great losse and paine, driven againe to their Gallies.

The king perceiuyng the great nauy of the french men to approach, sent letters for men into Hampshire, Sommer set wite, wilshire, and diuers o-

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The building of the newe forte at Bulleyn.

The Marye Rose drowned.

Sir George Carewe knight drowned.



ther places adioynng: which repayed to his presence in great numbers, well furnished with armure and breule, and all thinges necessarie, so that the Isle was garnished, and all the frontiers on the Sea coast, furnished with men in great number.

The french Capitaines hauyng knowlege, by certain fishermen which they tooke, that the king was present, and also of the great power that he had in redinesse, they disankred, and sayled alonges the coastes of Suffex, and a smal number of them landed in Suffex, which neuer returned to their ships, for they were taken by by the way.

When they had searched all the coast, and saw men euer redie to receiue them, they turned the sterne, and returned home again, without any act wortie to be wozitten, done, or enterprised: sauynge that in this meane time theye new Fort against Bulleyn, was strongly furnished and finished.

The number of the frenchmen, as diuers prisoners that were taken in the Isle of Wight, and in Suffex did report, were. lx. And at this tyme the french king wrote to the Emperoz, and declared to him that his armye had gotten the Isle of Wight, the Portes of Hampton, & Portesmouth, and diuers other places, which wrytyng was as true, as the french king hath in all his leagues and promises bene to the king of England.

In August folowynge, the noble Erle of Hertford entered againe into Scotland, with. xij. thousand men, and destroped all the towncs in the middle Marches, and passed to the west Marches, to the great detriment and losse of Scotland, and destroyed Coldingham Abbey: and yet the frenchmen and Scottes which lay at Kelfer, durst not once encounter with him.

In this Moneth died Charies, the noble and balaunt Duke of Suffolke, a hardie Gentleman, and yet not so hardie, as almost of all estates and degrees of men, high and low, rich and pooze, hartily beloued, and his death of them much lamented, he was buried at Windsor.

The. xxiiij. day of Nouember, a Parliament began at Westminster, by aucthoritie whereof, was graunted to the king a subledie of two shillinges bill. pence of the pound, of moueable goodes, and foure shillinges the pounce in lande, to be payed in two yere. And all Colleges, Chaunteries, and Hospitals, were committed to the kings order, durynge his lyfe, to alter and transpase: which his grace at the prorogation of the Parliament, promysed to do to the glorie of God, and the common profite of the realme.

A little before this tyme, the noble and balaunt Lord Lisse, Lorde Admirall, landed in Normandie, and brent the suburbs of Trepport, and diuers villages along the Sea coast, and destroyed and tooke almost all the wyppes in the haueu, which was a riche and a goodly praye, and so returned without any dammage.

The french king sore moued with these doynges, sent Mounfire de Bees with. xij. M. men, which entered into the English pale, besyde Grauelyn, and brent Marke and diuers small villages, and then returned.

Euer in maner were skirmishes and Alarmes betwene high Bulleyn, and the new buyded Fortresse, but the losse ranne euer on the frenchmens side.

This yere was meanes made by the Emperoz, that certaine Ambassadors of England and fraunce might mete to common of a peace, wherupon the king of England sent to Guisnes, Cuthbert Bishop of Durisme, sir William

The Erle of Hertford entered into Scotland.

The death of Charles duke of Suffolke.

A Parliament

Trepport burned.

am Paget his Secretoz, and doctor Tregonell. And the french king sent to Arde a Bishop, the chiefe prestent of Roan, and a Notarie, but no conclusion came to effect. Wherefore the king hauyng perfite knowlege, howe the frenchmen intended to builde a newe Fortresse on Saint Johns rode, betwene Bullein and Calice: which thing had not onely sore distruffed Calice, but dayly had put Bulleyn in trouble. Wherefore he meanyng to preuent so great a mischiefe, sent ouer the noble Erle of Hertford, and the balaunt Lord Lisse Admirall, and many balaunt Capitaynes, with seuen thousand good Souldiours, which gat the rode but two dayes before the frenchmen appointed to haue bene there, and in that place encamped themselves. Mounfire de Bees leader and conductor of all the french affayres, encamped himselfe besyde Hardilow, and durst not once come forth to set on our men, notwithstanding his former preparation and deuice.

These thinges thus hangyng, many great skirmishes were dayly betwene the Bulleinois, and the french Bastillon: and one day the one part lost and the other gayned, and likewise the losers regayned: but in one skirmish were lost. xvi. English Gentlemen, and. lxxx. other, although there were slain three rascall frenchmen, and in this skirmish was slaine, sir George Bolelard. And in a like tournay was slaine sir Raufe Elderkare, Capitaine of the light horsemen, with a few other Englishmen, but yet a great multitude of frenchmen, at that tyme lay on the grounde.

The. xxiiij. day of December, the kinges Maiestie came to the Parliament house, to geue his royall assent, to such actes as there had passed, where was made vnto him by the Speaker, an eloquent oration, to the which it hath euer bene accustomed, that the Lord Chaunceloz made answer, but at this time it was the kinges pleasure, that it should be otherwise, for the king himselfe made him answer, as foloweth woerde for woerde, as nere as I was able to report it.

Although my Chaunceloz for the tyme beyng, hath before this tyme vsed, a very eloquently and substantially, to make answer to such orations, as hath bene set forth in this highe Court of Parliament, yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mynde and meanyng, and the secretes of my heart, in so plaine and ample maner, as I myselfe am and can do: wherefore I takyng vpon me to answer your eloquent oration Maister Speaker, say that where you in the name of our welbeloued Commons, hath both prayed and extolled me, for the notable qualities, that you haue conceyued to be in me, I most hartily thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembraunce of my duetie, which is to endeuor myselfe to obtaine and get such excellent qualities, and necessarie vertues, as a Prince or Governour should or ought to haue, of which giftes I recognise myselfe, both bare and barrein: but of such small qualities, as God hath endued me withall, I render to his goodnesse my most humble thankes, entyndng with all my wit and diligence, to get and acquire to me such notable vertues, and princely qualities, as you haue alleged to be incorporate in my person: These thankes for your louyng admonicion and good counsaile first remembred, I essones thanke you againe, because that you consideryng our great charges (not for our pleasure, but for your defence, not for our gaine, but to our great cost) which we haue lately susteyned, aswell in defence of our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that

The Erle of Hertford and the Lorde Lisse sent to Bulleyn.

Sir George Bolelard slain in the skirmish.

King Henry the eight his answer to the speaker of the Parliament.



that forreffe, which was to this realme most displeasent and noysome, and shall be by Gods grace hereafter, to our nation most profitable and pleasant, haue freely of your awne myndes, graunted to vs a certayne subside, here in an act specifyed, which verily we take in good part, regardyng more your kindnesse, then the profite thereof, as he that setteth more by your louyng heartes, then by your substance. Besyde this hartie kindnesse, I cannot a little reioyce when I consider, the petite trust and sure confidence, which you haue put in me, as men hauyng vndoubted hope, and vnfeyned beliefe in my good doynge, and iust procedynges for you, without my desyre or request, haue committed to mine order and disposition all Chauntries, Colleges, Hospitals, and other places specifyed in a certayne act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glozy of God, and the profite of the common welth. Surely if I contrary to your expectation, should suffer the ministers of the Church to decay, or learnyng (which is so great a Jewel) to be diminished, or poore and miserable people, to be vncircled, you might say that I beyng put in so speciall a trust, as I am in this case, were no trustie friend to you, nor charitable man to mine euen Christian, neither a louer of the public welth, nor yet one that feared God, to whome account must be rendered of all our doynge. Doubt not I pray you, but your expectation shall be serued, more Godly and goodly then you will wishe or desyre, as hereafter you shall plainly perceue.

Now sithence I finde such kindnesse, on your part toward me, I cannot chole, but loue and fauor you, affirming that no pryncer in the world more fauoreth his Subiectes, then I do you, nor no subiectes or Commons more loue and obaye their soueraigne Lord, then I perceyue you do me, for whole defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor if necessitie require my persone shall not be vndaduentured: yet although I wyth you, and you wyth me, be in this petite loue and concord, this friendly amytie cannot continue, except both you my Lordes temporall, and you my Lordes spirituall, and you my louyng subiectes, studie and take paine to amende one thing, which surely is amys, and far out of order, to the which I most hartely require you, which is, that charitie and concord is not amongst you, but discorde and dissencion, bereth rule in euery place, Saint Paule sayeth to the Corinthians, and in the .xiiij. Chapter, Charity is gentle Charity is not enuious, Charity is not proude, and so forth in the sayde Chapter: Beholde then what loue and Charity is amongst you, when the one calleth the other Heretick and Anabaptist, and he calleth him againe Papist, Ppocrite and Pharasay. Be these tokens of charitie amongst you? Are these signes of fraternall loue betwene you? No, no, I assure you, that this lacke of charitie amongst your selves, will be the hinderance and asswaging, of the seruent loue betwene vs, as I sayde before, except this would be salued, and clerely made whole. I must nedes iudge the faultie and occasion of this discorde, to be partly by negligence, of you the fathers and Preachers of the spiritualtie. For if I know a mā which liueth in aduiterie, I must iudge him a lecherous and a carnall persone: If I se a man boast and brag himselfe, I cannot but deeme him a proud man. I se here dayly that you of the clergye preache one agaynst another, teach one contrary to another, inueigh one against another without charitie or discrecion. Some be to stiffe in their olde Sumpsums,

other

other be to busy and curyous, in their new Sumpsums. Thus all men almost be in varietie and discorde, and few or none preach truly and sincerely the worde of God, accordyng as they ought to do. Shall I iudge you charitable persones doynge this? No, no, I cannot so do: alas how can the poore soules liue in concord, when you preachers sowe amongst them in your sermons, debate and discorde? Of you they looke for light, and you bring them to darkenesse. Amend these crimes I exhorte you, and set forth Gods worde both by true preaching and good example geuing, or else I whom God hath appoynted his Vicare, and high minister here, will se these deuisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, accordyng to my very dutie, or else I am an vnprofitable seruaunt, and an untrue officer.

Although I say the spiritual men be in some faulte, that charitie is not kept amongst you, yet you of the temporallie, be not cleane and vnspotted of malice and enuy, for you rayle on Bishops, speake slanderously of Priests, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, both contrary to good order, and Christian fraternitie. If you know surely that a Bishop or Preacher, erreth or teacheth peruerse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Counsaile or to vs, to whome is committed by God the high auctoritie to refoyme and order such causes and behauiours: and be not iudges your selues, of your owne phantasticall opinions, and baine expositions, for in such high causes ye may lightly erre. And although you be permitted to reade holy Scripture and to haue the worde of God in your mother tongue, you must vnderstand that it is licensed you so to doe, onely to infoyme your owne conscience, and to instruct your children and famly, and not to dispute and make Scripture a rayling and taunting stocke, against Priests and Preachers (as many light persons do) I am very sozy to knowe and here, how vnrueerently that most precious iewel the worde of God is disputed, rymed, song, and iangeled in euery Alehouse and Tauerne, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same. And yet I am euen as much sozye, that the readers of the same, solow it in doynge so sayntly and coldely: for of this I am sure, that charitie was neuer so saynt amongst you, and vertuous and godly liuing was neuer lesse bled, nor God himselfe amongst Christians was neuer lesse reuerenced honored, or serued. Therefore as I sayde before, be in charitie one with another, like brother and brother, loue dzed and serue God (to the which I as your supreme heade, and soueraigne Lord, exhorte and require you) and then I doubt not, but that loue and league, that I spake of in the beginning shall neuer be dissolued or broken betwene vs. And to the making of lawes which be now made and concluded, I exhorte you the makers, to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering of the same, or else your labor shall be in vaine, and your common welth nothing relieued. Now to your petition, concerning our royall assent, to be geuen to such actes as hath passed both the houses. They shall be read openly, that ye may heere them. Then were they openly read, and to many his grace assented, and diuers he assented not vnto. This the kinges Oration was to his Subiectes there present such comfort, that the like ioye could not be vnto them in this world. And thus the actes reade, as the maner is, and his assent geuen, his grace rose and departed.

In this tyme there was by the frenche men, a boyage made toward the

the



the Isle of Brasile, with a ship called the Barcke Alger, which they had taken from the Englishe men befoze. And in their way they fortun'd to meete sodainely with a little Craer, of whome was mayster one Goldyng, which Goldyng was a feat and hardie man. The Barcke perceyuing thys small Craer to be an Englishe man, shot at him and bouged him, wherefoze the Craer drewe straight to the great ship, and sixe or seuen of the men lept into the Barcke. The Frenchmen looking ouer the boorde at the sinking of the Craer, nothing mistrusting any thing that might be done by y<sup>e</sup> Englishmen. And so it fortun'd that those Englishmen, which climed into the ship, found in the end therof a great nuber of lime pots, which they with water quenched, or rather as the nature therof is, set them a fyze, & thzew them at the French men that were aboarde, and so blynded them, that those few Englishmen that entered the ship, banquished all that were therein, and draue them vnder hatches, and brought the Barcke cleerly away agayne into England.

1546  
38  
A peace concluded betwene Eng-  
land and  
Fraunce.

In the Month of Aprill, by meanes of dyuers princes, an assemble was had, betwene both the realmes of Englande and Fraunce at Guynes and Arde. There were for the king of Englande, the Erle of Hertford, the Lozde Lisle Admirall, Sir Wylliam Paget Secretary, and Doctor Wotton Deane of Cauntozbury. And for the frenche king, the Lozde Clado Doneball Admirall and Marshall of Fraunce, the Bysshop of Eureux, a President and a Secretary. After long debating and diuers bzeches, a peace was concluded, and proclaymed in the kinges Courte, and in the Citie of London on Whitsonday, with sound of Trompettes. And lykewise was it done at Parys and Roan. For the performauce wherof, the Viscount Lisle Admirall, wyth the Bysshop of Buresine, and dyuers Lozdes, and aboue an hundred Gentlemen, all in Velvet coates and cheynes of golde, went to Parys, and were there solemnly receyued and feasted, and shortly returned.

Ambassadors  
of Fraunce.

After whose returne, the Admirall of Fraunce, accompanied wyth the Bysshop of Eureux, the Erles of Hauteuile, and Williers, and dyuers great Lozdes, besyde two hundred gentlemen well appoynted, tooke hys Galee at Deepe, and hauyng in his companie twelue sayre Galies, well trimmed and decked, sayled into Englande, and neuer tooke lande, tyll he came to Grenewiche, where he was receyued by the Erles of Essex, and Darby, the xix. day of August. And the next daye, he with all his Galies, landed at the Tower wharfe, and on all the bankes by the water syde, laye peeces of ordinaunce which shot of, but especially the Tower of London, where was shot a terrible peale of ordinaunce. And from thence he roade throug London, in great triumph, the Mayoz and the craftes standyng in the streetes in good order, to the Bysshops Palace of London, where he lodged till Bartholmew euen, on which day he was conueyed toward Hampto Court, where in the waye the prince hauyng with him the Archebysshop of Yorke, the Erles of Hertforde, and Huntynghdon, and aboue two thousand horse, met him and embraced him, in such loboly and honorable maner, that all the beholders greatly reioysed and much maruayled at hys wit and audacitie, and so he came to the Court, geuyng the prince the upper hande as he rode. And at the utter gate of the Court, the Lozde Chaunceloz, and all the kinges counsaile receyued him, and brought him to his lodgyng.

On Bartholomew daye, the king richely appareled, welcomed him,  
and

and in great triumph went to the Chapel, where the league was swozne and signed. To tell you of the costly banquet houses that were built, and of the great banquets, the costly Maskes, the liberall huntings that were shewed to hym, you would much maruaile, and scant beleue. But on Fryday folow- yng, he beyng rewarded with a Cupbozde of Plate, to the value of twelue hundred pounde, returned to London, and on Sunday tooke his Galies and departed. Beside this diuers of his companie, had much plate, and manye horses and Greyhounds geuen them. Also the Admirall had geuen to him, of the Citie of London, two flagons guilt, & two parcell guilt, to the somme of an hundred and six and thirtie pounde, beside Wine, Waxe, and Torches: and thus with liberall rewardes and honorable entertainment they retur- ned into Fraunce.

Although this peace pleased both the English and the French nations, yet surely both mistrusted the continuance of the same, considering the olde proverbe, that which the eye seeth, the hart rueeth, for the Frenchmen stil longed for Bulleine, and the Englishmen minded not to geue it ouer: in so much as during the Admiralls of Fraunce being in England, the Capitayne of the newe Fortresse began to make a Pile, euen at the very haven mouth of Bul- leyne: called Chatylsons Cardeyne: but the Lozde Gray Capitaine there, put away the workemen, and tooke away their tooles, and filled the Tren- ches, to the Frenchmens great displeasure. And after, the French king cau- sed vpon a great paine, that all the Trenches and new inuentions, should be cast downe and filled by his owne people, least he should seme to be the brea- ker of the peace.

About Mighelmasse this present yere, Thomas Duke of Norffolk, and Henry Erle of Surrey his sonne and heyre, vpon certaine surmises of trea- son were committed to the Tower of London. And immediately after Christmasse folowing, the king then liyng in extremities of death, the sayde Erle was arreigned in the Gulde hall befoze the Lozde Mayor of London, the Lozde Chaunceloz of Englande, and diuers other Lozdes and Judges, beyng there in commission. The speciall matter objected against him, was for bearing certaine armes supposed to belong to the king, and to the prince. The bearing whereof he denied not, but iustified the same, as of right ap- pertayning vnto hym, and all his auncestors Dukes of Norffolke, and by them bozne time out of minde, without chalenge or impechment. But yet to his inditement he pleaded not guiltie. And for that he was no Lord of the Parliament, he was enforced to be tried by a common enquest of his coun- trie, which founde him guiltie, and ther vpon he had iudgement of death, and shortly after was executed at the Tower hill, whose death was greatly la- mented of many, for that he was a Gentleman endued with great learning and many excellent bertues.

The Duke his father came neuer to any tryall, but was supposed to be attaynted by parliament, which supposed attayndoz was vpon good and iust considerations reuered in the first yere of Queene Marye, where appered not onely the innocencie of the sayd Duke, but to his great honour and com- mendation was declared to be a right valiaunt and true seruaunt to the crowne of Englande.

The king as aforesayde nowe languishing and liyng in the extremes  
of



of death, made his last will and testament, wherein he not onely yelded himselfe vnto almightie God, but also to the order, that during the minoritye of his sonne Prince Edward, his Executors who were to the number of .xviij. whose names shall after be shewed, that they, I say, should also be the counsaylors and ayders of the sayde Prince in all his affayres, aswell priuate as publicke, their names were these.

Thomas Cranmer, Archebishop of Cauntozburpe.

Thomas Wriothesley, Lorde Chauncelloz.

Sir William Pabolet knight of the order, Lorde Saint John, and Lorde great Mayster.

Sir Edward Seymer knight of the order, Erle of Hertforde, highe Chamberleyne of England.

Sir John Russell knight of the order, Lorde Priuie seale.

Sir John Dudley knight of the order, and Viscount Lisle and highe Admirall of Englande.

Cutbert Tunstall Bishop of Durham.

Sir Anthonye Browne knight of the order, Mayster of the horse.

Sir Edmond Mountague knight, chiefe Justice of the common place,

Thomas Bromley knight, one of the Justices of the kings Bench.

Sir Edward North knight, Chaunceloz of the Augmentations.

Sir William Paget knight of the order, chiefe Secretary.

Sir Anthony Denny knight.

Sir William Herbert knight.

Sir Edward Wootton knight, treasurer of Calice.

Nicholas Wootton, Deane of Cauntozbury, and Poete.

So soone as the aforesaid Noble king had finished his last will and testament, as aforesayd, he then yelded hys spirite to almightie God, and departed this world the .xxiiij. day of January in the .ix. yeres of hys reigne, and in the yere of our Lorde .1546. whose corpe according to his will was conueyed w all funerall pompe to the College of Windsoze there to be entred.

This Prince of all other that euer reigned ouer this realme, was most renoumed and famous, and whatsoeuer he attempted, the same had most prosperous successe, aswell in warres, as in all other matters of great importance, wherein he delt farre aboue all other Princes, as may appere thorowout the whole discourse of hys historie. Of personage he was tall and mightie, and in his latter yeres somewhat grosse, in witte and memory most excellent. Of such maiestie tempered with humanitie and gentleness, as was comely in so great and Noble a Prince. In

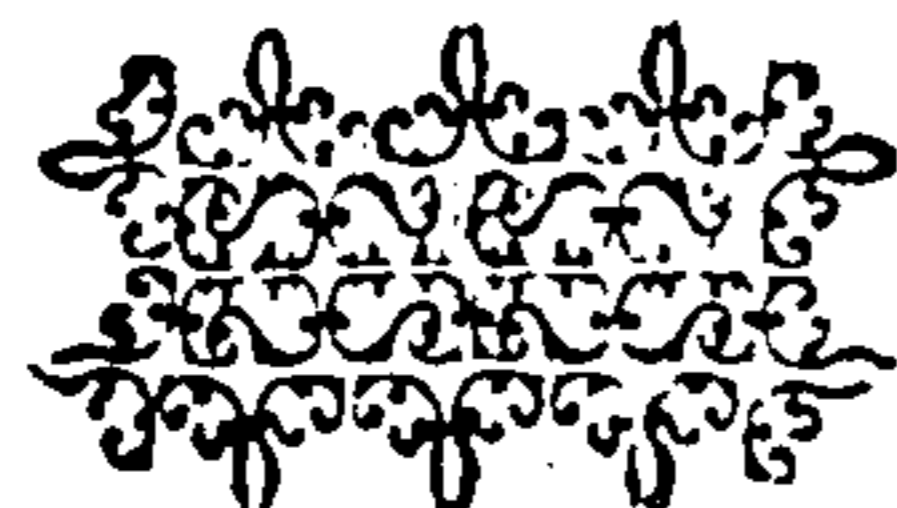
knowledge of good letters, he farre passed all the

kings of this realme that had bene befoze him,

and for his magnificence and liberalitie he

was renoumed thzoughout all

the worlde.



The description of king Henry the eighth.



Soone as God had called to his mercie king Henry the eight as aforesayde, the executors of the sayde king with other of the nobilitie, assembling themselves together, did first by sound of Trompet in the Citie of London the .xxiiij. day of Januarie .1546. proclayme Prince Edward, who was then at Bishops Hatfield, King of this Realme, by the name of Edward the sixt king of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the fayth, and of the Churches of England and Ireland in earth the supzeme heade, he beyng then but .ix. yeres of age, and yet endued with notable vertues and great learning.

Shortly after the Erle of Hertford with other of the Lordes resorted to Hatfield aforesayd, and from thence conducted the king with a great and right honourable companie to the Tower of London. During the tyme of whose abode there, for the honour of his maiestie, and suretie of his royall person, Edward Erle of Hertforde one of his Uncles on the mothers syde, was by order of the Counsaylors afozenamed, or the moze part of them, with the assent of the kinges Maiestie, not onely created Duke of Sommer set, but also openly named and published Gouvernoz of his royall person, & Protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiectes, whose aduancement was well allowed of al the noble men sayng of Thomas Wriothesley Erle of Southhampton, Chaunceloz of England, who for his ouermuch repugnyng to the rest in matters of Counsaile, was not onely depriued from hys office of Chaunceloz, but also remoued from place and aucthoritie in Counsaile, and the custodie of the great Seale of England, which onely belongeth to the Lord Chaunceloz, was by order aforesaid committed to William Lord Saint John, great mayster of the kinges householde, and one of the kinges Executors as aforesayde.

Soone after great preparation was made for the kinges coronation, the which was performed and done at Westminster, the .xxiiij. day of februarye next folowynge (beyng then Shrouesunday) with all the solemnitie and honour that might be, the perticulars whereof I ouerpasse because the lyke hath bene befoze reherfed in this booke in other kinges tymes.

The coronation beyng finished, the kinges Maiestie by the aduice of his Uncle the Protector, and other of his priuie Counsaile, myndynge first of all to seeke Gods high honour and glozy, did therefore entend a reformation in religion, and did not onely set forth by certaine Commissioners or Visitators sundrie Iniunctions for the remouynge of Images out of all Churches to the suppressynge and abandoning of all Idolatrie and superstition within his realmes and dominions, but also certaine Homelies, or Sermons, to be vsually read in the Church vnto the people, which were by his sayde Visitators accompanied with certaine Preachers, thzoughout the realme for the

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better

1546

Edward erle of Hertford created duke of Sommer set and Protector.

Thomas Wriothesley Erle of Southhampton.

The coronation of king Edward.

Iniunctions.

Homelies.



The commu-  
nion in both  
kindes.

better persuasion of the people published and put in vze. At Easter next fo-  
lowyng, he set out also an order throughout all the realme, that the supper of  
the Lorde should be ministred to the lay people in both kindes, that is to say,  
both in Bread and Wine.

These thinges done, the sayd Lord Protector, with the rest of the coun-  
saile, calling to minde the euill vfrage and daliaunce of the Scottes concer-  
ning the matter of mariage betweene the kinges maiestie and the Ladye  
Mary heire of Scotlande, which as you haue befoze heard in the .xxxv. yere  
of king Henry the eyght, was concluded by parliament in Scotland, thought  
it not for the kinges honoz to be in such maner deluded by them. Considering  
therefoze how honozable and profitable it should be for the quyetnesse and  
safetie of both the realmes, that these two princes might ioyne in matrimonie  
did devise sondry wayes and meanes to bringe the same to passe, and the ra-  
ther for the charge which kinge Henry befoze his death (as it is sayd) had  
geuen them. But the Lordes of Scotland were so corrupted by the French  
king and abused by the Scottish clergy, & namely by Cardinall Beton, that  
they fledde from all that they had befoze promised. Wherefoze nowe was  
prepared a great and puyssaunt army to passe by land into Scotlande vnder  
the conduction of the Lord Protector as generall, and the Erie of Warwicke  
Lieutenaut of the armye. And in like maner was appoynted a nauie to  
passe by Sea, whereof the great Galley and .xxiiiij. tall shippes were well  
furnished with men and munitions for the warre, besides many Merchants  
shippes and other smaller vesselles which serued for the carriage of vittayle.  
And of this fleete the Lord Clynton was Admirall, and sir Thomas Wood-  
house Viceadmirall.

Warre with  
Scotland.

Nowe as the Army by land was in a readinesse and set forward  
to be by a daye appoynted at Berwicke, the Lord Clinton with his nauie set  
also forward by Sea, and by Goddes helpe had so good passage that they  
arrived in safetie at Warwicke in time conuenient, and there attended vpon  
the armie which went by lande and passed along the sea coast in such maner  
as the army passed by land. So that alwayes as the army by land lacked vit-  
tayles, the shippes were at hand to vittayle them.

The armie that trauallyed by land marched out of Warwicke the fourth  
day of September, and in good array passed forward into Scotlande five  
daies iourney, befoze they could vnderstand of any army assembled in Scot-  
land. And in their passage they tooke and rased downe to the ground certain  
Castles and holdes, as Douglasse, Anderwicke, Thonetone and the towne  
of Hadington, which towne of Hadington, was after ward fortified and kept  
with a garrison of souldiers as in the course of this history shal after appere.

The Scot-  
tish armie.

In thys meane season the Scottes had assembled a puyssaunt host, este-  
med to the number of thirtie thousand men, who to forstalle our armie from  
further inuasion into the countrie, encamped them selues vpon a streight  
nere to a litle riuer called Esk, foure miles on this side the Citie of Eden-  
borough, minding there to attende our comming, because there was none o-  
ther way conuenient for our armie to passe.

The .ix. day of September both the armies came within the sight of  
eche other, not distaunt by estimation aboue two myles, the riuer of Fryth  
lyng on the East, and a hill called Fauxride Bray on the West, whereon  
standeth

standeth a litle Castle, and the Scottish campe north from vs vpon the Ri-  
uer of Esk afoze sayde within foure miles of Edenborough.

And at this time our men were in no readinesse to fight, nor did not then  
think they should haue battaile. In somuch that the Duke of Somerset lord  
Protector, standing and viewing the Scottes how they aduanced them-  
selues towardes battaile, sayde vnto the Erie of Warwicke who then was  
with him, that for his life the Scottes ment nothing lesse then to fight at  
that time.

But here I thinke it not a myste befoze I go any further to the decla-  
ration of the fortune of this battaile beyng at hande, something to degresse  
and shew what the Lord Protector had done a litle befoze this vnprouided  
battaile, and I do the rather note it, for that I am perswaded that by reason  
thereof, the successe was the moze prosperous.

Ye haue hearde a litle befoze the setting forward of this warre, how to  
auoyde bloudshed and to draw the inconstant nation of the Scottes to con-  
formitie and vnitie, & specially in a matter to none moze profitable and beni-  
ficiall then to themselves, which was to haue aduanced and set forth that  
mariage, that they themselves had by the consent of their whole parliament  
agreed vnto. And for the confirmation of the same had geuen forth to king  
Henry the eyght the great Seale of Scotland, as befoze ye haue heard. The  
kinges maiestie by the aduice of the Lord Protector and other of the pryncy  
counsaile had had with them many and sundry conferences, and had sent  
vnto them many and sundry Ambassadors, and vsed all the meanes that was  
possible to haue reduced them to the performance of their promise, rather  
then to hafard their countrie vpon a conquest. And now seying no traualle  
could preuaile, they were inforced to suffer the two deuouring serpentes of  
the earth, that is the sword and fire to be let lose and to vse their accusto-  
med rage and fury, with consumption of richesse, libertie and life. The dys-  
crete Protector thought yet as the last refuge and meane to attayne peace  
not onely himselfe, but also to moue all other by prayer to call vpon the ayde  
and mercy of almightie God, that it might please his deuine maiestie to mo-  
lifie the hard heartes of the Scottes for the better auoyding of the sheddyng  
of innocent and Christian blood. And for this purpose he caused a speciall  
prayer to be made, which beyng imprinted was published and commaunded  
wth all reuerend deuotion to be sayde in all the Churches of England.

A prayer pub-  
lished for the  
auoyding of  
the effusion  
of Christian  
blood.

But now to retorne againe to the battaile, ye heard that the Armies on  
both sydes approached so nere, that the one was in the others sight: ye heard  
also that the Lord Protector was of opinion, that it was not ment of the  
Scottes to fight at that tyme, but onely that they made a shewe of themsel-  
ues, which he termed to be but a Scottische bragge, howbeit it proued farre  
otherwise. For sodainly the Scottes beyng encamped in a vally by the riuer  
of Esk, arose and made great hast by the hill, minding to haue obteyned the  
hill, the wind, and the sonne, which if they had gotten, then our men had bene  
much hindred, the which thing the Englishmen perceyued, who as then were  
not in good array, neither could their armie of footemen come so soone to the  
recouerie of the hill as they would. Wherefoze to stop the Scottes of their  
purpose, the Lord Gray beyng Capitain of the horsemen, was forced (part-  
ly out of order) to set forward, and to geue the onfet vpon the Scottes, onely

U b b b b, ij.

to



to stay them from the hill. The which English horsemen nobly and valiantly encountered with the Scottes footemen, but the Scottes stood so close, and were so defended with their Pykes, that our men could not enter. By reason whereof diuers of the English Gentlemen that gaue the onset were ouerthrowne and slaine, the which when they that folowed perceyued, they reculed, and in runnyng backe, ranne through a peece of the English arme of footemen (which by this tyme had recovered the hill, and were behinde the English horsemen) and hurt many of them, howbeit the footemen brake not their array, but stood still in good order in the face of the Scottes. The Scottes perceyuing the English footemen to haue recovered the hill, and seing the whole armie readie to geue them the onset, and the batwarde marching towardes them, sodainly (of what occasion no man certainly can tell) they forsakyng their weapons, and their former places fled, the which when our men perceyued, they with a great shout cryed they flie, they flie, & there with all they fled in dede speedily, and our men pursued after in chase as fast, namely our horsemen, and folowed so egerly and with such fiercenelle, that they ouertooke many and spared in dede but fewe. And the chase continued almost the length of fife myles, and al the way was couered with dead men, Pikes, Jackes, Shulles, Swords, Bucklers, Daggers, & other weapons, and the riuer made red with bloud. And at this battail called Muskebrough field, nere vnto a place called Pinkerslough, there were slaine, as some of the Scottes themselues confessed, xiiij. thousand Scottes, among the which number as it was well knowne by credible report, there were slaine of noble men, Lordes, Lardes, and Gentlemen. xxvj. hundred and aboue, and there were taken prisoners of the Scottes. xv. hundred, whereof many were Gentlemen. And among other the Erle of Huntley was one, who was taken by sir Raufe Huane. And within lesse then two yerres folowynge, he made his escape, and gat again into Scotland. And of the Englishmen there were slaine not aboue one hundred persons.

After this battaile finished, with victorie to the great honoz of the Lord Protector, the Erle of Warwike, and other the noble & valiaunt Capitaynes there present, and to the high honoz of the kings Maiestie, and the realme of England, the sayde Lord Protector, considerynge of vertue and well doyng, the proper mede and due reward to be honour, aswell therfore for reward to them that had befoze done well, as also to encourage other hereafter to do the lyke, did adourne many Lordes, Knightes and Gentlemen, with dignities as foloweth.

Sir Raufe Sadler } } Banerettes, or (as I thinke) rather  
Sir Fraunces Brian } } Baronets.  
Sir Raufe Huane }

¶ Knightes.

The Lorde Gray of Wilton.  
The Lorde Edward Seymer.  
The Lorde Thomas Haward  
The Lorde Waldike  
Sir Thomas Dacres  
Sir Edward Hastings  
Sir Edmond Bruges

¶ Knightes.

Sir John Chinne  
Sir Miles Partridge  
Sir John Conway  
Sir Gyles Poole  
Sir Raufe Bagnall  
Sir Oliuer Laurence  
Sir Henry Gates

Muskebrough  
rough field.

Knightes  
made.

St

Sir Thomas Chaloner.  
Sir Fraunces Fleming  
Sir John Gresham  
Sir William Skipwith  
Sir John Wyttes  
Sir George Blagge  
Sir William Fraunces  
Sir Fraunces Knolles.  
Sir William Thorboly  
Sir George Haward  
Sir James Wilford  
Sir Raufe Copinger  
Sir Thomas Wentworth  
Sir John Haruen  
Sir Nicholas Straunge  
Sir Charles Sturton  
Sir Hugh Askew  
Sir Fraunces Dalmyr

Sir Richard Cowley  
Sir Harmaduke Constable  
Sir George Audeley  
Sir John Holcroft  
Sir John Wentworth  
Sir Thomas Danby  
Sir John Talbot  
Sir Rowland Clerke  
Sir John Hozley  
Sir John Foxster  
Sir Hurry Jolley  
Sir Walter Bonham  
Sir Robert Brandlyn  
Sir James Granado  
Sir Christopher Dyes  
Sir Peter Negro  
Sir Alonso de vile.

The noble men and other that vvere Officers, and had the conduction of the aforesayde army vvere these.

The Duke of Sommer set Lorde Protector, generall of the armie, Capitaine of the battaile, wherein were foure thousand footmen.

The valiaunt Lord Lisle, Erle of Warwicke, Lorde Lieutenant of the armie, and had the foreward, wherein were thre thousand footmen.

The Lorde Dacres had the rereward, toherin were thre. M. footmen.

The Lorde Gray of Wilton was high marshall of the armie, and Capitaine generall of all the horsemen, beyng in number foure thousand.

Sir Raufe Sadler knight, treasurer of the actrie.

Sir Fraunces Brian knight, Capitaine of the light horsemen, in number two thousand.

Sir Raufe Albane knight, Lieutenant of all the men of Armes, and Demilaunces.

Sir Thomas Darcy knight, Capitaine of all the kinges Maiesties Pensioners and men of armes.

Sir Richard Lee knight, deuiser of the fortifications.

Sir Peter Petotas knight, Capitaine of the Harkebutters, whiche were in number sixe hundred.

Sir Peter Cambo knight, Capitaine of two hundred Harkebutters on horsebacke.

Sir Fraunces Flemynge knight, Maister of the Ordinaunce.

Sir James Wilford knight, prouost Marshall.

Sir George Blagge, and sir Thomas Holcroft Commissioners of the Musters.

Edward Shelly the Lorde Grayes Lieutenant of the men of armes of Bulleyn, who was the first that gaue the onset, and dyed most honourably in the aforesayde battaile.

John Brenne Capitaine of the Pioners, beyng in number. xiiij. C.

Thomas Audeley and Edward Chamberleyn, Harbengers of the field.

U b b b. iij.

The



The Officers that attended vpon the nauie that passed by Sea were these.

The Lorde Clynton Lorde Admirall of the fleete.

Sir William Woodhouse knight his Viceadmirall.

There were in the armie of great ordinaunce. xii. peeres, and of carriages. ix. hundred Cartes, besyde many Wagons, whereof the Commisarpe generall was George Ferrers

The next day after this battaile, the Lorde Protector with the armye marched forward to the towne of Lithe, where they remayned. x. or. xii. dayes, and there began to make Trenches and fortifications: But because winter approached, & the season of the yere serued not, it was thought good in tyme to returne home to the Borders. And in their returnyng, first they tooke a Castell called Lowthair, and placed for Capitaine thereof sir Hugh Willoughby. And from thence they marched to the Castell of Hunes, where was shewed some face of resistance, but when the Englishmen had planted their ordinaunce and artillery, they yelded, and there was placed Capitaine Edward Dudley esquier, sonne and heyre to the Baron Dudley. And from thence they passed to the Castell of Rokesborough, which beyng a place very meete to kepe frontire warre, the same beyng yelded, was forthwith by the Englishmen fortified, & there was made Capitaine, sir Raufe Bulmer, and so he returned vnto Barwicke, and thether came vnto him, these Lardes and Gentlemen of Scotland, and submitted themselves vnto the king of Englandes obedience and tooke their othe, whose names folow.

- |                         |                         |                    |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| The Lorde Cefford       | The Lard of Marton      | Marke Carre        |
| The Lard of fernyhurst  | The Lard of Howe        | George Carre       |
| The lard of Grencechard | The Lard of Wyddell     | Alexander Mack-    |
| The Lard of Huntill     | The Lard of Remersyde   | dowell             |
| The Lard of Huntley     | ¶ Gentlemen.            | Charles Rothirford |
| The Lard of Markiton    | George Crombill         | Thomas Carre       |
| The Lard of Boniworth   | John Holiburton         | Water Holiburton   |
| The Lard of Ormeston    | Robert Carre            | Richard Hangaside  |
| The lard of Malesteines | Robert Carre of Greidon | Andrew Carre       |
| The Lard of Warmdsey    | Adam Kirton             | James Douglas      |
| The Lard of Linton      | Andrew Weither          | James Carre        |
| The Lard of Egerston    | Saundy? Spozenose       | John Carre.        |

A Lard in Scotland, is a degree next vnder a knight, which we call an Esquier, or such a one as is Lord of a towne.

After that the Lorde Protector had done all the thinges before expressed, he then departed from Berwicke to Newcastell, and there calling to remembrance the worthy seruice done by certayne other gentlemen who before at the makyng of knightes had withdraben themselves from the preferment of honoz, and yet were right worthy thereof, did therefore direct his letters with auctoritie to the Erle of Warwicke, then remayning at Barwicke for the comyng of the Scottish Commissioners, to adorne and aduance to the order of knighthoode these persones following, which was done according y, whose names were these sir Andrew Corbet a right graue and valiaunt Gentleman, a carefull Capitaine ouer his souldiours, and verie skilfull in his peere, and also a strong and worthy Archer, sir Arthur Mainwaring

writing a politiqué Capitayn, sir Thomas Hewell the Lord Hewells brother, Sir Anthony Strelly, and sir Richard Uerney.

During the time that the Lorde Protector was occupied with the Scots as aforesayd, the Lordes of the counsaile that remayned in Englande, with great helpe of Thomas Craumer Archebishop of Cantorburye, and other of the Clergy of the realme, greatly furthered and aduanced religion, and namely the booke of Homelycs and Paraphrase of Crasimus, the which Stephyn Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and other were muche offended as ye may reade at large in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church.

But to returne, when the Lorde Protector had put all thinges in order in Scotland as aforesayd, and had fortified the fortes and Castelles vpon the borders, he returned into Englande, and the Citizens of London heering of his comyng determined to receyue him, and conueigh him thorough the Citie with much ioy and triumph. But he hauing knowlege thereof was offended therewith, and forbade any such tryumph to be made for him, for sayd he if any thing hath bene done to the honoz of the realme, it was gods doing, and willed them to giue him the prayse.

Soone after the comyng home of the Lorde Protector, the kinges maiestie called his high court of parliament, and held the same at Westminster the foure and twentie day of Nouember in the first yere of his reigne, and there continued the same vntill the foure and twentie day of December then next following. And in this parliament among other things, there was geuen vnto the kinges maiestie all Colleges, Chauntries and free Chapels to be bestowed and bled at his pleasure. And also in the same parliament was repealed the estatute of six articles made in the time of king Henry the eyght, and diuerse other tending to that effect.

And in the ende of this yere dyed fraunces the french king, for whome a solempne obsequy was kept in Paules in London, and Henrye his sonne succeeded him in that kingdome.

And here once againe to remember the affayres of Scotland, the king and hys counsaile consyderyng the suretye of the same did not onely consist in makyng of good defence vpon the borders, did therefore deuise for the subiection of the inner part of that lande to haue some speciall forte or place for the better pacifying and keeping quyet of that countrey. And in conclusion they thought it meete to fortifie the towne of Haddington, to the which wyth all speede was sent a garrison to defend the same.

A litle before Ester next following, the king by his Lieger in France was credibly certefied that the french king made great prouision to go into Scotland, for the remouing of the English garrison that kept the towne of Haddington as after ye shall heere.

