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OF THE REIGNS OF
RICHARD II., HENRY IV., HENRY V., AND HENRY VI.

WRITTEN BEFORE THE YEAR 1471;

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING THE 18TH AND 19TH YEARS OF RICHARD II. AND THE
PARLIAMENT AT BURY ST. EDMUND'S, 25TH HENRY VI.

AND

SUPPLEMENTARY ADDITIONS FROM THE COTTON. MS. CHRONICLE
CALLED "EULOGIUM."

EDITED BY

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PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

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P R E F A C E.

THE Early English manuscript Chronicle, from which the following pages are printed, is a version of the English Chronicle called the Brute. Attention was first invited to it through the medium of Notes and Queries, and by the courtesy of William J. Thoms, esq. the editor of that publication, an opinion was obtained from sir Frederick Madden, which resulted in the issue of the present volume by the Camden Society. The manuscript itself is still deposited in a private library, as it has been for more than two hundred years, and therefore cannot be generally accessible.*

Sir Frederick Madden found that the writer of the Chronicle had followed the prose English Chronicle called the Brute, as far as the end of Edward III. without introducing any important variation from the received text, with the exception of a new story relative to bishop Grostete's difference with pope Innocent IV. But from the beginning of the reign of Richard II. the matter was found more valuable; large and curious additions occur, though the text of the Brute remains as before the thread of the narrative. It is this portion of the history which is now for the first time printed.

Sir Frederick Madden discovered in the margins of the manuscript, particularly towards the close, several notes in the hand-writing of Stowe, who has freely used this history in his Annals, though without specifying it. Perhaps, therefore, our manuscript was one of

* It is in the possession of John Speed Davies, esq. the Editor's father, to whom it has descended through the Speeds, from its last user John Speed the chronologer.

those “dangerous books of superstition,” the fame of which brought upon Stowe a commission of inquiry in 1568.*

At Stowe’s death, in April 1605, his valuable library was dispersed, and the manuscript of the following Chronicle no doubt at that time fell into the hands of John Speed the chronologer, already for some few years known to the literary world, under the patronage of sir Fulk Greville afterwards lord Brooke, fortified too with the friendship of Camden, Cotton, Spelman, and others, his immediate contemporaries, and with the countenance of John Stowe. Speed’s Theatre of Great Britain had appeared in 1596; the first edition of his History was issued in 1614.

Speed has used this Chronicle in the earlier part of his History, apparently contented with Stowe’s copious extracts in the latter part. Occasionally he has quoted the language, and has also left some marginal notes in his handwriting, as appears by comparing them with “David’s harp tuned unto Teares,” a manuscript of the historian’s, presented, as a note on the fly-leaf states, to his son John Speed the anatomist, of St. John’s College, Oxford, on April 19th, 1628.

Unfortunately neither Stowe nor Speed help us to discover who the writer of the Chronicle was, or where it was written. Stowe, while transcribing pages, has never acknowledged his obligation; Speed was ignorant of its history, and quotes it as “Antiq. MS.,” “an old MS.,” “an ancient MS.,” “a namelesse old MS.” No internal evidence enables us to assign it to any particular monastery: perhaps the ballad set upon the gates of Canterbury (see p. 91–94) is most like an indication of the locality of the writer.

The date however of this compilation is determined by an expres-

* Life of Stowe, iv. xiv. ; Strype’s Stowe’s Survey, vol. i.

sion in the text (see p. 99, l. 30), where the writer alludes to Henry VI. as king, or at least as still alive. This will confine it between the limits, March 4th, 1461, the accession of Edward IV. (see p. 110), and May 22nd, 1471, the death of Henry VI. Henry regained the royal power and assumed the royal style on Oct. 9th, 1470, and at the battle of Barnet, April 14th, 1471, was finally driven from the throne.

Much has been lost from the reign of Richard II. The leaves of the MS. at this part appear to have been designedly cut; but I have been fortunate enough to discover the source from which the compiler borrowed the matter he has introduced into the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV., and have therefore been able to restore in the Appendix the greater part of what has been destroyed. The continuation of the history called *Eulogium*, Cott. MS. Galba, E. VII., is the basis of the new matter in the first two reigns of the English text. From this valuable history our compiler translated very largely; frequently, it will be seen, changing the arrangement of the history, and occasionally making corrections and additions. For instance (pp. 16, 17) he has altered the locality of Richard's resignation, before the duke of Lancaster and archbishop Arundel, from *Conway* to *Flint*; and (p. 23) has added, in common with the Brute Chronicles, the fact of the marriage of lord Grey of Ruthyn with one of the daughters of Owen Glyndwr.

Besides filling up what has been lost from the English text, I have added sections omitted by the compiler of the Chronicle, on account of their interrupting the course of the narrative (see Supplem. Add. xviii. p. 140), with one or two other additions which appeared interesting. I by no means pretend, however, to have exhausted all that is useful from this portion of the valuable

Eulogium. I felt that I ought to place a limit on my extracts, and trust I may not even now be thought to have extended this volume to too great a length. Probably this apology may be more needed for the notes, which seemed to accumulate even while I was endeavouring to repress them, and I feel that they do not possess that air of novelty which I could have wished for them. Indeed this volume is offered to the Society with considerable diffidence, yet with the hope that it may not have been a useless labour.

With regard to the history of the Chronicle called the Brute, I cannot do better than refer the reader to an interesting article by sir Frederick Madden on that compilation, which will be found in Notes and Queries, new series, vol. i. p. 1-4. The copy in question begins with the heading, "*How this land was first called Albion, and of whom it hadde that name, and how the geauntez were ygotte ye shal here as foloweth dfterward.* Capitulum primum. In ~~the~~ yeer fro the begynnyng of the worlde M^l. M^l. M^l. ixc. lxxxx. ther was in the noble lond of Grece a worthi kyng and a myzti and a man of gret renoun that was callid Dioclician," &c. It may be useful to note its variation from the common text in the first three reigns here published.

The MSS. used for this purpose are the following Oxford MSS. —Bodleian, Rawl. B. 190, 4to. vellum, imperfect at beginning, which is supplied, as a note in his hand states, by the hand of Thomas Baker,* the non-juror, of St. John's College, from a MS. in the public library at Cambridge. The MS. ends in the usual way with the siege of Rouen, "rewle and governaunce," 6 Hen. V. It has been much used by Hearne, who has supplied many leaves

* I am indebted for this information to the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A. of New College, Oxford.

which had been lost, and we learn from a note at the end of the volume, that his sources were MSS. Ashmole, 791, 793.

Rawl. B. 173, small folio, vellum. Heading illegible. Text begins, "In the noble londe of Surre ther was a noble kynge of myght," &c. This Chronicle goes down to the Armagnac alliance with England, 13 Hen. IV. and resumes after the marriage of Henry V., giving an account of the coronation banquet, rather different from that of Fabyan. After the death of Henry V. follows a list of mayors and sheriffs for a few years in Henry VI.

Rawl. B. 196, folio, paper. Heading, "*Here may a man here how Englonde was first called Albyone, and affterwarde whanne hit had first name*" (*sic.*) "In the noble lond of Surrye," &c. It ends "rewle and governaunce," 6 Hen. V.

Rawl. B. 216, folio, vellum, in double columns. Imperfect in the beginning: immediately after "rewle and governaunce," 6 Hen. V., follows, "And aftir this folowith the appointmentz, tretez, and accordementz of pees perpetuelle bytwene kyng Charles ... and Henry V.... and of the marriage of Katerine the doughter of the said kyng Charles, in manner and forme," &c., occupying two leaves and one column. In the same volume, by the same scribe, is "the booke of Johan Maundeville, knyght, (which) techith the weyes to Jerusalem," &c.

Rawl. B. 205, folio, vellum. Heading, "*Here men may hiren how Englonde first was called Albione, and thrughe whome it hadde the name.*" "In the noble lande of Sirrie ther was a noble kyng and myghti, and a man of gret renoun," &c. It ends with the "great parliament," 21 Ric. II. Hearne considered this a good MS.; on the fly-leaf he has written, "See MS. Ashmole 791, but chiefly 793."

Ashmole MS. 793, folio, paper and vellum. "Here begynneth

PREFACE.

a booke in Englishe tong, callid Brute of Englonde, or the Cronycles of Englonde, compilyng and trectyng of the seid land." "*How it was firste a wildrenesse, and alle for lette, and no thyng therynne, but wylde bestes and fowles.*" It ends at the siege of Rouen (6 Hen. V.), with the words, "and atte every gate ij. or iij. M^l. of goode mennys bodies armed: and manfully countred withe our Englishe men. Heere endethe the Booke of Cronycules."

Ashmole, 791, vellum and paper, imperfect at beginning and end. It ends with the death of James I. of Scotland (1436), with the words "a legate of the poopys beyng that tyme in Scotteland, as it was seyde, bare the kyngys scherte wyth hym, and schewed it to the poope." The reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. are very meagre in this copy. A note on the first page of this Chronicle attributes it to William de Regibus.

The new matter of the present volume will be found to be the following sections:—

P. 1, l. 12, "And they," to p. 3, l. 22, "was gouerned." P. 4, l. 20, "be counsel," to p. 5, l. 20, "hoom agayne." L. 31, "And this parlement," to p. 6, l. 18, "take vp and brent." P. 7, l. 12, "also relece," to l. 25, "to silence." P. 8, l. 10, "The archebisshop," to l. 13, "deliuerid." L. 18, "so evir," to last line, "executid it not." P. 10, l. 3, "I have do," to l. 22, "evirmore." P. 11, l. 11, "Thanne the king," to p. 12, l. 2, "Cauntirbury." L. 12, "Ferthirmore," to last line, "so they dede." P. 13, l. 31, "and therto thay," to p. 14, l. 29, "that saw it." P. 16, l. 1, "and saide," to p. 17, l. 2, "ynoughe." L. 6, "And aftirward," to p. 18, last line, "comyng," &c. P. 19, l. 9, "and was anoynted," to l. 13, "king Richarde." L. 15, "and deliuerid," to l. 19, "parlement." "L. 21, "and made sir Roger," to p. 20, l. 2, "not

void." L. 11, "The kyng also," to l. 26, "Reigate." L. 29, "And on of," to p. 21, l. 2, "money." L. 11, "and meny," to l. 13, "housez." L. 25, "Whanne kyng Richard," to l. 26, "his counsel." P. 22, l. 9, "breek the t_rewe3," to l. 20, "be him." L. 22, "broughte," to l. 25, "ayen." P. 23, l. 12, "Also a womman," to l. 16, "the mater." L. 21, "And about this tyme," to p. 29, l. 24, "he was alive." P. 31, l. 11, "And the cause," to p. 34, l. 2, "was cesid." P. 35, l. 1, "And this," to l. 9, "mensoun," &c. P. 36, l. 14, "And this same," to l. 17, "newe thyngis." P. 37, l. 16, "This same yeer," to l. 24, "vnclez wiff." L. 27, "And this same yeer," to last line "in no wise."

Thus far our compiler has drawn from the Eulogium: deviations under Henry V. are,—

P. 43, l. 4, "And whilis," to l. 26, "our lady." P. 44, l. 6, "And anon aftir," to l. 18, "Vernulle." P. 46, l. 4, "And this same tyme," to l. 5, "manne."

The whole of the reign of Henry VI. is quite different from that in the printed text of Caxton, though agreeing in *matter* as far as page 78, with the exception of the following variations:—P. 54, l. 28, "And this," to last line, "peple." P. 56, l. 25, "And among," to p. 60, l. 25, "not longe aftir." The particulars on p. 61. P. 64, l. 1, "And this," to l. 22, "it was said." P. 70, l. 21, "whoos godfadres," to l. 25, "baptized." Last line, "The xxxiiij yere," to p. 77, l. 8, "he dyed." P. 78, l. 7, "One of the causes," to l. 25, "for theyme." From the last line of this page to the end, it is an exception when there is any agreement in matter between the two chronicles.

The Eulogium is the larger of two chronicles which fill a folio volume, on vellum, of 206 leaves, which has been partially injured

by the fire of 1731. The shorter chronicle embraces from the Nativity of our Lord to the year 1364, ending with the colophon, “*Corpus scribentis benedicat lingua legentis.*” It commences on the 4th leaf, and is preceded by an alphabetical table of contents or index to the Eulogium. That history begins on the 16th leaf with an interesting introduction, in which the writer apologises for his want of learning,* and pleads that the persuasion of the prior of his house not less prevailed in inducing him to undertake the historian’s labour than did his own wishes.† He has divided his work into five books. I. From the Creation of the World to the Ascension of our Lord. II. The preaching of the Apostles, deaths of Martyrs, Assumption of the Virgin, the Roman Popes, &c. III. First habitation of Italy; building of Rome; history of the Emperors, Pagan and Christian. IV. The Geography of the World, showing what parts are habitable and what not, provinces, seas, rivers, &c., especially the geography of Britain. V. A Chronicle from Brute to A.D. 1362,‡ continued to A.D. 1413. The author himself gave his work the title of Eulogium.§

It may be inferred that the writer of our English Chronicle was of the same monastery as the authors of the Eulogium, since at

* *Occupatic infructuosa me multa scire impedit.*

† *Rogatus enim pluries a Priore meo Claustrali quod de gestis antiquorum, de partibus propinquis ac remotis, de mirabilibus, de bellis, de gestis antiquis Christianorum et paganorum, modo chronico, aliquid actitarem, ita ut tetra otia, omninò infructuosa, leviùs evacuarem.*

‡ “*Terminatum est hoc opusculum in anno Domini 1362, sub rege Edwardo a Conquestu tertio.*” By a misreading of the figures this Chronicle has been described as ending in 1367 in a MS. note on the fly-leaf, and the mistake has been frequently copied. No change in the hand occurs till 1364, where the writer who finished the volume commences.

§ *Quia ex laboribus antiquorum aliqua paucula medullata extraxi, hoc libellum conglobatum Eulogium volo nominari. Non enim sine causâ Eulogium illud assero, quia studentibus et orantibus maximam præstabit recreationem cum voluerint a labore quiescere.*

the time of the compilation of the English text that history probably had not travelled beyond its convent walls. It never appears to have been multiplied, as only two copies are known to exist, that in the Cottonian collection, and another in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. (R. VII. 2.)

A controversy exists, however, as to the locality of the Eulogium. Leland in his *Collectanea* (vol. i. pt. II. p. 302-314), at the head of several extracts from it, some of which the reader will recognise, has placed the following heading: “Ex altero chronico *Maildolphesbiriensis* monasterii, cui titulus Eulogium historiarum, autore monacho ejusdem loci, sed incerti nominis.” Leland conveys a false impression when he adds, “ex prologo apparet scriptum fuisse hoc chronicon, flagitante Priore *Maildolphesbiriensi*.” No house is mentioned. He is also wrong in the date, “Terminatum est hoc opusculum, anno Domini, 1361;” but has given the right date (1362) in his second volume. Leland, it appears from the heading to his second body of extracts (vol. ii. pt. I. p. 395-398), judged only from certain internal evidence—“quibusdam *conjecturis* ducor.” These conjectures were no doubt founded on the fact that there is much relating to the foundation of Malmesbury abbey in the second book, and several notices of that abbey are dispersed throughout the work. Bishop Tanner has followed Leland in opposition to the Cottonian Catalogue. In that catalogue the work is attributed to Ninian, a monk of Canterbury, on the authority of the writer of a long note, opposite the introduction to the Eulogium, who has made this statement from Caius, “De antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae,” 1568;*

* P. 67: “*Ninianus* quoque in Eulogio Historiarum has easdem urbes recenset; et *Nennius* in catalogo urbium.” P. 273: “Eulogii enim libro quinto (quem monachus *Cantuariensis*, non *Maildunensis*, ut Lelandus ait, scripsit), ubi de Arvirago sermo est, sic scribitur, “*Vespasianus mare sulcans*,” &c. (Comp. Eul. f. 127.)

adding, as another argument for the locality of Canterbury, that the author calls saint Thomas the archbishop his patron.*

Mr. Macray has suggested that this work may have been confounded with *Nennius's* *Eulogium Britanniaë*. This appears to have been the case with the writer of the note alluded to, who refers us in Bale to Nennius, the old British writer, or to Ninian, the apostle to the Picts.† But Caius does not appear to have been so misled, and in his list of writers has astonished the writer of the note by quoting “*Nennii, Elwodugi discipuli, Eulogium,*” “*Ninianus,*” and “*Eulogium historiarum,*” as different works. It does not appear why he has separated the two last.

The Cottonian copy of the *Eulogium* formerly belonged to Dr. Dee, the philosopher of Mortlake, as his note on the first page of the index states: “*Jões Dee, 1574; September 25. Of the gift of Mr. Dyckenson at Popular by Mr. John Stow the cronicler (three words illegible) Lōdon.*” From the Diary of Dr. Dee, and Catalogue of his library, published by the Camden Society in 1842, we find among his books, “*Eulogium temporis a condito orbe in annum Christi 1367,‡ monachi cujusdam Niniani pergamento, fo.*” Dr. Dee therefore agreed in the opinion of Caius on the authorship of this book.

Such is the controversy. It is much to be regretted that we are not able to assign this English Chronicle either to Canterbury or to Malmesbury with any certainty.

* “*Inter cetera mirabilia, unum licet enarrare de sancto Thomâ meo patrono Cantuar. Metropol., accidit enim ipso exulante primo exilii sui anno.*” (Compare also p. 14 of this volume.)

† “*Pro his Nenniis et Ninianis vide Bale, De Scriptoribus Angliæ, centur. 14, fol. 192; centur. 10, fol. 27; centur. 1, fol. 60, et 72, et 14.*”

‡ See note on page xii.

The reader is indebted, with me, to sir Frederic Madden, for the two interesting chapters which are placed at the commencement of the Appendix (p. 111-118). The chapter on the death of the duke of Gloucester appears to be especially valuable. I extract the following remarks from sir Frederick Madden's description of the MS. from which the transcripts are taken:—

The Manuscript is a folio on vellum and paper, in the library of the duke of Bedford at Woburn, and was written in 1448 by Richard Fox, of St. Alban's, as appears by a note on the 5th leaf from the end, and the name in several other places. It begins with a table of contents filling 6 folios, at the end of which are the names of the kings of England from William the Conqueror to Henry VI. in three hexameter lines. Immediately below which the name of the writer occurs.

On folio 7 the Chronicle commences thus : “ *Alfrede was the fyrst kyng that euer was anoynt in this londe.* After Elfrede regned his brother Alfryde, a noble man and wyse,” &c. The manuscript proceeds regularly through the series of kings, compiled from several authorities, until the end of the reign of Edward I. This part is totally different from the Brute, and much fuller, particularly after the Conquest; but from the accession of Edward II. until the close (6 Hen. V.), it is the same as the Brute, yet occasionally has passages not in the common copies; as, for instance, the account of the 18th and 19th years of Richard II. (See Appendix, p. 111-115.) The Chronicle ends like the usual version of the Brute, “ *restede hym in the castelle tyl the towne was sette in rewle and governaunce.*” (6 Hen. V.)

After this follow the deposition articles of Richard II. and the coronation of Henry IV., chiefly translated from the Rolls of Parlia-

ment, but containing additions of great interest. At the end is written, “ And thus enduth the Deposynge of kyng Richarde the secounde aftre the Conqueste.

Quod Rychard Fox

Off seynt Albones.

An^o Dñi Mⁱ cccc xl. viij^o.”

Next comes the interesting tract relative to the death of the duke of Gloucester. (See Appendix, p. 116-118.) Then the Acts of the parliament at Winchester (27 Hen. VI.), five lines of verse on the deposing of Richard II., and some orders of the common council of London relative to the fellowship of cooks and butlers, about fees and customs at the lord mayor's feast.

The nature of my obligation to sir Frederick Madden I have already stated, and I desire to offer him my thanks. I am indebted also to John Gough Nichols, Esq. for some kind suggestions while the work was at press, owing to which it is more perfect than it would have been; and to my friend the Rev. William Dunn Macray, M.A. of New College, Oxford, and of the Bodleian Library, for the kind assistance he has often given, and always been ready to give me; and for having compared the pages of the Chronicle as they passed through the press with the manuscript, by which revision some mistakes were avoided.

April, 1856.

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A.D. 1378-9.

ij. squiers dredyng* that thay sholde lese the raunsoun of thair prisoner, and wolde not brynge him forth atte kyngis commaundement. Wherfore the kyng was wroth, and saide that thay hadde maad a prison in thair owen house withynne his reme ayens his wille and commaundement: and therefore he sente thaym to the tour of Londoun; and thay brak out therof and fledde to Westmynstre. And the constable of the tour and the said lord Latymer and ser Raaff fferrers wente to Westmynstre, and wolde haue brought thaym agayne, but thay made defens, and Hawle was slayn in the chirche atte gospel of the high masse, and anon the monkez cesid of diuine seruize; and meny sundaiez aftirward, the said personez were denounced acursid, as brekers and defoulers of thair privilegis; and wolde not halow ne reconsile agayn thair chirche. The king sente meny tyme; be his writtes to the Abbot of Westmynstre, forto appere befor him, and forto cece of his cursyng, and that he sholde halowe agayn his chirche, and serve God therynne aftir the fundacion therof, and alle the mater sholde be brozt to a good ende. But the abbot wolde not appere, ne cece of the castyng of the censuris of the chirche, for he saide that the chirche of Westmynstre was halowed be saint Petir be myrakille, and therefore it nedid not to be halowed of non othir manne, and shewde and broughte forth the cronicle how saint Petir halowed it, as folowethe

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Fragment A.

A. b.

endowed with meny possessiouns and privilegis. And whanne the tyme was come that the chirche sholde be halowed, and alle thyng was redy that was necessary to the solennite therof, Mellit, Bisshop of Londoun, lay in his tentis the nyzt before the dedicacioun, and there was greet concours and multitude of peple, not onli for deuocion but also forto se the newe and unkid solennite. And the same nyghte, on the ferthir side of the Thamyse, saint Petir, in liknesse and in the habit of a pilgryme apperid to a fissher, and behighte

* See note at the end of the volume.

him for his trauail, to sette him ouer the watir; and whanne he was come ouer, he wente into the chirche, and anon sodenli the chirche was ful of heuenli lighte that made the nyghte as light and as cleer as the day. And with saint Petir

* * * * *

Reme, and paide for hir xxij. m^l marc. Ther was offrid vnto him the erlis douzter of fflaundris, with whom he sholde haue had alle fflaundris, but he refusid hir, and aftirward the duke of Burgoyne weddid hir, and be hir he was erl of fflaundris. Folio 146.

The vij. yeer of king Richard, the ffrenshemen and the Scottis were confederid to gedir, and ordeyned iij. grete ostis forto haue come in to Engelond, and the Scottis sholde haue come yn in the north, and the other ij. ostis in the est and west partiez. The king heryng this, be awise of his counsel, gadrid an huge ost and wente in to Scotland; but the Scottis durste not fize with him, his power was so greet: the othir ij. ostis of the Frenshemenne cam not, for thay lay longe tyme in the hauene of Scluys, abidyng wynd and wedir, but the wynde wolde nevir serue-thaym but alwey was ayens thayme. Thanne the king brende the toun of Edinburgh, and cam in to Englonde ayenne. Anno vij^o.

And this same tyme, king Richard made the erlle of Oxenforde and ser Michael de la Pole, and othir flaterers, chief of his counsel; and be thaym was gouerned.

The viij. yeer of King Richard, ser Edmund of Langley, erl of Cambrigge, the kingis uncle, wente in to Portugale, with a faire companie of menne of armez and archiers, to helpe and strengthe the king of Portugale ayens the king of Spayne; and there the king of Portugale badde the victory, thorough help of Englishmenne; and aftir this journey the erl cam hoom agayne. Folio 146 b. Anno viij.

This same yeer king Richarde held his Cristemasse at Eltham; and thider cam to him the king of Ermonie,* that was drive out of

* Leo, King of Armenia.—See note.

A.D. 1384.5. his lond be the Turkis, to axe of him help and socour: and the kinge yaf him grete yiftis, and so he retourned hoom ayeene.

Anno ix^o.

The ix. yeer of king Richard, he held a parlement at Westmynstre, and there he made ij. dukis, a markeys, and v. erlis. Ffirst, he made ser Edmund of Langley, erl of Cambrige, his vucle, duke of York; and his othir vucle, ser Thomas of Wodestoke, that was erl of Bukynghame, he made duke of Gloucestre; and the erlle of Oxenforde he made markeys of Dyuelyn, and commaunded that he sholde be callid duke of Yrlonde; ser Harri of Bolyngbroke, the duke; sone of Lancastre, he made erl of Derby; ser Edward, the dukis sone of York, he made erl of Roteland; ser John Holond, the erlis brothir of Kent, he made erl of Huntyngdoun; ser Thomas Mowbray, erl of Notyngham, he made erl marchal of Engelond; and ser Michael de la Pole, knyghte, he made erl of Suffolk and Chaunceller of Engelonde.

And at this same parlement, the erl of March, in the playn parlement among alle the lordis and comunez, was proclamed heir parent, and next to the crowne aftir king Richard: the which erl sone aftir was slayn in Yrlond with the wilde Yrishmenne

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Fragment B.
[Anno xj^o.]

be counsel of a Burgeis of Londoun, cam to Westmynstre, wenyng to haue discomfited thaym with helpe of men of Londoun. The Archebisshop of Canterbury besoughte the king that he wolde admitte thaym to his presence pesibly, withoute eny greuaunce, for to trete of pee; and the kyng it graunted vnder his feith, and so the archebisshoppe wente and broughte thaym befor the king, sitting in Westmynstre halle, and thair ost abood withoute. Thanne saide the kyng, "Who made you so hardy forto arise and arme you ayens the pees of me, and of my reme?" The duke of Glovcestre

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A. b.

same place forto refourme pee; betuene thaym, and the kyng it

grauntid. But in the morow, he chaunged his purpos, and wente to the tour of Londoun ; and the lordis cam with thair power in to saint Johannes feld, and sente for the mair of Londoun, and he ladde thaym in to Guyldehalle, and alle the Cite was vnto thaym frendly and wellwillid. Thanne sente the kyng for the lordis to come and speke with him in the tour, and thay saide the place was not sure, but out of the tour thay were redy to speke withe him. Tho comaunded the kyng the mair of Londoun, forto reise and arme the Cite agayns thayme. "Sire," saide the mair, "God it forbede! thay bith your trew lige men, and frendis to the reme." The kyng was wrothe, and sente the duke of Yrlond with his lettris patentiz, and with his baner displaid, in to Chestreshire, forto brynge a power of Chesshiremen and othir. And the v. lordis beforsaide mette with him beside Oxenforde, with the kyngiz baner displaid ; and anon as the duke wiste what thay were, he fledde, and rood ouer the Thamyse in to the yle of Shepeye, and fro thennez he wente ouer se in to Almayne, and nevir cam agayne. And the lordis beheddid the chief knyght that was with the duke, and took fro thayme the kynges baner, and folde it gedir, and bettyn the Chesshiremen, and droof thaym hoom agayne, and seue maister Alisaunder Nevile, Archebisshoppe of York, fledde also ouer se, as befor ys saide, and cam neuer agayne.

Thanne thise v. lordis ordeyned a parlement at Westmynstre ; and there, ser Robert Tresilian, a justice ; Nicholl Brembre, knyghte and citezeyn of Londoun ; ser Johan Salisbury, a knyghte of the kynges hous ; and ser Simon of Beverley, a worthi knyghte of the garter, for whom the queue knelid befor the v. lordis to haue saued his lif, but she myght not be herd ; ser John Beauchampe, knyzt, stiward of the kyngis hous ; ser Jamez Berners, and othir, were iugid to be drawe and hanged : and ser Simon of Beuerley was beheddid atte Tour hill. And this parlement endurid fro Candelmasse to midsomer.

And tho v. lordis were quyt before the justicez of alle thyng that

A.D. 1387-8.

Folio 147.

Folio 147 b.

A.D. 1387-8. was put ayens thaym, and made a lawe and an ordenaunce, that yf the parlement appelid or enpechid eny man of eny cryme, he sholde be dampned withoute ansuer, for with the parlement he myzte not fizte ; and made the parlement appele meny men of meny thyngis that thay were not gilty of, and exilid for euermore the forsaid duke of Yrlond, ser Michael de la Pole, and maister Alisaunder Nevile, archbishop of York, and dyvers othir. And thay made alle men of the parlement swere to obserue and kepe alle the ordenaunce3 and statutis that were ymaad in the saide parlement ; and made also the kyng swere agayne forto kepe his lawe3, and that he shold folowe the counsel of his trewe lordez, and not of suche flaterers as were aboute him ; and that he sholde nevir hurte ne enpeche eny of thaym for that thay hadde do in the said parlement ; and of this the kyng, though he baar it hevili, graunted unto thaym a chartre of pardoun.

Fragment C. And this yeer deide maister John Wiclif, and was buried at Lutterworthe, where he was parsoun ; but aftirward, be sentence of the chirche, his bones were take vp and brent.

Anno xij^o. The xij. yeer of king Richard, duryng this same parlement, he leet crie and ordeyne general justis at Londoun, in Smythfeld, for alle maner straungers, and othir that thider wolde come : and thay of the kyngis side were alle in on sute, thair cotearmuri3, sheldis, hors-trappuris, and alle, was white bertis, with cronnez aboute thair neckis, and cheynes of gold hangyng ther upon, and the cronne hangyng lowe befor the hertis bodye, the whiche hert was the kyngis liverey, that he gaf to knyghtis and squiers and othir.

And atte firste comyng to thair justis, xxiiij. ladiez ladde xxiiij. knyztis of the gartir, with cheyne3 of gold, and alle in the same sute her (*sic*) of bertis as before is said, fro the tour of Londoun, on horsbak, thorou3 the cite of Londoun in to Smythfeld

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C. b. thorough alle Spayne, that the duke hadde sente in to Engelond for
[Anno xiv^o.] a grettir ost ; and the kyng of Spayne wenyng it hadde be trewe,

and began to trete with the duke, and so thay were acordid in this manere: that the king of Spayne sholde wedde the eldir doughtir of the duke of Lancastre, that was righte heir to Spayne, and sholde yeue unto the duke an huge summe of money in hand, and euery yeer aftir, duryng the livis of the duke and of the duchesse his wif, x m^l marc. of gold, the whiche gold thay of Spayne, atte thair owen auenture and cost, sholde brynge yeerli vnto Baione, to the duke; assignee;: and herof the king of Spayne made to the duke good surete. A.D. 1390-1.
[Anno xiv^o.]

And the same tyme the duke married anothis of his douztris to the kyng of Portugale. And in that viage me

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also relece the remenaunt of kyng Johannes raunsoun that was unpaied; and the duke said, forto bere the armes of Ffraunce it was non availle ne profit, and Caleis greued more Engelond and dede more hurt therto than profit, for the grete expensis aboute the keping therof; but the duke of Gloucestre and the erlis of Warwic and of Arundelle gaynsaide it, and wolde not assente therto. Fragment D.

In this parlement, the duke of Lancastre axed and desirid that his sone shold be the parlement haue be declarid and demyd as next heir to the crowne; but the erl of March withsaide it, and saide, he was come of ser Leonel the secunde sone of king Edward: and the duke saide, that kyng Harri the ij^{de}. badde ij. sone; Edmund and Edward, the whiche Edmund hadde a crokid bak and was a mys-shape and an vnlik

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thaym to silence.

D. b.

The xv. yeer of king Richard, he held his Cristemasse in the maner of Wodestoke; and there the erlle of Penbroke, a yong lord and tendir of age, wolde haue lerned to juste with a knyghte callid ser John Saint Johan, and thay riden togedir in the park of Wodestoke, and there the erl of Penbroke was slayn with that Anno xv^o.

A. D. 1391-2. . othir knyghtis speer, as he cast it from him whanne thay hadde cupid.

Anno xvj°. The xvj. yeer of king Richard, Johan Hende, beyng that tyme mair of Londoun, and John Walworth and Harri Vanner shirevis of Londoun that same year, a bakeris man of Londoun baar a basket ful of horsbred in to ffeetstrete toward an ostriehous, and there cam a yoman of the bisshoppis of Salesbury, callid Romain, and took an horsloof out of the basket; and the baker axed him whi he dede so, and this

Fragment E.
[Anno xx°.]

The Archebisshop abood there vnto nyghte, wenyng to haue had delyueraunce agayn of his brothir, and whanne he saw it wolde not be, he wente hoom vnto Lambhithe fule of sorou. And on the morow the king deliuerid the said erlle of Arundelle to on that was his enemy, and he put him in prison in the yle of Wyghte, and anon alle the erlis godis were eschetid in to the kyngis hand.

The king also arested the erlle of Warwic in his owen court, and sente him to the tour of Londoun.

And anon aftir the king rood with an huge company in to Essex, to Plasshe, where the duke of Gloucestre lay; and to him he saide, "Thou wilt not come to me, and therfor I come to the, and I areste the." The duke answerde to the king, and saide, "Sire, I truste your grace and that"

Dux Gloucestræ captus est.

* * * * *

E. b.

ffrenshemenne forto helpe him, and thay cam ridyng thorou3 the reme with thair speirs bore uprighte. And thanne the king sente to eueri bisshope, abbotis, gentilmen, and marchauntis, and vnder colour of borowyng he badde of thaym an huge summe of money neuer to be paid agayne; so that a symple gentilman paide xl. fi.

Thanne the erl of Rutland, the erl of Huntingdoun, the erl of Salisbury, the erl of Notynghame, and othir, appelid the duke of

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on the Monday the xvij. day of September this parlement was begenne at Westmynstre

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Folio 148.

I haue do eny thing amys, I haue therof the kingis pardon.” “That pardon,” saide the duke, “is reuoked be the parlement, for it was grauntid whanne thou were kyng.” The erl saide, “Yf that pardon may not serve, I have anothis pardoun that the king grauntid me frely v. yeer gone of his owen mocion.” “And that pardoun,” saide the duke, “is also reuoked be ordenaunce of the parlement.” “fforsoth,” saide the erl, “the king may be his prerogatif graunte his chartre of pardoun to whom it likith him, for alle maner of trespas; and yf ye haue ordeyned that he may not or shal not do so, ye haue do more ayens his prerogatif thanne evir dede I; and yf thou, John duke of Lancastre, were wel examned, thou hast do more ayens the kyng than I.” Thanne the erlle was counselid to put him in the kyngis grace, and he saide, “I put me in the grace of the high kyng of heuene, and for the lawe; and comune profit of Englund I am redy to dye.” And anon the duke yaf on him iugement and saide, “The kyng pardoneth the thy drawyng and hankyng, but thyn hed shalle be smyte of atte tourhille, in the same place where ser Simon of Beuerley was beheddid, and thi childryn shall be disheritid, and excludid fro the parlement and the kyngis counsel for evirmore.”

Judicium comi-
tis Arundellie.

Folio 148 b.

Thanne on Saint Matthewez day, apostel and euangelist, the erl was lad fro the place of his jugement, and his handis bounde behynde him, thorough the cite of Londoun unto the Tourhille, and there his hed was smyte of. And vj. of the lordis that sat on his iugement, riden with him with greeete strengthe of men of armes and archiers to se thexecucion done aftir thair jugement, for thay dradde that the erl sholde haue be rescued be thaym of Londoun: and thus deide the gode erl and is buried atte ffrere Austynes, in Londoun.

And on the morow ser Richard erl of Warwic was broughte in

to the parlement, in to the saide hale, and badde the same iugement A.D. 1397.
as the erl of Arundel hadde, and, as his counsel bad him, he confessid and saide, that alle that he hadde do, he dede be the counsel and stiryng of the duke of Gloucestre and of the erl of Arundelle, trustyng also in the holynes and wisdom of the Abbot of Saint Albonez, and of the Recluse of Westmynstre, that saide it was lawfulle that he dede, “notwithstondyng,” he saide, “if I haue do amys, I put me in the kyngis grace;” and so be instaunce of lordis, because he was of gret age his deth was relesid, and was dampned to perpetuel prison in the Yle of Mann.

Thanne the king made thaym of the parlement forto acuse maister Thomas Arundelle, archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, because he procurid and labourid forto be in the forsaid commissioun, and it excutid and selid whanne he was chauncellere; and the speker of the parlement began to purpose ayens him, and the king bad him holde his peeze and say no more ayens his cosin, and bad the Archebisshope go his way saffi. And whanne he was go the kyng sente to him a messenger and commaunded him come no more in the parlement, and thanne he was exilid for euer, and that he sholde be privid of alle his godis. Folio 149.

Nota duplici-
tatem Regis
Ricardi.

And the Monday next aftir, the lord Cobhame of Kent, and ser Johan Cheyne, knyztis, were brought in to the parlement in to the same hale, and there thay were iugid to be drawe and hangid, but thoroughe praier and instaunce of the lordis, thair iugement was foryeue thaym and relesid to perpetuel prisoun.

Thanne said the Archebisshoppe Arundelle, “I wille not go out of this lond, here I was bore, and here I wille die.” The king and the duke of Lancastre wente to him, and the king saide unto him in this wise, “Fader, be not sory for to go out of this lond, for I ensure you be my trouthe, that ye shal come agayn withynne short tyme, and ther shal be non othir Archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury while ye and I live.” Thanne the Archebisshoppe took his leve, and on Mighelmasse eve at Douor he wente ouer se to Rome.

A D. 1397-8.

Folio 149 b.

And whanne he was go, the king made ser Rogere Walden, a clerck of his owen, archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury. And he made also at this parlement v. dukez, a markeis, and iiij. erlis. First, he made the erl of Derby, sir Henri of Bolyngbroke, duke of Hereforde; the erlle of Rutland he made duke of Avmarle; the erlle of Kent he made duke of Surreie; the erl of Huntyngdoun he made duke of Excestre; the erl of Notyngham he made duke of Norfolk; the erl of Somerset he made markeis of Dorset; the lord Spenser he made erlle of Glovcestre; the lord Nevile of Raby he made erl of Westmerland; ser Thomas Percy he made erlle of Worcestre; and ser William Scroope he made erl of Wilshire and Tresourer of Englund. fferthirmore the kyng made alle the men of this parlement coumpromitte in to xij. diuers personez, continuynge the said parlement, that where and whanne it likid thayme thay myghte make statutis aftir thair owen ordenaunce; and made alle the lordis swere vpon saint Edwardis shryne, forto kepe with al thair myghte the statutis of the same parlement; and atte request of the parlement, alle the Bisshoppis acursid at Poulis cros alle tho that dede ayens the said statutis and ordenaunces. And whanne this was ydo, the kyng wente in to the west cuntre.

Aftir this, the kyng in solenne daiez and grete festis, in the whiche he wered his crowne and wente in his rial aray, he leet ordeyne and make in his chambir, a trone, wherynne he was wont to sitte fro aftir mete vnto euensong tyme, spekyng to no man, but ouerlokynge alle menn; and yf he loked on eny mann, what astat or degre that evir he were of, he moste knele.

Folio 150.

Nota auariciam
Regis Ricardi.

Aftirward, at Notyngham, the kyng callid his counsel togedir, and saide, that he myghte not ride sureli in his Reme, for drede of men of Londoun, and of xvij. shiris lyying aboute; and therefore he wolde gadre a greet ost forto destroie thaym, lasse than thay wolde fynde him surete. Wherfore thay ordeyned, that Londoun and euerich of tho shiris sholde gadre a gret summe of moneye, and in token of pee; yeue it to the kyng; and so thay dede.

And this same yeer fille a greet debaat and dissension, betuene the duke of Hereford and the duke of Norfolk, in this wise. The duke of Norfolk tolde priueli, as it hadde be vnder confessioun, and in gret counsel, to the duke of Hereforde, that the kyng hadde ordeyned to sle thaym bothe, because thay rood and aroos vith the duke of Gloucestre. The duke of Hereforde saide, "The king hath therof grauntid vs his pardoun." Thenne saide the duke of Norfolk, "The kyng is not trewe, as it hath wel apperid be the duke of Gloucestre and the erl of Arundel." The duke of Hereforde aftirward tolde this to his fader, the duke of Lancastre, and he tolde it to the king. And whanne the kyng examned the duke of Norfolk therof, he denyed it and forsook it; and the duke of Hereford avowed it befor him, and him appelid of treson and of the deth of the duke of Gloucestre. Wherfore thay cast thair glovis and wagid bataille, and the day of thair bataille was assigned at Couentre; at whiche day the kyng withe his lordis was there present; and whanne bothe dukis were redy in the place to do thair bataille, the kyng toke thair quarelle in to his handis, and exilid the duke of Hereforde for terme of x. yeer, and the duke of Norfolk for euermore: the whiche duke of Norfolk deide aftirward at Venize. And the kyng grauntid to the duke of Hereforde forto haue and receyue yeerli a certayne pension of money out of Englund; but he forbad him and made him swere, that he sholde not speke with maister Thomas Arundelle; for the king dradde alwey his counsel and his wisdom; wherfore, as yt was said, the kyng so stirid and prouoked ayens him the peple of the cuntre that he sholde passe be, that unnethe he scapid with his lif.

Ferthirmore the king and his counsel ordeyned blanc chartris, and made lordis spirituel and temporel and othir worthi men sette to thaym thair selis; and therto thay were most constreyned be the Bisshoppis, as it was said; wherynne the king purposid aftirward, as men saide, to haue writen these wordis—"Because that we befor

A.D. 1398.

Anno xxj^o.Quod vis habere
consilium nemi-
ni dicas.

Folio 150 b.

Nota of the
blanc chartris,
etc.

A.D. 1398. this tyme haue greuously offendid your mageste, we yeue unto you us and alle our godis, at your wille.”

Anno xxij^o.
A.D. 1398-9.
Folio 151. The xxij. yeer of king Richard, he callid his counsel and saide he wolde go in to Yrlond; but first he desirid to visite Saint Thomas of Cauntirbury, but he trust not welle in men of Londoun and of Kent; and the archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury assurid him that he myghte go saafly, and so he wente to Cauntirbury with a gret mayne of Chesshire menne, and thay wacchid aboute him day and nyghte, and ech of thaym hadde vj d. a-day; and whanne he cam to Cauntirbury, tharchebisshoppe fedde him and his men rialli; and aftir broughte him to Londoun agayne.

Nota de aquila
aurea.

Thanne wente the king in to the tour of Londoun, and baar out therof alle the precious iewelx that his predecessours hadde put there to be kept; and among othir thyngis, he fond there an egle of gold, and withynne the egle a violle of stoon closid, with a writyng aboute; the whiche writyng saide that our lady delyuerid that egle and the violle to Saint Thomas of Cauntirbury while he was exilid, and saide to him that with the oille that was in the violle, the gode kyngis of Englund that sholde come aftirward sholde be ennoynted; and on of tho kyngis sholde gete agayn alle the lond that his auncestis badde lost, withoute strengthe; and he sholde be grettist of alle kyngis, and he sholde bilde meny chirchis in the holi lond, and sholde driue alle the paynemes out of Babiloun, and there he shal make meny chirchis, and as ofte as he berith the said egle on his brest he shal haue the victory of his enemiez, and his kyngdom shall evir encrece; and this oynement shalle be founde in couenable tyme: and this egle baar king Richard alwey aboute his necke.

Folio 151 b.

Thanne made the kyng his testament fulle greuous and preiudiciall to the reme, as thay saide that saw it; and made ser Edmund of Langley, duke of York, lieutenaunt of Englund; and thanne wente he forth in to Yrlond.*

[May 31st.]

* He sailed from Milford Haven on the 29th of May, and landed at Waterford on the last of the month.

And whanne he hadde be there a litill tyme, ser Henri of Bolyngbroke, erl of Derby and duke of Hereforde, whom kyng Richard hadde exilid, heryng that his fader ser John of Gaunt, duke of Lancastre, was ded, cam doun out of ffraunce vuto Caleys. And there mette with him maister Thomas Arundelle that was archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, and the sone and heir of the erl of Arundelle, that was broke out of prison of the castelle of Reygate; and thay shippid at Caleys, and cam in to Englund, and landid at Rauenesporne in the north cuntre. And there mette with thaym the erlle of Northumbirlond withe a gret power to helpe and socoure the said duke, that cam for non othir entent, as he saide, thanne forto chalange the duchie of Lancastre his enheritaunce.

A.D. 1399.
Hoc anno obiit
dux Lancas-
triæ.*

[Anno xxiiij^o.]

[July 4th.]

The duke of York that was lieutenaunt of Engelond wolde haue gon ayens thayme, but noman wolde folowe him; and ser William Scroope, tresorer of Englund, offridd men wonder large wagez, but he coude noman haue, for no money.

Thanne wroot the said duke of Hereforde to the citezeyns of Londoun, and callid himself duke of Lancastre and stiward of Englund; and saide that he wolde refourme and amende that was amys; and anon Londoun him fauerid and supportid, and alle the kyngis castellis were delyuerid to the duke. Ser William Scroope, tresorer of Englonde, Busshe, Bagot, and Grene, knyghtis, that were the kyngis chief counselours, fledde in to the castel of Bristowe, and wolde haue gon in to Yrlond, but thay were take, and thair heddis smyte of: but Bagot ascapid in to Yrlonde and was take aftirwarde.

