

The Project Gutenberg eBook of Chronicles (3 of 6): Historie of England (1 of 9)

This ebook is for the use of anyone anywhere in the United States and most other parts of the world at no cost and with almost no restrictions whatsoever. You may copy it, give it away or re-use it under the terms of the Project Gutenberg License included with this ebook or online at [www.gutenberg.org](http://www.gutenberg.org). If you are not located in the United States, you'll have to check the laws of the country where you are located before using this eBook.

Title: Chronicles (3 of 6): Historie of England (1 of 9)

Author: Raphael Holinshed

Release date: February 25, 2009 [eBook #28188]

Language: English

Credits: Produced by Jonathan Ingram, Turgut Dincer and the Online Distributed Proofreading Team at <http://www.pgdp.net>

\*\*\* START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES (3 OF 6):  
HISTORIE OF ENGLAND (1 OF 9) \*\*\*

This e-text includes characters that require UTF-8 (Unicode) file encoding:

ā ē ō ū [letters with overline representing following m or n]

If any of these characters do not display properly—in particular, if the diacritic does not appear directly above the letter—or if the apostrophes and quotation marks in this paragraph appear as garbage, you may have an incompatible browser or unavailable fonts. First, make sure that the browser's "character set" or "file encoding" is set to Unicode (UTF-8). You may also need to change your browser's default font.

Spelling is unchanged. In general, **v** is used initially and **u** non-initially. Variations are in the original, as are the phrase "a great great deale of care" and the title-page spelling PEREGRNÆ.

**HOLINSHED'S**  
**CHRONICLES**  
OF  
***ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,***  
AND  
***IRELAND.***

---

**IN SIX VOLUMES.**

---

**VOL. III.**  
**ENGLAND.**

---

***LONDON:***

**PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON; F.C. AND J. RIVINGTON; T. PAYNE; WILKIE**

1808.

AMS PRESS INC.

NEW YORK

1965

*[Original Title.]*

1

**HENRIE THE FOURTH,****Cousine Germane to Richard the Second, latelie depriued.**

When king Richard had resigned (as before is specified) the scepter and crowne; Henrie Plantagenet borne at Bullingbroke in the countie of Lincolne, duke of Lancaster and Hereford, earle of Derby, Leicester, and Lincolne, sonne to Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster, with generall consent both of the lords & commons, was published, proclaimed, and declared king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, the last daie of September, in the yeare of the world 5366, of our Lord 1399, of the reigne of the emperour Wenceslaus the two and twentieth, of Charles the first king of France the twentieth, and the tenth of Robert the third king of Scots. After that king Richard had surrendered his title, and dispossessed himselfe (which Chr. Okl. noteth in few words, saieing;

—————post breue tempus  
Exuit insigni sese diademate, sceptrum  
Henrico Lancastrensi regale relinquens)

In Angl. prælijs.

king Henrie made certeine new officers. And first in right of his earledome of Leicester he gaue the office of high steward of England (belonging to the same earledome) vnto his second sonne the lord Thomas, who by his fathers commandement exercised that office, being assisted (by reason of his tender age) by Thomas Persie earle of Worcester. The earle of Northumberland was made constable of England: sir Iohn Scirle lord chancellor, Iohn Norburie esquier lord treasurer, sir Richard Clifford lord priuie seale. Forsomuch as by king Richards resignation and the admitting of a new king, all plées in euerie court and place were ceased, and without daie discontinued, new writs were made for summoning of the parlement vnder the name of king Henrie the fourth, the same to be holden, as before was appointed, on mondaie next insuing. Vpon the fourth day of October, the lord Thomas second sonne to the king sat as lord high steward of England by the kings commandement in the White-hall of the kings palace at Westminster, and as belonged to his office, he caused inquirie to be made what offices were to be exercised by anie maner of persons the daie of the kings coronation, and what fées were belonging to the same, causing proclamation to be made, that what noble man or other that could claime anie office that daie of the solemnizing the kings coronation, they should come and put in their bils cōprehending their demands. Whervpon diuers offices & fees were claimed, as well by bils as otherwise by spéech of mouth, in forme as here insueth.