The king heering these newes, caused new musters to be made, and a newe armye to be rayscd, to be sent into Scotlande for the defence of Haddington. And for this prouision there were first certaine letters sent from the kings maiestie vnto certaine Citezens of London, who before had bene reasseled at a certaine balure of goodes. And in the superscription of the sayde letters, the king named euery one to whome he wrote Esquier, requiring them to haue in a readynesse by a day appoynted certayne Demplaunces, and certaine light horsemen, with all the furniture that to them belonged.

¶ parliament at westminster.

¶ fraunces the french king dead.

1547

2  
¶ newe armie to go into Scotland.

¶ Esquiers made in London.

¶ Of



Of the which letters certaine of the sayd Citezens were very ioyous because of their new dignities, in that they were made Esquiers which is asmuch to say as horsemen: But the grauer sorte could well haue forborne that preferment, and haue remayned footemen as they were before. And this yere the watch in London, which had not bene vled nintene yeres before was againe kept by sir John Gresham then Maior of London, both on the euen of saint John Baptist, and also on the euen of saint Peter next following, as brauely and freshly as it had bene at any time set out before. And the same was much beutefied with the company of horsemen aboue mentioned.

Soone after this, the king was certefied that Mounfire de Esly Lieutenant to the French king, and Peter Strozy and Mounfire Dandelot and a Dutch Capitaine called the Kingraue, with ten thousand men were arriued in Scotland, and had beseged the towne of Haddington: wherefore in all hast possible the king set forwarde his armye. But before the army could come, there went from Berwicke vnder the guyding of syr Robert Bowes and syr Thomas Palmer knightes. xiiij. hundred horsemen, where of were seuen hundred men of armes, and Dumilances. The frenchmen hauing knowlege of their coming, layde a bushement for them, and the most part of them were eyther taken or slayne, namely syr Robert Bowes and syr Thomas Palmer were taken prisoners, howbeit for all this ouertrew, our Englishmen manfully and valiantly defended the towne of Haddington and often skirmished with the frenchmen, and put them to the worffe. The siege of this towne of Haddington by the frenchmen was long, fierce and terrible, and the batterie was so great that no parte of the walles of the towne were left unbeaten downe. Notwithstanding by the manly and valiaunt courage of the Englishmen, and namely of syr James Wilford who was Capitaine of that towne, whatsoeuer was in the day beaten downe by the frenchmen, the same was again forted in the night by the Englishmen, although the slaughter of our men there was so great, that they filled vp their ditches, and made their rampiers with the dead English carcasses. And this siege continued from the .xxviii. day of June vnto the twentieth day of August next following, and then came thither the Erle of Shrewsbury with the army afoze mentioned, which were to the number of fiftene thousand, of the which there were fiue thousand Almaines, whose Capitaine was named Cortpernie.

The frenchmen and Scottes knowyng of the commyng of the English army, departed with speede from the siege of the sayd towne of Haddington, much commendyng and praysyng the English Capitaynes and souldiors, and specially one Capitaine of the frenchmen, at his departure, came to the towne of Haddington, desiryng audience and sayde, God prosper you ye are good souldiors, the honour is yours, and the shame is ours, the which prayse of enemyes beyng boyde of all parcialitie and affection, is commonly most true. So that after the Erle had well bittayled the towne, and furnished the same with fresh and lustie souldiors, he then departed into England. After whose departure, the Englishmen kept the sayde towne valiantly, both agaynst the Scottes and frenchmen, and helde the same vntill the .xx. day of September, in the thirde yere of the reigne of this king Edward. And then it so chaunced by reason of tumultes and rebellion among our selues in

lundrye

Whosome watche.

Haddington in Scotland beseged by the French.

Sir Robert Bowes and sir Thomas Palmer take

Sir James Wilford a valiaunt Capitaine.

The Erle of Shrewsbury victor of Haddington.

The frenchmen flye from the siege of Haddington.

sundrye places within the realme, that the king was forced to send the Erle of Rutland, accompanied with three thousand Almaynes, and three thousand Borderers to the saide towne of Haddington, who rased the same downe to the ground, and brought from thence all their ordinaunce, with all their bag and baggage to Barwicke in all peaceable and quiet maner.

After the returne of the souldiors from Haddington, there happened in London a great mortalitie by pestiencie, and diuers were buryed in the morning before day, and late in the euening, and that in very close maner. Wherefore a commaundement from the king was directed to the Churchwardens, and Curates of euery Parithe in London, prohibityng that no corps should be buryed before sixe of the clocke in the morning, nor after sixe at night. And that there should be at the buryng of euery corps, one Bell rong by the space of three quarters of an houre at the least.

The kinges Maiestie shortly after this, sommoned his high Court of Parliament to be holden at Westminster vpon prorogation the fourth daye of Nouember, in the second yere of his reigne, and there continued the same vnto the .xiiij. day of March next following, which was in the thirde yere of his reigne. And in this Parliament the vse of the Masse was cleene forbydden, and a booke made for the vniiformitie of diuine seruire, and the administration of the Sacraments in the English tongue, was published & set forth.

And in this Parliament also was attainted sir Thomas Seymer, called Baron Seymer of Sudley, brother to the Lorde Protector, high Admirall of England. The causes and articles objected against him, are expressed in the booke of statutes. And the .xx. day of March next following, which was in the thirde yere of the king, he was behedded at the Tower hill, and then it was commonly talked, that the fall of the one brother, would be the ouerthrow of the other, as soone after it came to passe.

After the ende of this Parliament, and at the ende of the next terme, the Lorde Protector's grace, and the rest of the kinges priue and learned counsaile being present in the starre Chamber, called before them all the Iustices of peace, and knightes of the shire, where the Lorde Riche beyng then Lorde Chauncelor, made vnto them this Oration following.

It hath bene vled and accustomed before this tyme, to call at certaine tymes the Iustices of peace before the kinges Maiesties counsaile, to geue vnto them admonition and warnyng, diligently as is their duetie, to looke to the obseruyng of such thinges as are committed to their charge, accordyng to the trust which the kinges Maiestie hath in them. Howbeit at this tyme we call you not before vs of custome, but rather of necessitie: for heryng dayly and perceiuyng as we do, the great negligence and little hede which is taken and geuen to the obseruation of the good and wholesome lawes and orders in this realme, wherupon much disorder doth daily ensue, and the kinges Maiesties Proclamations, and orders taken by the Counsaile (as we are aduertised) not executed, the people brought to a disobedience, and in a maner all his Maiesties studie and ours in setting a good and most godly way to the honour of God, and the quiet of the realme, spent in vaine, and come to nothing. The which as we haue great hope and trust not to be altogether so, yet so much as it is, and so much as it lacketh in keepyng the realme in a Godly order and way, we must nedes impute and lay the fault therof in you which are

Haddington rased and destroyed by the Englishmen.

Pestiencie.

Parliament.

Sir Thomas Seymer attainted and executed.

1548

An exhortacion or rather an admonition geuen to the Iustices of Peace.



are the Iudices of peace in euery shire. To whome we are wont to direct our writynge, and to whose trust and charge the kings Maiestie hath committed the execution of all his Proclamations, of his actes of Parliament, and of his lawes.

We are informed that many of you are so negligent, and so slack, in that that it doth appere that you do rather looke as it were through your fingers then diligently see to the execution of the sayd lawes and proclamations. For if you would accordyng to your duties, to your othe, to the trust which the kings Maiestie hath in you, geue your diligence and care toward the execution of the same most Godly statutes, and Inuincions, there should no disobedience, no disorder, noz euill rule be begon, or aryse in any part of the realme, but it should by and by be repressed, kept downe, and reformed. But it is feared that the thing it selfe geueth occasion thereto, that diuers of you do not onely set forth, but rather hinder, so much as lyeth in you, the kings Maiesties procedynges, and are content that there should aryse some disobedience, and that men should repine against Godly orders set forth by hys Maiestie, you do so slackly loke to the execution of the same: So that in some shires which be farther of, it may appere that the people haue neuer heard of diuers of his Maiesties Proclamations, or if they haue heard, that you are content to wink at it, and to neglect it, so that it is all one as though it were neuer commaunded. But if you do well consider and remember your duties, first to almighty God, and then to the kings Maiestie, the welth of the whole realme, the safegarde and surtie of your awne selues: you must needs see, that except such orders as the kings Maiestie hath set, and hereafter shall appoynt to be kept: Neyther the Realme can be defended, if the enemy should invade, noz in peace it can not stande, but vpon the contempt of good and wholesome lawes, all disorder and inconueniences should come: The people should be wyde and sauage, and no man sure of hys awne. And if at anye tyme there was occasion, and cause to bee circumspect and diligent aboute the same, there was neuer more tyme then nowe. How we stand in Scotlande ye knowe, and that other forreine power maketh great preparation to ayde them, and in deede doth come to their ayde, wherof we are surely informed and certefied. Wherfore if there should not be good order and obedience kept in the realme, the realme were like utterly to be destroyed. Neuer forreine power could yet hurt, or in any part preuaile in this realme, but by disobedience and misorder within our selues. That is the way in the which god will plague vs, if he mind to punish vs. And so long as we do agree among our selues, and be obedient vnto our Prince & to his godly orders & lawes, we may be sure y<sup>e</sup> god is with vs & that forreyn power shall not preuaile against vs noz hurt vs: wherfore once againe and still we must and do lay this charge vpon you that are the best of the shire and Iudices of the peace, that with so conuenient speede as you can, that you do repayre downe into your countreys, & you shall geue warning to the Gentlemen of the shire that haue no necessary businesse here, y<sup>e</sup> they repayre downe eche man to his country, and there both you and they, who be reconed the stay of euery shire, to see good order and good rule kept. Prouide that your Sessions of Gaole deliuey and quarter Sessions be well kept, and there in your meetinges to be such that Justice may be well and truly ministred, the offend

doys

doys and malefactoris punished according to the lawes of the realme without any feare of any man, rather then for fauor ye shall suffer those to escape which with their euill example might bring other to the lyke mishap. And that all Vagabons, all lewde & light taletellers & sedicious bearers of false newes of the kings Maiestie or of his counsaile, or such as will preache without licence, be immediatly by you repress and punished. And if there should chaunce any light or lewde felowes to make any rowtes or ryots or unlawful assemblies, any sedicious meetinges, byprozes or byzpynges in any place, by the sedicious and diuelish mocion of some priuie Traytors, that you and they appease them at the first, and apprehende the first aucthors and causers thereof, and certefie vs w<sup>th</sup> speede. The lightnesse of the rude and ignorant people must be repress and ordered by your grauitic and wisdome. And here you may not (if any such thing chaunce) dissemblye with those such lewde men, and hyde your selues, for it shall be required of you if such misorder be, and surely without your ayde and helpe, or your dissemblyng, such misorder cannot be. For we do not say that we feare any such thing likely to chaunce: But we geue you warning befoze, least it should chaunce, we haue to much experience in this realme what inconuenience cometh of such matters. And though some light persones in their rage do not consyder it, yet we doubt not but you way it and know it well enough. And if it should chaunce our enemies (who is mayntayned by other forreine power and the Bishop of Rome) sodainly to arrive in some places of England, either driven by tempest, or of purpose to do hurt, ye ought to se such orders kept by firing of their Beacons, as hath alreedy bene written vnto you by our letters, to repulse the same in so good array as you can, as we do not doubt but ye will for the safegard of your countreie, so that the enemy shall haue litle ioye of his comming. And for that purpose ye shall see diligently that men haue horse, harnesse, and other furniture of weapon ready, according to the statutes and good orders of the realme and the kings maiesties commaundements, and so for this time ye may depart.

Here is to be noted, that accordyng to the olde adage, Man purposeth but God disposeth. The cause that the former and earnest admonicion was made, specially at this tyme, was onely for feare of the landyng of forreyn powers within this realme. For true it is, that the kings maiestie by the aduice of the Lorde Protector and other of his Counsaile minded this yere the conquest of Scotland, and for the same had made great prouision aswell beyond the sea in Germanie, from whence he had five thousande Launceknights, whose Capitaine was Cortpeny, of whome mention is made befoze at the rasyng and defasyng of the towne of Haddington in Scotland: Besyde these also were made other great prouisions within the realme. And the Scottes at this tyme beyng in great feare of England, made such suite to the Pope, and the french king, that they graunted them great ayde, and the french king was with his power in a great readinesse. But beholde the wonderfull worke of God: That which was feared and of vs purposed, came not to passe, and that which was least feared, & little or nothing thought vpon, sodainly happened, to the great daunger of the destruction of the whole realme of Englande (if almighty God had not holpen vs with the mightye arme of his defence) which chaunced by intestine and ciuil warre among our selues,

Man purposeth but God disposeth.



selues, as after ye shall here. By reason whereof those straungers which before were prepared at the kinges Maiesties great costes and charges for the conquest of Scotland, were employed as necessary men to suppress the rebellion of our awne nation, and to saue England from destruction, such are the workes of the Lorde against mans pollicie.

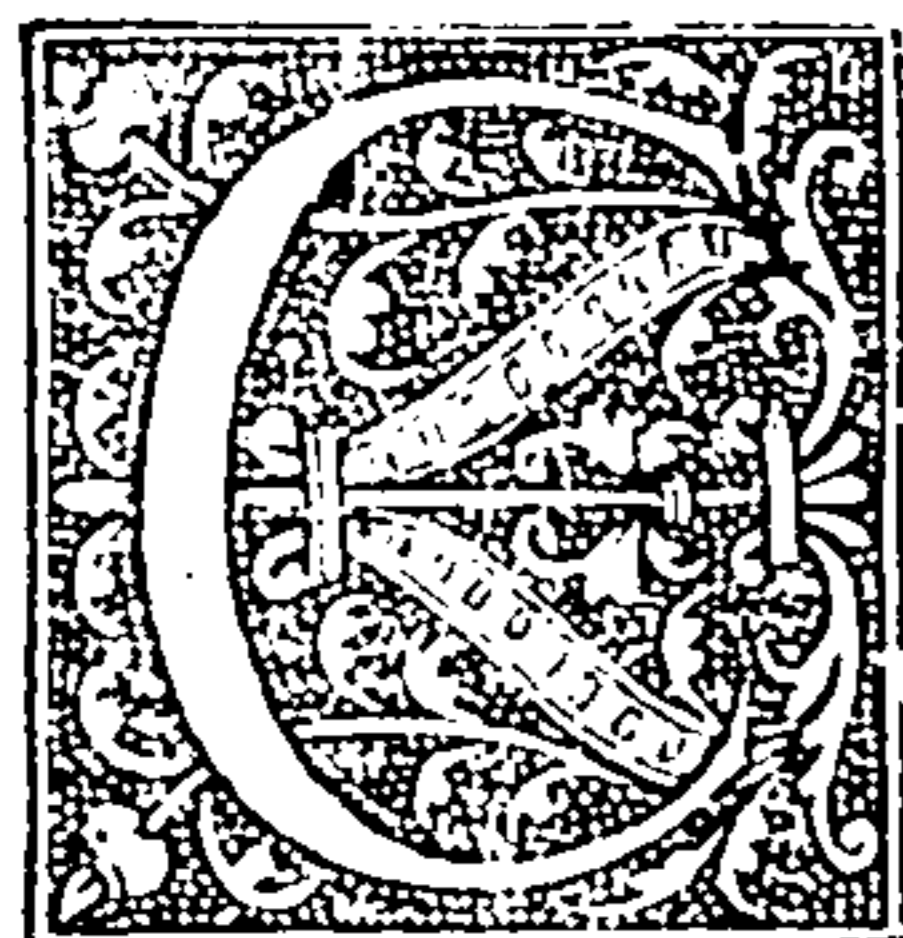
The kinges Maiestie as aforesayd purposing the inuasion of Scotland, made nowe great prouision for the same. But in this as he did euer before, he vsed all gentle meanes and pollicies to winne them without shedding of bloud, if it were possible: wherefore he nowe wrote vnto them a solempne Epistle exhortatory, to moue them to the consideration of themselues, and the state of their Countreie. The Copie of which Exhortation foloweth word for word as is was written, and the title thereof was this.

1548

3

Edward by the grace of God Duke of Sommerset, Erle of Hertford, Viscount Beauchampe, Lorde Seymer, Uncle to the kings highnesse of England, Gouvernor of his most royall person, and Protectour of all his realmes, dominions, and subiectes, Lieutenant generall of all his Maiesties Armies, both by lande and sea, Treasurer and Erle Marshall of England, gouvernor of the Isles of Cernesey, and Jersey, and knight of the most noble order of the Garter, with others of the counsaile of the sayd most high and noble Prince Edward, by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland king, defender of the fapth, and in earth vnder Christ, the supzeme head of the Churches of England and Ireland. To the Nobilitie and Counsaillors, Gentlemen, and the Commons, and all other the inhabitauntes of the realme of Scotland, grætyng and peace.

In Epistle  
exhortatory  
sent to the  
Scottes.



**C**onsidering with our selues the present state of things, and weying more deeply the maner and termes wherein you and we doe stand. It maketh vs to maruaile what euill and fatall chaunce doth so disseuer your heartes, and maketh them so blinde and vnminded full of your profite, and to still conciliate and heape to your selues most extreme mischiefes. The which we whom ye will nedes haue your enemyes, go about to take away from you, and perpetually to ease you thereof. And also by all reason and order of necessitie, it should be rather more conuenient for you to seeke and require moderate agrementes of vs, whome God hath hetherto accordyng to our most iust, true and Godly meanynges and ententes, prospered and set forwarde with your affliction and miserie: Then that we beyng superiours in the field, Maisters of a great part of your realme, should seeke vpon you. Yet to the entent that our charitable myndes and brotherly loue should not cease by all meanes possible to prouoke and call you to your awne commoditie and profite. Euen as the father to the sonne, or the elder brother to the yonger brother: And as the louyng Physitian would do to the mistrustfull and ignorant patient: We are content to call and crie vpon you, to looke on your state, to auoyd the great calamitie that your countreie is in, to haue vs rather brothers then enemyes, and rather Countreimen, then Conquerors. And if your Gouvernor or Capitaynes shall reteyne and kepe from you this our exhortation as heretofore they haue done our Proclamation, tending to the lyke effect for their awne private welth and commoditie, not regardyng though you be still in miserie, so they haue profite and gouernaunce ouer you, and shall still abuse

abuse you with feyned and forged tales: Yet this shall bee a witness afoze God and all Christen people, betwixt you and vs: that we professyng the Gospell of Iesus Christ, accordyng to the doctrine thereof, do not cease to call and prouoke you, from the effusion of your awne bloud, from the destruction of the realme of Scotlande, from perpetuall enmitie and hatred, from the final destruction of your nation, and from seruitude to forreyn nations: to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs, to that which your wyrters hath alwayes wished might once come to passe. Who that hath read the storyes in tynges past, and doth marke and note the great Battayles fought betwene England and Scotland, the incursions, rodes, and spoyles, which hath bene done on both the parties. The realme of Scotland fve times wonne by one king of England. The Scottische kings sonnes taken prisoners, some slaine in battaile, some for very sorow and discomfozt vpon losse, dyng and departing the worlde: and shall perceyue agayne that of all nations in the worlde, that nation onely besyde England, speaketh the same language, and as you and we be annexed & ioyned in one Island: so no people are so like in maner, forme, language, and all condicions as we are. Shall not he thinke it a thing very vnnature, vnnatural, and vnrchristian, that there should be betwixt vs so mortall warre, who in respect of all other nations be and should be like as two brethren of one Islande of great Briteyne? And though he were a stranger to both, what would he thinke more meete then if it were possible one kingdome to be made in rule, which is one in language, & to be deuided in rulers which is al one in Countrey. And forsomuch as two successors cannot concur and fall into one, by no other maner of meanes then by marriage, whereby one bloud, one lignage, and parentage is made of two, and an indefensible right geuen of both to one, without the destruction and abolishing of eyther. If God should graunt that whatsoeuer you would wishe other then that which nowe not by fortune hath chaunced, but by his infinite mercy, and most inscrutable prouidence, as careful for you he hath geuen vnto you. The which thing that you should also thinke to come of his disposition, and not by blinde fortune, how vnlkely hath it bene, and howe sodainly hath it turned, that the power of God might be thewed.

Your last king beyng a prince of much excellency and yong, whom you know after a promise broken contrary to his honoz, and misfortune by Gods iust indgement following vpon it, God eyther by sorow or by some meanes otherwise at his inscrutable pleasure, did take away from you, had thre children: Did not almightie God as it were to shew his will and pleasure to be, that the long continued warre and enmitie of both the nations should be taken away, and knit in perpetuall loue and amitie, take the two men children of those babies beyng distant the one from the other, & in diuerse places both as it were at one time, and within the space of foure and twenty houres leauing but one mayden chylde and princes.

When the most wise and victorious Prince late our king and Maister king Henry the eyght in other of his marriages not most fortunate, had by his most lawfull and most vertuous wife Quene Jane, his other two wives before that marriage departed this worlde, and neuer surmise nor question made of that marriage sith that time to this daye, nor so much as all her life time, name or motion to or of any other wife, one Prince of so high expectati-

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on, of so great gyftes of God, the right and vndoubted heyze of the realme of England and his maiestie owely of male issue left behinde him to succede the imperiall crowne. If nothing else had bene done, what can any wise or any Christian man that thinketh the world to be gouerned by Gods prouidence and not by fortune, thinke otherwise but that it was Gods pleasure it should be so that these two realmes should ioyne in marriage, and by a godly Sacrament make a godly, perpetuall, and most friendly vnitie, and conoord, toher by such benefites as of vnitie and conoord commeth, maye through his infinite grace come vnto these realmes. Or if any man of you or of any other nation doubteth hereof (except you looke for miracles) to be done herein, and yet if ye marke all the possibilities of the natures of the two Princes, the children already had, the doubtfull chaunce least eche of them should haue a sonne, or both daughters, or not of meete ages, with other circumstances both of the partie of this realme of Englande and that of Scotland, which hath not chaunced in eyght hundred yeres, it must nedes be reconded a great meruell and a miracle. But let it be no miracle seyng that God doth not now speake in Oracles, as a mongest the Jewes he did: And present prophesies now a dayes be but eyther not certayne or else not playne: what more certayntie can bee had of Gods will in this case then the befoze reherced doth byynge: But if God himselfe should speake: what could he speake more, then he speaketh in these? Call you them prouidences or chaunces, yf you be still afflicted and punished, may he not say, I of mine infinite mercy and loue to your nation had prouided a right heyze and a prince to the one, and a right heyze and Princes to the other to be ioyned in my holy lawes, and by the law of nature and the world to haue made, and vnitie conoord and peace, in the which Iste of both the realmes, you refused it, you loued better dissention then vnitie, disoord then agreement, warre then peace, hatred then loue and charitie. If you do then theretofore smart for it, whome can you blame, but your owne election? But because some of those who maketh herevnto impedimentes, cannot but confesse that there appereth Gods prouidence herein, and oportunitie and occasion geuen to vnitie of both the realmes: yet may hereafter say, and heretofore haue sayde, that the fault herein is, that we seeke not equalitie nor the marriage, but a conquest, we would not be friends but be Lordes. Although our proclamations at the last warres doth enough declare the contrary, yet hcre we protest and declare vnto you and al Christian people to be the kinges maiesties minde our Maisters by cur aduise and counsayle not to conquire, but to haue in amitie, not to voyn by force but to conciliate by loue, not to spoyle and kill, but to saue and kepe, not to disseuer and deuozte, but to ioyne in maryage from high to lowe both the realmes, to make of one Iste one realme in loue, amitie, conoord, peace and charitie. Which if you refuse and driue vs to conquire, who is gillie of the bloudshed? who is the occasion of the warre? who maketh the battayles, the brenning of houses, and the denastation which shall folow? Can it be denyed but that we haue the great seale of Scotland graunted by the parliament of Scotland for the marriage which should be made with assuraunces and plcdges vntill the perfozrances. And this in the time that the late king of most famous memory our soueraigne Lorde king Henry the eyght did reigne, and in the time of the same your Gouernoꝝ, who now is the Erle of

Arreigne,

The Scots  
by the consent of a parliament graunted their great Seale for the confirmation of

Arreigne, who then beyng a chiefe doer and laborer therein for the high and inestimable benefite of that realme. So sone as he was by the late Cardinal of saint Andrewes and others, with certayne baine feares and hopes and greedinesse of dignitie peruerted, reuolted from his first agreement, and put all the realme to the losse of such holdes and fortreddes as are now taken from you, and to the losse of a foughten fiede, for the which we are sorry if otherwise peace might haue bene concluded, for his owne private iure and rechelesnesse of that noble realme. And what ende can you looke for of these maner of procedinges, but such successe as heretofore hath bene experiminted and assayed? we offer loue, we offer equalitie and amitie, we overcome in warre and offer peace, we winne holdes and offer no conquest, we get in your land, and offer England. What can be moze offered and moze profered, then entrecourse of marchandises, and enterchaunge of mariages, the abolishing of al such our lawes as prohibitech the same, or might be impediment to the mutuall amitie. We haue offered not onely to leaue the aucthoritie, name, tytle, right, or challenge, of Conquerour, but to receyue that which is the shame of men ouer commed, to leaue the name of the nation, and the glory of any victorie (if any we haue had, or should haue of you) and to take the indifferent olde name of Briteynes againe, because nothing should be left on our part vnoffered, nothing on your part vnrefused, whereby ye might be inexcusable. And all the world might testifie, all other meanes not beyng able to do any thing, after many other wayes and remedies attempted, battaile of vs to be taken as an extreme refuge, to attaine right and reason amongst Christian men. If any man may rightfully make battaile for his espouse and wife. The daughter of Scotland was by the great Seale of Scotland promised to the sonne and heyze of England? If it be lawfull by Gods lawe to fight in a good quarrell, and for to make peace: This is to make an ende of all warres, and to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace, which to confirm we shall fight, and you to breake, is it not easie to discern who hath the better part? God and the sword hath already and shall hereafter if there be no remedie trie it. Who so willetch y marriage to go forwarde: Who so mindeth the peace and tranquillitie of both the realmes: who willetch no conquest to be had, but amitie and loue to go forwarde, we refuse no man: Let him bring his name, and his pledge of good seruire in this quarrell, he shall not onely be receyued to the amitie, but shall haue sufficient defence agaynst the aduersaries, and recompence of his liuyng if he sustain any losse. We neither do nor entend to put any man from his landes, tackes, or offices: Onlesse he will needes resist, and so compell vs theretvnto. What face hath this of conquest? we entend not to disenherite your Queene, but to make her heires inheritoꝝ also to England. What greater honour can you seeke vnto your Queene then the marriage offered? what moze meeter marriage then this with the kinges highnesse of England? What moze sure defence in the noneage of your Queene for the realme of Scotland, then to haue England your patrone and Guarrison? we seeke not to take from you your lawes, nor customes: but we seeke to redresse your oppreSSIONS, which of diuers ye doe sustaine. In the realme of England diuers lawes and customes be accordyng to the auncient blage thereof. And likewise Fraunce, Normandie, and Galcoygue hath sundrie kinde of orders. Hath all the realmes and domini-

marriage to be had by the late Edward the first and Prince Edward her of England.

Britain was the first name of England and Scotlant.

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ons that the Emperoz now hath one custome, and one sort of lawes: These vaine feares and fantasies of expulsion of your nation, of chaunging the lawes, of making a conquest, be driuen into your heades, of those who in dede had rather you were all conquered, spoyled, and slaine, then they would lose any point of their will, of their desyre of rule, of their estimation, which they knowe in quietnesse would be seene what it were, as it were in a calme water. Nowe in this tumult of discorde, when the realme is tossed by and downe with waues and surges of battaile, famine, and other mischies which the warre bringeth, they thinke they cannot be espyed. But looke on them you that haue witte and prudence, & consider the state of your Queene, and realme. You will not keepe her sole and vnmarried, the which were to you great dishonour. If you marry her within the realme, that cannot extinguish the title which we haue to the Crowne of Scotland. And what dissention, enuy, grudge, and malice that shall breede among you is easie to perceyue. You will marry her out of the realme, our title remaineth, you be subiectes to a forreyn Prince of another Countrey, and of another language: And vs ye haue your enemies enen at your elbowe, your succours farre off from you. And be we not in the bowelles now of the realme: haue we not a great part therof either in subiection or in amitie and loue: who shall come into your realme but he shall be met with, and fought with, if neede be enen of your owne nation, who be faythfull and true to the realme of England in the way of this most Godly vnion by marriage. And if any forreyn power, Prince, or Potentate, or whosoever be your ayder to nourishe still discorde, sende you an armie also: How shall they oppresse you, fill your houses, waste your groundes, spende and consume your vittaille, holde you in subiection, and regarde you as slaues which without them coulde not liue, and will take your Queene to bestowe as they lust, and specially if their ruler or king (as perchance he may be) in other warres be otherwise occupied, to be a pray to vs, and a true conquest. Then it shall be to late to say, we will haue a marriage, and no conquest: we wishe peace and amitie: we are wery of battaile and miserie. The stubburne ouercommed must suffer the victors pleasure, and pertinacite will make the victorie moze insolent, whereof you your selfe haue geuen the cause. If they send money and Capitaynes, but no souldiers: first if they be Capitaynes, who ruleth, and who doth obey: who shall haue the honour of the enterprize and if it be well atchieued: But whether it be well atchieued or no, which number is that which shall be slaine: whose blood shall be shed: their money peradventure shall be consumed, and their commaundementes obeyed: But whose bodies shall smart for it: whose landes shall be wasted: whose houses burned: what realme made desolate: Remember what it is to haue a forreyn power within you: a strong power of your enemies vpon you, you as it were the Campe and plaine betwixt them to fight on, and to be troden vpon both of the victor and the ouercommed. And imagine you see before your eyes your wyues, and daughters in daunger of the wantonnesse and insolencie of the Souldiours: The proud lookes of the Capitaynes, and Souldiours whome you call to helpe you: the contempt you shall bring your nation in: And then take heed least in dede that folowe which you feare, that is, that you shall be by them conquered: that ye shall be by them put from your holdes, landes, tackes, and offices:

offices: That your lawes by them shall be altered: that your nation shall by them be destroyed. Consider in this realme: did not the Britons call in the Saxons for helpe, & by them were put out: Where be y<sup>e</sup> Pictes, once a great nation betwixt you & vs: how did the nation of Fraunce put out the Galles out of all Fraunce: how got the Turke first all Grecia, & now a late all Hungary, but beyng called in for to ayd and helpe. And did not the Gothes by like meanes get all Italy, and the Lombards one part thereof now called Lombardie: what loke you for more: Medie souldiours, & hauing their weapons in their handes, and knowyng that you cannot liue without them, what will they not commaund you to do: what will they not encroche vpon you: what will they not thinke they may do: and what will they thinke that you dare do: This forreyn helpe is your confusion, that succoz is your detriment, the victorie so had is your seruitude. What is then to be thought of losse taken with them: the straungers & forreyn souldiours that oppresse you within our power and strength without: and of your owne nation, so many as loue quietnesse, godlinesse, & the welth of your realme, shall help also to skourge & afflict you. Is it not better to compose and acquite all this calamitie & trouble by marriage: To end all sorowes and battailes by such and so honozable a peace: Hath the Emperoz Spain & Burgondie not by title of marriage: How holdeth the French king Briten now lately annexed to that crowne, but by title of marriage: How hath all the great princes of the world happily & with quiet made of two kingdomes one, of diuers Lordshippes one: Of nations alwayes at warre with themselves, or else in doubtfull peace, one well gouerned kingdom, rule, and dominion, but by that most Godly, most quiet, & most amiable composition of marriage: Two meanes there is of making one rule where to title is pretended, and perfect agreement betwixt two nations: Cyther by force and superiortie, which is conquest, or by equality and loue, which is by parentage and marriage. Ye hate the one, that is conquest: and by refusing the other, you enforce vpon you hatred & malice. You wil not haue peace: you will not haue alliaunce: you wyll not haue conkozde, and conquest cometh vpon you, whether ye will or no. And yet if all things were considered, we feare it wyll appeare, that it were better for you to be conquered of vs, then succoured of straungers, lesse losse to your goodes, lesse hurt to your landes, lesse dishonour to your realme. This nation which is one in tongue, one in Countrey and birth, hauing so little diuersitie to occupie the whole, then other powers to come into you, neyther like in language, ne yet like in behauiour, who should rule ouer you, and take you to be but their slaues. But we estones and finally declare and protest vnto you, that although for the better furtheraunce of this Godly purpose of uniting the realmes, and for the sure defence of them which fauoureth the marriage, we are compelled for the tyme to keepe holdes and to make fortifications in your realme: yet the kings Maiesties minde and determinate pleasure is with our aduise and counsaile to be as before is declared, that where fauor may be shewed, not to vse rigor, if by condicions you will receyue this amitie offered, not to folowe conquest, for we desyre loue, vnitie, conkozde, peace, and equality. Let neither your Governoz, nor your Kirkemen, nor those who so often hath falsified their fayth and promise: and by treachery and falshode be accustomed to prozoge the tyme, feede you forth with fayre wordes and bring you into



into the snare, from whence they cannot deliuer you. They wil peraduenture prouide for themselues with pencions in some other realme, & set souldiours straungers in your holdes to kepe you in subiection, vnder the pretence to defend them against vs. But who prouideth pencions for you? Howe are you defended when they bee fledde away? Who conquereth you when the straunge Capitaynes hath your Holdes? when your lande is wasted, and the Realme destroyed, and the moze parte kept from you? Who will set by the maryage of the Queene to buye a tittle with the warre of Englande, to mary the name, another mightie king holding the land? If we two be- yng made one by amitie, be most hable to defend vs against all nations, and hauing the sea for wall, the mutuall loue for garison, and God for defence should make so noble and well agreeing Monarchie, that neyther in peace we may be ashamed, nor in warre afrayed of any worldly or fozeine power why should not you be as desirous of the same, and haue as much cause to reioyce at it as we? If this honoz of so noble a Monarchie do not moue you to take and accept amitie? Let the grieve and the daunger of the afozenamed losses feare you to attempt that thing which shall displease God, encrease warre, daunger your realme, destroy your land, vndoe your children, waste your groundes, desolate your cuntryes, and bring all Scotland eyther to famine and misery, or to subiection and seruitude of another nation. We requite but your promised Queene, your offered agreement of vnitie, the ioyning of both the nations, which God of his infinite clemency and tender ioue that he hath declared to beare to both the nations hath offered vnto vs both, and in maner called vs both vnto it, whose calling and prouocation we haue and will follow to the best of our powers, and in his name and with his ayd, admonition, exhortation, requestes and Ambassadors not be yng hable to do it and to finde stablesse in promises, we shall not willing, but constrained pursue the battayle, chastice the wicked and malicious by the angry Angels of God, the fier and sworde. Wherefore we requyre and exhorte all you who hath loue to your countrie, pittie of that realme, a true hart to your Queene and maistres, regard of your honozs and promises made by the great seale of Scotland, and who fauozeth the peace, loue, vnitie and concord, and that most profitable marriage to enter, and to come to vs, and declaring your true and godly heartes therevnto, to ayde vs in this most godly purpose and enterprise: Be witnessse of our doynges, we refuse no man, temporall, nor spirituall, Lorde ne Lard, Gentleman ne other who will ayde this our purpose, and minish the occasion of slaughter and destruction: To whome we shall kepe the promises heretofore declared, & further se reward and recompence made according to the desert. And for a moze sure prooffe and playner token of the good mind and will which we beare vnto you. That which neuer yet before was graunted to Scotlande in any league, truce, or peace betwixt England and Scotland, because ye shall haue prooffe of the beginning of loue and amitie of both the realmes. The kinges highnesse considering the multitude of them which is come to his maiesties deuotion, and of them that be well wilers and ayders of this godly enterprise, hath by our aduice and counsaile graunted and by these presentes do graunt, that from hence forth all maner of Marchauntes and other Scottishmen, who will enter their names with one of the Wardaines of the marches and there professse to take part

part wyth vs in this befoze named godly purpose to his owne commoditie, and to serue all such as be of the same agreement: may lawfully and wity- out any trouble and vexation enter into any porte, creeke, or hauen of Eng- land, and there vse their traffique of marchandise, bye and sell, bring in the commodities of Scotlande, and take and carye forth the commodities of England as liberally & as frely, and with the same and none other custome or paymentes theretofore, than Englishmen and the kinges subiectes doth at these presentes: Wynding further vpon the successe hereof, to gratefie so the furtherers of this most godlye enterprise and vnion, that all the world may be witnessse of the great zeale and loue which his highnesse doth beare towards you and your nation. And all this the kinges highnesse by our ad- uise & counsaile hath willed to be declared vnto you, and geuen in commaun- dement vnto vs and all his Lieutenauntes, Wardaines, Rulers, and other hedde Officers, Ministers and subiectes to se executed and done according to the true purpote, effect and meaning thereof. Fare you well.

Some after this, the kinges Maiestie by the aduice of the Lorde Pro- tector, and the rest of his counsaile, that is to saye, about the beginning of June, set forth a proclamation against Enclosures, for that a great number of poore men had complayned of Gentlemen and other, that they had taken from them, Common of Pasture and Common Fieldes, and had enclosed them into Parkes and pasture, and other such like for their owne commodi- tie and pleasure, to the vtter vndoing of the poore men. This proclamation tending to the helpe and reliefe of the poore, commaunded that such as had so enclosed the commons, should vpon a peine by a day assigned lay them out againe: But I thinke there were but few that obeyed the proclamation, which thing the poore men perceyuing, and seyng none amendement follow vpon the proclamation, rashly without order tooke vpon themselves to re- dresse, and so gathering themselves together made them Capitaines and brake downe those inclosures, and cast downe ditches, and in the ende plaide the very part of Rebelles and Traytors.

But because the first stirre and commotion was made in the West partes of this realme, namely in Cornewall hauing to their Capitaines, Humfrey Arondell, Wynslade, Holmes, and Bery, it shall be very meete first to en- treat of them. These Rebels I say demaunded not onely the enlarging of Commons and disparking of Parkes as is abouesayd: But they were chiefly offended with the alteration of religion, and desired agayne to haue the Masse, and to haue the statute of six articles restored vnto them. And al- though the kinges maiestie sent vnto them most gentle letters to cause them to be quyet, and also sent sondry Messenges vnto them, with very good ad- monitions, yet their rage was such, that nothing could stay them: But that they put themselves in array, and purposed to haue come thoro the realme to the king, but they were stayed at the Citie of Excester, which Citie they besieged almost by the space of six weekes, and the Citezens therof manful- ly and politiquely to their great prayse withstoode them and gaue them the repulse.

And first for the pacifying of these rebelles the kinges maiestie sent by his commission the right honorable the Lorde Russell, Lorde Pryuie Seale as his Lieutenaunt, and the Lorde Graue of Wilton, with a number of balli- aunt

A proclama-  
tion for En-  
closures.

Insurrection  
in Cornwall.

Humfrey  
Arondell,  
Wynslade,  
Holmes,  
Bery.



aunt souldiers, among whome was three thousande of the Launce knightes that came out of Germany. And first the sayde Lorde Russell when he came thether sent vnto them the kinges Maiesties proclamation, the effect wherof was.

That all such persons as were there vnlawfully assembled, and did not within three dayes next after the proclayming thereof, yelde and submitte themselves to the Lord Priuie Seale (the kinges Lieutenaunt) they should from thence forth be deemed accepted and taken for Rebels and Traitors against his most royall person, and his imperiall crowne and dignity, & farther the kings maiesty for a more terroz to the rebels, and the encorage- ment of such of his good subiectes as shoulde helpe and ayde to apprehende and take any of the sayde Rebelles: he by his sayd proclamation did graunt and geue all the Offices, fees, goodes and possessions, that the same Rebelles had at and befoze their apprehencion.

This proclamation notwithstanding, the sayd rebels, continued in their obstinacie and Trayterous purpose. Wherefoze yet once againe the kinges maiesty for auoiding of the shedding of Christian bloud, sent vnto them a most gentle and louing message in writing, to haue reduced them agayne to their obedience, but it would not be. The message was as followeth.

Although knowlege hath bene geuen to vs and our dereft Uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Governoz of our person and Proteetoz of all our realmes dominions and subiectes, and to the rest of our priuie Counsaile of diuerse assemblies made by you, which ought of dutie to be our louing subiectes, against all order of lawe, and otherwise then euer any louing or kinde subiects hath attempted against their naturall and liege souereigne Lorde: Yet we haue thought it meete at this very first time, not to condempne and reiect you as we might iustly do, but to vse you as our subiects, thinking that the Deuil hath not that power in you, to make you of naturall borne Englishmen, so sodainly to become enemies to our owne natie countrie: Or of our subiectes to make you Traytors: or vnder pretence to releue your selues to destroy your selues, your wyfes, children, landes, possessions and all other commodities of this your life. This we say, that we trust that although you be ignozantly seduced, ye will not be vpon knowlege obstinate: And though some amongst you (as euer there is some Cockyll amongst good corne) forget God, neglect their Prince, esteeme not the state of the realme, but as carelesse desperat men delight in sedicion, tumult & warres: yet neuerthelesse the great part of you will heere the voyce of vs your naturall Prince, and will by wisdom and counsaile be warned and ceasse your euilles in the beginning, whose endes will be, euen by God almighties order, your owne destruction. Wherefoze as to you our subiects by ignorance seduced we speake, and be content to vse our princely auctoritie, like a father to his children, to admonish you of your faults not to punish them, to put you in remembrance of your dueties, not to auenge your forgetfulnesse.

First your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble your selues agaynst other oure louing subiectes, to arraye your selues to the warre: who amongst you all can aunswere for the same to almightie God, charging you to obey vs in all things? Or howe can any good Englishe heart aunswere vs, our lawes, and the rest of our very good louing and faythfull subiects, who

The kinges message to the Rebelles of Cornewall & Devonshire

Disorder in Subiectes.

who in deede by their obedience make our honoz, estate and degree?