Folio 152.

Whanne kyng Richarde herde telle alle this, he cam in haste out of Yrlond in to Walis, and abood in the castell of fflynt to take counsel what was best to do; but no counsel cam to him, and alle his ost landid in diuers partiez and wolde not folowe him. Thanne ser Thomas Percy, stiward of the kyngis hous, brak the rod of his office

[August
13th.†]

* February 3rd.

† Richard arrived at Milford Haven on this day. See "Chronique de la traison et mort de Ric. II," edited by Benjamin Williams, F.S.A. (Eng. Hist. Soc.), p. 194.

A.D. 1399.

in the halle befor alle men and saide, "The king wille no lenger holde householde," and anon alle the kyngis mayne forsook him, and lefte him alone. Tho cursid the kyng the vntrouthe of Englund, and saide, "Allas! what trust is in this fals worlde!"

Folio 152 b.

Thanne wrot the duke to the stiward of the Archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, ser Roger Waldenne, commaundyng him on peyne of his hed to kepe alle the godis of the forsaid ser Roger to the vse of maister Thomas Arundelle, and anon the said Roger remeued alle his iewelx out of the paleis of Cauntirbury, and thay were take at Rouchestre and put in to the castelle there to be kept safly.

[August 19th.*]

Whanne this was ydo, the duke and maister Thomas Arundel wente to the kyng to the castel of Flynt, and aftir a fewe wordis thay tolde him shortly he sholde no lenger regne; and thanne maister Thomas Arundelle saide vnto him in this wise: "Thou art a fair man, but thou art falsest of alle menne. Thou promisist and assurid me, sweryng on Goddis Body, that thou woldes, do my brothir non harm; and whanne I hadde brouzt him to thi presence, I myzte nevir se him aftir. Thou also promisest me to calle me agayn in haste fro myn exile, and that ther sholde nevir be othir archebisshoppe of Caunterbury but I, whilez I livid; and now thou hast maad anothis archebisshop, and also procurid my dethe. Thou hast not rewlid thi reme and thi peple, but hast spoiled thaym be fals raisyngis of taxe; and talage; not to the profit of the reme, but forto fulfille and satisfie thi cursid couetise and pride. Thou hast alwey be rewlid be fals flaterers, folowyng thair counsel and thaym avaunsyng befor alle othir trew men, refusyng the counsel of thi trew lordis; and because thay wolde haue withstonde thi cursid malice as reson wolde, thow hast thaym slayne unrightfulli, and disheritid thair heiris for evirmore, aftyr thyn ordenaunce; and statutis; but thay shalle not longe stonde, be Goddis grace. Thou hast also livid incontinentli and lecherousli, and with thi foule and cursid ensample thou hast

Folio 153.

* See "Chronique de la traison," p. 207.

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A.D. 1399.

meny notable and grete defautis that king Richard hadde do ayens his oth, and the lawez of the reme, and how he hadde exilid and slayn his lordis that were pieris of the reme, and meny othirt hyngis: wherfore he was deposid, and, in the name of alle men of Englonde, proctours there assigned yeld up to hym thair homage; and maister Thomas Arundelle, be comune assent of alle that were there, dampned the said king Richard to perpetuelle prisoun.

Folio 154.

Thanne aros the said duke of Lancastre and of Hereforde, and blisid him, and redde in a bille how he descendid and cam doun lynealli of kyng Harri the sone of king Johan, and was the nexte heir male of his blod, and for that cause he chalanged the croune; and alle the lordis and comune assentid therto.

Thanne arooz the Archebischoppis of Cauntirbury and of York and kiste his handis, and ladde him to the kynggis sete that was for him rialli araid; and the Archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, Arundelle, made there a colacion, and his theme was this: "Vir fortis dominabitur populo:" that is to say, A strong man shalle be lord ovir the peple. And aftir the colacioun, the Chaunceller of Englonde theliverid the seel unto the kyng Harri, and othir officers delyuerid vp also vnto him thair selis and officez, and the kyng forthwith put thaym yn agayn. And thanne tharchebisshoppe Arundelle notified vnto the peple, that the king wolde be crownd at Westmynstre on saint Edwardis day, commaundyng alle menn to be atte parlement on the Monday next comyng, &c.

HENRY IV.

*Of kyng Harri of Bolyngbroke, duke of Lancastre and of Hereforde
and erl of Derby; that was the iiiij^{the} Harri aftir the Conquest.* Cam. cxlvj.
Folio 154 b.

Whanne kyng Richard was deposid and putt out of his kyng-
doum, the lordez and the comunez chosen ser Harri of Bolyng-
broke, duke of Lancastre and of Hereforde and erlle of Derby,
sone and heir to Johan of Gaunt duke of Lancastre, to be kyng of
Engelonde; and he was crouned at Westmynstre on saint Edwardes
day, of maister Thomas Arundelle, archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury,
and was anoynted with the oyl of the egle before rehersed: and he
was the firste that was anoynted therwith, as it was said. [Monday, Oct.
13th.]

Thanne continued he the parlement that king Richarde badde be-
gonne, and therynne adnullid and hadde for noughte alle the orde-
nauncez and statutis that there were maad be king Richarde; and
restorid the erlis sone of Arundelle to his landis, and made him
erlle off Arundelle; and delyuerid the erlle of Warwic and the lord
Cobham and othir out of prisoun; and brende openli at Londoun
alle the blanc chartris that kyng Richard and his counselle hadde
compellid men to sele; and disgradid alle the dukis that kyng
Richarde hadde maad in his laste parlement, and restored ayenne
maister Thomas Arundelle to his Archebisshopperiche of Cauntir-
bury; and made ser Roger Waldenne, whom kyng Richard badde
maad Archebisshoppe, bisshop of Londoun, that tyme beyng void;
and made the said ser Roger forto restore alle that he hadde take
of tharchebisshoppriche of Cauntirbury vuto Arundelle: ffor the pope
Boniface dampned and adnullid the iugement that king Richard
Folio 155.

A.D. 1399-
1400.

badde yeue ayens the said Arundel be a bulle, and declarid be the same that the chirche of Cauntirbury was not void.

This kyng Harri made Harri his eldest sone and heir Prince of Walis, duke of Cornewaille, and erl of Chestre.

Anno primo.

And this same yeer king Harri held his Cristemasse at Wyndesore, and on xijth evyn cam thider vnto him the duke of Aumarle, and tolde him how that he, and the duke of Surrey, the duke of Excestre, the erlle of Salisbury, the erl of Gloucestre, and othir mo of thair assent, were acordid to make a mommyng to the kyng on xijth day at nyghte, and in that mommyng they purposid to sle him. The kyng was also warned therof in anothir maner. The Archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, Arundelle, aftir new yeris day, remeued fro Cauntirbury toward Wyndesore forto haue be withe the kyng on xij. day. And in the mene tyme a man of the kyngis hous lay alle nyghte with a comyne wommanne in Londoun, and in the morou she saide to him, "Farwelle frende," saide she, "for I shalle nevir se the more." "Whi so?" saide he. "Forsoth," saide she, "for the erlle of Huntynghoun, the erl of Salesbury, the duke of Surrey, and meny othir, lyen in waite aboute Kyngestoun, forto sle the kyng and the Archebisshoppe as thay come fro Wyndesore, purposing to restore king Richard ayenne to his kyngdoun." "How knowest thou this?" saide he. "Forsoth," saide she, "on of thair men lay with me the lattir nyght, and told me this." And he anon in haste rood to the kyng, and tolde him as the wommanne hadde said; and the kyng warned tharchebisshoppe herof be a messenger, and he retourned ayen in to the castelle of Reigate.

Folio 155 b.

Whanne the kyng was thus warned of this tresoun, he rood in haste the same xij. nyght to Londoun, to gete him strengthe.

And on of tharchebisshoppis men rood bi Kyngestoun, and the erl of Kent loked out at a wyndow and saw him, and commaundid to brynge him befor him; and axed of him and saide: "Where is thi maister?" and he said, "In the castelle of Reygate." "And where is the kyng?" saide the erlle; and he saide, "At Londoun." "Yf I had met with thi maister," saide the erl, "I wolde hauee shave

his croune; ” and commaundid to spoile the said man of his hors and of his money. A.D. 1400.

But as sone as the said lordez wiste that thair counselle was discoverid and wraid, thay fledde euery man his way, and the duke of Surrey and the erl of Salisbury with thair mayne fledde vnto the toun of Circestre, and saide be the way that kyng Richard rood there, and cam late in the euenyng to thair ynnez. The comunez of the toun wolde haue arestid thaym, and thay made gret defens, but atte laste thay were discomfitid and take be the said comunez, and thay smoot of the lordis heddis; and [they] were set on London brigge, and thair quartris were sent to dyuers tounez of Englund: and meny of thair men were there ytake, and put in to prisoun, because some of thayme put brondis of fire in to the rovis of diuers mennez housez, wherfore aftirward meny of thaym were drawe and hanged. Folio 156.

At Oxenforde were take ser John Blount and ser Benet Sely, knyztis, and Thomas Wyntereshille squyer, and were beheddid and quartrid.

And the same yeer at Pritwelle in Essex, in a mille, ser John Holond duke of Excestre was take be the comunez of the cuntre, and vnto Plasshe where as king Richard arestid ser Thomas of Wodestoke, duke of Gloucestre; and there thay smoot of his hed, and yt was set on London brigge.

The same yeer at Bristowe was take the lord Spenser that was erlle of Gloucestre, and the comunez of the toun smot of his hed in the market place, and it was set on London brigge.

Whanne kyng Richard herde alle this, he was utterli in despeire, and confessid that this was do be his counsel, and for sorou and hunger he deide in the castle of Pountfret. Rex Ricardus moritur.

And whanne that king Harri wiste verili that he was ded, he leet close and sere him in lynne clothe alle saue the visage, and that was left openne that men myghte se and knowe his persone from alle othir, and so he was broughte to Londoun to Poulis, and there he had his Dirige and masse; and the same wise at Westmynstre, and thanne he was buried at Langley. Folio 156 b.

A.D. 1400.

And aftirward this same yeer ser Bernard Brokas, ser Johan Shelleye, knyghtis, and ser Johan Maudeleyn, a parson of king Richardis chapelle, were beheddid, and thair heddis set on Londoun brigge: and meny othir were acused of tresoun, and broughte befor the justicez, of whom none ascapid, saue onli ser Roger Waldenne.

And this same yeer, queene Ysabelle the secunde wiff of kyng Richard was put fro her dower and sente in to ffraunce with meny grete yiftis, and anon as she was come in to ffraunce, the Frenshemenne breek the trewez maad betuene king Richard and thaym.

Anno ij^o.

A.D. 1400-1.

The secunde yeer of his regne, he wente in to Scotland, but the Scottis wolde not mete with him; and there the erl of Dunbar becam his manne, and the kyng yaf him the Counte of Richemunde.

Folio 157.

This same yeer was holden a parlement at Westmynstre, and thider cam Oweyn off Glendore, a Walshman, that was sumtyme a squier of the erlis of Arundel; complaynyng how that the lord Gray Ruthynne hadde take from him wrongfulli a part of his land; but he myzte haue no remedy. And the Bisshoppe of Saint Assaphe of Walis counselid the lordis of the parlement that thay sholde not mystrete the said Oweyne, lest he made the Walshmen arise; and thay ansuerde and saide thay set nouzt be him.

This same yeer cam the emperour of Constantinople in to Englonde, to axe helpe and socour of the kyng ayens the Turkis, and broughte with him a pardon fro the Pope, be the whiche he gadrid moche money, and was longe in this lond on the kyngis cost, and thanne the kyng yaf him *iiij m^l. li.*; and so he wente hoom ayen.

Insurreccio
Walliæ.

This same yeer the Walshmenne began to rebelle ayens king Harri, and also a greet debaat began betuene the lord Gray Ruthyn and the forsaid Oweyne of Glendore: and the Walshmen destroide the kingez tounez and lordshippis in Walis, and robbid and slow the kyngis peple bothe English and Walshe; and this enduris xij. yeer.

And the king wente in to Walis with a gret power, but he myzte not take Oweyn that was chief capteyn of the Walshmenne, ne spede that he cam for; and retourned hoom ayenne. And the lord Gray

undertook forto kepe the cuntre, and sone aftir the said Oweyne took the said lord Gray prisoner; and he was raunsond for prisoners of the Marche. And atte laste Oweyn made the said lord Gray wedde on of his doughtris, and kepte him there with his wiff, and sone aftir he deide. A.D. 1401.
Folio 157 b.

This same yeer was so gret derthe of corn, and so gret scarcite, that a quarter of whete was sold for xvj. s.

And this same yeer ser Roger of Claryngdoun knyzt, the Priour of Launde, and viij. frere menours, wherof some were maistris of diuinite, and other to the noumbre of xij. personez, were drawe and hanged for treson at Tybourne.

Also a womman acusid a grey frere of Cambrigge, an old man, of certayn wordes that he sholde haue said ayens the kyng, and his iugement was that he sholde fizte with the womman, and his on hand bounde behynde him: but the Archebisshop of Cauntirbury was the freris frend and cesid the mater.

The iij. yeer of kyng Harri, anon aftir Cristemasse, was seen and apperid a sterre in the west, whooz flamez ascendid upward, that was callid “the blasyng sterre,” and be clerckis it was callid, “stella comata.” A.D. 1401-2.
Anno iij^o.
Stella comata.

And aboute this tyme the peple of this land began to grucche ayens kyng Harri, and beer him hevy, because he took thair good and paide not therfore; and desirid to haue ayeen king Richarde. Also lettri; cam to certayn frendis of kyng Richard, as thay badde be sent from hymself, and saide that he was alive; wherof moche peple was glad and desirid to haue him kynge ayeen. Folio 158.

And a frere menour of the couent of Aylesbury cam to the kyng, and acusid a frere of the same hous, a prest, and saide that he was glad of kyng Richarde; lif; and he was brouzt to the king, and he saide to him:—“Thou hast herd that king Richard is alive, and art glad therof.” The frere ansuerde and saide, “I am glad as a man is glad of the liff of his frende, for I am holden to him, and alle my kyn, for he was our furtherar and promoter.” The king saide,

A.D. 1402.

“Thou hast noised and told openli that he livithe, and so thou hast excitid and stirid the peple ayens me.” The frere saide, “Nay.” Than saide the king to him, “Telle me trouthe as it is in thi herte; —yf thou sawest king Richard and me in the feld fighting togedir, with whom woldest thou holde?” “Forsoth,” saide the frere, “with him, for I am more beholde to him.” Thanne saide the king, “thou woldest that I and alle the lordis of my reme were ded?” The frere saide, “Nay.” “What woldest thou do with me,” saide the king, “yf thou haddist the victory ouyr me?” The frere saide, “I wolde make you duke of Lancastre.” “Thou art not my frend,” saide the kyng, “and therfor thou shalt lese thin hed.” And thanne he was dampned befor the justice, and drawe and hanged and beheddid.

Folio 158 b.

Aftir this cam anothis frere menour to the kyng, that owde no good wille to a brothir of his, axyng mercy and grace, and saide that v^c men of seculers and religious were acorded to mete togedir vpon the playn of Oxenforde on Midsomer eve, and go fro thennes to seche king Richard, “and Y and x. of my feloweꝝ of the couent of Leycestre araide vs for to go with thaym: and ther is in that couent a maister of diuinite, an old manne, that spekith eville of you, and saith that king Richard shalle fizte ayens you, and so it is prophecied, as he saith.” The viij freris and the maister of diuinite were brought bounde vnto Londoun, and the othis ij. that were acusid myzt not be founde.

And the forsaid frere acusid meny othis freris of diuers countis, but thay fledde away.

The king callid the archebisshop and othis lordis, and the freris were brouzt befor thaym; and some of thaym were yong, and some olde and sympilly lettrid: and thair acuser stood by and stedfastly acusid thayme, and thay ansuerde vnwarly. Thanne saide the king to the maister, “Thise bith lewde men, and not vnderstondyng; thou sholdist be a wise man, saist thou that king Richard livith?” The maister ansuerde, “I say not that he

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HOLY BIBLE

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A.D. 1402.

wey of penaunce, to seche king Richard in Walis—Also, ye with your fals flateriſng and ypocriſie, haue gadrid a gret summe of money with begging, and ſent it to Oweyne of Glendore, a traitour, that he ſholde come and deſtroy Englonde—Also, ye haue ſent in to Scotland for v^c. men to be redy upon the playn of Oxenford on midsomer eve to ſeche kyng Richard. How wille ye excuse you? I counſel you to put you in the kyngis grace.” The freris anſuerde, “We put vs vpon the cuntre.”

And neither men of London ne of Holborne wolde dampne thaym; and thanne thay hadde an enqueſt of Yſeldon, and thay ſaide “Gilti.”

Thanne the juſtice yaf jugement and ſaide, “Ye ſhul be drawe fro the tour of Londoun vnto Tiburne, and there ye ſhalle be hanged, and hange an hool day, and aftirward be take doun, and your heddis ſmyte of and ſet on London brigge.” And ſo it was don.

Folio 160.

And the maister at Tiburne made a deuout ſermon with this theme, “In manus Tuas Domine;” and ſwoor be his ſoule that he treſpaſt not ayens king Harri, and forgaf thaym that were cauſe of his deth.

And another frere whanne he ſholde die ſaide, “Yt was not our entent, as our enemiez ſay, to ſle the king and his ſonez, but forto make him duke of Lancaſtre, as he ſholde be.”

On the morou aboute evesong tyme, on cam to the wardeyn of the freris, and ſaide he myzte fette away the bodiez and burye thaym; and whanne thay came thay founden thaym caſte in to dicbis and heggis, and the heddis ſmyten of, and thay baar thaym hoom to thair couent with gret lamentacioun.

And aftirward, men of thenqueſt that dampned thayme, cam to the freris praying thayme of foryifneſſe, and ſaide, “but yf thay hadde ſaid that the freris were gilti thay ſholde haue be ſlayne.”

And this ſame yeer, Oweyn of Glendore took ſer Edmund Mortymer in Walis, and becauſe he myzte not paie his raunſon he wolde nevir be vnder kyng Harri, but wedded on of Oweynez douztris.

In the birthe of this Edmund fille meny wonder tokenez; for out

of the floor of his fader stable cam out blood, and wellid vp so hie that it couerid the hors feet; and alle the shethis of swerdis and of the daggaris in the hous were ful of blood, and all the axes with reed of blood; And whanne the said Edmund lay in his cradille he myzt not slepe, ne cece of cryynge, til he saw a swerd: and whanne he sat in his norsis lappe he wolde not be stille til he hadde sum instrument of warre to pleie with.

A.D. 1402.

Nota mirabilia portenta.

Folio 160 b.

And this same yeer was the bataille of Shrewesbury on Mari Maudeleyn eve, betuene king Harri and ser Henri Percy, the erlis sone of Northumbirlond: of the whiche bataille the cause and occasion was this.

[Anno iiiij^{to}]

A.D. 1403.

[July 21st]

The erl of Northumbirlond praide the kyng to paie him his moneie due vuto him for keping of the marchis of Scotland, and saide, "My sone and I haue spendid our good in keping of the said marchis." The king ansuerde, "I haue no moneie, ne non thou shalt haue." The erle saide, "Whanne ye cam in to this land ye made promys forto be rewlid be our counsel, and ye take yeerli moche good of the reme and paie nouzt, and so ye wrathe your comune: good [God?] sende you good counsel."

Nota causam belli Salopiae

Thanne cam the erlis sone ser Harri Percy, that hadde weddid the forsaid Edmundes sustir that was prisoner in Walis, prayyng the kyng that he wolde suffre that the said Edmundes raunsoun myzte be paid of his owene. The kyng saide, that with the money of his reme he would not fortifie his cnemicz ayens himme. Ser Henri Perci saide, "Shalle a man spende his good, and put him self in perille for you and your reme, and ye wil not helpe him in his nede?" The king was wroth and saide to him, "Thou art a traitour! wilt thou that I sholde socoure myn enemiez, and enemiez of the reme?" Sir Henri Percy saide, "Traitor am I none, but a trew man, and as a trew man I speke." The king drow to him his daggar: and ser Henri Perci saide to the kyng, "Not here, but in the feld." And so he wente his way.

Nota ista verba inter Regem et Henr. Percy.

Folio 161.

And he and his vucle ser Thomas Percy, whom king Richard

A.D. 1403.

badde maad erlle of Worcestre, gadrid a greet ost in the north-cuntre, and saide thay moste fizte ayens the Scottis; and wente in to Chestreshire, and took with thaym meny Chesshire men, and sente to Oweyn of Glendore forto come and help him, but Oweyne was aferd of treson and cam not; but meny of the Walshmen cam to thaym: and so they cam to Lichfeld. And the said ser Henri Percy and alle his men wered and were araid in the liverey of the bertis, the whiche was king Richardis liverey.

And there the said ser Henri leet crie openli, and saide that he was on of the chief causers that king Richard was deposid, and most helper to brynge yn kyng Harri, wenyng that he wolde have amendid the rewle of the reame; and now kyng Harri rewlith and gouerned worse the land than dede king Richard; wherfor, he saide, he wolde amende it yf he myzte.

The kyng also gadrid anothis ost and mette with him beside Shrowesbury, and axed of him the cause of his comyng; to whom Percy ansuerde and saide:—"We brouzte the yn ayens king Richard, and now thou rewlist worse than dede he. Thou spoilist yeerly the reme with taxes and talagez, thou paest no man, thou holdist no hous, thou art not heir of the reme; and therefore, as I haue hurt the reme be bryngyng yn of the, I wille helpe to refourme it." The king ansuerde and saide, "I take talagez for nedis of the reme, and I am chosen kyng be comune assent of the reme, wherfor I counsel the to put the in my grace." Percy ansuerde and saide, "I trust not thi grace." "Now I pray God," saide the kyng, "thāt thou most ansuer for alle the blood that here shalle be shed this day and not I." And thanne saide the kyng, "Avant baner."

Folio 161 b.

Bellum Salopie.

Thenne was there a strong and an hard bataille, and meny were slayn on bothe sidez: and whanne ser Henri Percy saw his men faste slayn he pressid in to the bataille with xxx men, and made a lane in the myddille of the ost til he cam to the kyngis baner, and there he slow the erl of Stafforde and ser Thomas Blount and othis; and atte laste he was beset aboute and slayne, and anon his ost was dis-

parblid and fledde. And ser Henri Percieꝛ hed was smyte of and set vp at York, lest his men wolde haue saide that he badde be alive. And ser Thomas Percy his vucle was take and beheddid at Shrowesbury, and his hed set on London brigge. A.D. 1403.

And in this bataille the prince, kyng Harrieꝛ sone, was hurt in the face with an arow.

And this bataille was do in the yeer of our Lord M^l. cccc. ij.* Folio 162.

After this bataille was ydo, the knyghtis and squiers of the north cuntre that had be with ser Henri Percy, wente hoom ayen in to Northumbirlond, and kepte thaymsel in strong holdis and castellis and wolde not truste in the kyngis grace.

And aftirward the king sente for the erlle of Northumbirlond that was ser Henri Percieꝛ fader; and he saide yf the kyng wolde swere that he sholde come and go saaf til he badde excusid him in the Parlement, he wolde gladli come; and so he cam to the parlement, and excusid him that he was not guilty of the bataille of Shrewesbury, and swoor ypon the cros of Cauntirbury befor the parlement, that he sholde evir be trew to king Harri.

To this parlement cam lettris as they badde be sent from king Richard, semyng so eudent and so trewe, that the king and all the parlement were therof astoned, and hadde gret marvaille; and callid him that was his keper, and axid of hym how he wolde ansuer to tho lettris; and he ansuerde and saide he wolde fizte with eny man that wolde say that he was alive. 7

The iiij yeer of king Harri, cam dame Jobane the duchesse of Britayne into England and landed at Falemouth in Cornewail, and was weddid to king Harri in the abbey of saint Swithuneꝛ of Wynchestre; and some aftir she was crouned at Westmynstre. Anno iiij^{to}
[February 7th]
[February
26th]

And this same yeer, dame Blaunche kyng Harrieꝛ elder douȝtir was sent vuto Coloyne with the erl of Somerset hir vncle, and maister Richard Clifford thanne bisshop of Londoun, and othir notable Folio 162 b.

* The battle of Shrewesbury was fought in 1403, on Saturday, St. Mary Magd. eve (Hardyng. Ed. Ellis, p. 361), July 21st. See note.

A.D. 1403. personeȝ, and thenne she was weddid to the dukeȝ sone of Beyre ; and aftir the solennite of the mariage our lordis cam in to Englonde agayne.

Anno v^o.
A.D. 1404.
[April.] The v yeer of king Harri, the lord Thomas, his sone, wente to the se, and the erlle of Kent with him, and thay brende certain touneȝ in the yle of Cagent, and took ij grete carrakeȝ of Jene ladenne with diuers marchaundise, because thay wold not strike their saileȝ in the kyngiȝ name of Englonde, and brouȝte thaym in to the Camer beside Wynchilse, and there the godis were canted ; and on of the carrakeȝ was sodenli brent ; and so the lordis wente no ferthir at that tyme.

And this same yeer, Johan Serle, sumtyme yoman of kyng Richardeȝ robes, that was on of the principalle slears of the duke of Gloucestre, cam out of Scotland in to Englonde, and saide to diuers personeȝ that king Richard was alive in Scotlande ; wherfore he brouȝte moche peple in gret errour and grucchyng ayens king Harri, for the peple wende feithfulli it badde be so. But atte laste he was take in the north cuntre, and was drawe thoroughe eueri cite and burghe toun in Englonde, and thanne he was brought to Londoun, and there at Guyldehalle he was iuged to be drawe fro the tour of Londoun thorouȝ Londoun vnto Tiburne ; and there he was hanged and beheddid and quartrid, and his hed set on London brigge, and his quarters were sent to the iiij gode tovneȝ of Englonde.

Folio 163.

October 20th.*

This Serle confessid that whanne king Richard was take in Walis, he staalle his signet and fledde in to Scotland, and therwith he selid meny lettris, and sente thaym to such men as were kyng Richardeȝ frendis, and saide he was alive ; and so he was cause of meny menneȝ dethe : and he saide also that there was a man in Scotland moche lik to king Richard, but it was not he.

Anno vj^o
A.D. 1405.
[January.] The vj yeer of king Harri, the erl of Marre of Scotland vnder saaf conduct cam in to Englonde, forto chalange ser Edmund the erlle of Kent of certain cours of warre on horsbak, and his chalange

* Fabyan. If this is a correct date, the circumstance belongs to the 6th Henry IV.

was acceptid and grauntid, and the place take in Smythfeld; and there they riden togedir with sharp speris dyuers cours, but the erl of Kent badde the feld with moche worshippe. A.D. 1405.

And this same year, maister Richard Scroop archebishoppe of York, and the lord Mowbray that was erl marchalle of Englund, and a knyght callid ser William Plymptoun, gadrid a strong power in the north contre ayens the king; and the kyng sente thider his power and took thayme, and thay were beheddid at York: and sone aftirward Almy³ty God shewde for the said archebisshoppe Insurreccio Ricardi Scroope Archiepiscopi Ebor. [May.]
 ! meny grete miracle³. Folio 163 b.

And the cause of the said risyng was this:—The erlis sone of Notyngham and his heir the lord Moubray compleyned to the archebisshoppe of York, and saide that his auncestris were evir wont of righte to be marchallis of Englund, and be that thay held thair lond; and notwithstanding that, the king hadde yeue the said lond with the office to the erl of Westmerlond. Tharchebisshoppe comynd of this with wise men of counsel, and aftirward he made a sermon in the chirche of York, and exhortid and stirid the peple to be assistent and helpyng to to the correccioun and amendement of the myschiefs and mys³gouernaunce³ of the reme, hauyng in cousideracioun the grete pouerte of the marchauntis in whom was wont to be the substaunce of the riche³ of alle the land: and also the grete reisynges of taxe³, tallages and custume³ vnder colour of borowyng: and also, that due paiement be maad for the kinge³ vitaille³: and that the clergie and the comune peple were not vexid ne charged with importable chargis of taxis and talagis as thay badde longe tyme be: and that the heiris of noble men and of lordis of the lond my³te be restorid to their enheritaunce hoolli, euery man aftir his degre and birthe: and also that suche covetous men as were of the kyngis counsel, that took away and turned to thair owen vse suche godis as were ordeyned to the comune help of the lond, and 'make Folio 164.
 thaym self riche withalle, be remeued and put away fro the king.

Thise articles and meney othir the archebisshoppe made be writen

A.D. 1405:

in English, and were set on the yatis of the cite, and sent to curatis of the tovnez aboute, forto be prechid openli.

And the said archebishoppe and the lord Mowbray gadrid a greet ost, and wente toward the erlle of Westmerland; and the erlle cam agayns thaym with anothir ost sent fro the kyng to take thaym; and whanne they were nyghe togedir, the erl praide tharchebishoppe and the lord Mowbray, that thay myzte speke togedir and trete of pee3; and thay wente to the erlle, and the erl hadde there botellis with wyne, and made thaym drynke; and while3 the said erlle fayned himself to trete, a knyzt of his rood to the archbisshoppis ost, and saide that the lordis were acordid, and in token thereof they drank togedir, “and therefore tharchebishoppe comaundeth every man forto go hoom agayne, for he shall this nyzt sowpe with the erlle.”

The archbisshoppis men were aferd, for ther was a litille hill betuene tharchebisshop and thaym, so that thay myzte nowthir se him ne the erl; nothelez, thay wende it hadde be trewe that the knyzt saide, and wente tharr way and were disparblid; and the knyzt retourned agayn to his companie: and anon the erl and he, with thair ost, fille vpon tharchebisshoppe and lord Mowbray, and took thaym, and ladde thaym to the kyng to Pountfret.

Aftir this the king cam to York, and the citizeynes of the cite cam out barefoot and ungirt, with haltris aboute thair neckis, and fil doun before the kyng axyng mercy and grace, because they aroo3 with tharchebisshoppe.

The archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, Arundelle, heryng alle this, cam in haste to the kyng and to him saide, “Sire, I am your gostly fader and the secunde persone of the reme, and ye sholde accept no manne3 counsel souner than myn, yf it be good: I counsel you that if tharchebisshoppe of Yorke haue trespast so moche ayens you as it is said, reserue him to the popis iugement, and he will so ordeyne that ye shal be plesid; and if ye wille not so, I counsel let him be reserued to the iugement of the parlement, and kepe your handis vndefoulid from his blood.” The king saide, “I may

Archiepiscopus
capitur.

Folio 164 b.

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A.D. 1405. filij mei an non, scio quia fera pessima devoravit filium meum :”—
and sô be prive menez of money the mater was cesid.

Anno vij.
A.D. 1406.
Folio 165 b.
[January 24th] The vij yeer of king Harri, dame Luce the dukis sustir of Melane,
cam in to Englonde and was weddid to ser Edmund erl of Kent, in
the priorie of saint Mariez in Suthwerc.

Ricardus Knollis moritur.
[August.] And this same yeer deide that worthi knyzt ser Robert Knollis,
and is buried atte White Freris in Fletstrete in Londoun.

Thomas Rempston submergitur.
[May] And this yeer sér Thomas Rempstoun, knyghte, lieutenaunt of the
tour of Londoun, was dround in the Thamise at Londoun brigge as he
cam fro Westmynstre.

And this same yeer, dame Philippe the yonger douztir of king
Harri was lad into Denmarc be ser Richard the dukes brothir of
York and maister Edmund Courteneye bisshope of Norwich, and
othir worthi men; aud there she was weddid to the king of Den-
marc in a tovne callid Londoun; and aftir that our lordis cam hoom
agayne.

Anno viij.
A.D. 1406.
[November.] The viij yeer of king Harri ther was a manne callid the Walssh
clerc, and he appelid a knyghte of treson that was callid ser Perci-
valle Sowdan, and thay faughte togedir in Smythfeld, and the
knyghte ouercam the clerke and made him yelde him guilty: and
thanne he was spoilid of his armure and hanggid at Tiburne.

[Anno ix.]
A. D. 1408. And this same yeer, ser Henri erlle of Northumbirlond, and the
lord Bardolf, that fledde in to Scotland for drede of king Harri,
cam agayn in to Englonde forto have destroid king Harri; and the
Shireve of Yorkshire reised peple and took thayme and smoot of
thair heddis; and the hed of the erlle and a quarter of the lord were
set on London briggee.

Folio 166.
Anno ix^o. [x.]
A.D. 1408-9. The ix yeer of king Harri, ser Edmund Holond, erl of Kent, was
maad Admiral of the se: and as he laide sege to the castell of
Briac, in Britaigne, he was smyte in to the hed with a quarel, and
so he deide.

And this same yeer, was a gret frost in Englonde that endurid xv
wekez.

And this same yeer, maister Robert Halome bisshop of Salisbury, and othir, were sent to the general counsel to Constaunce.*

A.D. 1409.

Consilium Con-
stanciense [Pi-
sanum] ordina-
tum est.

The x yeer of king Harry, the erl of Dunbar that was swore English, and whom king Harri hadde maad erl of Richemund, as befor is said, fledde ayen in to Scotland; and saide that he fayned himself an Englishmanne, forto help slee and destroie the erl of Northumbirlond and othir that were enemiez vnto Scotland.

Anno x^o.
A. D. 1409.

And this yeer was seen blood boile out of wellis in diuers partiez of Englund; and anon aftir, meny men deide on the bloody mensoun &c.

Sanguis emana-
vit de fontibus,
etc.

And this same yeer the Seneschalle of Henaude, with othir worthi menne, cam in to Englund to gete worshippe in dedis of armes; and he chalanged the erl of Somerset, and he delyuerid him manfulli in alle his chalangez, and put him to the worse, and hadde the feld in alle poyntis. The secunde day, cam in to the feld a man of the Seneschallis part, and ayens him cam ser Richard of Arundelle, knyzt; and the Henauder hadde the bettir of him in on poynt, for he brouzte him on his kne. The iij day, cam yn anothir Henauder, and ayens him cam ser Johan Cornewaille, knyghte, and manli quyt him, and hadde the bettir of his aduersariez in alle poyntes. The iiij day, cam yn anothir Henauder, and ayens him cam ser Johan Cheynez sone, and cast the Henauder in the feld, hors and manne; wherfore the king made him knyzt. The v day, cam yn anothir Henauder, and to him cam John Stiward, squier, and hadde the bettir. The vj day, cam ynne anothir Henauder, and to him cam William Porter, squier, and hadde the bettir in the feld, and the king made him knyghte. The vij day, cam ynne anothir Henauder, and to him came Johan Standishe, squier, and hadde the bettir in the feld, wherfore the king made him knyghte. And that same day cam yn anothir Henauder, and to him cam a squier of Gascoigne, and hadde the bettir, and the king made him knyghte. The viij day, cam in ij men of armez of Henaude, and to thaym cam ij

Folio 166 b.

* To the Council of Pisa, not Constance, held in 1409—see note.

A.D. 1409. souldiers of Caleis that were bretherynne ycallid the Burghes, and quynt thaym wel and manli in the feld, and hadde the bettir, and thus endid the chalange; in Smythfeld, with moche worshippe.

Anno xj^o.
A.D. 1409-10. Folio 167. The xj yeer of kyng Harri, was a bataille do in Smythfeld betuene ij squiers, that on me [men] callid Gloucestre, that was appellaunt, and Artur, that was defendaunt; and they faught manli togedir longe tyme, and for thair manhood the king took thair quarel in to his handis, and made thaym go out of the feld both at onys, and yaf thaym grace.

Anno xij^o.
A. D. 1410-1.
[December 9th.] The xij yeer of kyng Harri, a squier of Walis called Ris ap Die, that was supporter of Oweyn of Glendore, that dede moche destruc-
cioun to the kingis peple in Walis, was take and brought to Londoun, and drawe and hanged and quartrid.

And this same yeer, anon aftir Michelmasse, the Thamise at Londoun flowed and ebbid iij tyme; in a day naturelle; and ther were take therynne meny grete and straunge fische; of dyuers naturis, that betokened fallyng of newe thyngis.

Anno xiiij.
A. D. 1411-2. [Nov. 23, 1407.] And this same yeer, the duke of Orliaunce assemblid vnto him the duke of Barry, the duke of Burbon, the duke of Britaigne, the erl of Armynak, and othir grete men of south Fraunce; and with a gret power pursude the duke of Burgoyne, to be vengid on him for his fader dethe whom he slow traitourly in Paris.

Folio 167 b.
[November, A.D. 1411.] And the duke of Burgoyne with assistence and help of the king of Fraunce and of his sone, gadrid a gret ost of Fraunce, of Flaundris, of Almayne, of Scotland, and sente ambassiatouris to the Prince, king Harrie; sone, for help and socour of men of arme; and archiers, ayens the duke off Orliaunce. And the prince sente vnto himme the erlle of Arundelle, ser Gilbert Vmfrevile erlle of Kyme, ser Johan Oldcastelle lord Cobhame, and meny othir; and thay mette with the duke of Orliaunce at Senclowe beside Paris; and there our men him discomfited, and slow meny of his menne, and the duke fledde; and thus our men hadde the victory, and cam hoom agayn with grete yiftis.

And anon folowyng, the duke of Orliance sente ambassiatours A. D. 1412.
to king Harri, beseching him of helpe and socour ayens his dedly [May.]
enemy the duke of Burgoyne; and thanne the king made Thomas,
his sone, duke of Clarence; and his other sone John, duke of
Bedforde; and ser Thomas Beaufort he made erl of Dorset;
and the duke of Awmarle he made duke of York; and sente
his sone Thomas, and the said erl of Dorset, and ser Johan
Cornewaille, and meny othir notable men, in to Fraunce; and they
landed at Hoggis in Normandie. And there mette with thayme at thair
landyng, the lorde Hambe, with vij M^l. men of armez of Frensshe-
menne, and all were put to flizt, and vij C of thaym were take, and
iiij C hors, withoute tho that were slayne in the feld; and so our
lordis riden forth to Burdeux thorou3 Fraunce, for the lordis were
acordid er thay cam, and token meny prisoners be the weye; and
aftirward thay cam in to Englond agayn with the vyntage.

Sir John Bew-
ford.*

This same yeer, deide ser Johan Beaufort before said erl of Dorset,
and capteyn of Caleys, and ys buried in the Abbeye of the tour hille.

Folio 168.

And this same yeer, pope Johan the xxiiij sent a frere menour in
to this land, the generale of the ordre, desiryng of the king, that
he sholde sende his sone Thomas vuto Rome, forto be the popis Cap-
teyne and reowler of his ost, ayens the king of Naplis and the Antipope
Gregore. And the same tyme the pope dispensid with the said
lord Thomas duke of Clarence, forto wedde the countesse of
Somerset, his vnclez wiff.

Nota hic erat
scisma.

The xiiij of his regne he leet make galeyez of warre purposing
forto haue gone to Jerusalem, and there have endid his lif.

Anno xiiij^o.
A.D. 1412-3.

And this same yeer it was acorded betuene the Prince, king
Harriez sone, and Harri bisshoppe of Wynchestre, and many othir
lordis of this lond, that certayn of thaym sholde speke to the king,
and entrete him to resigne the croune to the said Prince Harri, his
sone, because he was so gretli vexid and smyte with the seéknesse
of lepre; but he wolde in no wise.

* Marginal note in the hand-writing of Stowe.

A.D. 1413.

Rex Henricus
moritur.
[Monday,
March 20th.]
A.D. 1413.

And sone aftir he deide in the Abbeie of Westmynstre in a chambir callid Jerusaleme, aboute the feste of saint Cutbert, whanne he badde regned xiiij yeer and a half; and is yburied in Crichirche of Cauntirbury.

*Of Kyng Harri the V, the sone of Kyng Harri the iiij aftir the
Conquest.*

Cam. cxlvij.
Folio 169.

AFTIR the deth of king Harri the iiij^{the}, regned his sone king Harri the V, that was ybore at Monemouth in Walis, and crouned at Westmynstre on Passion Sunday.

A. D. 1413.
[Reign began
March 21st.]
[April 9th].

And anon, the firste yeer of his regne, for the grete and tendre loue that he hadde to king Richard, he translatid his body fro Langley vuto Westmynstre, and buried him beside quene Anne his firste wiff, as his desire was.

Anno primo.

And this same yeer were ytake certayn Lollardes and hereticks, that hadde purposid thorough their fals tresoun to haue slayn the kyng and the lordis spirituel and temporel, and destroid al the clergie of the reme: but the king, as God wolde, was warned of their fals purpos and ordenaunce, and took the feld that is callid Fikettis feld, and with him maister Thomas Arundel Archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, and leet keep the weie3 aboute Londoun. And meny of thaym were take, and drawe and hanged and brent on the galowe3 in saint Gile3 feld. And a knyzt callid ser Roger of Acton was take for Lollardrie and for treson, and drawe and hanged and brent in saint Gile3 feld.

Insurreccio Lollardorum.
[January,
A. D. 1414.]

[February
10th.]

The secunde yeer of regne, he held a parlement at Westmynstre, of alle the lordis of the reme, where it was tretid and spoke of his title that he badde to Normandie, Gascoigne, and Guyenné, that were his enheritaunce; the whiche the king of Fraunce withheld wrongfulli and vnrightfulli. And so be avise of his counsel, he

Anno ij^o.
A. D. 1414.
Folio 169 b.

A.D. 1414.

In isto parliamento, Rex fecit Johannem, fratrem suum, ducem Bedfordiæ; et Humfridum, alium fratrem suum, ducem Gloucestriæ.

sente ambassiatours to the king of Fraunce and his counsel, requiryng thayme to yelde vp vnto him his said enheritaunce, or ellis he wolde it gete be the swerd with helpe of Jhesu. The dolfyn of Fraunce ansuerde to our ambassiatours, and saide that our kyng was ouer yong and to tendre of age to be a good warriour, and not lik to make such a conquest vpon thayme. Oure ambassiatours heryng this scornful ansuer, retourned in to Englonde ayen, notifying vnto the kyng and his counsel the ansuer of the dolfyn and of the counsel of Fraunce.

Anno iij^o.
A. D. 1415.

Thanne made the kyng redy his ordenaunce necessary forto the warre, commaundyng alle menne that sholde go with him to be redy att Suthampton, at Lammesse thanne next folowyng, the iij yeer of his regne. At whiche day, whan the king was redy to take his passage, it was there publisshid and openli knowe that iij lordis, that is to say, ser Richard erlle of Cambrigge brothir to the duke of York, the lord Scroope tresorer of Englonde, and ser Thomas Grey, knyghte, hadde receyued an huge summe of money, that is to say, a milion of gold, forto betraie the king and his bretheryn to the Frenshemen; wherfore thair heddis were smyte of, withoute the northgate at Suthampton.

Folio 170

[August 14th.]

Whanne this was don, the king sailed forth in to Normandie with xvC shippis, and landid at Kitcaux, in the vigily of Assumpcion of our Lady, and fro thennez he wente to Harflieu, and it besegid be lond and be watir, and commaundyng him forto delyuer the toun, and he saide he wolde not. Wherfore the king commaundid his gonners to bete doun the wallis on euery side, and anon thay of the toun sente out to the king prayyng him of viij daiez respit in hope of rescu, and yf non wolde come, thay wolde delyver the toun: and so thay dede. And thanne the kyng made his vncler, the erl of Dorset, capteyn therof, and commaundid him to put out alle the Frenshe peple, man womman and child, and stuffe the toun with English peple.

Whanne this was don, the king wente toward Caleis be londe

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A.D. 1415.

Thanne cam tidyngis to our kyng, that there was anothis ost of Frensshemenne ordeyned redy to fize ayen with him; and anon he commaunded euery man to sle his prisoner, and whanne thay saw that, thay withdrow and wente thair way.

And ther were slayne in the feld on the Frensshe part, the duke of Barri, the duke of Launson, the duke of Brabanne, the erl of Narbonne, the chief constable of Fraunce, viij othis erlis, the archebisshoppe of Saunz, C barons and mo, and of othis worthi knyztis and cote armuris M^l. vC. And of Englishmen were ded that day, the duke of York, the erlle of Suffolk, and of othis not passing xxvj.

And there were take prisoners of the Frensshe part, the duke of Orliaunce, the duke of Burbonne, the erl of Vandom, the erlle of Ew, the erl of Richemund, ser Bursigaund marchalle of Fraunce, and othis worthi menne.

[November
16th.]

And aftir this, the king cam to Caleis, and so in to Englund, with alle his prisoners, and was receyued with moche ioie and worshippe.

[Anno iij^{to}.]
A. D. 1416-7.
Sigismundus,
imperator, venit
Angliam.
[April.*]
Folio 171 b.