New officers made.

The parlemēt new sūmoned.

Record Turris.

Claiming of offices at the coronation.

First, the lord Henrie, the kings eldest sonne, to whome he as in right of his duchie of Lancaster had appointed that office, claimed to beare before the king the principall sword called Curtana, and had his sute granted. Iohn erle of Summerset, to whom the king as in right of his earledome of Lincolne, had granted to be caruer the daie of his coronation, and had it confirmed. Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, and high constable of England, by the kings grant claimed that office, and obtained it to inioy at pleasure. The same earle in right of the Ile of Man, which at that present was granted to him, and to his heires by the king, claimed to beare on the kings left side a naked sword, with which the king was girded, when before his coronation he entered as duke of Lancaster into the parts of Holdernes, which sword was called Lancasters sword. Rafe erle of Westmerland, and earle marshall of England, by the kings grant claimed the same office, and obtained it, notwithstanding that the attornies of the duke of Norfolke, presented to the lord steward their petition on the dukes behalfe, as earle marshall, to exercise the same. Sir Thomas Erpingham knight

Curtana.  
The earle of Summerset.

The earle of Northumberland.

The Ile of Man.

Lancaster sword.  
The earl of Westmerland.

The duke of Norfolke.

Sir Thomas Erpingham.

2

exercised the office of lord great Chamberleine, and gaue water to the king when he washed, both before and after dinner, hauing for his fées, the bason, ewer, and towels, with other things whatsoever belonging to his office: notwithstanding Auberie de Veer earle of Orenford put in his petitions to haue that office as due vnto him from his ancestors. Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike by right of inheritance, bare the third sword before the king, and by like right was pantler at the coronation. Sir William Argentine knight, by reason of the tenure of his manour of Wilmundale in the countie of Hertford, serued the king of the first cup of drinke which he tasted of at his dinner the daie of his coronation: the cup was of siluer vngilt, which the same knight had for his fées: notwithstanding the petition which Iuon Fitzwarren presented to the lord steward, requiring that office in right of his wife the ladie Maud, daughter and heire to sir Iohn Argentine knight. Sir Thomas Neuill lord Furniuall, by reason of his manour of Ferneham, with the hamlet of Cere, which he held by the courtesie of England after the decesse of his wife, the ladie Ione decessed, gaue to the king a gloue for his right hand, and susteined the kings right arme so long as he bare the scepter.

The earle of Warwike.

Sir William Argentine.

Iuon Fitzwarren.

The lord Furniuall.

The lord Reginald Graie of Ruthen, by reason of his manour of Ashleie in Norfolke couered the tables, and had for his fees all the tableclothes, as well those in the hall, as else-where, when they were taken vp; notwithstanding a petition exhibited by sir Iohn Draiton to haue had that office. The same lord Graie of Ruthen, bare the kings great spurs before him in the time of his coronation by right of inheritance, as heire to Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke. Iohn erle of Summerset, by the kings assignement bare the second sword before him at his coronation, albeit that the said lord Graie of Ruthen by petition exhibited before the lord steward demanded the same office, by reason of his castell & tower of Penbroke, and of his towne of Denbigh. Thomas earle of Arundell cheefe butler of England, obtained to exercise that office the daie of the coronation, and had the fées thereto belonging granted to him, to wit, the goblet with which the king was serued, and other things to that his office apperteining (the vessels of wine excepted) that laie vnder the bar, which were adiudged vnto the said lord steward, the said earle of Arundels claime notwithstanding.

The lord Graie.

Great spurs.

The second sword.

The earle of Arundell.