Ye vse our name in your wytynges, and abuse the same agaynst our selfe: what iniurie herein do you vs to call those which loue vs to your euill purposes, by the auctoritie of our name? God hath made vs your king by his ordynance and prouidence, by our bloud and inheritaunce, by lawfull succession and our coronation. But not to this ende, as you vse our name, we are your most naturall souereigne Lord & king Edward the sixt, to rule you, to preserue you, to saue you from all your outward enemies, to see our lawes well ministred, euery man to haue his awne, to suppress disorderd people, to correct Traytors, Theeues, Pirates, Robbers and such lyke: yea to keepe our realmes from other Princes, from the malice of Scottes, of french, of the Byshop of Rome. Thus good subiectes our name is wytten, thus it is honozed and obeyed, this maiesty it hath by Gods ordynance, not by mannes: So that of this your offence we cannot wyte to much, and yet doubt not but thys is ynough from a prince to al reasonable people, from a royall king to all kind hearted and louing subiects, from the pryssaunt king of Englande to euery naturall Englishe man.

Your pretence, which you saye moueth you to doe thus, and wherewith you seeke to excuse this disorder, we assure you is eyther all false, or so baine that we doubt not, that after that ye shall hereby vnderstande the truth thereof, ye will all with one voyce knowlege your selues ignozantly led, and by error seduced: And if there be any one that wil not, then assure you the same be ranke Traytors, enemies of our crowne, sedicious people, heretikes, papistes, or such as care not what cause they haue to prouoke an insurrection so they may doe it, nor in deede can waie so riche with their awne labors and with peace, as they can doe with spoyles, with warres, with robberies, and such lyke, ye with the spoyles of your awne goodes, with the lyuing of your labors, the sweat of your bodyes, the foode of your awne householdes wyues and children: Such they be, as for a time vse pleasant perswasions to you, and in the ende will cut your throates for your awne goodes.

You be borne in hande that your children, though necessitie chaunce, shall not be christened but vpon the holpe dayes, howe false this is learne you of vs. Our booke which we haue set forth by the free consent of oure whole parliament in the Englishe tongue teacheth you the contrary, euen in the first lease, yea the first side of the first lease of that part which entreateth of Baptisme. Good subiectes (for to other we speake not) looke and be not deceaued: They which haue put this false opinion into your eares, they meane not the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subiectes. Be this knowne vnto you, our honoz is so much that we may not be founde faultie of one iot or worde: Proue it, if by our lawes ye maye not christen your children when ye be disposed vpon necessitie euery daye or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended, but seyng you maye doe it howe can ye beleue them that teach you the contrarie? What think you they meane in the rest, which moue you to breake your obedience agaynst vs your king and souereigne, vpon these so false tales and perswasions in so euident a matter? Therefore you all which wyll knowlege vs your souereigne Lorde, and which will heere the voyce of vs your king, may easily perceiue how you be deceyued, and howe subtilly Traytors and Papistes, with their

Abusing of the kinges name.

False causes.

Baptisme.

falshood



falshood seeke to atchieue and bring their purpose to passe with your helpe: Every Traytor will bee glad to dissemble his treason and feede it secretly, every Papist his popery and nourishe it inwardly, and in the ende make you our subiectes partakers of treason and poperie, which in the beginning was pretended to be a common weale and holynesse.

Sacrament  
of x<sup>p</sup> body. &c.

And howe are you seduced by them, which put in your heads, the blessed Sacramente of Chyristes bodye, should not differ from othe common bread: If our lawes, proclamations and statutes be all to the contrarie, why shall any private man perswade you against them? we doe our selfe in our owne heart, our counsaile in all their profession, our lawes and statutes in all purposes, our good subiectes in all our doyngs most highly esteeme that Sacrament, and vse the communion therof to our most comfort. We make so much difference therof from othe common bread, that we thinke no profite of othe bread, but to maintayne our bodies: But this blessed bread we take to be the very foode of our soules to euertlasting life. Howe thinke you good subiectes, shall not we beyng your Prince, your Lorde, your King by Gods appoyntment with truth more p<sup>r</sup>euayle, then certayne euill persons with open falshood? Shall any sedicious person perswade you that the sacrament is despised, which is by our lawes, by our selfe, by our counsaile and by all our good subiectes, esteemed, bled, perticipated and daylie receyued? If euer ye were seduced, if euer deceyued, if euer Traytors were beleued, if euer Papistes poysoned good subiectes it is now. It is not the chrystening of children, not the reuerence of the Sacrament, not the helth of your soules that they shoothe at good subiectes: It is sedition: It is highe treason, it is your destruction they seeke. How craftely, how pittcoulsly, how cunningly soeuer they doe it, with one rule, iudge yee the ende which of force must come of your purposes.

Disobedience  
to a King is  
disobedience  
to almighty  
God.

Almighty God forbiddeth vpon paine of euertlastyng dampnation, disobedience to vs your King, and in his place we rule in earth. If we shoulde be slowe? would God erre? If youre offence be towards God? thinke you it pardoned without repentaunce? Is Goddes iudgement mutable? Your paine is dampnation, your Judge is incorruptible, your fault is most euident.

Like wyse are ye euill informed in diuers other articles, as for confirmation of your children, for the Masse, for the maner of your seruice of Matyns and Euen song: Whatsoeuer is therein ordered hath bene long debated and consulted by many learned Bishops, Doctors, and other men of great learning in this realme concluded, in nothing so much labour and tyme spent of late tyme, nothing so fully ended.

Seruice in  
the English  
tongue.

As for the seruice in the English tongue hath manifest reasons for it, and yet perchance seemeth to you a new seruice, and in deede is none othe but the olde. The selfesame wordes in English which were in Latine, sayyng a fewe thinges taken out, so fonde that it had bene a shame to haue heard them in English, as all they can iudge which lust to report the truth. The difference is that we ment Godly, that you our subiectes should vnderstand in English, beyng your naturall Countrey tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latine, then seruyng onely them which vnderstood Latine, and nowe for all you which be borne English. How can this with reason offend any reasonable man, that he should vnderstand what any other sayth,

sayth, and so to consent with the speaker? If the seruice in the Church were good in Latine, it remayneth good in English, for nothing is altered, but to speake with knowlege, that before was spoken with ignorance, and to let you vnderstand what is sayde for you, to the entent ye may further it wyth your owne deuotion an alteration to the better, except knowlege be worse then ignorance: So that whosoever hath mooued you to mislike this order, can geue you no reason nor answere yours if ye vnderstood it. Wherfore you our subiectes remember we speake to you beyng ordeyned your Prince and King by almighty God, if any wise we coulde aduance Goddes honour more then we do, we would do it, and see that ye become subiectes to Goddes ordinaunce. Obey vs your Prince, and learne of them which haue auctoritie to teache you, which haue power to rule you, and will execute our Justice if we be prouoked. Learne not of them whose frutes be nothing but wilfulnesse, disobedience, obstinacie, and destruction of the realme.

Knowlege is  
better then  
ignorance.

For the Masse, we assure you, no small studie nor trauaile hath bene spent by all the learned Clergie therein, and to aduoyde all contention thereof, it is brought euen to the very vse as Chyrist left it, as the Apostles v<sup>s</sup>ed it, as holy fathers deliuered it: in dede somewhat altered from that of Popes of Rome for their lucre brought to it. And although you may here the contrary of some Popishe and euill men, yet our Maiestie which for our honour may not be blemished nor stayned, assureth you that they deceyue you, abuse you, and blowe these opinions into your heades, for to furnishe theyr owne purposes.

The Masse.

And so likewise iudge you of confirmation of Children, and let them answere you this one question. Thinke they that a child chrystened is dampned because he dyeth before Bishoping. Marke good subiectes what inconuenience hereof commeth? Our doctrine therefore is founded vpon true learning and theirs vpon shamelesse errors. To conclude, besyde our gentle maner of information to you, whatsoeuer is conteyned in our booke, eyther for Baptisme, Sacrament, Masse, Confirmation, and seruice in the Church is by Parliament established, by the whole Clergie agreed, yea by the Bishops of the realme deuised, and further by Gods worde confirmed. And how dare you trust, yea how dare you geue eare without trembling to any singular person to disalowe a Parliament? A subiect to perswade against our Maiestie, or any man of his single arrogancie agaynst the determination of the Bishops, and all the Clergie, any inuented argument, agaynst the worde of God.

Confirmation  
of children.

But now you our subiectes, we resort to a greater matter of your vnkindnesse, a great vnnaturalnesse, and such an euill, that if we thought it had not bene begon of ignorance, and continued by perswasion of certain traitors amongst you, which we thinke fewe in number, but in their doynges busie, we could not be perswaded but to vse our sword and do iustice. And as we be ordeyned of God for to redresse your errors by auengement: But loue and zeale yet ouercommeth our iust anger, but howe long that will be God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is, and rather for your owne causes beyng our chrystened subiectes, we would ye were perswaded then vanquished, taught, then ouerthrowen, quietly pacified, then rigorously persecuted.

Ye require to haue the statute of six articles reuiued, and knowe you what

Six articles.



what ye require? Or knowe ye what ease you haue with the losse of them? They were lawes made, but quickly repented, to bloude they were to bee borne of our people: and yet at the first in deede made of some necessite. Wh subiectes how are ye trapped by euill persons. We of pittie because they were bloude toke them away, and you nowe of ignoraunce will aske them againe. You knowe full well that they helped vs to extende rygoz, and gaue vs cause to drawe our sworde very often. And since our mercy moued vs to write our lawes with mylke and equitie, howe be ye blinded to aske them in bloud? But leauyng this maner of reasonyng, and resoptyng to the truth of our aucthoritie, we let you wit, the same hath bene aduulled by Parliament with great reioyse of our subiectes, and not now to be called in question. And dareth any of you with the name of a subiect stand agaynst an act of Parliament, a lawe of the realme? What is our power if lawes should be thus neglected, or what is your suretie if lawes be not kept? Assure you most surely, that we of no earthly thing vnder the heauen make such reputation as we doe of this one, to haue our lawes obeyed, and this cause of God to be threughly mainteyned, from the which we will neuer remoue a heares bredth, nor geue place to any creature liuyng: But therein will spende our awne royall person, oure Crowne, Treasure, Realme, and all oure state, whereof we assure you of our high honour: For herein resteth our honour: herein do all kinges knowlege vs a king: And shall any one of you dare, breath, or thinke agaynst our Kingdome and Crowne?

In the ende of this your request (as we be geuen to vnderstande) ye would haue them stande in force vntill our full age. To this we thinke that if ye knew what you spake, ye would not haue vttered the motion, nor neuer geuen breath to such a thought. For what thinke you of our kingdome? Be we of lesse aucthority for our age? Be we not your king now as we shall be? Shall ye be subiects hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue we not the right we shall haue? If ye would suspend and hang our doyngs in doubt vntill our full age: ye must first knowe, as a king we haue no difference of yeres, but as a naturall man and creature of God we haue youth, and by his sufferance shall haue age. We are your rightfull king, your liege Lord, the soueraigne Prince of Englande, not by our age, but by Gods ordynance, not onely when we shall be, xxi. yeres of age, but when we were of ten yeres. We possesse our crowne not by yeres, but by the bloud and dissent from our father king Henry the eyght. If it be considered, they which moue this matter, if they durst vtter themselves would denie our kingdome. But our good subiectes knowe their prince, and will encrease, not diminishe his honoz, enlarge his power, not abate it, knowlodge his kingdome, not differ it to certaine yeres. All is one to speake against our crowne, and to denie our kingdome, as to require that our lawes may be broken vnto, xxi. yeres. Be we not your crowned, annoynted and established king? wherein be we of lesse maiestie, of lesse aucthoritie or lesse state then our progenitozs kings of this realme? Except your vnkindnesse, your vnnaturalnesse will diminishe our estimation? We haue hetherto since the death of our father by the good aduise and counsaile of our dere & entirely beloved Uncle the Duke of Somerset, our Gouvernour and Protector kept oure estate, maintayned oure realme, preserued our honoz, defended our people from all enemies. We

haue

haue hetherto bene feared and dread of our enemies, yea of Princes, kings and nations. Yea, herein we be nothing inferiour to any our Progenitozs, which grace we knowlege to be geuen vs from God, and howe else, but by good obedience, good counsaile of our magistrates, by the aucthoritie of our kingdome of Englande, hetherto hath gained honour during our reigne: It hath wonne of the enemy & not lost. It hath bene increpled that we of so yong yeres haue reigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly. And how chaunceth that you our louyng subiectes of that our country of Cornewall, and Devonshire, will geue first occasion to slaunder this our realme of England, to geue courage to the enemy to note our realme of the euill of rebellion, to make it a pray to our olde enemyes, to diminishe our honour which God hath geuen, our father left, our good Uncle and Counsaile preserued vnto vs? What greater euill could ye commit, then euen nowe when our fozeyn enemye in Scotland, and vpon the sea seeketh to invade vs, to do our realme dishonour then to arise in this maner agaynst our lawe, to prouoke our wrath, to aske our vengeance, and to geue vs an occasion to spende that force vpon you, which we meant to bestowe vpon our enemyes, to begin to slei you wyth that sworde that we drew forth agaynst Scottes and other enemyes? To make a conquest of our awne people, which otherwise should haue beene of the whole realme of Scotlande? Thus farre we haue disrended from our high maiestie for loue, to consider you in your simple ignoraunce, and haue beene content to sende you an instruction lyke a father, who of iustice might haue sent you your destructions like a king to rebelles. And nowe we let you knowe, that as you see our mercie abuydantly, so if ye prouoke vs further, we sweare to you by the liuyng God, ye shall feele the power of the same God in our sworde, which howe mightie it is, no subiect knoweth, howe puissant it is, no priuate man can iudge, howe mortall it is, no Englishe man dare thinke. But surely, surely, as your Lord and Prince, your onely king and maister, we say to you, repent your selues, and take our mercie without delay, or else we will forthwith extende our princely power, and execute our sharpe sworde agaynst you, as agaynst Infidelles and Turkes, and rather aduenture our awne royall person, state, and power, then the same shall not be executed.

And if you will proue the example of our mercie, learne of certain which lately did arysle, pretending some griefes, & yet acknowleging their offences, haue not onely receyued most humbly their pardon: but feele also by our order, to whome all publique order onely appertayneth, present redress of theyz griefes.

In the ende we admonishe you of your duties to God, whome ye shall answer in the day of the Lorde, and of your dueties towardes vs, whome ye shall answer by our order, and take our mercie whilist God so enclineth vs, least when ye shall be constrained to aske, we shall be to much hardened in heart, to graunt it you. And where ye shall heere nowe of mercy, mercy, and life: ye shall then heere of iustice, iustice, and death. Written the. viij. of July, in the thirde yere of our reigne.

Although they receyued from the kinges Maiestie this louyng message, and most Princely and gentle admonicion, yet was their forward and indurate heartes such, that they stood still at the swordes poynt. Wherefore

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the

The aucthoritie of a parliament.

¶ Godly and Princely admonicion.

¶ Obstinacie in rebels.



the right balliant Lorde Russell, and the Lord Gray, with their tohole power set vpon them, and they to their powers withstoode them very stoutlye, and at the first were many of the straungers slaine and hurt: But at the length the rebels were distressed, taken, and executed, and their foure chiefe Capitaynes first named in this discourse, that is to say, Thomstrey Arondell, Wynslade, Holmes, and Bury, were taken and sent to London and there accorpyng to their desertes had iudgement as traytors, and were drawen, hanged and quartered at Ciborne. And many of the people of that Countrey that were doers or maintainers of this rebellion, were executed among them selues, and many put to great synes, and losse of offices and liuyngs, as they had right well deserued.

Execution of  
rebelle.

The Maior  
of Bodmyn  
in Cornewall  
hanged.

And among other the offenders in this rebellion I thought it well to note twaine for the maner of their execution seemed straunge. The first was one Bolwyer who was Maior of a towne in Cornewall called Bodmyn. This Maior had bene busie among the rebelles, but some that loued hym sayd that he was forced thereunto, and that if he had not consented to them, they would haue destroyed him and his house. But howsoeuer it was, this was his ende. On a certayne day Sir Anthony Kingstone beyng Brouost-marchall in the field wrote his letter vnto the sayde Maior declaring that he and certayne other with him would come and dine with him such a day. The Maior seemed to be very ioyous thereof and made for him very good preparation. And at the time appoynted, Sir Anthony Kingstone with his company came and were right hartely welcomed to the Maior. And before they sate downe to dinner, sir Anthony calling the Maior a syde shewed him that their must be execution done in that towne, and therefore willed him with speede to cause a payre of Gallowes to be made, that the same might be redy by the ende of dinner. The Maior went dilligently about it, and caused the same to be done. When dinner was ended Sir Anthony called the Maior vnto him and asked him if that were redy that he spake to him of, and he answered it was redy. Then he tooke the Maior by the hand and prayed him to bring him to the place where the same was, and he so did. And when sir Anthony saw them, he sayde vnto the Maior, thinke you they be strong enough? yea Sir sayd he, that they are. Well then sayd sir Anthony get you euen by to them for they are prouided for you, the Maior cryed I trust you meane no such thing to me, Sir sayth he there is no remedy you haue bene a busie Rebell, and therefore this is appoynted for your rewarde, so that without longer respite or tariyng, there was the Maior hanged.

At the same time also and nere vnto the place, there was a Myller who had bene a very busy wret in that rebellion, whome also Syr Anthony Kingston fought for: But the Myller had warning, and he hauing a good fall felow to his seruauant called him vnto him and sayd, I must go forth, if their come any to aske for me, say that thou art the owner of the Myll, and that thou hast kept the same this foure yeres, and in no wise name not me. The seruauant promised his Maister so to do. Afterward came Syr Anthony Kingston to the Myllers house and called for the Myller, the seruauant answered that he was the Myller. Then sayd Maister Kingston how long hast thou kept this Myll, and he answered three yeres. Well then sayde he come on thou must go with me, and caused his seruantes to lay handes on hym, and

and brought him to the next tree, sayng you haue bene a rebellious knaue, and therfore here shall you hang. Then cryed he a sayd that he was not the Myller, but the Myllers seruauant, well then sayd he you are a false knaue to be in two tales, therefore hange him by sayd he, and so he was hanged. After he was hanged, one beyng by, sayd to Syr Anthony Kingstone, surely this was but the Myllers man, what then sayd he? could he euer haue done his Maister better seruice than to hang for him.

In this meane tyme the whole realme in a maner in euery thire were gathered together in vnlawfull assemblies, as Oxfozdshire, Barkehire, Middlesex, Essex, Nozfolke, Suffolke, whose Capitaynes were, Robert Kette a Tanner, and William Kette his brother, against whome was sent by the kinges maiestie the Lorde Marques of Northampton, beyng slenderly prouided of all thinges necessary for such an enterpryse. Which beyng perceyued of the Rebelles, they tooke corage thereby the more stoutely to withstand them. Neuerthelesse he entred the Citie of Nozwich, and liyng there one night, he was sore assaulted by the rebelles, which in number were thre times as many as came wyth him. By reason wherof he was forced to retire, with the losse of diuerse of his company, namely of the gentle Lord Sheffelde, whn by the sayd rebelles was cruelly murdered, to the great discomfort of the sayd Lorde Marques, and other Gentlemen that at that time attended vpon him. And after the said rebels beyng puffed by with vain glorye, vidi vnto the Gentlemen of that countrey great crueltie, in fetching them out of their houses and brought them to their camp, and compelled some of them to be their counsaylors, whether they would or not, as Sergeauit Gaudy, Sergeauit Catlyn, and many other: But yet they trusted them not so well, but they clapped a payre of fetters vpon their heeles, to keepe them safe when they had them from steppyn away. And the place where the common meetyng and counsaile was kept, was at a certayne tree, which they called the tree of Reformation.

After that the Lorde Marques hauyng the repulse as aforesayde, was returned. Then the kinges Maiestie sent that balliaunt and warlike knight Syr John Dudley Erle of Warwicke agaynst them wyth a greater number, & better furnished: Who also had with him two thousand of y<sup>e</sup> Launceknights that we spake of before, which were retayned to go into Scotlande: which Launceknights at that iournay did great and good seruice, and fought balliauntly and manfully, although many of them were slaine. Nowe when the Erle of Warwicke, who was not onely a balliant and hardie Gentleman, but also wise and polittique, was come nere to the rebelles, he marched forwarde in so good order, that the rebelles began to feare. But yet as men desperate they gathered themselues together, and stoutly set forth and aduentured the battaile with the sayde Erle, who beyng a very polittique Capitaine, assaulted them first with the sayde straungers, beyng footemen on the front, whylest he and his horsemen gaue the charge on the flanke of their battaile, whereby the battaile of the sayde rebelles began to bzeake, and in conclusion was vtterly scattered, and a great number of them slaine, and Kette theyr chiefe Capitaine put to flight. Neuerthelesse the residue, as desperate men reinforced the battaile, meanyng to make triall of a newe field. But the Erle loth to procede to the destruction of the whole number, consideryng that they

Common  
rebellion.

Oxfozdshire  
Barkehire,  
Middlesex,  
Essex,  
Nozfolke,  
Suffolke,

Robert Kette  
William Kette

Sir John  
Dudley Erle  
of warwicke.



were out alone Nation and people, did very mercifully send an Herault unto them, saying, that if they would deliver unto him such as were their Capitaynes and chiefe heades, the rest should receyue the kinges most gracious pardon, and haue fre libertie to depart euery man to his house and Country. The which pardon they would not at the first seeme to receyue, buttill they sawe the sayde Erles maine battaile to approche, and the horsemen with the straungers readie to geue a newe onset, whereof they standyng in feare, yelded themselues unto the kinges mercie and pardon, who accordyng to the Erles promise made by his Herault, were all pardoned, sayyng certaine to the number of. xxiij. chiefe sturres in this rebellion, who were presently executed. And after Robert Kett, and William Kett his brother, which befoze were fled, were taken, and brought first to the Erle, and then sent by to the king to Westminster, and from thence they were sent againe into Norfolk, and there executed accordyng to their merits. Thus was this rebellion of Norfolk by the singuler prouidence and manhooe of this noble Erle pacified by the punishment of a fewe, without any losse of life, landes, or goodes, to any other of the Countrie.

Robert Kett and William Kett taken and executed.

The French king vnderstandyng the same, did not onely slaye his power for goyng into Scotlande, but beyng in great desyre to haue agayne Bolleyn, he thought now was the time, or else neuer, wherefoze with all speede possible he directed his letters to all his nobles, knightes and Capitaynes that they should vpon the sight of the sayd letters, put themselues in a redynesse, and attend vpon him with suche power and furniture as they were hable to make in the countie of Bollonoys, the first day of September next folowyn.

At which time the king came to Monstrell, where he founde the Constable of Fraunce and Mounsr de Humale putting their armie in a readynesse. And the next day folowyn, the French king beyng accompanied with the sayde Lordes and their power, set forwarde towarde Bolleyn, and after came and besieged sundry pylles and fortes which the English men had there buylde and wonne them, and namely one Castell, which the English men called hable Neuse or newe Hauen, wherein as sayth the writer of the Annales of Fraunce, were foure Ensignes of English men, which beyng soze beaten with the Canon, yelded to the French king. And likewise Bolleyn Barke and Blacknesse, the which fortes when the French king had recovered, and had furnished them with men and munition for defence, he then returned into Fraunce with great triumph.

In this meane time, while the French king was thus occupied about Bolleyn in Fraunce, the kings maiestie was still occupied in quyeting and pacifying of his rebellious people in Englande, and finally to pacifie them and to set them all at rest, the king published his graces most generall and free pardon to all rebels, so that they would forthwith vpon the publication of the sayde pardon, euery man to returne to his house and countrey, which they gladly did, and so thys sedicious and most dangerous rebellion ceased.

Mary Stuart Queene of Scottes conueyed into France.

Also in this busse time, Mary Stuart Queene of Scots was conueyed by Sea out of Scotland into Fraunce, and there the. xix. day of Aprill. 1548. was maryed in our Lady Church in Paris with great triumph and solempnitie,

mitie unto Fraunces the Dolphyn, eldest sonne unto king Henry the seconde of that name French king.

After these hurly burlyes were pacified and quieted, many of the Lordes of the realme, as well counsayloz as other mistyking the gouernement of the Protector, began to withdrawe themselues from the Courte, and resortyng to London, fell to secret consultation for redresse of things, but namely for the displacing of the sayde Lorde Protector, and sodainely of what occasion many maruayled and fewe knewe, euery Lorde and Counsayloz went thowoe the Citie weaponed, and had their seruauntes likewise weaponed attendyng vpon them in newe lycerings to the wondering of many. And at the last, a great assemble of the sayde Counsayloz was made at the Erle of Warwikes lodging which was then at Ely place in Holborne, whether all the Confederates in this matter came priuily armed, and finally concluded to possesse the Tower of London, which by the pollicie of Sir Wylliam Paulet Lorde Treasorer of Englande was peaceably obteyned for them, who by order of the sayde Confederates, immediatly remoued Sir John Barkam then Lieutenant of the Tower, and placed in that roome syr Leonard Chamberleyne. And after that the sayde counsaile was broken by at Ely place, the Erle of Warwike remoued forthwith into the Citie of London, and laye in the house of one John Porke Citezen of London, who was then chiefe mayster of the Wynt in Southwarke in Suffolke place, which Porke was shortly after by the ayde of the sayde Erle of Warwike made by the king knight, by the name of syr John Porke.

The confederates withdrewe themselves into private conferences.

The Lorde Protector hearing of the maner of the assemble of this counsaile, & of the taking of the Tower which seemed to him verie straunge and doubtfull, did presently the saide night remoue from Hampton Court, taking the king with him unto the Castell of Wyndsoze, and there began to fortifie the same.

The Protector for remouing in haste with the king to Wyndsoze.

The Lordes of the Counsaile beyng then in London as aforesaide conferred with the Maior of London and his brethren, first wylling them to cause a good and substantiall watch by night, and a good warde by daye to be kept for the safegarde of the Citie, and the portes and gates thereof, which was consented vnto: and the Companies of London in their turnes warned to watch and warde accordingly.

Then the sayd Lordes and counsayloz demaunded of the Lord Maior and his brethren five hundred men to ayde them to fetch the Lorde Protector out of Wyndsoze from the king. But therunto the Maior answered that he could graunt no ayde without the assent of the common counsaile of the Citie. Wherevpon the next daye, a common counsaile was sommoned to the Gyldhall in London.

But in this meane time, the sayde Lordes of the counsaile assembled themselues at the Lorde Maiors house of London, who then was syr John Amcotes fishmonger, and William Locke Mercer, and syr John Ayleph Shiriefes of the sayde Citie. And there the sayde Counsaile agreed and published a proclamation forthwith agaynst the Lorde Protector, the effect of which proclamation was as foloweth.

A proclamation published agaynst the Lord Protector.

First, that the Lord Protector by his malicious and euill gouernement was the occasion of al the sedition that of late had happened wthin the realme.

¶ yyy. iij.

The



The losse of the kings preces in Fraunce.

That he was Ambitious and sought his owne glory, as appered by his building of most sumptuous and costly houses, and specially in the time of the kings warres, and the kings souldiours bypayde.

That he esteemed nothing the graue counsaile of the Counsaillors.

That he sowed sedicion betwene the nobles, the gentlemen & commons.

That the nobles assembled themselves together at London for none other purpose, but to haue caused the Protector to haue liued within limits, and to haue put suche order for the kings maiestie as apperteyned, whatsoeuer the Protector's doings were, which (as they sayde) were vnnatural, ingrate and Trayterous.

That the Protector slaudered the counsaile to the king, and did that in him laye to cause variaunce betwene the king and his nobles.

That he was a great Traytor, and therefore the Lordes desired the Citie and the commons to ayde them to take him from the king. And in witness and testimonie of the contentes of the sayde proclamation, the Lordes subscribed their names and tytles, being sixtene in number.

After the aforesayd proclamation was proclaymed, the Lordes of the most part of them continuing and lying in London, came the next day to the Gyldehall during the time that the Lord Maior & his brethren, sate in their court or inner chamber, and entred and commended a long while with them, and at the last, the Maior and his brethren came forth vnto the common counsaile, where was read the kings letter sent vnto the Maior and Citizens, commaunding them to ayd him with five hundred men, and to send the same to his Castell at Windsor: and to the same letter was adioyned the kings hand and the Lorde Protector's. On the othersyde by the mouth of the Recorder, it was requested that the Citizens would graunt their ayde rather vnto the Lordes, for that the Protector had abused both the kings maiestie and the whole Realme, and without that he were taken from the king, and made to vnderstand his folly, this realme was in great hazard, and therefore required y the Citizens would willingly assent to ayd the Lordes with five hundred men, here vnto was none other answer made but silence. But the Recorder (who at that time was a worthy Gentleman called Maister Brooke) still cryed vpon them for answer. At the last stepped by a wise and good Citizen and sayd, in this case it is good for us to thinke of thinges past to auoide the daunger of thinges to come. I remember, sayth he, in a booke written in Fabians Chronicle, of the warre betwene the king and his Barons, which was in the time of king Henry the third, and the same time the Barons as our Lordes do now demaunded ayde of the Maior and Citie of London, & that in a rightfull cause for the common weale, which was for the execution of diuers good lawes, wher vnto the king before had geuen his consent, and after would not suffer them to take place, and the Citie did ayde the Lordes, & it came to an open battayl, wherin the Lordes preuailed and toke the king and his sonne prisoners, and vpon certaine condycions, the Lordes restored againe the king and his sonne to their liberties. And among all other condicions, this was one that the king should not only graunt his pardon to the Lordes, but also to the Citizens of London, which was graunted, yea and the same was ratified by act of parliament. But what followed of

The kings letter read to the Citizens.

A Citizens tale tolde in the common counsaile in London.

it?

it was it forgotten? no surely, nor forgiven during the kinges life, the liberties of the Citie were taken away, Straungers appoynted to be our Heades and Governours, the Citizens geuen away bodie and goodes, and from one persecution to another, were most miserably afflicted, siche it is to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Salome n sayth, the wrath & indignation of a Prince is death. Wherefore forasmuch as this ayde is requyred of the kinges maiestie, whose voyce we ought to hearken vnto, for he is our high sheherd, rather then vnto y Lordes: and yet I would not with the Lordes to be clerely shakē of, but that they with vs and we with them may ioyne in suite and make our most humble petition to the kinges maiestie, that it would please his highnesse to heere such complaynt against the gouernement of the Lorde Protector as maye be iustly alliged and proued. And I doubt not, but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the king, nor yet the Lordes haue cause to seeke for further ayde, neyther we to offend any of them both. After this tale, the commons staid, and the lord Maior and his brethren for that time brake by, and afterwarde commoned with the Lordes.

The Lordes sate the next daye in counsaile in the Starre Chamber and from thence they sent Sir Phillippe Hobby, with their letter of credence to the kinges maiestie, beseching his highnesse to geue credite to that which the sayd Sir Phillip should declare vnto his maiestie in their names: and the king gaue him libertie to speake, and most gently heard all that he had to saye. And truly he did so wisely declare his message, and so grauely tolde his tale in the name of the Lordes, but therewithall so behemently and so grieuouly against the Protector, who was also there present by y King, that in the ende, the Lord Protector was commaunded from the kinges presence and shortly was committed to ward in a Tower within the Castell of Windsor called Beauchampes Tower. And sone after were staid Sir Thomas Smith, Maister Whalley, Maister Fisher, and many other Gentlemen that attended vpon the Lorde Protector. And the same daye, the Lordes of the Counsaile came to Wyndsoze to the king, and the next day they brought from thence the Lorde Protector and the other that were there stayed, and comieied them throughe the Citie of London with as much wonderment as might be vnto the Tower, where they remayned prisoners.

Shortly after the Lordes resorted vnto the Tower, and there charged the Protector with sundry articles, which for tediousnesse I omit.

Shortly after this, the kings maiestie called his high Court of parliament, and helde the same at Westminster, the .xxiiij. day of Nouember, in the thirde yere of his reigne, and there contynued the same vntill the first daye of February next folowynge, which was in the fourth yere of his graces reigne. And among other thinges there enacted and concluded, one statute was made for the punishment of rebelles and vnlawfull assemblies, the which lawe was made by occasion of the late rebellion that had happened in maner thoroowout the realme the yere passed, and was not thought nor ment to haue touched anye Noble man, and specially none such as the Duke of Sommerset was, which after as it shall appere it did, and by that statute he was condemned within two yeres next after.

After the ende of this parliament, the Erle of Warwicke hauing then highest aucthoritie, and the rest of the Lordes of the counsaile, calling to remem-

Sir Phillip Hobby sent to the king by the Lordes.

The Lorde Protector committed to prison in windsoze Castell.

The Lorde Protector committed to the Tower.

A parliament.

An acte for vnlawfull assemblies.

1549

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remembraunce howe the last yere in the time of rebellion, the French king had entred into Bullonoy, and wonne dyuers of the Englishe forts there, beyng of great importaunce for the defence of the towne and Countrey, the default whereof was imputed to the negligent gouernement of the Lorde Protector. And forsomuch as they well vnderstood that the French king vpon further practise, had placed a Capitayne called the Rhynegraue with dyuers regiments of Almayne, Launceknights and certayne ensignes of Frenchmen, to the number of foure or fiue thousande at the towne of Marguyson, beyng the midway betwene Bolleyn and Calice, to the great perill and daunger as well of the Countie of Bullonoy as also of Calice, Guyfnes and all the lowe countrey. The king therfore for the defence of the sayde frontiers, caused all the straungers, which had serued that yere against the rebels, beyng to the number of two thousande, to be transported ouer the Sea to the Marches of Calice. And at Christmas next folowynge by order of the sayde Erle and of the Counsaillors aforesayde, Frannces Erle of Huntynghdon with Syr Edward Hastinges his brother, Sir James Croft, Sir Leonard Chamberleyn, and dyuers other Capytaines and souldyours to the number of thre thousande were sent ouer to the Marches of Calice to ioyne with the sayde straungers, minding with as conuenient speede as they might to remoue the Campe, and otherwise to annoy the French. And about the seauenth day of Februarie certayne commissioners appoynted for this treatie, that is to wyt, the Erle of Bedford, the Lorde Baget, Sir William Peter the kinges chiefe Secretary, and Syr John Mason arryued at Calice: By reason of whose comming, the Erle of Huntynghdon and the armie sent ouer before for the defence of the frontiers were countermaunded from anye further attempt, so that little or nothing was done in that voyage, sauing certayne skirmishes at dyuers times, not much materi- all to be wrytten of.

These commissioners beyng thus arryued, passed from Calice to Bolleyn, there to meete with the commissioners appointed by the French king where as a certayne house was newly erected for the sayd treatie to be had, which was vpon the side of Bolleyn hauen next to Fraunce, where after dyuers meetings and conferences of the commissioners of eyther partie, a final peace was at the last concluded betwene both the realmes. But chiefly among other thinges, for the restitution of Bolleyn and Bullonoy vnto the French, which was vpon certayne conditions folowynge.

First that the French king should yeelde and paye to the king of Eng- lande a certayne somme of money, and the same to be payde at two pay- ments, as it was then agreed, and for the same somme, the king of Eng- lande should render the towne of Bolleyn, and all the fortes thereto ad- ioyning, which he then enioyed, with all suche artillarie and municion as was there founde at the taking of the same vnto the french king. And for the sure payment of the sayde sommes, the french king sent into Englande for hostages and pledges, the Countie of Angwyn, Leuoy the Lorde of Wende- dinc hys brother, the Widame of Charters, and Duke de Humale and other. And on saint Markes daye next folowynge, beyng the .xxv. daye of Aprill about eyght of the clock in the morning, the Englishe men did deli- uer to the french men the possession of Bolleyn, and the Castels and fortes

A power sent ouer to resist the French.

Commissioners sent to treat of peace

A peace con- cluded with Frannces.

Bolleyn ge- uen vnto the french king.

in the Countie of Bullonoy according to the agrements and articles of the peace afoze mencioned. And the fiftene day next folowynge, the French king entred into the sayde towne of Bolleyn, with Trumpets blown, and with all the royall triumph that might be, where he offered one great Image of Siluer of our Ladye in the Church there, which was called oure Ladye Church. The which Image he had caused specially to be made in the honoz of the sayde Ladie, and caused the same to be set vp in the place where the lyke Image befoze did stande, the which befoze was taken awaye by the Englishe men at the wyning of the towne.

Soone after this agreement, the Duke of Sommerfet late Protector, was deliuered out of the Tower, and because of suspition of displeasure and hatred that was thought to be betwene the Erle of Warwike, and the Duke of Sommerfet, a meane was found that their friendship shoulde be renewed through alliance, and a mariage was concluded betwene the Erle of War- wikes eldest sonne, and the Duke of Sommerfets eldest daughter, the which maryage was solemnised at Shene, the king beyng then present.

After the solemnitie of this mariage, there appered outwardly to the worlde great loue and friendship betwene the Duke and the Erle, but by reason of Caritales and flatterers, the loue continued not long, howbeit ma- ny did very earnestly wishe loue and amitie to continue betwene them.

About this tyme there was at Feuerham in Kent a Gentleman named Arden most cruelly murdered and slaine by the procurement of his awne wyfe. And she for the same fact was burned at Cauntzbury, and certayne o- ther that were the doers therof were hanged in diuers places of the realme.

At this tyme also the kinges Maiestie called his highe Court of Par- liament, and helde the same at Westminster the .xxiiij. day of January, in the fift yere of his reigne, and there continued the same until the .xv. day of April in the sixt yere of his reigne.

In this Parliament the booke of common prayer, which in some part had bene corrected and amended, was newly confirmed and established. And in the ende of this Parliament there chaunced a great and contagious sick- nesse to happen in þe realme, which was called the sweatynge sicknesse, wher- of a great number of people dyed in a small tyme, namely in the Citie of Lo- don. And it seemed that God had appoynted the sayde sicknesse onely for the plague of Englishmen, for the most that died thereof were men and not wo- men nor children. And it so folowed the Englishmen, that such Marchants of England as were in Flaunders and Spaine, and other Countries be- yond the sea were visited therewithall, and none other nation infected there- with. And it began first in Aprill in the North partes, and so came through the realme, and continued until September next folowynge. The disease was sodaine and grieuous, so that some beyng in perfite health in one houre, were gone and dead within foure houres next folowynge. And the same being whote and terrible infozced the people greatly to call vpon God, and to doe many deedes of Charitie: But as the disease ceased, so the deuocion quick- ly decayed.

At this tyme also, the kinges Maiestie with the aduice of his priuie Counsaile, and hauynge also great conference with Marchauntes and other, perceiynge that by such coynes and copper moneys as had bene coyned in the

The entere of the french king into Bullonoy.

The Duke of Sommerfet deliuered out of the Tower.

A mariage made betwene the Duke of Sommerfets daughter and the Duke of Warwicke's sonne.

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Arden mur- dered.

A parliament

The sweating sicknesse.

The coyns Eng of the Coyne



the tyme of the king his father, and no boe were commonly curraunt in the realme, and in dede a great number of them not worth halfe the value that they were curraunt at, to the great dishonoz of the kinges Maiestie and the realme, and to the decepte and nolittle hinderaunce of all the kinges Maiesties good subiectes, did now purpose not onely the abacyng of the sayd copper moneys, but also ment wholly to reduce them into Bollion, to the entent to deliuer fine & good moneys for them. And therfore in the Moneth of July by his graces Proclamation, he abaced the peece of .xij. pence comonly called a Teston vnto .ix. pence, & the peece of foure pence vnto thzee pence. And in August next folowynge, the peece of .ix. pence was abaced to six pence, and the peece of thzee pence vnto two pence, and the penny to an halfe penny.

The .xi. day of October, there was a great creation of Dukes & Erles, as the Lord Marques Dorset was created Duke of Suffolke, the Erle of Warwicke made Duke of Northumberland, & the Erle of Wiltshire made Marques of Winchester, & syr Wylliam Herbert maister of the hozse, was made Erle of Pembroke, and dyuers Gentlemen were made knightes.

The .xvi. day of the said month being Fryday, the Duke of Sommerset was againe apprehended, and his wife also, and committed to the Tower, and with him also were committed sir Michell Stanhop, sir Thomas Arondell, sir Raufe Auane, sir Miles Partridge, and other, for suspition of treason and felony, whereof, they all were shortly after indicted, and so standing indicted, the seconde day of December next folowynge, the sayde Duke was brought out of the Tower of London with the Axe of the Tower bozne before him, with a great number of Billes, Cleues, Holbardes, and Polaxes, attendyng vpon him, and so came into Westminster Hall, where was made in the middle of the Hall a new Scaffold, where all the Lordes of the kings Counsaile sate as his Judges, and there was he arreigned and charged with many articles both of treason and felony. And when after much milde speche he had aunswered not giltye, he in all humble maner put himselfe to be tryed by his Peeres, who after long consultation among themselves, gaue their berdict that he was not giltye of the treason, but of the felony. The people there present which was a great number, heeryng the Lordes say not giltye, which was to the treason, thinkyng most certainly that he was clerely acquitted, and chiefly for that, immediately vpon the pronouncyng of those wordes, he that carryed the Axe of the Tower, departed with the Axe, they made such an outcrie and ioy, as the lyke hath not bene heard, which was an euident declaration of their good willes bozne towardes him: But nevertheless, he was condemned to the death, whereof shortly after he tasted. The felonie that he was condemned of, was vpon the statute made the last yere agaynst rebelles and vnlawfull assemblies, wherein among other thinges is one braunch, that whosoener shall procure the death of any Counsaylor, that euery such attempt or procurement shall be felonye. And by force of that statute the Duke of Sommerset beyng accompanied with certayne other, was charged that he purposed and attempted the death of the Duke of Northumberlande, the Lozde Marques, the Lozde of Pembroke, and others of the priuie Counsaile, the which by statute was felonye.

After the Duke was thus condemned, he was againe returned to the Tower, and landed at the Crane of the Wintre, and so passed through London,

The Duke of Sommerset againe apprehended and committed to the Tower.

The Duke of Sommerset condemned returned to the Tower.

don, where were both exclamations, the one cryed for ioye, that he was acquitted, the other cryed out that he was condemned. But howsoeuer they cryed, he was conuicted to the Tower of London, where he remayned vntill the .xxij. daye of January next following.