This same yeer cam Sigismund, the emperour of Almayn, in to Englund forto speke with king Harri, to trete of certayn thyngiz touching the pees of Englund and of Fraunce: and also for the welfare and vnite of alle holi chirche. And the king and his lordis mette with him at saint Thomas wateryng, withoute Suthwerk, and him receyued withe greet reuerence and worshippe, and brouzte him in to Londoun, and fro thennez to Westmynstre, and there he was loggid in the paleis atte kyngis cost: and that same tyme the king yaf him the liverey of the garter.†

* After the 8th of the month. See Rymer, vol. ix. pp. 339, 340. Stowe says he landed at Dover, May 1st.

† Walsingham (p. 441) says that Sigismund was installed Knight of the Garter on the Feast of St. George, having told us that he arrived in London on May 7th. This may seem strange, as St. George's day was on April 23rd. Fabyan perhaps explains this apparent contradiction, by saying that the *celebration* of the feast had been deferred on account of the Emperor.

And sone aftir, cam the duke of Holond in to Englund, to speke with the emperour and with the kyng; * and he was loggid in the bisshoppis yn of Ely, at kyngis cost. A.D. 1416.

And whilis this was in doying in Englund, the Frenshemenne thouzte to be vengid, and with a greet arme besegid the toun of Harfiew bothe be watir and be lond; and badde goten and heerd grete carrakez of Jene, and othir smale vessellis, to ly and kepe the movthe of the river of Sayne, that no vitaille ne othir helpe sholde come vppe unto the toun; of the whiche arme the erl of Armenak was chiefteyne. [June.]

Thanne the erl of Dorset, capteyn of Harfiew, sente messagers to the kyng notyfyng vuto him alle this doynge, and what scarcite and penury of vitaille was withyn the toun: and anon the king sente his brothir Johan duke of Bedforde † forto breke the sege be watir: and he cam with a notable power and faughte with the for-said grete carrakez, and took iiij of thaym, and meny othir Frensshe vessellis. And on of the grettist carrakez of alle scapid and fledde away; but she was so rent and bored in the sidez in the said bataille, that sone aftir it was dround. And the noble erl of Dorset rescued the said toun be londe, and discomfitid and slow meny of the Frenshemenne, and hadde of thaym a gracious victory. Nota capcionem carracarum.

Whanne this was don, the said duke with his prisez and prisoners retourned into Englund agayne: and forasmoche as this was don in the Vigilie of Assumpcioun of our Lady, the kyng commaunded that his chapeleynez sholde say euery day whilez he livid, an antem with the versicle and collect in remembraunce of our lady. Folio 172.

And whanne the emperour hadde be in this lond as longe as it likid him on the kyngis cost, he took his leve of the king; and the [August 14th.]

* "Ante festum Ascensionis." (Wals.) Ascension day this year, 1416, was May 28th.

† He sailed after 25th of July. See Rymer, vol. ix. p. 372. His commission is dated, Southampton, July 22nd, 1416. Id. p. 371.

‡ After the 15th of the month; as the final treaty of mutual alliance was signed at Canterbury on that day, 1416. See Rymer, vol. ix. pp. 377-82.

A.D. 1416. king brouz̄te him to Caleis, and taried there to haue ansuer fro the Frensshe party, of suche thyngis as the emperour and the king hadde sent to thaym for; and atte laste it cam, and plesid thaym right nouz̄t; and thanne the emperour past forth his way, and the king cam in to Englonde agayn.

[October.]

And anon aftir, the king sente ambassiatours to the generalle counselle of Constaunce for the vnion and pees of alle holi chirche, and forto redresse and cece the scisme and strif that was thatt tyme in the chirche of Rome betuene iij popis.

Anglia fit nacio.

And that same tyme, be assent of alle nacions it was ordeyned in this counsel, that Englonde sholde be callid an nacion, and be counted on of the v nacions that owen obedience to the pope of Rome, the whiche befor that tyme was vnder the nacion of Ducheland.

Folio 172 b.

A.D. 1417.

And this same yeer, the erl Douglas of Scotland cam in to Englonde*, and was swore to the king for to be his trew manne; but aftirward he brak his oth, and was slayn of Englishmenne atte bataille of Vernulle.

A.D. 1424.

Ca^m. cxlvij.

How kyng Harri wente the secunde tyme in to Normandie, and of the getyng of Cane, and of the sege of Roon.

[Anno v^o.]
A.D. 1417.

THE v yeer of his regne, he made redy his ordenaunce and his retenu forto saille in to Normandie agayne, and commanded alle menne that sholde go with him to be redy at Hamptoun, in the Witsunwike next folowyng. And thanne he made John his brothir, the duke of Bedforde, lieutenaunt of Englonde; and thanne he saillid

† Stowe places this in the 5th Henry V.

in to Normandie with a notable power and gret ordenaince, and landid at Towk on Lammesse day; and there he made xlviiij knyztis, at his landyng.

A.D. 1417.

[August 1st.]

Thanne cam tidyngis to the king that ther was a gret naueie vpon the se of enemiez, that is to say, ix grete carrakis, hulkez, galeiez and othir shippis forto destroie his naueie: and anon, he sente the erl of March with a suffisaunt power forto kepe the se, and he took meny of the said naueie, and put the remenaunt to flizt; and some were dround with tempest. And on of tho carrakis droof befor Hamptoun, and his mast was throw ouer the toun wallis: and this was on saint Bartilmewe3 day.

Folio 173.

Tho sente the kyng to the capteyne off Towk commaundyng him to delyuer the toun, and so he dede. And the kyng made ser Johan Kighley capteyne thereof, and commaunded him to put out alle the Frensshe peple.

[August 9th.]

And thanne was Louers yoldenne to the erl marchal, and the kyng made him capteyn therof.

And thanne the kyng held forthe his way vnto Cane, and it besegid on euery side, and sente to the capteyn forto delyuer it, but he wolde not, wherfore thay assauted the toun; and the duke of Clarence bet down the wallis with gonnez on his side, and first entrid in to the tounne, and cride, "a Clarence! a Clarence! a saint George!" and so was the toun gote. And the kyng entrid and commaunded the capteyn of the castelle to delyuer it vnto him; and he praide him of xiiij daiez respit in hope of rescu, and yf non cam, to delyuer him the castel. And vnder this composicion was the tounne and the castel of Baions with othir tounez, fortaliz, and village3, to the nombre of xiiij. And atte xiiij daiez ende cam no rescu, wherfor the castel of Cane with the othir xiiij tounez were delyuerid vnto the king; and he made the duke of Clarence capteyn of the toun of Cane and of Baions and of the othir tounez

[August 18th.]

[September.*]

* The 4th of September or soon after. The castle of Caen held out till the 20th of that month. Stowe's Annals.

A.D. 1417. also: and there the kyng helde saint George; feste, and made xv knyghtis of the Bathe.

Thanne the kyng gat Valeys Newelyn.

Dux Britannie
venit ad Regem.
Folio 173 b.

And this same tyme cam the duke of Britaigne vnto kyng Harri and becam his manne.

And the kyng sente Humfrey his brothir duke of Gloucestre to Chierburghe, and Richard erl of Warwic to Dounfrount; the whiche sone aftirward were yolden vnto thayme.

In the mene tyme, the erlle of Marche, whom the kyng hadde sent to kepe the se, aftir meny stormez; and grete tempestis landid at Hoggis in Normandy, and so wente forth vnto the king.

Thanne gat the kyng Argenton, Cessy, Launson, Belham, Vernul in Perche, and alle the tounez; and castellis and strengthis vnto Pountlarge, and fro thennez; vnto the cite of Roon.

And this same yeer, ser Johan Oldcastelle knyghte, lord Cobham, was arestid for lollardrie, and put in to the tour of Londoun; and anon aftir he brak out therof, and fledde into Walis and there kepte him longe tyme, and atte laste the lord Powis took him, but he made gret defens and was sore wounded er he myghte be take; and thanne he was brought in a horsliter to Westmynstre, and ther he was iuged to be drawe vnto saint Gilis feld, and there he was hanged and brent on the galowe; for his fals oppinions.

Cobham sus-
pensus est, et
combustus.
[December.]

Anno vj.
A.D. 1418-9.

The vj yeer of king Harri, he sente his vncler ser Thomas Beaufort to the yates of Roon, and there he displaide the kyngis baner, and sente heroudis to the toun and bad thaym yelde it to the kyng of Englonde, and thay saide shortli, thay wolde not. And thanne the said Beaufort took good auisement of the ground al aboute, and retourned to the king to Pountlarge: and anone aftir, thay of Roon cast down thair subbarbis that stood about the cite, that the kyng sholde there haue no socour.

Folio 174.

And the Sunday befor Lammesse day thanne next folowyng, the king with his ost besegid the cite of Roon round aboute; and dede make ouer the watir of Sayne, at Pountlarge, a strong and a myzti

[July 31st.]
Rothomagus
obsessa est.

cheyne of yrenne, and put it thorough grete piles of tre faste ypight in the grounde, and that wente ouer the watir of Sayne that no vessel myzte passe that way; and aboue that cheyne the king leet make a brigge ouer the river of Sayne that man and hors and alle othir cariage myzte passe to and fro, whan nede were. A D. 1418.

Thanne cam the erl of Warwic fro Dounfrount, and the king sente him to Caudebeek, and thay of the toun cam out and tretid with the erl to be vnder composicion and to do as Ron dede; and it was grauntid on this condicioun, that the kyngis naueie with his ordenaunce myzte passe vpward saafi without eny let or disturbaunce; and to this composicion thay sette thair selis. And thanne cam vp C shippis and caste there thair ancri3, and thanne was Roon besegid both be watir and be land; and whanne this was ydo, the erl of Warwic wente ayen to the king to the sege of Roon; and the duke of Gloucestre cam thider also fro the getyng of Chierburghe.

Thanne cam tidyngis that the king of Fraunce, the dolfyne, the duke of Burgoyne, and al the power off Fraunce wolde come doun forto rescue the cite of Roon, and breke the sege; but they came not. Folio 174 b.

And atte firste comyng of the kyng vnto Roon, ther were y noumbrid in the cite be heroudis, of men, wommenne, and childryne, ccc.M^l; and this sege endurid xx wikis; and evir thay of the toun hopid to haue be rescued, but it wolde not be: and meny hundreddis deide for hunger, for thay hadde etyn alle thair cattis, hors, houndis, rattis, myse, and alle that myzte be etynne: and ofte tyme3 the men of arme3 drivenne out the poer peple atte yatis of the cite for spendyng of vitaille, and anonne our menne drof thaym yn agayne; and yonge childryne lay ded in the stretis, hangyng on the ded modris pappis, that pite was to se. And whanne the capteyn of the toun saw this grete myschief and hunger, he sente to the kyng, beseching him of his merci and grace, and brouzte the keyez, and delyuered him the toun, and alle the soudiers voided the toun with thair hors and harneys, and the comune3 of the toun abood stille

A.D. 1419. in the toun payyng yeerli to the king for alle maner custumez, fefermez, and quatrymez, xx M^l. marc. Whanne the king hadde Rothomagus dedita est. [January 19th.] entrid the toune, and restid him in the castel til the toun were set in rewle and gouernaunce, thanne Cawdebeek and othir garisons there nyghe were yolden vndir the same appoyntement.

Folio 175. Thanne the dolfynee; ambassiatours, as it was before acordid, with ful power to do all thyng as he were there himself, cam to the king to Roon; and aftir meny trette; had, thus it was appoynted, that at a certayn day set, the dolfyne sholde come to the toun of Dreux, and king Harri to Aueraunsshis; and there to cheze a mene place, be thair bothe assent, where thay myzte pesibli trette of the pee; to the whiche appoyntement trewli to be kept, the king and the said ambassiatours sette thair selis. Atte whiche day appoynted the king cam, but the dolfyn cam not; wherfore the pee; was broke at that tyme.

[March.] In the mene tyme Johan duke of Burgoyne, that hadde the rewle and gouernaunce of the kyng of Fraunce because of his seeknesse, be lettri; and ambassiatours souzte king Harrie; grace. And the king sente ambassiatours ayen to king Charlis of Fraunce and to the said duke of Burgoyne to Prouynce, of the whiche ambassiatours Richard erl of Warwic was chief; and in the way as he sholde go, lay a greet busschement of Frensshemenne to take him and lette his purpoo; but he slow; and took the more part of thaym, and went forth to Provyne, and purposid his ambassiat and message.

[April.] And there it was thus accorded and appoynted, that king Harri of Englund, and Charlis of Fraunce with the quene his wif and the duke off Burgoyne, sholde come to a mene place to trette of pees: and forto do this message the erl of saint Poulle and the sone and heir of the duke of Burgoyne cam to our kyng as ambassiatours.

Folio 175 b. Thanne kyng Harri knowyng alle the ground of the mater be [Anno vij^o.] A.D. 1419-20. relacion of ambassiatours of bothe parthie;, appointed with his enemie; in this wyse: that at a certayn day he wolde come to

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A.D. 1419-20.

Dux Burgundie
proditorie inter-
ficitur.
[Sept. 10th.]

And whilez this was in doyng the duke of Burgoyne, that first hadde sought kyng Harriez grace, wente vnder saaf conduct to the dolfyn to Motreaux; and there be the said dolfyn he was traitorly and vnmanli slayn, and cast in to a pit: and as sone as Philip his sone and his heir wiste of this, he becam kyng Harriez manne.

Folio 176 b.

The same tyme cam certayne ambassiatours of kyng Charlis, of the duke of Burgoyne and of the citezeynez of Paris, to kyng Harri to Maunt, forto trete of pee3, but because kyng Harri was bisili occupied in his warris and also he supposid that the Frensshemen were not fulli enclyned to the pee3 as thanne, this trete took non ende at that tyme, but aftirward at Roon it was fulli endid.

And aftirward whilez kyng Harri held his Cristemasse in Roon, the ambassiatours of kyng Charlis and of the dukes of Burgoyne cam thider vuto him, to whom king Harri sente agayn Richard erl of Warwic, with othir wise men and a notable power of men of arme3, with fulle power and commaundement to conclude the pee3: And aftir meny wise treeteez on bothe partiez pee3 was concludid bi thaffinite and wedlok of king Harri and dame Katerine king Charlis douztir. But because certayne thyngis were necessary for the whiche the presence of bothe kyngis moste nedis be had, what for setting to of thair selis, what for the mariage sewyng, and alsoo Charlis was so feblid with age and ofte tyme3 vexid with his custumable seeknesse; it was betuene thayme thus appoyntid, that king Harri sholde come at a day lymytid vnder trewez with such puysaunce as him likid to Nogent vpon Sayne, to parfourme finally al thyng that to the pee3 was nedefulle, and yf he cam not alle thyng sholde be had as for noughte. Aftir this appoyntement thus ymaad the erl retourned to the kyng notifyng vuto him in writyng alle theeffect of his ambassiat.

[January.]

[Anno viij^o.]
A.D. 1420-1.
[April.]

Folio 177.

The king fro thennez went to Nogent; and there mette with him the duke of Burgoyne with a gret companie of men of arme3. And aftir meny and dyvers treeteez, the xij kalendis of Juyne, the xl yere of king Charlis regne, in the cathedrale chirche of Nogent, kyng Harri

[May 21st.]

with the duke of Clarence his brothir and othir princez and noblis, and Ysabelle queene of Fraunce with the duke of Burgoyne, beyng there for kyng Charlis, thanne labouryng in his seeknesse forsaid, and in thair owen namez also, and the iij statis of Fraunce, peeze betucue the ij remes of Englonde and of Fraunce was maad, and with certayn condicions approued. And kyng Charlis charged alle his liegemenne on peyne of forfaiture of thair ligeauncez to kepe the said peeze; and therto thay made thair othe, and plight thair trouthez in the handez of kyng Harri. And anon quene Ysabelle of Fraunce, and Philippe duke of Burgoyne, in the name of kyng Charlis, swoor vpon the holy gospellis to kepe the said peeze so concludid for thaym and for thair heiris and successours withoute fraude and male engyne for euermore; and this same oth made quene Ysabel, and the duke of Burgoyne, and the iij statis of Fraunce to kyng Harri, to his heiris and successours. And atte ix kalendis of Juyne, befor quene Ysabel and kyng Charlis counsel, befor the parlement and the iij statis of Fraunce, and othir English princez and lordis, contract of matrimony be present wordis betuene kynge Harri and dame Katerine, kyng Charlis doughtir of Fraunce, was there maad and solemnyzid.

A.D. 1420.

[May 24th.]

Folio 177 b.

And as sone as alle this was enactid in writyng as it was acordid, kyng Harri, kyng Charlis, the ij quenys Ysabelle and Kateryne, and the duke of Burgoyne wente vnto Senlis and gat it; and fro thennez vnto Melon and besegid it, and that sege endurid fro Juylle vnto Nouembir in moche duress; and atte laste for defaute of vitail, the toun was yoldenne. Thanne the ij kyngis, the ij quenys, and the duke of Burgoyne with thair ostis wente to Paris, and the citezeynez of Paris mette with thaym in ful noble aray.

[December.]

And at January next kyng Harri and dame Kateryne wente in to Englonde, and lefte at Paris Thomas duke of Excestre, gouernour, and Thomas his brothir duke of Clarence, regent of Normandie; the whiche duke of Clarence was slayn there with the Scottis on Estis evyn, whilez the kyng was in Englonde. And on the Sunday the

A.D. 1421.
Anno viij.

xiiij* day of Feuerer, the viij yeer of kyng Harri, dame Kateryne was crouned at Westmynstre.

[Anno ix^o.]
A.D. 1421.

At midsomer next aftir, the kyng lefte the quene in Englund, and wente ayen in to Fraunce, and took certayn garisons that were yit rebel; and besegid the toun of Meux, atte whiche sege tidyngis cam to the kyng that the quene was delyuerid; and aftir her purificacioun she wente ayen in to Fraunce.

Folio 178.

[Anno x^o.]
A.D. 1422.

Whanne Meux was yoldenne, kyng Harri wente to Paris, makyng ordenaunce forto besege the tovn of Cone; and thanne a sore and a feruent maladie him assaillid, and fro day to day him greuouusli vexid; til he deide in the castelle of Boys Vincent, the laste day of August, whanne he hadde regned ix yeer v monethis, iij wikis, and iij daiez, and is buried at Westmynstre: on whoz soule Almyghti God haue mercy. Amen.

[May.]

Rex Henricus
obit, decus olim,
nunc dolor
orbis!

* So Stowe (Annals). The true date is 3rd Sunday in Lent, eve of St. Matthias' day, Feb. 23rd. See Rymer, vol. x. p. 63.

HENRY VI.

Of kyng Harry the vj^{te} aftir the conqueste, sone of kyng Harri the v^{the}, and of the bataille of Vernulle, &c. Cap^m. cxlix. Folio 178 b.

AFTIR the noble and victorious prince kyng Harri the V, regned his sone kyng Harri the vj^{te}, that was bore at Wyndesore, in the feste of saynt Nicholas the confessour, and began forto regne in the age of ix monethis and xv daiez. A.D. 1422. [Reign began September 1st.] [December 6th. 1421.]

And the iij^{de} yeer of his regne *, was a gret batille don at Vernul in Perch, betuene Johan duke of Bedforde, thanne regent of Fraunce, and the Scottis and the Frenshemenne ; in the whiche bataille was take the duke of Alaunsonne, and there were slayne the bastard of Alaunsonne, the erl of Narbonne, and the erl of Marrebonne. And on the Scottis part were slayne the erl Douglas, the erl Boghan, the erlle of Marre, the erl of Murreye, and meny othir to the noumbre of vij M^l. and more. And aftir the said bataille was done, ther were y founde in the dichez of the toun more than iiij M^l. ydround. And thus hadde Englisshemen the victory, thanked be Almyghti God. Anno iij [ij]. A.D. 1424.

The iiij yeer of his regne, on the morow aftir the feste of Simon and Jude, aroos a gret debaat betuene Humfrey duke of Gloucestre and master Harri Beaufort his vncler bisshoppe of Wynchestre, being that tyme Chaunceller of Englonde ; so that alle the cite of Londoun was mevid ayens the bisshoppe, and wolde haue destruid him. Anno iiij^{to}. A.D. 1425-6. [October 29th.]

* The 2nd of Henry VI. The battle was on August 16th, 1424.

A.D. 1425-6.
Folio 179.

in his yn in Suthwerk ; but the yatis of Londoun brigge were so sureli kept that no man myzte passe out, and the Thamise was also kept that no man myzt passe ouer. And the said bisshoppe hadde a gret company of men of arme3 and archiers withynne his place, to haue maad defens if nede hadde be. But atte laste be mene of lordis and specialli of the prince of Portyngale, that was the same tyme in Londoun, this troubille was cesid : and aftirward the same yeer atte parlement holden at Leycestre thay were fulli accordid, but yit ther was prive wrath betuene thaym long tyme aftir.

Anno v.
A.D. 1427.
[March.]

The v yeer of this kyng Harri, the forsaid maister Harri Beaufort, bisshoppe of Wynchestre, was maad a Cardinal of Rome be pope Martyn the V, of the title of saint Euseby ; and sente his hat to Caleys, and thider he wente, and there receyued it.

Anno viij.
A.D. 1429.
[November
6th.]

The viij yere of his regne, he was crouned at Westmynstre on the Sunday in the feste of saint Leonard.

[April 24th.*]
Anno [i]x.

And sone aftir he wente into Fraunce, and was crouned at Paris the ix day of December, the x yeer † of his regne, thorough special help and supportacioun of the said cardinalle there beyng present ; and cam the same yeer in to Englund agayn.

A.D. 1430-1.

And this same yeer, whilis the kyng was in Fraunce, and Humfrey duke of Gloucestre his vucle beyng protectour and gouernour of this lond, aroos a man that named himself Jacke Sharpe, purposyng with his fals feleshippe to haue destroid the chirche and the lordis spirituel and temporel : but he was take and dampned to the deth befor the said duke at Oxenforde, and drawe and hanged and quartrid ; and his hed and his quarters were set vp in dyuers place3 of Englund.

Folio 179 b.

And this same yeer, on saint Katerine3 eve, the lord Fitz Watier wolde haue come fro Normandie in to Englund, and ayens the wille and counsel of the shipmenne wente heddily to ship at Dope ; and whanne he was in the se, ther fil on him a greet tempest, and drounde him with moche othir peple.

* See Rymer, vol. x. p. 458.

† The 9th year of his reign. 1430.

The xj yeer of this kyng Harri, was the grete and general clip of the sunne on saynt Botulfis day; wherof moche peple was sore aferd.

A.D. 1433.
Anno xj^o. fuit generalis eclipsis solis, &c.

And the next yeer aftir, the xij yeer of kyng Harri, was the grete frost that nevir eny such was seen before; and it endurid fro saint Katerynez day vuto Sheoftide; and the Thamise and othir grete rivers were so hard frosen that hors and cariage myzte passe ovir.

Anno xij^o.
A.D. 1433-4.

And the nexte yeer aftir began the grete derthe of corn in this land, the whiche endurid ij yeer, so that a busshelle of whete was sold for xl. d., and the poer peple in dyuers partiez of the Northcuntre eet breed maad of farn rotes.

Anno xiiij^o.
A.D. 1434-5.
Caristia bladi.

The xiiij yeer of king Harri deide that noble prince Johan duke of Bedforde,* the kyngis vncle, and regent of Fraunce, and is buried at Roon.

Anno xiii[j].
A.D. 1435-6.

The xiiij yeer of king Harri, Philip duke of Burgoyne, as a fals forsworn man, besegid the toun of Caleys with gret ordenaunce, and an huge noumbre of peple, that is to say CL.M^l., as it was said. And forto breke the said sege Humfrey duke of Gloucestre with a gret retenu was sent to Caleys. But befor his goyng the erl of Mortheyne and the lord Camoys were sent to Caleys with v C men for to kepe the toun, til more strengthe myzte come. And sone aftir, be counselle and manhood of ser Johan Radclyffe, that tyme lieutenaunt of Caleys, the said sege was broke; for whanne the duke of Burgoyne herde of the comyng of the duke of Gloucestre with so gret a power, he lefte the sege and wente his way, levyng behynde him some of his gonnez and bombardez hid vnder the sandez.

Anno xiiij.
[July.]
Folio 180.

Thanne wente the said duke of Gloucestre vnto Caleys, and fro thennys into Flaundris, destroyng the cuntre and the corn stondyng vpon the grounde, and brende the toun of Poperyng and othir smale villagez, and thanne cam in to Englonð agayne aboute the feste of saint Bartilmew.

[August.]

And this same yeer withynne a moneth aftir that the said duke of Burgoyne was fled from Caleis, Jamez kyng of Scottis besegid

* The duke of Bedford died September 16th, 1435; consequently in the 14th of Henry VI.

A.D. 1436.

the castel of Rokesburgh in Northumbirlond with CXL.M^l. men as it was said : but thay withynne the castel kept it with iiij^{xx} menne of armez ayens the king of Scottis, and and all his ost. And whanne the said kyng herde telle that certayn lordis of the Northcuntre wolde come and breke the sege, he fledde in Scotland ayenne.

[August.]

Folio 180 b.

And aftirward aboute the moneth of Marche be excitacion and stiryng of the erl of Atholle and othir, the said kyng of Scottis, as he was goyng toward his bed, hauyng no more vn him but onli his shirte, cruelli and vñmanli was slayne ; and as it was said he hadde on him xxx woundis, wherof vij were dedly.

[Anno xv^o.]
A.D. 1437.Rex Scotorum
interficitur.

The xix yeer of kyng Harri, the Friday before midsomer, a prest callid ser Richard Wyche, that was a vicary in Estsexe, was brend on the Tourhille for heresie, for whooz deth was gret murmur and troubil among the peple, for some said he was a good man and an holy, and put to deth be malice; and some saiden the contrary; and so dyuers men hadde of him dyuers oppinions. And so fer forth the comune peple was brought in such errour, that meny menne and wommen wente be nyghte to the place where he was brend, and offridd there money and ymagez of wax, and made thair praier knel- yng as thay wolde haue don to a saynt, and kiste the ground and baar away with thaym the asshis of his body as for reliquez; and this endurid viij daiez, til the mair and aldermēne ordeyned men of armez forto restreyne and lette the lewd peple frō that fals ydolatrie, and meny were therefore take and lad to prisoun.

Folio 181.

And among othir was take the vicary of Berkyngchirche beside the tour of Londoun, in whoz parishe alle this was done, that receyued the offeryng of the symple peple. And for to excite and stire thaym to offre the more feruently, and to fulfille and satisfie his fals couetise, he took asshis and medlid thaym with powder of spicez and strowed thaym in the place where the said heretic was brend; and so the symple peple was deceyued, wenyng that the swete flauour hadde comme of the asshis of the ded

* Correction by the hand of Stowe.

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A.D. 1441.

In the mene tyme, the forsaid maister Roger was examned before the kyngis counsel; where he confessid and saide that he wroughte the said nygromancie atte stiryng of the forsaid dame Alienore, to knowe what sholde falle of hir and to what astat she sholde come. Wherefore she was citid to appere befor certayn bisshoppis of the kyngis; that is to say, befor maister Harri Chicheli, archebisshop of Cauntirbury, maister Harry Beaufort bisshoppe of Wynchestre and cardinale, maister Johan Kemp archebisshoppe of York and cardinale, maister William Ayscoughe bisshoppe of Salisbury, and othir, on the Monday the xxij day off Juylle next folowyng, in saint Stephenez chapelle of Westmynstre, forto ansuere to certayn articlez of nygromancie, of wicheckcraft or sorcery, of heresy and of tresoun. Atte whiche day she apperid; and the forsaid Roger was brou3t forth forto witnesse ayens hir, and saide that she was cause and first stirid himme to laboure in the said nygromancie; and thanne be commaundement of the said bisshoppis she was committid to the warde of sir Johan Stiward knyghte, and of Johan Stanley squier, and othir of the kyngis hous, forto be lad to the castelle of Ledis, there to be safli kept vnto iij wikis aftir Mighelmasse next thanne comyng. But the said dame Alienore was lothe to go out of the sayntwary and fayned her seek, and wolde haue stole away priveli be watir, but she was let of her purpos and lad forth to the castel beforsaid.

Folio 182.

[Anno xx^o.]
A.D. 1441.

Anonne aftir, a commission was direct to the erl of Huntyngdoun, to the erl of Stafforde, to the erl of Suffolk, and to certayn juges of bothe benchis, to enquire of al maner tresons, sorcery, and alle othir thyngi3 that my3te in eny wise towche or concerne harmfulli the kyngis persone; befor whom the said maister Roger and maister Thomas as principalle, and the said dame Alienore as accessory, were enditid of treson, yn the Guyldehalle of Londoun.

Folio 182 b.

And this same tyme was take a womman callid the wicche of Eye, whoo3 sorcerie and wicheckcraft the said dame Alienore hadde longe tyme vsid; and be suche medicine3 and drynkis as the said wicche

Nota de sorti-
legâ de Eye.

made, the said Alienore enforced the forsaid duke of Gloucestre to loue her and to wedde her. Wherfore, and also for cause of relaps, the same wicche was brend in Smythfeld, in the vigily of Saint Simon and Jude. A.D. 1441.

Ferthirmore on the Satirday the xxj day of Octobir, in the chapel beforsaid, befor the bisshoppis of Londoun, maister Robert Gilbert, and of Lincoln maister William Alnewik, and of Norwich maister Thomas Brouns, to whom the said archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, maister Henri Chichele, badde committid his power be his commissioun because of his seeknesse to fynyshe and ende this mater, the said Alienore apperid. And maister Adam Moleyns, thanne clerke of the kyngis counsel, redde certayn article; obiectid ayens hir of sorcerie and nygromancie, wherof some she denyed and some she grauntid.

Thanne was this processe proroged vuto the Monday the xxiiij day of Octobir thanne next folowyng, at whiche day the said Alienore apperid and witnesser were broughte forth and examned, and she was convict of the said article; Thanne it was axed of hir, yf she wolde eny say ayens the witnesser, and she said Nay, but submitted hir ouli to the correccioun of the bisshoppis; and on the Friday next, the said Alienore abiurid before the bisshoppis the article; abouesaid. And thanne she was enioyned forto appere before the said archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury or his forsaid commissioners, the Thursday the ix day of Nouembir next folowyng, forto receyue her penaunce. And in the mene tyme the forsaid maister Thomas Suthwelle deide in the tour of Londoun. Folio 183.

The Thursday abouesaid the said dame Alienore apperid befor tharchebisshoppe and othir in the forsaid chapelle, and receyued her penaunce vnder this fourme; that she sholde go the same day fro Templebarre with a meke and a demure countenaunce vuto Poulis beryng in her hond a tapir of a pound, and offre it there atte highe auter. And the Wedenesday next she sholde go fro the Swan in Thamyse strete beryng a tapir of the same weighte vnto Crichirche

Nota penitenciam Alienoræ Cobham, sibi iniunctam.

A.D. 1441.

in Londoun, and there offre it vp. And the Friday next she shold go in lik wise fro Quenehide beryng a tapir of the same weighte vnto saint Mighelez in Cornhulle, and there offre it vp. The whiche penaunce she fulfillid and dede righte mekely, so that the more part of the peple badde on hir gret compassioun.

Folio 183 b.

And aftir this she was committid ayen to the warde of ser Thomas Stanley, wherynne she was al her lif aftir, hauyng yeerli C marc., assigned to hir for hir fyndyng and costis; whoo; pride, fals couetise and lecherie were cause of her confusioun. Othir thyngis myghte be writen of this dame Alienore, the whiche atte reuerence of nature and of wommanhood shul not be reherced.

And the Satirday the xvij day of Nouembir next sewyng, maister Roger Boltyngbroke at Gyldehalle at Londoun befor the said lordis and justice; was arreymed of the forsaid article; of tresoun ayens the kyngis persone, and therof be xij men of Londoun he was founde guilty. Wherfore be the iugement of ser Johan Hody that tyme chief justice of the kyngis bench, he was drawe fro the tour of Londoun vnto Tyburne; and there he was hanged and leet down half alive, and his bowellis take out and brent, and his hed smyte of and set on London brigge, and his body quartrid and sent to certayn tounes of Englund, that is to saye, Oxenford, Cambrigge, York and Hereforde. And whanne the said maister Roger sholde die, he confessid that he was nevir guilty of eny treson ayens the kyngis persone; but he presumed to fer in his konnyng, as he sayde, wherof he cride God mercy; and the justice that yaf on him iugement livid not longe aftir.

Anno xxj^o.
A.D. 1443.

The xxj yeer of king Harri, saint Georges feste was holde at Westmynstre, and there ser Johan Beaufort erl of Somerset was maad duke of Somerset.

Anno xxij.
A.D. 1444.

The xxij yeer of kyng Harri, Johan erlle of Huntyngdoun at Wyndesore was made duke of Excestre.

And this same yeer deide the forsaid Johan Beaufort duke of Somerset, the vj kalendes of May, at Wymborne mynstre in the counte of Dorset, and there he is buried.

The xxiiij [xxij] yere of kyng Harri, aboute the beginnyng of Lente, were sente ambassiatours in to Fraunce; that is to say, the erl of Suffolk, maister Adam Moleyns dean of Salisbury and keper of the kyngis pryve seal, and ser Robert Roos, and other, to trete of the mariage betuene kyng Harri and dame Margarete the kyngis douztir of Cecile. And the Sunday next befor Witsuntide the xxiiij day of May, in saint Martyne's chirche in the toun of Touris in Tureync, assuraunce of mariage was maad betuene the said erlle, as in name of the kyngis persone, and the said dame Margarete, before the popis legat Petrus de Monte, that tyme beyng there. And thanne were grauntid trewez and abstinence of warre betuene Englond and Fraunce for terme of xviiij monethez,—but what treson grew vnder tho trewez, it was sone know aftirward be alienacion of Angles and Mayne, and wilful lesyng of al Normandy; and aftir this, our ambassiatours cam hoom agayne.

A.D. 1444.
Anno xxiiij. [ij.]
Folio 184.

The xxiiij [xxij] yeer of kyng Harri in the moneth of Nouembir, the said erl of Suffolk with othir wente ayenne in to Fraunce, forto brynge and condue the said dame Margarete into Engelond: the whiche erl was made befor his goyng markeys of Suffolk; and sone aftir he was maad duke.

[Anno xxiiij^o]
A.D. 1444.

And this same yeer, at Witsuntid, Humfrey erl of Stafford was maad duke of Bukynghame.

And this same yeer, on the Thursday the xxv. day of Feuerer was a parlement begonne att Westmynstre, in the whiche Gye [Henry]* the yong erl of Warwic was maad duke of Warwic; and the lord Beaumont was maad vicount Beaumont.

Folio 184 b.
A.D. 1445.

And duryng this parlement, the forsaid dame Margarete landid at Porchestre and wente fro thenne; to Hamptoun be water, and restid her there in the Goddeshous; and thanne she wente in to the abbey of Tychfeld, and there she was weddid to king Harri on the Thursday the xxij. day of Aprille, and maister William Ascoghe,

* This is Stowe's correction, the word "Gye" is struck out from the text and "Henry" written in the margin.

A.D. 1445. bisshoppe of Salisbury; dede the solennite of the marriage and weddid thaym, and on the Sunday the xxx. day of May next folowyng she was crouned at Westmynstre.

This same yeer in the moneth of Juylle deide the forsaid Gye [Henry]* duke of Warwic withoute heir male; and so in him cessid and failid the noble lyne of the erlis of Warwic, as to heir male, and remayned in his douztir.

[Anno xxv^o.]
A.D. 1446.

The xxv. yeer of kyng Harri, yn the monethis of Nouembir and Decembir fille grete thundryng and lightnyng, with huge and grete wyndis.

A.D. 1447.
Nota de parlamento de Bury.

Folio 185. And in the moneth of Feuerer next aftir, the x. day thereof, began the parlement at saint Edmundis Bury in Suffolk; the whiche parlement was maad only for to sle the noble duke of Gloucestre, who3 deth the fals duke of Suffolk William de la Pole, and ser Jame3 Fyne3 lord Say, and othir of thair assent, hadde longe tyme conspired and ymagyned. And they seyng that thay myzt not sle him be no trewe menez of iustize ne of lawe, and enfourmed falsli the king, and sayde that he wolde reise the Walshmenne forto distresse him and destroie him; and ordeyned that euery lord sholde come to the said parlement in thair best aray and withe strengthe. And alle the weye3 aboute the said toun off Bury, be commaundement of the said duke of Suffolk, were kept with gret multitude of peple of the cuntre, wakyng day and nyghte; vnknowyng the said peple wherfore it was: and the wedir was so cold that some of the poer peple that there wakid, deide for cold.

And ayens the ende of the parlement, the said duke of Gloucestre was sent for, for to come and ansuer to suche poynte3 of tresoun as sholde be laid ayens him; and er he cam fully into the toun of Bury, ther were sent vnto him messagers commaundyng him on the kyngis behalfe, that he sholde go streighte to his yn, and come not nyghe the kyng til he hadde othirwise in commaundement. And the secunde day aftir, while3 he sat at mete in his yn, cam a sergeaunt

* Stowe's correction.

of armes; and arested certayn knyghtis and squyers and othir special seruauntis of his, and ladde thaym to dyuers prisons. A.D. 1447.

And the iij. day aftir, the lord Beaumont with othir, that is to say, the duke of Bukynghame, the duke of Somerset, and othir, cam to the said duke of Gloucestre and arested him: and thanne were certayn of the kyngis hous commaunded to waite on him. And the iij. day aftir, he deide for sorou, as some men saide, because he myghte not come to his ansuer and excuse him of suche thyngis as were falsli put on him; for the said duke of Suffolk and lord Say, and othir of thair assent, so stirid and excitid the kyng ayens the said duke of Gloucestre that he myghte nevir come to his excuse; for thay hadde cast among thaym a prive conclusioun, the whiche as yit is not come to the knowlage of the commune peple, and thay wiste welle that thay sholde nevir brynge it aboute til he were ded; but the certaynte of his deth is not yit openly knowe, but ther is no thyng so prive, as the gospels saith, but atte laste it shal be openne. [Feb. 28th.] Folio 185 b.

And this same yeer, on the Tiwisday in the Estirwike deide maister Harri Beaufort, bisshoppe of Wynchestre and prest cardinale of Rome. [April 11th.]

And this yeer in the moneth of August, deide ser Johan Holond, duke of Excestre and erlle of Huntyngdoun.

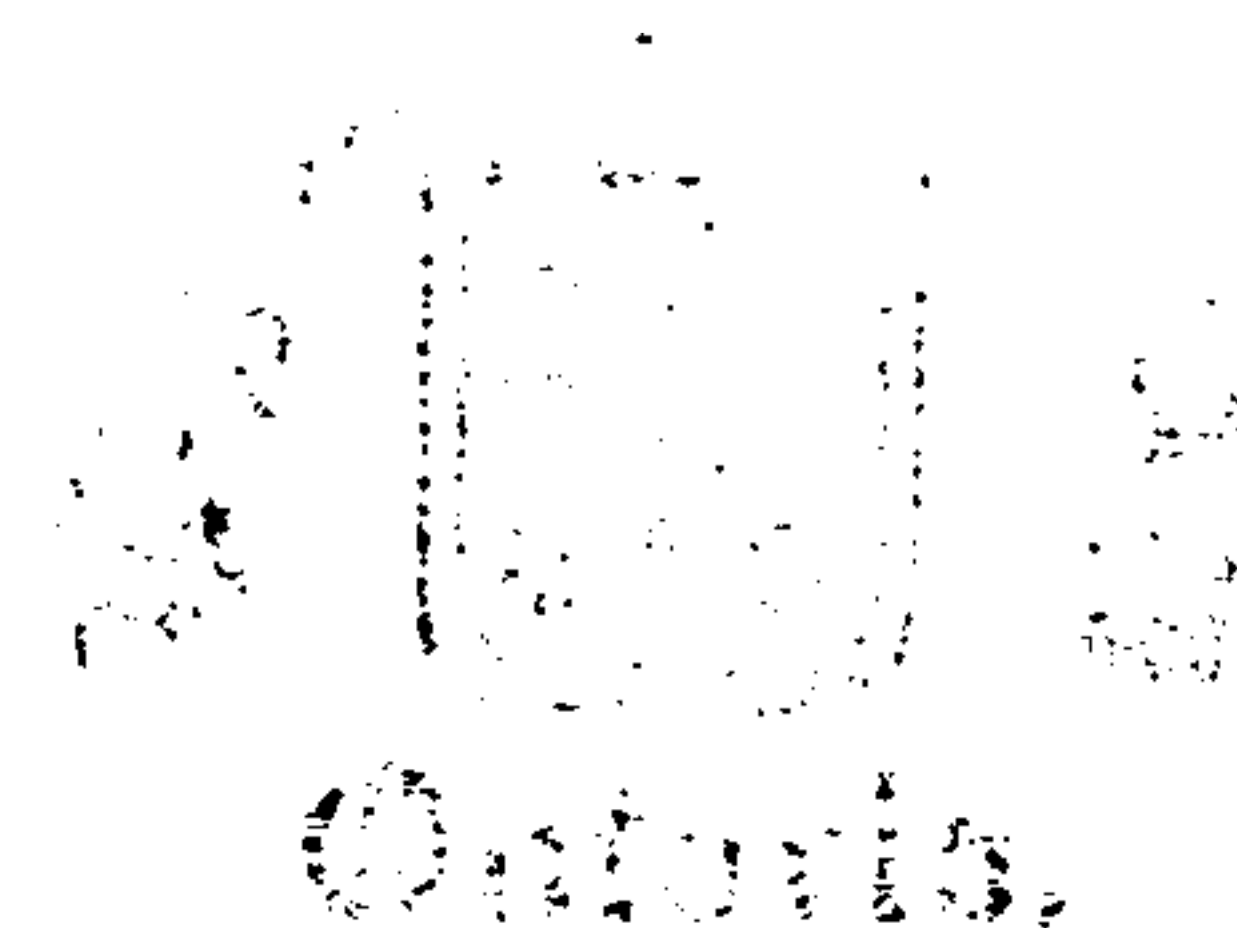
The xxvj. yeer of king Harri was lepe yeer, and our ladiez evyn in Lente fille on Estirday. Anno xxvj^o. A.D. 1448.

The xxviiij. yeer of king Harri, on Simon day and Jude, and other daiez before and aftir, the sonne in his risyng and goyng doune apperid as reed as blood, as meny a man saw; wherof the peple badde gret marvaille, and demed that it sholde betokened sum harm sone aftirward. Anno xxviiij. A.D. 1449.

And this same yeer, in the feste of saint Mighelle in Monte Tumba, Roon was lost and yolden to the Frensshemenne;* beyng therynne that tyme the duke of Somerset and the erl of Shrowesbury. [October 16th.]

And the next yeer aftir, alle Normandy was lost.

* Rouen was evacuated, according to treaty, November 4, 1449 (Monstrelet).



A.D. 1450.

Folio 186.

Episcopus
Cicestre inter-
ficitur.

[June 29th.]

And this yeer, the Friday the ix. day of Januarye, maister Adam Moleyns, bisshoppe of Chichestre and keper of the kyngis prive seel, whom the kyng sente to Portesmouth, forto make paiement of money to certayne soudiers and shipmenne for thair wagez; and so it happid (*sic*) that with boistez langage, and also for abriggyng of thair wagez, he fil in variaunce with thaym, and thay fil on him, and cruelli there kilde him.

And this same yer, in the feste of Saint Petir and Paule aftir Midsomer, that is to say, the Monday, the laste day of Juyu saue one, maister William Ascoghe bisshop of Salisbury was slayn of his owen parisshens and peple at Edyngdoun aftir that he hadde said masse, and was drawe fro the auter and lad vp to an hille ther beside, in his awbe, and his stole aboute his necke; and there thay slow him horribly, thair fader and thair bisshoppe, and spoillid him vnto the nakid skyn, and rente his bloody shirte in to pecis and baar thaym away with thaym, and made bost of thair wickidnesse: and the day befor his deth his chariot was robbed be men of the same cuntre of an huge god and tresour, to the value of x. M^l. marc., as thay saide that knewe it. Thise ij. bisshoppis were wonder couetous men, and evil beloued among the comune peple, and holde suspect of meny defautes, and were assentyng and willyng to the deth of the duke of Gloucestre, as it was said.

And this same yeer, in the moneth of May, aroos thay of Kent and made thaym a capteyne, a ribaude, an Yrissheman, callid Johan Cade; the whiche atte begynning took on him the name of a gentilmanne, and callid himself Mortymer forto haue the more fauour of the peple; and he callid himself also John Amende-alle; for forasmuche as thanne and longe before the reme of Englund badde be rewlid be untrew counselle, wherfore the comune profit was sore hurt and decresid; so that alle the comune peple, what for

* "Septimâ in Pentecoste." W. Worcester, Pentecost this year being May 24th. See our chronicler below, who fixes the date of Cade's great popularity from the day following.

Nota de
Johanne Cade,
capitaneo
Kancie.
Folio 186 b.
[May 30th.*]

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A.D. 1450.