The citizens of London chosen fourth by the citie, serued in the hall, as assistants to the lord cheefe butler, whilst the king sate at dinner, the daie of his coronation: and when the king entered into his chamber after dinner, and called for wine, the lord maior of London brought to him a cup of gold with wine, and had the same cup given to him, together with the cup that contained water to allay the wine. After the king had drunke, the said lord maior and the aldermen of London had their table to dine at, on the left hand of the king in the hall. Thomas Dimocke, in right of his moother Margaret Dimocke, by reason of the tenure of his manor of Scriuelbie, claimed to be the kings champion at his coronation, and had his sute granted; notwithstanding a claime exhibited by Baldwin Freuill, demanding that office by reason of his castell of Tamworth in Warwickshire. The said Dimocke had for his fees one of the best coursers in the kings stable, with the kings saddle and all the trappers & harnesse apperteining to the same horsse or courser: he had likewise one of the best armors that was in the kings armorie for his owne bodie, with all that belonged wholie therevnto.

The citizens of London.

Thomas Dimocke.

Baldwin Freuill.

3 Iohn lord Latimer, although he was vnder age, for himselfe and the duke of Norfolke, notwithstanding that his possessions were in the kings hands, by his atturnie sir Thomas Graie knight, claimed and had the office of almoner for that daie, by reason of certeine lands which sometime belonged to the lord William Beauchampe of Bedford. They had a towell of fine linnen cloth prepared, to put in the siluer that was appointed to be giuen in almes; and likewise they had the distribution of the cloth that couered the pauement and floors from the kings chamber doore, vnto the place in the church of Westminster where the pulpit stood. The residue that was spread in the church, the sexten had. William le Venour, by reason he was tenant of the manor of Listen, claimed and obtained to exercise the office of making wafers for the king the daie of his coronation. The barons of the fiue ports claimed, and it was granted them, to beare a canopie of cloth of gold ouer the K. with foure staues, & foure bells at the foure corners, euerie staffe hauing foure of those barons to beare it: also to dine and sit at the table next to the king on his right hand in the hall the daie of his coronation, and for their fees to haue the forsaid canopie of gold, with the bells and staues, notwithstanding the abbat of Westminster claimed the same. Edmund Chambers claimed and obtained the office of principall larderer for him and his deputies, by reason of his manour of Skulton, otherwise called Burdellebin Skulton, in the countie of Norfolke. Thus was euerie man appointed to exercise such office as to him of right apperteined, or at the least was thought requisit for the time present. On mondaie then next insuing, when the states were assembled in parlement, order was taken, that by reason of such preparation as was to be made for the coronation, they should sit no more till the morow after saint Edwards daie. On the sundaie following, being the euen of saint Edward, the new king lodged in the Tower, and there made fortie & six knights of the Bath, to wit: thrée of his sonnes, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Warwike his sonne, the earle of Stafford, two of the earle of Deuonshires sonnes, the lord Beaumont, the lord Willoughbies brother, the earle of

The lord Latimer.

William le Venour.

The barons of the cinque ports.

Knights of the Bath.

Staffords brother, the lord Camois his sonne, the lord of Maule, Thomas Beauchampe, Thomas Pelham, Iohn Luttrell, Iohn Lisleie, William Haukeford iustice, William Brinchleie iustice, Bartholomew Rathford, Giles Daubenie, William Butler, Iohn Ashton, Richard Sanape, Iohn Tiptost, Richard Francis, Henrie Persie, Iohn Arundell, William Strall, Iohn Turpington, Ailmer Saint, Edward Hastings, Iohn Greisleie, Gerald Satill, Iohn Arden, Robert Chalons, Thomas Dimocke, Hungerford, Gibethorpe, Newport, and diuerse other, to the number of fortie and six.

On the morow being saint Edwards daie, and the thirteenth of October, the lord maior of London rode towards the Tower to attend the king, with diuerse worshipfull citizens clothed all in red, and from the Tower the king rode through the citie to Westminster, where he was consecrated, anointed, and crowned king by the archbishop of Canturburie with all ceremonies and roiall solemnitie as was due and requisit. Though all other reioised at his aduancement, yet suerlie Edmund Mortimer earle of March, which was coosine and heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, the third begotten sonne of king Edward the third, & Richard earle of Cambridge, sonne to Edmund duke of Yorke, which had married Anne sister to the same Edmund, were with these dooings neither pleased nor contented: insomuch that now the diuision once begun, the one linage ceased not to persecute the other, till the heires males of both the lines were cléerlie destroyed and extinguished.