The Duke beyng condemned as is aforesayd, the people spake diuersly and murmored against the Duke of Northumberlande, and against some other of the Lordes for the condemnation of the sayd Duke, and also as the common fame went, the kinges maiestie tooke it not in good part: wherfore aswell to remooue fond talke out of mennes mouthes, as also to recreate and refreche the troubled spirites of the yong king, it was deuised that the feast of Christes Natiuitie, commonly called Christmas then at hand, should be solemnly kept at Grenewiche with open household, and franke resorte to the Court, (which is called keepyng of the Hall,) what time of olde ordinarie course, there is alwayes one appoynted to make spozte in the Courte, called commonly Lozde of Myracle, whose office is not vnknowne to such as haue bene brought by in Noble mens houses, and among great house keepers; which vse liberall feasting in that season. There was therfore by order of the counsaile a Gentleman both wise and learned, whose name was George Ferrers appoynted to that office for this yere: who beyng of better calling then comonly his predecessors had bene before, receyued all his commissions and warrauntes by the name of the Maister of the kings pastimes, which Gentleman so well supplied his office, both in the waye of sundry sightes and deuises of rare inuention, and in act of diuers enterludes and matters of pastime, played by persons, as not onely satisfied the common sozte, but also were very well liked and allowed by the counsaile and other of skill in the like pastimes: But best of al by the yong king himselfe, as appered by his princely liberalitie in rewarding that seruice.

This Christmas being thus passed and spent with much mirth and pastime, wherewith the mindes and eares of murmurers were meetely well appeased, according to a former determination as the sequelle shewed, it was thought now good to proceede to the execution of the iudgement geuen against the Duke of Sommerset touching his conuiction and attaynder of the felonye afoze mencioned. Wherevpon the .xxij. daye of January then next following beyng Fryday, he was brought out of the Tower, and according to the manner deliuered to the Shyrfes of London, and so with a great company of the Gard and other wyth weapones, was brought vnto the Scaffolde, where he shoulde suffer. And there nothing changyng boyre nor countenance, but in a maner with the same gesture that he partely vled at home kneeling downe vpon both his knees, and lifting by his handes erected himselfe vnto God. And after that he had ended a fewe shorte prayers, standing by againe and turning him selfe towardes the East syde of the Scaffolde, he vttered to the people these wordes in effect.

Derely beloued Maisters and friendes, I am brought hether to suffer, albeit that I neuer offended against the king, neyther by woerde nor dede, and haue bene alwayes as faythfull and as true vnto the realme as any man hath bene. But forsomuch as I am by a law condemned to dye, I do acknowledge my selfe as well as other to be subiect therevnto. Wherfore to expresse and testifie my obedience, which I owe vnto the lawes, I am come

George Ferrers Maister of the kings pastimes.

The execution of the Duke of Sommerset.

The Duke of Sommerset sitting to the people.



come hether to suffer death, wherunto I willingly offer my selfe, geuing most hartie thanks vnto the deuine goodnesse, as if I had receyued a most ample and great rewarde: For this it is thought good in the sight of the most mercifull father now to graunt me this time of repentance, & to acknowledge my self, who might through sodaine death haue stopped my breath, that I should neyther acknowlege him nor my selfe, in which behalte I worthely with my whole hart render thanks vnto him. And mozeouer gentle friends, there is yet some what that I must put you in mynde of, verely as touching religion, which so long as I was in authozity I did alwayes diligently set forth vnto you, neither do I repent me of my doings, but rather therof take most abundant and true occasion of reioysing, now that the state of Christian religion seemeth to drawe most nere vnto the forme of an order of the Primative Church. Of which thing I do not onely reioyce, but also interpret it as a great benefite geuen of God both vnto you and me, most hartely exhorting you all that this which is most purely set forth vnto you, you will with like thankfulness accept & embrace and set out the same in your liuinges, which thing if you do not, great mischiefe and perill will follow.

*In sodaine  
fear, amongst  
the people.*

And when he had spoken the aforesayd wordes, sodaynely a terroz and feare possessed all mennes hartes, and surely the people present were so dismayde, that they ranne together vpon heapes, and fled as though they had seene some armed men to make resistauce and cryed out, Iesus saue vs, Iesus saue vs. Those which taried still in their places knew not where they were. The diuerse and sundrye noyses of those which cryed oute, made the sodaine tumulte muche moze confused then it woulde haue beene, albeit of it selfe it was troublesome enough, for as euery man thought himselfe to be in daunger, so he cryed out, so many and sundrye noyses were hearde, this waye and that way they come.

In the meane time whilst these things were thus in doying, the people by chaunce espyed one s<sup>r</sup> Anthony Browne knight, ryng toward the Scaffolde, which was the occasion of a new noyse: For when they saw him comming, euen at that time, they suspected that which was not true, & yet notwithstanding, it was that which they all wisshed for, that the king by that messenger, had sent his vncle pardon, and therefore with great reioysing they cryed out pardon, pardon is come, God saue the king.

The truth of this hurly butyre grewe hereof, as it was after well knowne. The maner and custome is that when such executions are done out of the Tower, the inhabitants of certayne Hamlets round about London, as Hoggston, Newyngton, Shordiche and other are commaunded to geue their attendaunce with weapons vpon the Lieutenannt. And at this tyme, the Duke being vpon the Scaffolde by eyght of the clocke in the morning, the people of one of the Hamlets came late, and comming thorough the posterne gate espyng the Duke on the Scaffolde, made haste and beganne to runne, and cryed to their felowes that were behind come away, come away. The people sodainely beholding them to come running with weapons, and knewe not the cause cried away, away, by reason whereof the people ranne euery way, not knowing whether nor wherfoze.

The Duke in the meane time standing still both in the same place and minde where he was befoze with his Cap which he shooke with his hande  
made

made a signe vnto the people, that they should kepe themselves quiet, which thing being done and silence obteyned, he spake to them the seconde time in this maner.

Dearely beloved friends, there is no surhe matter here in hande as you vainely hope or beleue, it seemeth thus good vnto almightie God, whose ordinaunce it is meete and necessary that we all be obedient vnto, wherfoze I pray you all to be quiet and without tumult, for I am euen now quiet, and let vs ioyne in prayer vnto the Lorde for the preservation of our noble king, vnto whose maiestie I wishe contynuall health with all felicitie and abundaunce and all maner of prosperous successe, wherunto the people cryed out Amen. Mozeouer sayth the Duke, I wishe vnto all his counsailors the grace and fauour of God, wherby they maye rule all thinges by rightly with iustice, vnto whome I exhort you all in the Lorde to shewe your selues obedient, the which is also verely necessaric for you vnder the paine of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and sauegarde of the kings maiestie. And forsomuch as heretofore, I haue had often times affaires with diuers men, and that it is heard to please euery man, therfoze if there be any man that hath bene offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and aske him forgeuenesse. But especially almightie God, whome thoroughout all my life I haue most greenously offended. And vnto all other whatsoeuer they be that haue offended mee, I doe with my whole heart forgeue them. And once agayne dearely beloved in the Lorde I require you that you will keepe your selues quiet and still, least thorough your tumult you might cause mee to haue some trouble, which in this case woulde nothing at all profite me, neyther be any pleasure vnto you. For albeit the spirite be wylling and readie, the fleshe is frayle and wauering, and thorough your quietnesse, I shall be much moze the quieter: But if that you fall to tumult it will be great trouble and no gayne at all vnto you. Mozeouer I desire you to beare me witnesse that I die here in the fayth of Iesu Christ, desiring you to helpe me with your prayers, that I maye perseuer constant in the same vnto my lues ende. Then he turning himselfe about kneeled downe vpon his knees, vnto whome Docteur Core which was there present to counsaile and aduertise him, deliuered a certaine scroll into his hande, wherein was conteyned a brieue confession vnto God, which being read he stood by agayne on his feete, without any trouble of minde as it appered, and first bade the Shyefes farewell, then the Lieutenant of the Tower, and certayne other that were on the Scaffolde, taking them all by the handes. Then he gaue the executioner certayne money, which done, he put of his Gowne, and kneeling downe agayne in the strawe, butyed his shyrte strings, and then the executioner comming to him, turned downe his collet rounde about his necke, and all other things which did let and hinder him. Then he couering his face with his awne handkercheffe, lifting by his eyes vnto heauen, where his onely hope remainned, layde himselfe downe along and there suffered the heauie stroke of the axe, which disseuered the head from his bodye, to the lamentable sight and grieffe of thousands that heartily praysed God for him, and entirely loued him.

This Duke was in high fauour and estimation with king Henry the eyght, of whome he receyued sundry high and great preferments, by reason

A a a a .i.

that

*The secon  
speech of the  
Duke of  
Somerset  
to the people.*

*The death  
of the Duke  
of Somerset*



that the sayde king had maryed the Lady Jane his sister, by whome he had issue king Edward the sixt. He was not onely curteous, wise and gentle, beyng daylie attendaunt at the Court, but forwarde and fortunate in service abroade, as maye well appere in his sundry voyages both in Fraunce and Scotlande, he was of nature verie gentle and pitifull, not blemished by any thing so much as by the death of the Admiral his natural brother, which could not have bene without his consent.

The .xxvi. day of February next folowynge, for the lyke felony that the Duke of Sommerfet was condemned, were also executed and hanged on a gallowes nere vnto the scaffolde on Tower hill, sir Raufe Ruane, and sir Miles Partridge knightes. And the same day was for the same cause and matter sir Myghell Stanhop, and sir Thomas Arondell beheaded on the Scaffolde.

Not long after the death of the sayd Duke and his complices, it chaunced the reuerend father in God Master Doctor Ridley then Bishop of London to preach before the kinges Maiestie at Westminster. In the which sermon he made a fruitfull and Godly exhortation to the riche, to be mercifull vnto the poore, and also moued such as were in auctoritie to traualle by some charitable waye and meane to comfort and relieue thaim. Whereby on the kinges Maiestie beyng a Prince of such forwardnesse and vertue for hys yeres, as Englande before neuer brought forth, and the same also beyng so well treyned and brought vp in al Godly knowlege, as well by his dere Uncle the late Protector, as also by his vertuous and learned Scholemasters, was so carefull of the good gouernment of the realme, and chiefly to do and preferre such thinges as most specially touched the honoz of almighty God. And vnderstandynge that a great number of poore people did swarme in this realme, and chiefly in the Citie of London, and that no good order was taken for them, did sodainly and of himselfe send to the sayd Bishop as soone as his Sermon was ended, willynge him not to depart vntill that he had spoken with him (and this that I nowe write was the verye report of the sayde Bishop Ridley) and accordynge to the kinges commaundement, he gaue hys attendaunce. And so soone as the kinges Maiestie was at leysure, he called for him, and made him to come vnto him into a great Gallery at Westminster wherein to his knowlege, and the king also tolde him so, there was present no mo persons then they two, and therfore made him sit downe in one chaire, and he himselfe in another, which as it seemed were before the coming of the Bishop there purposely set, and caused the Bishop mawger his teeth to be couered, and then entred communication with him in this sort, first geuing him most heartie thankes for his Sermon and good exhortation, and therein rehearsed such speciall thinges as he had noted, and that so many that the Bishop sayde, truly, truly, for that was commonly his othe, I could neuer haue thought y excellency to haue bene in his grace, that I behelde & saw in him. At the last the kinges Maiestie much commended him for his exhortation for the reliefe of the poore, but my Lorde sayth he, ye willed such as are in auctoritie to be carefull thereof, and to deuise some good order for theyr reliefe, wherein I thinke you meant me, for I am in highest place, and therefore am the first that must make aunswere vnto God for my negligence if I shoulde not be carefull therein, knowynge it to be the expresse commaundement of almighty

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6  
Sir Raufe Ruane,  
Sir Miles Partridge,  
Sir Myghell Stanhop,  
Sir Thomas Arondell

A most noble and vertuous sayng of a Prince.

mightie god, to haue compassion of his poore and nedie members for whom we must make an accompt vnto him. And truly my Lorde I am before all things most willynge to traualle that way, and I doubt nothing of your long and approued wisdom and learnynge, who hauynge such good zeale as willeth helpe vnto them, but that also that you haue had some conference with others what wayes are best to be taken therein, the which I am desirous to vnderstand, and therefore I pray you say your minde.

The Bishop thinkeynge least of that matter, and beyng amased to here the wisdom and earnest zeale of the king, was, as he sayd himselfe so astonied, that he could not well tell what to say. But after some pauise, sayd, that as he thought at this presence for some entraunce to be had, it were good to practise with the Citie of London, because a nuber of the poore there are very great, and the Citizens are many and also wise. And he doubted not but they were also both pitifull and mercifull, as the Maior and his brethren, and other the worshipfull of the sayd Citie, and that if it would please the kinges Maiestie to direct his gracious letter vnto the Maior of London, willynge hym to call vnto him such assistance as he should thinke meete to consult of thys matter, for some order to be taken therein, he doubted not but good should folow therof. And he himselfe promised the king to be one that would earnestly traualle therein. The king forthwith not onely graunted his letter, but made the Bishop tary vntill the same was written, and his hand and signet set therevnto, and commaunded the Bishop not onely to deliuer the same letter himselfe, but also to signifie vnto the Maior that it was the kinges speciall request and expresse commaundement, that the Maior should therein traualle, and alsoone as he might conueniently geue knowlege vnto him how farre he had proceded therein. The Bishop was so ioyous of the hauing of this letter, and that he had nowe an occasion to traualle in that good matter, wherein he was meruaylous zelous, that nothing could more haue pleased and delighted him: Wherefore the same night he came to the Maior of London, who then was sir Richard Dobbes knight, & deliuered the kinges letter, and shewed his message with effect. The Maior not only ioyously receyued this letter, but with all speede agreed to set forward this matter, for he also fauoured it very much. And the next day beyng Monday, he desired the Bishop of London to dine with him, and agaynst that tyme the Maior promised that he would sende for such men, as he thought meetest to talke of this matter, and so he did. And sent first for two Aldermen, and six Commoners, and afterward were appoynted moze to the number of .xxiiij. And in the ende after sundrie metynge, (for by the meane of the good diligence of the Bishop, it was well folowed) they agreed vpon a booke that they had deuised, wherein first they considered of .ix. speciall kindes or sortes of poore people, and those they brought into these thre degrees.

The poore by impotencie.  
Poore by casualtie.  
Chyrtlelle poore.

Three degrees of poore.

Degrees of poore.

The poore by impotencie are also deuised into thre kyndes, that is to say.

- 1 The fatherlesse or poore mans childe.
- 2 The aged, blinde, and lame.
- 3 The diseased perso, by leprosy, dropsy, &c. A a a a a .ij.

The



- 1 The pooze by casualtie are also three kyndes, that is to say.
- 2 The thyriftlesse pooze are three kyndes, that is to say.
- 3 The wounded Souldioz.
- 4 The decayed householder.
- 5 The bisited with grienous disease.
- 6 The rioter that consumeth all.
- 7 The bagabond that will abide in no place.
- 8 The ydle person, as the Strumpet & other.
- 9

Christes Hospitall.

For these sortes of pooze were prouided thre seuerall houses, first for the innocent and fatherlesse, which is the Beggers childe, and is in deede the seede & breeder of beggery, they prouided the house that was the late Graie Fryers in London, and nowe is called Christes Hospitall, where the pooze children are trayned in the knowlege of God and some vertuous exercise to the ouerthrow of beggery.

Saint Thomas hospital.

For the seconde degree, is prouided the Hospitall of Saint Thomas in Southwarke, and Saint Bartholomewe in West Smithfielde, where are continually at the least two hundred diseased persones which are not on-ly there lodged and cured, but also fed and nozished.

Bridewell.

For the thirde degree, they prouided Bridewell, where the Waga-bond and ydle strumpet is chastised and compelled to labour, to the ouerthrowe of the vicious life of ydlenesse.

They prouided also for the honest decayed householder, that he should be releued at home at hys house, and in the parishe where he dwelled by a weekly reliefe and pencion. And in like maner they prouided for the Lazer to keepe him out of the Citie from clapping of dishes, and ringing of belles, to the great trouble of the Citezens, and also to the daungerous infection of many, that they also should bee releued at home at their houses wyth seuerall pencions.

King Edward the sixt founder of the hospitalls in London.

Nowe after this good order taken, and the Citezens by suche meanes as was deuised, willing to further the same. Then report thereof was made vnto the kings Maiestie: And his grace for the aduancement hereof, was not onely wylling to graunt such as should be the ouerseers and gouernours of the sayde houses a corporation and auctoritie for the gouernement thereof: But also required that he might be accompted as the chiefe founder and Patrone thereof: And for the furtheraunce of the sayde worke and continual maintenance of the same, he of his meere mercie and goodnesse graunted, that where befoze certaine landes were geuen to the maintenaunce of the house of the Sauoy, founded by king Henry the seventh, for the lodging of pilgrimes and straungers, and that the same was nowe made but a lodging of loyterers, bagabondes and strumpets that lay all day in the fieldes, and at night were harborred there, the which was rather the maintenaunce of beggery, then the reliefe of the pooze, gaue the same landes beyng first surrendered into his handes by the maister and felowes there, which landes were of the yerely value of sixe hundred pounde, vnto the Citie of London, for the maintenaunce of the foundation afozesayde. And for a further reliefe, a petition beyng made to the kinges Maiestie for a licence to take in mort- mayne, or other wise without licence landes to a certayne yerely value, and a space left in the patent for his grace to put in what somme it should please him: he looking on the boyde place called for pen and ynke, and with hys abone

abone hand wrote this summe, in these maner of wordes (foure thousand markes by yere) and then sayde in the heering of his counsaile, Lord God I yeelde thee most hartly thanks & thou hast geuen me life thus long, to finish this worke to & glorie of thy name: After which foundation established, he liued not aboue two daies.

By example of which act of thys vertuous yong king, sir William Chester knight and Alderman of London, & John Calthrop Citizen and Draper of the sayd City, at their owne proper costs & charges made the Brickwalles & way on the backside, that leadeth from the said new Hospitall vnto the Hospital of S. Bartholomewes: and also couered & baluted the towne ditch from Aldersgate to Newgate, which befoze was very noysome & contagious vnto & said Hospital.

This Hospitall beyng thus erected and put in good order, there was one Richard Castle Alias Casteller Shoemaker dwelling in Westminster, a man of great trauaile and labour in his faculty with his abone hands, and such a one as was named the Cock of Westminster, for that both Winter & Sommer he was at his worke befoze foure of the clocke in the morning. This man thus truly & painefully laboring for his liuing, God blessed and encreased his labors so abundantly, that he purchasid lands and tenements in Westminster, to the yerely value of. ciiii. pounde. And hauing no childe, with the consent of his wife (who also yet liueth and is a vertuous and good woman) gaue the same landes wholly to Christes Hospital afozesayd to the reliefe of the innocent and fatherlesse childre, and for the succour of the miserable soze and sicke harborred in the other Hospitalls about London, whose example God graunt many to follow.

About this time there were three noble ships set forth and furnished for the great aduenture of the vnkowne voyage into the East, by the North seas. The great doer & encourager of which voyage was Sebastian Saboto an Englishe man, bozne at Bristol, but was the sonne of a Genoway. These ships at the last arriued in the country of Muscouia, not without great losse & dainger, and names-ly of their capitain, who was a worthy & aduenterous gentlemā called sir Hugh Willoughby knight, who beyng tossed & driuen by tempest, hee was at the last found in his ship frozen to death and all his people. But now the said voyage and trade is greatly aduanced, & the Marchants aduentering that way are newly by act of parliamēt incorporated & endued with sundry priuileges and liberties.

About the beginning of the Moneth of May next following there were thre notable mariages concluded, & shortly after solemnized at Durham place. The first was betwene the Lorde Guilford Dudley, the fourth sonne of the Duke of Northumberland, & the Lady Jane eldest daughter of Henry Duke of Suffolke and the Ladie Francess his wife, who was the daughter of Mary second sister to king Henrie the eight, first married to Lewys & French king, & after to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke. The second mariage was betwene the Lorde Harbert sonne and heire of William Erie of Denbroke, and the Ladie Katherin second daughter of the said Lady Francess by the said Henry Duke of Suffolke. And the thirde was betwene Henry Lord Hastings, sonne and heire of Francess Erie of Huntingdon, and Katherin yongest daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, which thre mariages were compassed and concluded chiefly vpon purpose to chaunge and alter the order of succession to the crowne, made in the time of king Henry the eight, from the said kings daughters, Mary, & Elizabeth, and to comey the same immediately after the death of king Edward to the house of Suffolke in & right of the said Lady Francess: wherein the said yong king was an earnest traualler in the time of his sicknesse, & all for feare that if his sister Marye beyng next heyre to the crowne should succede, that she would subuert all his

A blessed king.

Sir William Chester knight.

John Calthrop Citizen

Richard Castle Shoemaker.

1552  
7  
Sebastian Saboto

Three notable mariages.  
The first marriage.

The second marriage.

The third marriage.



lawes and statutes made concerning religion, wherof he was most careful: for the continuance wherof he sought to establish a meete order of succession by the allyaunce of great houses by waye of mariage, which neuertheless were of no force to serue his purpose. For tending to the disherison of the rightful heires they proued nothing prosperous to y parties, for two of them were sone after made frustrate, the one by death, the other by deuorze.

In the meane while the king became euery day sicker then other of a consumption in his lunges, so as there was no hope of his recovery, wherby those that then bare chiete aucthority in counsaile, w other Prelats & nobles of the realme, calling to them diuers notable persons learned, aswel in diuinitie as in y lawes of the land, namely, Bishops, Judges, & other, fel to consultation by this weightie case, and lastly concluded according to the deuice of king Edwards will, to declare the said Lady Jane eldest neece to king Henry the eight, and wife to y said Lord Guilford to be rightfull heyre in succession to the crowne of England without respect had to the statute made in the .xxxv. yere of king Henry y eight: The true meaning of which statute, they did impugne & ouerthrowe by diuers subtille and sinister constructions of the same, to disenherite the said kings sisters to whom the succession of the crowne of England of right appertained, aswel by the common lawes of this realme, as also by the sayd statute made in the said .xxxv. yere of the king, as aforesaide. To which newe order of succession all the said kings counsaile, with many Bishops, Lords, Doctors & Judges of y realm, subscribed their names wout refusal of any, except sir James Hales knight, one of the Iustices of y comon place, who being called to this counsaile would in no wise geue his assent either by word or writing, as ye shal here moze in y history of Quene Mary. Now when these matters were thus concluded, & after confirmed by a number of hands as aforesaid, then y noble prince king Edward y sixt by long lingering sicknesse & a consumption of his lunges as aforesaid, approached to his death, & departed out of this life the sixt day of July in the .vij. yere of his reigne, after he had raigned & nobly governed this realme .vij. yeres .v. moneths & .vii. daies. And a little before his departing lifting by his eyes to god, he prayed as fo'oweth

The death of King Edward the sixt.

The prayer of King Edward the sixt at his death.

The Lady Jane proclaimed Queene.

Lord God deliuer me out of this miserable and wretched life, & take me among thy chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord I commit my spirit to thee. Oh Lord thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy chosens sake, if it be thy will send me life & health that I may truly serue thee. Oh my Lord blese thy people and saue thine inheritance. O Lord God, saue thy chosen people of Englande. O my Lord God defende this realme from Papistrie, and maintaine thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name. And therewithall he sayde I am faint, Lord haue mercy vpon me and take my spirit, and so he yeelbed by to God his Ghost the sixt day of July.

Immediately after the death of king Edward, the aforesaid Lady Jane was proclaimed Queene of this realme by the sound of trumpet, that is to say, the .ix. day of July, at which Proclamation were present the Lords of the Counsaile, the Maior of London with other.

The Ladie Mary a little before lying at Honesdon in Hartfordshire, hauing intelligence of the state of the king her brother, and of the secret practise against her, by the aduice of her friendes with all speede tooke her iourney toward her house of Kenninghall in Norfolk, intending there to remaine vntill she coule make her selfe moze strong of her friendes and allies: neuertheless vnderstanding by them that she could not lie there in surety, being a place open and easy to be approached, remoued from thence vnto her Castell of Fremingham standing in a wood Countrie, and not so easie to be inuaded by her enemies.

The Lady Mary fled into Suffolke.

So soone as the Counsaile heard of her sodaine departure, and considering that all came not to passe as they supposed. They caused speedily a power of men to be gathered together. And first they agreed that y Duke of Suffolke, father to the newe made Queene, should haue the conduction and leading of that army.

But

But afterwards upon further considerations it was deuised, that the Duke of Northumberland should haue the charge of this great enterprize, which Duke hauing commission from the whole counsaile, without mistrust of that which after fortun'd, toke in hand that unhappy boiage to his aboue destruction as in the history of Queene Mary shall appere. So that setting apart the feare of all perils (which in other lesse cases he neuer vsed) when all things were in a readinesse he being accompanied with no small number of Lordes and Gentlemen, set forward on his iourney, passing to Cambridge, & from thence to S. Edmondsbury.

The Lady Mary being then at Fremingham, heering of thys preparation against her, gathered together such power of the noble men & other her friends in that coutry as she could get. And first of al y noble men y came vnto her aide, were the Ecles of Suffex, Bath, and Oxford, the lord Wentworth, sir Thomas Cornwallis, sir Henry Feringham, sir William Walgraue, with diuers other gentlemen & comons of the Counties of Norfolk, & Suffolk. In this meane season the Lord Windsor, sir Edmond Beckham, sir Robert Dury, & sir Edward Hastings, raised the commons of the shire of Buckingham, to whom resorted sir John Williams, which afterward was Lord Williams of Came, & sir Leonard Chamberleyne with y chiefe power of Oxfordshire. And out of Northamptonshire came sir Thomas Cressham & a great number of Gentlemen out of diuers parts, whose names were to long to reherse. These capitaines w their copanies being thus assembled in warlike maner, marched forward towards Norfolk to the aid of y Lady Mary, & the further they went, y moze their power encreased.

The Lords of the counsaile being in this meane while at London, after they vnderstood how the better part of the realme were enclined, and heering euery day newes of great assemblies, began to suspect the sequel of this enterprize: so that providing for their awne suretie without respect of the Duke (who was now at Bury) they fell to a new counsaile, & lastly, by assent made proclamation at London in the name of the Lady Mary, by the name of Marye Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland defender of the sayth, and of the Churches of England and Ireland supreme head. Of which proclamation after the Duke of Northumberland being then at Bury, was aduertised by letters from the counsaile, he incontinent according to y new order receiued from them, returned with his power againe to Cambridge, and forthwith upon his comming thether proclaimed the sayd Lady Marye Queene: which proclamation made a sodaine change of mindes in his army, for they that late before seemed most forward in that quarrell, began first to flie from him, and so euery man chisting for himselfe, he that late before was furnished of such multitude of Soldiours, was sodainely forsaken of all sauing of a fewe, whose perilles were ioyned with his.

Queene Mary

**M**ary eldest daughter of king Henry the eight by the Lady Katherin of Spain, his first wife, and sister vnto king Edward the sixt by the father side, began her reigne the sixt day of July, which day the king her brother died, and she was proclaimed at London (as is before remembred in the ende of the history of king Edward the sixt) the .xx. day of July. 1553. And the .xxiii. day of y said moneth next folowing, was also proclaimed in Cambridge by John Duke of Northumberland, as is afoze mencioned, which proclamation made by the said Duke at Cambridge notwithstanding, for that he was appointed generall of the army in the quarel of the Lady Jane of Suffolke, he was by

1553

The Duke of Northumb



berland apprehended at Cambridge.

by the Maioz of Cambridge, and one Sergeant at armes arrested of treason. And the xxiii. day of the said Moneth he with John Earle of Warwike his eldest sonne and two other of his sonnes, and diuers other Lords & Gentlemen, namely William Marquesse of Northampton, Fraunces Earle of Huntingdon, sir John Gates Capitaine of the garde to King Edward the first, Sir Thomas Palmer & other mo, brought prisoners from Cambridge aforesaid by the Earle of Arondeil, and so conueighed to the tower of London. And the .xvi. day of August next following, the sayd Duke, and the other before named (the Earle of Huntingdon except) were brought into Westminster hall, and there arraigned of high treason before Thomas Duke of Norfolk high Steward of England. And being brought to the barre he vsed great reuerence to his Judges, & protesting his fayth and allegcance to the Queenes Maiesty, whom he confessed to haue grievously offended, he said that he ment not to speake any thing in defence of his fact, but would first vnderstand the opinion of the Court in two poyntes.

The Duke of Northampton berland arraigned.

First, whether a man doing any acte or thing by auctoritie of the Princes counsaile, and by warrant of the great Seale of England, and nothing doing without the same, maye be charged with Treason for doing any thing by such warrant?

Second, whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime & those by whose letters & commaundements he was directed in all his doings, might be his iudges or passe upon his trial as his peers?

Wherunto was answered: as to the first, that y<sup>e</sup> great Seale (which he layd for his warrant) was not the seale of y<sup>e</sup> lawfull Queene of the realme, nor passed by her auctority, but y<sup>e</sup> seale of an vsurper, & therfore could be no warrant to him.

And to the second, that if any were as depely to be touched in that case as himselfe, yet so long as no attaindoz were of recorde against them, they were neuertheless persons able in law to passe vpon any trial, & not to be chalenged therfore, but at y<sup>e</sup> princes pleasure. After which answer the Duke vsing a few wordes declaring his earnest repentance in the case, & mouing the duke of Norfolk to be his meane to y<sup>e</sup> Queene for mercy, without further answer confessed the inuitemēt, by whose example the other lords arraigned with him did in the like maner, & therupon had iudgement: so that the .xxii. day of the said moneth of August the sayd Duke, sir John Gates, & sir Thomas Palmer, at the tower hill were executed, & all the rest shortly after were pardoned by the Queene, who (as it was reported) could also haue bene content to haue spared the said Dukes life as well as the rest, for the special' fauor that before time she did alwaies beare vnto him.

After that Queene Marye was thus with full consent of the Nobles, and Commons of the realme proclaymed Queene, she being then in Norfolk at her Castell of Framingham, repayred with all speede toward the Citie of London, & the thirde day of the said moneth of August she came to the said Citie, and so to the Tower. Where the Lady Jane of Suffolk (late afoze proclaymed Queene) with her husband the Lord Guilford a little before her comming, were committed to ward, and there remayned after almost fiue Monethes. And by the waye as the Queene thus passed, she was ioyfully saluted of all the people without any mistaking, saying that it was much feared of many, that she would alter the religion set forth in the time of king Edward her brother, wherof then were geuen iust occasions, because (notwithstanding diuers lawes made to the contrary) shee had daylie Masse and Latine seruice sayde before her in the Tower.

At her entrie into the Tower, there were presented to her certaine Prisoners, namely Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who in the last yere of King Henry the eyght (as you haue heard) was supposed to be attainted of treason: But in the Parliament holden in this first yere of Queene Marye, the said supposed attaindoz was by the auctoritie and act of parliament for good and apparaunt causes alleaged in the sayde acte, declared to be bitterly frustrate and voyde.

The Lady Jane and the Lord Guilford imprisoned.

Prisoners pardoned & released.

boyde. Also Edward Courtney some and heire of Henric Marques of Excestre Colyn Germaine to king Henry the eyght, and Cutbert Constall Bishop of Durham with other persons of great calling: But specially Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Wynchester, whome shee not onely released of imprisonment, but also immediatly aduanced and preferred to be Lorde Chancelor of Englande, restoring him also to his former estate and Bishoprick, and remoued from the same one Doctor Poynt, who a little before was placed therein by the gift of king Edward the first. And touching Edward Courtney, she not onely aduanced him to the Erldome of Devonshire, but also to so much of his fathers possession as there remayned in her handes, whereby it was then thought of many, that she bare affection to him by way of mariage, but it came not so to passe (for what cause I cannot geue any reason) but surely the subiectes of Englande were most desirous thereof.

Stephen Gardiner made Chancelour of England.

Edward Courtney made Erie of Devonshire.

Upon the receauing of this newe Queene, all the Bishops which had bene depriued in the time of king Edward the first her brother for the cause of religion, were nowe againe restored to their Bishopricks. And such other as were placed in king Edwards time remoued from their Sees, and other of contrarie religion placed. Amongst whome Edmond Boner Doctor of the lawes, late afoze depriued from the See of London and committed prisoner to the Marshalsea by order of king Edwardes counsaile, was with all fauour restored to his libertie and Bishoprick; and Nicholas Ridley Doctor in Diuinitie late before aduanced to the saide See by the sayd king was hastily displaced and committed prisoner to the Tower of London. The cause why such extremitie was vsed toward the sayde Bishop Ridley more then to the rest, was for that in the time of the Ladie Jane he preached a Sermon at Paules crosse by the commaundement of king Edwardes Counsaile, where in he dissuaded the people for sundry causes from receyuing the Lady Marie as Queene.

Bishops depouled and Bishops restored.

Edmond Boner Bishop of London.

Nicholas Ridley Bishop of London.

Some after the restitution of Doctor Boner to hys Bishoprick he appointed one late a Chaplein of his called Doctor Borne to preach at Paules Crosse, who was then promoted to the Queenes seruice, and not long afterward made Bishop of Bath. The sayde Doctor taking occasion of the Gospel of that day, spake somewhat largely in the instepping of Bishop Boner being present at the Sermon, which Bishop (as the sayde Preacher then openly sayde) for a Sermon made vpon the same text and in the sayd place the same daye foure yeres afoze passed, was most vniustly cast into the vile Dungeon of the Marshalsea among Theenes, and there kept during the time of king Edwardes reigne. This matter being set forth with great behemency, so much offended the ears of part of the audience, that they brake silence, and began to murmoure and thronge together, in such sorte as the Maioz and Aldermen with other of the wiser sorte then present, feared much an uprore. During which muttering one more feruent then his fellowes, threwe a Dagger at the Preacher, but who it was, came not to knowlege. By reason of which outrage the Preacher withdrew himselfe from the pulpet, and one Maister Bradford at the request of the Preachers brother and others standing there tooke the place and spake so mildely to the people, that with few wordes he appeased their fury. And after the sayd Maister Bradford

Borne Bishop of Bath

A Dagger thrown at the preacher.



forde and Maister Rogers although men of a contrarie religion conueied the sayde Preacher into Paules Schoole, and there left him in safetie.

The Garde appointed for the defence of the Preacher.

The next Sondaye following for feare of a like tumult or woyle, order was taken that the Queenes Garde should be present in the place to defend the Preacher with weapon, whereupon the wiser men perceyuing such a number of weapons, and that great peryll was not vnlike to ensue by such appaunce of late not accustomed, woulde not be present at the Sermon: By reason whereof, there was lett a small auditory. Wherefoze afterward there was a commaundement geuen by the Lord Maior, that the auncients of the companyes should be present at the next Sermon in their liueries, and so they did, wherby all became quyet.

Thomas Cranmer Archebishop committed to the Tower.

Sone after this, Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cantorbury, and late befoze of king Edwardes priue counsaile, was committed to the Tower of London, beyng charged wyth Treason, not onely for geuing aduice to the disinheriting of Queene Marye, but also for ayding the Duke of Northumberland with certayne horlle and men against the Queene in the quarrell of the Lady Jane of Suffolke.

The coronation of Queene Marye.

The last day of September next following, the Queene passed from the Tower through the Citie of London vnto Westminster. And the next day beyng the first of October, shee was crowned at Westminster by Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester (for the Archebishops of Cantorbury and Yorke were then prisoners in the Tower) as befoze ye haue heard. At the time of whose coronation, there was published a generall pardon in her name beyng enterlaced with so many exceptions, as they that neded the same most, tooke smallest benefite thereby. In which pardon were excepted by name no small number, not onely of Bishoppes and other of the clergie, namely the Archebishops of Cantorbury and Yorke, the Bishop of London, but also many Lordes, Knightes and Gentlemen of the layetie, beside the two chiefe Justices of England, called Sir Roger Cholmeley, and Sir Edward Mountagew, and some other learned men in the law, for counsailling, or at the least consenting to the deprivation of Queene Marye, and ayding of the aforesayde Duke of Northumberlande in the pretended right of the aforesayde Lady Jane, the names of which persons so beyng excepted I haue omittted for shortnesse sake.

A leude general pardon.

Commissioners at the Deane of Paules house.

As sone as this pardon was published, and the solempnitie of the feast of the coronation ended, there were certaine commissioners assigned to take order with all such persons as were excepted out of the pardon & others to copound with the Queene for their seuerall offences, which commissioners saie at the Deane of Paules house at the west ende of Paules Church, and there called befoze them the sayde persons apart, and from some they tooke their fees and offices graunted befoze by king Edward the sixt, and yet neuerthelesse putting them to their fines, and some they committed to warde, depryuing them of their states and lyuings, so that for the time to those that tasted therof, it seemed verie grieuous, God delpyer hs from incurring any suche daunger of law againe.

A parliament.

The fift day of October next folowing the Queene held her high court of parliament at Westminster which continued vntill the .xxj. day of the sayd Moneth. In the first Session of which parliament there passed no mo acts but

but one, and that was to declare Queene Marie lawfull heyze in discent to the crowne of Englande by the common lawes next after her brother king Edward, and to repeale certayne causes of treason, felonye and Premeunire conteyned in diuers former statutes, the which act of repeale was for that Cardinall Poole was specialle looked for (as after yee shall heare) for the reducing of the Church of Englande to the Popes obedience, and to the ende that the sayde Cardinall, nowe called into Englande from Rome might holde his Courtes Legantine without the daunger of the statute of the premeunire made in that case, wherunto Cardinall Wolsey (when he was Legate) had incurred to his no small losse, and to the charge of all the Clergie of Englande for exercising the lyke power. The which act beyng once passed, forthwith the Queene repayred to the parliament house, & gaue therevnto her royall assent, and then proroged the parliament vnto the .xxiiij. daye of the sayde Moneth, in which second Session were confirmed and made dyuers and sundry estatutes concerning religion, whercof some were restozed and other repealed.

Treason, Felonye, Premeunire.

At this tyme many were in trouble for religion, and among other Sir James Hales knight one of the Justices of the common place, which Justice beyng called among other by the Counsaile of king Edward to subscribe to a deuice made for the disenherityng of Queene Marye, and the Lady Elizabeth her sister, would in no wise assent to y same, though most of the other did. Yet that notwithstanding, for that he at a quarter Sessions holden in Kent gaue charge vpon the statutes of king Henry the .viij. and king Edward the sixt in derogation of the primacie of the Church of Rome abolished by king Henry the eight, was first committed prisoner to the kinges Bench, then to the Counter, and last to the flecte, where, whether it were through extreme feare, or else by reason of such talke as the Wardeyn of the flecte bled vnto him of moze trouble like to ensue, if he persisted in hys opinion (or for what other cause God knoweth) he was so inwardly troubled and vexed, that he sought to rid himselfe out of this life, which thing he first attempted in the flecte, by woundyng himselfe with a Denknife, well nere to the death. Neuerthelesse afterward beyng recouered of that hurt, he seemed to be very conformable to all the Queenes procedynges, & was therevpon deliuered of his imprisonment, and brought to the Queenes presence, who gaue him wordes of great comfort. Neuerthelesse his minde was not quiet (as after well appered) for in the ende he drowned himselfe in a riuer, not halfe a myle from his dwelling house in Kent, the riuer beyng so shalowe that he was faine to lye grouelyng befoze he could dispatch himselfe, whose death was much lamented. For besyde that he was a man wise, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the Realme, he was also a good and true minister of iustice, whereby he gaue him great fauour and estimation among all degrees.

Sir James Hales troubled for religion.

Sir James Hales drowned himselfe.

Duryng the aforesayde Parliament, about the .xxiiij. day of October, there was kept at Paules Church in London a publike disputation appointed by the Queenes commaundement, about the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altter, which disputation continued sixe dayes, Doctor Weston then beyng Prolocutor of the conuocation, who bled many vnseemly checkes

A disputation in Paules Church.



ly checks and tauntes agaynst the one part, to the prejudice of their cause, By reason whereof the disputers neuer resolved vpon the articles propo-  
nd, but grew daily more and more into contention, without any fruit of their  
long conference, and so ended this disputation with these wordes spoken by  
Dokter Weston Prolocutor, it is not the Queenes pleasure that we should  
spend herein any longer time, and ye are wel ynough, for you haue the woord,  
and we haue the sword. But of this matter ye may read more in the booke  
of the Monumentes of the Church.

At this tyme was Cardinall Poole sent for to Rome by the Queene  
who was very desirous of his comyng, aswel for the causes before declared  
as also for the great affection that she had to him being her nere kinsman and  
consentynge with her in religion. This message was most thankfully recey-  
ued at Rome, and order taken to sende the sayd Cardinall hether with great  
expedition. But before his comyng, Queene Mary had maryed Philip  
Princc of Spaine, as after shall appere.

But here to touche somewhat of the comyng of the sayde Cardinall,  
when he was arriued at Calice, there was a conference had amongest the  
Counsaillers of the Queene for y manner of his receiuing. Some would haue  
had him very honorably met and enterterned, as he was in all places where  
he had before passed, not only for that he was a Cardinall and a Legate from  
the Pope, but also for that he was the Queenes nere kinsman of the house of  
Clarence. Neuerthelesse, after much debatynge, it was thought meetest, first  
for that by the lawes of the realme (which yet were not repealed) he stood  
attainted by Parliament: And also for that it was doubtfull howe he beyng  
sent from Rome should be accepted of the people, who in .xxv. yeres before  
had not bene much acquainted with the Pope or his Cardinales: that ther-  
fore untill all thinges might be put in order for that purpose, he should come  
without any grea: solemnitie vnto Lambith, where in the Archebishops  
house his lodgyng was prepared.