Thanne wente the kyng ayen to Londoun, and withynne ij. daiez aftir he wente ayens the Kentisshmenne with xv M^l. men wel araid vuto the Blakeheth, but the said Kentisshmen heryng how the king wolde come, and fledde the nyzt befor his comyns, in to the wode cuntre to Seuenok.

Folio 187 b.

The kyng thanne retourned to Londoun, and sente out a squier callid William Stafford, and ser Humfrey Stafford, knyzt, his cosyne, forto aspic where the Kentisshmen were; and whanne they knew that thay were at Seuenok, thay rood thider hastily with a few menne, wenyng to haue gotenne a singuler worshippe and laude; but thay were withyn the daunger of thaym er thay wiste it, and were there bothe yslayne, with the more part of thair men that abood with thaym.

[June 28th?]

[June 30th?]

Whanne this was don the king dissolued the parlement, and remeued vnto Kyllingworth. And whanne the Kentishmen herde that the kyng was gon fro Londoun, thay cam ayen in to Suthwerk, and thair capteyn was loggid atte Hert. And the Thursday* aftir be fauour of some of the men of Londoun he cam in to the cite, but sone aftir thay repentid, for thay were diuidid among thaymself; but the keiez of the cite were delyuerid vnto the said capteyn, and he kepte thaym ij. daiez and ij. nyghtes. And whanne he hadde entrid the cite anon he and his men fille to roborie, and robbid certayn worthi men of the cite, and put some of thaym in to prison til thay badde paid notable summez of money to saue thair livis. And the said capteyn rood aboute the cite beryng a nakid swerd in his hand, armed in a peire of brigaundynez, weryng a peire of gilt sporis, and a gilt salat, and a gowne of blew veluet, as he hadde be a lord or a knyzt,—and yit was he but a knaue,—and hadde his swerd born befor him.

[July 1st.]

[July 3rd,
Friday.]

Folio 188.

[July 5th,
Sunday.]

And the Satirday next the said capteyn commaundid that the lord Say sholde be brouzt out of the tour vnto Gyldehalle in

* Friday, not Thursday, July 3rd. "Die Veneris, tertio die Julii." Wm. Worcest.

Londoun, where that certayn justicez sat that tyme; and whanne he was ycome, the Kentisshmen wolde not suffre him forto abide the lawe, but ladde him vnto the Standard in Chepe, and there his hed was smyte of, and his body was drawe naked at a hors taille vpon the pament so that the flesshe clivid to the stonez fro Chepe in to Suthwerk, the said capteyne; ynne. Also a squier callid Crowmer that was the shireue of Kent, that badde weddid the said lord Saiez douztir, be commaundement of the capteyne was broughte out of Flete, that was committid thider for certayn extorsionez that he hadde do in his office, and lad to Mile Ende, withoute Londoun, and there withoute eny othir iugement his hed was smyte of, and the lord Saiez hed and his also were bore vpon ij. long shaftis vnto Londoun brigge, and there set vppe, and the lord Saiez body was quartrid. A.D. 1450.

On the Sunday next, men of London seyng the tyranny and robory of the said cursid capteyne and of his men; and whanne it was nyghte thay laide hand on thayme that were disparblid aboute in the cite, and bet thaym and droof thaym out of the cite, and shit the yatis. And whanne the capteyn that was in his yn in Suthwerk saw this, anon he with his men made assaut to Londoun brigge, and wolde haue come yn, and spoylid the cite; and the lord Scalez with his menne and menne of the cite faughte with thayme fro ix. of the clocke in the euyn, vnto x. of the clocke in the morow; and meny men were slayn on bothe partiez, and sore wounded; and there were slayne, Mathew Goghe a squyer of Walis, and Johan Sutton an alderman of Londoun. And this skyrmysh endurid til the brigge of tre was set on fire, betuene thaym of Kent and of Londoun; and thanne thay of Kent withdrow thaym litille and litille. And thair capteyn put alle his pilage and the godis that he hadde robbid in to a barge, and sente it to Rouchestre be watir, and he wente be lande and wolde haue go in to the castel of Queneburghe with a fewe men that were left with himme, but he was let of his purpoz. And anon he fledde in to the wode cuntre beside Lewez, and the shireue of [July 6th,
Monday.]

Folio 188 b.
[July 7th.]

[July 8th.]

[July 9th.]

A.D. 1450.

Kent him pursude, and there he was wounded vnto the dethe, and take and caried in a carte toward Londoun, and be the wey he deide.* And thanne his hed was smyte of and set on Londoun brigge, and his body quartrid and sent to dyuers tounez of Englonde; whooz tirannye endurid fro Trinite Sunday vnto Saint Thomas eve of Caunterbury: and thus endid this capteyn of myschief.

[May 31st.]

Folio 189.

And this same yeer, the communez arooz in dyuers partiez of Englonde, as in Sussex, Salisburie, Wilshire, and othir placez, and dede moche harm to meny personez.

And this same yeer, was the yeer of grace at Rome, and began on Neweyeris day, and lastid vnto the same day the nexte yeer folowyng.

Anno xxix.
[xxviiij.]

The xxix † yere of king Harri, Normandie was lost be the vntrouthe and fals couetize of Edmund duke of Somerset, beyng that tyme lieutenaunt of Normandie; for he menuzid, and abatid the noumbre of the soudiers that were in the garisonz, and sente thaym in to Englonde vnpaid of thair wagez, wherby the strengthe of Normandie was lost.

Also the comune vois and fame was that tyme, that the duke of Suffolk William de la Pole, and the said duke of Somerset, with othir of thair assent, hadde maad delyueraunce of Aunge and Mayn withoute assent of this lond vnto the kyng of Cicile the quenez fader; and hadde also aliened and sold the duchie of Normandie to the king of Fraunce; wherfore alle the peple of this lond and specialli the communez cride ayens the said duke of Suffolk, and said he was a traitour; and atte instaunce and peticioun of the said communez

* A proclamation, promising a thousand markes for the head of Cade, was issued 10th of July. See Stowe's Annals, 646; Holinshed, iii. 635. And on the 15th of the same month an order was given to the Treasurer of the Exchequer to pay the amount to Alexander Iden, sheriff of Kent (Rymer, xi. 275). This would fix his death between the 10th and 15th July. The Rolls of Parliament seem to prove that it must have taken place after the 11th Rot. Parl. v. 224.

† Eve of *translation* of Thomas of Canterbury, July 6th.

‡ The Chronicler is still in the 28th of Henry VI.

of the parlement holden that tyme at Westmynstre, he was arestid and put in to the tour. A.D. 1450.
[January 28th.]

¶ This duke of Suffolk badde axed befor this tyme of on that was an astronomer, what sholde falle of him, and how he sholde ende his lif; and whanne the said astronomer hadde labourid therfore in his said craft, he ansuerde to the duke and said that he sholde die a shameful deth, and counselid him alwey to be war of the tour; wherfor be instaunce of lordis that were his frendis, he was sone delyuerid out of the said tour of Londoun. Folio. 189 b.

Thanne the kyng seyng that alle this lond hatid the said duke dedly, and that he myzt not bere ne abide the malice of the peple, and exilid him for terme of v. yeer. And the Friday the iij. day of May,* he took his shippe at Episwich and sailed forth in to the high see, where anothis shippe callid the Nicholas of the Tour lay in waite for him, and took him. And thay that were wythynne grauntid him space of a day and a nyghte to shryue him, and make him redy to God. And thanne a knaue of Yrlond smot of his hed, vpon the side of the boot of the said Nicholas of the Tour, notwithstanding his saaf conduct; and the body with the hed was cast to the lond at Douor. [March 17,]

And this yeer, on Newyeris day, began the yeer of grace at Saint Jamez.

And this same yeer † saint Georgez day fille on Estirday, and Corpus Christi day fille on Midsomer day, that is to say, the viij. kalendes of Juylle. [Anno xxix^o.]
A.D. 1451.

The xxx. yeere of kyng Harry, aboute Shrofttyde, the duke of Yorke, the erle of Deuenshire, and the lord Cobham, gadered a grete peple in destruccioun of theire enemyes that were aboute the kyng; and sente by an herowde to London, prayng that they myghte [Anno xxx.]
A.D. 1452.
[February.]

* He was to leave the kingdom *before* the 1st of May (Rot. Parl. v. 183.)

† The 29th Henry VI. must be here intended, although Easter day in that year was April 25, and the fixed feast mentioned in the text (St. George's) was April 23. But the second calculation is accurate, for Corpus Christi day, 1451, fell on the 24th of June.

A.D. 1452.
Folio 190.

passee wyth theyre peple thorough the cyte, but they cowde gete no graunte therof for asmoche as the kyng had commaunded the contrary. Wherfore thay passed ouer the Temes by Kyngstone brige, and wente forthe to the toune of Derteforde in Kent; and there, besyde the toune, ordeyned and pyghte theyre felde. And thenne the kyng with many lordes wyth the nombre of xv. M^l. men, came towarde the seyde duke of Yorke, for to dystresse hym and his peple. And when the duke sawe that the peple of Kent and of other places came nat to hym as they had promysed, and that they were nat stronge ynoughe for the kyngys parte, by entrete of diuerse bysshops they yelde theym vnto the kynges grace, and so retorned to London. And there the matier was put in a rewle betwene the kyng and the seyde duke, as for that tyme.

Anno xxxj.
A.D. 1453.
[July.]

The xxxj. yere of kyng Harry, in the moneth of May, the erle of Shrouesbury was slayne besyde Burdeux; and sir Edward Hulle, knyghte, and the lorde Lyle sone of the sayde erle, and the lorde Molyng take prysoner, and after delyuered for a grete raunsom.

Anno xxxij^o.
A.D. 1453-4.

The xxxij. yere of kyng Harry, and the yere of oure Lorde M^l.iiijc.liiiij.* on the Saturday the xiiij. day of Octobre, in the feste of seynt Edwarde the Confessoure, was bore at Westmynstre Edward the furst sone of kyng Harry; whoos godfadres were master Johan Kempe, archebysshoppe of Caunterbury and bysshoppe cardinal of Rome, and Edmunde duke of Somerset, his godmother was the duchesse of Buckyngame: and master William Wayneflete, bysshop of Wynchestre, hym baptized.

Folio 190 b.

A.D. 1454.

And this same yeer, deyed the same mastre Johan Kempe archebysshop of Caunterbury on the Friday the xxij. day of Marche. After whom succeded in to the seyde archebysshopryche mastre Thomas Bouchier bisshoppe of Ely, and into the office of the chaunceler, ser Richard Nevyle erle of Salysbury.

Anno xxxiiij.
A.D. 1454-5.

The xxxiiij. yere of kyng Harry, the erle Douglas of Scotlonde

* Prince Edward was born Saturday 13th October, feast of *translation* of Edw. Conf. 1453.

fled oute of Scotlande and came into Engelond, because that the kyng of Scottis badde vnmanly and traytourly slayne the sayde erle hys brother vnder sauf conduct. And he became kyng Harrye; liege man, and was swore to him and dede to him homage, and had a place assigned to him in the parlement. A. D. 1454.

This same yere, in the moneth of Juyn [May*], the kyng wolde haue ryde to Leycestre for to haue holde a counseylle there; and rode by the toun of Watforde, abiding there alle nyghte, and came on the morow to Saynt Albons aboute ix. of the clocke. A. D. 1455.
[May.]

Thenne was there a mortalle debate and a variaunce bitwene Richard duke of Yorke, Richard erle of Salesbury, Richard erle of Warrewyke, and Edmund duke of Somerset, be whom at that tyme the kyng was principally gided and gouerned, as he had be before by the duk of Suthfolk. And this saide duke Edmond euer kept hym nygh the kyng, and durste nat departe fer from his presence, dreding alwey the power of the seyde duk of York and of the forseide erles, and euer excited and stered the kyng ageyns thaim; notwithstanding that the comones of this lande hated this duk Edmond and loued the duk of York, because he loued the communes and preserued the commune profyte of the londe. Folio 191.

The seyde duke Richard and the erle abouesayde, seyng that they myghte nat preuayle ne withstond the malice of the forseide duk Edmond; the whiche dayly entended and prouoked the kyng to theyre fynal destruccioun; and gadered priuily a power of peple and kept thaim couertly in villages aboute the toun of Seynt Albons; and whan the kyng was there, they beseged the toun aboute, and sente to the kyng besechyng hym that he wolde sende oute vnto theym theyre mortal enemy, Edmond duke of Somerset, and enemy to alle the reame; yef he wolde nat so, they wolde haue hym by streynghete and violence. The kyng by advyse of his counseylle answered and seyde he wolde nat delyuer him. First battayle
of Seint Albons. †
[May 22nd.]

* Correction in the text by the hand of Stowe.

† By the hand of Stowe.

A.D. 1455.

Whanne the duk of York and the érles herde this aunswere, thoughe the toune were strongly barred and arrayed for defence, they and theyr peple brake doune vyolently bowses and pales on the este syde of the toune, and entred in to seynt Petres strete sleyng alle tho that wythestoode theym. Thanne came the kyng oute of the abbey wyth his baner dysplayed in to the same strete, and duke Edmond wythe hym, and the duk of Bokyngham, the erle of Northumbrelonde, and the lorde Clyfforde, and the lorde Sudeley beryng the kynges baner; and there was a sore fyghte, as for the tyme, and there at laste was slayne the seyde duke Edmond, the erle of Northumbrelond, and the lorde Clyfforde; the kyng that stode vndre his baner was hurte in the necke wythe an arowe. And when the seyde duke Edmonde and the lordes were slayne, the batayle was ceased. And thus was done the Thurseday the xxij. day of May.

Folio 191 b.

Thys sayde Edmond duke of Somerset had herde a fantastyk prophècy that he shuld dy vndre a castelle; wherefore in ás meche as in him was, he lete the kyng that he sholde nat come in the castelle of Wyndsore, dredyng the seyde prophecy; but at Seynt Albonys ther was an hostry hauyng the sygne of a castelle, and before that hostry he was slayne.

When this was done, the forseide duke of York and the erles returned to Londoun, and had the kyng with theym.

And at this bataylle were slayne lx. persones of gentilmen and of other.

[Anno xxxiv.]
A.D. 1456.

And this same yeer, in the moneth of Juyne was seen *stella comata*, betwene the northe and the est, extendyng her bemes towards the sowthe. The whiche sterre was seyenne also in the court of Rome, as they reported that came fro thens.

Anno xxxv.
A.D. 1456-7.

The xxxv. yere of kyng Harry, and the yere of oure lorde Mⁱ.cccc.lvij.* a pylgryme that alle his dayes had be a shipmanne,

* Michaelmas, 1457, was in the 36th Henry VI. Holinshed places the second prodigy here mentioned under November 1456.

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A.D. 1456.

“Thow hast do to be sayde there iij. masses, one for thy fader, another for thy moder, and the iij^{de} for thy selue ; and yef thou haddest lete say a masse for me, I had be delieured of the peyne that I suffre. But thow most go ayene to seynt James, and do say a masse for me, and yeue iij^d. to iij. pore men.” “O,” sayde the pylgrime, “howe shulde I go ayene to seynt James? I haue no money for myne expenses, for I was robbed in the shyppe of v. nobles.” “I know welle thys,” sayde the spirite, “for thow shalt fynde thy purce hanging at the ende of the shyp and a stoone thereynne ; but thow most go ageyne to seynt James, and begge, and lyue of almesse.” And when the spyryte had thus seyde, the pylgrime saw a deuelle drawe the same spyryte by the sleue, for to haue hym thennys. Thenne saide the spyryte to the pylgrime, “I haue folewed the this ix. yere, and myghte neuer speke with the vuto. now ; but blessed be the hous where a spyryte may speke, and farewell, for I may no lenger abyde with the, and therefore I am sorry :” and so he vanysshed away. The pylgrime went into Portyngale, and so forthe to seynt James, as the spyryte had hym commaunded ; wherefore I counseyllle euery man to worship seynt James.

Folio 193.

Also this yere, in the moneth of Novembre, in the yle of Portlond, nat fer from the forseide toune of Weymouthe was sey a cocke commyng oute of the see, hauyng a greeete creeste vppon his hede and a greeete rede beerde and legges of half a yerde long, and stood in the water and crew iij. tymes ; and euery tyme that he crew he turned hym rounde aboute, and bekened wyth his hede towarde the north, the southe, and the weste, and he was of the coloure of a fesaunt ; and when he had crowe iij. tymes he vanysshed away.

A.D. 1457.

[August 28th.]

And this same yere, the xxviiij. day of August, on the Sunday in the morow, the Frensshemen robbed and spoyled the toune of Sandewyche in Kent, abydyng thereynne an hoole day, and at the laste a kynghte of the contre called ser Thomas Kyryel drofe theym to the see, and kylde many of theym.

The xxxvj. yere of kyng Harry, in the moneth of January, dyed the erle of Deuynshire in the abbey of Abyndoun poysened, as men sayde, and beyng there at that tyme with quene Margarete.

A.D. 1457-8.
[Anno xxxvj.]
trew with the
record.*

And this same yere, and the yere of oure Lorde M^l.iiijc.lviij. master Reynold Pocock bysshop of Chichestre a seculer doctour of dyuynyte, that had labored meny yeres for to translate Holy Scripture into Englysshe; passing the bondes of diuinite and of Crysten beleue, was accused of certayne articles of heresy, of the whyche he was conuyct before the archebysshoppe of Caunterbury and other bysshopys and clerkys; and vtterly abiured, reuoked, and renounced the sayde articles opynly at Powles Crosse in his moder tunge as folowethe hereafter. “In the name of the Holy Trynyte, Fader, Sone, and Holy Gost, I Reynold Pocok bysshop of Chichestre vnworthy, of myne owne power and wylle withoute eny maner cohercioun or drede, confesse and knowlege that I herebefore this tyme presumyng of myne natural wytte, and preferryng my iugement and naturalle resoun before the Newe and the Olde Testament, and the auctoryte and determinacoun of oure moder hooly church, haue holde, wrytenne and taughte otherwys thanne the hooly Romane and uniuersalle church techythe, prechethe, or obseruethe; and ouer thys, ayenst the trew catholyk and aposteles feythe, I haue made, wryten, taughte and publysshed meny and diuerse perylous doctrynes, bookes, werkes and wrytyng, conteynyng heresydes and errours contrary to the feythe catholyk and determinacoun of holy church; and specially these heresydes and errours folowyng, that ys to say:

The 4 of
Decembar.†

The abiuracoun
of master
Reynold Pocok,
bysshoppe of
Chichestre.

Folio 193 b.

“In primis, quod non est de necessitate fidei credere quod Dominus noster Ihesus Christus post mortem descendit ad inferos.

“Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis, credere in sanctorum comunione.

* Stowe.

† By the hand of Stowe. Pecock's final examination upon the charge of heresy before the Archbishop and bishops had been on November 28th, when he made his private recantation (Wood, *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* bk. i. p. 222.)

A.D. 1457.

“Item, quod ecclesia vniuersalis potest errare in hiis que sunt fidei.

“Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere et tenere illud quod consilium generale et vniuersalis ecclesia statuit, approbat, seu determinat in fauorem fidei et ad salutem animarum, est ab vniuersis Christi fidelibus approbandum, credendum et tenendum.

“Wherefore I, miserable synner, whiche here before long tyme haue walked in derkenesse, and now by the mercy and infynyte goodnes of God reduced in to the ryghte wey and lyghte of trouthe, and consideryng myself greuously haue synned and wyckedly haue enformed and enfect the peple of God, retorne and come ayene to the vnyte of our moder holy churche; and alle heresyas and errours wryten and conteyned in my seyde bookes, workes and wrytyng, here solemply and openly reuoke and renounce, whiche heresyas and errours, and alle other spices of heresyas, I haue before thys tyme before the moste reuerend fader in God and my good lord of Caunterbury, in dyuers and lawfulle forme iudicially abiured; submyttyng myself, beyng thanne and also nowe at this tyme verrey contryte and penytent synner, to the correccioun of the churche and of my sayde lorde of Caunterbury,

Folio 194.

“And ouer thys, exhortyng and requiring in the name and vertew of Almyghtye God, in the saluacioun of youre soules and of myne, that no man hereafter yeue feythe and credence to my seyde pernycyous doctrynes, heresyas and errours, neyther my sayde bookes kepe, holde or rede in any wyse; but that they alle suche bokes, workes and wrytyng, suspect of heresyas, delyuer in alle goodly haste vnto my saide lorde of Caunterbury or to his commyssioners and deputees, in eschewyng of meny inconuenientys and grete peryles of soules, the whiche elles myghte be cause of the contrary. And ouer this declaracoun of my conuersion and repentaunce I here openly assent, that my seyde bookes, werkes and wrytyng, for declaracioun and cause aboue rehersed be deput vn to the fyre, and openly brende in ensample and terrour of alle other,” &c.

“Wythe wondrethe that reson nat telle can,
 Howe a mayde ys a moder, and God ys manne,
 Fle reasoune, and folow the woundre,
 For beleue hathe the maystry and reasone ys vnder.”

A.D. 1457.

Thys made the sayde Pocock, as it was seyde.

And after thys he was pryued of his bysshopryche, hauyng a certeyne pensione assigned vu to hym for to lyue on in an abbey, and sone after he dyed.

[A.D. 1460.?)

Afterwarde this same yere, was holde a counseyll at Westmynstre aboute Shroftyde, to the whiche came the yong lordes whoos fadres were sleyne at Seynt Albonys; that ys to sey, the duke of Somerset, the erle of Northumberlond, and his brother lord Egremount, and the lorde Clyfforde, with a grete power, and were loged withoute the walles of Londoun aboute Templebarre and Westmynstre. The cyte wolde nat receyue theym, because they came ageyns the pease. The duk of York and the erle of Salesbury came but onely with theyre householde men in pesyble manner, thynkyng none harme, and were loged wythynne the cytee; for they abouesayde came forto dystroy vtterly the sayde duk of York and the erle of Salesbury, and of Warrewyk; and the cyte was euery day armed forto withstonde the malice of tho yong lordes yef nede had be. And sone after came the erle of Warrewyk fro Caleys, wherof he was capteyne, and lay wythynne the cyte.

A.D. 1458.

[February.]

Folio 194 b.

Thanne the byshoppys and other lordes trectyd betwyxt theym of the pease and accorde, and after long trecte bothe partyes submytted theym to the laude and arbytrement of the kyng and his counselle. The whiche after good deliberacione and avysement yaf this awarde and arbitrement; that *xlv.li.* of yerely rente shulde be amorteysed and founded in for euermore by the sayde duk of York and the erles, in the abbey of Seynt Albons, where the forseide lordes so slayne were buryed, for to pray for theyre soules and for the soules of alle tho that were slayne there. And ouer this the sayde duk of York and the erles shulde pay to the duke of Somerset and to hys

A.D. 1458. moder, to the erle of Northumbrelond, to the lorde Egremont and to the lorde Clyfford, a notable summe of money, for recompens of theyre fadres dethe, and for wronges done vnto theym.

Folio 195. Where uppon was made wrytyng and suerte ; and so was the trowble ceased, and pease and accorde made betwene theym ; but hit endured nat long.

[April 3, 1454.] One of the causes of this trouble betwene the duk of York and the duk of Somerset was thys—Duryng the kynges sykenesse the duk of York was made protector of Englonde, whereof the duk of Somerset had grete indignacioun and alwey malygned ayenst hym and stered the kyng ageyne hym ; natheles meny of the lordes of the counceyl fauored more the duk of York thanne hym. Wherefore for certeyne causes and articles that were leyde ayenst the seyde duk of Somerset, he was commytted by the kynges counselle to the toure of London : but be instaunce and mediacione of his frendes he was sone delyuered, vnder this condicione, that he shulde neuer after entremete, ne have a do with the gouernaunce of the reame, and that he sholde nat come nyghe the kyng by xx. myle. And for to obserue and kepe these condicions he was swore vpon a book.

[Feb. 7, 1455.] Whenne he was delyuered oute of the toure, he took more vpon hym thenne he dyd before, stiryng the kyng dayly and maliciously ageyns the forseide duke of York and erles, coniectyng and ymaginyng howe he myghte dystroy theyme ; but at seynt Albonys he fylle in to the same snare that he had ordeyned for theyme.

[Anno] xxxvij.*
A.D. 1458. The xxxvij. yere, the kyng and the quene beyng at Westmynstre, the ix. day of Nouembre fylle a grete debate betwene Richard erle of Warrewyk and theym of the kynges hous, in so moche that they wolde haue sleyne the erle ; and vnnethe he escaped to his barge, and went anone after to Caleys for a lytel before he was made capteyne therof by auctoryte of the parlement.

Folio 195 b. [Anno xxxvij.] Sone afterwarde the yonge duke of Somerset by steryng of theyme

* By the hand of Stowe.

that hated the erle of Warrewyk was made capteyn of Caleys, and a pryue seale directe to the erle for to dyscharge hym of the capteynshyppe; but the erle forasmeche as he was made be auctoryte of the parlement, he wolde nat obey the pryue seale, but continued forthe in the sayde offyce meny yeres after.

A.D. 1459.
[October 9th.]

The xxxviij. yere of kyng Harry, in a lytylle toune in Bedfordshyre, there fylle a bloody rayne, whereof the rede dropys appered in shetes, the whiche a woman had honged out for to drye.

Anno xxxviij.
A.D. 1459-60.

In this same tyme, the reame of Englonde was oute of alle good gouernaunce, as it had be meny dayes before, for the kyng was simple and lad by couetous counseylle, and owed more then he was worthe. His dettes encreased dayly, but payment was there none; alle the possessyons and lordeshyppes that perteyned to the crowne the kyng had yeue away, some to lordes and some to other simple persones, so that he had almoste noughte to lefe onne. And suche ymposicionen as were put to the peple, as taxes, tallages, and quynzymes, alle that came from theym was spende on vayne, for he helde no householde ne meyntened no warres. For these mys-gouernaunces, and for many other, the hertes of the peple were turned away from thayme that had the londe in gouernance, and theyre blyssyng was turnyd in to cursyng.

The quene with such as were of her affynyte rewled the reame as her lyked, gaderyng ryches innumerable. The offices [*sic*] of the reme, and specially the erle of Wylshyre tresorere of Engelond for to enryche hymself, peled the pore peple, and disheryted ryghtefulle eyres, and dede meny wronges. The quene was defamed and desclaundered, that he that was called Prince, was nat hir sone, but a bastard gotten in avoutry; wherefore she dreding that he shulde nat succede hys fadre in the crowne of Englonde, allyed vn to her alle the knyghtes and squyers of Chestreshyre for to haue theyre benyuolence, and helde open householde among theym; and made her sone called the Prince yeue a lyuery of Swannys to alle the gentilmenne of the contre, and to many other throught the

Folio 196.

A.D. 1459.

lande; trustyng thorough thayre streynghthe to make her sone kyng; makyng pryue menys to some of the lordes of Englonde for to styre the kyng that he shulde resygne the croune to hyre sone: but she coude nat bryng her purpos aboute.

[Sept. 23rd.]

The xxxviij. yere of kyng Harry, in the moneth of Septembre, the yere of our Lord, M^l.cccc.lix. on the Sunday in the feste of Seynt Mathew, Richard erle of Salesbury, hauyng with hym vij.M^l. of wele arayed men, dredyng the malyces of his enemyes and specially of the queene and hyre company the whiche hated hym dedly and the duk of York and the erle of Warrewyk also, tooke hys wey towarde Ludlow where the sayde duk of York lay at that tyme, to thentent that they bothe togedre wolde haue ryde to the kyng to Colshylle in Staffordshyre, for to haue excused theym of certeyne articles and fals accusaciones touchyng thaire ligeaunce layde agayns theyme maliciously by their enemyes.

Folio 196 b.

Bloreheth.
[Sept. 23rd.]

Whenne the kyng herde of thayre commyng, they that were aboute hym counseyled hym to gadre a power for to wythestand theym, and enformed hym that they came forto dystroy hymme. Thenne lay the quene at Eglishale, and anone by hire stiryng the kyng assembled a grete power whereof the lorde Audeley was chyef and had the ledyng of thaym, and wente forthe in to the felde called Bloreheth; by the whyche the sayde duk of York and the erl most nedes passe. And there bothe hostes mette and countred to gedre, and faust mortally. And there was the lorde Audeley sleyne, and meny of the notable knyghtes and squyers of Chesshyre that had resceued the lyuery of the swannes; and there were take prysoners, the erlles ij. sones of Salisbury, Thomas and Johan, and ser Thomas Haryngtone, and enprysoned in the castelle of Chestre; but sone after they were delyuered.

After this discomfiture, the erlle past forthe to duke Richard to Ludlow, and thyder came to theyme fro Caleys the erle of Warrewyk, and they iij. wrote a letter vn to kyng Harry, whereof the tenoure ys thus:—

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A.D. 1459. . and duryng oure lyfe wolle haue the same. And yet neuertheles, we here that we be proclamed and defamed in oure name vnryghtfully, vnlawfully, and sauynge youre hyghe reuerence, vntrewly, and
 Folio 197 b. otherwyse, that God knowethe, then we haue yeue cause; knowynge certaynly that the blessed and noble entent of youre sayde goode grace and the ryghtwysnesse thereof ys, to take, repute, and accepte youre trew and lowly sugettys, and that it accordethe neyther with youre sayde entent, ne wythe youre wylle or pleasure, that we shuld be otherwyse take or reputed. And ouer that, oure lordshyppes and tenauntes bene of hyghe vyolence robbed and spoyled, ayenst youre peese and lawes and alle ryghtewysnesse. We therefore, as we suffice, beseche youre sayde good grace, to take, repute, and receyue thervnto oure sayde trouthe and entent, whiche to God ys know, as we shewe it by the seyde tenure of the sayde endenture, and nat apply youre sayde blessednesse ne the grete ryghtewysnesse and equite whereinne God hathe euer endowed youre hyghe nobeley, to thymportune impacience and violence of suche persones as entende of extreme malyce to procede vnder the shadow of youre hyghe myghte and presence to oure destruccione, for suche inordinate couetyse, whereof God ys nat pleased, as they haue to oure landes, offices, and goodes, not lettyng or sparyng therefore to put suche thyngys in alle lamentable and to sorowfulle geopardy, as moot in alle wyse take effect by the mystery of Goddys wille and power, nor nat hauynge regarde to theffusione of Crystyne blood, ne any tendrenesse to the noble blood of thys lond suche as serue to the tuicione and defens therof, ne nat weyng the losse of youre trew liegemenne of youre sayde reame, that God defende whiche knowethe oure entent, and that we haue avoyded therfro, as fer as we may with oure sewertees, nat of any drede that we haue of the sayde persones, but onely of the drede of God and of youre sayde hyghe-
 Folio 198. nesse, and nat wylle vse oure sayde defence vnto the tyme that we be provoked of necessaryte, whereof we calle heuene and erthe in to wyttensse and recorde; and therynne beseche God to be oure Juge,

and to delyuer vs accordyng to oure sayde entent, and oure sayde A.D. 1459.
trouthe and dutie to youre seyde hyghenesse, and to the sayde com-
mone wele. Most Crysten Kyng, ryghte hyghe and myghtye Prince,
and moste drad souerayne lorde, we beseche oure blessed Lord to
preserue youre honoure and estate in ioye and felycite.

“ Wretynne at Ludlow, the x. day of Octobre.

“ R. York, R. Warrewyk, R. Salesbury.”

After theyre excusacionne conteyned in thys letter sent to the
kyng, thay withdrowe thayme, and went in to dyuers parties of be-
yonde the see, for the more sewrte of theyre personnes: the duke of
York wente into Yrelond, where he was worshypfully resceued.
The erles of March, of Salesbury, and Warrewyk, nat wythoute
grète geopardy and perylle, as welle in the londe as in the see,
wente vnto Caleys and abood there.

Thanne was a parlement holden at Couentre, and they that were [Novemb. 20th
chosenne knyghtes of the shyres, and other that had interesse in the
parlement, were nat dyfferent but chosen a denominacione of thaym
that were enemyes to the forseide lordes so beyng oute of the reame.
In the whiche parlement, the sayde duk of York and the iij. erles
and other, whos names shalle be rehersed afterward, withoute any
answere, as traytours and rebelles to the kyng were atteynt of treson,
and theyre goodes, lordshyppys and possessyons escheted in to the
kynges hande, and they and theyre heyres dysherytet vn to the
ixth degre. And by the kynges commissione in euery cyte, burghe,
and toun cryed opynly and proclamed as for rebelles and traytours;
and theyre tenautes and there men spoyled of theyre goodes,
maymed, bete, and slayne withoute eny pyte; the toun of Ludlow, Folio 198 b.
longyng thanne to the duk of York, was robbed to the bare walles,
and the noble duches of York vnmanly and cruelly was entreted
and spoyled.

In the mene tyme the erle of Warrewyk, hauyng a strong and a
myghte naueye kept the strayte see, and fauzt with the Spaynardys

A.D. 1459.

and kylde many of thaym, and tooke theyre grete vesselles and a carake of Jene, and gate in theym grete rychesse.

The names of the lordes and other that were atteynt in the forseyde parlement bythe these. Richard duk of York, Edward erle of Marche his sone and heyre, Richard erle of Warwyk, Edmund erle of Rutlond, Richard erle of Salesbury, Johan lorde Clyfford, lord Clyntone, ser Thomas Haryngtone, ser Johan Wenlock, Thomas Nevyle, Johan Nevyle, sones of the erle of Salesbury, James Pykryng, Johan Conyers, Thomas Par, Wyllyam Oldhalle, and Harry Ratford, knyghtes: Johan Bowser, Thomas Cook, Johan Clay, Richard Gytone, Robert Browe, Edward Bowser, Thomas Vaughan, Johan Roger, Richard Gray, Watier Deuoros, Watier Hopton, Roger Kynderton, Wyllyam Bowes, Fook Stafford, the lorde Powys, and Alys countesse of Salesbury.

October, 1459.*

In the monethe of Octobre next folowyng, the yonge duke of Somerset, Harry lord Roos, and lorde Audeley, with a certeyne nombre of men of armes, hauyng with theym the kynges letters, wente to Caleys to thentent that the seyde duk shulde haue be capteyne of Caleys, the whyche office the kyng had yeue hym,† wenyng that the Erle of Warrewyk wolde lyghtely haue yolde vp the sayde offyce to him as he was commaunded by the kynges lettres; but when he came to the londe, they of Caleys wolde haue take hym, and with mucche payne he escaped and fled in to the castelle of Guynes, and there helde hym meny dayes after; the sovdyers that came with hym were stryppyd oute of theyre harneys by thayme of Caleys, and let go. The lorde Audeley was take into Caleys, and the lord Roos fledde in to Flaunders, and afterward came priuely agayne in to Engeland.

Folio 199.

Not long afterward the lord Ryuers was sent to Sandewyche for to kepe the toun, that the erle of Warrewyk and the other lordes shulde nat londe there, for it was seyde that alle Kent fauored and supported thaym; and sothe it was: and also that the seyde lord

* By the hand of Stowe.

† By letters dated Oct. 9th, Rymer, xi. 436.

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A.D. 1460.

came sowdyers of the erles of Warrewyk and spoyled theym of theyre harness and kylde some of theym ; and theyre capteyne was slayne that was called Mounfort.

Thanne sente the forseide lordes the articles vnder wryten to the archebyssshop of Caunterbury, and at large to the Communes of Engelond, of the whych articles thys ys the tenoure:—

“Worshypfulle Syres, We, the duk of York, the erles of March, Warrewyk, and Salesbury sewde and offred to haue come vnto the kyng oure souerayn lordes most noble presens, to haue declared there afore hym, for oure dewte to God and to hys hyghenesse, and to the prosperyte and welfare of his noble estate, and to the comon wele of alle his londe, as trew lyegemen, the matiers folowyng, that ys to say :

For the furst, The grete oppressyone, extorsion, robry, murther, and other vyolencys doone to Goddys church, and to his mynystres therof, ayens Goddys and mannes law.

Item, The pouerte and mysery that to oure grete heuynesse oure sayde souerayne lorde standeth inne, nat hauyng any lyuelode of the crowne of Englond wherof he may kepe hys honorable housholde, whyche causethe the spylling of his sayde lyegemenne by the takers of hys seyde howsholde, whyche lyuelode ys in theyre handes that haue be destroyers of his seyde estate, and of the seyde commone wele.

Item, Howe hys lawes been parcially and vnrightfully guyded, and that by thayme that sholde moste loue and tendre hys sayde lawes the sayde oppressyon and extorsyone as (*sic*) most fauored and supported, and generally, that alle rightwysnesse and justice ys exyled of the sayde lond, and that no manne dredethe to offende ayenst the sayde lawes.

Item, That it wolle please his sayde good grace to lyve upponne his owne lyuelode, whereupon hys noble progenitures haue in dayes heretofore lyued as honorably and as worthily as any Crystyn prynces ; and nat to suffre the destroyers of the sayde londe and of his trewe sugettes to lyue theroponne, and therefore to lacke the

Articles sent fro
the duk of York
and the erles, to
the Arche-
byssshop of
Caunterbury
and to the
Commones.

Folio 200.

sustenaunces that sholde be bylongyng to hys sayde estate, and fynde A.D. 1460:
hys sayde householde opponne his pore communes withoute pay-
ment, whyche nouthere accordethe wyth Goddes nor mannes lawe.

Item, Howe ofte the seyde comunes haue ben gretely and merueylously charged with taxes and tallages to theyre grete enporyssh-
yng, whereof lytelle good hathe eyther growe to the kyng or to the
saide londe, and of the moste substaunce therof the kyng bathe lefte to
his part nat half so moche and other lordes and persones, enemyes to
the sayde commune wele, haue to theyre owne vse, suffryng alle the
olde possessyons that the kyng had in Fraunce and Normandy,
Angew and Meyne, Gascoyne and Guyene, wonne and gotten by his
fadre of moste noble memory, and othir hys noble progenitors, to be
shamefully loste or solde.

Item, How they cannot cece therewith, but nowe begynne a new Folio 200 b.
charge of imposicione and tallages vppon the sayde peple whyche
neuer afore was seen; that ys to say, euery tounshyp to fynde men
for the kynges garde, takyng ensample therof of oure enemyes and
aduersaryes of Fraunce: whiche imposicione and tallage yef hit be
continued to theyre heyres and successours, wol be the heuyest
charge and worst ensample that euer grewe in Englund, and the
forseyde sugettes, and the seyde heyres and successours, in suche
bandom as theyre auncetours were neuer charged with.

Item, Where the kyng hathe now no more lyfelode oute of his
reame of Englund but onely the londe of Ireland and the toune of
Caleys, and that no kyng crystened hathe suche a londe and a toune
withoute hys reame, dyuers lordes haue caused his hyghenesse to
wryte letterz vnder his priuy seale vnto his Yrisshe enemyes, whyche
neuer kyng of Englund dyd heretofore, wherby they may haue com-
fort to entre in to the conquest of the sayde londe; whiche letters
the same Yrisshe enemyes sent vn to me the sayde duke of York,
and merueled gretely that any suche letters shuld be to theym sent,
spekyng therinne gret shame and vylony of the seyde reme.

Item, In like wyse, the kyng by excytacione and laboure of the

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same lordes wrote other letters to his enemyes and aduersaryes in other landes, that in no wyse thay shold shew eny favoure or good wylle to the toun of Caleys, whereby they had comfort ynowghe to procede to the wyunnyng therof; considered also, that hit ys ordeyned by the laboure of the sayde lordes, that nowther vetayle ner other thyng of refresshyng or defens shulde come oute of Englund to the socoure or relyef of the sayde toun, to thentent that they wolde haue hyt lost, as yt may opynly appere.

Folio 201.

Item, It ys demed, and oweth gretely to be douted, that after that, the same lordes wolde put the same rewle of Englund, yef they myghte haue theyre purpos and entent, in to the handes and gouernance of the seyde enemyes.

Item, How continuely, syth the pytyous, shamefulle, and sorowfulle murther to alle Englund, of that noble, worthy, and Crystyn prince, Humfrey duk of Gloucestre the kynges trew vncler, at Bury, hit hathe be labored, studyed, and conspyred, to haue destroyed and murthryd the seyde duke of York, and the yssew that it pleased God to sende me of the royalle blode; and also of vs the sayde erlys of Warrewyk and Salysbury, for none other cause but for the trew hert that God knoweth we euer haue borne, and bere, to the profyte of the kynges estate, to the commone wele of the same reame, and defens therof.

Item, How the erles of Shrouesbury and Wylshyre, and the lorde Beaumont, oure mortalle and extreme enemyes, now and of long tyme past, hauyng the guydyng aboute the most noble persone of oure sayde souuerayn lorde, whos hyghenes they haue restrayned and kept from the liberte and fredom that bylongethe to his seyde astate, and the supporters and fauorers of alle the premysses, wolde nat suffre the kynges seyde good grace to resceue and accepte [us] as he wolde haue done, yet (*sic*) he myghte haue had his owne wylle, in hys sayde presence; dredyng the charge that wolde haue be layde vpponne theym of the mysery, destruccione, and wrechednesse of the sayde reame, wherof they be causes, and nat the kyng, whiche

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A.D. 1460.

vnto we haue euer be and wylle be trew as any of his sugettes alyue : Whereof we call God, our Lady Saynt Mary and alle the Sayntes of heuene vn to wyttensse and record.”

In the mene tyme therlle of Wylshyre tresorer of Englonde, the lorde Scales, and the lorde Hungreford, hauyng the kynges commysyone went to the toune of Newbury, the whyche longed to the duk of York, and there made inquysycione of alle thayme that in any wyse had shewed any faouere or benyuolence or frendshyppe to the sayde duk, or to any of hys; whereof some were found gylty and were drawe hanged and quartered, and alle other inhabitantes of the forseide toune were spoyled of alle theyre goodes.

Whanne thys was done the erle of Wylshyre went to Southamp-toun, and there vnder coloure for to take the erle of Warrewyk, but specyally for to stele priuily owte of the reame as hit preued afterwards, he armed and vytayled v. grete carrakys of Jene that were at that tyme in the port of the sayde toune, and stuffed theym with sowdyers of Englysshemen, takyng vytayle of the kynges pryce without payment, as he sholde haue made a vyage for the kyng, and put a grete parte of his tresoure in to the sayde carrake; and sone after he past owte of the port and sayled aboute in the see, dredyng alwey the commyng of the forseide erles of Warrewyk and Salesbury, and atte laste arryued in Ducheland, and sent hys sowdyers in to Englonde ayene.

Folio 202 b.

Thanne were the kynges pryue seales dyrect to alle manner of bysshops, abbotys, pryores, and to alle the grete men of the spiri-tuelle and temporalte, for to leue the kyng money withoute delay for to wage men to kepe the see costes, that the sayde erles shuld nat arryue in no syde: and the sayde erle of Wylshyre made promys to alle suche persones as lent the kyng any money, that they shulde haue assignementes and repayment of the goodes of the forseide duk of York and erles, whom they called oponne traytours. And the seyde erle of Wylshyre taxed the summe what euery man shuld leue, and so he made leve of many grete summes. And ouer thys,

proclamacione was made by commaundement of the kyng, that euery cyte, toune, and burghe, and hundredys, shuld fynde certayne sowdyers of thayre owne coste to kepe the see costys, for drede of landyng of the seyde erles. A.D. 1460.

Ferthermore, the comunes of Kent, dredyng the malyce and the tyranny of the forseide erlle of Wylshyre and of other, lest he wolde exercyse his vengeaunce vppon thaym, as he had done vppon thaym at Newbery, and sent priuily messagers and letters to Caleys to the forseide erles, besechyng thaym that they wolde in alle haste possible come and socour thaym fro theyre enemyes, promyttyng that they wolde assyste theym with alle thayre power.

The sayde erles wold nat anone yeue credence to theyre wrytyng and wordes, but send ouer in to Kent the lord Fauconbrege, to know whether theyre promys and theyre dedes sholde accorde: and anone the peple of Kent and of other shyres aboute resorted to the sayde lorde Fauconbrege in grete nombre, abydyng the commyng of the erles. Folio 203.

Whan the erles knew the trew hertes of the peple, they dysposed theyme dayly for to com in to thys londe. And nat longe before theyre commyng, thys balat that folowethe was sette vppon the yates of the cyte of Caunterbury.

In the day of faste and spirituelle affixione,
 The celestiale influence of bodyes transytory,
 Set asyde alle prophecyes, and alle commixtione
 Of iujementys sensualle to ofte in memory,
 I reduced to mynde the prophete Isay,
 Consideryng Englund to God in greuouse offence, with wepyng ye;
 This text I fonde in his story:—

“Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens!”

Regnum Anglorum regnum Dei est,
 As the Aungelle to seynt Edward dede wyttenesse;
 Now regnum Sathane, it semethe, reputat best,
 For filii scelerati haue broughte it in dystresse.

Balat set
 upponne the
 yates of Caun-
 terbury.

A.D. 1460.