The lord maior of London.

The earle of March enuied the K. preferment.

At the daie of the coronation, to the end he should not séeme to take vpon him the crowne and scepter roiall by plaine extorted power, and iniurious intrusion: he was aduised to make his title as heire to Edmund (surnamed or vntrullie feined) Crokebacke, sonne to king Henrie the third, and to saie that the said Edmund was elder brother to king Edward the first, and for his deformitie put by from the crowne, to whom by his mother Blanch, daughter and sole heire to Henrie duke of Lancaster, he was next of blood, and undoubted heire. But because not onelie his fréends, but also his priuie enimies, knew that this was but a forged title, considering they were suerlie informed, not onelie that the said Edmund was yoonger sonne to king Henrie the third, but also had true knowledge, that Edmund was neither croke backed, nor a deformed person, but a goodlie gentleman, and a valiant capteine, and so much faoured of his louing father, that he to preferre him in marriage to the queene Dowager of Nauarre, hauing a great liuelihood, gaue to him the countie palantine of Lancaster, with manie notable honours, high segniories, and large priuileges. Therefore they aduised him to publish it, that he challenged the realme not onelie by conquest, but also because he by king Richard was adopted as heire, and declared by resignation as his lawfull successor, being next heire male to him of the blood roiall.

Edmund erle of Lancaster vntrullie feined to be surnamed Crokebacke.

4

But to procéed to other dooings. The solemnitie of the coronation being ended, the morow after being tuesdaie, the parlement began againe, and the next daie sir Iohn Cheinie that was speaker, excusing himselfe, by reason of his infirmitie and sicknesse, not to be able to exercise that roome, was dismissed, and one William Durward esquier was admitted. Herewith were the acts established in the parlement of the one & twentieth yeare of king Richards reigne repealed and made void, and the ordinances deuised in the parlement holden the eleuenth yeare of the same king, confirmed, and againe established for good and profitable. ¶ On the same daie, the kings eldest sonne lord Henrie, by assent of all the states in the parlement, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earle of Chester, then being of the age of twelue yeares.

Sir Iohn Chenie speaker of the parlement dismissed, and William Durward admitted.

Acts repealed.

Acts confirmed.

Upon the thursdaie, the commons came and rehearsed all the errors of the last parlement holden in the one and twentieth yeare of king Richard, & namelie in certeine fiue of them.

1 First, that where the king that now is, was readie to arraigne an appeale against the duke of Norfolke, he dooing what pertained to his dutie in that behalfe, was yet banished afterwards without anie reasonable cause.

2 Secondlie, the archbishop of Canturburie, metropolitan of the realme, was foreiudged without answer.

3 Thirdlie, the duke of Glocester was murdered, and after foreiudged.

4 Fourthlie, where the earle of Arundell alledged his charters of pardon, the same might not be allowed.

5 Fiftlie, that all the power of that euill parlement was granted and assigned ouer to certeine persons, and sith that such heinous errors could not be committed (as was thought) without the assent and aduise of them that were of the late kings councell, they made sute that they might be put vnder arrest, and committed to safe kéeping, till order might be further taken for them.

Thus much adoo there was in this parlement, speciallie about them that were thought to be guiltie of the duke of Glocesters death, and of the condemning of the other lords that were adiudged traitors in the forsaid late parlement holden in the said one and twentieth yeare of king Richards reigne. Sir Iohn Bagot knight then prisoner in the disclosed manie secrets, vnto the which he was priuie; and being

*Fabian.*

Sir Iohn Bagot

brought on a daie to the barre, a bill was read in English which he had made, conteining certeine euill practises of king Richard; and further what great affection the same king bare to the duke of Aumarle, insomuch that he heard him say, that if he should renounce the gouvernement of the kingdome, he wished to leaue it to the said duke, as to the most able man (for wisdom and manhood) of all other: for though he could like better of the duke of Hereford, yet he said that he knew if he were once king, he would proue an extreame enimie and cruell tyrant to the church.

discloseth secrets.