In Nouember next folowynge, Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Can-  
torbury, notwithstanding that he had once plainly refused to subscribe to  
king Edwardes will in the disinherityng of hys sister Mary (allegynge ma-  
ny reasons and argumentes for the legitimation of both the kinges sisters)  
was in the Gylldhall in London arreigned and attainted of treason, namely  
for aduynge the Duke of Northumberlande with horse and men agaynst the  
Queene as aforesayde. And the same tyme also the Ladie Jane of Suffolke  
(who for a while was called Quene Jane) and the Lord Gylldford her hus-  
band were in like maner arreigned and attainted, and then againe returned  
to the Tower, from whence they neuer came but to the Scaffold.

In the begynnyng of January next folowynge, Charles the fift Emperoz,  
sent into England an honorable Ambassade, among whom was Countye  
Arguement, and many other noble men, with full comission to conclude a  
maryage betweene Philip the prince of Spaine his soune and heyre, and  
Queene Mary as you haue heard: which Ambassade tooke such place that  
shortly after all thinges were finished accordyngly. But this marriage was  
not well thought of by the Commons, nor much better liked of many of the  
nobilitie, who for this, and for the cause of religion, conspired to rayse war  
rather then to see such chaunge of the state. Of the which conspiracie though  
there

Cardinall  
Poole sent  
for to Rome.

The Coun-  
saillers de-  
bated for  
the recei-  
uing of the  
Cardinall.

Thomas  
Cranmer,  
the Lorde  
of Suffolke,  
the Lord  
Gylldford.

In Januarie  
next  
Emperour.

there were many confederats, yet the first that shewed force therein, was one  
sir Thomas Wyat a knight in Kent, who by open Proclamations published  
there that the Queene and her Counsaile would by this forreigne maryage  
bring this realme into most miserable seruitude and bondage of straungers.

The .xxv. day of January next folowynge newes were brought to the  
Court of this surre begon by the sayde Sir Thomas Wyat. And forth-  
with after this it was knowne that Henry Duke of Suffolke father to the  
Ladie Jane (which Ladie Jane was yet alive) was sodainely departed  
from the Court with his two brethren into Warwike shire, and Leycester-  
shire, there to rayse and gather a power of those Countreies to ioyne with  
Sir Thomas Wyat. The Queene hearing of these tumults did first by her  
proclamation declare the saide Duke of Suffolke, and syr Thomas Wyat  
with other Traitors. And forthwith shee sent into the Citie of London for  
sixe hundred men, which because they ware whyte Coates, on their ar-  
mors were called the white Coates of London. These white Coates with  
certaine vntrustie Capitaines were sent into Kent vnder the conduction of  
Thomas Duke of Norfolk, for whose better surtie the Queene had as-  
signed certaine of her Garde to attende, which in great haste set forth arde,  
and hauing marched almost to Rochester, Wyat with all his companie be-  
yng in the towne, the sayde Capitaines with the white Coates, sodaynly  
renolted from the saide Duke, and went straight to the aide of Wyat, wher-  
by the saide noble Duke beyng thus forsaken by his vnfaithfull felowship,  
was forced to retourne againe to London, and so to the Courte wythout a-  
ny effect of his iourney: which repulse vnto him being then an aged man, and  
fortunate before in all warres, impressed such dolour of minde, that he ly-  
ued but short while after.

In this meane time as before you haue hearde, the Duke of Suffolke  
beyng come from London into Leycestershire, and Warwike shire with a  
very small company (as the sayng was) tooke vpon him there to publishe a  
Proclamation in his daughters name, purposing therby to haue perswaded  
the subiectes, that Queene Marie intended to tourne the success on, of the  
Crowne of Englande vnto straungers, namely vnto Spanyardes, which  
Proclamation notwithstanding, the people kept themselves quiet. Queene  
Mary vnderstanding of this, sent fraunces Erle of Huntynghdon to rayse  
power in those partes to withstande the sayde Duke, the which Erle sped  
his tyme so well that he prevented the sayde Duke from entring the Citie of  
Coventrie, where he had great hope of ayde among the common sort: By  
reason whereof, hee being nowe disappointed of his enterpryse, with his  
two brethren, the Lorde Thomas and the Lorde John Graue fledde from  
thence to a Manor of his called Astley sixe miles from Coventrie, and com-  
mitted himselfe to a man of his being keeper of his parke, called Nicholas  
Laurence, the which keeper bestowed the Duke his Maister in a hollow  
Oke within the saide parke, where he remained two or thre dayes vndis-  
couered, untill the sayde keeper (as it is saide) disclosed his case to the sayde  
Erle, who immediatly apprehended the saide Duke, and brought him priso-  
ner to the Tower of London.

After that syr Thomas Wyat had preuailed against the Duke of Norfolk,  
as is aforesaide, and had increased his number with the sixe hundred

White

White

Rebellion  
in Kent.

Sir Tho-  
mas Wyat  
knight.

The Duke  
of Suffolke  
and syr Tho-  
mas Wyat  
proclaymed  
traitors.

Thomas  
Duke of  
Norfolke  
sent agaynst  
sir Thomas  
Wyat.

Henry Duke  
of Suffolke  
apprehended.



white coates with their Capitaines and other of the Queenes Gard, being well encouraged, aduanced forward with his people the first of Febzuarie towards the Citie of London, where he trusted to haue founde great aide and succour, which came not so to passe.

The Ambassadors  
fear of Wyatt

The Emperors Ambassadors, of whome ye haue heard befoze, heering of Wyattes hasty approachyng to London sped themselves away by water, and that with all hast. The Queene then lying at her Palace of white Hall beside Westminster, and heering of her enemies so nere, was counsayled for her safegarde to take the Tower of London, whereunto she would by no meanes be perswaded: Neuerthelesse to make her selfe more stronger of friendes in the Citie, so sone as the sayd Ambassadors were departed (which was the first day of Febzuarie) she came to Gyldhall in London, against which time, order was taken by the Lorde Maior that the chiefe Citizens in their Liveries should be there present. After the Queene had taken her place in the sayde Hall and silence made, she with very good countenance vttered in effect vnto them this Oration following.

Queene Maryes  
oration.

I am (quod she) come vnto you in mine owne persone to tell you that which alre dy you do see and knowe, that is how trayterously and sediciously a number of Kentishe rebelles haue assembled themselves against both vs and you: Their pretence (as they sayed at the first) was onely to resist a maryage determined betweene vs and the Prince of Spaine. To the which pretended quarell and to all the rest of their euill contriued articles ye haue bene made priue. Sithence which tyme, we haue caused dyuers of our priuy counsayle to resorte eithers to the sayde rebelles, and to demaunde the cause of this their continuance in their sedicious enterpryse: By whose answers made again to our said counsayle, it appered that the maryage is founden to be the least of their quarell, for they now swarving from their former Articles, haue bewrayed the inward treason of their heartes, as most arrogantly demaunding the possession of our person: the keeping of our Tower: And not onely the plasing and displasing of our counsayloz, but also to vse them and vs at their pleasures. Now louing Subiectes, what I am ye right well know, I am your Queene, to whome at my coronation when I was wedded to the realme and to the lawes of the same (the spowfall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hether to was, nor hereafter shall be left of) ye promised your allegeaunce and obedience vnto mee, and that I am the right and true inheritor to the crowne of this realme of Englande, I not onely take all Christendome to witnesse, but also your actes of parliament confirming the same. My father (as ye all knowe) possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance, which now by the same right dissended vnto me. And to him alwayes ye shewed your selues most faythfull and louing subiectes, and him obeyed and serued as your liege Lorde and king, and therefore I doubt not but you will shew your selues likewise to me his daughter, which if ye do, then may you not suffer any Rebelle to vsurpe the gouernance of our person, or to occupie our estate, especially beyng so presumptuous a Traytoz as this Wyatt hath shewed himselfe to be, who most certainly as he hath abused mine ignorant Subiectes to be adherentes to his trayterous quarell, so doth he intende by colour of the same to subduethe lawes to his will, and to geue skope to all raskall and forlozne persones to make generall hauock and spoyle

spoyle of your goodes. And this farther I saye vnto you in the worde of a Prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loueth her childe, for I was neuer the mother of any: But certainly if a Prince and gouernoz maye as naturally and as earnestly loue subiectes as the mother doth the childe, then assure your selues, that I being your souereigne Lady and Queene do as earnestly and as tenderly loue & fauor you. And I thus louing you canyot but thinke that ye as heartily and faythfully loue me againe: And so ioyning together in this knot of loue and con corde, I doubt not but we together shall be well hable to geue these rebellions a short and speedy ouerthrow. And as concerning the case of my entended mariage, against which they pretende their quarell, ye shall vnderstand that I entred not into the treatie thereof without aduice, of all our Pringe Counsayle, yea and by assent of those, to whome the king my father committed his trust, who so consydered and weighed the great comodities that might ensue therof, that they not onely thought it very honorable, but also expedient both for the wealth of our realme, and also of all you our louing subiectes. And as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so desirous of wedding, neyther so precise or wedded to my wyll, that either for mine owne pleasure I will chole where I lust, or else so amorous as needes I must haue one, for God I thanke him (to whome be the prayse thereof) I haue hether to liued a Virgin, and doubt nothing but with Gods grace shall as well be hable so to liue still. But if as my progenitors haue done befoze, it might please God that I might leaue some fruite of my bodie behinde me to be your Gouernoz, I trust you would not onely reioyce therat, but also I know it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I epyther did know or thinke that this mariage should either turne to the danger or losse of any of you my louing subiectes, or to the detrtment or empayring of any parte or parcell of the royall state of this realme of Englande, I would neuer consent thereto, neyther would I euer marry while I lyued. And in the worde of a Queene I promise and assure you, that if it shall not probably appere befoze the nobilitie and commons in the high court of parliament that this mariage shall be for the singular benefite and commodity of all the whole realme, that then I wyll abstaine not onely from this mariage, but also from any other whereof perill may ensue to this noble realme. Wherefore now as good and faythfull subiectes plucke vp your heartes, and like true men stande fast with your lawfull prince against these rebelles, both our enemies and youres, and feare them not, for I assure you, that I feare them nothing at all, and I will leaue with you my Lorde Hawarde and my Lorde Treasorer to be assistentes with my Lorde Maior for the defence and safegarde of the Citie from spoyle and saccage, which is the onely skope of this rebellious company.

After this oration ended, and the Citezens seeming well satisfied therewith, the Queene with the Lordes of the counsaile returned to Whitehall from whence she came. And forthwith the Lorde Wylliam Hawarde was associate with the Lorde Maior of London, whose name was Sir Thomas White, for the protection and defence of the Citie. And for more suretie, as well of her abone person, as also of her Counsayloz and good subiects, the sayde Queene prepared a great armie to meete with the sayde rebels in the fielde, of which armie Wylliam Erle of Pembroke was made generall:

William  
Erle of  
Pembroke.

B b b b b. ii.

which



which Erle with all speede requisite in suche a case, prepared all thinges necessa-  
rie to such a service belonging.

A generall  
pardon.

At thys time also the Queene published a proclamation which contey-  
ned a generall pardon to all them that would forsake Wyat and his adhe-  
rentes and returne to her. And also in the same was promised an hundred  
pound lande a yere to him or them and to their heyres that could take Wyat  
prisoner and bring his body quick or dead to the Queene or her counsaile.

Wyat with  
his people  
placed them  
selues in  
Southwarke

During this great preparation of defence, as well within the Citie of  
London by the Maior and hys brethren, as also without by the Erle of  
Dembrooke appoynted Capitayne generall for the Queene, Wyat with his  
rebels dyette nere to the Citie and entred into Southwarke the thirde day  
of February, what time the Lorde Maior in great haste and no lesse good  
pollorcy (whose soever the devise was) caused the drawe bridge of London to  
be hewen downe and throtwne into the Thames, for feare that some light  
hedded Citezens and other raskall people ever apt to rebellion should haue  
issued and ioyned in ayde of the sayde rebels.

Wyat taketh  
his journey  
to Kingston.

After that Wyat with his complices had lyen two dayes in South-  
warke, and sawe no possibility of entring into the Citie, he then altered his  
journey, on the Tuesday next being Shrovetuesday, early in the morn-  
ing, he tooke his way to Kingston upon Thames, where he found a great  
part of the bridge broken, which neuerthelesse he caused to be made agayne  
with such expedition as was maruylous, so that he and all his companie  
with carriages and artillarie were passed over in safetie or any netowes ther-  
of came to the Court. And with no lesse celeritie and speede marched for-  
wardes the same night towardes London, which with such ayde as he ho-  
ped for there, he thought to haue surpysed upon the sodayne. Neuerthe-  
lesse before he came within sixe myles of the Citie, stayng upon a peece of  
his great artillary which was dismounted by the way: his comming was  
discouered before daye. whereby the Erle of Dembrooke beyng generall of  
the Queenes armie (as is aforesayde) was with hys men in good order of  
battayle in saint James field beside Westminster two or thre houres be-  
fore Wyat could reache thether: The Erle hauing vnderstanding by hys es-  
pialles what way Wyat would march, placed his armie in this order. First  
in a field on the West side of Saint James were all his men of armes and  
Demy Lancces: ouer agaynst whome in the Lane next to the Parke were  
placed all the light horsemen. All which bandes of horsemen were vnder  
the charge of the Lorde Clynton beyng Marshall of the fiede. The  
great Artillary was planted in the middelt and highest place of the  
Cawsey, leadyng from the Parke Corner towarde Charyng Crosse. The  
maine battaile where the Erle was with the Queenes Standard in the field  
on the Northsyde of the sayde Cawsey. And the hauntgarde on the South-  
syde of the Cawsey, next to the house of Saint James with certaine fiede  
peeces, lying on the flanks of eche battaile. After that both the armyes  
were in sight, and that the great artillary began to thunder from either syde,  
without harme (as it happened to any of both) Wyat perceiuing that he could  
not come the fore right way without great disaduantage, when he was  
come to the Parke corner, he leauyng the Cawsey, swarued and tooke the  
nether way toward Saint James, which beyng perceyued by the Queenes  
horsemen

William erle  
of Dembrooke  
Generall of  
the fiede.

horsemen who lay on either syde of him, they gaue a sodaine charge, and de-  
uided his battaile asunder hard behinde Wyats ensignes, whereby so many  
as were not passed befoze with Wyat, were forced to flye backe towardes  
Bainford, and certaine of his companie which escaped the charge passed by  
the backesyde of Saint James towardes Westminster, and from thence to  
the Court, and findyng the Gates shut agaynst them stayed there a while,  
and shot of many Arrowes into the Windows, and ouer into the Gardern,  
neuerthelesse without any hurt there that was knowne: Whereupon the sayd  
Rebelle ouer whome one knyuet was Capitaine perceiuing themselves  
to be to fewe to do any great feate there, departed from thence to follewe  
Wyat who was gone befoze towardes London. And beyng on theyr way  
at Charyng Crosse, were there encountered by sir Henry Jerningham Ca-  
pitaine of the Queenes Gard, Sir Edward Bray Maister of the ordinance,  
and Sir Philip Marys knightes, which were sent by the order of the Erle  
of Dembrooke with a bande of Archers, and certaine fiede peeces for the re-  
skue of the Court, who encountered the sayde rebelles at Charyng Crosse  
aforesayde. After they had discharged the fiede peeces vpon them, ioyned  
with those rebelles halfe armed, and halfe vnarmed at the pusch of the Dyke,  
and very soone dispersed their power, whereof some fled into the Lane to-  
warde Saint Giles, and some on the other syde by a Brewhouse towardes  
the Champ. In this conflict which was the chiefe tryall of that day, there  
was not found slaine to the number of .xx. of those rebelles, which happened  
by reason that vpon their ioynyng with the Queenes Souldiours, the one  
part could not be discerned from the other, but onely by the myze & durt taken  
by the way, which stuck vpon their garments comyng in the night, wherfoze  
the cry on the Queenes part that day was, downe with the Daggles tyles.

Sir Tho-  
mas wyatte  
escaped by the  
fiede.

A thirde  
Charyng  
Crosse.

But nowe to returne to Wyat, of whome ye heard befoze, howe beyng  
come to the Parke corner, and perceiuing the perill apperaunt if he should  
haue marched streight vpon the Erles battayles which were rainged on ey-  
ther side of the Cawsey, did therfoze pollitiquely turne from the great Cal-  
sey, marching along the wall of the house of saint James towardes London,  
which could not haue bene without his no little losse of many of his traine, if  
those that had the charge on that side the field had bene as forward in seruce  
as the Erle with his battaile and the horsemen afoze shewed themselves to  
be. Neuertheles Wyat folowing his purposed enterprize, which was to haue  
entred into London, where he hoped of great aide, marched forward with the  
small company that was left him as farre as a common Inne called the Well  
Sauage, nere to Ludgate, beleuing to haue found some readie there to haue  
receyued him, wherein his hope was much deceyued, findyng the sayd gate  
fast shut, and strongly garded with a number aswell of most honest Citizens,  
as also of other bandes of the Queenes assured friends: Whereupon Wyat  
who comming towardes the Citie made himselfe sure of his enterprize, nowe  
desperate of the same, was faine to turne hys face, retyring backe againe  
to Temple barre, where he with the rest of his retinue determined (as it see-  
med) to trie their last fortune.

The Erle of Dembrooke who all this while kept his force together in the  
field, heyrng of Wyats approach to London, sent to him an Herault called Cla-  
renseaur, with great commination to desyst from hys rebellious enterprize:

B b b b .iij.

which



which Herault did his Message accordingly. Albeit that some sayde he promised the sayde Wyat his pardon, which should not seeme to be true, as well for that the Herault had no such commission, as also that it was not lyke that the sayde Wyat being then disarmed of all his forces would have refused mercy in such a case. For true it is, that he with a very few of his forlorne fellows, not many above the number of one hundred persons, stood still as men amazed in the gate of Temple barre, till such tyme as sir Maurice Barkley knight, by chaunce riding towarde London upon his horse with foote-cloth, without any armour, finding the sayd Wyat there, perswaded him to repayre to the Court, and to yelde himselfe unto the Queene, whose advice he folowed, and incontinent mounted by on the sayde sir Maurice horse behind him, and so roade to the Court voluntarily, and not forced by any to yelde himselfe prisoner. This coming of Wyat to the Court being so little looked for, was great cause of reioyce to such as late before stood in great feare of him.

Sir Thomas Wyat submitteyth himselfe to the Queene.

The great stomack and courage of Queene Marye.

But more then marvaile it was to see that day the invincible heart and constancie of the Queene her selfe, who being by nature a woman, and therefore commonly more feareful then men be, shewed her selfe in that case more stoute then is credible. For she notwithstanding all the fearefull newes that were brought to her that day, never abashed, insomuch that when one or two noble men being her Capitaynes, came with all hast to tell her (though untruly) that her battayles were yeldd to Wyat: she nothing moved there-with sayde, it was your fond opinion that durst not come nere to see the tryall: sayng farther, that she her selfe would enter the field to trye the truth of her quarrell, and to die with them that would serue her, rather then to yelde one tote unto such a traytor as Wyat, and prepared her selfe accordingly. But by the apprehension of Wyat, that voyage tooke none effect, for after his coming to the Court, he was immediately committed to the Tower.

The armye that was in the fielde out-charged.

Asone as the taking of Wyat was knowne, the armie whereof mention is made before that lay in saint James field were discharged, and every man lycenced to depart to his home. And forthwith proclamation was made, as wel in the Citie of London as in the suburbs of the same, that none upon paine of death should keepe in his or their houses any of Wyats factious, but should bring them forth immediatly before the Lord Maior and other the Queenes Justices. By reason of which proclamation, a great multitude of the sayde poore Captives were brought forth, being so many in number, that all the prisons in London sufficed not to receive them, so that for lacke of place they were faine to bestowe them in dyuers Churches of the sayde Citie. And shortly after were set by in London for a terroz to the common sort, because the white coates being sent out of the Citie (as before ye have heard) reuoked from the Queenes part to the ayde of Wyat, twentic payre of gallowes, on the which were executed in several places to the number of fiftie persons, which Gallowes remained standing there a great part of the Sommer next following, to the great grieve of good citizens, and for example to the commotioners.

The execution of the Ladye Jane of Suffolke.

The .xij. day of February next following the Ladye Jane of Suffolke and the Lorde Guilforde her husband who before (as you have heard) were attaynted of Treason, the one for the vsurpation of the estate royall as Queene,

Queene.

Queene, the other as a principall adherent to her in that case, according to the iudgement geuen agaynst them suffered execution of death, that is to wyte, he at the Tower hill upon the Scaffolde, and shee within the Tower, whose deaths were rather hastened, for that the Duke (of Suffolke father to this Ladie, had of late (as ye have heard) reysed a newe sturre and commotion in his Countrey, making proclamation in the name of his daughter as Queene, which was the shortening of her life, who else was lyke enough to have bene pardoned. This gentle young Ladie endued with singuler gifts both of learning and knowledge as pacyent and mylde as any Lambe came to the place of her execution. And a little before her death being upon the Scaffolde uttered these wordes.

and the Lorde Guilforde her husband.

Good people I am come hether to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. My offence agaynst the Queenes highnesse was onely in consent to the deuise of other, which now is decimed Treason, but it was neuer of my seeking, but by counsaile of those who should seeme to have further vnderstanding of thinges then I, which knewe little of the lawe, and wiche lesse of titles to the crowne: But touching the procurement and desire thereof by me or on my behalfe, I doe washe my handes in innocency thereof before God, and the face of all you (good christian people) this day, and therewith the wrong her handes, wherein she had her booke. Then sayde shee I pray you all good christian people, to beare me wytnesse, that I die a true christian woman, & that I looke to be saued by none other meanes, but only by the mercie of God in the blood of his onely sonne Iesus Christ. And I confesse that when I did knowe the worde of God, I neglected the same, and loued my selfe and the worlde, and therefore this plague and punishment is iustly and worthily happened unto mee for my sinnes. And yet I thanke God of his goodnesse that he hath geuen mee a tyme and respite to repent. And nowe good people while I am a liue, I praye you assist me with your prayers. And then kneeling downe she said the Psalm of (Miserere mei deus) in English, and then stood by and gaue her mayden (called mystresse Elyn) her Gloues and Handkerche, and her booke shee gaue to mayster Bruges then Lieutenaut of the Tower, and so bntyed her Gowne, and the executioner pressed to helpe her of with it, but she desired him to let her alone, and turned her towarde her two Gentlewomen, who helped her of therewith, & with her other attyres, and they gaue her a sayre Handkerche to put about her eyes. Then the executioner kneeled downe and asked her forgeuenesse: whome shee forgave most wyllingly. Then he wylled her to stande upon the strawe, which done shee sawe the block, and then she sayde I praye you dispatche me quickly. Then shee kneeled downe sayng, will you take it of before I laye me downe? wherunto the executioner answered, no Madame, then tyed shee the Handkerche about her eyes, and feeling for the block she sayd, where is it, where is it? One of the standers by guyded her thereunto, and shee layde downe her head upon the block, and then stretched forth her bodye, and sayde. Lorde into thy handes I commend my spirite, and so finished her life in the yere of our Lorde. 1553. the .xij. day of February.

The swordes of the Ladye Jane at her death.

The same daye a little before this young Ladyes execution, the Lorde Guilforde her housbande who was a very comely tall Gentleman, was executed on the Scaffolde at the Tower hill, as aforesayd, whose dead Carcas lying

lying



lyng in a Carre in strawe, was againe brought into the Tower, at the same instant that the Ladie Jane his wife went to her death within the Tower, which miserable sight was to her a double sorow & grieve. Thus these two simple yong soules suffered ignorantly for that, which their parentes & other had unhappily brought about to the bitter subuersio of them & their families.

The. xviij. day of February next folowynge, Henry Duke of Suffolke father to the aforesayde Lady Jane was arreigned at Westminster and condemned of high treason, and the. xxi. day of the same Moneth, was beheaded at the Tower hill. At the tyme of whose condemnation, were also for the same conspiracie condemned many Gentlemen and Women, whereof some were executed at London, & some in diuers other places of the realme. And among other, the Lorde Thomas Gray brother to the Duke beyng taken in Northwales was brought to London and there executed.

The. xxiiij. day of the same Moneth, there were brought out of the Tower, Marthalea, kinges Wenche, and other prisioners of the Kentishe rebels, and such as were of Wyatts faction to the number of foure hundred prisioners, with halters about their neckes to Westminster, where the Queenes pardon was declared vnto them, which they ioyfully receiued, & yelded most humble thankes to God and the Queene, and so were discharged.

The. xv. day of March next folowynge, the Lady Elizabeth the Queenes sister, and next heire to the Crowne, was apprehended at her Manor of Ashridge for suspicion of Wyattes conspiracie, and from thence being that tyme very sicke, was with great rygoz brought prisoner to London, & shortly after committed to the Tower, where also the Lord Courtnay Erie of Deuonshire (of whome before is made mention) was for the like suspicion committed prisoner.

And not long after Queene Marye partly offended with the Londoners, as fauourers of Wyattes conspiracie, and partly perceiuyng the more part of them nothing well inclyned towards her procedynges in religion, which turned many of them to losse, summoned a Parliament to be holden at Oxford, as it were to gratifie that Citie, which with the Uniuersitie, towne, and Countrie, had shewed themselves very forwarde in her seruice, but specially in restoryng of the religion called Catholique. For which appoynted Parliament there to be holden, great prouision was made, aswell by the Queenes Officers, as by the townes men, & inhabitants of the countrey round about. But the Queenes mynde in short space chaunged, and the same Parliament was holden at Westminster in Aprill next folowynge, wherein the Queene proponed two speciall matters: the one for the maryage to be had betweene her & prince Philip of Spaine: the other for the restoryng agayne of the Popes power and iurisdiction in England. As touchyng her maryage, it was with no great difficultie agreed vpon, but the other request could not be so easily obteyned.

The. i. day of Aprill folowynge, Thomas Cranmer Archebischop of Cauntorbury, Nicholas Ridley late Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer once Bishop of Worcester, who had bene long prisioners in the Tower, were nowe conueyed from thence, and caryed to Windsoze, and after ward to the Uniuersitie of Oxforde, there to dispute with the Deuines and learned men of the contrary opinion. Two dayes after their comynge vnto Oxforde,

which

Henry Duke of Suffolke arreigned and executed.

The Lorde Thomas Gray executed.

The Kentishe Rebelles pardoned.

Lady Elizabeth.

A parliament summoned to be held at Oxford.

A parliament holden at Westminster.

Thomas Cranmer, Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, sent as prisoners to Oxforde,

which was the. xij. day of the sayde Moneth, diuers learned men of both the Uniuersities were sent in commission from the conuocation (which durynge this Parliament was kept in Paules Church in London) to dispute with those prisoners in certaine articles of religion. The names of them that were in Commission were these folowynge.

Oxford	}	Doctor Weston Prolocutor,	}	Cambridge	}	Young,
		Cole,				Seton,
		Chedsey,				Watson,
		Dye,				Atkynson,
		Harpefield,				Checknam,
Smith,	Sedgeswoike,					

CONNOCIAS

Commissio- nes.

The. xiiij. day of Aprill, these disputers assembled themselves in saint Maryes Church to conuent the three persons aboue named, vpon certaine articles of religion, who being brought out of prison before them, were scuellally one after another examined of their opinions, vpon the articles proponed vnto them, whereof ye may reade in the booke of Monumentes of the Church moze at large, and there finde the whole procedyng in that matter.

Sir Thomas Wyatte of whome mencion is made before, was aboute this tyme brought from the Tower vnto Westminster, and there arreigned of high treason: The Erie of Sussex, Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornewallys with other beyng his Judges. The effect of whose Indictment among other thinges specially was, that he the. xiiij. day of February last before, with force of armed multitude and Ensignes displayed, had at Brainford raised open war against our soueraigne Lady the Queene traiterously pretending and practising to depriue her of her crowne and dignitie. And the question was demaunded of him, whether he was guilty or no: whereat he stayed, and besought the Judges that he might first aske a question before he answered directly to the poynte. And he was licensed so to do. The question was, that if he should confesse himselfe guilty whether the same should not be preiudiciall vnto him, so as he by that confession should be barred from uttering of such thinges as he had moze to say. Wherevnto it was answered by the Courte, Maister Wyatte (sayde they) ye shall haue both leaue and leysure to say what you can. Then my Lordes (quoth he) I must cofesse my selfe guilty, as in the end the truth of my case must enforce me, I must acknowledge this to be a iust plague for my synnes, which most grievously I therfore haue comitted against God, who suffred me thus brutally & beastly to fall into this horrible offence of the law. Wherefore all you Lords & Gentlemen with other here present, note well my words. Lo here & se in me the same end which all other comonly had, which haue attempted like enterprise from the begynning. For peruse the Cronicles throughe, and you shall see that neuer rebellion attempted by subiectes against their prince and countrey from the begynning did euer prosper or had better successe, except the case of king Henry the fourth, who although he became a Prince: yet in his act was but a Rebell, for so must I call him. And though he preynted for a tyme, yet was it not long, but that his heires were depriued and those that had right againe restored to the kingdome and crowne, and the usurpation so sharply reuenged after ward in his bloud, as it well appered that the long delaye of Gods vengeaunce was supplied with moze grievous plague in the

Sir Thomas Wyatte arreigned.



the third and fourth generation. For the loue of God all you Gentlemen that be here present, remember and be taught as well by examples past as also by this my present infelicity and most wretched case. Oh most miserable mischieuous, brutish and beastly furious imaginations of mine. I was persuaded that by the maryage of the Prince of Spaine, the seconde person of this realme, and next heire to the crowne should haue bene in daunger, and that I being a free borne man, should with my Country haue bene brought into the bondage and seruitude of Aliens and Straungers: which brutish beastly opinion then seemed to me reason, & wrought in me such effectes, that it led me hedlong into the practise of this detestable crime of treason. But now being better persuaded, and vnderstanding the great commoditie and honoz which the realme should receaue by this mariage, I stand firme and fast in this opinion, that if it should please the Queene to be mercifull vnto me, there is no subiecte in this lande that should more truely and faithfully serue her highnesse then I shall, nor no sooner dye at her graces feete in defence of her quarell. I serued her highnesse against the Duke of Northumberlande, as my Lorde of Brondell can witnesse. My Graundfather more truely serued her Maiesties Graundfather, and for his sake was vpon the racke in the Tower. My father likewise serued king Henry the eyght, to his good contentation, and I also serued him, and king Edward his sonne. And in witnesse of my blood spent in his seruice I carry a mayme. I allege not all this to set forth my seruice by way of meryte, which I confesse but dutie: But to declare to the whole worlde, that by abusing my wyltes in pursuing my misadvised opinion, I haue not onely ouerthrowne my house, and defaced all the well doyngs of me and my auncestors (if euer there were any) but also haue bene the cause of mine owne death & destruction. Neither do I allege this to iustifie my selfe in any poynt, neither for an excuse of my offence, but most humbly submit my selfe vnto the Queenes maiesties mercy & pitie, desyring you my Lorde of Sulset and you Maister Hastings withall the rest of this honorable bench to be meanes to the Queenes highnesse for her mercye, which is the greatest treasure that maye be geuen to anye Prince from God, such a vertue as God hath appropriate to hym selfe, which if her highnesse vouchsafe to extend vnto me, she shall bestow it on him, who shall be most glad to serue truely, and not refuse to dye in her quarell: For I protest before the Judge of all Judges I neuer ment hurt against her highnes person.

Then sayde the Queenes attorney, maister Wyat ye haue great cause to be sozry and repentaunt for your fault, wherby you haue not onely vndone your selfe and your house, but also a number of other Gentlemen, who being true men might haue serued their prince and Countrie: yet if you had gone no farther, it might haue bene borne withall the better. But being not so contented to stave your selfe, you haue so procured the Duke of Suffolke (a man soone trayned to your purpose) and his two brethren also, by violence wherof without the Queenes greater mercie, you haue ouerthrowne that Noble house. And yet not so stayed, your attempt hath reached as much as in you laye to the second person of the realme, in whome next to the Queenes highnesse resteth all our hope and comfort, wherby her honoz is brought in question, and what daunger will folow, and to what ende it will come, God knoweth:

The queenes  
Attorney  
which was  
Maister  
Griffin.

knoweth: Of all this you are the aucthor.

Wyat answered as I will not in any thing iustify my selfe, so I beseech you I being in this wretched estate, not to ouercharge me, or to make mee seeme to be that I am not. I am loth to touche any person by name, but that I haue written, I haue written.

Then sayde the Judge, maister Wyat, maister Attorney hath well moued you to repent your offences, and we for our partes with you the same.

Then sayde sye Edward Hastings maister of the Queenes horse, maister Wyat, doe ye remember, when I and maister Cornewallys were sent vnto you from the Queenes highnesse to demaunde the cause of your enterprise, and what you required: were not these your demaundes, that the Queenes grace should go to the Tower and there remaine, and you to haue the rule of the Tower, & her person with the treasure in keeping. And such of her counsaile as you would require to be deliuered into your hands, saying that you would be trusted, and not trust: which wordes when Wyat had confessed. Then sayde the Queenes Solliciter, maister Wyat your presumption was ouer great, and your attempt in this case hath purchased you perpetuall infamy, and shall be called Wyats rebellion, as Watte Tylers was called Watte Tylers rebellion. Then sayd the Attorney maister Wyat, were you not priue to a deuise wherby the Queene should haue bene murdered in a place, where she should walcke, I doe not burthen you to confesse this, for thus much I must saye on your behalfe, that you misliked that deuise: That (sayde Wyat) was the deuise of Wyliam Thomas, whom euer after I abhorred for that cause. Then was a letter shewed, which Wyat being in Southwarke had written to the Duke of Suffolke, that he should meete him at Kingston bridge, and from thence to accompanie him to London, although he came with the fewer number. Wyat at the first did not seme to remember any such letter, but when it was shewed him, he confessed his hande. Then was it demaunded of him among other things why he refused the Queenes pardon when it was offered him. My Lordes quoth he: I confesse my fault and offence to be most vile & heynous, for the which, first I aske God mercie, and next vnto him my soueraigne liege Ladie and Queene, whome I haue most greenously offended, appealing wholly to her mercie, without the which I cannot challenge any thing, such is my offence already committed. And therefore I beseech you to trouble me with no more questions, for I haue deliuered all things vnto her grace in wryting. And finally here I must confesse, that of all the voyages wherem I haue serued, this was the most desperate and painfull iournay euer I made. And wherem you asked why I did not receaue the Queenes pardon when it was offered vnto me, Oh unhappie man what shall I saye: when I was once entered into this deuillish desperate aduenture, there was no waye, but to wade through with that I had taken in hande, for I had thought that other had bene as farre forward as my selfe, which I found farre otherwise: So that being bent to kepe promise with all my confederates, none kept promise with me: For I lyke a Hoyle went through thicke and thinne with this determination, that if I should come to any treaty, I should seeme to betray all my friendes. But whereto should I spende anye more wordes: I yeelde my selfe wholly vnto the Queenes mercie, knowing well that it is ouerly in her power

Wyatts  
answere.

The Judge.

Sir Edward  
Hastings  
of the  
Queenes  
horse.

This was  
maister Cornewallys  
maister of the  
Kollie.

William  
Thomas.

The confession  
of Wyat.



power to make me (as I haue deserued) an open example to the world with  
Watte Tyler, or else to make me participant of that pittie which hee hath  
extended in as great crimes as mine, most humbly beseeching you all to be  
meanes for me to her highnesse for mercie, which is my last and only refuge.  
The will of God be done on mee. Upon this confession without further tri-  
all he receiued the iudgement accustomed in cases of Treason, which was to  
be hanged drawen and quartered. And the .xj. day of Aprill next following he  
was brought to the Tower hill, and there was pardoned of his drawing and  
hanging, but had his head striken of, & his body cut in foure quarters & set by  
in diuers places about the City, & his hed was set vpon the Galloes at Hay  
hill beside Hyde parke. But here by the way is to be noted, that hee being on  
the Scaffold redie to suffer, he declared that the Ladie Elizabeth and hys Ed-  
ward Courtney Erle of Deuonshire whome he had accused befoze (as it see-  
med) were neuer priue to his doings so farre as he knewe, or was able to  
charge them. And when Doctoz Weston beyng then his confessor tolde him  
that he had confessed the contrarie vnto the counsaile: he answered thus,  
that I sayd then I sayd: But that which I say now, is true. This was the  
ende of Wyatt and his conspiracie.

The executi-  
on of Sir  
Thomas  
Wyat.

Sir Nicho-  
las Throk-  
morton.

The .xvij. daye of Aprill next following, Sir Nicholas Throkorton  
knight was brought from the Tower to the Guildhall in London, and there  
arreigned of high treason as adherent and principall counsaile to the sayd  
Wyat and the Duke of Suffolke and the rest, in the afoze remembred con-  
spiracie agaynst the Queene. But he so stoutly, and therewithall so cunning-  
ly answered for himselfe, as well in cleering of his cause, as also in defen-  
ding & aduoyding such poyntes of the lawes of the realme as were then al-  
leged agaynst him, that the quest which passed vpon his life and death found  
him not guilty, with which verdict the Judges and counsaile there present  
were so much offended, that they bounde the Jury to appere at a daye in the  
starre Chamber before the Lordes: By whose awarde, some of them were  
committed to the Tower, and some other to the Fleet, where they lay vnto  
the .xiiij. day of Nouember next following, and could not be set at libertie  
vntill they had payde such fines as were taxed vpon them, which you may be  
sure were not small.

William  
Thomas ar-  
reigned and  
condempned.

William Thomas of whome mencion is made befoze in the history of  
Sir Thomas Wyatt with certain other, were arreigned and condempned  
for the conspiring of the murder and killing of the Queene vpon the sodaine.  
And for that offence the sayd William was the .xviij. day of Maye drawne  
hanged and quartered at Tyborne.

The Ladie  
Elizabeth  
deliuered out  
of the Tower  
and sent as  
prisoner to  
Woodstock.

The .xix. day of Maye next following the Ladie Elizabeth Sister to  
Queene Mary was deliuered out of the Tower and committed to the custo-  
die of Sir John Williams knight, afterward Lorde Williams of Came,  
by whome her grace was more curteously entreated, then some woulde:  
wherefore shortly after she was committed to the Maner of Woodstocke  
vnder the custodye of Sir Henry Benyngfielde of Orenborough in the coun-  
tie of Norfolke knight, at whose hands she found not the like curtesy: who  
(as it was well knowne) vsed his office more like a Galloz, then a Gentle-  
man and with such rigor as was not meete to be shewed to such an estate.  
But here is to be noted not so much the vnciuile nature of the man, as the  
singuler

singuler lenitie and gracious clemency of that gentle and vertuous Princes,  
who afterward (as shall appere) coming to the possession of the crowne as  
her rightfull inheritance, was at that time so farre from reuenge of in-  
juries receyued, that where as diuers princes haue requyred much lesse of-  
fences with losse of life, she neuer touched him, eyther with the daunger of  
life, eyther losse of landes or goodes, nor neuer proceeded further then to  
discharge him of the Courte, which many thought, was the thing that plea-  
sed him best. At whose departing from her presence, shee vsed oney these  
wordes or the like in sence, God forgiue you that is past and we doe, and if  
we haue any prisoner, whome we would haue hardly handled and straight-  
ly kept, then we will send for you.

Sir Henry  
Benyngfielde  
knight

The .xix. day of Iulye next following, Phillipe Prince of Spaine,  
sonne and heire vnto Charles the fift of that name Emperour of Rome, pas-  
sing out of Spayne arrived at Southhampton. And the fourth daye after he  
tooke his iourney to Winchester, and came thither in the euening, where go-  
yng to the church he was honozably receaued of the Bisshopp, and a great  
number of the Nobles of the Realme. The next day he came to the sight of  
Queene Mary, with whome he had long and familiar talke, and the .xv.  
of the sayde Moneth being the day of saint James (whome the Spaniards  
call their patron) the mariage betwene them was in the sayd Citie of Win-  
chester in most honozable maner solemnised. At which time the Emperours  
Ambassadour beyng present, openly pronounced that in consideration of  
that mariage the Emperour had graunted and geuen to the sayd Prince his  
sonne the kingdome of Naples, &c. Hierusalem with diuers other states and  
seignories. The solemnitie of that mariage ended, the king of Heraulds  
called Barter openly in the Church in the presence of the king, the Queene,  
the Lordes as well of Englande as Spaine, and all the people beyng pre-  
sent, solemnly proclaimed the tytle & style of these two princes as foloweth.

1554

The arrivall  
of Phillippe  
Prince of  
Spaine at  
Southampton

Phillippe  
Prince of  
Spaine and  
Queene  
Marye mar-  
ried.

Philyp and Mary by the grace of God king and Queene of England Fraunce, Na-  
ples, Ierusalem and Ireland, defendours of the fayth, Princes of Spaine and Sicile, Arche-  
dukes of Austriche, Dukes of Milleyne, Burgondy and Brabant, Counties of Haspurg,  
Flandryrs and Tiroll.

The title of  
king Philip  
and Queene  
Marye.

The proclamation beyng ended, the Trumpets blew and the king and  
the Queene came forth of the Church hande in hande, and two swordes  
borne befoze them, and so returned to their Palace. And alfoone as the sea-  
styng and solemnitie of the sayd mariage was ended, the king and Queene  
departed from Winchester, and taking Hampton Court in their waye, came  
from thence by water into Southwarke, and so ouer London bridge through  
the Citie of London vnto Westminster. At which time the Citie was bew-  
tefied with sumptuous pagiaunts and hanged with riche and costly Silkes  
and cloth of golde and siluer.

A parliament.

The .xij. day of Nouember next following began a Parliament at West-  
minster, to the which the king and the Queene rode in their Parliament  
robes. During the tyme of this Parliament Cardinall Boole (of whome  
mencion is made befoze) arryued in England about the .xxiiij. day of the said  
Moneth, who beyng receyued with much honour in all other Countries that  
he had passed, was here in England receyued with no great shewe, for the  
causes afoze declared. And shortly after he was restored by a speciall act of

Cardinal  
Boole.

CCCCI.