This preuethe fals wedlock and periury expresse,
 Fals heryres fostred, as knowethe experyence,
 Vnryghtewys dyssherytyng with false oppresse,
 Sic “ omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens ! ”

A plantâ pedis, fro the pore tylyer of the lond
 Ad verticem of spirituelle eke temperalle ennoynted crown
 Grace ys withdrawe and Goddys mercyfulle hand,
 Exalted ys falsehod, trowthe ys layde adoune ;
 Euery reame cryethe owte on Engelondes treson.
 O falshod with thy colored presence !
 Euer shulle we syng duryng thy season,
 “ Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens ! ”

folio 203 b.

“ Omne regnum in se divisum,” sayethe dyuyne Scrypture,
 “ Shall be desolate,” than folewethe translacione
 Into the handes of theyre enemyes, Jewes arn figure ;
 And now ys Englund in lyk reputacione,
 In wey to be conquered ; truste it for sewre !
 Jhesu, for thy mercy and thy noble reuerens,
 Reforme vs to goodnesse and condicione pure,
 For, “ omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens ! ”

Harry oure souerayne and most Crystyne kyng
 His trew bloode hathe flemed bothe be swerde and exyle ;
 What prynce by thys rewle may haue long enduryng,
 That also in moste pouert hath be long whyle ?
 Tho bestys that thys wroughte to mydsomer haue but a myle—
 But euer mornethe Englund for ham that be hens
 Wythe languysshyng of herte rehersyng my style,
 “ Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens ! ”

Jonathas ys ded that Daudid shuld restore
 To the presence of the kyng, vnyte to make
 Murum pro domo Israel, presthode dar no more
 Put hymself forthe, his fat benefyce he shuld forsake.
 Mercyfulle God ! it ys tyme thow for vs awake.
 Mercenarius fugit, ne wylle make resistence,
 He ferethe the wolf that wolde hys bonys crake,
 “ Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens ! ”

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That ys iust trew as steele,
With verray good entent,
Alle the Reame of Englonde
Sone to louse from sorowes bond,
Be ryghte indifferent iugement.

To the ryghte Worshypfulle Cyte of Caunterbury.

Howe the Erles
landed at Sand-
wyche.

Thanne the noble erles of Marche, Warrewyk, and Salysbury, hauyng wynde and weder at thayre plesaunce, arryued graciously at Sandwyche; where met wythe thaym master Thomas Bouchier archebyssshop of Caunterbury, and a grete multitude of peple wythe hym; and wythe hys crosse before hym, [he] went forthe wythe the sayde erles and theyre peple toward Londoun, and sente an herowde to the cyte to knowe howe they were dysposed, and whether they wolde stand with theyme in thayre iust quarelle, and graunte hem leve for to passe thorough the cite. They that were nat frendely to the erles, counseyled the mayre and the comynalte for to ley gunnez at the brege for to kepe thaym owte, and so a lytelle diuision there was among the citezens, but yt was sone ceased.

Folio 204 b.

Than sent thay of the cyte to the sayde erles xij. worshypfulle and dyscrete aldermen, the whyche, in the name of alle the cyte, graunted thaym fre entre wythe suche seruyce as they cowde and myghte do to thayr worshyppe and honoure. Thys done, the aldermen retorned to the cyte, and the sayde herowde ageyne to the lordes.

2 of July,
1460.*

And the secund day of Juylle thay entred in to Londoun. And wythe theym came the popys legat, that nat long before had be in Englonde; the whyche had auctoryte by the popes bulles for to entrete pease betwene the kyng and the erles, yt (*sic*) nede were; but, how yt were, he vsurped and toke oponne hym more power thanne he had, as it was knowenne afterward.

* By the hand of Stowe.

Thanne was a conuocacione of the clergy holden at Paulys in A.D. 1460. Londoun, and theder came the sayde erles: and the erle of Warrewyk there purposed, and recyted before alle the conuocacione, and innumerable peple standyng aboute, the causes of theyre commyng in to thys lond; and mysrewle and myscheues therof; and how with grete vyolence thay had be repeled and put from the kynges presence, that they myghte nat come to hys hyghenes forto excuse thaym of suche fals accusaciones as were layde ayens thaym; and now were come ayene, by Goddys mercy, accompanied with peple for to come to hys presens, there to declare and excuse thayre innocence, or ellys to dy in the felde; and there [they] made an open othe vppone the cros of Caunterbury that thay had euer bore trew feythe and lygeaunce to the kynges persone, wyllyng no more hurt to hym than to thayre owen personnes; wherof they took God and hys moder and alle the sayntes of heuene to wyttensse. Folio 205.

The kyng, that held a counseylle at Couentre, heryng of the commyng of the erles, went to Northampton.

The erle of Salesbury be comyn assent of the cite was maad rewler and gouernour of Londoun, in absence of the forseide erles. And the seyde erles of Marche and Warrewyk and other lordes, that ys to say the lorde Facombrege, lorde Clyntone, lorde Bourser, prioure of Seynt Johannes, lorde Audeley, lorde Bergevenny, lord Say, lord Scroope, tharchebysshoppe of Caunterbury, the popes legat, the bysshoppe of Excetre, the bysshops of Ely, Salesbury, and Rouchestre, dressed hem forth to the kyng to Northampton.

The lord Scales and the lorde Hungreford that before the commyng of the erles were in the cyte of London, wolde haue had the rewle and gouernaunce therof, but they of the cyte wold nat suffre thaym, for thay sayde that they were suffysaunt for to rewle the cyte thaymsel; wherof the lordes hauyng indygnacione wente in to the toure of Londoun, and meny other grete men with theym, whos names bethe here vndre wretynne:—lord Vessy, lord Louelle, lord Delaware, lord Kendale a Gascoyne, ser Edmond Hampden

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knyghte, Thomas Broun knyghte, shireue of Kent, Johan Bruyn of Kent, ser Geruays Clyftone knyghte, tresorer of the kynges hows, ser Thomas Tyrelle knyghte, the duchesse of Exetre, and many other. And the toure was beseged by lond and by water, that no vytayl myghte come to thayme that were wythynne.

Folio 205 b.

Whanne the erles and lordes were gone to Northampton, thay that were wythynne the toure caste wyld fyre in to the cyte, and shot in smale gonnes, and brend and hurte men and wymmen and chyldren in the stretes. And they of London leyde grete bombardes on the ferther syde of the Thamyse agayns the toure and crased the walles therof in diuerse places; natheles they hoped dayly forto haue be rescued, but alle was in veyne.

The kyng at Northampton lay atte Freres, and had ordeyned there a strong and a myghty féeld, in the medowys beside the Noury, armed and arayed wythe gonnys, hauyng the ryuer at hys back.

The erles with the nombre of lx. M^l., as it was sayd, came to Northampton, and sent certayne bysshops to the kyng besechyng hym that in eschewyng of effusyone of Crysten blood he wolde admytte and suffre the erles for to come to his presence to declare thaym self as thay were. The duk of Bukynghame that stode besyde the kyng, sayde vn to thaym, “Ye come nat as bysshoppes for to trete for pease, but as men of armes;” because they broughte with thaym a notable company of men of armes. They answered and sayde, “We come thus for suerte of oure persones, for they that bethe aboute the kyng bythe nat oure frendes.” “Forsothe,” sayde the duk, “the erle of Warrewyk shalle nat come to the kynges presence, and yef he come he shalle dye.” The messyngers retorned agayne, and tolde thys to the erles.

Thanne the erle of Warrewyk sent an herowde of armes to the kyng, besechyng that he myghte haue ostages of saaf goyng and commyng, and he wolde come naked to his presence, but he myghte nat be herde. And the iij^{de} tyme he sente to the kyng and sayde

Folio 206.

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A.D. 1460.

stered and moued youre hyghenesse to exyle vs oute of youre londe, and wolde vs haue put to fynalle shame and confusyone. We come nat to that entent for to inquyete ne greue youre sayde hyghenesse, but for to please youre moste noble personne, desiryng most tendrely the hyghe welfare and prosperyte thereof, and of alle youre reame, and for to be youre trew lyegemen, whyle oure lyfes shalle endure.”

[July 16th.]

The kyng of theyre wordes was gretely recomforted, and anone was lad in to Northampton wythe processyone, where he rested hym iij dayes, and thanne came to London, the xvj day of the monethe abouesayde, [and] loged in the bysshop's paleys. For the whyche vyctory London yaf to Almyghtye God grete lawde and thankyng.

¶ Nat longe before this batayle it was proclamed in Lancastreshyre and Chesshyre, that yef so were that the kyng had the vyctory of the erles, that thanne euery man shulde take what he myghte and make havok in the shyres of Kent, Essex, Middylsex, Surreye, Sussex, Hamshyre and Wylshyre: bot God wolde nat suffre suche fals robbery.

[July 19th.]

Furthermore the Saturday the xix day of Juylle, thay that were in the toure of Londoun for lack of vytayl yolden vp the toure, and came oute: of the whyche afterward some were drawe and beheded.

Folio 207.

The lord Scales, for as meche as men of Londoun loued hym nat, he thoughte that he myghte haue stande in the more sewrte in the saintwary of Westmynstre thanne in the toure. Late in the cuyn, [he] entred a boote with iij persones rowyng toward Westmynstre, and a wommanne the whiche that knewe hym ascryed hym, and anone the boote men gadered theym togedre and folowed hym, and fylle vppone hym, and kylde hym and caste hym on the lond, besyde seynt Mary Ouerey. And grete pyte it was, that so noble and so worshypfulle a knyghte, and so welle approued in the warrys of Normandy and Fraunce, shuld dy so myscheuously.

Whan quene Margarete harde telle, that the kyng was dyscom-

fyted and take, she fledde with hyr sone and viij persones in to the castelle of Hardlaghe in Wales, and as she went by Lancastreshyre, there she was robbed and dyspoyled of alle her goodes, to the valew of x.M^l. marc., as yt was sayde; and sone after she went into Scotlonde. A.D. 1460.

Thys same yeere, in the monethe of August, the kyng of Scottes beseged the castelle of Rokesburghe in Northumbreland, and on seynt Laurence day in the mornyng, er he had herde masse, he wolde haue fyred a grete gonne for to have shot to the castelle, and the chambre of the gonne brake and slowe hym. Ye 10 of August.*

The xxxix. yere of kyng Harry, aboute seynt Mathews day in Septembre, the duk of Somerset came fro Guynes in to Englund. Anno xxxix.
A.D. 1460-1.
Ye 21 of September.*

And thys same yere the Tewesday the viij. day of Octobre, a parlement was begonne at Westmynstre; and thyder came Richard duk of York, that a lytelle before was come oute of Yrlond, and was loged in the paleys, the kyng beyng there, and brak vp the dores of the kynges chambre. And the kyng heryng the grete noyse and rumore of the peple, yaafe hym place and took another chambre. [October 8th.]

Folio 207 b.

Kynge Harry
forcid to forsake his chamber.*

Then the seyde duk Richard, remembryng the grete and manyfolde wrongys, exyls, and vylonyes, that he had suffred and be put vuto by thys seyde kyng Harry, and by hys; and also how wrongfully and vniustly he had be, and was, dyspleased and dyseased of hys ryghte enheritaunce of the reaume and crowne of Englund, by violent intrusyonne of kyng Harry the iiij^{the}, whyche vnryghtfully, wrongfully, and tyrannously vsurped the crowne after the dethe of kyng Rychard his cosyn, verray and ryghtfulle heyre therof, and so wrongfully holdyn from hymm, and occupied and holde, by the sayde kyng Harry the iiij^{the}, the v^{the}, and kyng Harry the vj^{the} that now ys in to thys tyme; he as ryghte heyre by lynealle descens from the sayde kyng Richard, chalaunged and claymed the

* By the hand of Stowe.

A.D. 1460.

sayd reame and croune of Englonde, purposyng withoute any more delay to haue be crowned onne Alle Halow day, thanne next folow-
yng : and heropon sent to the lordes and comones of the parlement
in wrytyng, hys sayde clayme, tytle and pedegre, and nat wold come
in to the parlement tulle he had aunswere therof. The whyche
tytle, clayme and pedegre, after diligent inspeccione and wyse dely-
beracione of thaym had, dyscussed and approued, by alle the seyde
parlement; peese, vnyte and concorde betwene the kyng and the
sayde duk Richard, the Fryday in the vygyll of Alhalow was maad,
stabylysshed and concluded, as yt appereth plenely, and ys con-
teyned in tharticles here next folowyng :—

[Friday, Oct.
31st.]

Folio 208.

The articles be-
twyxt kyng
Harry and the
duk of York.

“ Blyssed be Jhesu, in Whos handes and bounte restethe and ys
the pease and vnyte betwyxt princes, and the weele of euery reame
yknow, by Whos direccione aggreed hit ys, appoynted, and accorded
as folowethe, betwyxt the moste Hyghe and most Myghty Prynce,
Kyng Harry the vjth, kyng of Englonde and of Fraunce and lorde of
Yrelond, on that on party, and the ryghte Hyghe and Myghty Prynce
Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, on that other party, uppon cer-
tayne matyers of variaunce meued betwyxt thayme; and in espe-
cyalle, uppon the clayme and tytle vn to the corones of Englonde and
of Fraunce, and royalle power, estate, and dygnyte apperteynyng to
the same, and lordshyppe of Yrelond, opened, shewed, and declared
by the sayde duk afore alle the lordes spyrytuelle and temporalle
beyng in thys present parliament: The sayde aggrement, appoynte-
ment and accord, to be auctorysed by the same parlement.

“ Furst, where the sayde Richard duk of York hathe declared and
opened as aboue ys sayde tytle and clayme in the manner as
folowethe :

“ That the ryghte noble and worthy prince Harry kyng of Englonde
the iij^{de} had issew and lawfully gate Edward hys furst begoten sone,
borne at Westmynstre the xv. kalendis of Juylle, in the vygyll of
seynt Marc and Marcelliane, the yere of oure Lorde M^l.cc.xxxix. :
and Edmonde his seconde goten sone whyche was in saynt Marcelle

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A.D. 1460.

The sayde Johan of Gaunt the iiijth gotten sone of the seyde kyng Edward, and the yonger brother of the sayde Leonelle, had yssew and lawfully gat Harry Erle of Derby, whyche incontinent after the tyme that the seyde kyng Richard resygned the coronez of the sayde reames and the sayde lordeshyppe of Yrlond, vnryghtewysly entred vpponne the same, then be alyue Edmond Mortymer erle of Marche, sone to Roger Mortymer erle of Marche, sone and heyre of the sayde Phyllyppa, doughter and heyre of the sayde ser Leonelle, the iij^{de} sone of the sayde kyng Edward the iij^{de}, to the whyche Edmond the ryghte and title of the seyde corones and lordshyp by lawe and custom belonged. To the whyche Richard duk of York, as sone to Anne, doughter to Roger Mortymer erle of Marche, sone and heyre to the sayde Phyllyppa, doughter and heyre of the sayde Leonelle, the iij^{de} gotten sone of the sayde kyng Edwarde the iij^{de}, the ryghte; tittle, dygnyte royalle, and estate of the corones of the reames of Englund and Fraunce, and of the lordeshyppe and the londe of Yrelond, of the ryghte lawe and custume perteyneth and belongethe, afore any yssew of the sayde Johan of Gaunt the iiijth gotten sone of the same kyng Edwarde.

Folio 209 b. “The sayde tittle natheles natwythestandynge, and withoute preiudice of the same, the sayde Richard duk of York, tendrely desyryng the weele, reste and prosperyte of thys lande, and to sette aparte alle that that myghte be a trouble to the same; and consideryng the possessyone of the sayd kyng Harry the vjth, and that he hathe for hys tyme be named, taken and reputed kyng of Englund and of Fraunce and lorde of Yrlond; ys content, agreed and consenteth that he be had, reputed and taken kyng of Englund and of Fraunce, with the royalle astate, dignyte and preemynence bylongyng therto, and lorde of Yrlond, duryng hys lyfe naturalle; and for that tyme the sayde duk, withoute hurte or preiudice of hys sayde ryghte and title, shalle take, worshyp and honoure hym for his souerayne lord.

“Item, The sayde Rychard, duk of York, shalle promyt and hynde hym by hys solemne othe, in maner and forme as folowethe :

“ In the name of God, Amenne. I Rychard, duke of York, promytte and swere by the feythe and trowthe that I owe to Almyghty God, that I shalle neuer do, consent, procure or stere, directly or indirectly, in pryve or appert, neyther, asmoche as in me ys, shalle suffre to be do, consented, procured or stered, any thyng that may be or sowne to abrygement of the naturalle lyfe of kyng Harry vjth, or to hurte or amenusyng of hys regne or dygnyte royalle, by vyolence or any otherwyse ayens hym (*sic*) fredom or liberte: But yef any persone or persones wold do or presume any thyng to the contrary, I shalle with alle my myghte and power withstande hyt, and make yt to be wythstonde, as fer as my power wylle streche therevnto: so helpe me God, and His holy Euangelyes. A.D. 1460.

“ Item, Edward erle of Marche and Edmond erle of Rutlond, sones of the sayde Richard duk of York, shalle make lyke othe.

Folio 210.

“ Item, It ys accorded, appoynted, and agreed, that the sayde Rychard duke of York shalle be called and reputed from hensfoorth verray and ryghtefulle heyre to the corones, royalle astate, dygnyte and lordeshyp abouesayde: And after the decees of the sayde king Harry, or whenne he wolle laye from hym the sayde corones, astate, dignite and lordshyppe, the sayde duke and hys heyres shalle immediately succede to the sayde corones, royalle astate, dygnyte and lordshyppe.

“ Item, The sayde Richard, duk of York, shalle haue by auctoryte of thys present parlement, castelles, mauers, loudes and tenementes, wythe the wardes, mariages, releues, seruices, fynes, amerciamentes, offyces, avousons, fees and other appurtenaunces to thaym belongyng what soeuer they be, to the yerely valew of x. M^l marc., ouer alle charges and repryses; whereof v. M^l marc. shalle be to his owen estate; iij. M^l vc. marc. to Edwarde hys furst begoten sone, earle of Marche, for his astate; and M^l ti. to Edmond, erle of Rutlond, hys secund goten sone, for his yerly sustentacione, of suche consideraciones and suche entent as shal be declared by the lordes of the kynges counselle.

A.D. 1460.

“Item, Yef any persone, or persones, ymagyne or compasse the dethe of the sayde duk, and therof prouably be atteynt of open dede doone by folkes of other condicione, that yt be demed and adiuged hyghe tresone.

Folio 210 b.

“Item, For the more estabylysshying of the sayde accord, it ys appoynted and consented, that the lordes spirituelle and temporalle beyng in thys present parliament, shalle make othys to accept, take, worshyppe and repute, the sayde Richard duk of York, and hys sayde eyres, as aboue ys rehersed, and kepe and obserue and streynghete, in as moche as apparteyneth vn to thaym, alle the thynges abouesayde, and resyste to theyre power alle thaym that wold presume the contrary, accordyng to thayre astates and degrees.

“Item, The sayde Richard duk of York, erles of Marche and Rutland, shalle promyt and make othe to helpe, ayde and defend the sayde lordes and euery of theyme, ayens alle tho that wolle quarelle or any thyng attempt ayenst the sayde lordes, or any of thaym, by occasyone of aggrement or consentyng to the sayde accorde, or assystence yeuyng to the duk and erles or any of thaym.

“Item, Hit ys agreed and appoynted that thys accorde, and euery article therof, be opened and notyfyed by the kynges letters patentes, or otherwyse, at suche tymes and places and in manner as hit shal be thoughte expedyent to the sayde Richard duk of York, with thavyse of the lordes of the kynges counseylle.

“The kyng vnderstandethe certaynly the sayde tyle of the sayde Richard duk of York, iust, lawfulle and sufficient, by thauyse and assent of the lordes spirituelle and temporalle and comunes, in this parliament assembled; and by auctoryte of the same parlement declarethe, approuethe, ratyfyethe, confermeth and acceptethe the sayde tyle, iust, good, lawfulle, and trew, and therevnto yeueth his assent and aggrement of his fre wylle and liberte. And ouer that, by the sayde avyce and auctoryte, declarethe, entitlethe, callethe, stabylysshethe, affermeth and reputethe the sayde Richard duk of

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A D. 1460.

the vth comyng, were or be enheryttable to the sayde corones and reames, or to the herytage or enherytament of the same, be annulled, repeled, reuoked, dampned, cancelled, voyde, and of no force or effect. And ouer thus, the kyng by the sayde aduyse, assent and auctoryte, wylle, ordeynethe and stabylysshethe, that alle other actes and statutes, maade afore thys tyme by auctoryte of parlement, nat repeled or adnulled by lyk auctoryte, or otherwyse voyde, be in suche foorce, effect and vertew as thay were afore the makyng of these ordenaunces, and that no letters patentes royalx of record, nor actys iudycyalle, maade or done afore thys tyme, nat repeled, reuersed ne otherwyse voyde by the lawe, be preiudyced or hurt by thys present acte."

Also it was ordeyned by the sayde parlement, that the sayde Rychard duk of York shold be called Prince of Wales, duke of Cornewayle, and erle of Chestre; and [he] was made also by the sayde parlement protectoure of Englond.

[December.]

Thys same yeere, in the moneth of Decembre, the duk of Somerset and the erle of Deuenshyre went in to the Northcuntre, wythe viij.c. men: and anone after the seyde duk of York, the erle of Rutland hys sone, and the erle of Salesbury, a lytelle before Crystynmas, wyth a fewe personnes went in to the Northe also, for to repressse the malyce of the Northermenne the whyche loued nat the sayd duk of York ne the erle of Salesbury, and were loged at the castelle of Sandale and at Wakefeld.

Folio 212.

Than the lord Nevyle, brother to the erle of Westmorland, vnder a falce colour wente to the sayde duk of York, desyryng a commysyone of hym for to reyse a peple for to chastyse the rebelles of the cuntre; and the duk it graunted, demyng that he had be trew and on hys parte. When he had his commysyone he reysed to the nombre of viij. M^l. men, and broute thaym to the lordes of the cuntre; that ys to say, the erle of Northumbrelond, lord Clyfford, and duke of Somerset, that were aduersaryes and enemyes to duke Richarde. And whan they sawe a conuenient tyme for to fylle

theyre cruelle entent, the laste day of Decembre they fyll oponne the sayde duk Rychard, and hym kylde, and hys sone therlle of Rutland, and meny other knyghtes and squyers; that ys to say, the lorde Haryngtone a yong man, Thomas Haryngtone knyght, ser Thomas Nevyle sone to therlle of Salesbury, and ser Harry Ratford knyghte; and of other peple to the nombre of M^l. M^l.cc. The erle of Salesbury was take alyue, and lad by the sayde duk of Somerset to the castel of Pountfreete, and for a grete summe of money that he shuld haue payed had graunt of hys lyfe. But the commune peple of the cuntre, whyche loued hym nat, tooke hym owte of the castelle by violence and smote of his hed.

A.D. 1460.
[December
31st.]

Whan the dethe of these lordes was knowe, greete sorow was made for thaym ; and anone, by the kynges commaundement, wryttes and commyssiones were sent and direct to the Shyreues and other officers, to reyse peple for to chastyse the peple and the rebelles of the North.* And they of the Northe heryng thys gadred pryuyly a grete peple, and came doune sodeynly to the towne of Dunstaple, robberyng alle the cuntre and peple as they came; and spoylyng abbeyes and howses of relygyone and churches, and bare away chalyces, bookes and other ornamentes, as thay had be paynems or Sarracenes, and no Crysten menne.

A.D. 1461.
Folio 212 b.

The xij. day of Feuerer, the Thurseday, kyng Harry with his lordes, that ys to say, the duk of Norfolk, and Suffolk, the erles of Warrewyk and of Arundelle, the lorde Bonevyle and other, went oute of Londoun, and came with thayre peple to the toune of Seynt Albonys, nat knowyng that the peple of the North was so nyghe. And whanne the kyng herde that they were so nyghe hym, he went oute and took hys felde besyde a lytelle towne called Sandryge, nat fer fro Seynt Albonys, in a place called No-mannes land, and there he stode and sawe his peple slayne on bothe sydes. And at the

[February
12th.]

The secunde
batayl of Seynt
Albonys.

* See in Rymer a commission directed to Edward duke of York for this purpose, dated Feb. 12 (vol. xi. p. 471.)

A.D. 1461.

laste, thorow the withdrawyng of the Kentisshmen with thayre capteyne, called Lovelace, that was in the vaunt-warde,—the whych Lovelace fauored the Northe party, for as moche as he was take by the Northurnmen at Wakefeld whan the duk of York was slayne, and made to theym an othe for to saue his lyfe, that he wold neuer be agayns theym,—and also be vndysposycion of the peple of the kynges syde, that wold nat be guyded ne gouerned by theyre capteyns, kyng Harryes part loste the feeld. The lordes that were wyth the kyng seyng thus, withdrowe theym, and went theyre wey.

Folio 213.

Whan the kyng sawe his peple dysparbeled and the feeld broke, he went to his queue Margarete that came wyth the Northurmen, and hyr sone Edward; for thay of the North sayde that thay came for to restore the kyng to the quene his wyfe, and for to delyuer hym owte of pryson; forasmeche as seth the batayle of Northampton he had be vnder the rewle and gouernaunce of the erles of Warrewyk and Salesbury, and of other.

The sayde erle of Warrewyk dressed hym toward the erle of Marche, commyng toward London owte of Wales, fro the dyscomfytur of the erles of Penbroke and Wylshyre. The lorde Bonevyle that came wyth kyng Harry wolde haue withdrawe hym, as other lordes ded, and saued hymself fro his enemyes, but the kyng assured hym that he shuld haue no bodyly harme; natheles natwythstandyng that sewrte, at instaunce of the quene, the duk of Exetre, and therlle of Deuonshyre, by iugement of hym that was called the Prince, a chylde, he was beheded at Seynt Albons, and with hym a worthy knyghte of Kent called ser Thomas Kyryelle. Ser Johan Nevyle, kyng Harryes chamburlayne, brother to the erle of Warrewyk, was take; but sone after he was delyuered. This bataylle was done on Shroftwysday, the yere aboue sayde, the xvij. day of Feuerer, in the whiche were slayne M^l.IX.C.xvj. persones.

[February
17th.]

Whan thys batayle was doon, London dredyng the manas and the malyce of the quene and the duke of Somerset and other, leste they wolde have spoyled the cyte,—for as moche as the quene with her

Folio 213 b.

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A.D. 1461. resceyued, cherysshed and honoured; and afterwarde sende hom with meny grete yeftes vn to Englonde ayene.

[February 3rd.] The iij^{de} day of Feuerer the same yere, Edward the noble erle of Marche faught with the Walsshmen besyde Wygmore in Wales, whos capteyns were the erle of Penbrook and the erle of Wylshyre, that wolde fynally haue dystroyed the sayde erle of Marche.

[February 2nd.] And the Monday before the daye of batayle, that ys to say, in the feest of Puryficacion of oure blessed Lady abowte x atte clocke before none, were seen iij sonnys in the fymament shynyng fulle clere, whereof the peple hade grete mervayle, and therof were agast. The noble erle Edward thaym comforted and sayde, "Beethe of good comfort, and dredethe not; thys ys a good sygne, for these iij sonnys betokene the Fader, the Sone, and the Holy Gost, and therefore late vs haue a good harte, and in the name of Almyghtye God go we agayns oure enemyes." And so by His grace, he had the vyctory of his enemyes, and put the ij erles to flyghte, and slow of the Walsshemen to the nombre of iij. M^l.

Folio 214 b.
[February 28th.] After thys dyscomfyture he came to Londoun, the xxviiij day of the moneth abouesayde, and anone fylle vnto hym peple innumerable, redy for to go with hym in to the northe, to venge the dethe of the noble duke Richard hys fadre.

[Wednesday, March 4th.] Here endethe the reygne of kyng Harry the vj^{the} that had regued xxxix. [viiij.]* yere, vj monethes and iij dayes, that ys to say vnto Twysday, the iij day of Marche; and the Wennesday next after, vppon the morow, Edward the noble erle of Marche was chosen kyng in the cyte of Londoun, and began for to reygne, &c.

* Correction by the hand of Stowe.

AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING THE 18TH AND 19TH YEARS OF RICHARD II.
AND THE PARLIAMENT AT BURY ST. EDMUND'S, 25TH
HENRY VI.

BY RICHARD FOX, MONK OF ST. ALBAN'S.

xviiij 3ere. The 3ere of our Lord M^l.ccc.iiij score and xv, and A.D. 1395.
the regne of kyng Rycharde xviiij 3ere, he hulde a parlement in
Irelonde, to the wheche parlement come his lyge men of Irelonde,
tho that were of the Englysche Irysche, and the kyng asked of hem
a subsedy, and they graunted to hym.

And in that same tyme, the viij day aftur the xij day, sire Edmund,
duke of 3ork, grauntfader (*sic*) to kyng Rycharde, and leefftenant
of Englonde in the kynges absence, sette a parlement at Londone, to
the wheche parlement come dyuers of the Irysche lordes. And the
duke of Gloucetur he expowned before alle men the kynges grete
nede at that tyme in specielle, for moche of his tresour was spente in
his lyyng in Irelonde. And when he hadde purposed to the clergye
for a Dyme, they graunted hym. And then he purposed his mater
aftur the same entent to the Comunes for an hole xv peny; they
seyde by protestacyon and condicyon that hat "schalle not bynde vs
by no lawe to graunt only here afturward. But as at this tyme,
forasmoche as we tendre and loue our sovereyne lord the kyng, we
graunte to hym the xv peny." And this was sped on bothe partyes
spirituelle and temperalle.

And in the same 3ere, the kyng beyng in Irelonde, maystur John
(Wyccleef, a doctour in devenyte, and in his openyons an eretyk,

A.D. 1395.

this seyde mayster John, in the kynges absence, hadde asocyed to hym dyuers lordes, as sire Rycharde Sturry, sire Thomas Latymer, sire Lowys Clyfforde, sire Johan Mowntagu; the wheche setten scrowis on Powlus dore of ther false Lollardie wheche they haad begunne, concludyng by xij chapytours of eresy in destruccyon of the feyth and of the status of holy churche, the wheche mevyng and menyng begynneth as thus:—

“Nos pauperes Christi homines et thesauri appostolorumque (*sic*) suorum, denunciamus Dominis, hac (*sic*) Communibus parliamenti, certas conclusiones et veritates pro reformatione ecclesie Anglie, que fuit seca (*sic*) et leprosa multis annis per manutenenciam superbe prelacie, supportate per adulationem privatorum religionum, que multiplicantur ad magnum nocumentum et dolorosum periculum hic in Angliâ,” &c.

The firste conclusion that he leyde for hym, for his truthe. He began when the churche of Englonde was appered with temperelle godus, and morteysed be apropiacyone.

The secunde conclusion was, that oure prystehode that began in Rome, yfeyned of the power of angelus and archangeles, and hyt is not the same pristehode the wheche Criste ordeyned to his apostelus. And who that lyste to loke and se more of these articules, leet hym loke on Wycceves bokes.

And here folewyng ben the vers that were sette vpon Powles dores:—

“Plangent Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum!
Paulos (*sic*) fert horum sunt ydola causa malorum.
Surgunt ingrati giezite Semoni (*sic*) nati
Nontiui (*sic*) prelati hoc defensari (*sic*) parati.
Qui reges estis populus (*sic*) quicunque preestis,
Qualiter his gestis gladiis (*sic*) prohibere potestis?”

Anon as tythynges come to kyng Rycharde into Irelonde, he sweere a grete oth that they scholde be hanged, and alle tho that hulde with hem, without they wolde renounce and forsake theyre openyones.

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A.D. 1396.

xix 3ere. Item, in anno M^l.ccc. nonogesimo vij^o, and in the regne of kyng Rychard the xix 3ere, the pope wroot downe to the kyng a3eyne the lordes, to haue hem proclamed as traytours to holy churche; and that the kyng schold be faverable to the prelates, as beschopes, abbotus, pryours, and to alle the trewe mynystris of the churche; and tho cursed Lollardes that wolde not renounce and leue hure false openyones, the kyng to geve hem the lawe as longed to suche mysbeleuers and eretykes. Also alle tho that haad purchased off the pope or of ony of his mynystris ony fredome, as chappellanes, honoris, or any capasite, the pope annulled hem, bothe of his owne tyme and also of his prodesessous (*sic*), vuto the tyme that he were bettur avysed.

A.D. 1395.

And in this same 3ere, sire John, duke of Lancastre, to whome the kyng had 3eue the Duche of Gyene, for the wheche he spent goode innumerable to gete the goode wylle of the peple of that countrey; and, when the seyde duke stode in gode conseyte of the peple, the kyng sent for hym to come to hym into Englonde. And he come home anon aftur Cristemasse to the maner off Langeley, wher the kyng haad holde his Cristemasse; and he was reseyued wurthyly and wurschypeffully by countynaunce outwarde, but ther was but lytylle loue withinne forth, as hit was seyde.

A.D. 1396.

And anon aftur, the duke partyd fro the kyng, and rode to Lyncolle, wher Kateryne Swynfordes abydyng was as at that tyme. And aftur the utas of xij day, the duke wedded the seyde Kateryne; the wheche weddyng caused mony a monnus wonderyng, for, as hit was seyde, he haad holde heere longe before.

And in this same 3ere, the ambassitours of Englonde and Fraunce metten togedere, and spaken for a pees betwene Englonde and Fraunce, be the assent of bothe the kynges: and apoyntement was made that bothe the kynges schulde mete oppon a serteyne grounde bezonde Calyce; and so they dede, and ther were pyzt bothe ther tentes ful ryally. But or they come togedere for to trete togedere, ther was an oth taken on bothe partyes, wheche oth sueth here

folewyng wreten in Lateyne. The fyrste that swere was the kyng A.D. 1396. of Fraunce as thus :—

“Nos Carolus Rex Franciè juramus in verbo regali super Evangelia, pro nobis et omnibus nobis subjectis, amicis, et affinitate conjunctis, et benevolentibus, quod non faciemus nec paciemur fieri, per nos nec per supra nominatos, dampnum, inpeticionem, molestiam, arestacionem, nec disturbacionem, ullo modo per tempus nostre convencionis, nec per octo dies ante convencionem et septem dies sequentes, nostro dicto filio Regi Anglie, nec alicui de suis subjectis, amicis, affinibus, nec benevolis, ante dictum tempus. Et si casu alico, insolencia vel litigia per aliquem de nostris supradictis, quod absit, emergerit (*sic*), nos promittimus verbo regali et per securitatem predictam, quod faciemus hec debite emendari, et sine dilacione reformari. Et juramus ulterius, super securitate predicta, quod si aliquis vel aliqui de quolicunque (*sic*) statu vel condicione extiterint (*sic*), voluerit vel voluerint contraire dicte nostre securitati, nos erimus in auxilium nostri predicti filii, pro nostro posse, ad resistendum malicie malefactorum predictorum, et conservandum nostrum dictum filium et suos, per modum quem nos et nostri scimus, et ad tenendum omnia et prosequendum sine fraude vel malo ingenio; et ad hoc juramus et promittimus sicut supra.”

Idem juramentum edidit Rychardus Rex Anglorum.

And forthwith the xxvj day of the moneth of Octobre suyng, the kyng of Englonde, Rychard the Secounde, roode fro Calyce to the castelle of Gynes warde. And with hym roode the duke of Barrye, the wheche duke was sent frome the Frensche party to Calyce, to receyue the oth of the kyng [of] Englonde, and the surete for the peple of Fraunce.

M^D OFF THE PARLEMENT OF BERYE,
ANNO DOMINI M^l.CCCC.xlvj^o.

A.D. 1447. Th[e] Parlement of Berye, the regne of kyng Harry the vj. the
[Feb. 10th.] xxv 3ere. The parlement began the x day of Februarye.

[Feb. 16th.] And onne the xvj day of the same moneth mustered the men of
the same contre on the north syde of Berye on Henow Heth to the
nowmbre of xl. M^l.

And on the morewe they schewed hemself on the south-este party
of the towne off Berye. And there they brak up their waache, and
euerye man went to his owne dwellyng-place, somme xxx^{ti} m3le,
somme xx m3le, x m3le, iiij m3le, somme more, somme lesse, and no
doubte of hit was (*sic*) a fervent coolde weder and a bytynge.

[Feb. 18th.] And on the morewe, that is to seye the xvij day of Februarye
and Schrooffe-Sonedayes Even, come the duke of Gloucetre fro
Lanam; and or he come by halue a m3le or more mette with hym
sir John Stourtone, treserere of the kynges howse, and sir Thomas
Stanley, cownteroller of the kyngus hows, in message fro the kyng,
was (*sic*), as hit was reportyd by somme of the forseyd dukes
meyne:—"That forasmoch as the forseyd duke of Gloucetre hadde
labered in that feruent coolde wheder, hit was the kynges wylle that
he scholde take the nexte wey to his loggyng, and goo to his mete."
And indede he enterid in at the Southgate about xj on the klokke
affore none. And by estymacyon there come with hym to the
nowmbre of iiij score hors. These forseyd messageres, when they
badde do the kynges comaundement, toke leue of the duke, and
retournede a3eyn to the kyng.

And the forseyd duke roode into the horse-market, and toke the
wey on his lyfte hoonde to the Northgate warde, and he enteryd into
a lewde lane. And then the duke asked a pore man that dwelled
in the same lane, "What calle me this lane?" The pore man
answered and seyde, "Forsothe, my lord, hit is called the Dede lane."
And thanne the good duke remembryd hym of an olde prophesye
that he hadde radde mony a day before, and seyde, "As our Lord

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A.D. 1447. bore to the Greye Freres of Babbewede, with xx torches of his owne meynye; saue the too zemen of the crowne and the sergeaunt of armes, ther were no mo strangeres that went with hym.

[Feb. 26th.] And on the Soneday folewyng at afternone, the abbot of Seynt Albones dede his Dirige.

[Feb. 27, 28.] And on the Moneday his Masse. And on the Tewesday they bru3t hym to the Newemarket, and bood there al ny3t. And on the

[March 1, 2.] Wendesday at ny3t they laye at Berkewey. And on the Thorsday

[March 3, 4.] they lay at Ware. And on the Fryday they come to Seynt Albones, and there was done his Dyrige, and on the morewe his Masse, and thanne put into a feyre vout wheche was made for hym by his lyffe, and so closed and mured vp: on whose sowle God haue mercy, and on alle Cristen sowles. Amen.

Ther come with his body to Seynt Albones, too of his owne chapeleyne, mayster Roger Burgh and sir Raaffe Bewforde, pristis, the too zemen of the crowne, and the sergeaunt of armes. Ther came with hym his treserere Gerveyse of Clyftone, Jan de Puis, eusscher of the chambre, his cofferer Thomas Bernarde, George Lampot, Thomas Asschelle, Rychard Nedam of Douer, John Herburour, John Acastre, and iiij hensemene, and but fewe mo of squyers. Ther come with hym zemen of chambre, Rychard Nylder, John Doore, Rychard Boltone, John South, Grene, Lane, and moo other; John of the Halles, Portars (*sic*), and the Cookes.

These were tho that were dampned.

Sir Rorgger (*sic*) Chambreleyne, Arteys, Rychard Myddiltone, Thomas Herbert, Rychard Nedam: these were jugid to be drawen and hanged, and so they were. But the kyng dede hem grace, or they weren dede; for he sent hem hure charturs of pardone, the wheche sau3d hure lyffuus (*sic*). And alle the other that were araste, bothe gentyllmen and zemen, the kyng dede hem grace: relesed hem of ther prisonment, and fore the more part were restored to ther goodes.

And thus endet Vmffrey the duke of Gloucetre.

SUPPLEMENTARY ADDITIONS

FROM THE CONTINUATION OF THE EULOGIUM:

COTTON MS. GALBA E. VII.

I.

[See Page 2, line 17, &c.]

Sed Abbas nec adquiescere nec comparere volebat, asserens eccle- A D. 1378.
siam suam dedicatam fore per beatum Petrum miraculosè, et alterius Folio 192.
dedicatione non indigere; ostendans chronicam dedicationis, ut
sequitur:—

Tempore quo Rex Æthelbertus qui regnavit in Cantiâ, prædicante A.D. 605.
beato Augustino, fidei sacramenta susceperat, nepos quoque ejus
Sebertus, qui orientalibus Anglis præfuit, fidem, eodem episcopo
evangelizante, suscepit. Hic Londoniis, quæ regni sui Metropolis
habebatur, intra muros ecclesiam in honorem Pauli beatissimi con-
struens, episcopali eam sede voluit esse sublimem: cui sanctus
Mellitus, quem beatus papa Gregorius cum pluribus aliis in adjuto-
rium miserat Augustino, mero simul et honore pontificali priùs
omnium præfuit. Volens autem rex utrique apostolo se gratum
præstare, in occidentali parte ejusdem civitatis extra muros, in honore
beati Petri, monasterium insigne fundavit; multis illud donariis or-
nans et ditans possessionibus. Venerat autem tempus, quo ecclesia
fuerat in eo dedicanda; paratisque omnibus pro loco et tempore pro
monasterii dignitate, agente episcopo eâ nocte in tentoriis, dies
crastina præstolabatur. Magna plebis expectatio, quæ adhuc rudis
in fide, his solenniis interesse non solùm pro devotione sed etiam pro

A.D. 605.

Col. b.

admiratione gaudebat. Eâdem nocte, piscatori cuidam in Thamasis fluvii, qui eidem monasterio subfluit, ulteriori ripâ, in habitu peregrini beatus Petrus apparens, promissâ mercede, transponi se ab eodem et petiit et præmeruit. Egressus autem a naviculâ, ecclesiam, piscatore cernente, ingreditur; et, ecce, subito lux cœlestis emicuit, miroque splendore collustrans omnia, noctem convertit in diem. Adfuit enim cum apostolo multitudo civium supernorum egredientium et ingredientium, et, choris hymnidicis præeuntibus, melodia cœlestis insonuit. Omnia plena lumine, omnia referta dulcedine. Aures vocis angelicæ mulcebat jocunditas: nares indicibilis odoris fragrantia perfundebat: oculos lux ætherea illustrabat. Videbantur quasi mixta terrena cœlestibus, humana conjuncta divinis, et, quasi in scalâ Jacob, angeli descendentes et ascendentes in illis sacris solenniis videbantur. Paratisque omnibus quæ ad ecclesiæ dedicationem spectant solenniis, redit ad piscium piscatorem piscator egregius hominum; quem, cùm divini luminis fulgore perterritum, alienatum pœne sensibus, reperisset, blandâ consolatione reddidit hominem propriæ rationi. Ingredientes ambo cymbam simul uterque piscator, inter loquendum apostolus hominem iisdem quibus se quondam magister suus conveniens verbis, “Nunquid,” ait, “pulmentarium non habes?” Et ille “Tum,” inquit, “inconsuetæ lucis perfusione stupidus, tum expectatione tui detentus, nihil cepi; sed promissam a te mercedem securus expectavi.” Ad hæc apostolus, “Laxa nunc,” inquit, “retia in capturam.” Paruit imperanti piscator, et mox implevit rete piscium maxima multitudo; quibus ad ripam extractis, “Hunc,” inquit apostolus, “qui cæteris magnitudine et pretio præcellit, Mellito episcopo, meâ ex parte, piscem defer. Pro nauticâ vero mercede, cætera tibi tolle. Ego sum Petrus qui tecum loquor, qui cum meis concivibus, constructam in meo nomine basilicam dedicavi, episcopalemque benedictionem meæ sanctificationis auctoritate præveni. Dic ergo pontifici quæ tu vidisti et audisti; tuo quoque sermoni signa parietibus impressa testimonium perhibebunt. Superseat igitur dedicationi; suppleat quod omisimus, Dominici videlicet

Folio 192 b.

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A.D. 1387.

[Aug. 25th.]

Anno Domini 1387^o Rex in castro de Nottinghamiâ 25^o diē mensis Augusti, convocatis capitalibus justiciariis et uno serviente ad legem, proposuit has quæstiones, quæ sequuntur; præcipiens eis firmiter in fide et ligeantiâ suâ, quod fideliter secundum leges Anglicas ad eas responderent.

[Here follow the questions proposed to the Justices, with their answers, as they are to be found in Knyghton, col. 2694-6. Rot. Parl. III. 233, 357-8. Stat. Realm, II. 102-4. Evesham, 86-89. Immediately following the signatures of the Justices and of the Witnesses, the MS. proceeds] :—

Folio 196 b,
col. b.

Isti autem justiciarii fuerunt de consilio dominorum in parlamento præterito: et unus eorum postquam recesserat de castro dixit, “ Jam meruimus cordas quibus suspendamur, quia timore mortis hæc dicta fuerunt et non de veritate.”

Rex misit pro duce Gloucestriæ, comitibus Arundellæ et Warwici, ponens insidias in viis ad capiendum eos: ipsi vero, his per amicos auditis, cum forti comitivâ in sylvâ de Haryngay juxta Londonias convenerunt.

[Sunday, Nov.
10th.]

Rex de consilio unius burgensis Londoniensis (*Page 4, Fragment B.*) venit ad Wesmonasterium, sperans auxilio Londoniensium ipsos debellare.