Henrie the fourth suspected not to be well affected towards the church before his comming to the crowne.

5 It was further contained in that bill, that as the same Bagot rode on a daie behind the duke of Norfolke in the Sauoy stréet toward Westminster, the duke asked him what he knew of the manner of the duke of Glocester his death, and he answered that he knew nothing at all: but the people (quoth he) do say that you have murdered him. Wherevnto the duke sware great othes that it was vntrue, and that he had saued his life contrarie to the will of the king, and certeine other lords, by the space of thrée wéeks, and more; affirming withall, that he was neuer in all his life-time more affraid of death, than he was at his comming home againe from Calis at that time, to the kings presence, by reason he had not put the duke to death. And then (said he) the king appointed one of his owne seruants, and certeine other that were seruants to other lords to go with him to see the said duke of Glocester put to death, swearing that as he should answer afore God, it was neuer his mind that he should haue died in the fort, but onelie for feare of the king, and sauing of his owne life. Neverthesse, there was no man in the realme to whom king Richard was so much beholden, as to the duke of Aumarle: for he was the man that to fulfill his mind, had set him in hand with all that was doone against the said duke, and the other lords. There was also contained in that bill, what secret malice king Richard had conceived against the duke of Hereford being in exile, whereof the same Bagot had sent intelligence vnto the duke into France, by one Rogert Smart, who certified it to him by Piers Buckton, and others, to the intent he should the better haue regard to himselfe. There was also contained in the said bill, that Bagot had heard the duke of Aumarle say, that he had rather than twentie thousand pounds that the duke of Hereford were dead, not for anie feare he had of him, but for the trouble and mischéefe that he was like to procure within the realme.

The duke of Aumarle accused.

After that the bill had béene read and heard, the duke of Aumarle rose vp and said, that as touching the points contained in the bill concerning him, they were vtterlie false and vntrue, which he would proue with his bodie, in what manner soeuer it should be thought requisit. Therewith also the duke of Excester rose vp, and willed Bagot that if he could say anie thing against him to speak it openlie. Bagot answered, that for his part he could say nothing against him: But there is (said he) a yeoman in Newgat one Iohn hall that can say somewhat. "Well then (said the duke of Excester) this that I doo and shall say is true, that the late king, the duke of Norfolke, and thou being at Woodstoke, made me to go with you into the chappell, and there the doore being shut, ye made me to sweare vpon the altar, to kéepe counsell in that ye had to say to me, and then ye rehearsed that we should neuer haue our purpose, so long as the duke of Lancaster liued, & therefore ye purposed to haue councill at Lichfield, & there you would arrest the duke of Lancaster, in such sort as by colour of his disobeieng the arrest, he should be dispatched out of life. And in this manner ye imagined his death. To the which I answered, that it were conuenient the king should send for his councill, and if they agréed herevnto, I would not be against it, and so I departed." To this Bagot made no answer.

The duke of Aumarle his answer vnto Bagots bill.

Iohn Hall a yeoman.

After this, the king commanded that the lords, Berklei, and Louell, and six knights of the lower house, should go after dinner to examine the said Hall. This was on a thursdaie being the fiftéenth of October. On the saturday next insuing, sir William Bagot and the said Iohn Hall were brought both to the barre, and Bagot was examined of certeine points, and sent againe to prison. The lord Fitzwater herewith rose vp, and said to the king, that where the duke of Aumarle excuseth himselfe of the duke of Glocesters death, I say (quoth he) that he was the verie cause of his death, and so he appeale him of treason, offering by throwing downe his hood as a gage to proue it with his bodie. There were twentie other lords also that threw downe their hoods, as pledges to proue the like matter against the duke of Aumarle. The duke of Aumarle threw downe his hood to trie it against the lord Fitzwater, as against him that lied falselie, in that he had charged him with, by that his appeale. These gages were deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the parties put vnder arrest.