Parliament



Parliament to his former estate and dignitie (whereof he was deprived by king Henry the eighth.) After which acte passed, this Cardinall came into the Parliament house, being at that present kept in the great Chamber of the Court of Whitehall, for that the Queene by reason of sicknesse was not able to go abroade (where the king and Queene sitting vnder the cloth of estate, and the Cardinall sitting on the right hande, with all the other estates of the realme being present) and the knightes and Burgeses of the common house being also called thither, the Bishop of Winchester being Lord Chaunceloz spake in this maner.

The words  
of the Bi-  
shop of Win-  
chester Lord  
Chaunceloz.

My Lordes of the upper house, and you my Maysters of the nether house, here is present the right reuerend father in God, my Lord Cardinall Doole Legate a latery, come from the Apostolique sea of Rome, as Ambassador to the King and Queenes Maiesties, vpon one of the waightiest causes that euer happened in this realme, and which pertaineth to the glozy of God and your vniuersall benefite. The which Ambassade their Maiesties pleasure is to be signified vnto you all by his alone mouth, trusting that you will receyue and accept it in as beneuolent and thankfull wise, as their highnesse haue done, and that you will geue attentiu and inclinable cares vnto his grace, who is nowe readie to declare the same.

So soone as the Lord Chaunceloz had ended his tale, the Cardinall began and made a long and solempne oration, the which for shortnesse sake I haue collected into these fewe articles.

The effect  
of the Car-  
dinals Ora-  
tion.

First, he yelded most heartie thankes to the King and Queene, and next vnto the whole Parliament, that of a man exiled and banished from this common weale, they had restozed him againe to bee a member of the same, and to the honor of his house and family. And of a man hauyng no place, neyther here nor else where within the realme, to haue admitted him into place where to speake, and to be heard.

Secondly, that his speciall commyng was for the restitution of this Realme to the auncient estate, and to declare that the Sea Apostolique hath a speciall care of this realme aboue all other, and chiefly for that this Islande first of all other prouinces of Europe, receyued the light of Christes religion from the Sea of Rome.

Thirdly, he exhorted that though the realme had swarued from the Catholike vnitie, that yet being better informed we ought to retorne into the bosome of the Church most open to receiue all penitentes. For the perswasion whereof, he brought a number of olde examples, what perill and hurte hath happened vnto them that haue swarued and gone from the Church of Rome, namely Greece and Germany. &c.

Fourthly, how much we are bounde to God for the King and Queenes Maiesties, and how miraculously God had saued and defended our Queene from her enemyes in most daungerous tymes: And also that he hath prouided to ioyne with her in marriage, such a noble prince as king Philip was, and one of her a wone religion.

Fifthly, he exhorted them all to the obedience of these two princes, and to call vpon God for issue to be had betwene them, adding that king Philips father the Emperour had among other princes traunpled most, for the restitution of the peace and vnitie of the Church: But as almighty God sayd vnto  
Dauid,

Dauid, though he had a minde and will to build his Temple, yet because he had shed bloud, he should not build it, but his sonne Salomon should build it. And so because the Emperour hath had so many warres, and shed so much bloud, therefore he could not attaine to bring perfect peace to the Church. But truely (sayde he) this gracious prince king Philip his sonne (as I conceyue) is appoynted of God to it, considering now the calling of him to be ioynd with so Catholique a prince, as is the Queene of this realme, one without all doubt sent likewise of God for the restozing of the sayde realme to the vnitie of the Church, from whence it hath erred and gone astray, as it doth and may manifestly appere.

Sixtly he protested that his Commission was not to prejudice any person, for he came not to destroy, but to buylde: he came to reconcile, and not to condemne: he came not to compell, but to call againe: he came not to call any thing in question all readie done: But his commission was of grace and clemencie to all such as would receyue it. For touchyng all matters past and done, they should be cast into the Sea of forgetfulnesse, and neuer more to be thought vpon.

Finally (sayde he) the meane whereby to receyue this high benefite, is first to reuoke and repeale all such lawes as are impedimentes, blockes, and barres to this most gracious reconciliation. For lyke as he himselfe had no place to speake there, before such lawes were abrogated and remoued as stood in his way, euen so they could not receyue the grace offered from the Sea Apostolique, vntill those like impedimentes of lawes made agaynst the Sea of Rome were clerly abolished and repealed. And so in conclusion aduertised them, first for the glozy of God, and next for the conseruation and suretie of the welth and quietnesse of the whole realme, that they should earnestly trauaile therein, and that then he would make them participant of the benefite of his commission.

The next day, the whole Court of Parliament drew out the forme of a supplication, and the next day folowyng that, the King and Queene, and the Cardinall with all the Nobles and Commons being assembled againe in the great Chamber of the white Hall aforesayd. The Bishop of Winchester there declared what the Parliament had determined concernyng the Cardinalls request, and then offered to the king and Queene the sayde supplication, the copie whereof foloweth.

**W**e the Lordes Spirituall and Tempoꝛal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, representyng the whole bodie of the realme of England, and dominions of the same, in the name of our selues perticulerly, and also of the sayd bodie vniuersally, offer this our most humble supplication to your Maiesties, to this ende and effect, that the same by your graces intercession and meane, may be exhibited to the most reuerend father in God, the Lord Cardinall Doole Legate, sent specially hether from our most holy father Pope Julio the thirde, and the sea Apostolique of Rome, wherein we do declare our selues very soꝛy and repentant of the long Schisme and disobedience happening in this realme and the dominions of the same, agaynst the sayd Sea Apostolique, eyther by making, agreeing, or executing of any lawes, ordinaunces or commaundements agaynst the primacy of the same Sea, or otherwise doyng or speaking that might impugne

C c c c c. 15.

02

A supplicati-  
on exhibited  
to Cardinall  
Doole by the  
Parliaments  
house.



or prejudice the same. Offering our selues and promising by this our supplication, that for a token & knowlege of our sayd repentance, we be and shall be euer readie vnder and with the aucthorities of your Maiesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that shall lye in vs for the abrogation and repealing of all the sayd lawes and ordinaunces made or enacted to the prejudice of the See Apostolique, aswell for our selues, as for the whole bodie whom we represent. Whereupon most humbly we beseech your Maiesties, as personages vndefiled in offence of his bodie towardes the sayd See, which notwithstanding God by his providence hath made subiect to you, so to set forth this our humble suite, as we the rather by your intercession maye obtayne from the See Apostolique by the sayde most reuerende father, aswell particularly as generally, Absolution, Release, and Discharge from all daungers of such Censures and sentences, as by the lawes of the Church we be fallen into. And that we may as children repentaunt, be receyued into the bosome and vnitie of Christes Church, so as this noble Realme, with all the members thereof, may in this vnitie and perfect obedience to the See Apostolique, and Popes for the tyme beyng, serue God and your Maiesties to the furtherance and aduancement of his honour and glorie. Amen.

This supplication being first openly read, the same was by the Chauncelour deliuered to the king and Queene with petition to them to exhibite the same to the Lorde Cardinall. And the king and Queene rising out of their seates and doying reuerence to the Cardinall did deliuer the same vnto him. The Cardinall perceyuing the effect thereof to answer to his expectation, did receiue it most gladly at their maiesties handes. And then after that he had in fewe wordes geuen thanks vnto God, & declared what great cause he had to reioyce aboue all others, that his coming from Rome into Englande had taken suche most happie successe, then he caused his commission to be read (whereby it might appere that he had aucthoritie of the Pope to absolve them) which commission was verie long and large. And that being done and all the parliament on their knees, this Cardinall by the Popes aucthoritie gaue them Absolution in maner folowynge.

Our Lord Jesus Christ which with his most precious bloud hath redeemed and washed vs from all our synnes & iniquities that he might purchase vnto himselfe a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whome the father hath appointed head ouer all his Church. He by his mercy absolve you: And we by the Apostolique aucthoritie geuen vnto vs by the most holy Lord Pope Julius the thirde (his Vicegerent in earth) doe absolve and deliuer you and every of you with the whole realme and the dominions therof, from all heresie and Schisme, and from all and every iudgements, censures and paynes for that cause incurred. And also we doe restore you agayne to the vnitie of our mother the holy Church, as in our letters of commission more plainely shall appere. In the name of the father, the sonne, and holye ghost. Amen.

After this generall absolution receyued, the king and the Queene and all the Lordes with the rest went into the kings Chapell, and there sang Te Deum with great ioy and gladnesse for this newe reconciliation.

The report of this with great speede flew to Rome, as well by the French kinges letters, as also by the Cardinales, whereupon the Pope caused

In absolution pronounced by Cardinall Poole to the parliament house.

caused solempne Processions to be made in Rome, namely one, wherein he himselfe with all his Cardinales were present, passing with as great solempnitate & pompe as might be, geuyng thanks to God with great ioy, for the conuersion of England to his Church. At what time also he not a little commended the diligence of Cardinall Poole, and the deuocion of the King and Queene. And on Christmasse euen next folowynge, he set forth by his Bulles, a generall pardon to all such as did reioyce in the same reconciliation.

The. xxliij. of Nouember next folowynge, it was commonly reported, that the Queene was quickewith childe, and therefore commaundement was geuen by Edmond Bonner Bishop of London (and as it was sayd) not without the commaundement of the Counsaile, that there should be made in most solempne maner one generall Procession in Lodon, wherein the Priors and all the companyes of the Citie were in their Lynceries. At whose returne to the Church of Paules, there was song verie solempnly Te Deum for ioy thereof.

The second day of December beyng Sunday, Cardinall Poole came to Paules Church in London with great pompe, hauyng borne before him a Crosse, two Billers, and two Dollares of siluer, and was there solempnly receiued by the Bishop of Wynechester Chauncelour of England, who met him with Procession. And shortly after, king Philip came from Westminster by land, beyng accompanied with a great number of his Nobles. And the same day the Bishop of Winchester preached at Paules Crosse, in the which Sermon he declared that the King & Queene had restored the Pope to his right of Primacie, and that the three estates assembled in Parliament, representing the whole bodie of the realme, had submitted themselves to his holynesse, and to his successors for euer. And in the same also he greatly praised the Cardinall, and set forth the passyng high aucthoritie that he had from the See of Rome, with much other glorious matter in the commendation of the Church of Rome which he called the See Apostolique. The Sermon beyng ended, the king and the Cardinall ridyng together, returned to the Court at Whitehall: And the king had his sword borne before him, and the Cardinall had onely his Crosse, and no more.

The. xxvij. of the sayde Moneth the Duke of Savoye called prince of Pyramount came into Englande, accompanied with diuers other Lordes and gentlemen straungers, who were receaued at Grauesende by the Erle of Bedford Lorde priue Seale, and conueyed by water through London bridge to whyte hall where the king and Queene then lay, and the. ix. of January next folowynge the prince of Orange was in lyke maner receyued at Grauesend, and from thence conueyed to the Court, being at whyte hall.

The. xxij. of the same Moneth, the parliament (which began the. xxij. of Nouember before) was dissolved, wherein among other actes passed there, the statute ex officio and other lawes made for punishment of heretiques were reuocued. But chiefly the Popes most liberall Bull of dispensation of Abbey lande was there confirmed much to the contentation of many, who not without cause suspected by this newe vnitie to leese some peece of their late purchase.

In February next folowynge, Doctor Chirby Bishop of Ely, and Anthony Lorde Mountague with a very honorable trayne of Gentlemen and

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other



other roade forth of the Citie of London towards Rome, as Ambassadors sent from the king and Queene to confirme thys newe reconciliation to the Pope.

William Fetherston a boy nameth himselfe king Edward the first.

At o:it thys time a yong strypling, whose name was Wylliam Fetherstone a Myllers sonne, about the age of. xviii. yeres, named and bruted himselfe to be king Edwarde the first, whereof when the Queene and the Counsaile heard, they caused with all diligence, inquirie to be made for him, so that he was apprehended in Southwarke, and bzought befoze the counsaile at Hampton Court, and there examined. And it was demaunded of hym, why he so named himselfe, to the which, he counterfeytyng a maner of simplicitie or rather frensie would make no direct aunswere, but prayed pardon, for he wist not what he sayde, affirming farther that he was counsailed so to saye and to take vpon him the name, whereof he accused certayne persons, but his talke was not founde true, wherefoze he was committed to the Marshalsea as a Lunatike foole. And the. xxviii. daye of Maye next folowynge, the aforesaide counterfeyte Prince was bzought in a Cart from the Marshalsea, through the Citie of London with a paper on his head, wherein was wrytten that he named himselfe king Edwarde. And from thence was conueyed to Westminster, beyng lead rounde about the hall and shewed to all the people there and afterwarde taken oute of the Cart and strypped, and then whypped rounde aboute the Palace at the same Cartes tayle, and without moze punishment was discharged and set at libertie. But the yere next folowynge, for that he had spreade abroade that king Edward was alpye, and that he had spoken with him, he was agayne apprehended and arreigned of high treason, whereof beyng condemned, he shortly after was drabone to Tyborne and there hanged and quartered the. xiii. of Marche.

The Lorde Courtney set at libertie.

About this time Edward Courtney Erie of Deuonshire of whome before ye haue heard, was delpyered out of the Tower, and was licenced to depart into Italy, where shortly after he ended his life, beyng sick and dead in lesse then. viii. dayes, & was honorably buried at Baddray. This Courtney was the onely sonne and heire of Henry Marques of Excester, Colyn Germane to king Henry the eyght as is sayde befoze, for the sayde king and he were dissended of two sisters Elizabeth and Katheryn, two of the daughters of king Edward the fourth, which propinquitie of blood notwithstanding, the sayd Marques for poynts of treason layde agaynst him suffered at the Tower hill the. xxx. yere of the reigne of king Henry the eyght, to the great dolour of the most of the subiectes of this realme, who for his sundrie vertues bare him great fauour. After whose death thys yong gentleman his sonne beyng yet a child was committed prisoner to the Tower, where he remained vntill the beginning of the reigne of this Queene Mary as befoze you haue heard. This gentleman as it appered was bozne to be a prisoner, for from twelue yeres of age vnto. xxx. he had scarce two yeres liberty, within the which time he dyed, and obteyned quiet, which in his lyfe he coulde neuer haue.

Ambassadors sent to intreate a peace betwene the French king and the Emperour.

In the Moneth of Maye next folowynge, Cardinall Poole who had bene a great laborer for peace betweene the French king and the Emperour, beyng accompanied with Stephyn Gardiner Bishoppe of Winchester and Chaunceloz

Chaunceloz of England, the Erie of Arondell high Stuard of England, and the Lorde Paget, were sent by the king and Queene ouer the sea to Calice, and from thence went to the towne of Marke, where they met with the Ambassadors of the Emperour and the French king. From the Emperour were sent the Bishop of Arras with other. From the French king was sent the Cardinall of Loreine and the Constable of Fraunce. In this treatie Cardinall Poole sate as President and Umpiere in the name of the Queene of Englande. This peace was greatly labored, where at the first there was much hope, but in the ende nothing was concluded: wherefoze the. xviii. day of June, this assembly was dissolved, and the English Ambassadors returned againe into England.

twene the French king and the Emperour.

In the beginning of September. 1555. king Philip went ouer into Flaunders to the Emperour his father. And in the moneth of October next following, fell so great a rayne, that the aboundaunce thereof caused the Thames to swel so high, that for the space of foure or fyne dayes, the Boates and Barges rowed ouer all Saint Georges ficke, and the water roase so high at Westminster, that likewise a Boate might haue bene rowed from the one ende of the Hall to the other.

1555  
3

A great flood encreased by rayne.

About this time the Bishops of Lincolne, Glocester, and Bristow were sent in commission to Oxford by the Popes auctoritie, to examine Ridley & Latimer vpon certain articles by them preached, which if they would not recant, and consent to the Popes doctrine, then had they power to proceede to sentence against them as Heretiques, and to commit them ouer to the secular power. Those two Doctors neuer thelesse, stood constantly to that which they had taught, and would not reuoke, for which cause they were sone condemned, and after burned in the towne Diche at Oxforde the sixtene day of October. In the time of whose examination, because the Bishops aforesayde declared themselves to be the Popes Commissioners, neyther Ridley nor Latimer would do them any reuerence, but kept their Cappes on their heddes, wherefoze they were sharply rebuked by the Bishop of Lincolne, and one of the officers was commaunded to take of their Cappes. Of these men and the maner of their death, ye may reade at large in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church.

Commissioners sent to Oxforde.

The. xxi. of October a parliament was holden at Westminster in the which among other thinges, the Queene beyng perswaded by the Cardinal (and other of her Clergy) that she could not prosper so long as she kept in her hands any possessions of the Church, did frankly and freely resigne and render vnto them all those reuenues ecclesiasticall which by the auctoritie of parliament in the time of king Henry had bene annexed to the crowne, called the first frutes and tenthes of all Bishopricks, benefices and ecclesiasticall promotions: The resignation whereof was a great diminution of the reuenues of the crowne.

A parliament.

Queene Marye refuseth the first frutes and tenthes.

During the time of this parliament, Stephyn Gardiner Bishoppe of Winchester and Chaunceloz of England dyed at his house called Winchester place beside Saint Mary Queryes in Southwarke the ninthe daye of November, whose Corps was shortly after very solempnely from thence conueyed to his church of Winchester, and there buried. After whose death, Nicholas Heath Archebishop of Yorke was preferred by the Queene to the office

The death of Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester.

The Archebishop of Yorke.



office of Chaunceloz.

In the moneth of Marche next following, there was in manner none other talke but of the great preparation that was made for the Queenes lying in Childbed, who had already taken by her chamber, and sundry Ladies and Gentlewomen were placed about her in euery Office of the Courte. In somuche that all the Courte was full of Midwives, Nurses and Rocks, and this talke continued almost halfe a yere, & was affirmed true by some of her Physicians, & other persons about her, which seemed both graue & credible. In somuch that diuers were punished for saying the contrary. And moreover commaundement geuen in all Churches for Procession with supplications and prayers to be made to almighty God, for her safe deliuey, yea and diuerse prayers were specially made for that purpose. And the sayde rumoz continued so long, that at the last reporte was made that she was deliuered of a Prince, and for ioy thereof, Welles were rung, and Bonifires made, not onely in the Citie of London, but also in sundry places of the realme. But in the ende all proued cleane contrary, and the ioy and expectation of the people vterly frustrate: For shortly it was fully certefied (all most to all men) that the Queene was as then, neyther deliuered of childe, nor after was in hope to haue any. Of this the people spake diuersly: Some sayde that the rumoz of the Queenes conception was spred for a pollecy. Some affirmed that she was with childe, but it miscaried: Some other sayde that she was decaued by a Tympanye or other like disease, whereby she thought she was with child and was not: But what the truth was I referre the report thereof to other that knoweth more.

About this tyme Brookes Bishop of Gloucester, was by the Cardinall sent downe as Commissioner from the Pope to Orford, there to sit by on the examination of Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cantorbury, in suche things as should be layd to hys charge by John Storz, and Thomas Martyn Doctors in the lawes, sent specially in commission from the Queene. At which time, the sayd Archebishop, making lowe obedience to them that late in the Queenes name, shewed no tokens of reverence to the Bishop that was the Popes Commissioner, who neuertheless proceeded agaynst him as Judge, and convicted him of heretic. According to the which sentence the xvi. day of Marche following, he was disgraded by Edmunde Bonner, and Thomas Thirlby Bishops of London and Elye, sent downe for that purpose, and he was burned in the same place where Ridley and Latimer before had suffered. Before his death, by the perswasion of a Spanishe frier named frier John a reader of Diuinitie in Orforde, and by the Counsaile of certaine other that put him in hope of life and pardon: he subscribed to a recantation, wherein he submitted himselfe wholly to the Church of Rome, and continued in the same mynd to outward appearaunce, vntill he was brought out of prison to go to the fire. Afore whose execution, a Sermon was made by Doctor Cole Deane of Paules in saint Maries Church in Orford, who in the end of his sermo the said doctor Cole prayed the people to endine their eares to such thinges as the sayde Cranmer would declare vnto them by his awne mouth, for (saith he) he is a man very repentant, & will here before you all renoue his errors. Neuertheles, he did cleane contrary, & with many teares protested, that he had subscribed to the sayde recantation agaynst his conscience,

A rumoz that Queene Mary was deliuered of a Prince.

Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cantorbury condemned.

ence, onely for feare of death and hope of lyfe (which seemed to be true) for when he came to the stake, and the fyre kindeled, he put his right hande into the fyre, and helde it there a good space, saying that the same hand should first burne, because it helde the penne to subscribe agaynst his Lorde God.

Immediately after the death of the sayde Bishop Cranmer, Cardinall Poole was made Archebishop of Cantorbury, who during the lyfe of the other, would neuer be consecrate Archbishop. Who so desireth to see more of this matter, may see the same at large in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church, where you shall also finde that about this tyme many were in trouble for religion.

The .xxviii. day of the aforesayd Moneth of March, by the negligence of the keepers Hayde of the Gaole of Newgate in London, who left a Candle where a great deale of Strawe was, the same was set on fyre and bzent all the tynder worke on the Northsyde of the sayde Gate.

The Sommer next following was a new conspiraice brought to light, which was to haue rayfed warre in the realme agaynst the Queene, for maintenaunce whereof their first enterprize was to haue robbed the treasure of the Queenes Exchequer at Westminster, as it fell oute afterwards in prooffe. The vtterer of which conspiraice was one Whyte, who at the beginning was made priuie to the same, whereupon diuers of the conspirators, namely, Henry Beckham, Daniell Dethicke, Udall Throgmarton, and Capitain Stanton with diuers other were apprehended and executed. Moreover Sir Anthony Kingston knight was accused and apprehended for the same, and dyed in the way coming to London.

This yere the hote burning feuers and other straunge diseases which began the yere before, consumed much people in all partes of Englande, but namely of most auncient and graue men. So that in London betweene the xx. of October, and the last of December, there dyed seuen Aldermen, whose names were, Henry Heardson, sir Richard Dabbes late Maior, Sir William Larston late Maior, Sir Henry Hobblethorne late Maior, Sir John Champneys late Maior, Sir John Aileph late Shryefe, and Sir John Gressain late Maior.

About this tyme came to London an Ambassadoz to the Queene from the Emperoz of Cathay, Moscouia, and Russeland, who was honorably receyued by the Marchauntes of London hauyng trade in those Countreys, who bare all his costes and charges from the tyme of hys entrie into England out of Scotland (for thether by tempest of weather he was driuen, and there forced to lande.) And after his message and Ambassade done to the Queene, he departed againe with thre sayre ships from Grauesende into his Countrey, when he had remainned here by the space of two Monethes and more.

Also about this time the Lord Sturton for a verie shamefull and wretched murder committed by him bpō two gentlemen the father & the sonne, of the Surnames of Hargill beyng his neere neighbours, was apprehended and committed to the Tower of London. And although the Queene seemed to fauour him much, as one professing the catholique religion, yet when she vnderstood the truth of his vile deede, she abhorred him, and commaunded that he should be bled according to iustice. Wherefore shortly after he was

Cranmer put to death.

Cardinall Poole made Archebishop of Cantorbury.

Persecution for religion.

Newgate set on fire.

A conspiracy

Sir Anthony Kingston knight.

1550

In Ambassadour out of Moscouia.

The Lord Sturton apprehended for a murder & condemned and hanged at Salisbury.



was brought to Westminster and there arraigned and found guiltie and had iudgement as a murderer to be hanged, and for the same fact were likewise condemned foure of his seruants. And the second day of Marche next following, the sayde Lorde with his saide seruantes were conueyed by the Queenes Garde from the Tower of London throughe the Citie, he hauing his armes pinyoned at his back, and his legges bound vnder the horse belly, and so caried to Salisburie, where the sixt daye of Marche next he was hanged in the market place of the same towne, and his foure seruantes were hanged in the Countrie neere vnto the place, where the murder was committed.

This yere for the more parte there was in Englande a great dearth, namely of corne, for Wheat and Rie were commonly solde for fise Shyllings and sixe Shyllings a Bushell, and in some places at higher prices. But in the later ende of the yere towarde haruest, the price fell so muche, and specially after new corne was come into the Barne, that within lesse space then eyght weekes, from sixe Shyllings it fell to sixtene pence a Bushell and lesse.

This present month of March, king Philip who a long season had bene in Flaundyrs to take possession and gouernement of the lowe Countries as is aforesayde, did now returne into England, and passed thozough London, beyng accompanied with the Queene, and dyuers nobles of the realme: But because a great warre was towarde betweene him and the frenche king, he taried not long here, but in the middest of Sommer passyng the Seas agayne into Flaundyrs made great prouision for the same. At thys time the common people began to mutter and saye that king Philip sought occasions to be absent from the Queene. At which tyme report was made that the french king was verie loth to haue warre with England, albeit the Queene tangling her selfe in her husbandes quarrell, sent a defiance to the french king, by Clarenseaur her Herault, and not long after transported an armie of one thousande horsmen, foure thousande footemen, and two thousand pponers to ayde the king her husbände. Of the which armie William Erle of Pembroke was made generall, vnder whome many noble men and gentlemen (although dyuers suspected to be protestants) were by the Queenes commaundement appoynted to serue.

The. xii. day of July dyed the Ladye Anne of Cleue at Chelsey, and was honozably buried at Westminster.

The Queenes armie being thus sent ouer, ioyned with the armie of king Philip and besieged the towne of saint Quintyne in Fraunce. For the rescue of which towne, shortly after, that is to saye the tenth of August beyng the daye of saint Laurence, the french king sent a great army vnder the conduyt of Duke Mountmoency Constable of Fraunce to remoue y siege of the said towne, and to geue king Philip battaile, if occasion so serued. The frenche men pressing neere the towne to put in succours of mo souldiours, came within the daunger of king Philips horsmen, which beyng led by the Countey of Argymond, Horne, Mansfelt & the Dukes of Brunswike to the number of fise thousand men of armes beside the Swart Ritters and light horsmen gaue suche a furious and cruell charge vpon the frenchmen that they not able to resist the same were altogether defeated, and their battayles as well horsmen as footemen put to flight, wherof king Philip hauyng

knowlege

A great dearth, and after great plenty.

The returne of king Philip into Englands.

Queene Mary proclaymeth open warre wryth the french king.

1557

Saint Quintyne besieged.

knowledge pursued them with all his forces, in which pursuete were slayne of the frenchmen a great number, the chiefe wherof were these that folow, John of Burbone Duke of Anghien. The Viscount of Turayn. The eldest sonne of Roche du Mayn. The Lord of Chandenyre, with a great number of other gentlemen that bare armes in the field, and there were taken prisoners these following.

The Duke of Mountmoency Constable of Fraunce and one of his sonnes called Mounfire de Meru.

- The Duke of Mountpencieur.
- The Duke of Longueuple.
- The Marshall of saint Androw.
- The Rynegraue Cozonall of the Almaynes.

- Roche du Mayn.
- The Countie Rochefoucault.
- The Vicount of Courayn.
- The Baron of Curton.
- The prince of Mantua.

Besides many other Gentlemen and Capitaynes. And the. xliij. day of the sayde Month, by the speciall ayde and helpe of the Englishe men, the towne of saint Quintyne was taken, for when the other souldiours after dyuers assaultes were repulsd and gaue ouer, the Englishe men of a stoute courage gaue a newe onset, by reason wherof the towne was taken. And in rewarde of their well doyng, king Philip graunted them the sacrage of the sayde towne: But the swart Ritters which keepe no rule where they be strongest, set vpon the English men in takyng of the spoyle and killed a great number of them. This grudge was with much difficultie appeased, and men thought that if the English men, beyng much fewer in number had not bene oppzessed with the multitude of the other, that it would haue growne to a great slaughter on both partes. At this siege the Lord Henry Dudley pongest sonne to the Duke of Northumberlande was slayne with the shot of a great peece, as he stobped on the wall and steyed to rip his hose on the knee thereby to haue bene the more apt to the assault. After the wynging of thys towne, newes in post were brought into England to the Queene, who caused generall processions to be made and Te deum to be song, geuing all laude and prayse vnto almightie God for this great victorie. And in the streetes of euery Citie and towne of the realme were made Bonfires with great reioysing: Which sodayne thort gladnesse turned very thortly after to a greater long sorrow. For if ought were wonne by the hauing of saint Quintynes, England gate nothing at all, for the gayne thereof came onely to king Philip. But the losse of Calice, Hammes, and Guynes with all the Countrie on that side the sea, (which followed sone after) was suche a buffet to Englande as happened not in more then an hundred yere before, and a dishonoz wherewith this realme shall be blotted, vntyll God shall geue power to redubbe it with some like requitall to the french.

Saint Quintynes taken.

Doctor Weston beyng (as you haue heard before) prolocutor of the conuocation house, was at this time in displeasure with Cardinall Poole, and other Bishoppes, because he was vnwilling to resigne his Deanery of Westminster to the Queene, whose purpose was to place there (as in olde time before) the religon of Monkes, whome in deede he fauoured not, although in all other thinges he stood with the Church of Rome. Neuerthelesse, by very importune suite or rather compulsion, he with his Colleges resigned the Deanry of Westminster. In recompence wherof, he was made

Deane

Doctor Weston.



Deane of Windsoz, where not long after he was apprehended in adulterye, and for that fact was by the Cardinall depriued of all his spirituall liuings, from whose sentence he appealed to the courte of Rome. For the following of which appeale, he sought secretly to departe the realme : but he was apprehended by the waye, and committed to the Tower of London, where he remained prisoner, untill by the death of Queene Mary, Queene Elizabeth came to the crowne, by whome he was set at libertie, and forthwith fell sicke and dyed. The common talke was, that if he had not so sodainly dyed, he woulde haue disclosed the purpose of the chiefe of the Clergy (meaning the Cardinall) whiche was to haue taken by king Henryes bodye at Windsoz to haue bzent it as many thought.

At this time, although open hostility and warre were betwene England and Fraunce, yet contrary to the auncient custome afoze vsed, the towne of Calice and the Fortes thereaboutes were not supplied with any new accrues of souldiozs, which negligence was not vnknowne to the enemy, who long before had practised the wyning of the sayd towne and countrey. The French king therefore beyng sharply netted with the late losse of Sainte Quintines, and a great peece of his countrey adioyning, and desirous of reuenge, thought it not meete to let slippe this occasion : And hauing presently a full army in areadinesse to employ where most aduantage should appere, determined with all speede to put in prooffe the enterprize of Calice, which long and many tymes before was purposed vpon. This practise was not so secret, but that the Deputies of Calice and Guines had some intelligence thereof, and informed the Queene and her counsaile accordingly. Nevertheless either by wilfull negligence there, or lacke of credite, by the Queenes cunsaile here : this great case was so slenderly regarded, as no prouision of defence was made untill it was somewhat to late. The Duke of Guise being Generall of the French Army, proceeded in this enterprize with mercenous policy. For approaching the English frontier vnder colour to bitayle Bulleyme and Arde, he entred the same vpon a sodaine, and tooke a litle Bulwarke at Sandgate by assaulte, and then deuided hys armye into two partes, sendyng one parte with certayne peece of great artillery along the Dounes by the sea side, towardes Rife Banke : the other parte furnished also with battery peece, marched strayte forth to Newnam Bzidge : meaning to batter these two fortis both at one tyme, which thing he did wyth such celeritye, that coming thether very late in the eueing : he was maister of both by the next Morning, wherent the first shot discharged at Newnam bzidge, the head of the maister Gunner of y<sup>e</sup> peece, whose name was Horseley, was cleane stricken of. The Capitaine considering the great power of the French army, and hauing his fort but slenderly manned to make sufficient resistance, fled to Calice : And by y<sup>e</sup> time he was come thether : the other part of y<sup>e</sup> French army that went by y<sup>e</sup> sea side with their battery had woone Rife Banke, being abandoned to their hads. The next day, the Frenchmen with fure double & Canones thre Culuerins began a battery from y<sup>e</sup> sand Hilles next Rife Bank, against y<sup>e</sup> towne of Calice & continued the same by the space of two or thre dayes untill they made a litle breach of the wall ; next vnto the Water Gate, which neuerthelesse was not yet assalutable, for that which was broken in the daye, was by them within the towne made by againe in the

The Duke of Guise with a great Army commeth toward Calice.

Newnam Bzidge taken by the French.

Rife Banke taken by the French.

Calice besieged.

the night stronger then afoze. But the batterie was not begonne there by the French, for that they entended to enter in that place, but rather to abuse the English to haue the lesse regarde to the defence of the Castell, which was the weakest part of the towne, and the place where they were asserteined by their espyalles to win an easie entyre. So that whyle our people traunpled fondely to defende that counterseyt breach of the towne wall : the Duke had in the meane season planted. xv. double Cannons against the Castell, which Castell being considered by the rulers of the towne to be of no such force as any rampiers) it was deuised to make a trayne wyth certayne Barrels of powder to this purpose, that when the frenchmen should enter (as they well knewe that there they would) to haue fyrd the sayde trayne and blowne by the keepe, and for that purpose left neuer a man within to defend it. But the Frenchmen at their entyre espyed the trayne and so auoyded the same, so that deuise came to no purpose, and without any resistance they entred the Castell, and thought to haue entred the towne by that waye : But by the prowes and hardy courage of Syr Anthony Ager knight and Marshall of the towne with his souldiozs they were repulsd and driven backe agayne into the Castell, and so hard followed after, that our men forced them to close and shut the Castell gate for their suretie, least it should haue bene recovered against them as it was once attempted by Sir Anthony Ager, who there with his sonne and heyre, and a Pursuaunt at Armes called Calice with diuers other to the number of. xv. or. xvi. Englishmen lost their liues.

The same night after the recule of the Frenchmen, whose number so encreased in the Castell, that the towne was not able to resist their force. The Lorde Wentworth Deputy of Calice, sent a Pursuaunt called Guyne into the Duke of Guise requiring composition, which after long debate was agreed vpon in this sort. First that the towne with all the great artillery, victualles, and munition, should be freely yelden to the French king, the liues of the inhabitants onely saued, to whome safecoudyete should be graunted to passe where they lysted, sauing the Lorde Deputy with fiftie such other as the Duke should appoint to remaine prisoners, and be put to their raunsome.

The next morning, the Frenchmen entred and possessed the towne, and forthwith al the men, women, and children, were commaunded to leaue their houses, and to go into the two Churches of our Lady and Saint Nicholas vpon paine of death, where they remaind a great part of that daye, and one whole night, & the next day untill thre of the clock at after none, without eyther meat or drink. And while they were thus in the Churches, the Duke of Guyse in the name of the French king, in thre hearings made a proclamation, straightly charging and commanding ai & euery person that were inhabitants of the towne of Calice, hauing about them any money, plate, or Jewels, to the value of one grote to bring the same forthwith, and laye it downe vpon the highe Altars of the sayde Churches vpon paine of death, bearing them in hande also that they should be searched : By reason of which Proclamation there was made a great and sorrowfull offerrozy. And while they were at this offering within the Churches, the Frenchmen entred into their houses, and ryled the same, where was found inestimable riches and

Sir Anthony Ager and his sonne slain.

Calice deliuered to the French.

A greuous Proclamation made by the Duke of Guyse against the inhabitants of Calice.

A sorrowfull offerrozy.

DDDDDD. treasure :



treasure: But specially of ordinaunce, armor and other munition. Aboute two of the clocke the next day at after noone, beyng the seuenth of January, all the Englishe men (except the Lorde Deputie, and the other reserved for prisoners) were suffered to passe out of the towne in safetie, beyng garded through the armie with a number of Scottishe light horsemen. There were in this towne of Calice five hundred Englishe Souldiours ordinary, and no mo. And of the townes men not fully two hundred fighting men, (a small garrison for the defence of such a towne) and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children, as they were counted (when they went out of the Gate) foure thousand and two hundred persons. But the Lorde Wentworth Deputie of Calice, Sir Hauke Chamberleyn Capitaine of the Castell, Harlestone Capitaine of Ricebanke, Nicholas Alexander Capitaine of Newnambridge, Edward Grymstone the Comptroller, with other of the chiefe of the towne to the number of fiftie (as aforesayd) such as it pleased the Duke of Guise to appoint, were sent prisoners into France.

Thus haue ye heard the discourse of the ouerthrowe and losse of the towne of Calice, the which enterprize was begonne and ended in lesse then viij. dayes, to the great maruaile of the worlde, that a towne of such strength and so well furnished of all thinges as that was, should so sodainly be taken and conquered: But most speciallye in the winter season, what tyme all the Country about beyng marhe ground is commonly ouerflouen with water, The sayde towne was wonne from the French, by king Edward the thirde, in the tyme of Philip de Valoys then French king. And beyng in the possession of the kings of Englande two hundred. xi. yeres, was in the tyme of Philip and Mary, King and Queene of England, lost within lesse then. viij. dayes, beyng the most notable forte that Englande had: For the winnyng wherof king Edward aforesayde in the. xxi. yere of his reigre was faine to continue a siege one whole yere and more, wherfore it was iudged of all men, that it could not haue come so to passe without some secreete trechery.

Here is also to be noted, that when Queene Mary and her Counsaile heard credibly of the French mens sodaine approche to that towne, she with all speede possible (but somewhat to late) raysed a great power for the rescue thereof, which if winde and weather had serued, might happily haue brought succour thither in tyme. But such terrible tempestes then arose and continued the space of foure or five dayes together, that the like had not bene seene before in remembrance of man, wherfore some sayde that the same was done by necromancy, and that the Demill was raysed by, and become French (the truth wherof is knowne to God) but very true it is that no ship could brooke the Seas by reason of those extreme stormes and tempestes. And such of the Queenes shippes as did aduerture the passage, were so shaken and torne with violence of weather, as they were forced to returne with great daunger, and with the losse of all their tackle and furniture. Thus by negligence of the Counsaile at home, conspiracie of traytors else where, force and false practise of eneymes, holpen by the rage of most terrible tempestes, of contrary wynds and weather, this famous Forte of Calice was brought againe to the handes and possession of the French.

So saene as this Duke of Guise, contrary to all expectation, had in so few dayes gayned this strong towne of Calice (afoze thought impregnable) and

The garrison  
of souldiours  
that were in  
Calice.

A terrible  
tempest

and had put the same in such order as best seemed for his aduantage: proboode of the spoyle, and pressing forward upon his sodain fortune, without geuing long tyme to the residue of the Capitaynes of the fortes there, to breath upon their businesse, the. xiiij. day of the sayde Moneth, with all prouision requisite for a siege, marched with his army from Calice vnto the towne and fort of Gynnes, five myles distaunt from thence. Of which towne and Castell, at the same tyme, there was Capitaine a valiaunt Baron of England called William Lorde Gray of Wilton, who not without cause suspectyng a siege at hande, and knowyng the towne of Gynnes to be of small force, as beyng without walles or Bulwarke, compassed onely with a trench before the French mennes arriual had caused all the inhabitauntes of the towne to aduoyde, and so many of them as were apt to beare armes, he caused to retire into the Castell, which was a place well fortified with strong and massy Bulwarke of Bricke, haung also a high and mightie tower of great force and strength, called the keepe. The towne being thus abandoned, the french men had the more easie approche to the Castell who thinkyng to fynde quiet lodgyng in those vacant houses entered the same without any feare. And beyng that night at their rest (as they thought) a chosen band of Souldiours appoynted by the Lorde Gray, issued out by a posterne of the sayde Castell, and slue no small number of their sleepe ghestes, and the rest they put out of their newe lodgynges, and mauger the Duke and all the French power, consumed all the houses of the towne with fyre. That notwithstanding the sayde Duke with all diligence began his trenches, and albeit the shot of the great Artillarie from the Castell was terrible, and gaue him great impechment: yet did he continue his worke without intermission, and for examples sake wrought in his awne person as a common Pioner or labourer. So that within lesse then thre dayes, he brought to the number of. xxxv. battery peeces, hard to the brim of the Castell ditch to batter the same on all sydes, as well forthright as a crosse. But his principall battery he planted agaynst the strongest Bulwarke of all called Mary Bulwarke, thinkyng by gainyng of the stronger, to come more easily by the weaker.

His battery being thus begonne, he continued the same by space of two dayes with such terrible thundering of great artillarie, that by report of Rabutyne a French wyter, there were in those few dayes discharged well nere to the number of eyght or nine thousand Canon shot. Through the violence wherof, by the twentieth daye of the sayde Moneth, the sayde great Bulwarke was layde wyde open, and the breache made reasonable and easie ynough for the assault. Neuerthelesse, the sayde Duke beyng a man of warre, and nothing ignoraunt what deuises be commonly vsed in Fortes and townes besieged, to entrap and dammage the assaylants, afoze he would put the persons of his good souldiours to the hazard of the assault, caused the breache to be betwed once or twice by certayne forward and skillfull souldiours, who mountyng the top of the breache brought report that the place was faultable. Neuerthelesse, to make the clyme more easie, he caused certayne Arquebussiers to passe over the ditch, and to keepe the defendauntes occupied with shot, while certayne proners with mattoches and shorvelles made the breache more playne and easie, which thing done accordingly, he gaue order to Hounsiere Dandalot coronall of the French footemen, that

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he with his bandes should be in readynesse to geue the assault when signe should be geuen. In which meane time the Duke withdrew himselfe to an higher grounde, from whence he might playnely discouer the behauiour as well of his souldiours in the assault. geuing, as also of the defendantes in answering the same. And perceyuing not so many of the Englishe part appearing for defence (as he looked for) gaue order forthwith that a regiment of his most forward Launceknights shoulde mount the breach to open the first passage, and that Mounfire Dandalot with his bandes of the French should back them, which order was folowed with such whot haste and desperate hardinesse, that entring a deepe ditch full of water, from the botome whereof to the top of the breach was well foztie foote, without feare eyther of the water beneath, or the fyze aboue, they mounted the breach. And where as y Duke had prepared dyuers bridges made of planke bozds bozne bp with Casque and emptie pypes tyed one to another for his men to passe the sayde ditch, many of the sayde assaillantes without care of those bridges plunged into the water, and tooke the next waye to come to the assault. Which hotte haste notwithstanding, the sayde assaillantes were in this first assault so stoutly repulsed and put backe by the defendants beyng furnished with great stoze of wyld fyze and other fyrasyes for the purpose, that they were turned downe hedlong one vpon an other, much faster then they came bp, not without great waste and slaughter of their best and most braue souldiours, to the small comfort of the stout Duke, who (as is sayde before) stood all this while vpon a little hyll, to behold thys busynesse: wherefore not enduryng this sight any longer, as a man arraged ranne amongst his men, so reprovynge some, and encouragynge other, that the assault was foote hot renued, with muche more behemence and furie then befoze, and wpyth no lesse obstinacie and desperation receyued by the defendants, where by all the breach vnderneath was fylled with french carcasses. Thys notwithstanding, the Duke still redoubled his forces with freshe companies, and contynued so many assailltes one vpon an other, that at the last charge beyng most behement of all the other, our men beyng tyred and greatly diminished in their number by slaughter & bloody woundes, were of fyne force driuen to auoyde, and gaue place of entry to the enemye, which was not done without a maruaylous expence of bloud on both sydes: for of the frenche part there were slayne and perished in these assailltes aboue the number of eyght or nine hundred, and of the Englishe but little fewer, amongst whom the greatest losse lighted vpon the Spaniardes who tooke vpon them the defence of the sayde Mary Bulwarke, inasmuch (as the report went) that of fyne hundred braue souldiours which king Phillip sent thether for succours vnder the conduite of a valiant Capitayne Spaniard, called Moundragon: there were not knotne to haue comen away any number wozth the reckning, but eyther slayne, maimed or taken. These outrageous assaillts were geuen to the Castell of Guynes on the daye of saint Sebastian the. xx. of January aforesayde. Afoze the ende of which day, there were also gayned from the Englishe two other principall Bulwarkes of the sayde Castell, which beyng likewise made assailltable by batterry were taken by the Almaynes and entred into by the breaches.