[Sunday Nov.
17th.]

Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis supplicabat regi quod placeret sibi eos admittere ad præsentiam suam sine nocumento, et cum eis de pace tractare. Et, accepto juramento a rege, ivit et adduxit eos coram rege sedente in magnâ aulâ: exercitus eorum foris erat. Et ait rex, “ Quâ temeritate audetis vos insurgere, et contra pacem regni mei vos armare?” Respondit dux Gloucestriæ, “ Nos non insurgimus neque nos armamus nos contra pacem regni, sed ad tuitionem vitæ contra inimicos nostros et regni, in quo casu quilibet homo potest arma portare. Petimusque et vos requirimus, quod fiat parliamentum statim post Purificationem Beatæ Virginis, et in judicio parlamenti

[Feb. 3rd.]*

* The Purification was Feb. 2nd. The “Merciless Parliament” met on the day following.

nos ponemus nos; et custodiatis inimicos nostros, vestros adultores, A.D. 1387. faciatisque ibidem esse presentes." Et ait rex, "Parliamentum habebis, et eis non nocebis, et te faciam ita infimum sicut minimum garcionem coquinæ tuæ." Tum dux, "Non me inferiorem facietis quam filium regis;" et genuflectens se dixit, "Filius sum regis."

Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis supplicabat regi quod admitteret eos in crastino in eodem loco, et reformationi consentiret; concessitque rex. (*Page 4, Fragment B. b.*) Sed in crastino mutans propositum transivit ad Turrim.

In crastino verò domini venerunt cum exercitu suo in campum [Dec. 26th.]* sancti Johannis, et miserunt pro majore Londoniensi, qui duxit eos Folio 197. ad aulam cōmūnem civitatis, et amicitiam civitatis susceperunt. Rex verò misit pro eis ut loquerentur cum eo in Turri. Qui respondentes dixerunt, locum non esse tutum, sed extra Turrim cum eo loqui parati fuerunt. Rex jussit majorem venire, cui mandavit [Nov. 10] armare civitatem. "Absit, domine," dixit major; "ligii et fideles —17.] vestri sunt et amici regni." Rex eum ejecit, et misit ducem Hiberniæ cum literis suis patentibus et vexillo suo, ut Cestrenses et cæteros occidentales adduceret. Et domini, adjunctis sibi comite de Derby filio ducis Lancastriæ, comite de Nottingham mareschallo, et adaucto exercitu, transeundo obviaverunt duci venienti cum vexillo regis expanso prope Oxoniam. Quidam miles prudens exiit de exercitu ducis Hiberniæ, ut videret qui essent; et reversus dixit duci, "Hic sunt constabularius et mareschallus Angliæ, et præcipui domini regni; quomodo habuistis literas veras?" Cui ait dux, "Nonne vultis pugnare contra eos?" Respondit miles, "Absit." Et dux urgebat equum ultra Thamisiā cum suo confessore de ordine Minorum, magistro in theologiâ, et fugit. Cestrenses, scissis chordis arcuum,

* There is a confusion in the history here—see note *Page 4, last line*. The occasion of this second assembly of forces on the part of the Lords was the discovery of the King's treachery in having secretly sent Robert de Vere to collect troops in Cheshire. His defeat at Radcote Bridge was on Dec. 20th.

A.D. 1387. et cum arcubus suis verberati turpiter, redierunt. Militem quoque principalem, ducis Hiberniæ consiliarium, decollabant; et tulerunt ab eis vexillum regis et ipsum volventes plicabant. Dux autem Hiberniæ festinavit in insulam de Shipaye, et inde ad Alemaniam fugit; et Michaelis de la Pole similiter evasit; item, Alexander Nevyle Archiepiscopus Eborum ad partes ivit transmarinas; et nunquam reversi sunt.

Et prædicti quinque domini, videlicet, dux Gloucestriæ, Ricardus comes Arundelliæ, Ricardus comes Warwici, Henricus Bolyngbrok comes Darbeiæ, et Thomas Mowbray comes Notinghamiæ, in destructionem prædictorum rebellium et aliorum cum eis venientium apud Radcolbrigge, ceperunt et interfecerunt multos et quasi omnes, exceptis fugientibus.

Col. b.

[Feb. 3rd.]

Et tunc prædicti quinque domini statuerunt parliamentum apud Westmonasterium, ubi Robertus Tresylian justiciarius, Nicholas Brembre miles, civis Londoniensis, et alii plures morti adjudicantur, et ob prædicationem eis impositam, tracti et suspensi sunt. Et in eodem parlamento, Symon de Berle valens miles de garterio, et Johannes Beauchamp miles, seneschallus hospitii regis, Jacobus Berniers miles, et alii, capti fuerunt, et apud Turrim Londoniensem decollati.

IV.

[See Page 6, line 18.]

Folio 197 b.

— ossa sua fuerunt combusta. Eodem anno Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis in convocatione cleri Londoniis statuit, nullos sacerdotes debere prædicare nisi fuerunt per diocesanos admissi.

A.D. 1388.

Anno Domini 1388, Robertus Knollis ædificavit et construi fecit pontem Rofensem.

Hoc anno juvenus et hæredes nobilium Angliæ perierunt in Hispaniâ, et rex Hispaniæ statuit cum duce (Lancastriæ) præliari;

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A.D. 1393. nitebatur, ut primos fructus suarum ecclesiarum perciperet. Summæ sacerdotum Romam peregrinantium pro beneficiis acquirendis, in portu Doveriæ, et summæ pecuniæ traditæ per escambium mercatorum, ad parliamentum Wintoniæ,* deferuntur. Et ibi statutum fuit firmiter tenendum, quod papa non sinatur transferre episcopos, neque extra regnum, neque infra, sine assensu regis. Et quod nullus amodò capiat beneficium a papâ, sed ecclesiastici patroni conferant sua beneficia juxta intentionem laicorum, qui jus patronatus eis contulerunt; et super hoc omnes promiserunt regi assistentiam, sicut pro coronâ.

A.D. 1390. Hoc anno fuit in Angliâ magna pestilentia, quam quintam pestilentiam vocabant.

Anno Domini 1391° nihil hic scribitur, quòd regnum Angliæ fuit in malo statu.

A.D. 1392. Anno Domini M° ccc° nonagesimo secundo, Rex splendidè paravit capitulum fratrum minorum apud Sarum, et comedit cum eis ibidem in refectorio, habens secum reginam Annam, episcopos et alios dominos, in festo Assumptionis Beatæ Mariæ: et ibidem utebatur regalibus et coronâ.

Quod autem actum est in regno annis Domini 1393° et 1394° non scribitur propter varietatem regni Angliæ.

A.D. 1392. Anno Domini 1395° dux Lancastriæ de mandato regis transiit in Franciam, et tractavit de pace cum rege Franciæ Ambianis: et rex fecit omnes expensas, et dedit sibi et cuilibet de suâ familiâ magna donaria.

A.D. 1393. Anno Domini 1396° factum est parliamentum Londoniis,† ad

* This Parliament at Winchester was in 16 Ric. II. 1393. It commenced "Lundy en les oeptaves de Seint Hiller, (Jan. 20,) l'an du regne nostre Seigneur le Roi sezisme," and terminated "Lundy le disme jour de Feverer." (Rot. Parl.)

† This again must mean the Parliament at Winchester, 16 Ric. II., 1393. From Froissart we learn that the conditions of peace were something of this kind, but they are not extant on the Rolls of Parliament.

quod rediens dux Lancastriæ, formam pacis in tractatu habitam expressit; videlicet, quod rex Ricardus Angliæ, arma Franciæ, Calesiam, et omnia conquesta per Edwardum, dimitteret; et omnia quæ Edwardi erant ante vendicationes regni Franciæ, cum residuo redemptionis Johannis regis Franciæ, possideret. Et dixit, quod, “arma Franciæ portare (see page 7, *Fragment D.*) non prodest, et Calesia plus nocet regno Angliæ in expensis quam prodest.” Sed dux Gloucestriæ, comites Arundelliæ et Warwici omnia contradixerunt. A.D. 1393.

In hoc parlamento* dux Lancastriæ petiit quod filius suus Henricus judicaretur hæres regni Angliæ: cui contradixit comes Marchiæ, asserens se descendisse a domino Leonello secundo filio Edwardi regis. E contrario, dux dicebat quod rex Henricus tertius habuit (filios) duos, Edmundum seniore et primogenitum, et Edwardum; qui tamen Edmundus dorsum habuit fractum, et propter hoc judicavit seipsum indignum esse ad coronam. Quare pater eorum eos sic componere fecit, quod Edwardus regnaret et post eum hæredes Edmundi: et dedit Edmundo comitatum Lancastriæ, et ab eo descendit Henricus filius ejus, jure matris quæ fuit filia dicti Edmundi. Cui respondit comes dicens hoc non esse verum, sed Edwardus fuit primogenitus, et Edmundus vir elegantissimus erat, et nobilis miles, prout in chronicis patenter continetur. Rex autem imposuit eis silentium. Folio 198.

Item in hoc parlamento dux Lancastriæ petiit regem dare sibi ducatum Aquitaniæ sub certâ annuâ pensione, et ipse pro posse totum acquireret; sicut rex Franciæ dedit illum cuidam militi sub eâdem conditione. Sed dux Gloucestriæ, comites Arundelliæ et

* It is not unlikely that the following events occurred in this parliament. The dukedom of Guienne had been conferred upon Lancaster, March 2, 1390 (Rymer, vii. 659); but in the July (1392) preceding this Parliament, ambassadors had arrived to remonstrate with the king on the appointment. Some assertion of his rights on the part of Lancaster may have been distorted in this way.

- A.D. 1393. Warwici, omnino contradixerunt, dicentes pertinentia ad coronam satis esse pauca. Rex tamen concessit.
- A.D. 1394. Hoc anno, Hibernici veri Anglici auxilium contra pueros Hibernicos petierunt. Quibus rex dixit, se velle Hiberniam adire; et ideo exegit decimam cleri, et quintam decimam laicorum, ut in parlamento solebat; statuens quod omnes nativi de Hiberniâ in Hiberniam remearent, dicens, “paucos Hibernicos esse ibidem, quare dicti puri Hibernici prævalent ibidem.” Dotati vero Hibernici in Angliâ, et ecclesiastici promoti, dato auro, ab hoc statuto sunt exempti. Et rex cum exercitu transivit in Hiberniam, ubi agente quodam fratre de ordine prædicatorum, fuit ipse in periculo adversariorum; sed frater captus missus est ad turrin Londoniensem, qui postea ad preces Provincialis, carceri sui ordinis est liberatus.
- [August.]
- [Sept. 29th. *] Hoc autem anno, dux Lancastriæ transivit in Aquitaniam, ut ducatum sibi acquireret: sed Burdegalia et aliæ civitates ipsum excluserunt, dicentes quod a tempore secundi Henrici, qui jure suæ uxoris illum ducatum possedit, semper iste ducatus tenuit de rege Angliæ, et “si Rex Angliæ nos noluit habere, tenebimus de nosmet ipsis.”
- [September. †]
- Col. b.
- A.D. 1395. Hoc anno Makamor et quidam alii principales purorum Hibernicorum capti fuerunt, quos rex duxit in Angliam, et honorificè satis tractavit.
- [May.]
- A.D. 1395. Dux vero Lancastriæ spe frustratus rediit. Hoc etiam anno, moritur Domina Anna regina Angliæ in manerio de Shene, et apud Westmonasterium sepelitur, quod factum fuit anno xvij^o regni regis Ricardi. Quâ quidem reginâ mortuâ, rex obtulit regi Franciæ treugas 30 annorum, petens filiam suam in uxorem. ‡
- [December.]
- [June 7th, 1394.]
- [Monday, August 3rd.]
- A.D. 1396.

* Or immediately after. (Rymer, vii. 790.) † After the 13th. (Rymer, vii. 789.)

‡ The first document in Rymer relative to Richard's marriage with Isabella of Valois, is dated July 8, 1395. The 30 years' truce was ratified by the King of France, March 11, 1396 (Rymer, vii. 832), and finally sworn to by both kings about the end of October.

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A.D. 1397.

de Burley, cùm regina pro eò coram te genuflecteret: legas ista,"— tradens sibi schedulam accusationis suæ. Et cum dux legisset, "Ad ista respondebimus." Et rex commisit eum comiti de Nottingham, capitaneo Calesiæ, ut in castro ibidem ipsum custodiret.

Et postea transiit in partes occidentales Angliæ et collegit exercitum, vocavitque Gallos in auxilium: qui cum lanceis elevatis (*see page 8, Fragment E. b.*) venerunt per medium regni. Misitque ad singulos episcopos, abbates et generosos atque mercatores, et sub colore mutui auri ipsorum nunquam persolvendi, extorsit in tantâ quantitate quod unus simplex generosus solvit xl. *li.*

[August 5th.]

Ibi autem processerunt comites Rutlandiæ, Cantia, Huntingdoniæ, Sarum, Nottinghamiæ, Marchio Dubluniæ, et alii appellantes ducem Gloucestriæ, comites Arundelliæ et Warwici de criminibus læsæ majestatis perpetratis anno regni regis x^o et xj^o.

[Wednesday,
Sept. 5th*]

Et rex misit unum justiciarium ad ducem Gloucestriæ, ut ab eo quæreret quomodo ad appellationes responderet. Et dux manu propriâ scribendo in Anglico respondebat, literam sigillabat, et regi mittebat. Justiciarius prudenter ita literam regi tradidit, quòd habuit penes se copiam sigillo regis consignatam. Cumque responsio ducis regi non placeret, mandavit sub pænâ mortis comiti de Nottinghamiâ quod ipsum occideret. Et ipse transiit ad Calesiam, et ibidem famuli comitis cum lecto plumali super ducem posito, ipsum viliter suffocabant, occultè divulgantes ipsum morte naturali obiisse.

[Sept. 8th.]

[Sunday,
Sept. 16th.]

[Sept. 17th.]

Deinde post exaltationem sanctæ crucis venit ad parliamentum rex equitans terribiliter per medium Londoniarum cum M^l armatorum, quorum tamen multi ficti erant; et tenuit parliamentum cum

* A commission had been issued to Sir William Rickhill for examining the Duke of Gloucester, on August 17th, (Rymer, viii. 13. Rot. Parl. iii. 378.) At midnight, September 5th, he was ordered by a royal messenger to join the Earl Marshal at Dover the following evening and accompany him to Calais, where a special commission was handed to him. The Duke's written answer was returned on the Saturday. (Rot. Parl. iii. 430-432.)

confederatis suis in magno tentorio (*see page 9, Fragment F.*) quod A.D. 1397. in pavimento Westmonasterii statuerat. Et ne episcopi, abbates et clerici intermitterent se in parlamento, fecit eos et clerum committere vices suas in dominum Thomam Percy militem, seneschallum sui hospitii. Et in hoc parlamento non secundum legem Angliæ sed secundum jura civilia processerunt. Nec regis periti Angliæ se ibi intromittebant.

Et primò rex ad supplicationem et petitionem sui parlamenti revocavit commissionem ab [eo] factam anno xº; et statuit quod si quis talem commissionem procuraverit, sit ut proditor puniendus.

V.

Page 10, line 2.

Deinde adduxerunt comitem Arundelliæ, et dux Lancastriæ fuit A.D. 1397. justiciarius ibidem, qui sibi exposuit appellationem dominorum et accusationem parlamenti, et jussit respondere. Qui dixit, “ Res-
pondere non expedit, quia scio quod ordinastis mortem meam propter bona mea.” Et notificaverunt sibi pœnam tacentis; et dixit dux, “ Quia parliamentum te accusavit, meruisti decapitari sine responsione secundum legem tuam.” Cui comes respondens dixit, “ Ista feci propter circumstantias quæ tunc erant; et si errores fuerunt habeo indulgentiam regis.”

Folio 198,
col. b.
[Sept. 21st.]

VI.

[Page 11, line 10.]

Similiter dux Gloucestriæ adjudicatus fuit exhæredationi consimili, et post mortem; quia, ut dixerunt, facta ejus ita notoria fuerant, et veniens responderat per scripturam.

Cernens et rex quod ipsi ejecerunt Archiepiscopum Eborum, et

Folio 199.

[Sept. 24th.]

A.D. 1397. quod pacem non haberet cum Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, fecit
 [Sept. 20th.*] parliamentum accusare Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum. Et cum
 incepisset prolocutor proponere contra Archiepiscopum dixit rex,
 “ Non proponas contra cognatum meum. Recede frater securus.”

VII.

[Page 11, line 26.]

Folio 199. Archiepiscopus dixit se recedere nolle, hîc se fuisse natum, et hîc
 se velle mori. Rex cum duce Lancastriæ intravit ad eum in
 cameram, cum aliis comitibus, in quâ testis sedebat. Et dixit sibi
 rex, “ Ne tristeris, nec recedere recuses, quia te assecuro quod post
 breve tempus revocaberis, et nullus erit Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis
 nisi tu, quamdiu nos duo vixerimus.” Cui dixit Archiepiscopus,
 “ Ante recessum meum aliqua vobis dicam :” et protraxit sermonem
 de luxuriâ quæ regnabatur in personis eorum, et in curiis avaritia
 atque superbia, quibus inficiunt totum regnum. Et in die sibi
 assignatâ in vigiliâ sancti Michaelis in portu Doveriæ recessit.

VIII.

[Page 12, line 1.]

Folio 199, Eodem anno rex scripsit a[d] papam, ut quendam laicum litera-
 col. b. tum Rogerum Walden in Archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem pro-
 moveret; asserens, ut quidam dicebant, Thomam esse mortuum.

A.D. 1398.

Fecitque parliamentum hoc compromittere in xij personas, quæ
 continuando parliamentum ubicunque et quocunque regi placeret
 statuta sibi placita secum ordinarent.

A.D. 1398.

[Jan. 31st.]

Quibus omnibus peractis, in partes occidentales est reversus.

* The Commons prayed for judgment against the Archbishop on this day, but sentence was not given till the 25th. (Rot. Parl. iii. 351.)

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XI.

[Page 21, line 24.]

A.D. 1400.
[January.]
Folio 201.

Alii insurrectores, clerici et laici, inter quos Rogerus Walden et episcopus Carleoli, Londoniis inventi, coram justiciariis statuuntur; et solus Rogerus Waldenus excusatur. Laici trahuntur et suspenduntur, clerici trahuntur et decollantur. Episcopus Merks incarceratur et episcopatu privatur; postea tamen rex gratiosè egit cum eo, visâ conversatione ejus.

Ricardus, olim rex, in carcere hæc audiens cæpit omnino de auxilio desperare; et confessus est eos, de consilio suo dato in castro de Conway, ista fecisse: et, ut dicebatur, pro tristitiâ comedere nolens moriebatur; corpusque ejus delatum est sanctum Paulum Londoniis, et facies sua ostensa est populo; et celebratis ibidem exequiis ejus per regem, apud Langley sepultus est.

[August 1st.] Isabella secunda uxor regis Richardi, dote suâ nudata, multis cum muneribus dotata, ab Angliâ in Franciam pulsa est. Qua repatriante, Gallici treugas prius initas solverunt.

Col. b. Tunc rex misit Londoniensibus ut aurum sibi mutuarent: ipsi autem ad eum accesserunt, quærentes an ipsa missio de voluntate suâ processit, referentes quomodo ipse promisit se ab hujusmodi mutuis et tallagiis abstinere. Qui eis respondens, dixit se omnino egere, et pecuniam ab eis tunc habere oportere. Hæc omnia facta sunt anno primo Regis hujus, et anno xxij^o Ricardi, et anno Domini 1399^o.

XII.

[Page 22, line 31.]

A.D. 1401.
Folio 201,
col. b.

Anno Domini 1401, Wallici contra regem Henricum 4^{tum} rebel-
lant, et bona Anglicorum undique diripiunt; rex autem transiit in
Walliam borialem et insulam de Anglesey, ubi fratres Minores de

conventu Lamasiae, et Wallici cum aliis, regi resistebant; et ideo A.D. 1401. exercitus regis fratres occidebant et captivabant, ac conventum spoliabant.

Et Audoeno non comparente, revertitur rex.

Et Dominus le Gray manucepit tuitionem patriae. Rex vero tradidit magistro ordinis fratres captivatos, et jussit omnia restitui conventui, et voluit quod conventus ille inhabitaretur ab Anglicis fratribus.

Hoc anno quidam frater Minor de Northfolchiâ in suo sermone Folio 201 b. recommendavit regem Ricardum, dicens quod viveret: et ille de carcere regis traditur magistro ordinis corrigendus.

Audoenus de Glendor dominum le Gray in bello cepit. [1402.]

Et eodem anno capitulum generale fratrum Minorum celebratur Leycestriae in festo Assumptionis, in quo prohibitum est sub poenâ perpetui carceris, ne aliquis fratrum loquatur verbum quod possit sonare in praëjudicium regis. Et quod quilibet praesidens haberet potestatem totalem incarcerandi, qui ausus esset in hoc culpari.

XIII.

[Page 24, line 6.]

“Sibi plus teneor.” Et rex ait, “Pugnares tu pro eo?” Res- A.D. 1402.
pondit frater, “Ita verè.” Et rex, “Cum quo?” Respondit frater, Folio 201 b.
“Cum eo quod haberem, fortè cum baculo.” Et rex conclusit,
“Ergo tu velles quod ego esse mortuus, et omnes domini de regno
meo complures.” Respondet frater, “Non.” Et rex, “Quid
faceres mecum, si super me haberes victoriam?” Cui frater,
“Facerem vos ducem Lancastriae.” Tunc rex ait, “Tu non es
amicus meus: per hoc caput meum tu perdes caput tuum.” Et
statutus est frater coram justiciario apud Westmonasterium, cum
quodam seculari sacerdote conspiratore, apud quem literæ con-

A.D. 1402.

spiratoriæ inventæ sunt. Et justiciarius dixit, “Frater, tu exultasti quòd audivisti regem Ricardum vivere, et divulgasti hoc in populo.” Frater respondit, “Non divulgavi verbum.” Et justiciarius, auditâ duodenâ, tulit sententiam, dicens, “Tu traheris per medium Londoniarum super claiam usque ad Tyburne, et ibidem suspendaris, ibique decollaberis, et caput tuum ponetur super pontem Londoniensem.” Quod et de utroque factum est, atque per viam preco clamabat casum eorum.

XIV.

[Page 26, line 26.]

Hoc autem anno, duo alii fratres de conventu Leycestriæ capti fuerunt in partibus Lichfeldiæ per familiam principis, et ibidem tracti et suspensi sunt et decollati. Caput magistri delatum est Oxoniam in vigiliâ sancti Johannis Baptistæ; et coram processione venientis clamabat preco, “Iste magister, frater Minor de conventu Leicestrensi, in hypocrisi et adulatione et falsâ vitâ prædicavit multoties, dicens quod rex Ricardus vivit, et excitavit populum ut quærerent cum in Scotiâ.” Et caput ejus ibi super palum positum est.

Hoc anno, rex Scotiæ misit literas regi Franciæ, dicens quod quidam venit in Scotiam, et duo Jacobitæ dixerunt ipsum fuisse regem Ricardum, sed [et?] rumor ille magis augebatur, sicque dicebatur quod fuisse in Scotiâ.

[June.]

Hoc insuper anno Audoenus de Glendor cepit Edmundum de Mortuo Mari, multis Anglicis de marchiâ Walliæ interfectis: et rex congregato exercitu transiit in Walliam, ubi prohibentibus maximis tempestatibus in Septembri tonitruorum, imbrium et grandinis, equitare non potuerunt; et multi de exercitu frigore mortui sunt.

[Aug. 27th.]

Ibi frater iste qui fratres suos regi acensavit captus est a Wallico

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A.D. 1404.

mentum, et duravit usque ad Pascha; quia rex exigebat magnum tallagium, dicens se habere bellum cum Wallicis, Scotis, Hibernicis, et Gallicis in Vasconiâ; insuper custodia Calesiæ magna fuit, et maris Anglicani. Communitas respondit dicens, quod “ista non inquietant Angliam multum, et si inquietarent, adhuc rex habet omnes proventus coronæ [et] ducatus Lancastriæ: at thelonia notabiliter excessivè elevata pro rege Richardo, ita ut proventus theloniorum, lanarum et aliarum mercium excedant proventus coronæ. Habuit similiter wardas quasi omnium comitum, baronum et nobilium Angliæ; quæ thelonia et wardæ olim erant concessæ regi in subsidium communitatis pro guerris, ut a tallagiis exoneretur regnum.” Rex autem dixit, “se nolle perdere terras patrum suorum in diebus suis, et ideo omnino tallagium habere oportuit.” Tunc communitas petiit a rege, ut “si tallagium habere omnino velit, quod thelonia minuerentur.” Rex respondit, quod “thelonia habere vellet sicut habuerunt sui prædecessores.” Et cum mansissent Londoniis in gravibus expensis usque ad Pascha talia disputando, tandem exegit ab eis, quod pro omni parte terræ in Angliâ valente annuatim *xxs.*, solverentur *xii*d.**; exceptis terris quas ecclesiastici habuerunt ante annum octavum Edwardi Primi, filii Henrici; in quo ordinatum fuit, quod ecclesiastici in possessionibus non crescerent. Ipsi tandem attediati de morâ hoc concesserunt sub hâc cum (*sic*) conditione, quod eligerent certas personas qui tallagium reciperent et pro guerris tum expenderent, et inde computum parlamento darent; et rex auctoritatem recipiendi et expendendi per chartam suam eis daret. Rex videbatur assentire, ac electæ sunt personæ, et charta scripta sed non sigillata, et solutum est parliamentum.

Folio 203 b.

XVI.

[Page 30, line 11.]

Adhuc rumor de vitâ regis Ricardi invaluit in Angliâ, et A.D. 1404. quod ipse moraretur in Scotiâ in castro ducis Roseyæ, quod Albion Folio 203 b, col. b. dicitur.

Quidam vir venit ad comitissam Oxoniæ, et affirmavit regem Ricardum vivere, quæ ex hoc gaudens arrestata fuit et posita in Turri Londoniensi, quæ insuper post grandem redemptionem liberata est.

Similiter abbates sanctæ Osithæ et Colcestriæ accusati, pro pecuniis gratiam regis habere meruerunt.

Hoc anno Bonifacius papa moritur, et eligitur Innocentius, jurans quod laboraret ad unionem ecclesiæ.

Quo insuper anno, statutum parliamentum apud Coventriam [Oct. 6th.] statim post festum sancti Michaelis. Et rex mandavit quod nullus juris peritus ad illud veniret, et notificavit vicecomitibus quos milites et communitatum procuratores voluit illuc mitti. Et ibi exegit duas decimas cleri, et duas quintas decimas laicorum.

XVII.

[Page 31, line 32.]

— Item, quod juris periti ad parliamenta veniant, et suâ A.D. 1405. sapientiâ consulant: quod milites comitatum et burgenses civita- Folio 204 b. tum mittendi ad parliamenta per comitatus et civitates eligantur, et non per regem assignentur: et quod parliamentum statuatur Londoniis, qui locus est magis purus, et ubi hæc melius corrigi possunt; quæ si correcta sunt, habemus firmam spem quod Wallia erit subjecta Angliæ, sicut fuit temporibus Edwardi et Ricardi. Hæc in Anglico scripta, &c.

[Page 32, line 25.]

A.D. 1405.

Folio 204 b,
col. b.

Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, his auditis, venit cum festinatione ad regem. Et quidam miles aulicus regis videns eum dixit regi, “ Si iste Archiepiscopus Eborum veniet, omnes nos a vobis recedemus.” Et Archiepiscopus in præsentia cujusdam notarii dixit regi, “ Domine, ego sum pater vester spiritualis,” &c.

[Page 33, line 4.]

Rex vero intravit aulam Archiepiscopi ad prandendum, et habuit secum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, et totam familiam suam, et dum pranderent adjudicati sunt Archiepiscopus Eborum, dominus Mowbray et quidam miles prædictus; et extra civitatem decollantur in festo sancti Wilhelmi.

[June 8th.]

XVIII.

[Page 33, line 17.]

A.D. 1405.

[July]

Folio 205.

Comes Northumbriæ et dominus Bardolf, de castro Berwici, recesserunt in Scotiam. Rex autem venit ad Berwicum, et expugnando castrum, multos lapides jactari fecit cum bombardis ad muros castri: sed frangebantur lapides per murorum duritiam. Tandem accidit, quod lapis quidam percussus sit ferramentum cancellatum cujusdam fenestræ in quodam tenui muro, et homines ibidem ascendentes occidit. Et ex tunc omnes inclusi amiserunt corda, et vecordes effecti exierunt, gratiam regis implorantes; quos rex jussit decollari.

Et reversus transiit in Walliam australem, et castrum de Coyfy diu a Wallicis obsessum liberavit. Et in redeundo cariagium suum et jocalia sua Wallenses spoliabant.

Papa autem, auditâ morte archiepiscopi, &c.

[Line 26.]

“ Vide si tunica hæc filii tui sit an non:” et quievit materia.

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A.D. 1407. hominis morte dignissimam: quia fuit homo luxuriosissimus, jactans se violasse uxores multorum dominorum et nobilium Franciæ, reginam, et totam prolem regiam suam esse affirmavit. Et minabatur consiliariis regis, si contrarium consulerent, quod morerentur.

XX.

[Page 34, line 7.]

A.D. 1407.
Folio 205 b. Rex itaque per magnum tempus non solveret soldariis, custodibus Calesiæ, sua vadia; quare ipsi detinuerunt lanas mercatorum quæ fuerunt ibidem, veruntamen mercatores conquesti sunt regi, et rex petiit ut mutuarent sibi pecunias; mercatores autem se excusabant. “ Vos habetis aurum,” dixit rex, “ et ego volo habere aurum—ubi est?” Tandem, post longam moram, mercatores concesserunt sibi aurum eâ conditione, quod cancellarius Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et dux Eboracensis manucaperent pro resolutione: quod et factum est.

A.D. 1408. Tunc proceres Scotorum deduxerunt comitem Northumbriæ et dominum Bardolf et abbatem de Hayles usque ad aquam Twede, dicentes eis, “ Jam procedatis! vos habetis Angliam vobiscum.” Qui venerunt cum parvâ comitivâ usque ad Tadcastre. Et vicecomes Eborum venit cum exercitu, et trucidavit eos:* capita eorum posita super pontem Londoniensem.

* At the battle of Bramham Moor, Feb. 18th.

NOTES.

Page 1, line 10. *the erl of Dene*.—The son of the earl of Denia, who had been taken captive at Navaretta. The earl had been adjudged prisoner of the two esquires, Hawley and Shakell, by the Black Prince and sir John Chandos, their master; and had been permitted to return to Spain, upon leaving his son as his security. The earl died, and the son remained the prisoner of the two esquires. His release was probably commanded by the king, to answer some ends towards Lancaster's acquisition of Castille (see Wals. 1574, p. 216; Speed, 731; Tyrrell, iii. 840); but as little was offered for the young earl, and the esquires had expected the full ransom since the preceding August, 1377 (Rymer, vii. 171), they would not produce him. Hawley and Shakell were sent to the Tower, and from thence petitioned parliament for a commission to inquire into their rights. (Rot. Parl. iii. 50.) They managed to escape, and fled to Westminster sanctuary. Sir Alan de Buxhull, constable of the Tower, sir Ralph Ferrers—and some say lord Latimer. (Stowe)—were sent to remove them by force, and Hawley was slain in the church. The case was taken up in parliament; the convent of Westminster petitioned for protection of its privileges (iii. 37); and the archbishop demanded redress. All concerned in the murder were excommunicated: and the bishop of London on several successive Sundays continued to pronounce the curse from St. Paul's. (Wals., Rot. Parl.) The murder was committed on the 11th August, 1378. Hawley is buried in the Abbey. (Seymour's Survey, ii. 516; Stowe, Annals, 282.)

Page 2, line 1. *dredyng*.—No notice is taken of this form beyond the present: it is so common in the same connection, that probably the writer intended it for the past tense.

Line 22. *how saint Peter halowed it, as folowethe . . .*.—See Appendix, Supplementary Add. I. The chronicle “brought forth” seems to have been that of Ailred of Rievall. The history of the consecration, as given in the Eulogium, has been printed in the Appendix as it was contained in the original text, though it differs but little from that of Ailred printed in the Decem Scriptorum, col. 385-6.

Line 28. *unkid.*—(Sax. uncuð). Unknown, inexperienced, and so to be dreaded, marvellous. The word still lives in these senses in the Oxfordshire dialect.

Page 3, line 5. *Reme, and paide for hir xxij. m^l marc.*—See Appendix, p. 121. The princess Anne, afterwards “the good queen Anne,” was daughter of the late emperor Charles IV. and sister of the emperor Wynceslaus, king of Bohemia. Wynceslaus was to receive from Richard 10,000 marks, and to bear no share in the expenses attending the journey to England. Richard was to have received a large sum with the duke of Milan’s daughter. (Tyrrell, iii. 871.)

Line 6. *Ther was offrid vnto him the erlis douzter of Flaunders.*—Richard had already been engaged in two marriage negotiations: first for Catherine, daughter of Barnabas duke of Milan, in 1379 (Rymer, vii. 213); afterwards for Catherine, daughter of the late emperor Louis, in 1380 (id. 257). But the text is wrong. Margaret, daughter of Louis count of Flanders, and widow of Philip duke of Burgundy, who died in 1361, had married Philip of Burgundy, son of king John of France, in 1369: the marriage contract bears date April 12. (Corps Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, ii. 72.) In Rymer are several documents relating to a proposed alliance between Edmund Langley, *uncle of the king*, and Margaret of Flanders, ranging from Feb. 8, 1362, to Oct. 24, 1365. (Rymer, 1830, iii. 636, 744, 750, 758, 761, 777.) Louis himself was anxious for the marriage, but Charles V. of France and his own mother, Margaret of Artois (Mezeray, 4to. ii. 581), dissuaded him, and he obtained an acquittal of his engagement in 1368. (Froissart, i. cclviii.) Philip had been created duke of Burgundy by his father, king John, to whom the dukedom had passed upon the death of the former duke Philip, on Sept. 6, 1363;

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January 1382 he petitioned parliament for 60,000*l.* pay for 2000 heavy armed and 2000 archers, for half a year (Rot. Parl. iii 114), without effect; and Ferdinand, in consequence of his non-appearance, made peace with Castille. The earl of Cambridge then returned, about October 1382 (Froissart), carrying with him his son John, although betrothed to Beatrice. In October the following year Ferdinand died, and John his natural brother was proclaimed king, in April, 1385, to oppose the claims of John of Castille, who had married Beatrice, Ferdinand's illegitimate daughter (formerly betrothed to John of Cambridge). The cause of Portugal was embraced by English auxiliaries, who with permission joined his standard. (Rymer, vii. 450, 453, 455, 462, 472.) And in August, by their help, an important victory was obtained over the Castillians and French at Aljubarota. (Froissart.) Perhaps this is the foundation for the account in the text. Finding himself too weak to prolong the contest, John king of Portugal sent ambassadors to England, who arrived in the autumn of the same year, 1385.

Last line. *The king of Ermonie.*—Late in the year 1385, Leo king of Armenia visited the English court. He came as a peace-maker between France and England. (See in Rymer, vii. 491, document dated Jan. 22, 1386, 9 R. II.) But his chief object was to implore assistance in an attempt to regain his kingdom. Richard entertained him at Eltham, and would have assisted him in every way; but the council negatived the idea of sending troops so far from home, and advised the king to make a present of money. (MS. Rawl. 173.) Richard therefore settled on Leo 1,000*l.* per ann. on Feb. 3, 1386, to be received by equal portions at the Exchequer until he was reinstated in his dominions. (Exchequer Issue Roll, 15 R. II. Dec. 12th; Rymer, vii. 494.) He presented him also with 1,000*l.* in a ship of gold. (Evesham, 71.) Froissart says, Leo refused the rich presents pressed upon him, reserving only a gold ring. In the summer or autumn of the same year he offered to return, but the nobles declined the honour of a second visit. (Wals. 354; Evesh. 76.) Yet the king and his council seem to have wished it, and we find letters of safe conduct granted to Leo March 18th, to last till Aug. 1st; and May 12th till Christmas 1386. (Rymer, vii. 502, 503.) And again, Dec. 11th, 1392 (736.) The king's chamberlain, however, made periodical visits to the English exchequer. (See Rymer vii. 549, 706, 767.)

Page 4, line 8. *the erlle of Oxenförde*.—Robert de Vère, created marquis of Dublin, with the dominion and revenues of Ireland for life, in the parliament which commenced Oct. 20, 1395, 9 R. II. (Rot. Parl. iii. 209.) This was the first time the title of marquis was conferred, and gave great offence on account of the precedence before the other nobles which it gave this worthless favourite. (Wals. 320; Dugdale, Bar. i. 194; Stowe, 299.) De Vere was further advanced to the title of duke of Ireland.

Line 16. *in the playn parlement*.—That is, “en le pleyn parlement,” “in pleno parlamento.”

Line 18. *the which erl . . . was slayn in Yrlond*.—Roger Mortimer earl of March was earl of Ulster and lord lieutenant of Ireland. In Pell Issue Roll, Easter, 16 R. II., is a compensation paid to the earl for lands devastated by the Irish. He was slain July 20th, 1398, 22 R. II. He was declared heir-apparent in the parl. 9 R. II. (See Dugdale, Bar. i. 150; Fabyan, 9 R. II.; Leland, Coll. ii. 481.)

Line 19. *the wilde Yrishmenne*.—Richard, writing from Dublin to the duke of York, custos of England, Feb. 1st, 1395, 18 R. II., says . . . “en nostre terre d'Irland sont trois maners des gentz, c'est as savoir, Irrois savages, noz enemis, Irroix rebelx, et Engleis obeissantz.” Proceedings of Privy Council, i. 56.

Line 20. *be counsel of a burgeis of London*.—(See Appendix, p. 122.) In the parliament at Westminster, Oct. 1st, 1386, 10 R. II., the Commons impeached Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, and placed the legislative power in the hands of fourteen commissioners selected by themselves, with the king's sanction, for one year. (Knyghton, 2684, 2685; Rot. Parl. iii. 216–220; Stat. Realm, ii. 40–46.) The displeasure of Richard was not shown openly; but in August the following year, 1387, he held two conferences with certain judges at Shrewsbury, and at Nottingham on the 25th, on the subject of the legality of the late proceedings in parliament. They declared that the commission was illegal, and that all engaged in it deserved the punishment of traitors (Knyghton, 2694–2696; Rot. Parl.

iii. 233, 357, 358; Stat. Realm, ii. 102–104.) The two following months Richard travelled about the North of England secretly to procure troops to support his intended resumption of power—though the legal expiration of the commission was at hand—and an indictment of Gloucester and those of his party. Failing of much support he resolved, perhaps at the advice of sir Nicolas Brember, to try the affections of the men of London. (Knyghton, Tyrrell, Lingard.) Brember had been several times mayor, and was afterwards charged with causing the city guilds to take an oath to support the power of the favourites. (Rot. Parl. 234, 235.) On Sunday, Nov. 10th, the king made his entry into London, and was met by the mayor and aldermen in state; but Roger Fulthorpe, one of the justices he had consulted, had betrayed the proceedings at Nottingham to the earls of Kent and Northumberland, bidding them inform the chancellor and the king's council. (Rot. Parl. iii. 239, v. 393.) On the next morning, the king heard of the arrival of Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, with a large body of forces, at Haringay park, not far from the walls of London. There were some about the king who advised an appeal to arms, but the citizens would not be roused. The lords were joined on Thursday 14th, at Waltham Cross, by the earls of Derby and Nottingham, and these five appealed of treason the five favourites, before some of the parliamentary commissioners, the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of Ely. On the Sunday they made their appeal before the king against Robert de Vere duke of Ireland, Alexander Neville archbishop of York, Michael de la Pole earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian false justice, and Nicholas Brember false knight. The king assured them a full hearing in the next parliament, which was fixed for Feb. 3rd, 1388. (Knyghton, Walsingham.)

Last line. *same place for to refourme pee; betuene thaym.*—The Eulogium from which our author here translated has confused the history. Upon the king's promise to give the appellants an opportunity to prosecute their charges in parliament the accused persons had fled—the archbishop into the North, Michael de la Pole shaved his head and crossed in disguise to Calais, and de Vere, “cum conniventiâ regis,” (Wals., Rot. Parl. iii. 418, 1 Hen. IV.) raised forces in Cheshire. On his return he was met by the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Derby, and compelled to a battle at Radcote bridge, near Chipping Norton, Oxon, on Dec. 20th. He escaped

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- Page 6, line 16. *John Wiclif*.—According to Walsingham, he was seized with paralysis, as he was about to preach something heretical, on the day of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and lingered till St Silvester's, 1385. (Wals. 338; Upod. Neus. 142.) The correct date of his death seems to be Dec. 31st, 1384. (Stowe, 296; Wood, Antiq. 193.) He had been suffering from paralysis for two years. His doctrines were condemned, and his books, and bones, if they could be separated from those of the faithful, were ordered to be burnt by decree of the 8th session of the Council of Constance, May 4th, 1415. (Mansi, Concil. Collect. xxvii. 630, &c.; Foxe, i. 605.)

Line 19. *The xij. yeer of king Richard*.—The English chroniclers agree in placing these jousts in this year. A cause may be found for them, in the celebration of the king's resumption of power, in May, 1389, 12 Ric. II. But Froissart places them in Michaelmas 1390, 14 Ric II; and Stowe, on the 10th, 11th, and 12th Oct. 1390, which seems to be the favoured date.

Line 32. *through all Spayne, &c.*—See Appendix, p. 125. After the return of Richard and the duke of Lancaster from the expedition into Scotland, in Sept. 1385, the Portuguese ambassadors were received; and Lancaster obtained a liberal grant from parliament (Rot. Parl. iii. 204), which met Oct. 20th. Preparation was made for his departure early the next year, 1386. On March 15th and 26th, orders were issued, according to a destructive custom of the time, for seizing ships and mariners for the expedition. By April 20th the duke was at Plymouth, waiting for more ships and transports, when he received a letter from the council, stating, that, as the greater part of the navy of England would sail with him, it would be necessary for him to see to their return. (Rymer, vii. 501, 504, 509, 524.) Lancaster had taken leave of the king a little before Easter, (not, as Knyghton says, on Easter day, April 22nd,) when the king and queen presented the duchess and himself with regal crowns of gold. (Knyghton, 2676.) The expedition sailed from Plymouth on July 9th; it consisted of 20,000, and was amply blessed by pope Urban VI: who granted a pardon to all who should sail in it. (Wals.) Sir Thomas Percy, afterwards earl of Worcester, was the admiral, and John Holland earl of

Huntingdon the constable. (Froissart.) On the voyage the duke landed for two days to relieve the garrison of Brest, blockaded by the Bretons, and then sailed into Corunna on August 9th. The reduction of Galicia followed. On the frontier of Portugal the duke was met by king John, when operations against Castille were agreed upon, and the marriage of John himself with Philippa the duke's daughter. This took place in the spring of the next year, 1387. The campaign was not prosperous. The climate disagreed with the English soldiers; the duke fell into ill health, and wrote strongly for reinforcements from England, which, we are told, he scarcely dared expect. (Froissart.) Policy then suggested a French alliance, through the marriage of his daughter Catherine with the duke of Touraine, the younger brother of Charles V. The duke of Berri also happened at this time to solicit his daughter's hand, and Lancaster took care that the news should reach king John of Castille, who, dreading a French alliance with Lancaster, offered his own son Henry, a boy of nine years of age, as a match for the duke's daughter. The articles which followed were advantageous to Lancaster; a vast sum of money was paid down by the king of Castille, and a large annuity was settled upon the duke and duchess during either of their lives. Constance duchess of Lancaster was to resign her claim to Castille in favour of her daughter; the king was to retain the crown during life; at his death, which followed shortly after, it was to descend to Henry and Catherine, and their descendants; and, failing their issue, to the children of Edmund Langley, who had married Isabella the younger daughter of Peter of Castille. (Knyghton, 2677; Evesham, 120; Walsingham; Froissart.)

Page 7, line 11. *And in that viage many a worthi man died upon the flixe.* (Rawl. 173, Rawl. 190, f. 144, b.) Descriptive of Lancaster's return.—Soon after the king's sudden resumption of power in May, 1389, 12 R. II. he wrote urgently to Lancaster requesting his immediate return from Guienne, where the duke had retired to recruit his health; his presence was needed in England to preserve a balance among factions. On Aug. 11th, 1389, an order was issued for seizing six ships and a barge in Dartmouth harbour, and rendering them fit for service, to bring back the duke from Bordeaux to England. (Rymer, vii. 641.) On the 30th October the king wrote to the duke desiring him to provide for the govern-

ment of Guienne, and to return. (648.) On the 28th Nov. letters patent were prepared for him according to desire, to insure him against suspicion on his road through France. (Acts of Council, i. 14.) On the 10th Dec. 1389, 13 Ric. II. letters were sent from Reading to the regent of Guienne, acquainting him with the return of the duke of Lancaster. (i. 17.)