The Lord Graye with his eldest sonne and the chiefe Cappytaynes and souldiours

souldiours of the sayde Garrison, who kept the inner warde of the Castell (where the most high and principal Tower called the keepe stood) thinking themselves in small suretie there, beyng a place of the olde sort of fortification, after they sawe the vtter warde possessed by the enemye, and suche a number of the most forward souldiours consumed and spent, and no lykelyhood of any moze ayde to come in time, by the aduise of the most expert souldiours there, concluded for the best to treat with the Duke for composition, according to the which aduise he sent forth two gentlemen with this message in effect. That the Duke beyng a man of warre, and seruing vnder a king, should not thinke it straunge if the Lord Gray beyng lyke wise a man of warre and seruing his prince in lyke maner, did his deuour in well defending the place committed to his charge, so far forth as to answer and bide the assault: Considering that otherwise he could neuer saue his owne honor, neyther his truth and loyaltie to his prince: In respect whereof according to the lawe of armes, he required honorable composition, which message though it was well accepted of the Duke: yet he deferred his answer vntill the morow, what time the messengers repaying to him agayne, composition was graunted in this sort.

First, that the Castell with all the furniture thereof, as well victuals, as great artillery, powder and all other munitions of warre, shoulde be wholly rendered without wasting, hiding or minishment thereof.

Secondarily, that the Lord Gray with all the Capitaines, Officers, and other hauing charge there, shoulde remayn prisoners at the Dukes pleasure to be ransomed after the maner of warre.

Thirdely, that all the rest as well souldiours as other should safely depart with their armour and baggage to what partes it seemed them best: Neuertheless to passe without sounde of Drume or Trumpet or displaying of any Ensignes, but to leaue them behinde.

These condicions beyng receyued and approued on eyther partie, the day following, that is to wpyt, the two and twentieth day of the sayde Moneth of January, all the souldiours of the sayd fortresse, as well English as Strangers with all the rest of the inhabitants and other, except the Lord Graye Sir Arthure his sonne, Sir Henry Palmer knight, Moundragon aboue named Capitayne of the Spaniardes and other men of charge reserued by the composition, departed with their bag and baggages, from thence towards Flaunders. At whose issuing forth, there was esteemed to the number of eyght or nine hundred hable men for the warre, part English, part Burgonyons, with a small remnaunt of Spaniardes.

After the winning of this towne and Castell, the Duke aduising well vpon the place, and considering that if it shoulde happen to be regayned by English men, what a noysome neighbour the sae might be to Calice now beyng french, and specially what empeachment shoulde come thereby for the passage thether from fraunce, considering also the nere standing thereof to the french kinges fortresse of Arde, so that to keepe two garrisons so nigh together, shoulde be but a double charge, and not onely needlesse, but also daungerous for the cause afoze reherfed. Vpon these considerations (as the frenchmen write) he tooke order for all the great artillery victuals and other munition to be taken forth, and the Castell with all the Bulwarkes and



other fortifications there, with all speede to be rased and thzobone downe, and the stufte to be caried away and employed in other moze necessary places.

Hamme  
Castell.

Then rested nothing within all the English Pale on that side vnconquerred but the litle Castell oꝝ Pile called Hamme, which though it were but of small foꝛce, made by art & industry of mannes hand, & beyng altogether of olde workmanship without Rampiers oꝝ Bulwarke: yet neuerthelesse by the naturall scituation thereof, beyng on all sides enuironed with fennes and Harthe groundes, it coulde not easely be appoched vnto, eyther with great ordinaunce foꝛ the battery, oꝛ else with any armye to encampe there foꝛ a siege, hauing but one strayght passage thereto by a narrow causey traucted and cut thorough in diuers places, with deepe ditches alwayes full of water, which thing beyng well foꝛseene by Edward Loꝛde Dudley then Capitayne there, hauing as good cause to suspect a siege there as his neyghboꝛes had, afoꝛe the Frenchmennes comming to Guynes: caused all the Bridges of the sayde Causey beyng of woode to be broken, to geue therby the moze impechement to the French, if they shoulde attempt to appoche the same, as shortly after they dyd, and kept dryers of the passages: But to deliuer the Duke and his souldioꝛs from that care, there came to him glad newes from those that had charge to watche the sayde Causey, how the Capitaine hauing intelligence of the rendering of Guynes, secretly the same night, had conueyed himselfe, with his small garrison by a secret passage ouer the Harrys into Flaunders: wherby the Duke beyng now past care of any further siege to be layde, in all that frontier tooke order soꝛthwith to seale the sayd litle foꝛte into his handes, as it was easy to do, when there was no resistance.

Edward  
Loꝛd Dudley.

1578  
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When this peece was once seized by the French, then remayned there none other place of defence oꝛ strength of English on all that side the Sea foꝛ the safegard of the rest of the countrey, wherby the French king became wholly and thoroughly Loꝛde and Maister of all the English Pale, foꝛ now (as ye haue heard) there was neyther towne, Castell, noꝛ other foꝛtesse more oꝛ lesse on that side (sauing Bootes Bullwarke nere to Grauelyng which now king Philipe keepeth as his) but that it was eyther taken away by foꝛce, oꝛ else abandoned & left open to the enemy. And (as the Frenchmen write) beside the great riches of Golde and Siluer Coyne, Jewels, Plate, Woolles, and other Marchandise (which was inestimable) there were found thꝛee hundred peeces of Brasse mounted on wheeles, and as many peeces of Iron, with such furniture of powder, pelletes, Armour, bittuals and other munitions of warre, scarcely credible.

Bootes  
Bullwarke.

Thus haue you heard the whole discourse of the conquest of the noble towne of Calice, with all the English foꝛtresses and Countrey adioynnyng made by the Duke of Guyse, the newes wherof when they came to the French king, no neede to aske how ioyfully they were receyued, not onely of him and all his Court, but also vniuersally through the whole Realme of Fraunce. Foꝛ the which victoꝛy there was (as the maner is) Te deum song, and benefices made euery where, as it is wont to be in cases of common ioy and gladnesse foꝛ some rare benefite of God, insomuch that shortly vpon thys conquest there was a publike assembly at Paris of all the states of Fraunce, who frankly in recompence of the kinges charges employed in winnyng of Calice

Calice and the places afoꝛesayde, and foꝛ maintenaunce of his warres to be continued afterwarde, graunted vnto him thꝛee Millions of French crownes, wherof the Clergie of Fraunce contributed one Million besyde theyꝛ diuines. And no maruaile though the French did highly reioyce at the recovery of Calice out of the Englishmens handes: foꝛ it is constantly affirmed of many, that be acquainted with the affayres of Fraunce, that euer sithen the same towne was first wonne by Englishmen, in all solempne Counsailles assembled to treat vpon the state of Fraunce, there was a speciall person appoynted to put them in remembraunce from tyme to tyme of Calice, as it were to be wished, that the like were vsed in Englande vntill it were regayned from the French.

Now semed euery day a yere to the French king vntill he personally had visited Calice, and his new conquered countrey: Wherfoꝛe about the ende of January afoꝛesayde, he tooke his boꝛage thither accompanied with no small number of his Nobilitie. And immediatly vpon his arrivall there he perused the whole towne and euery parte thereof from place to place, deuising with the Duke of Guyse foꝛ the better fortification thereof, what should be added to the olde, and what should be made newe, and what should be taken a way. And after order taken foꝛ that businesse, he placed there a noble and no lesse valiaunt knight called Mounsier de Thermes to be Capitayne of the towne, and so departed agayne into Fraunce.

Mounsier de  
Thermes  
made Cap-  
taine of  
Calice.

After the French kinges departure from Calice, he made great hast foꝛ the accomplishment of the mariage, mooued betwene Fraunces his eldest sonne called the Dolphin, and Mary Stewart daughter and sole heire of James the fift, late king of Scotlande, which Princes if Scottes had bene faythfull of promise (as they seldome be) should haue married with king Edward the sixt: foꝛ the breche of which promise began all the warre betwene England and Scotland, as you heard in the latter ende of the life of king Henry the eyght, and in the beginning of king Edward the sixt. This mariage (though it be not of my matter) I thought not to omit, foꝛ that many thinges were ment thereby, which thanks be to God neuer came to effect. But one speciall poynt was not hidden to the worlde, that by meane of the same, the realme of Scotlande shoulde foꝛ euermoze haue remayned as vnitid and encoꝛporeate to the Crowne of Fraunce, and that as the sonne and heire of euery French king doth succede to the inheritaunce and possession of a countrey called the Doulphyn, and is therefore called Doulphyn. And like as the principalltie of Wales appertayneth to the eldest sonne of England, who therefore is called the Prince of Wales. Euen so the Doulphyn & heire of Fraunce shoulde thereby haue bene king of Scotland foꝛ euermoze, which name and title vpon this mariage was accordingly geuen to Fraunces Doulphyn and heire apparaunt of Fraunce to be called king Doulphyn. The meaning wherof was vtterly to exclude foꝛ euermoze any to be king of Scotlande, but onely the eldest sonne of Fraunce. This memorabile mariage was solempnized in the Citie of Paris, the .xxiii. day of Aprill in the yere of Christ. 1558. with most magnifique pompe and triumph, and honored with the presense of the most part of the Princes, Prelates, Loꝛdes, and Barons of both the realmes, as it were foꝛ a confirmation of this new alliance, which as it was much to the aduantage and benefite of Fraunce, so no-  
thing

The mar-  
riage of the  
Queene of  
Scottes  
with the  
Dolphyn.



thing coulde be more prejudice and derogation of the crowne to Scotland, as a deuse tending to the perpetuall abolition and extinguyshment of the name and estate of kinges in that realme.

But now to retorne to the matters of England, from which I haue in part digressed. The newes of this conquest of Calice, were not so ioyfully receaued in Fraunce, as they were generally greuous and displeasent to the whole realme of Englande: But specially to Queene Mary, who beyng a Princes of heart and courage more then commonly is in womankind, thought her selfe so much touched in honoz by the losse of her sayd towne and possessions on that side the sea, as shee counted her life y<sup>r</sup>some, vntill the same were eyther recouered agayne, or the losse redoubled with some like victo<sup>r</sup>y agaynst the French elsewhere. In respect whereof, shee creased not to trauallye aswell with king Philip her housband, as with her obone priute counsayle and the Lordes of the realme, what waye should be best to reuenge this iniurye, and specially now whilst the French king was occupied in warre with king Philip, to endamage some of his countreyes by way of inuasion and to surprize some of his townes vpon the sodayne. And among sundry deuises, none was thought so fyt to be attempted, as an Hauen towne in Bytaine called Brest, which in the time of king Richarde the second and long befoze was kept and maintayned with an English garrison vntill the said king rendered the same to the French king agayne by composition. This towne aswell for the conuenient situation, alwayes ready to receaue fresh succours and victualing out of England by Sea, as also for that it was knowne to the Queene and her counsayle at that present not to be furnished with any Garrison of Souldiers sufficient to repulse the power of a Prince vpon the sodaine, was thought the best marke to be shot at for the time. Wherefoze vpon this case well debated, there was immediat order geuen to Edward Lorde Clynton then high Admirall of England, with all expedition to prepare himselfe with all the Queenes shippes of warre, furnished with souldioz<sup>s</sup>, munition and victuall, to ioyne with the Admirall of king Philip, who had like order from the sayd king to ioyne with the Hauie of England, for the atchieuing of this enterprize. But befoze I declare to you the aduenture of these two great Hauies by sea: it shall not be impertinent to touch some accidentes in the meane time by land.

Whiles king Philip beyng absent from the low countrey, was (as you haue heard) occupied with his warres in Fraunce, Mounsier de Thermes the new Capitayne of Calice, beyng a man very expert in the warres (whose propertie is neuer to neglect any time of aduantage) cast in his minde hobo during king Philipps absence, to do some singuler seruire to the French king. And espiyng well the beastiality of the Fleminges his Neighbours, how little they vnderstood the great weakning of their countrey by the losse of Calice, and that there was no new prouision made for the defence thereof more then was befoze, whilst Calice was English, by the losse whereof, their frontiers was now become open for the French at all times to enter: He therefore taking out of Calice so many of his souldioz<sup>s</sup> as might be spared from thence, adioyning to them all the forces of the French Garrisons in Artoys, Bullenoyse, and Picardy, whereof (besides the Souldioz<sup>s</sup> of Calice being to the number of seuen hundred footemen, and three hundred

light

Brest in Britaine.

The Lorde Clynton Admirall.

Mounsier de Thermes Capitayne of Calice.

light hozsmen Scottish) there were assembled fourteene Ensignes of the French, and high Dutch, wyth .xiiij. or .xiiiij. hundred Swart Ritters and men at Armes of Fraunce, amounting in the whole to the number at the least of .xiiij. or .xiiiij. thousand fighting men, entred into Flaunders with full determination to spoyle and waste all king Philips countrey along the Sea coast, and namely a proper Hauen towne called Dunkirck, and with like purpose to haue surprized the towne of Graueling if occasion woulde so serue.

This Capitayne following his enterprize, of a polley passing by the towne of Graueling, layde siege to a litle towne not far from thence called Berghes, which he wanne in a small time and with small resistance, leauing the saccage of the same vnto his Souldioz<sup>s</sup>, where they founde many good booties. And without long staiyng they marched forth to Dunkirck afoze: sayde, and planting a siege in lyke maner there, battered the same so sharpe-ly with the Cannon, that within lesse then foure dayes he became Maister of the towne, which he in like maner put to the sack, where was found more plentie of spoyle and good booties, then in any place befoze, so far forth as the meanest slaues and Lackeies came away riche. And after, setting the towne a fyre (whereby all the country about were merczously put in feare) in his retorne homewardeg he tooke the streight way to Graueling. And staiyng his Army there certayne dayes by reason of sodaine sicknesse coming vpon him, there were dayly skirmishes betweene the French and the Garrison men of Graueling.

During this pastime, the Countie Ayguemount (whome we call Egmond) Lieutenant Generall for king Philip in the low countrey, with all hast possible assembled all the power aswell of king Philipes Garrisons as also of men of warre in the low countrey to the number of .xiiij. or .xv. thousand footemen, and two or thre thousand hozsmen, whereof there were fiftene hundred Swart Ritters, determining so to affront the French, that eyther they should passe no farther into the countrey, or at the least waye to impeach them from the siege of Graueling, whereof there was great appa<sup>r</sup>ance.

Mounsie de Thermes heering of this power assembled (though skarcelly well recouered) made all possible hast toward Graueling, where he was no soner arriued, but that he saw his enemies ready raunged in the field. By reason whereof, leauing of the pursuyng of his entended siege: his studie was now nothing else but how he might bring home his company in safe- garde to Calice.

The Countie of Egmond, espiyng the Frenchmen bent to march a way with the spoyle of the countrey, cut betweene them and home, placing his battailes in such order, that the Frenchmen had no way to passe, but vpon the Sandes betweene the towne & the sea: where as by good chaunce lay a great flete of Queene Maryes shippes of warre, within the daunger of whose Gunshot, the Frenchmen had no shift but to passe as their iourney lay. And to beyng forced eyther to famishe or to fight at disaduantage, Mounsier Thermes without staiyng any longer, caused his Wantgard to passe ouer the Ryuer somewhat nere the towne to auoyde the shotte of the English shippes. And staiyng vpon the further side for the residue of his battayles there

Dunkircke be sieged, taken & burnt by the French.

Countie Egmond.

English shippes annoy the French.



there came such thicke Hayle shot of Artillery out of the towne of the one side and from the English Shippes on the other side, that there was a full battery made vpon the Frenchmen on all sides, which they neuertheless boade without breaking order for the time, when sodainely appered before them two great tropes of horsemen of .xv. hundred a peece, part Swart Rufflers and part Burgonions, whereof the one in front, and the other in flanke, gaue strong charges, vpon the French Vauntgard, who beyng well backed with their other battayles (whereof the most part had then passed the Riuer) stoutly repulsd these two first tropes, though not without losse of many their best souldiours. So thus both partes beyng at a stave, and seuered somewhat a sunder: The Countie Egmond himselfe with .xliij. hundred men of Armes, and his foote battayles following, afoze the French had wel recovered breath, recharged vpon them with all his forces together so terribly that he thokt all their battayle, and the number fell to a mayne flight without further tryall. So by that time that the footmen on eyther side came to the push of y<sup>e</sup> Pique, the victozy was sone had, by reason (as y<sup>e</sup> French men reporte) that the Almaynes beaten backe with artillery aswell of the towne as of the shippes afozesayde, brake their order and came not to the Shock, whereby the whole charge of the battayle rested vpon the French bandes onely. This fielde was foughten the .xiiij. day of July .1558. vpon the Sea Sandes, nere to Grauelyng, wherein besides those that were slayne, beyng esteemed to the number of siue thousand fighting men: There were taken prisoners Mounsie de Thermes Capitaine of Calice, Mounsie Senarport Capitayne of Bulleyne, Mounsie Willebone Gouvernoz of Picardy, Mounsie Annebault, Mounsie Mozullers, and Mounsie Chanly, beside a multitude of Gentlemen, and valiaunt Capitaynes, and souldiours, but specially the bandes of Calice went to worcke, so as very fewe returned home to bring tidinges: which gaue such a terroz to the souldiours remaining in Calice: that it is verily beleued that if the Admirals of Englande and Flaunders had bene present there woth their Flaues, as the sayd other fewe shippes of England were, and vpon this todayne had attempted Calice with the ayde of the Countie Egmond hauing his power present: the towne of Calice might haue bene recovered again with as litle difficultie & haply in as thorte a time as it was before gained by y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Exyfle. But the sayde Admirall as it appered, knew nothing thereof, wherefoze following their prescribed course, and ioyning together at the place appoynted, sayled from thence with prosperous winde and wether, and by the .xxix. day of the same moneth and in the sayd yere with seven skoze Shippes of warre appered by breake of the day betoze the haven of Conquest commonly called Conquet in Britayne, standing vpon the mouth of the Riuer that commeth from Brest: At whose arrivall there (as the maner is) they sounded their Trumpetes, and with a thunderyng peale of great ordinaunce gaue aloude Salue to the Britaines. And by eyght of the clocke the same morning, maugre all the power of the country being assembled there in Armes, with many peeces of great Artillery to defend the enterp of their porte: The English men mannyng foorth their Shipboates, with many valiaunt Capitaynes and souldiours, recovered landing and within thort time became Maisters of the said town of Conquet, which they put to y<sup>e</sup> saccage with a great Abbey and

A valiant  
onset given  
vpon the  
Frenchmen  
by Countie  
Egmond.

A great  
victory.

French  
Prisoners.

Conquest of  
Conquest  
taken by  
the English.

and many pretie townes and Villages nere there aboutes, where our men founde great stoze of pillage and good booties. But the Flemynges beyng couetous of the spoyle, passing further into the lande, before they could recover their shippes agayne, were encountred by the power of the Countie, by whom there were slayne of them to the number of foure or siue hundred. The Admirals perceauing the power of the Countie greatly to increase, and hauing intelligence that the Duke of Estamps the french kings Lieutenant in Briteyne, was very neere comming en with a great number of horsemen and footemen, esteemed to be about twentie thousande (as the Frenchmen themselves affirme) thought not best to attempt any assault against the towne of Brest, or to make longer aboade there. Wherefoze after they had set fyre on the towne of Conquet and all the Villages thereabouts, they embarked themselves, and tooke the sea agayne with their booties all in safete (except the Flemynges) thinking to doe some further exploit elsewhere vpon the coast. But by thys time there were such numbers of people raysed in all those partes for defence of the same coastes, that the Admirals afterwarde attempting in dyuers places to lande their men, and finding eche where more appaunce of losse then of gayne, returned home without atcheeuing their pretended enterpryse.

A great  
slaughter of  
Flemynges

In this meane while king Phillip and the French king with two most puissant armies affronted eche other nere vnto the water of Some, eyther of them being obstinately bent to driue the other out of the fielde, for which cause they entrenched their Campes. During which time, there was nothing done betweene them worthe memoire, more then daylie skirmishes of no great accompt. Neuertheless the Countie of Fraunce could not but susteyne extreme damage in so long susteyning suche a maine multitude, specially of men of warre which those two mightie kinges had assembled. And day by day came freshe companies to eyther party, so as it was thought a thing impossible that suche two princes beyng so neere could depart without some cruell bloody battayle to determine their quarelles: But God in whose handes are the hearts of kinges (when least hope was) conuerted their obstinate mindes from warre to peace, which came chiefly to passe by the mediation of the Duches of Loreyn, who had bene a long and earnest traouler to that ende, and neuer ceased untill by her intercession both the sayde kinges appointed speciall Commissioners to treat vpon peace. So that after dyuers conferences, they at last concluded vpon all controuersies except the matter of Calice, whereof Queene Mary by her Ambassadors required restitution: But the French partie would in no wise here thereof. By reason of which difficultie, this treatie could not come to any good conclusion. King Phillip thinking himselfe bound in honor to stand in that case with the Queene his wyfe, who for his sake had entred into a needlesse warre against Fraunce, and thereby lost her sayde towne with all the Countie adioyning as you haue heard before, did therefore stave a long time, before he concluded peace with the French king.

1558  
6

Queene Marie seing no lykelyhood nor hauing any hope of the restitution of Calice, and considering also that most of her affayres had but hard successe, conceaued an inwarde sorrowe of minde, by reason whereof about September next shee fell sick of a hote burning feuer, which sicknesse was

common



common that yere throught all the realme and consumed a maruailous number, as well noble men, as Byshops, Judges, Knightes, Gentlemen and riche farmours : But most of the Clergy and other auncient and graue persons. In which, whyle the Queene laye languysing of a long sicknesse, and so continued untill the. xvij. of Nouember next betweene the houres of fiue or sixe in the moorning, and then ended her life in this woorld at her house of saint James beside Westminster, when she had reigned fiue yeres, foure Monethes and a. xj. dayes, and in the. xliij. yere of her bodily age. And the same day about sixe of the clock in the euening dyed Cardynall Poole, Legate of the Bishop of Rome, late afoze made Archebischop of Cauntzbury, at his house ouer agaynst Westminster called Lambeth. This Cardynall was dissended of the house of Clarence, that is to saye, one of the yonger sonnes of Margaret Countesse of Salzburie, daughter of George Duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward the fourth. The death of this sayde Queene made a maruellous alteration in this realme, namely in the case of religion, which like as by the death of king Edward the sixt it suffred a chaunge from the establishment of his time : So by the death of this Queene it returned into the former estate.

The description  
of Cardynall  
Poole.



When true knowlege was had that Queene Mary was deceased, who left her lyfe in this woorld the. xvij. day of Nouember as is befoze mentioned in the latter ende of her historie in the tyme of a Parliament, the Lordes that were assembled in the vpper house, beyng resolved according to the lawes of the land to declare the Lady Elizabeth, sister to the sayde Queene Mary, to be very true and lawfull heire to the crowne of England, sent immediatly to the Speaker of the sayde Parliament, willing him with the Knightes and Burgeses of the nether house without delaye to repayre vnto them into the vpper house, for their assents in a case of great importaunce. Who beyng come thether, after silence made (as the maner is) the Archebischop of Yorke Chauncelour of Englande whose name was Nicholas Hethe Doctoz in diuinitie, stode by and pronounced in effect these wordes folowynge. The cause of your calling hether at this tyme is to signifie vnto you, that all the Lordes here present are certainly certefied that God this present Moorning hath called to his mercy our late soueraigne Lady Queene Mary, which happenes as it is most heauy and grienous vnto vs, so haue we no lesse cause an other way to reioyce with praise to almighty God, for that he hath left vnto vs a true, lawfull and right Inheritrice to the crowne of this Realme, which is the Lady Elizabeth second Daughter to our late souereigne Lord of noble memorie King Henry the eyght, and sister vnto our sayde late Queene, of whose most lawfull, right and title in the succession to the crowne (thanks be to God) we neede not to doubt. Wherefore, the Lordes of this house haue determined with your assentes and consentes to passe from hence into the Palace, and there to proclayme the sayde Ladye Elizabeth Queene of this Realme, without farther tract of tyme. Wherevnto the whole house answered with euident apparaunce of ioy, cryng, God saue Queene Elizabeth, long may Queene Elizabeth raigne ouer vs. And so this parliament being dissolved by the act of God, the sayde Lordes immediatly calling vnto them the Kings and principall Heraults at Armes, went into the Palace of Westminster, and directly befoze the hall dooze in the fore noone of the same day, after seuerall sounding of Trumpets made in most solempne manner, proclaymed the new Queene, by thys name and title. Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith. &c. to the great comfort and reioysing of the people, as by theyr manors and countenances well appered. After which proclamation made at Westminster, the sayd Lords with all speede repayred into the Citie of London, where like Proclamation was made in their presence at

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the



the Crosse in Chepe, with no lesse vniuersall ioy, and thanks geuing to God of the hearers.

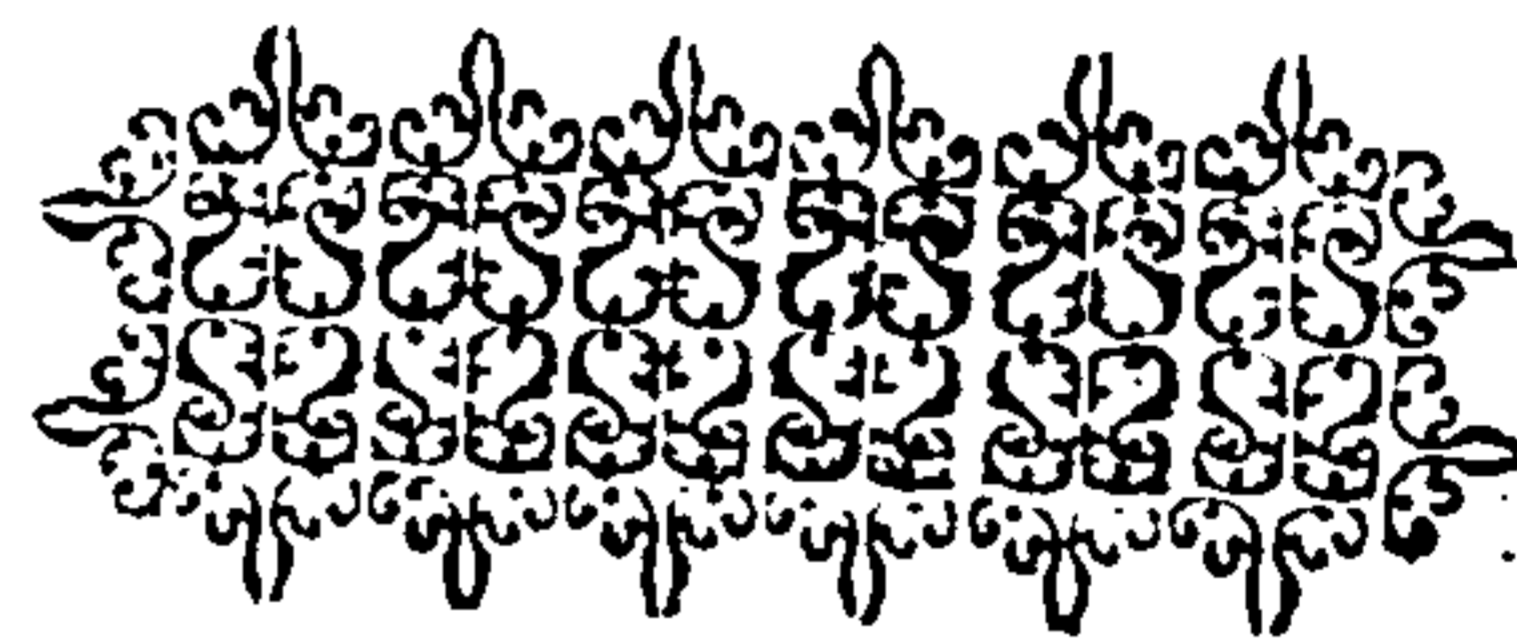
In this place I intende to conclude and ende thys my rude and vnlearned woork, not woorthye the name of a Chronicle, praiyng the gentle Reader to pardo me in that I do not passe forth with the declaration of the Historie of thys most gracious and vertuous Prince, in such maner as I haue done with other before, for diuers causes do moue me to stay here, not only for that my woork alreedy is come to a full volume, but also for that her graces proceedings in her gouernement bene such and so great as require a larger discourse of matter. As first to consider how her Maiestie finding this realme in hostilitie with Fraunce, with how great felicitie and no lesse prouidence of counsaile shee brought both realmes to peace. And the towne of Calice before lost (as you haue heard) in the time of hir sister, by an honorable peace concluded with the French king, shee brought to passe eyther to haue the same againe restored within a certayne time prefixed, or else the sayde French king to forseyt and paye vnto her certayne great sommes of money, reseruing neuerthelesse the right and title of the sayde towne and countrie to the realme of Englande. And perceyuing that by the losse of the sayde towne and by other occasions this realme was much disfirnished of Armour and munition: Shee of her high pollecy and with no small charges prouided a new furniture & store thereof in a much more large propozcion. And in like maner espyng in time the subtile compasse of the French king in landing of men of warre in Scotland, whereof might haue ensued perill of inuasion into England that way, did nobly & prudently prevent the same to the vtter frustration of all his fine and secrete deuises: besides the wayling and disappointing the house of Guyse, of their attemptes in Fraunce, tending to the vtter destruction of all such in that realme as would not professe the Popes religion, wherein if the late Duke had preuailed, it was not unlike, but that he encouraged thereby, would haue made some further enterprisc to the small quiet of this realme. Adde herevnto the benefite inestimable which this realme hath receiued by the conuerting of the base and copper monies into fine Silver and Golde: but specially the most mercifull gouernement and rule sithens her coming to the state of Queene, wherein the euill doer hath not his free scope, nor the honest person kept from iustice: neyther yet any rigour or extremitie vsed in cases, though some of them haue nerely touched the suretie of her highnesse person.

These things I say with many other beyng of so great importaunce require to be handled in a higher maner of stile then is for me to write. And better is litle or nothing to be sayde by me in these and many other most honourable and Princely affayres, then for lacke of learning and eloquence in expressing, to darken or rather deface the excellencye of the same. And farther also, I am certified that there are sundrie men of excellent knowlege and learnyng, that purpose the setting forth of her highnesse Historie, so that dutie bindeth mee hauing respect vnto the honor of her Maiestie and this noble Realme of Englande here to stay, referrynge the desirous Reader that would vnderstande such particuler thinges as haue passed in the time of her Graces reigne, vnto suche brieue notes as are set forth in the small Abridgements of Chronicles of our tyme.

And

And here most hartly beseeching Almightye God to preferue her Maiestie in most prosperous and honorable estate long to liue and reigne ouer vs, and also to keepe and preferue all her highnesse most honorable Counsellours and to prosper them in all their affayres both publique and priuate. I finithe and make an ende in the yere of our Lord 1568. the .xviij. day of Marche and in the .xj. yere of the reigne of this most noble and vertuous Princesse Elizabeth our most dread and soueraigne Lady.

FINIS.





# A Table declaring the reignes

of euerie king of this Realme, sithen the conquest, and the yeares of our Lorde, and Monethes and dayes of their beginning, and also the names and surnames of all the Maiors, and Shirifes of London, with the yere and daye of their entrance into their charge. And for the better vnderstanding of this Table, the same is deuided into. iiii. partes or titles. The first is the yeres of our Lorde, then the Monethes and dayes wherein enery King began his reigne, then the yeres of the Kings reigne, and lastly, the names of the Bayliffes, Shirifes and Maiors, placed iustly vppon the verie day of the Moneth, wherein euerie of them entred into their office. And for example, I would know in what yere of our Lorde King Henrie the. viij. began his reigne, and in what Moneth and daye, and who were then Shirifes and Maiors of London. First I seeke out among the Kinges, and at the last, I finde King Henrie the. viij. and in the first title I finde the yere of our Lorde that he began his reigne in, which was. 1509. and the. xxij. day of the Moneth of Apriill. And immediately followeth the Moneth of September, and the. xxvij. days, wherein George Pennoar and John Ducket entred into their office of Shirifualtie, and likewise followeth in the same yere the Moneth of October the. xxvij. day, wherein Thomas Wadburie entred into his office of the Bayliffie of London. And thus may ye in like maner find a true accompt of the yeres of any King, Shirife, or Maior of London.

## King Richard the first beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1189.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes	The yeres of the King.	Bayliffes.
1189	March. 25. July. 6. Septem. 28.	1	Henry Coznehill, Richard Klueric. B.
1190	March. 25. July. 6. Septem. 28.	2	John Herlion, Roger Duke. B.
1191	March. 25. July. 6. Septem. 28.	3	William Hauershall, John Bucknot. B.
1192	March. 25. July. 6. Septem. 28.	4	Nicholas Duke, Peter Powley. B.
1193	March. 25. July. 6. Septem. 28.	5	Roger Duke, Richard Fitzaleyn. B.
1194	March. 25. July. 6. Septem. 28.	6	William Fitzisabell, William Fitzarnold. B.
1195	March. 25. July. 6. Septem. 28.	7	Robert Besaunt, Jokell Josue. B.
1196	March. 25. July. 6. Septem. 28.	8	Gerard Antloch, Robert Duraunt. B.
1197	March. 25. July. 6. Septem. 28.	9	Roger Blunt, Nicholas Ducket. B.



## The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Bayliffes.
1198	March. 25. July. 6. Septem. 18.	10	Constantine Fitzarnold, Robert le Beaw. B.

### King Iohn beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1199.

1199	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28.	1	Arnold Fitzarnold, Rich. Fitzbartholomew. B.
1200	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28.	2	Roger Dozet, James Bartholomew. B.
1201	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28.	3	Walter Fitzalis, Simon of Aldermanbury. B.
1202	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28.	4	Rowman Blundell, John of Cly. B.
1203	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28.	5	Water Botone, Willgam Chamberlaine. B.
1204	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28.	6	Thomas Hauerill, Hamond Bond. B.
1205	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28.	7	John Wolgrane, Richard of Winchester. B.
1206	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28.	8	John Holpland, Edmond Fitz Gerrard. B.
1207	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28.	9	Roger Winchester, Edmond Hardell. B.

### Here came in the first Maior and Sherreues of London.

1208	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28. October. 28.	10	Peter Duke, Thomas Pele, Sherreues. Henry Fitzalwin, Maior.
1209	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28. October. 28.	11	Peter le Josue, Willgam Blound, S. Henry Fitzalwin, M.
1210	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28. October. 28.	12	Adam Whetley, Stephen le Gras, S. Henry Fitzalwin, M.
1211	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28. October. 28.	13	John Fitz Pet, John Carlond, S. Henry Fitzalwin, M.

## The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1212	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	14	Randolph Eyland, Constantyne le Josue, S. Henry Fitzalwyn, M.
1213	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	15	Martyn Fitzalps, Peter Wate, S. Roger Fitzalwyn, M.
1214	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	16	Salomon Waspyng, Hugh Waspyng, S. Roger Fitzalwyn, M.
1215	March. 25. Aprill. 6. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	17	John Trauers, Andrew Newland, S. William Hardell, M.

### King Henry the thirde beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1216.

1216	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 19. Octo. 28.	1	Benet Couentrye, William Bluntiners, S. James Alderman, Salomon Waspyng, M.
1217	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 19. Octo. 28.	2	Thomas Bokerell, Raufe Hollyland, S. Robert Serle, M.
1218	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 19. Octo. 28.	3	John Maylle, Iosenus Spycer, S. Robert Serle, M.
1219	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 19. Octo. 28.	4	Richard Wymbledge, John Maylle, S. Robert Serle, M.
1220	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 19. Octo. 28.	5	Richard Keynger, Iosueus le Josue, S. Robert Serle, M.
1221	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 19. Octo. 28.	6	Richard Keynger, Iosueus le Josue, S. Robert Serle, M.
1222	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 19. Octo. 28.	7	Richard Keynger, Thomas Lambert, S. Robert Serle, M.
1223	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 19. Octo. 28.	8	William Joyner, Thomas Lambert, S. Richard Keynger, M.



The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1224	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	9	John Trauers, Andzew Bokerell. S. Rycharde Keynger. M.
1225	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	10	Roger Duke, Martyn Fitzwilliam. S. Richard Keynger. M.
1226	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	11	Stephyn Bokerell, Henry Cobham. S. Rycharde Keynger. M.
1227	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	12	Stephyn Bokerell, Henry Cobham. S. Roger Duke. M.
1228	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	13	Walter Winchester, Robert FitzJohn. S. Roger Duke. M.
1229	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	14	Richard Fitzwilliam, John Woodborne. S. Roger Duke. M.
1230	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	15	Mighell of saint Cleyn, Walter of Enfeld. S. Andzew Bokerell. M.
1231	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	16	Henry Edmonton, Gerrard Wat. S. Andzew Bokerell. M.
1232	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	17	Symond Fitzmare, Roger Blont. S. Andzew Bokerell. M.
1233	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	18	Kaufe Ashwy, John Rozman. S. Andzew Bokerell. M.
1234	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	19	Gerrard Wat, Robert Ardell. S. Andzew Bokerell. M.
1235	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	20	Henry Cobham, Jordane Couentrie. S. Andzew Bokerell. M.
1236	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	21	John Toleson, Gerrard Cozdwagner. S. Andzew Bokerell. M.
1237	March.25. Septem.28.		John Wylhall, John Goundrette. S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Oto.19. Oto.28.	22	Rycharde Keynger. M.
1238	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	23	Keymond Wougey, Kaufe Ashwy. S. William Joyner. M.
1239	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	24	John Gfords, Mighell Tony. S. Gerrard Wat. M.
1240	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	25	John Cloyle, Thomas Durcme. S. Keymond Wougey. M.
1241	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	26	John FitzJohn, Kaufe Ashwy. S. Keymond Wougey. M.
1242	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	27	Hugh Blont, Adam Wafyng. S. Kaufe Ashwy. M.
1243	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	28	Kaufe Spycer, Nicholas Wat. S. Mighell Tony. M.
1244	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	29	Robert Coznehill, Adam Bewly. S. John Gfords. M.
1245	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	30	Symon Fitzmary, Lawrence Frowyke. S. John Gfords. M.
1246	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	31	John Cloyle, Nicholas Wat. S. Piers Alyn. M.
1247	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	32	Nicholas Joye, Geoffrey Winton. S. Mighell Tony. M.
1248	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	33	Kaufe Hardell, John Toleson. S. Roger Fitzroger. M.
1249	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	34	Hunffrey Wasse, William Fitzrichard. S. John Rozman. M.
1250	March.25. Septem.28. Oto.19. Oto.28.	35	Lawrence Frowyke, Nicholas Wat. S. Adam Wafyng. M.



The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1251	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	36	Wylliam Durham, Thomas Wynboync. S. John Coleson. M.
1252	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	37	John Northampton, Richard Picard. S. Nicholas Bat. M.
1253	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	38	Robert Belyngton, Raufe Ashwy. S. Richard Hardell. M.
1254	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	39	Stephen Dystergate, Henry Walmode. S. Richard Hardell. M.
1255	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	40	Mathew Bokerell, John Pinos. S. Richard Hardell. M.
1256	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	41	Richard Cwell, Wylliam Ashwy. S. Richard Hardell. M.
1257	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	42	Thomas Fitzrichard, Robert Cathelion. S. Richard Hardell. M.
1258	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	43	John Adrian, Robert Cornhill. S. John Cisoys. M.
1259	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	44	Adam Bolton, Richard Couentric. S. Wylliam Fitzrichard. M.
1260	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	45	John Northampton, Richard Picard. S. Wylliam Fitzrichard. M.
1261	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	46	Philip Walbroke, Richard Tayler. S. Thomas Fitzthomas. M.
1262	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	47	Robert Mountpiller. Osborne Bicknell. S. Thomas Fitzthomas. M.
1263	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	48	Thomas Lamfozde, Edward Blont. S. Thomas Fitzthomas. M.
1264	March.25. Septem.28.		Peter Armiger, Gregorie Kokesley. S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	49	Thomas Fitzthomas. M. Thomas de la fozde, Gregorie Kokesley. S.
1265	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	50	Wylliam Fitzrichard. M. John Adrian, Lucas Witencote. S.
1266	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	51	Alyen Zolwehe. M. Thomas of Wafyng, Robert of Cornhill. S.
1267	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	52	Alyen Zolwehe. M. Wylliam of Durham, Walter Harue. S.
1268	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	53	Alyen Zolwehe. M. Wylliam Hadstock, Anketill de Aluerne. S.
1269	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	54	Thomas Fitzthomas. M. Walter Potter, John Taylor. S.
1270	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	55	John Adrian. M. Gregorie Kokesley, Henry Wallays. S.
1271	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	56	John Adrian. M. Richard Paris, John Scyll. S.
1272	March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.19. Ocro.28.	57	Walter Herue. M.