Line 12. *also relece the remenaunt of kyng Johannes raunsoun.*—See Appendix.

Line 23. *Edmund hadde a crokid back and was a mysshape.*—See Appendix. This story is explained by Hardyng, in additions to his Chronicle, which, according to Sir Henry Ellis, occur only in two MSS.; one among the Harleian MSS. (661) in the British Museum, the other is the splendid Selden MS. of Hardyng in the Bodleian Library, said to have been a presentation copy to Edward IV. The explanation of Lancaster's fraud occurs immediately after the letter of defiance from the Percies to Henry IV. before the battle of Shrewsbury. These prose additions have been printed in the "Hereditary Right to the Crown," pp. 81–86 (a translation only of the letter of defiance, which is in Latin), by Sir Henry Ellis, in *Archæologia*, vol. xvi. pp. 140–144, and in his edition of Hardyng. Hardyng must have added these passages not long before his death, in the early part of Edward IV. to settle the Yorkist succession against those who still adhered to the house of Lancaster. He had been from twelve years of age brought up in the service of the Percies; at the battle of Shrewsbury he was twenty-five years old; and he had often heard the earl of Northumberland affirm that the duke of Lancaster was the author of the report that Edmund, from whom he was descended, was the elder son of Henry III. and set aside on account of his deformity. The duke had forged a chronicle to prove his point, and "dide put [it] in divers abbaies and in freres, as I herde the said earl ofte tymes saie and record to divers persouns, forto be kepte for the enheritaunce of his sonne to the croune, whiche title he put furste forth after he hade kyng Richard in the Toure; but that title the erle Percy put aside." In the speech which bishop Merks is said to have delivered, in favour of Richard, at the election of Henry IV. allusion is made to this story as an exploded fable; while Henry seemed to build his title partly upon it. Otterbourne men-

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Line 6. *ostrie hous.*—Hostery; an inn.

Line 8. *why he dede so, and this.*—“ Romaine turned ayene, and brake the bakers hede. And neighboures come out, and wolde have restid this Romaine, and he brak from hem, and fledde unto his lordis place; and the constable wolde have had him out, but the bisshoppes men shute faste the zate,” &c. (Rawl. 173; Rawl. 190, f. 144-5.) From this, according to the Brute, resulted riots, on account of which the city privileges were withdrawn. The king’s resentment had been excited by the citizens refusing to lend him 1000*l*; and he took occasion, from some disturbance of this kind, to visit the city with his indignation. The courts of law had been removed from Westminster to York on March 20, 1392, 15 Ric. II. (Rymer, vii. 713.) Upon the occurrence of this riot in Fleet-street, in which much of the public money had been endangered by the attack on the house of the bishop of Salisbury, John de Waltham, then treasurer of England, John Hende the mayor, the sheriffs, and twenty-four aldermen were cited to appear before the council at Nottingham on the 24th June, 16 Ric. II. (Knyghton, 2740.) On the day following, sir Edward de Dalingridge was appointed custos of London (Rymer, vii. 723), and the city functionaries were thrown into prison. (736.) They were brought again before the council at Windsor, on July 22nd, when the liberties of the city were seized into the king’s hands, and sir Baldwine de Radyngton was appointed to supersede Dalingridge. (731.) The Londoners saw that “the end of these things was a money matter” (Stowe, 307); and on Sunday, August 18th, the chief inhabitants made a formal submission to the king, and bound themselves to pay him 100,000*l*., a debt which was remitted at the prayer of queen Anne. (Rymer, vii. 736.) But a present of 10,000*l*. the king accepted, and promised to visit the city of London on the 21st. This he did in company with the queen,* and at her intreaty granted a pardon, dated Woodstock, Sept. 19th. (Rymer, vii. 735.) The courts were restored to London after Christmas, 1392, 16 Ric. II. and the

* A very interesting account of the royal procession through London, and of the presents to the king and queen, written in Latin elegiacs by Richard Maidstone, has been published by the Camden Society. “Richard Maidstone,” says Mr. Wright, “was in great repute at court,” and contemporary with what he describes, since he died in 1396.

citizens were allowed to elect a new mayor on Jan. 5th. (Fabyan.) According to Stowe entire reconciliation was not made till Feb. 23rd.

Line 13. *the erlle of Arundelle*.—Richard Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel and Surrey. Two dates are given for his arrest: according to the Rolls of Parliament it was on July 8th (Rot. Parl. iii. 435), from which source we get the following particulars:—The arrest took place in the presence of the king, who promised the earl, under oath made before the archbishop of Canterbury and sir John Wiltshire, who were also present, that he should neither suffer in his person or property. This was before the arrest of Warwick, which took place on the 10th. Otterbourne, however (190), says that the duke of Gloucester and earl of Arundel were invited to the dinner at which the earl of Warwick was seized; the duke was ill and could not come; Arundel suspected treachery and refused; and upon this the king employed the archbishop (much as in the Eulogium) to bring him into his power. Walsingham (354), placing the arrest after that of Warwick, says that Arundel was brought into the king's power by treachery. He was immediately confined in the Tower, and then moved to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, where he remained till Wednesday, Sept. 19th, when he was brought up to the parliament.

Line 16. *the erlle of Warwic*.—Thomas Beauchamp: he was arrested on the 10th July. (Rot. Parl. iii. 436; Otterb. 190.) The rolls state, at the house of the bishop of Exeter, the chancellor, near Temple Bar; Otterbourne and Walsingham, Holinshed, Stowe, &c. say that it was on the day the king had invited him to dinner. Perhaps these statements are not contradictory. He was confined in the Tower first, and then sent to Tintagel castle, in Cornwall, and was brought up to the parliament on Friday, Sept. 21st.

Line 19. *the duke of Gloucestre*.—The arrest of Thomas of Woodstock followed immediately after the capture of Arundel and Warwick. There is a difficulty in accounting for the suddenness of these arrests. With regard to Gloucester, his opposition to the king had been reaching a climax for some time. He had opposed the king's own marriage and the peace with France; had refused to attend the parliament in which Lancaster's chil-

(dren by Katharine Swynford were legitimated, and one of them, John Beaufort, created earl of Somerset; had openly insulted the king, and was dreaded at court (see Froissart's account, iv. lxxxviii.); was said to have been engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone Richard, and place Roger Mortimer, earl of March, on the throne; had excited the Londoners against Richard, &c. The *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Ric. II.* (Eng. Hist. Soc.) further relates a conspiracy to dethrone Richard, which began at the dinner-table of the abbot of St. Alban's, godfather to Gloucester, in the early part of July, when Gloucester and the prior of Westminster were dining with the abbot. The prior and the abbot told visions relating to the dethroning of Richard, which they had each had on the preceding night, and Gloucester invited them to meet him that day fortnight at Arundel Castle. The earl promised a welcome, and "on the 8th day before the month of August," July 24th, there met Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, Derby, Nottingham, archbishop of Canterbury, abbot of St. Alban's, and the prior of Westminster. Richard was to be imprisoned with the dukes of Lancaster and York, and the lords of the council were to be drawn and hanged. All this was to happen in August; but the earl of Nottingham betrayed the conspiracy. The "Chronique" has been followed by Fabyan, Holinshed, Carte, but not by Stowe, who had it in his possession. Fabyan has altered the date of the confederacy at Arundel from the "8th day before August" to August 8th. These dates are both wrong, as the arrests took place certainly as early as July 10th. Carte, apparently on his own authority, has altered the day to July 8th, which would suit tolerably well (ii. 621). If the author of the "Chronique" himself supplied many of the details, we may well believe that he had fact to build upon.* The great objection appears to be, as Lingard (iii. 359) observes, that no charge founded on any such conspiracy exists on the rolls. Gloucester was arrested by the king in person at Pleshy, given in charge to the earl marshal (earl of Nottingham, captain of Calais), and hurried off to Calais immediately. (Rot. Parl. 418; Froissart, iv. lxxxviii. &c.) These arrests of the three lords, a proclamation stated (July 15), were made with the advice of the earls of Rutland, Nottingham,

* We are indebted to the English Historical Society for this valuable and interesting chronicle; translated and edited, with copious notes, by Benjamin Williams, F.S.A.

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who brought a writ, ordering him to be at Dover the following evening, to meet the earl marshal. On Friday the earl passed over to Calais; Mulso and Rickhill accompanied him in another ship, Rickhill knowing nothing of what was to be his business. However, at the hour of vespers that day the earl delivered to him the king's commission for examining the duke of Gloucester. The judge objected that the duke was dead, as it was universally believed in England; but on the Saturday morning he was admitted to Gloucester's presence, whom he found well, and in sound mind. He had the precaution to insist upon witnesses to all that passed, and advised the duke to return his answer in writing, and to keep a copy. The duke delivered his answer after the dinner hour the same day, requesting Rickhill to return the next morning, in case he should have remembered anything more to add to his defence. On Sunday morning admission to the castle was refused, and the earl, to whom Rickhill had complained, intimated to him that he would not be allowed to see the duke again. On Tuesday, Sept. 11th, Rickhill was ready to return to England, and before sailing sent a message to the duke, explaining that he had endeavoured to return to him, but had not been permitted: and on Sunday, 16th, the day before parliament met, he presented to the king Gloucester's confession. (Rot. Parl. iii. 379, 430-432.) The day of the unfortunate duke's death we do not know, nor what instructions had been given to the earl marshal, besides delivering the commission to Rickhill. On some day about this time he was smothered with a feather-bed, according to the confession of John Hall, in Parl. 1 Hen. IV. who, for his share in the murder, was executed 17th Oct. 1399, 1 Hen. IV. (Rot. Parl. iii. 452, 453.) However, on Sept. 21st, 1397, a warrant was sent to the earl marshal captain of Calais for bringing Gloucester before parliament for his examination, and on the 24th came the earl's answer, reporting that Gloucester was dead. (Rot. Parl. iii. 377, 378; Rymer, viii. 15, 17.) On Oct. 6th, 1397, Richard directed prayers to be said for his uncle's soul, because he had confessed before his death. (Rymer, viii. 19; Rot. Parl. iii. 409.)

Line 10. *a long and large hous of tymber in the paleis at Westmynstre.*—
 “In the year 1397, the great hall at Westminster, being out of reparations, and therefore new builded by Richard II.: he, having occasion to hold a parliament, caused a large house to be builded in the midst of the palace

court, betwixt the clock-tower and the gate of the old great hall. This house was very large and long, made of timber, covered with tiles, open on both sides and at both ends, that all men might see and hear what was both said and done. The king's archers, in number 4,000 Cheshire men, compassed the house about with their bows bent and arrows notched in their hands, always ready to shoot. They had bouch of court (to wit, meat and drink), and great wages of 6*d.* by the day. The old great hall being new builded, parliaments were again there kept as before, namely, one in the year 1399 for deposing Richard II." (Strype's Stowe's Survey, ii. bk. vi. 49.)

Line 17. *the whiche . . .*—"Sone afterward turned the king to grete losse, shame, hindering, and his utterly undoyng and destruccione." (Rawl. 173.) The rapacity and violence of these Cheshire guards at this parliament were made the 5th article against Richard at his deposition. (Rot. Parl., Knyghton, Tyrrell, Rapin.)

Line 18. *so evir procurid.*—In this parliament, which commenced Sept. 17th, the parliamentary commission of fourteen, constituted in the 10 Ric. II. was declared illegal, and those concerned in it were pronounced traitors; the opinion of the judges at Nottingham on the commission was confirmed; the judgment against M. de la Pole reversed; the Acts of 10 and 11 Ric. II. annulled. (Rot. Parl., Stat. Realm.)

Line 21. *the chartris of pardoun, and . . . the pardoun . . . to the erlle of Arundelle.*—The general pardon extorted by the appellants was revoked (Rot. Parl. iii. 350), and a special pardon granted to the earl of Arundel, dated Windsor, April 30, 1394, 17 Ric. II. (351.)

Line 24. *Also atte supplicacion.*—The Commons petitioned for the royal pardon to be extended to the following members of the late commission:—Duke of York, bishop of Winchester, Richard Scrope, who were then alive; William archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander late archbishop of York, the bishop of Exeter, and Nicholas abbot of Waltham, who were dead. Also for a pardon to the earls of Derby and Nottingham, because they *had deserted* from the duke of Gloucester as soon as they became

aware of his treason, and came honourably to the king. (Rot. Parl. iii. 353.) The chief articles exhibited against Gloucester and the others were, the commission, the assembly at Haringay, death of Burley and proceedings in the parliament of 11 Ric. II., and having at Huntingdon, the Thursday after the feast of saint Nicolas, Dec. 12th, 1387, in the 11th year, purposed the dethroning of the king. Nottingham and Derby may have come to the king with some tale of Gloucester's ambition; but when Gloucester, in the parliament of Feb. 1388, 11 Ric. II. complained to the king that he had been accused of aspiring to the throne, Richard said he disbelieved it.

Page 10, line 23. *Thanne on saint Matthewez day.*—Sept. 21st. In the “Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of Exchequer” (Sir F. Palgrave), iii. 303–7, is an inventory of goods and chattels belonging to this earl delivered into the treasury by the sheriff of Shropshire. Also (p. 307) a privy seal directing treasurer and chamberlain to deliver the armour of this earl, with the armour of the duke of Gloucester and earl of Warwick, to the keeper of the king's armour in the Tower of London.

Last line. *ser Richard erl of Warwick.*—Thomas Beauchamp (not Richard). The earl of Warwick's plea before the parliament, as given p. 11, certainly seems to countenance the relation of the “Chronique de la Traison” about the conspiracy at Arundel: the abbot of St. Alban's and prior of Westminster, as has been already stated, were chief movers in that conspiracy.

Page 11, line 10. *Yle of Mann.*—The Pell Issue Roll of Exchequer contains payment to William le Scrope earl of Wiltshire, treasurer of England, for charges incurred in conducting Thomas late earl of Warwick to the Isle of Man, and for his support there. (Easter, 22 Ric. II.)

Line 19. *he was exilid for euer.*—On the 20th September the Commons petitioned that Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, might be brought to trial, since he had, while chancellor, advised the commission (10 R. II.); had abetted the insurrection of Gloucester (11 R. II.); and the death of Burley and other faithful subjects. The archbishop would have

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8th article of deposition charges Richard with this, and with having blotted and altered the rolls of parliament to countenance this dangerous precedent. (Knyghton, Rot. Parl.)

Line 28. *drede of men of Londoun and of xvij. shiris.*—Vast sums of money were extorted from these counties, on account of their having been inclined to rise with Gloucester and Arundel. The king threatened to treat them as an enemy's country, unless the lords temporal and the clergy and people of those counties bought his "good grace." The sums of redemption were called "Le pleasaunce." (Wals. 357; Upod. Neus. 553; Otterb. 199.)

Page 13, line 10. *the duke of Lancastre tolde it to the king.*—On Wednesday, Jan. 30th, the duke of Hereford exhibited to the king, in the parliament at Shrewsbury, a schedule containing an account of a conversation which had passed between the duke of Norfolk and himself in December last; written out in obedience to the king's command, when he had previously accused Norfolk before the king at Haywood. The parliamentary commissioners just constituted were referred to, and the dukes were ordered to appear before the king at Oswestry on Feb. 23; they were then put off till April 28th, and, as no clearer evidence of treason on either side appeared likely to be discovered, it was resolved, as agreed in such a case on March 19th, that they should have the trial by combat at Coventry Sept. 16th. Such is the account on the Rolls. (iii. 382, 383.) On the Issue Roll are payments to messengers and couriers for making proclamation for bishops, barons, knights, and esquires to assemble in all haste at Coventry to witness the duel. (Easter, 21 Ric. II.)

Line 23. *made him swere that he sholde not speke with maister Thomas Arundelle.*—Both dukes were forbidden to communicate with each other, or with archbishop Arundel. (Rot. Parl. iii. 383.) Letters of passage were made out for them on Oct. 3d (Rymer), and they were to be out of the kingdom before the octaves of St. Edward the Confessor. (Rot. Parl. iii. 383.)

Line 29. *blanc chartris.*—These extraordinary powers were extorted

from the city of London and the seventeen counties as a further act of oppression. (Wals. 357; Upod. 553; Otterb. 200.) They are called "Ragmans" on the rolls, and were annulled 1 Hen. IV. (Rot. Parl. iii. 426, 432.)

Page 14, line 14. *an egle of gold*.—The sacred oil so inclosed was given by the Virgin Mary to archbishop Becket to be kept while he was in exile, to comfort him with the knowledge that its virtues should dispose future kings of England to defend all the rights of the Church. After this it was lost for a time, and then discovered by miracle to a holy man, who gave it to the first duke of Lancaster; by him it was given to Edward the Black Prince, that he might be anointed with it on the death of his father Edward III. The prince deposited it in the Tower, where it remained forgotten or unheeded till Richard II. obtained possession of it. Richard carried it over to Ireland with him, with many of the crown jewels; and he was obliged to deliver it up to the archbishop of Canterbury, when just before his deposition he was a prisoner at Chester. This oil was used at the coronation of Henry IV. (Wals. 360, 361.)

Line 28. *Thanne made the king his testament*.—Richard's will is printed in Rymer, viii. 75-77, apparently from an imperfect copy. Another copy is printed in Nichols's Collection of Royal Wills (1780), 191-201, from the original in the Chapter-house, Westminster. It bears date April 16, 1399, 22 Ric. II. There are ample directions for the royal funeral, followed by certain bequests and legacies. The residue of his estate, after payment of just debts, was to go to his successor, provided he confirmed the proceedings of parliament in the 21st and 22d years of his reign; so anxious was Richard to render lasting these late acts. The will was opened, and the clause binding his successor to the late acts at Westminster, Shrewsbury, and Coventry, "full grievous to the realm," formed the 31st article against him at his deposition (Knyghton, Rot. Parl., Rapin); and this notwithstanding a permission given by parliament, 16 R. II., to the king freely to make his will, with the assurance of a due execution of it. (Rot. Parl. iii. 301.) Richard had also procured a papal bull to perpetuate the acts of the 21st and 22d years, and had caused the clergy and people to take oaths to support them. (Lowth's Life of Wickham, 260, &c.)

Line 32. *he wente forth into Yrlond.*—Richard embarked on this fatal journey on May 29th from Milford Haven, and landed at Waterford on the 31st. He was accompanied by the dukes of Aumarle, Exeter, and many other nobles; the abbot of Westminster and several bishops and clergy; and with a vast body of his Cheshire guards. When they were gone England had time to think of her grievances.

Page 15, line 8. *and landid at Ravenesporne.*—On July 4th, when Richard had been five weeks in Ireland. He was accompanied by archbishop Arundel, Thomas Fitz-Alan, who had been arrested with his father the earl of Arundel, lord Cobham, and others. Upon landing he was joined by the earl of Northumberland, with his son Hotspur, the earl of Westmerland, &c.; he soon had an army of 60,000 men, and advancing to London was received with acclamation. He then marched to Bristol, to follow Richard's partisans, who intended to escape into Ireland to join him. At Bristol the treasurer Scrope, and Bussy and Green, members of the council, were beheaded on July 29th; Bagot had taken a different line, and fled to Chester. From this place he escaped into Ireland, and was the first to bring the news of the revolution to Richard. (Tyrrell, iii. 997.) This was probably at the beginning of August or the end of July. Stormy weather had prevented vessels passing over to Ireland before that "one ship" which brought the evil tidings. (Creton.) Creton, however, says that the king remained more than eighteen days in Ireland after he heard the news (75, &c.): the "Chronique," that he *directly* prepared himself to pass over to England. (180.)

Line 13. *The duke of York that was lieutenant of Engelond.*—Upon hearing of Henry's landing the duke had ordered sheriffs of counties to collect troops at St. Alban's, where 60,000 archers and many thousand lancers were mustered, according to the author of the "Chronique." (184.) Instead, however, of advancing to meet Henry he marched to Oxford, and thence to Berkeley castle, Gloucestershire, which he reached about the time that Henry, whose movements were rapid, entered Evesham, Worcestershire. Henry followed the duke, and they met in conference in the church at Berkeley on Sunday, 27th July, where they came to an agreement with regard to what should follow in relation to Richard. They

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logium places this interview at Conway; the English compiler has altered it to Flint, more happily than in the last instance. Upon receiving Richard's messengers, Henry sent the earl of Northumberland from Chester to Conway to obtain possession of his person. The earl had with him 400 lances and 1000 archers; on his way he took possession of Flint and Rhuddlan castles, and halted his troops in a place concealed by the rocks on the road half-way between Rhuddlan and Conway. He then, with five attendants, rode on by the sea-side to Conway Castle. Admission was granted, as he appeared to be the bearer of the duke's answer to Richard's message. The articles proposed by Henry seemed favourable, and the king agreed to accompany the earl to Flint to a conference with the duke of Lancaster. Northumberland's stratagem succeeded, and on the evening of August 18th Richard found himself a prisoner in Flint castle.

Page 17, line 3. *saide he wolde resigne.*—The king's resignation was at Flint. Mr. Webb (note, Archæol. xx. 139) remarks, that there may have been a design in placing Richard's resignation at Conway (as Wals. Eulogium; Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV.), since *then* he was at liberty, which he was not from the moment he entered Flint castle. Though Richard became a prisoner half-way between Conway and Rhuddlan, his arrest is said to have taken place at Flint. (Rot. Parl. v. 463, &c.) Richard was taken to Chester. From thence a proclamation was made by the king, evidently under constraint, dated August 20th, Chester (Rymer, viii. 84), in favour of the duke of Lancaster. On the third day, Henry, with the royal captive, began his march to London. The first night they slept at Nantwich, the second at Newcastle-under-Lyne, the fourth at Lichfield, when the king nearly effected his escape. On the last of the month the king seems to have slept at Westminster; the next day he was removed to the securer confinement of the Tower. (See Stowe, 322, 323.)

Line 6. *And aftirward, in the vigile of saint Miyhelle.*—The rolls of parliament, however, place Richard's resignation, the promise of which he was said to have given at *Conway*, on Monday, Sept. 29th, in presence of the duke of Lancaster, lords de Roos, de Wiloghby, Bergavenny, &c. (iii. 416, 417.)

Line 26. *Aftir this the duke wente to Westmynstre.*—On Tuesday, the feast of St. Jerome, Sept. 30th, the parliament met in Richard's name. Richard's resignation, read in Latin and English, was accepted: thirty-three articles were exhibited against him, to show how he had broken his coronation oath. After this the sentence of deposition was pronounced by eight representatives of the different grades of the nation; by the bishop of St. Asaph for the archbishops and bishops; abbot of Glastonbury for abbots and priors, and the clergy generally; earl of Gloucester for dukes and earls; lord Berkeley for barons and bannerets; sir Thomas de Erpingham and Thomas Grey for the bachelors and commons; sir John Markham and William Thirnyng for the judges. (Rot. Parl. iii. 417, 422.)

Line 30. *he sate down in his fader sete.*—He took his seat as duke of Lancaster. The "Eulogium" mentions the presence of the bishop of Carlisle, Thomas Merks, but says nothing of his speech in favour of Richard: "Ponebat se in sede patris sui juxta episcopum Carlioli." The "Chronique de la Traison" gives the bishop's protest; and, if it is the chief authority for it, we must be cautious, as Mr. Williams observes, in rejecting the testimony of a contemporary. Creton, however (Archæol. xx.), says that Richard's partisans dared not say a word in his favour.

Page 18, line 7. *dampned the said king Richard to perpetuelle prisoun.*—This is misplaced. In the parliament which commenced Oct. 6th, 1 Hen. IV. a question was asked by the archbishop of Canterbury, on the part of the king, on Thursday Oct. 23rd, what was to be done with Richard, "sauvant sa vie, quele le roi voet que luy soit sauvez en toutes maneres?" He was to be safely guarded, it was replied, in some secret place, where none of his old associates should have access to him. On the following Monday, Oct. 29th, Richard was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, in manner prescribed. (Rot. Parl.)

Line 9. *how he descendid and cam down lynealli of kyng Harri, the sone of kyng Johan.*—See note on page 7, line 23, at p. 152.

Line 13. *Thanne arooz the archbisshoppis of Cauntirbury and of York.*—After Henry's claim, the archbishops led him to the throne; Arundel

made a sermon, "Vis dominabitur," &c. in Latin, which is on the Rolls. Henry made a protest against being considered merely a conqueror of the throne; and the coronation day was fixed for Oct. 13, the Translation of St. Edward Confessor. On the day after these proceedings, Wednesday Oct. 1st, a deputation went to Richard in the Tower, and justice Thirnyng, in a long speech, told him he was deposed. Richard answered that he no longer looked for allegiance, "but he sayde that after all this he hopyd that his cosyn wolde be a goode lord to hym." (Rot. Parl. iii. 423, 424.)

Line 16. *colacion*.—A discourse, sermon. This colacion is in Knyghton, Rot. Parl., Fabyan, &c.

Page 19, line 21. *made ser Roger Waldenne bisshop of London*.—Walden had descended from his archbishopric on Henry's accession, and on Oct. 30th the duke of York and earl of Northumberland prayed that Arundel might be enabled to recover damages from him. Walden was a learned man. He became secretary to Richard II., dean of York, treasurer of Calais, treasurer of England, archbishop of Canterbury, and remained primate for two years: he was made bishop of London, after being without a bishopric, on Dec. 10th, 1404 (not as in text). He died within a year of his appointment. (Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops.)

Page 20, line 6. *cam thider vnto him the duke of Aumarle*.—The date in the text is too late. On Jan. 5th, the sheriffs of London were enjoined to seize the person of Thomas earl of Kent, John earl of Huntingdon, or any of their adherents; on the 6th, letters were sent to Peter Courtney, captain of Calais, empowering him to arrest any of the insurgents who might attempt to land at Calais or on the coast of Picardy. (Rymer, viii. 120.) According to the interesting narrative of the "Chronique," Aumarle was dining with his father, the duke of York, on Sunday Jan. 3rd, when he received a letter from the conspirators, which the duke desired to see. As soon as he discovered the contents, York cried, "Saddle the horses directly. Hey! thou traitor thief! thou hast been traitor to king Richard, and wilt thou be false to thy cousin Henry? Thou knowest I am thy pledge-borrow, body for body. By St. George! I had rather thou shouldst be

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lain set fire to some houses in hope of diverting attention from themselves, and escaped. (Creton, Otterb., Stowe.)

Line 15. *At Oxenforde.*—These executions, with others to the number of twenty-six, took place at Oxford on Jan. 11th. (Stowe, 325.)

Line 17. *at Pritwelle, in Essex, &c.*—In Rymer (viii. 120) is an order to the constable of the Tower for confining John earl of Huntingdon: he does not, however, appear to have been received there, but to have been captured in his flight, at the house of “John Pritwelle of Prittlewell,” in Essex, by order of the countess of Hereford, and to have been executed at Fleshy by her command. (Chronique de la Traison, 252, and App. A, 269.)

Line 22. *at Bristowe, &c.*—Lord Despencer had fled to Cardiff Castle, which was his property, and intended to escape beyond sea. He embarked in a vessel, but the sailors had been bribed, or were aware of the value that would be set upon him, and he was carried, in spite of entreaties, to Bristol, where he was immediately executed. (Evesham, 166, 167.)

Line 25. *Whanne kyng Richard herde alle this.*—See Suppl. Add. The “Eulogium” states that this insurrection was in obedience to Richard’s commands given at Conway. At that time the king had no idea of being deposed, and it is scarcely likely that he would have planned a revolution on a probability. He had no opportunity at Flint. It was an advantage to the lords to be considered as acting for the king; and we must remember that they had all been degraded (Rot. Parl. iii. 452), had gained nothing, and lost much by Henry’s accession. The use of Richard’s name had enabled them to send to the king of France for assistance. (Rymer, viii. 165.)

Line 27. *for sorow and hunger he died in the castle of Pountfret.*—This English chronicle from the “Eulogium” is one more authority for the story of Richard’s voluntary starvation. Walsingham (363), Evesham (169), Otterb. (228), Hist. Croyland Continuatio (Gale, i. 495), have given this version of his death. Creton, the former page of Richard, gives it as the

general report, but believes that he is still alive. (Archæol. xx. 219.) Yet a few passages on he proves that he was by no means certain of it. It is to be regretted that this chronicle throws no new light upon the controversy respecting the fate of Richard; but it shows very clearly the general uncertainty and excitement which prevailed on the subject. (See pp. 23–26, &c.; Appendix, 135, 136.)

Last line. *buried at Langley*.—Stowe, following Walsingham no doubt, places Richard's death on Feb. 14th. It may have been a few days later. (See Acts of Council, 1 H. IV. 1400, and sir H. Nicolas's remarks.) The body of Richard—or, as Creton thought, of Maudelain, Richard's chaplain—had been exhibited at St. Paul's on March 12th. (Chronique, 261.) The funeral services were performed at St. Paul's in the presence of the king and people, and the body was then carried to Langley to be buried in the church of the Preaching Friars. There the office was performed by the bishop of Chester, the abbot of St. Alban's, and the abbot of Waltham, “sine magnatum præsentîâ, sine populari turbâ, nec erat qui eos invitaret ad prandium post laborem (!)” Wals. (364), Otterb. (229).

Page 22, line 2. *ser Johan Maudeleyn*.—Maudelain, Richard's chaplain, certainly suffered death before the end of January, probably before the month was drawing to a close.

Line 5. *none ascapid, saue onli ser Roger Waldenne*.—Walden and Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle, were committed to the Tower on Jan. 10 (Rymer, viii. 121); but Walden was soon liberated, with the abbot of Westminster, as they could satisfactorily refute the charges of being concerned in the conspiracy. (Otterb. 228.) Merks, upon Henry's accession, had been committed a prisoner to the abbey of St. Alban's, and was pardoned upon being deprived of his bishopric in November, by being translated to the isle of Samos (Godwin). After the Kingston insurrection he remained incarcerated until Jan. 26th, 1401, when he was committed to the Marshalsea; but, upon strength of a pardon granted him Nov. 28, 1400 (Rymer, viii. 165), was soon set at liberty. He retired to his own monastery of Westminster (Evesh.), and in 1404 was presented by the abbot and convent to the rectory of Todenham, Gloucestershire. (Carte, ii. 648.)

Line 6. *quene Ysabelle*.—Immediately upon Henry's accession ambassadors had arrived from France, in Oct. 1399, demanding the restoration of Isabella with her jewels, according to the marriage treaty. Henry endeavoured to negotiate a marriage between Isabella and the prince of Wales, or between any other of his children and Charles's children. After many delays Isabella arrived at Boulogne, Aug. 1st, 1401. (Rymer; Acts of Council.) Her dowry was not considered due, since she was under 12 years of age; but the council decided that her jewels should go with her. Many had been distributed among the royal children. (Acts of Council, 134; Sir H. Nicolas's Preface.) Some of her valuables were kept back, since in a treaty between Charles VI. and Henry V. the latter was to pay a sum of money in lieu of the jewels detained. (Rapin, i. 523.) The passage of the royal suite to Boulogne and back cost 79*l*. (Issue Roll, Easter, 3 Hen. IV.)

Line 11. *erl of Dunbar*.—George Dunbar, earl of March, in consequence of a private feud with Robert III. In Rymer is the indenture of alliance, dated July 25th, 1400. The castle and lordship of Somerton, Lincolnshire, were to be the earl's; also the manor of Clippeston, Sherwood Forest, for life. (viii. 153, 154.)

Line 14. *Oweyn off Glendore*.—Born May 28th, 1354, or, as some say, 1349. Holinshed relates the story of blood in his father's stables on the night of his birth, which is in this chronicle told of Edmund Mortimer. (See Speed.) He entered the Inns of Court and became a barrister. Afterwards he entered the service of the earl of Arundel, and then of Richard II. After his revolt he pretended to regal dignity, and made an alliance with the king of France. Glyndwr and lord Grey had had a law-suit about a certain common in the time of Richard II., which lord Grey lost; but upon the accession of Henry, trusting to his power at court, he seized the common; hence the quarrel. (See Thomas's Memoir of Glyndwr.)

Line 21. *emperour of Constantinople*.—Manuel Palæologus crossed from France in December, 1400. He was endeavouring to raise the Western powers against Bajazet emperor of the 'Turks. He had before sent ambassadors to the courts of Europe, and Richard II. had made him a grant of

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early in 1402. This chronicle is an independent authority for his having married Glyndwr's daughter. The "Eulogium" is silent on the point.

Page 24, line 31. *lewde*.—Unlearned, ignorant.

Line 31. *the maister*.—This Master of Divinity confessed that he had been a rash interpreter of prophecy, and to that he attributed all his misfortunes. (Eulogium.) He meant, no doubt, the prophecy of Merlin.

Line 25. *saw*.—Relate, say.

Line 32. *seche him in Scotland*.—The account Henry IV. wished to be believed of the pretended Richard in Scotland is evident from stat. 5 Hen. IV. cap. 15, in which there are excluded from a general pardon "William Serle, Thomas Warde de Trumpyngton qui se pretende et feigne d'estre Roy Richard, et Amye Donet." (Stat. Realm, ii. 148.) Part of the earl of Cambridge's conspiracy in the 3 Hen. V. was said to have been the purposing to bring forward Thomas de Trumpyngton, an idiot, to personify Richard II. (Rot. Parl. iv. 65.) According to the Scotch chronicler, Bower, the continuer of Fordun, Richard escaped from Pontefract, and was recognised in the kitchen of Donald lord of the Isles by one who had formerly been his jester. Donald presented him to Robert III., who maintained him in seclusion. After Robert's death, the duke of Albany, the regent, became his patron. At last he died himself, in the castle of Stirling, and was buried in the church there. (Bower, in Fordun, 1068, 1133.) He wrote after 1441. (Lingard.) Wyntown, who wrote about 1420, cannot explain how Richard escaped from Pontefract, but says he was recognised by an Irish lady who had seen him in Ireland, in spite of his altered appearance, &c. (388, 389.) He mentions his living under the knowledge of the duke of Albany, but *no one was certain* whether he had been the king or no. Mr. Fraser Tytler's hypothesis of Richard's escape to Scotland is discussed by Mr. Williams in his Introduction to the Chronicle, p. lii. &c.

Page 26, line 1. *seche king Richard in Walis*.—So uncertain were the reports about him. Reports of Richard being alive in Wales must tend

to weaken the credit which has been given to those of his having escaped to Scotland, which the Scotch historians favoured. Richard was said to be at Chester at the head of an army just before the open rebellion of the Percies.

Line 30. *Edmund Mortimer wedded on of Owenez douztris.*—Edmund Mortimer's marriage with Glyndwr's daughter does not appear by any means certain from the Welsh historians (see Thomas's Memoir of Glyndwr, 52; also Carte, ii. 658), yet English writers make no doubt of it. Great confusion exists between this Edmund Mortimer, prisoner in Wales, and his nephew, Edmund earl of March, son and heir of Roger, who was killed in Ireland, 1398, 22 Ric. II. Edmund earl of March and his brother Roger were confined in Windsor Castle on Henry's accession. On Feb. 14, 1405, lady Despencer, widow of lord Despencer, late earl of Gloucester, procured their liberation by means of false keys, and hurried them off to join Glyndwr, but they were quickly retaken, and remained captives. Edmund Mortimer, uncle to Edmund earl of March, was taken prisoner by Owen, June 1402, perhaps married his daughter, and espoused his cause about the end of the same year. Henry would not allow him to be ransomed; lord Grey's imprisonment he bore less quietly.

Page 29, line 7 and note.—The origin of the date in the "Chronicle" appears to be the following verses quoted in the "Eulogium:"—"De quo quidem conflictu quidam metricè sic scripsit:

"Anno milleno, quater et centesimo, bino,
Bellum Salopie fuit in Mag. nocte Marie."

Hardyng was in the battle, and gives the true date. The real cause of the rebellion of the Percies is no doubt correctly given by our author (page 27, line 12). In their defiance of Henry (Hardyng, Hall, Grafton, Hered. Right) they proclaim their intention of restoring the throne to the right line—to the earl of March; also that their former support of Henry was in consequence of his oath to them at Doncaster, that he only intended to recover his rights, nothing in prejudice of Richard II; that, nevertheless, he had starved him to death, keeping him fifteen days and nights without food; that he had refused to allow the ransom of Edmund

Mortimer. In spite of this declaration of Richard's death, they had taken advantage of the popular belief to raise the larger forces in Cheshire (page 28), and their use of the badge of the hart shows that they wished to appear engaged in a disinterested quarrel. In the "Acts of Privy Council" are some very interesting letters from the Percies, dating from April 10, 1401, to June 26, 1403, less than four weeks before the rebellion. In these letters they demand payment for their guardianship of the east and west marches—the king underrates the importance of the marches—should anything happen, which God forbid, it would not be their fault—their personal property was spent in paying the king's debt, and they could not bear the continual demands the soldiers were making upon them: the last letter is a strong *demand* for payment from the earl. The "Issue Roll" contains the payment of a few small sums to the earl and Hotspur during this time. The rebellion came very suddenly upon the king. A letter to the council from Higham Ferrers (co. Northamp.), July 10th, shows that he was ignorant of any threatened rebellion—he was going "vers le parties d'Escoce pour ye donner aide et confort a noz trescheres et foialx cousins le conte de Northumb. et Henry son filz contre les Escotz noz enemys." From Burton-on-Trent he writes, July 17th, that he has just heard that Henry Percy calls him nothing but "Henry of Lancaster," and has made proclamation in Cheshire that Richard is alive. Four days more and the battle was ended. Henry's frequent promises, without any chance of fulfilment, exasperated the Percies.

Line 15. *so he cam to the parlement.*—To throw suspicion from himself, the earl had agreed in August, at Pontefract, to surrender his castles to the king. (Nicolas's Privy Council, i. 211.) He submitted himself to the king at York: and on Wednesday, February 5th, urged that submission before parl. 5 Hen. IV. 1404, and again on Feb. 7th; when the lords gave judgment that he had only been guilty of a trespass, and therefore must submit to a fine. He then exonerated the duke of York, archbishop of Canterbury, and other suspected persons, from being concerned in the rebellion. (Rot. Parl. iii. 524.)

Line 29. *dame Blaunche.*—To Master John Chaundeler, clerk, appointed treasurer to Blanch. In money paid to him by Richard Clifford,

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might have had rescue and good harbour, to the great safeguard of the king's ships and merchants passing to and fro upon the narrow seas ; yet now, not only the said harbour and road called the Camber, but also all the "inne creekes nere unto Rye and Wynchelsey," partly by occasion of casting ballast into the same harbour and creeks, and partly "bycause dyvers mershes inned take in no water to scower the channell, but lett oute the freshe water at guttes, so that the channell there is so choked, swared, and fyllyd uppe," that not more than thirty or forty vessels can lie there without danger. (Stat. Realm, iv. 72.) In spite of precaution the harbour became choked, and a new one was made in 1726, which also became useless. The new harbour is nearly on the site of the old. (Haydn's Dic.)

Line 9. *canted*.—Sold by auction.

Line 12. *Johan Serle*.—*William*, not *John*, Serle; he was present at the murder of Gloucester (Rot. Parl. iii. 453); and was excepted out of a general pardon, Jan. 5, Hen. IV. 1404 (544).

Line 29. *like to king Richard, but it was not he*.—Cum adhuc non quievit rumor ille de vitâ ejus, semper Scoti illum rumorem auxerunt. (Eulogium.)

Page 31, line 11. *the cause of the said risyng*.—Probably much as given here: lord Mowbray had been deprived of his hereditary office of earl marshal, and the earl of Northumberland of the guardianship of the Marches: the earl of Westmerland had stepped into both. Henry IV. was at Worcester when suspicion was first aroused by a letter from the council. They wrote that they had heard from John of Lancaster, the king's son, that lord Bardolf, who had been ordered to join the king in the Welsh marches, had taken himself off to the North. They had despatched chief justice Gascoigne and lord Roos to the North to frustrate any evil that might arise. And, as they knew the king was poor, they sent him 1000 marks. (Acts of Council.) On the 28th May the king acquainted them from Derby of the truth of the insurrection, and bids them hasten to Pontefract with all the followers they can collect. On

July 2nd the king wrote, relating his success, from Warkworth Castle, which, formerly belonging to the earl of Northumberland, had surrendered to him the day before. He was about to attack Alnwick. (Acts of Council.)

Page 33, line 6. *beheddid withoute the cite of York.*—See Appendix. Clement Maydestone gives a different account of the archbishop's execution. (See the Abps. Articles, &c., and Martyrdom, Anglia Sacra, ii. 369-372; Cotton. MS. Vesp. E vii. f. 94-101; Foxe's Acts and Monuments.) The concluding words of the archbishop given in the text are not in the "Eulogium."

Line 17. *many grete miracles.*—Usque hodie mirabiliter operatur. (Eulogium; see Anglia Sacra, ii. 371-2.) The last sentence of the "Eulogium" gives an account of the success of a prayer to St. Richard (Scrope), in stopping a fire which had broken out in a belfry near York.

Line 27. *the pope answerde.*—It is to be feared that our English compiler was himself the author of this answer. It is not in the "Eulogium." Whether the *king* was given to witticisms we need not inquire.

Page 34, line 3. *dame Luce . . . weddid . . . ser Edmund erl of Kent.*—"With moche solempnyte and moche worship, for kyng Harry was ther hymselfe, and 3ave her at the chirche dore. And when mes was doone the kyng hymselfe ladde that lady home to the bisshoppes place of Wynchestre, and ther was a wonder grete fest to al maner of peple that thedre wolde come." (MS. Rawl. 190, f. 152.) Jan. 24. (Fabyan, sub ann.)

Line 6. *ser Robert Knollis.*—*Robert*, not *Ricardus*: famous under Edward III., especially at the battle of Poitiers. He accompanied the Black Prince into Spain, 41 Ed. III. in aid of Don Pedro; in 44 Ed. III. was general of forces then sent into France; 1 Ric. II. governor of Brest Castle; 3 Ric. II. aided the duke of Britany against the French; 4 Ric. II. suppressed Jack Straw's insurrection; 8 Ric. II. defeated a conspiracy for murdering sir Nicholas Brember, mayor; seneschal of Guienne early in

Hen. IV.; founded a college, &c. at Pontefract; built bridge at Rochester; founded an hostelry for English strangers at Rome; enlarged house of the Carmelites, White Friars, London, where he was buried with Constance his wife. He died Aug. 15. (Dugdale, B. ii. 412; Stowe, 334-5; Carte, 571, &c.) The example of Robert Knollis was commended by Caxton, at the end of his "Ordre of Chivalry," to the imitation of the knights of his day; instead of "going to the baynes and playing at dice." (See Dibdin's *Typograph. Antiq.* 225-228.)

Line 8. *ser Thomas Rempstoun*.—He was Constable of the Tower, Admiral of the West, and Knight of the Garter; drowned by an accident at London Bridge, 7 Hen. IV. (Fabyan; Rawl. 190.) Stowe mentions a Sir Thomas Rampton as vice-chamberlain to Henry IV.; and sailing in company with him from Queenborough, Sheppey, into Essex, to avoid passing through London, where pestilence raged, he was taken prisoner by the French, in the summer of 1406.

Line 11. *dame Philippe the yonger, douztir of king Harri*.—She was married to Eric, associated with his great-aunt Margaret in the throne of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. Sole monarch in 1412. Fabyan places her departure from England in May. The marriage was celebrated at Lunden, according to Pontanus, as late as Oct. 25 the same year, 1406 (Rapin, 498): but on July 28th Richard Clifford, junior, clerk of the wardrobe to the lady Philippa, the king's daughter, queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, was paid 248*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* for pearls and cloth of gold purchased at the time of the marriage. (Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Hen. IV.) The marriage may have been splendid, but the Danish historians must be wrong in supposing Philippa brought Eric a large fortune. (See *Univ. Hist.* xxxii. 299.)

Line 13. *Edmund Courteneye*.—*Richard*, not *Edmund*. He was chancellor of Oxford, not bishop till 1413. (Gibson.)

Line 17. *the Walssh cleric*.—Nov. 8 Hen. IV., Fabyan. But in Issue Roll, Mich. 3 Hen. IV., March 14th, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* were paid to the earl of Westmerland, marshal of England (so made 1 Hen. IV.), for appointing

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Line 16. *ser Johan Beaufort, erl of Dorset.*—A mistake: *John* Beaufort, eldest son of John of Ghent by Katharine Swynford, was created earl of Somerset 20 Ric. II., and *marquis* of Dorset, and marquis of Somerset, 21 Ric. II.: he was captain of Calais, and died on Palm Sunday, March 16, 1410, 11 Hen. IV. *Thomas* Beaufort, youngest son of John of Ghent, was chancellor of England 11 Hen. IV., and in 13 Hen. IV. (as in the text) was advanced to the title of earl of Dorset: and in 4 Hen. V. created duke of Exeter for life. (Dugd. Bar. ii. 121-125.)