King Edward the first beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1273.

1273	Novem.16. March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.28.	1	John Horne, Walter Porter. S. Walter Harue. M.
1274	Novem.16. March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.28.	2	Nicholas Wyncheffer, Henry Couentric. S. Henry Wallays. M.
1275	Novem.16. March.25. Septem.28. Ocro.28.	3	Luke Watencourt, Henry Frolyke. S. Gregorie Kokesley. M.
1276	Novem.16. March.25. Septem.28.	4	John Horne, Raufe Blont. S.



The Table.

The yerres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yerres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1277	Deco. 28. Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	5	Gregorie Rokelley. P.
1278	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	6	Robert de Walsy, Kenfe Fenour. S. Gregorie Rokelley. P.
1279	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	7	John Adzian, Water Langley. S. Gregorie Rokelley. P.
1280	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	8	Robert Walsyng, Wylliam Peter. S. Gregorie Rokelley. P.
1281	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	9	Thomas Bore, Kaufe Wore. S. Gregorie Rokelley. P.
1282	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	10	Wylliam Farngdon, Nicholas Wynchester. S. Gregorie Rokelley. P.
1283	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	11	Wylliam Payerer, Nicholas Wynchester. S. Henry Waleys. P.
1284	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	12	Kaufe Blont, Hawlyn Betuell. S. Henry Waleys. P.
1285	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	13	Jordane Godhepe, Martine Wore. S. Henry Waleys. P.
1286	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	14	Stephyn Cornhill, Robert Rokelley. S. Gregorie Rokelley. P.
1287	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	15	Walter Blont, John Wade. S. Kaufe Sandwiche. Custos.
1288	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	16	Thomas Crosse, Wylliam Hawteyn. S. Sir John Wyton. C.
1289	Novem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	17	Wylliam Hertford, Thomas Stanes. S. Kaufe Sandwiche. C.
	Novem. 16.	18	Wylliam Betayne, John of Cauntozburie. S. Kaufe Sandwiche. C.

The Table.

The yerres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yerres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1290	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	19	Fobolk of S. Edmonds, Salomon Langford. S. Kaufe Sandwiche. C.
1291	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	20	Thomas Komayne, Wylliam de lye. S. Kaufe Sandwiche. C.
1292	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	21	Kaufe Blont, Hamond Wore. S. Kaufe Sandwiche. C.
1293	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	22	Henry Ball, Elice Kuffell. S. Kaufe Sandwiche. C.
1294	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	23	Robert Rokelley, Harryn Alwyc. S. Kaufe Sandwiche. C.
1295	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	24	Henry Bere, Richard Gloucester. S. Sir John Wyton. C.
1296	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	25	John Donstable, Adam Harlyngbury. S. Sir John Wyton. C.
1297	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	26	Thomas Sulke, Adam of Fullam. S. Sir John Wyton. C.
1298	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	27	John of Stozford, Wylliam of Stozford. S. Sir John Wyton. C.
1299	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	28	Richard Kesham, Thomas hely. S. Henry Waleys. P.
1300	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	29	John Armencer, Henry Fringelth. S. Elice Kuffell. P.
1301	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	30	Luke Hauering, Richard Champneys. S. Elice Kuffell. P.
1302	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Novem. 16.	31	Robert Caller, Peter Wosham. S. John Blont. P.
1303	March. 25. Septem. 28.		Hugh Pourt, Symond Warys. S.



The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1304	Octo. 28. Nouem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Nouem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28.	32	John Blont. M. William Combmartyn, John of Burford. S. John Blont. M.
1305	Octo. 28. Nouem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Nouem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28.	33	Roger Paris, John Lyncolne. S. John Blont. M.
1306	Octo. 28. Nouem. 16. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Nouem. 16.	34	Keynold Doderill, William Causton. S. John Blont. M.
	Octo. 28. Nouem. 16.	35	

King Edward the second beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1307.

1307	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	1	Symon Belet, Godfrey de la Conduyt. S. John Blont. M.
1308	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	2	Nicholas Wygot, Mighell Dury. S. John Blont. M.
1309	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	3	William Waspyng, John Butteler. S. Nicholas Faringdon. M.
1310	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	4	James of saint Edmondes, Roger Palmer. S. Thomas Romayne. M.
1311	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	5	Symon Crop, Peter Blackney. S. Richard Kouham. M.
1312	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	6	Symon Herwood, Richard Wylfode. S. John Gisors. M.
1313	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	7	John Lambyn, Adam Lutkyn. S. John Gisors. M.
1314	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	8	Adam Burden, Hugh Wapton. S. Nicholas Faringdon. M.
1315	March. 25. Julie. 7.	9	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1316	Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	10	Stephyn of Abyngton, Hamond Chickwell. S. John Gisors. M.
1317	Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	11	William Causton, Raufe Palmer. S. John Wengrauc. M.
1318	Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	12	John Pryour, William Furner. S. John Wengrauc. M.
1319	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	13	John Pountney, John Dallyng. S. John Wengrauc. M.
1320	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	14	Symon Abyngton, John Preston. S. Hamond Chickwell. M.
1321	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	15	Keynold at the Conduyt, William Prosham. S. Hamond Chickwell. M.
1322	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	16	Richard Constantine, Richard Hackney. S. Hamond Chickwell. M.
1323	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	17	John Crantham, Richard of Cly. S. Hamond Chickwell. M.
1324	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	18	Adam Haresburte, John of Orford. S. Nicholas Faringdon. M.
1325	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	19	Benet Fullham, John Causton. S. Hamond Chickwell. M.
1326	March. 25. Julie. 7. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	20	Gilbert Norden, John Cotton. S. Richard Bzereyn. M.

King Edward the thirde beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1327.

1327	Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28.	1	Richard Kotyng, Roger Chauncelour. S.
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The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1325	Deco. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	2	Richard Byetegn. M.
1329	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	3	Henry Darcy, John Haluden. S. Hamond Chickwell. M.
1330	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	4	Symon Fraunces, Henry Combmartyn. S. John Crantham. M.
1331	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	5	Richard Lazer, Richard Gifours. S. Symond Swaland. M.
1332	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	6	Robert Cly, Thomas Whorwood. S. Symond Swaland. M.
1333	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	7	John Dockyng, Andrew Aloberey. S. John Pountney. M.
1334	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	8	Nicholas Pyke, John Husband. S. John Pyllton. M.
1335	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	9	John Hamond William Hafard. S. John Pountney. M.
1336	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	10	John Kyngston, Walter Turke. S. Reignald at Conduyt. M.
1337	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	11	Walter Norden, Richard Upton. S. Reynold at Conduyt. M.
1338	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	12	William Bychlesworth, John Northhall. S. John Pountney. M.
1339	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	13	Walter Neale, Nicholas Graue. S. Henry Darcy. M.
1340	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	14	William Thorney, Roger Frosham. S. Andrew Aloberey. M.
1341	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	15	Adam Lucas, Bartholo. Marps. S. Andrew Aloberey. M.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1341	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	16	Adam Lucas, Bartholo. Marps. S. Andrew Aloberey. M.
1342	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	17	Richard Barkyng, John Kokedey. S. John Drenford. M.
1343	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	18	John Lufkyn, Richard Kyllengbury. S. Symon Fraunces. M.
1344	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	19	John Stuard, John Aylesham. S. John Hamond. M.
1345	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	20	Geoffrey Wychyngham, Thomas Legget. S. John Hamond. M.
1346	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	21	Edmond Dempnall, John Gloucester. S. Richard Lazer. M.
1347	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	22	John Cropdon, William Clopton. S. Geoffrey Wychyngham. M.
1348	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	23	Adam Bramson, Richard Walsyngstok. S. Thomas Legget. M.
1349	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	24	Henry Beard, Symon Wolleley. S. John Lufkyn. M.
1350	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	25	Adam Bury, Raufe Lynne. S. William Turke. M.
1351	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	26	John Pot, William Worcester. S. Richard Kyllengbury. M.
1352	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	27	John Troth, Gybbon Stayndrop. S. Andrew Aloberey. M.
1353	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. Janu. 25.	28	John Beache, John Stodeney. S. Adam Fraunces. M.
1354	March. 25. Septem. 28.		John Welde, John Lytle. S.



The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1355	Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	29	Adam Fraunces. P.
1356	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	30	Wylliam Cottyngham, Richard Smert. S. Thomas Legget. P.
1357	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	31	Thomas Forster, Thomas Wzandon. S. Symon Fraunces. P.
1358	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	32	Richard Pottyngham, Thomas Dofell. S. Henry Dickard. P.
1359	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	33	Stephyn Candishe, Bartho. Froileng. S. John Stody. P.
1360	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	34	John Barnes, John Burys. S. John Lufkyn. P.
1361	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	35	Symon Bedyngham, John Chichester. S. Symond Duffeld. P.
1362	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	36	John Denys, Walter Burney. S. John Wroth. P.
1363	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	37	Wylliam Holbeche, James Lamc. S. John Decye. P.
1364	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	38	John of saint Albones, James Andrew. S. Stephyn Candishe. P.
1365	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	39	Richard Croydon, John Hiltost. S. John Potte. P.
1366	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	40	Symon Mordant, John of Hatford. S. Adam of Bury. P.
1367	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	41	John Bukyllsworth, John Dycland. S. John Lufkyn. P.
	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	42	John Warde, Wylliam Dickmar. S. John Lufkyn. P.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1368	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	43	Richard Loggold, Wylliam Dickman. S. James Andrew. P.
1369	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	44	Adam Wymbyngham, Robert Cydelcr. S. Symond Morden. P.
1370	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	45	John Pyele, Hugh Holdiche. S. John Chichester. P.
1371	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	46	Wylliam Malworth, Robert Gayton. S. John Barnes. P.
1372	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	47	Robert Harfælde, Adam Staple. S. John Barnes. P.
1373	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	48	John Philphot, Nicholas Wzembze. S. John Picle. P.
1374	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	49	John Aubery, John Ffllwy. S. Adam Bury. P.
1375	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	50	Richard Lyons, Wylliam Wodhouse. S. Wylliam Malworth. P.
1376	March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 25.	51	John Hadley, Wylliam Petwport. S. John Warde. P.

King Richard the second beg inneth his  
*reigne in the yere. 1377.*

1377	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	1	John Northampton, Robert Lawnd. S. Adam Staple. P.
1378	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	2	Andrew Dickman, Nicholas Wlford. S. Nicholas Wzembze. P.
1379	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	3	John Woseham, Thomas Coznewalls. S. John Philpot. P.



## The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Shriefes and Maiors.
1380	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	4	John Helysdon, Wylliam Baret. S. John Hadley. M.
1381	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	5	Walter Ducket, Wylliam Knight hood. S. Wylliam Malworthe. M.
1382	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	6	John Kote, John Hynde. S. John Northampton. M.
1383	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	7	Adam Bawme, John Scly. S. John Northampton. M.
1384	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	8	Symon Wynchcombe, John Mowe. S. John Northampton. M.
1385	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	9	Nicholas Erton, John Frenche. S. Nicholas Wzember. M.
1386	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	10	John Organ, John Churchman. S. Nicholas Wzember. M.
1387	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	11	Wylliam Stonden, Wylliam Mowe. S. Nicholas Erton. M.
1388	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	12	Wylliam Uenour, Hugh Fofalle. S. Nicholas Erton. M.
1389	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	13	Thomas Austyn, Adam Gathill. S. Nicholas Uypford. M.
1390	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	14	John Walcote, John Loueney. S. Wylliam Uenour. M.
1391	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	15	John Fraunces, Thomas Wyuent. S. Adam Bawme. M.
1392	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	16	John Cadworthe, Henry Warner. S. John Hynde. M.
1393	March. 25. June. 21.	17	

## The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1394	Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	18	Gilbert Mansfield, Thomas Newton. S. Wylliam Stonden. M.
1395	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	19	Drewe Barentyne, Richard Whytngton. S. John Hadley. M.
1396	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	20	Wylliam Hamton, Thomas Knolles. S. John French. M.
1397	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	21	Roger Cilice, Wylliam Sheryngham. S. Wylliam Mowe. M.
1398	March. 25. June. 21. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	22	Thomas Wyllford, Wylliam Parker. S. Adam Bawme. M.
1399	March. 25. June. 21.	23	Wylliam Askam, John Woodcock. S. Richard Whytngton. M.

King Henry the fourth beginneth hisreigne  
in the yere. 1399.

	Septem. 28. Septem. 29. Octo. 28.	1	John Wlade, John Warner. S.
1400	March. 25. Septem. 28. Septem. 29. Octo. 28.	2	Drewe Barentyn. M. Wylliam Waldern, Wylliam Hyde. S. Thomas Knolles. M.
1401	March. 25. Septem. 28. Septem. 29. Octo. 28.	3	John Wakell, Wylliam Cbot. S. John Fraunces. M.
1402	March. 25. Septem. 28. Septem. 29. Octo. 28.	4	Wylliam Uenour, John Fremyngham. S. John Chadworthe. M.
1403	March. 25. Septem. 28. Septem. 29. Octo. 28.	5	Richard Marlow, Robert Chicheley. S. John Walcot. M.
1404	March. 25. Septem. 28. Septem. 29. Octo. 28.	6	Thomas Falwoner, Thomas Pole. S. Wylliam Askam. M.



The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1405	March.25. Septem.28. Septem.29. Deco.28.	7	Wylliam Lowche, Stephyn Spylman. S. John Hynde. M.
1406	March.25. Septem.28. Septem.29. Deco.28.	8	Henry Barton, Wylliam Cromer. S. John Woodcock. M.
1407	March.25. Septem.28. Septem.29. Deco.28.	9	Nicholas Wotton, Geoffrey Wyke. S. Richard Whyttington. M.
1408	March.25. Septem.28. Septem.29. Deco.28.	10	Henry Pomfret, Henry Halton. S. Wylliam Stonden. M.
1409	March.25. Septem.28. Septem.29. Deco.28.	11	Thomas Duke, Wylliam Foxton. S. Drew Warentyn. M.
1410	March.25. Septem.28. Septem.29. Deco.28.	12	John Lawe, Wylliam Chicheley. S. Richard Marlow. M.
1411	March.25. Septem.28. Septem.29. Deco.28.	13	John Penne, Thomas Pyke. S. Thomas Knolles. M.
1412	March.25. Septem.28. Septem.29. Deco.28.	14	John Kaynewell, Wylliam Cotton. S. Robert Chicheley. M.

King Henry the fift beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1413.

1413	March.20. March.25. Septem.28. Deco.28.	1	Raufe Leuenhinde, Wylliam Seuenock. S. Wylliam Walden. M.
1414	March.20. March.25. Septem.28. Deco.28.	2	John Sutton, John Mychell. S. Wylliam Cromer. M.
1415	March.20. March.25. Septem.28. Deco.28.	3	John Mychell, Thomas Alleyn. S. Thomas Falconer. M.
1416	March.20. March.25. Septem.28.	4	Wylliam Cambridge, Alyn Cuerard. S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1417	Deco.28. March.20. March.25. Septem.28. Deco.28.	5	Nicholas Wotton. M. Robert Wodpyngton, John Couentric. S. Henry Barton. M.
1418	March.20. March.25. Septem.28. Deco.28.	6	Henry Reade, John Gedney. S. Richard Marlow. M.
1419	March.20. March.25. Septem.28. Deco.28.	7	Raufe Barton, John Barnes. S. Wylliam Seuenock. M.
1420	March.20. March.25. Septem.28. Deco.28.	8	Richard Whyttingham, John Butler. S. Richard Whyttington. M.
1421	March.20. March.25. Septem.28. Deco.28. March.20.	9	John Buttler, John Welles. S. Wylliam Cambridge. M.

King Henry the sixt beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1422.

1422	March.25. August.31. Septem.28. Deco.28.	1	Richard Gostyn, Wylliam Weston. S. Robert Chicheley. M.
1423	March.25. August.31. Septem.28. Deco.28.	2	Wylliam Giffeld, Richard Tatterfale. S. Wylliam Walden. M.
1424	March.25. August.31. Septem.28. Deco.28.	3	Nicholas James, Thomas Waldfoye. S. Wylliam Cromer. M.
1425	March.25. August.31. Septem.28. Deco.28.	4	Simon Seman, John Wywater. S. John Mychell. M.
1426	March.25. August.31. Septem.28. Deco.28.	5	Wylliam Mildred, John Wyke. S. John Couentric. M.
1427	March.25. August.31. Septem.28. Deco.28.	6	John Arnoldes, John Higham. S. John Kaynewell. M.
1428	March.25.		



The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes	The yeres of the King	Sherreues and Maiors.
1429	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	7	Henry Frowyke, Robert Otley. S. John Gyone. P.
1430	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	8	Thomas Dushouse, John Abbot. S. Henry Barton. P.
1431	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	9	William Kusse, Raufe Holand. S. William Cusfield. P.
1432	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	10	Walter Chertsey, Robert Large. S. Nicholas Morton. P.
1433	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	11	John Aderley, Stephyn Wroton. S. John Welles. P.
1434	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	12	John Olney, John Paddesley. S. John Parncys. P.
1435	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	13	Thomas Chalton, John King. S. John Wrochley. P.
1436	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	14	Thomas Barnetwell, Symon Cpx. S. Roger Drey. P.
1437	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	15	Thomas Catwroth, Robert Clopton. S. Henry Frowyke. P.
1438	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	16	Thomas Horded, William Gregorie. S. John Michell. P.
1439	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	17	William Chapman, William Hallys. S. William Cusfield. P.
1440	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	18	Hugh Dicket, Nicholas Cwe. S. Stephyn Wroton. P.
1441	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	19	Robert Marshall, Philip Malpas. S. Robert Large. P.
1442	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	20	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1442	Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.		John Sutton, William Wetyngdale. S. John Paddesley. P.
1443	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	21	William Combyss Richard Riche. S. Robert Clopton. P.
1444	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	22	Thomas Belmond, Richard Norden. S. John Thyrley. P.
1445	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	23	Nicholas Wylforde, John Pozman. S. Thomas Catwroth. P.
1446	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	24	Stephyn Foster, Hugh Wiche. S. Henry Frowyke. P.
1447	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	25	John Darby, Godfrey Feldyng. S. Symon Cpx. P.
1448	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	26	Robert Horne, Godfrey Wolyn. S. John Olney. P.
1449	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	27	William Abraham, Thomas Scot. S. John Gydney. P.
1450	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	28	William Catlow, William Harrow. S. Stephyn Wroton. P.
1451	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	29	William Hulyn, Thomas Canyngs. S. Thomas Chalton. P.
1452	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	30	John Middleton, William Derc. S. Nicholas Wylforde. P.
1453	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	31	Mathew Phillip, Christopher Marton. S. William Gregorie. P.
1454	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	32	John Walderne, Thomas Colke. S. John Pozman. P.
1455	August. 31. Septem. 28. Octo. 28. March. 25.	33	John Felde, William Taylor. S.



The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1455	Octo.28. March.25. August.31. Septem.28.	34	Stephyn Foster. P.
1456	Octo.28. March.25. August.31. Septem.28.	35	John Young, Thomas Dulgraue. S. Wylliam Parrow. P.
1457	Octo.28. March.25. August.31. Septem.28.	36	John Steward, Raufe Werney. S. Thomas Canynges. P.
1458	Octo.28. March.25. August.31. Septem.28.	37	Wylliam Edward, Thomas Keyner. S. Godfrey Bolopne. P.
1459	Octo.28. March.25. August.31. Septem.28.	38	Raufe Joffelyn, Richard Medtham. S. Thomas Scot. P.
1460	Octo.28. March.25. August.31. Septem.28.	39	John Plommer, John Stocker. S. Wylliam Hulyn. P.
	Octo.28.	40	Richard Flemynge, John Lambert. S. Richard Lee. P.

King Edward the fourth beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1461.

1461	March.4. March.25. Septem.28. Octo.28.	1	John Lock, George Ireland. S. Hugh Wiche. P.
1462	March.4. March.25. Septem.28. Octo.28.	2	Wylliam Hampton, Bartholomew James. S. Thomas Coke. P.
1463	March.4. March.25. Septem.28. Octo.28.	3	Robert Basset, Thomas Puffcham. S. Mathew Philip. P.
1464	March.4. March.25. Septem.28. Octo.28.	4	John Tate, John Stone. S. Raufe Joffyn. P.
1465	March.4. March.25. Septem.28. Octo.28.	5	Henry Meuer, Wylliam Constantyne. S. Raufe Werney. P.
1466	March.4. March.25.	6	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1467	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	7	John Browne, Henry Wyce, J. Stockton. S. John Young. P.
1468	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	8	Humffrey Heyford, Thomas Stalbroke. S. Thomas Dulgraue. P.
1469	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	9	Symon Smith, Wylliam Bartot. S. Wylliam Tayloz. P.
1470	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	10	Richard Gardpner, Robert Drope. S. Richard Lee. P.
1471	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	11	John Crosby, John Warde. S. John Stockton. P.
1472	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	12	John Alyn, John Chelpe. S. Wylliam Edward. P.
1473	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	13	John Browne, Thomas Bledolwe. S. Richard Hampton. P.
1474	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	14	Wylliam Stocker, Robert Welleson. S. John Tate. P.
1475	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	15	Edmond Shawe, Thomas Hill. S. Richard Drope. P.
1476	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	16	Hugh Wyce, Robert Colwiche. S. Robert Basset. P.
1477	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	17	Richard Kalsoun, Wylliam Wyce. S. Raufe Joffelyn. P.
1478	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	18	Henry Colet, John Stocker. S. Humffrey Heyford. P.
1479	Septem.28. Octo.28. March.4. March.25.	19	Robert Herdyng, Robert Wyfelde. S. Richard Gardpner. P.
	Septem.28.		Thomas Flam, John Warde. S.



The Table.

The yerres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yerres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1480	Deco. 28. March. 4.	20	Bartholomew James. P.
1481	Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 4.	21	Wylliam Danyell, Wylliam Bacon. S. John Bzowne. P.
1482	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 4.	22	Robert Tate, W. Wykyng, R. Chalwy. S. Wylliam Harpot. P.
	March. 25. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 4.	23	Wylliam Whyte, John Mathew. S. Edmond Shalwe. P.

King Edward the fift beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1483.

1483	March. 25. Aprill. 9.		
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King Richard the thirde beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1483.

1484	June. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	1	Thomas Doyland, Wylliam Martyn. S. Robert Byllson. P.
1485	June. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25. June. 22.	2	Richard Chester, T. Wyteyn, Kaufe Astry. S. Thomas Hill. P.
		3	

King Henry the leuenth beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1485.

1486	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	1	John Tate, John Swan. S. Hugh Bice. P.
1487	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	2	John Percyual, Hugh Clopton. S. Henry Colet. P.
1488	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	3	John Fenkyll, Wylliam Kemynghon. S. Wylliam Bozne. P.
	August. 22.	4	

The Table.

The yerres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yerres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1489	Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.		Wylliam Isaac, Kaufe Wynley. S. Robert Tate. P.
1490	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	5	Wylliam Capell, John Bzoke. S. Wylliam Whyte. P.
1491	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	6	Henry Cote, R. Keuell, Hugh Penberton. S. John Pathew. P.
1492	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	7	Thomas Wood, Wylliam Bzowne. S. Hugh Clopton. P.
1493	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	8	Wylliam Purchase, Wylliam Welbeck. S. Wylliam Martyn. P.
1494	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	9	Robert Fabian, John Wyngcr. S. Kaufe Astry. P.
1495	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	10	Nicholas Alwyn, John Warner. S. Richard Chalwy. P.
1496	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	11	Thomas Knésworth, Henry Sommer. S. Henry Colet. P.
1497	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	12	John Shalwe, Richard Haddon. S. John Tate. P.
1498	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	13	Bartholomew Kede, Thomas Wyndought. S. Wylliam Purchase. P.
1499	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	14	Thomas Bzadbury, Stephen Kenyngs. S. John Percyual. P.
1500	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	15	James Wyllsord, Richard Bzond. S. Nicholas Alwyn. P.
1501	August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25.	16	John Halwe, Wylliam Stede. S. Wylliam Kedyngton. P.
	August. 22. Septem. 28.	17	Lawrence Aplmer, Henry Hede. S.



The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1502	Deco. 28. March. 25. August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	18	John Shalwe. P.
1503	March. 25. August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	19	Henry Keble, Nicholas Pynes. S. Bartholomew Rede. P.
1504	March. 25. August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	20	Christopher Halwes, R. Mattes. T. Cranger. S. William Capell. P.
1505	March. 25. August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	21	Roger Acheley, William Botwone. S. John Wynger. P.
1506	March. 25. August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	22	Richard Shore, Roger Croue. S. Thomas Lancelwoth. P.
1507	March. 25. August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	23	W. Coppinger, T. Johnson, W. Fitzwilliam. S. Richard Haddon. P.
1508	March. 25. August. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	24	William Butteler, John Byrkie. S. William Botwone. P.
			Thomas Armelew, Richard Smyth. S. Stephyn Jeyngs. P.

King Henry the eyght beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1509.

1509	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	1	George Honour, John Duckett. S. Thomas Bradbury. P.
1510	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	2	John Mylborne, John Kest. S. Henry Keble. P.
1511	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	3	Nicholas Shelton, Thomas Pysyn. S. Roger Acheley. P.
1512	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	4	Robert Holdernes, Robert Fentother. S. William Coppinger. P.
1513	March. 25. April. 22.	5	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1514	Septem. 28. Deco. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	6	John Dawes, J. Bridges, Roger Bassford. S. William Botwone. P.
1515	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	7	James Parfford, John Bondy. S. George Honor. P.
1516	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	8	Henry Woyley, Richard Gray, W. Bailye. S. William Butteler. P.
1517	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	9	Thomas Seymour, Richard Thurston. S. John Kest. P.
1518	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	10	Thomas Baldry, Richard Symon. S. Thomas Crnew. P.
1519	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	11	John Alyn, James Spencer. S. Thomas Pysyn. P.
1520	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	12	John Willkynson, Nicholas Partridge. S. James Parfford. P.
1521	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	13	John Skeupngton, John Keble. S. John Brugge. P.
1522	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	14	John Bateyn, Thomas Pargetour. S. John Mylborne. P.
1523	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	15	John Audston, John Champneys. S. John Bondy. P.
1524	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	16	Wighell Englyshe, Nicholas Jeyngs. S. Thomas Balory. P.
1525	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Deco. 28.	17	Kaufe Dodmer, William Roche. S. William Bailye. P.
1526	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	18	John Calton, Christopher Askew. S. John Alyn. P.
			Stephyn Decock, Nicholas Lambert. S.



## The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1527	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	19	Thomas Seymer. P.
1528	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	20	John Hardy, William Hallys. S. James Spencer. P.
1529	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	21	Raufe Wareyn, John Long. S. John Rudston. P.
1530	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	22	Nighell Dormer, Walter Champion. S. Raufe Dodmer. P.
1531	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	23	William Dauncie, John Chopping. S. Thomas Dargetour. P.
1532	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	24	Richard Gresham, Edward Alcham. S. Nicholas Lambert. P.
1533	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	25	Richard Reynold, J. Martyn, R. Pyntcheon. S. Stephyn Percock. P.
1534	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	26	William Forman, Thomas Lytton. S. Christopher Askew. P.
1535	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	27	Nicholas Lewson, William Denham. S. John Champneys. P.
1536	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	28	Humfrey Monmouth, John Cotes. S. John Alleyn. P.
1537	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	29	Richard Paget, William Bowyer. S. Raufe Wareyn. P.
1538	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	30	John Gresham, Thomas Lewyn. S. Richard Gresham. P.
1539	Octo. 28. March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28.	31	William Wyltonson, Nicholas Gibson. S. Walter Forman. P.
			Thomas Faxry, Thomas Huntlow. S. William Hallys. P.

## The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1540	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	32	William Larston, Martyn Wolves. S. William Roche. P.
1541	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	33	Kowland Hill, Henry Suckley. S. Nighell Dormer. P.
1542	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	34	Henry Hoblethorn, Henry Amcotes. S. John Coates. P.
1543	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	35	John Coules, Richard Dabbes. S. William Bowyer. P.
1544	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	36	John Wylford, Andrew Jud. S. William Larston. P.
1545	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	37	George Barnes, Raufe Allyn. S. Martyn Wolves. P.
1546	March. 25. April. 22. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	38	Richard Ferrys, Thomas Curtys. S. Henry Hoblethorne. P.

King Edward the sixt beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1547.

1547	Janu. 28. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	1	Thomas Whyte, Robert Chertsey. S. John Gresham. P.
1548	Janu. 28. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	2	William Lock, John Apleph. S. Henry Amcotes. P.
1549	Janu. 28. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	3	John Pozke, Richard Turck. S. Kowland Hill. P.
1550	Janu. 28. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	4	Aullyn Hynde, John Lyon. S. Andrew Jud. P.
1551	Janu. 28. March. 25. Septem. 28.	5	John Lambert, John Colwer. S.



The Table.

The yerres of our Lord.	Monthes and dayes.	The yerres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1552	Octo. 28.	6	Richard Dabbes. P.
	Janu. 28.		William Caret, John Hagnard. S. George Barnes. P.
	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28. Octo. 28. Janu. 28.	7	

Queene Marie beginneth hir reigne  
in the yere. 1552.

1553	March. 25. July. 6. P. Septem. 28.	1	Thomas Dillep, William Helwet. S. Thomas Whyte. P.
1554	Octo. 28. March. 25. July. 6. P.	2	

King Phyllip beginneth his reigne  
in the yere. 1554.

1555	July. 25. P. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	1	David Woodroffe, William Chester. S. John Lyon. P.
	March. 25. July. 6. P. July. 25. P.	3	
1556	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	2	Thomas Leigh, John Hachym. S. William Garrard. P.
	March. 25. July. 6. P. July. 25. P.	4	
1557	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	3	William Harper, John Whyte. S. Thomas Dillep. P.
	March. 25. July. 6. P. July. 25. P.	5	
1558	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	4	Richard Malory, James Altham. S. Thomas Curteys. P.
	March. 25. July. 6. P. July. 25. P.	6	
1559	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	5	John Halse, Richard Champion. S. Thomas Leigh. P.

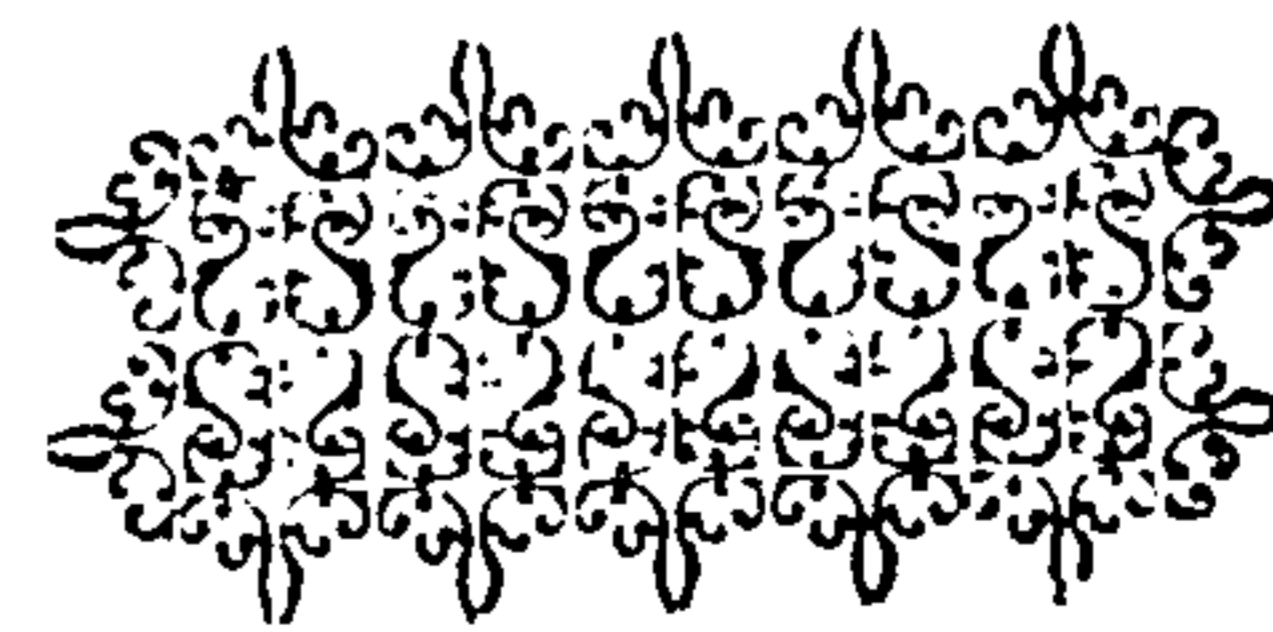
Queene Elizabeth beginneth hir reigne  
in the yere. 1559.

1559	Novem. 17. March. 25. Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	1	Thomas Lodge, Roger Partyn. S. William Helwet. P.
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The Table.

The yerres of our Lord.	Monthes and dayes.	The yerres of the Queene.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1560	Novem. 17. March. 25.	2	Christopher Draper, Thomas Holwe. S. William Chester. P.
	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	3	Alexander Auenon, Humffrey Waskeruple. S. William Harper. P.
Novem. 17. March. 25.			
1561	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	4	William Alener, Richard Chamberleyn. S. Thomas Lodge. P.
	Novem. 17. March. 25.		
1562	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	5	Edward Bankes, Rowland Heyward. S. John Whyte. P.
	Novem. 17. March. 25.		
1563	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	6	Edward Jackman, Lyonell Ducket. S. Richard Malorie. P.
	Novem. 17. March. 25.		
1564	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	7	John Ryuers, James Hawes. S. Richard Champion. P.
	Novem. 17. March. 25.		
1565	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	8	W. Lambert, Ambros Archolas, John Lang. S. Christopher Draper. P.
	Novem. 17. March. 25.		
1566	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	9	Thomas Ramsay, William Bond. S. Roger Partyn. P.
	Novem. 17. March. 25.		
1567	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	10	Robert Hardpnyng, J. Dleph, James Bacon. S. Thomas Holwe. P.
	Novem. 17. March. 25.		
1568	Septem. 28. Octo. 28.	11	
	Novem. 17.		

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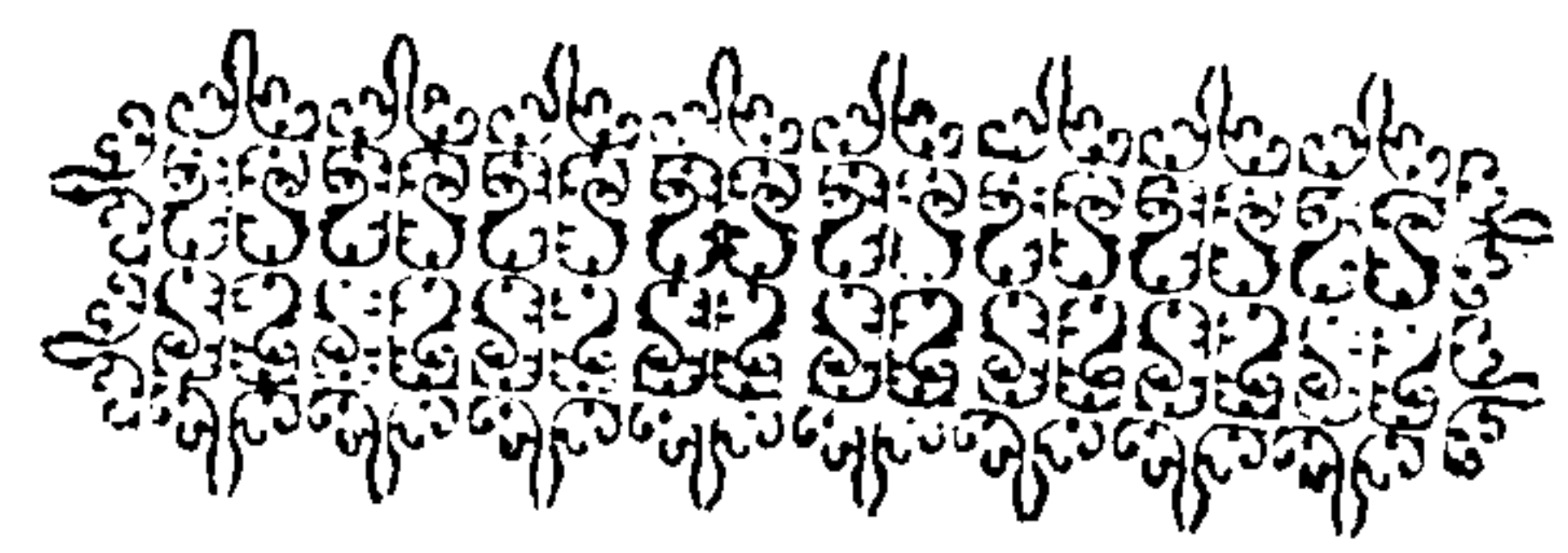
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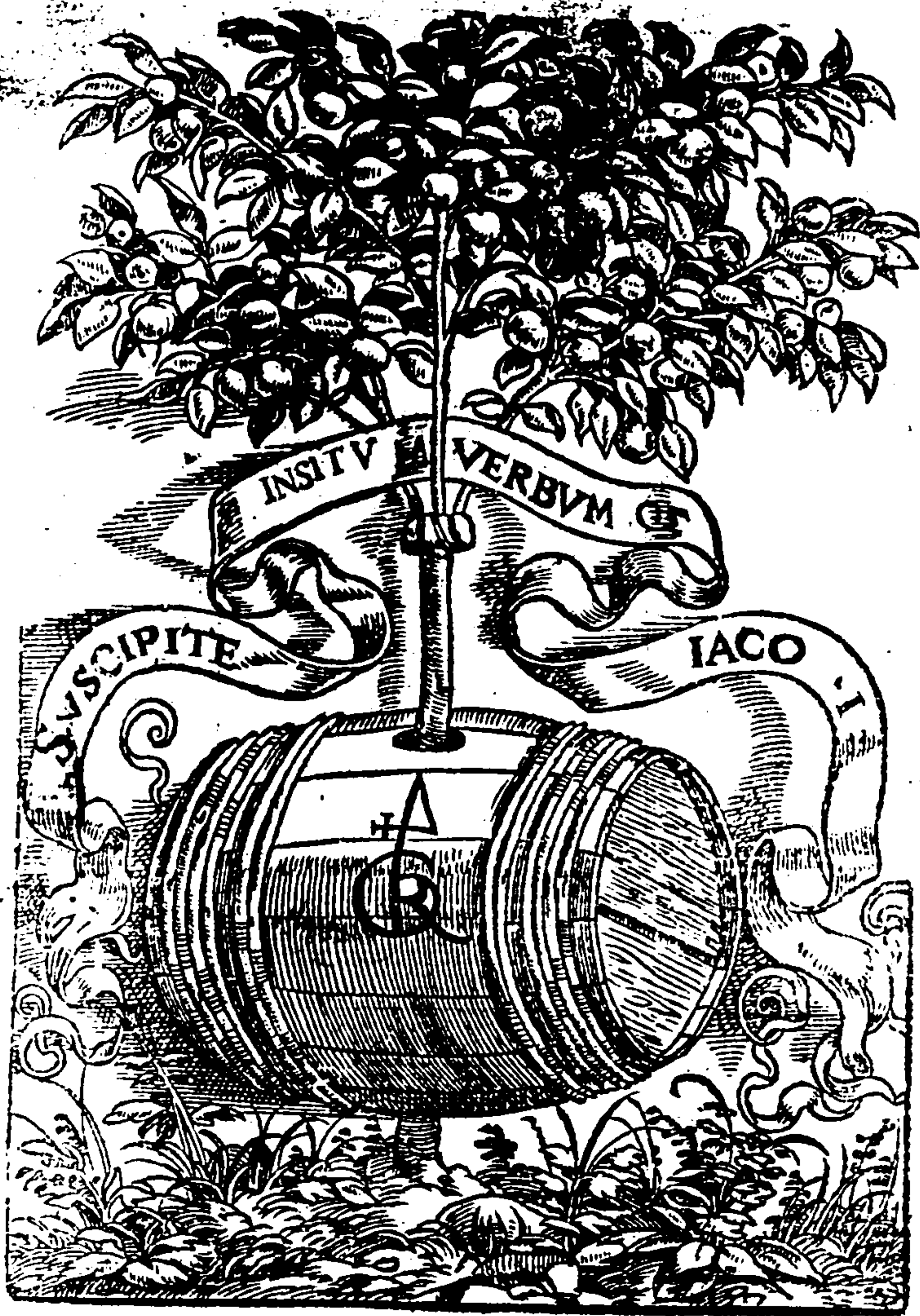
Faultes escaped in the second Volume.

Folio.	Lync.	Faultes.	Corrections.
Folio. 81.	Lync. 39.	for of Sewer, read,	as Sewer
Folio. 273.	Lync. 42.	for caused to be made, read,	caused a proclamation to be made
Folio. 378.	Lync. 16.	for persons that lie in wayt, read,	or persons that lay in wayt
ibidem.	Lync. 34.	for after they had such, read,	after they had had such
Folio. 690.	Lync. 1.	for wyfe Sister, read,	Sister, wyfe
Folio. 1317.	Lync. 1.	for exclamations, read,	both acclamations and exclamations
Foli. 1354.	Lync. 45.	for fine double and Cannons, read,	fine double Cannons and
ibidem.	Lync. 48.	for assalutable, read,	assaultable

And where thou shalt finde byuers of the numbers of the Pages false, I praye thee gentle Reader by  
the conference of the numbers that go before and those that folow, correct the same.







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