Line 30. *entrete him to resigne the croune to prince Harri*—This the king refused, and although “*horribiliter aspersus leprâ, statim equitavit per magnam partem Angliæ, non obstante leprâ supradictâ.*” (Eulogium.) Compare the interview between the king and prince. (Stowe, 339-341; also Shakspeare, Henry IV. Part II. Act 4, Scenes 10 and 11.)

Page 38, line 4. *yburied in Crichirche of Cauntirbury.*—Henry IV. died on Monday, March 20th, 1413, in the fourteenth year of his reign. (Sir H. Nicolas’s Chronology; Stowe, &c.) His body was conveyed by water to Feversham, and from thence by land to Canterbury, “with moche torche-lighte,” where he was buried in the cathedral. (Rawl. 190, &c.) Clement Maydestone gives a strange story, which he heard a person tell his father Thomas Maydestone, that as the body of king Henry was being carried by water to Feversham a storm arose, and the body was thrown into the sea by this stranger and two others, and the waves subsided upon the body being thrown out. The storm scattered the eight boats containing members of the nobility which followed in procession, and these men carried the splendid coffin on to Canterbury where it was buried. Hence the monks say, “The *sepulchre* of Henry IV. is with us, but his *body* is not.” (Anglia Sacra, ii. 372.)

Page 39, line 7. *translatid his body fro Langley vnto Westmynstre.*—We slander the noble character of Henry V. if we do not take this as a proof that he believed in the *death* of Richard. Henry feared no enemy, and had released the earl of March, who had been prisoner all his father’s reign. Issue Roll, Mich. 1 Hen. V., Feb. 20, contains payment for a

“horsbere,” a coffin, and other necessary things for the removal of the body of Richard late king of England, 4*l.*

Line 15. *Fikettis feld.*—“In quendam campum, vocatum Fykettefelde, non procul a Westmonasterio.” (Elmham, 31.) In Issue Roll, Mich. 1 Hen. V., are payments for the arrest of Lollards: especially to one constable for seizing Lollard books in the house of a *parchment-maker*; another for searching the house of William, the *parchment-maker*, in Smithfield, where sir John Oldcastle dwelt.

Line 21. *parlement at Westmynstre.*—This parliament commenced Nov. 19th, at Westminster: there had been a parliament before this year at Leicester, April 30.

Page 40, line 22. *Kitcaux.*—The old district of Caux lay on the right bank of the Seine, and took its name from the ancient Caletes. It included that triangle of country formed with the British Channel and the Seine, by drawing a straight line from St. Valery on the coast to Meulan on the Seine. “There is a point which advances into the sea, called the Cape of Caux.” (Brice’s Geog. Dic.) Stowe fixes the landing at “Kedicaux, in Normandie, which is betwixt Hereflete (Harfleur) and Humflete (Honfleur); scarcely three leagues (so Elmham) from Hereflete.” Kitcaux is universally named as the place in the “Brute” Chronicles.

Line 25. *commaundid his gonners to bete downi the wallis.*—“And there he plaid at tenys * with them that were in the towne and alas that eny soche ballis (*i.e.* gon-stoñys) were made, and cursid the tyme that ever they were begon!” (Rawl. 190, f. 156 b. &c.; Chronicles of King Henry V., Claudius A. VIII. &c.) Guns had been in partial use from about 13 Ed. III. (Bree’s Cursory Sketch, i. 136); yet, according to Speed, they were first used *in* England at the siege of Berwick Castle by

* Alluding to the present of tennis-balls said to have been sent by the Dauphin to Henry. “Somewhat in scorne he sent to the kyng a tonful of tenys ballis, for to play him withal and his lordis, and said that hit become hym better than to mayntayne ony werr.” (Rawl. 190, &c.; see Poem on the Siege of Harflet and Battle of Agyncourt, Hearne’s Elmham, 359)

Henry IV., 1405 (p. 775), where the discharge of one large piece of ordnance caused the surrender of the fortress. (Also Stowe, 333; see Appendix, p. 140.)

Page 41, line 3. *watir of Swerdis*.—So Ashmole, 791, &c. “The river of Ternoise, called the river of *Swords*.” (Tyler’s Henry V. ii. 163.)

Line 23. *euery Englishe manne knelid down, and put a litille porcion of erthe in his mouthe*.—“In remembrance that they were mortal, and made of earth, as also in remembrance of the Holy Communion.” (Stowe, 349.)

Page 42, line 7. *erl of Narbonne*.—“The earl of Naverne.” (Claudius, A. viii. &c.) “The count de *Nevers*, brother to the duke of Burgundy.” (Monstr.) A few months after this, count de *Narbonne*, as admiral of the French fleet, attempted to recapture Harfleur: he was killed at the battle of Verneuil, 1424.

Line 18. *ioie and worshippe*.—He “landed at Dover, in Kent, with alle his prisoners in saftee, thankede be Jhesu: and so come to Caunterbury, and so rood forth thoruz Kent the nexte wey to Eltham, and there he restede him, til he wolde come to Londoun. And thanne the mayr of Londoun, aud the aldermen, shereffes, with alle the worthi comeners and craftes, comen to the Blakeheth, weel and worthily arayed, to welcome oure kyng with divers melodies; and thanked Almyzti God of his gracious victorie that He had shewed for hym. And so the kyng and his prisoners passede forth bi hem, til he come to seynt Thomas Waterynge. And then ther mette with him alle religious with processione, and welcomede hym. And so the kyng come ridyng with his prisoners thoruz the citee of Londoun; where that ther was shewede many a fayr syzt at alle the coundites, and at the Crosse yn Chepe, as yn hevenly araye of aungelle, archaungelle, patriarkes, prophetis, and vergines, with divers melodies, sensyng and syngyng to welcome oure king: and alle the coundites rennyng wyn. And the kyng passed forth unto seynt Powles; and there mette with hym xiiij. bisshoppes cenersede and mytrede with sensers to welcome the kyng, and songen for his gracious victorie, ‘Te Deum Laudamus.’” (Rawl. 196; Claudius, A. viii. &c.)

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name of a “nation,” and the other privilege in the text, “had been delayed and letted from England by men of other nations for envy.” (Stowe, 352.)

Page 45, line 16. *Louers.*—Louviers.

Line 31. *Baious.*—Bayeux.

Page 46, line 3. *Valeys Newelyn.*—Mentioned as one place; so in the chronicles generally. *Valeys*, Falaise? *Newelyn*, “Castrum de *Neweley* Anglicorum industriâ subjugatur.” (Elmham, 116.)

Line 12. *Cessy*, Seez. *Launson*, Alençon. *Belham*, Bellesme.

Line 14. *Pount large.*—Pont de l'Arche.

Page 47, line 20. *Roon.*—This famous siege has been celebrated in a long old English poem, occurring in three manuscripts of the Brute; namely, MSS. Harl. 753 and 2256, and one at Holkham (No. 670). It has been printed in the “*Archæologia*,” xxii. 350-398, by sir Frederick Madden, 1829.

Line 6. *the dolfynez ambassiatours.*—The king had meditated an alliance with the dauphin, against the duke of Burgundy. Ambassadors were appointed to treat, Oct. 26, 1418, 6 Hen. V. (See a document relative to the alliance, Acts of Council, ii. 350-358.)

Page 49, last line. *Bokende Villers.*—From Pontoise the king “sent the duke of Clarence with a chosen power of men to Paris, to view the situation and strength thereof; before which city when he had tarried certain days, and had seen all that him likid, and that none of the Frenchmen would issue out of the city to fight with him, he returned to the king and ascertained him of all that he had seen. On the 18th August king Henry with his host departed from Pontoise; and because the *castle of Bokinvillers* had done certain inhuman cruelties to the king's land . . . he assalted the same castle.” (Stowe, 358.) The castle surrendered from dread of Henry's name. (Titus Livius, 77; see also Elmham, 233.)

Page 51, line 32. *duke of Clarence was slayn.*—At the battle of Beaujé, March 22nd, 1421. (Monstrelet.)

Page 52, line 2. *crouned at Westmynstre.*—Fabyan has preserved a full account of the marvellous banquet of fish on this occasion. There is also a tolerably full account of it in Rawl. 173; different from Fabyan's, but agreeing with him nearly in the description of the dishes, though not giving Fabyan's explanation of the "sotilties."

Line 3. *At midsomer.*—By letters patent from Dover, June 10, 1421, 9 Hen. V. the king appointed the duke of Bedford, as before, lieutenant of England, and was himself at Rouen on the 17th of that month. (Rymer, x. 129, 131.)

Line 13. *buried at Westmynstre.*—See the account of the funeral procession from the Bois de Vincennes to Westminster, in Stowe, 362-3. The king's body, embalmed and closed in lead, was laid in a "chariot drawn by four great horses: and above the dead corpse they laid a figure made of boiled hides or leather, representing his person as nigh as could be devised, painted curiously to the similitude of a living creature; upon whose head was set an imperial diadem of gold and precious stones, on his body a purple robe furred with ermine, and in his right hand he held a sceptre royal, and in his left hand a ball of gold, with a cross fixed thereon." The Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Henry V. contains the following entries: "Sept. 26. To John Ardern, for 26 tons of Caen stone for the tomb of king Henry V., in the church of Westminster, who is there buried, 12*l.* To Simon Prentot, wax-chandler of London, for divers hearses provided by him at Dover, Canterbury, Hosprynge, Rochester, Dertford, St. Paul's London, and Westminster, for the funeral of the king Henry V. so brought from France into England, 300*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* To John Ardern, clerk of the king's works, for making the tomb of king Henry V. erected in the church of the blessed Peter, Westminster, who is there buried, 23*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" (Devon's Issue Roll.) A silver gilt effigy was placed upon the tomb by order of the queen. The head, which was of massive silver, was broken off in the time of Henry VIII. and the silver plates were also stripped from the body. (Stowe.)

Page 54, line 21. *the duke of Gloucestre . . . protectoure.*—It had been provided on Dec. 5, 1422, that the duke of Bedford should be protector of England and chief councillor whenever he might be in England; but that in his absence the duke of Gloucester should be protector. (Rymer, x. 261.) On this occasion of the young king's going into France Gloucester had been formally declared lieutenant of England, April 23, 1430. (Rymer, x. 458.)

Line 22. *Jacke Sharpe, &c.*—Probably a Lollard insurrection. Priests' heads were to be as cheap as sheeps'. (Fabyan; Stowe.) Payments were ordered to be made to the duke of Gloucester, lieutenant, for inquiring into certain disturbances and punishing Lollards and other heretics in the midland counties on May 11 (1431), June 12, July 16. (Acts of Council, iv. 88, 89, 91.) On the next day (July 17) 500 marks were paid to the duke. (Issue Roll, Easter, 9 Hen. VI.) The Issue Roll (Mich. 10 Hen. VI.) contains payment to the duke of Gloucester for executing Sharp and suppressing his rebellion. Sharp is there called "the most horrible heretic and impious traitor to God and the lord the king." Also 20*l.* were paid to the informer against "William Perkyngs, who calling himself Jack Sharp was making a disturbance at a certain place in Oxford." (Feb. 16, 10 Hen. VI.)

Line 28. *the lord Fitz Watier . . . was . . . drounde.*—Nov. 25th, 1432. (Stowe.) Dugdale (i. 223) does not mention the circumstance: according to whom his will was proved Nov. 10, 1432. This lord Fitz Walter had been a valiant knight under Henry V. In the 9 Henry V. he was taken prisoner at the battle of Beaujé, when the duke of Clarence was killed. He had been joined with the earl of Mortayne in the command of troops then sent into France.

Line 30. *Dope.*—Dieppe.

Page 55, line 5 —*saint Kateryne; day vnto Sheoftide.*—St. Katharine's day was Nov. 25. "The 25th Nov. to 10th Feb." (Fabyan; Holinshed; Stowe.) Feast of St. Andrew's, Nov. 30th to Feb. 14th. (W. Worcester.) *Sheoftide* must be for *Shrovetide*. Shrove-Sunday, 1434, was Feb. 7th.

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sacrilegious persons were protected, and that the privilege of sanctuary was much abused. From 32 Hen. VIII., when eight sanctuaries only were retained, and great offences were debarred from them, until 21 James I., when all were abolished, they became the resort of debtors; and in Elizabeth's reign an oath and order of admission were introduced to place some little obstacle in the way of those who sought shelter simply to defraud their creditors. (Stat. Realm; Strype's Stowe; Seymour.)

Page 58, line 12. *of heresy*.—This seems to show that Lollardry was one of the charges. The treason was endeavouring to compass the king's death, by making an image of him in wax, and gradually consuming it, &c. (See Fabyan.)

Line 16. *she was committed to the warde of sir John Stiward, &c.*—There are several payments on the Issue Roll, Mich. 22 Hen. VI., relative to her custody. She had been deprived of her dowry. (Rot. Parl. v. 135.) She was sent to Chester Castle (Issue Roll, Feb. Mich. 20 Hen. VI. ;) thence removed to Kenilworth Castle, Oct. 26, 1443, 22 Hen. VI. (Rymer, xi. 45.)

Line 25. *to enquire of al maner tresons, &c.*—"To divers doctors, notaries, and clerks, lately by the king's command laboriously employed respecting a superstitious sect of necromancers and persons charged with witchcraft and incantations. In money paid them by the hand of master Adam Moleyns, in discharge of 20*l.* which the said lord the king commanded to be distributed among them, to have by way of reward 20*l.*" Issue Roll, Mich. 20 Hen. VI. (Devon's Issue Roll.)

Page 60, line 7. *wherynne she was al her lif after, &c.*—"May 15th. To Ralph lord de Sudeley, constable of the king's castle of Kenilworth, to whom the lord the king, on Dec. 5th last past, committed the custody of Eleanor Cobham, for whose security and safe custody the said lord de Sudeley continually had twelve persons in attendance, viz. one priest, three gentlemen, one maid, five valets, and two boys: which said Ralph received . . . daily for himself 6*s.* 8*d.* per day; for the said priest, two gentlemen, and one gentleman, each of them 8*d.* per day; and for the said

maid and each of the said valets 6*d.* per day; and for each of the said boys 4*d.* per day. And, moreover, the said Eleanor received for her daily support 100 marks yearly. . . . By writ, &c. 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*” (Devon’s Issue Roll, Easter, 22 Hen. VI.) From Kenilworth Castle she was removed by an order of council to sir John Stanley, to be imprisoned in the Isle of Man. (Acts of Council, vi. 51, July, 24 Hen. VI. 1446.) Afterwards she was brought back to London. (Issue Roll, Easter, 25 Hen. V. July.)

Line 13. *Roger Boltyngbroke, &c.*—Feb. 24th, Barthol. Halley, one of the valets of the crown, received 10*l.* in discharge of 20*l.* for expenses attending the custody of Roger Bukbroke, upon whom the laws were executed—hire of horses, boats, bed, food, drink, &c. as well for himself as for the said Roger and two attendants during eight weeks six days. (Devon’s Issue Roll, Mich. 20 Hen. VI.) This man was also called Onley. (Hardyng; Lambard.)

Page 61, line 6. *And the Sunday next befor Witsuntide the xxiiij. day of May.*—There is a confusion in the Chronicle here between the proposition which the earl of Suffolk made at the treaty of Tours for a marriage between Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou (Monstrelet, Stowe, Rapin, Carte, &c.), and the proxy-marriage which took place between Margaret and the earl of Suffolk for Henry VI., not earlier than, and no doubt in, November. (Stowe, Rapin, Carte.) I am indebted to Mr. Durrant Cooper for the following particulars, communicated to me through the kindness of Mr. Nichols:—From the Issue Rolls of Exchequer it appears that in negotiating the treaty of Tours for a truce (which was agreed to on the 25th May, and ratified 27th June), sir Thomas Hoo, one of the commissioners with the earl of Suffolk, whose history Mr. Durrant Cooper has been investigating, embarked on the 22nd April, and was paid 20*s.* per day from that day till 27th June, when he had returned. (Issue Roll, Easter Term, Sept. 30th, 23 Hen. VI., and 20th July, same term and year, and 16th July, Easter, 22 Hen. VI.) [According to our chronicler the commissioners started about the end of February or beginning of March.] On the 6th July three messengers were appointed from Henry to Margaret: Robert lord Roos, sir Thomas Hoo, and Garter King at Arms. On the 23rd July Hoo drew 91*l.*, and also (Issue Roll, Easter, 22 Hen. VI.)

26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* on account of his expenses, and started only on the 26th August, landing again in England, in company with the queen and others, on 11th April, 1445, being absent half a year and fifty-one days. The earl and countess of Suffolk did not start from England till 5th November, 1444, and were absent 157 days. (Issue Roll, Easter, 23 Hen. VI. 20th July.) These facts satisfactorily show that the proxy-marriage cannot have taken place much before the middle of November. The only matter in the Issue Rolls, Mr. Durrant Cooper observes, which in any way appears to confirm the chronicler's date for the marriage, is an entry on July 23rd, Easter, 22 Hen. VI:—"To Robert baron Roos, Thomas Hoo knt., and Garter King at Arms, whom the king sent to France towards 'his most dear consort,' by the hands of Stephen Kyrkeby his chaplain, &c. 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*" In Devon's Issue Roll are payments to the earl and countess of Suffolk on their journey and residence between Nov. 1444 and April 1445, but he does not print the entry of the 20th July, Easter, 23 Hen. VI., which distinctly states the employment of the earl and countess to have been from the 5th Nov. 1444, and the whole sum paid to them to be 1408*l.* for the 157 days.

Line 12. *but what treson grew vnder tho trewez.*—At Suffolk's proposition for the marriage of Margaret of Anjou with Henry, during the treaty of Tours, he agreed to the surrender of Anjou and Maine to René, king of Sicily, Margaret's father. (Stowe, Rapin; see also further on, p. 68.)

Line 18. *condue* (so written twice).—Conduct.

Line 19. *markeys of Suffolk.*—The earl was advanced to the title of marquis of Suffolk, Sept. 14, 1444; 23 Hen. VI. (Dugdale, ii. 188.)

Line 21. *Humfrey erl of Stafford maad duke of Bukynghame.*—Sept. 14, 23 Hen. VI. 1444. (Dugdale, i. 165.)

Line 25. *Henry erl of Warwic maad duke of Warwic.*—April, 1444, 22 Hen. VI., with precedence of the duke of Buckingham, and place next to the duke of York. The Act of the *next* year (23 Hen. VI.) settled the disputes which had immediately arisen between the two dukes; and from the

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likely to have been brought against him, for the statute passed at this same parliament revives and confirms all the rigorous laws made against the Welsh; indeed nothing else was done in it (Stat. Realm, ii. 344.)

Line 19. *ordeyned that every lorde sholde come withe strengthe.*—So with the memorable parliament, 21 Ric. II. The Suffolk militia were ordered out in full force, to the number of 40,000 (Appendix, p. 116), to guard all the roads round Bury: the distances they came prove the stringency of the muster.

Page 63, line 7. *he deide for sorou.*—Stowe has borrowed our author's words. The date for this event is given Feb. 28th (see Carte, Lingard); 24th (Fabyan, Holinshed, Stowe): but Richard Fox's circumstantial narrative almost *fixes* it on Thursday 23rd (Appendix, p. 117.) According to our chronicler the duke was murdered (see next page, I. 22): although in this passage he speaks cautiously. His knowledge of a "prive conclusioun," on the part of the government, "the whiche as yit is not come to the knowlege of the commune peple," is rather remarkable. The Yorkists almost always declared the duke was murdered. (See the Articles, p. 88.) Whethamstede (365, &c.) abbot of St. Alban's, says he died a natural death: Richard Fox, in the Appendix (117), implies the same. These two monks of St. Alban's must be considered as high authorities. Fox wrote but a few months after the duke's death, and probably assisted at his funeral. His death is told naturally. Fox calls him "the good duke," and is not likely to have kept back from his monastery, through fear, any particulars of the death of their common patron. The duke granted the priory of St. Nicholas, Pembroke, to the abbot and convent of St. Alban's, (see the charters in Whethamstede, Aug. 21 Hen. VI., 311–316,) to pray perpetually for his soul. (Rot. Parl. v. 253, 307.) It seems he had first (April, 21 Hen. VI.) intended it for the chapter of Salisbury. (Acts of Council, v. 266.) The fullest particulars of the duke's funeral are given in the Appendix, and it is thought that the following document may be considered interesting enough to appear in this place. It is from Claudius A. viii. f. 195.

"In this cedula be conteyned the charges and observances appointed by

the noble prince Humfrey, late duke of Gloucestre, to be perpetually boren by thabbot and conuent of the monasterie of seint Albone.

“First, the abbot and conuent of the seid monasterie haue payd for makynge of the tumbes and place of sepulture of the seid duke withinne the seid monasterie aboue the summe of . . . cccc.xxx.iiij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*

“Item, to ij. monkes prestes dayly seiynge messe at the auter of sepulture of the seid prince, euerich of them takynge by j. day, vj *d.* Summe therof by j. hole yere is . . . xviiij *li.* v *s.*

“Item, to thabbot ther yerly the day of anniuersary of the seide prince attendynge his exequyes ther . . . xls.

“Item, to the priour ther yerly the same day in like wyse attendynge . . . xx *s.*

“Item, to xl. monkes prestes yerly, to euerych of them the same day vj *s.* viij *d.* Summe therof . . . xiiij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*

“Item, to viij. monkes not prestes yerly the seid day, to eueryche of them iijs. iiij *d.* Summe therof . . . xxvj *s.* viij *d.*

“Item, to ij. ankresses, j. at sent Petures chirche, another at sent Michael’s, the seid day yerly, to eueryche xx *d.* Summe . . . iijs. iiij *d.*

“Item, in monie to be destribut to pore peple ther the seid day yerly . . . xls.

“Item, to xiiij. pore men berynge torches the seid day aboute the seid sepulture . . . ijs. ij *d.*

“Item, for wax brennyng dayly at his messes and his seid anniuersary, and of torches yerly . . . vj *li.* xiijs. iiij *d.*

“Item, to the kechen of the conuent ther yerly in releef of the gret decay of the liuelode of the seid monasterie in the marches of Scotlond, whiche before tyme hathe be appointed to the seide kechyne . . . ix *li.*”

Page 64, line 2. *maister Adam Moleyns.*—This bishop, in conjunction with sir Robert Roos, as king’s commissioner, delivered up Maine to Charles VII., March, 1448; and, according to W. Worcester, was murdered for his share in that unpopular business. It was also said that the duke of York had a hand in his death. (Stowe, Gibson.) He was succeeded by the celebrated Reginald Pecock.

Line 10. *William Ascoghe.*—Stowe has taken his account of the murder

of Ascoth from this manuscript. According to Thomas Gascoigne he was made king's confessor, being the first bishop that held that office. He had also been clerk of the king's council. (See Godwin's Cat. of Bishops.)

Page 64, line 23. *And this same yeer, in the moneth of May,* to page 68, line 9, *harm to meny persone*;—Stowe's account of Cade's insurrection, partly from our author, is very interesting and full. In the "Issue Roll" are several payments relative to the capture of John Mortimer, alias Jack Cade: and there is a compensation to the duke of York for jewels stolen from him by this rebel—a first-sight argument, at least, that the duke had not secretly urged on his rebellion. The Issue Rolls prove the serious nature of the insurrection. The following entry occurs: Easter, May 17, 31 Hen. VI. "To Lancaster king of arms, who with great speed rode from Leicester to London, Daventry, and divers places, in which journey he injured two horses worth 8*l.* and moreover paid for the hire of other horses 40*s.*; by which riding he was a loser, &c. 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*" However, the date of the entry shows no hurry was made to remunerate him. The Acts of Council, vi. 96-99, 101, July 12 to Aug. 25, 28 Hen. VI. contains several orders for seizing property stolen by the Captain of Kent, gold, silver, cloth of arras, &c.; payments for his arrest, &c. Also an order to treasurer and chamberlain of exchequer to deliver to master Andrew Holes, keeper of the privy seal, who was about to undertake a journey for the king, and was "destitut of hors, six horses lately belonging to that traitour calling himself captain of Kent, by way of lone" On the insurrection see sir H. Nicolas's Preface to vol. vi. Acts of Council, xxvii. xxviii.

Line 24. *a ribaude*.—A ruffian. (French, *ribaud*, deriv. *hrid*, pugna, *balldr*, audax. Todd from Ihre.) The derivation gives the history of the word. Originally, in a good sense, it was applied to stout, brave, tried soldiers; the word degenerated and became the description of rapacious, lawless fellows, bandits, libertines, &c. Perhaps was never used in a good sense in England, but, with *ribaudry*, had a low, licentious meaning. (See Dict. de Furetiere, Richelet.)

Page 66, line 15. *Kyllyngworth*.—Kenilworth.

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lord Molins, 19 Hen. VI., and succeeded his father as lord Hungerford, 37 Hen. VI. (Dugd. ii. 207.)

Line 31: *the erle of Douglas of Scotlonde*.—The murder of William earl of Douglas was the conclusion of a conference with the king at Stirling Castle, Feb. 22, 1452; but did not put an end to the contests between the government and the Douglasses. James, brother of the murdered earl, openly denounced the king, and a battle was fought May 18, 1452, in which the king's troops were victorious. Sir James Hamilton of Cadyow was sent by Douglas to beg assistance from England; but, as the earl could obtain nothing but promises and advice from thence, he was compelled with the troops he had to meet the king near Abercorn; and the desertion of Hamilton and most of his troops obliged the earl, with his family, to seek refuge in England. Douglas made a last attempt, in conjunction with the earl of Northumberland, guardian of the marches, to regain power in Scotland, and found himself defeated by his old ally Hamilton of Cadyow. (Drummond, Hist. Scot. 1655, 54–66.) In Rymer is a safe-conduct for members of the earl's family for two years, to pass over to Calais and return, dated July 16, 1454, 32 Hen. VI. Issue Roll, Easter, 33 Hen. VI. contains the following entry of payment to Douglas for his services:—"To James earl Douglas, to whom the present lord the king, with the advice of his council, on the 4th August [1455], in the 33rd year, granted 500*l.* yearly for the services performed by the said earl to the said lord the king, &c. until the said earl should have recovered or be restored to his inheritance, or to the great property taken from him by the person who calls himself king of Scotland, 100*l.*" (Devon's Issue Roll; see also Rymer, xi. 367.) He never was summoned to parliament.

Page 71, line 24. *gadered priuily a power of peple, &c.*—From this history it would appear that the king had no idea of the proximity of the Yorkists. The duke must have forced his marches excessively, as his army was collected from the Welsh Marches, and the king, upon hearing of the muster of forces there, had gathered troops and left London. Henry was hastening to Leicester to hold a council, probably on the best way of opposing the duke, and also that the struggle might be away from London, where the Yorkist cause was favoured. The king's first stage was

to Watford; the next morning he arrived at St. Alban's, and was surprised by the Yorkists. (Compare Stowe, 398; see also Polydore Vergil, edit. Camd. Soc. p. 95.)

Line 27. *sente to the kyng*.—This demand of the duke of York, with the king's answer, and the duke's address to his troops, are preserved in Stowe. (398, 399.) Somerset is not *expressly* named in the demand, "*deliver such as we will accuse*."

Page 74, line 30. *in the morow*.—In the morning. The exploit mentioned in the text is perhaps a new fact with regard to Sir Thomas Kyriel.

Page 75, line 2. *dyled the erlle of Deuynshire in the abbey of Abyndoun poysened*. He died upon the feast of St. Blase the Bishop, Feb. 3, according to Dugdale, who neither mentions the place of his death nor his supposed poisoning.

Line 5. *Reynold Pocock*.—Stowe has copied nearly word for word this account of Pecock, adding a list of his works. Reginald Pecock was born in 1390; became Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, Oct. 30, 1417. He was patronised on account of his learning and worth by Humphrey duke of Gloucester, who called him up to the court. After some few minor promotions, and some years' study of the controversy between the Church and the Lollards, he was promoted to the bishopric of St. Asaph in 1444, and translated to Chichester March 23, 1449. He was deprived in 1457 (as in the text), and sent to the abbey of Thorney, Cambridgeshire, where he was to be confined. He was never to leave his cell; to have one serious person to attend upon him; no books but a mass-book, psalter, a legend, and bible; no paper, pens or ink, &c. From this rigorous confinement he was released by death, probably in 1460. (See Lewis's Life of Pecock).

Page 77, line 26. *laude*.—Laudum. (Wals.) An award, judgment.

Line 29. *amorteysed*.—Amortir. To alienate property in mortmain, *i.e.* to any corporation or fraternity, and its successors. (Cunningham, Law Dic.)

Page 78, line 13. *for certeyne causes and articles.*—See Stowe, 397. Edmund duke of Somerset was imprisoned twice by the influence of the Yorkist party in 1451 and 1453, before the duke of York was made Protector, which was on April 3, 1454. The latter and longer confinement of Somerset was terminated by the king's recovery and resumption of power; and the royal mandate for his liberation from the Tower is dated Feb. 5, 1455. (Rymer, xi. 361.) He was actually liberated, by his own confession, Feb. 7 (362); and from this document we arrive at the approximate date of his confinement (Nov. 1453). He was imprisoned "one hole yere, ten woks, and more." The duke fell at St. Alban's, May 22, 1455.

Line 26. *The xxxvij. yeer.*—This section is copied in Stowe, 404.

Page 79, line 17. *quynzymes.*—Decima quinta. (So *quatrymez*, p. 48, line 2, decima quarta.) A tax of the fifteenth part of the property of a town or city, &c. (See Cunningham, Law Dic.)

Line 28. *avoutry* —Adultery.

Line 29. *allyed vnto her*, to page 8, line 4, *purpos aboute.*—Copied in Stowe, 404.

Page 80, line 5. *The xxxviij. yere of kyng Harry*, to last line, *tenoure ys thus*—Evidently used, and the language partly adopted, by Stowe, 405.

Page 81, line 1. *Most Crystyne kyng*, to page 83, line 14, *abood there.*—Copied in Stowe, 405, 406.

Page 83, line 15. *Thanne was a parlement holden at Couentre*, to page 91, line 23, *influence of bodyes transitory.*—Our author continues to be the basis of Stowe, 406-408. The language is frequently used: the articles sent by the Yorkists to the archbishop of Canterbury and the Commons are given at length; and the first two lines of the ballad set upon the gates of Canterbury are quoted.

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Line 8. *The bysshop of Herford, a Whyte Frere*, to page 98, line 11, *loged in the bysshop's paleys*.—Followed by Stowe, who copies the address of the earls.

Line 18. *vawewarde*.—Vanward, the forepart.

Page 98, line 13. *Nat longe before this batayle*, to line 18, *robbery*.—Omitted by Stowe.

Line 14. *Furthermore the Saturday*, to page 106, line 16, *protectoure of Englonde*.—See Stowe, 409–411. The articles between the king and the duke of York, which are derived from the Rolls of Parliament, are copied from our author, with the exception of the word “lawfully,” which Stowe has commented upon in the margin. Sir John Fortescue, in his “Defence of the House of Lancaster against that of York,” maintained the illegitimacy of Philippa; but, in his “Defence of the House of York,” which he wrote upon his pardon by Edward IV., he refuted his own arguments. Fortescue was chancellor to Henry VI., and accompanied queen Margaret and the prince of Wales in their exile, during which time he wrote his celebrated work, “*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*.” (See his Introduction to *De Laud*.) See extracts from Fortescue’s “*Defensio Juris Domus Lancastriæ*,” in “*Hereditary Right to the Crown*,” 234, &c. and App. I. &c.; Lingard, iv. 197. Fortescue’s MSS., as has been observed, were lost in the fire of 1731, so destructive to the Cottonian Library.

Page 99, line 30. *kyng Harry the vij^{tho} that now ys in to thys tyme*.—A proof that this manuscript was written at least before the *death* of Henry VI., in May 1471: but the most natural inference would be that Henry was *king* while the author was writing these words.

Page 101, line 1. *the yere of oure Lorde M^l.cc.*—So written: it should be M^l.cc.xlv.

Page 106, line 9. *royalx*.—Rolls.

Line 16. *protectoure of Englonde*.—For the third time. On All Saints’

day, Nov. 1st, the king, wearing the crown, went in state to St. Paul's, in company with the duke of York, to return thanks for the amicable arrangement between the two factions; and on the Saturday following, Nov. 8th, the duke of York was proclaimed by sound of the trumpet Protector of England. (Hall, Grafton, Pol. Vergil, Stowe, Carte, &c.) The duke had before acted for the king in parliament, by appointment, Feb. 13, 1454 (Rot. Parl. v. 239; Rym. xi. 344); made protector, April 3, 1454 (Rot. Parl. v. 243; Rym. xi. 346); protectorate ended in Feb. 1455. Protector the second time, Nov. 19, 1455 (Rot. Parl. v. 453; Rym. xi. 369; released from that office, Feb. 25, 1456 (Rot. Parl. v. 321; Rym. xi. 373). The duke was killed at the battle of Wakefield, Dec. 31, 1460.

Line 24. *lord Nevyle, brother to the erle of Westmorland.*—Stowe has taken his account of the treachery of lord Neville from this author. John lord Neville was grandson of Ralph first earl of Westmerland, and brother of Ralph then earl. He was killed at the battle of Towton, March 29, 1461, 1 Ed. IV.; and was included in the Bill of Attainder passed in the parliament which commenced Nov. 4 the same year. (Rot. Parl. v. 477, 480.)

Page 107, line 4. *lorde Haryngtone.*—William Bonville: he was grandson to William lord Bonville, who, within two months after this, was executed, after the second battle of St. Alban's. (Dugd. B. ii. 236.)

Line 15. *to reyse peple for to chastyse the peple and rebelles of the North.*—There can be little doubt that the document referred to in the foot-note was for this purpose. Edward duke of York was raising forces in the Welsh marches when his father fell at Wakefield. He was at Gloucester when he heard of the duke's death, and then moved to Shrewsbury. On Feb. 2nd, or according to our author Feb. 3rd, he fought the battle of Mortimer's Cross; the next thing we know about him is his entry into London on Feb. 28th. (See page 110, and Stowe, 414.) Margaret had not taken advantage of her victory at Wakefield on Dec. 31, and probably she did not commence her march towards the capital until the beginning of February. It must have been upon hearing of this fresh danger in the

North that this mandate to the duke of York was issued on Feb. 12: The commission directed him to collect all true subjects in Bristol, in the counties of Stafford, Salop, Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, Somerset, and Dorset, and lead them against *the rebels* in different counties. So the men may have been bound to serve, but there can be no doubt *where* those counties were situated, nor from *what quarter* danger then threatened. The stronghold of the Lancastrians was the North; and from thence Margaret was on her way to London. Though in these times marches were often very rapid, we also find that news could travel very slowly; and the Yorkists, in whose custody the king was, and who used his name to legalise their proceedings, may not have heard * of the approach of Margaret's army before Thursday, Feb. 12, when they thus sent for help, and left London for St. Alban's. This Chronicle describes the royal party as *surprised* by the Lancastrians. (Compare also the account of the *first* battle of St. Alban's, page 71, where the Lancastrians were surprised by the Yorkists.)

Line 16. *And they of the Northe heryng this, &c.*—Margaret commenced her march southward, according to our chronicler, in consequence of the commissions against her issued to sheriffs, &c. Stowe describes her army as composed of “Scots, Welshmen, and other strangers, beside the Northern men.” It is to be observed that the march is described as rapid: “they came doune *sodeynly* to the towne of Dunstaple,” though they stopped for plunder on the way. Stowe says that Grantham, Stamford, Peterborough, Huntingdon, Royston, Melborne (co. Cambr.), and all the towns, abbeys, and priories as far as Dunstable were pillaged by Margaret's army. (Stowe, 413.) The second battle of St. Alban's was on Shrove Tuesday, Feb. 17th.

Line 24. *the lorde Bonevyle and other*, to the end, page 110.—Stowe has occasionally used the language of the Chronicle, showing that he still followed it.

* We find a descent was *expected* as early as Jan. 28th, when the king issued letters to several noblemen, knights, sheriffs, &c. to flock to his standard with forces. (See Acts of Council, vi. 307-310, and our chronicler's statement.)

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Page 109, line 7. *the duchesse of Buckyngham, with other wytty men with her.*—After the queen's victory at St. Alban's, she sent to the mayor of London, desiring him to send Lenten fare for the army. He obeyed; but the citizens stopped the carts he had caused to be laden at Cripplegate, drove back some of the queen's soldiers, who were plundering the suburb, and killed three of them: "Whereupon the maior sent the recorder to Barnet, to the king's counsell, there to excuse the matter; and the *duchess of Bedford*, the lady Scales, with divers fathers of the spirituallity, went to the queen to asswage her displeasure conceived against the city. The queene, therefore, at their humble request, by advice of her counsell, appointed certaine lords and knights, with 400 tall persons, to ride to the citie, and there to view and see the demeanor of the people; and divers aldermen were appointed to meete them at Barnet, and to convey them to London." (Stowe, 414.) However, tidings of the approach of the young duke of York made the queen think it desirable to retire into the North without applying this test of affection. (See also Grafton, Holinshed.) The *duchess of Buckingham*, whose husband had died July 10, 1460, was probably of the party sent to intercede with the queen, if not the chief of them; it is likely that she possessed great influence with the queen as *godmother to the prince of Wales*. (See page 70.) The duke of Buckingham (grandson of preceding duke) was a child, and remained under the guardianship of Edward IV. (Dugd. B. ii. 167.)

Page 111, line 6. *he hulde a parlement in Irelonde.*—Dublin, Monday, April 19th. See a letter from the king to the duke of York Custos of England and the Privy Council, dated Dublin, Feb. 1, 1395, 18 Ric. II. (Acts of Council, i. 55.)

Line 12. *sette a parlement at Londone.*—Wednesday, "in quindenâ Sancti Hilarii," Jan. 27, at Westminster. (Rot. Parl. iii. 329.) The duke of Gloucester left Ireland to represent the king's needs after the Epiphany, Jan. 6th. (Knyghton, 2742.) The duke of York had been made Custos of England, Sept. 29, 1394. (Rymer, vii. 789.)

Last line. *maystur John Wycclief.*—Wiclif died Dec. 31, 1384.

Page 112, line 2. *sire Rycharde Sturry, &c.*—Compare Walsingham, 351.

Line 5. *xij chapytours of eresye.*—Foxe, “Acts and Monuments,” edit. 1576, 490–492, gives these Conclusions, with a reference at the end to Wiclif’s writings.

Line 23. *vers . . . sette vpon Powles dores.*—These verses are to be found in Foxe (Acts and Mon.), Stowe (Annals); they occur also in Cotton. MS. Vesp. D. ix. f. 51, headed “Versus Lollardorum contra prelatos ecclesiæ ad excitandum dominos temporales contra eos.” In line 3 (in text) *Giezite Semoni nati*. *Giezite*, i.e. children of Gehazi. Mr. Macray has referred me to the form of that name in the Vulgate, *Giezi* (see 2 Kings, iv. v. *passim*). In line 4, *Nontiuui*, a corruption; Vesp. D. ix. and Foxe, read *Nomine*. In line 5, *populus*, *populis*. In line 6, *gladiis*, *gladios*. Foxe gives the following translation:—

The English nation doth lament
of Sodomites their sinne,
Which Paule doth playnly signifie,
by idoles to begyn.
But Giersites full ingrate
from sinfull Symon sprong,
This to defend, though priests in name,
make bulwarkes great and strong.
Ye princes, therefore, which to rule
the people God hath placed,
With justice’ sword why see ye not
This euill great defaced?

Vesp. D. ix. gives the following answer:—“Versus cujusdam catholici contra eosdem Lollardorum.”

Gens Lollardorum gens est vilis Sodomorum,
Errores eorum sunt in mundo causa dolorum.
Hii sunt ingrati, maledici, Demone nati,
Quos, vos Prelati, sitis dampnare parati.
Qui pugiles estis fidei, populisque preestis,
Non horum gestis ignes prohibere potestis.

The same volume contains a long poem against the Lollards (f. 165-

168 b.) beginning, “Presta Jhesu quod postulo, Fac quod in tuo populo Nulla labes resideat,” &c. At the beginning and end occurs the sentence, “Dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt Domine Jhesu.”

Page 113, line 18. *And in this same zere, there apered in Fraunce,* to the end, page 115.—Richard Fox has taken this from Walsingham, 351–353.

Line 19. *Landavencis.*—Landunensis (Wals.). *Laudunum?* Laon; twenty miles N.W. of Rheims; an ancient episcopal see suffragan to that archbishopric.

Line 22. *a barbour, called a Moret.*—Morectus ille Barbarus. He was general of the Turks at the siege of Constantinople, according to Walsingham. Bajazet I. sultan of the Turks in 1395, invested Constantinople by sea and land. In consequence of this siege Manuel Palæologus, the Greek emperor, sent ambassadors to, and then visited the courts of Europe to implore help. (See note, page 22, line 21.) Mr. Nichols thinks that under the spelling *a Moret* is disguised the name *Amurath*, and that *a barbour* means a native of Barbary, or one so considered. Though *Amurath* occurred to me, I thus followed the MS. because Richard Fox here translates from Walsingham. Knollys’s “Hist. of Turks,” p. 205, mentions *Temurtases* as Bajazet’s “great lieutenant in Europe,” and as advising the siege. *Murtasis* occurs in the Short Chron. at the end of Ducas, “Hist. Byzant.” 196.

Page 114, line 7. *hure.*—Their.

Line 13. *sire John duke of Lancastre.*—The dukedom of Guienne had been conferred upon Lancaster for life, March 2, 1390, 13 Ric. II. (Rot. Parl. Rymer); but he did not leave England to take possession till late in September, 1394. He was recalled in the autumn of 1395, 19 Ric. II. on account of the unpopularity of his appointment in Guienne. Richard Fox, in the text, gives Walsingham’s account. But see Appendix 128, and Froissart, iv. cap. lxxv.

Page 116, line 15. *Lanam.*—Lyneham, ten miles north of Devizes, Wilts.

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Page 128, line 24, *Shene*.—Sheen, near Richmond.

Page 130, line 12. *Marchio Dubluniæ*.—For the eight appellants, see note to page 8, line 19, at p. 157. There was no *marquis of Dublin* at this time; the title existed little more than two years.

Page 133, line 6. *studuit . . . ad Solomonis gloriam pervenire*.—"Solomoni magno in expensis æquiparabatur. (Fordun, 1068.)

Page 135, line 1. *Lamasix*.—Llanvais, or Llamausy, near Beaumaris. This house of Franciscans, or Friars Minor, was founded before 1240. See Tanner's Not., Stevens's Mon.; where also see this form of the word.

Page 136, line 5. *claiam*.—Cleia, cleta, clades, a hurdle.

Line 19. *Jacobitæ*.—Dominicans, called also Black Friars, or Preaching Friars.

Line 23. *de Mortuo Mari*.—Mortimer.

Last line. *frater iste qui fratres suos regi accusavit*.—This was the friar of Leicester (see page 24, line 14), who had accused ten of his brethren of exciting the people against Henry IV. The Welsh were devoted adherents of Richard, as an enemy to whom this friar met his fate.

Page 137, line 7. *de Monte Forti*.—Joanna of Navarre had married John de Montfort, duke of Britany, Sept. 11, 1386; and was a widow and guardian of her son the young duke, on Nov. 1, 1399.

Line 20. *provocans ipsum ad duellum*.—(See Monstrelet, I. cap. ix.)

Page 139, line 2. *in castro ducis Roseyæ*.—Richard, or rather perhaps the reputed Richard King of England, appears to have been detained first under the custody of Robert III.; after a short time he was delivered to sir David Fleming, lord of Cumbernauld; upon the death of Robert III. in 1406, the duke of Albany the regent obtained possession of his person,

and from that time till his death Richard was a prisoner in Stirling Castle. (See Tytler's Scotland, iii. p. 331.)

Line 12. *parliamentum apud Coventriam*.—Walsingham (369-370) speaks of an unusual tax extorted at this parliament, the accounts of which were ordered to be burnt, that no memorial of it might remain.

Page 140, line 11. *Comes Northumbriæ, &c.*—This section is thus introduced in the "Eulogium," interrupting the narrative relating to the archbishop of York's death.

Line 20. *Coyfy*.—So written; it should be, as Mr. Nichols has informed me, *Coyty*, in Glamorganshire, where there was a castle, the ruins of which remain.

Page 141, line 15. *cereo incendit quandam domum, &c.*—Compare the account of the murder of the duke of Orleans. (Monstrelet, I. cap. xxxvi.)

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ERRATA.

- Page 21, line 19, *for* "and vnto Plasshe," *read* "and led vnto Plasshe."
- „ 70, line 16, *after* "saide erle," place the semicolon from preceding line.
- „ 124, line 12, *for* "Radcolbrigge," *read* "Radcotbrigge."
- „ 134, line 10, *for* "sanctum Paulum," *read* "ad sanctum Paulum."
- „ 136, line 6, *for* "suspendaris," *read* "suspenderis."
- „ „ last line, *for* "acensavit," *read* "accusavit."
- „ 141, line 3, *for* "xx^{am}," *read* "x^{am}."