Bagott and Hall brought to the barre.

The lord Fitzwater appealeth the duke of Aumarle of treason.

6 The duke of Surrie stood vp also against the lord Fitzwater, auouching that where he had said that the appellants were causers of the duke of Glocesters death, it was false, for they were constrained to sue the same appeale, in like manner as the said lord Fitzwater was compelled to giue iudgement against the duke of Glocester, and the earle of Arundell; so that the suing of the appeale was doone by constraint, and if he said contrarie he lied: and therewith he threw downe his hood. The lord Fitzwater answered herevnto, that he was not present in the parlement house, when iudgement was giuen against them, and all the lords bare witness thereof. Moreouer, where it was alledged that the duke of Aumarle should send two of his seruants to Calis, to murder the duke of Glocester, the said duke of Aumarle said, that if the duke of

Norfolke affirme it, he lied falselie, and that he would proue with his bodie, throwing downe an other hood which he had borrowed. The same was likewise deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the king licenced the duke of Norfolke to returne, that he might arraigne his appeale. After this was Iohn Hall condemned of treason by authoritie of the parlement, for that he had confessed himself to be one of them that put the duke of Glocester to death at Calis, and so on the mondaie following, he was drawne from the Tower to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, headed, and quartered: his head being sent to Calis there to be set vp, where the duke was murthered.

*Fabian.*

John Hall executed.

On Wednesdaie following, request was made by the commons, that sith king Richard had resigned, and was lawfullie deposed from his roiall dignitie, he might haue iudgement decreed against him, so as the realme were not troubled by him, and that the causes of his deposing might be published through the realme for satisfieng of the people: which demand was granted. Wherevpon the bishop of Carleill, a man both learned, wise, and stout of stomach, boldlie shewed foorth his opinion concerning that demand; affirming that there was none amongst them woorthie or meet to giue iudgement vpon so noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their souereigne and liege lord, by the space of two & twentie yeares and more; "And I assure you (said he) there is not so ranke a traitor, nor so errant a théef, nor yet so cruell a murtherer apprehended or detained in prison for his offense, but he shall be brought before the iustice to heare his iudgement; and will ye procéed to the iudgement of an anointed king, hearing neither his answer nor excuse? I say, that the duke of Lancaster whom ye call king, hath more trespassed to K. Richard & his realme, than king Richard hath doone either to him, or vs: for it is manifest & well knowne, that the duke was banished the realme by K. Richard and his counsell, and by the iudgement of his owne father, for the space of ten yeares, for what cause ye know, and yet without licence of king Richard, he is returned againe into the realme, and (that is woorse) hath taken vpon him the name, title, & preheminance of king, And therefore I say, that you haue doone manifest wrong, to procéed in anie thing against king Richard, without calling him openlie to his answer and defense." ¶ As soone as the bishop had ended this tale, he was attached by the earle marshall, and committed to ward in the abbei of saint Albons.

*Iohn Stow.* The request of the commons.

*Hall.* A bold bishop and a faithfull.

Moreouer, where the king had granted to the earle of Westmerland the countie of Richmond, the duke of Britaine pretending a right thereto by an old title, had sent his letters ouer vnto the estates assembled in this parlement, offering to abide such order as the law would appoint in the like case to anie of the kings subiects. Wherevpon the commons for the more suertie of the intercourse of merchants, besought the king that the matter might be committed to the ordering of the counsell of either of the parties, and of his counsell, so as an end might be had therein, which request was likewise granted. After this, the records of the last parlement were shewed, with the appeales, & the commission made to twelue persons, to determine things that were motioned in the same last parlement. Héerevpon the commons praied that they might haue iustice Markham, and maister Gascoigne a sergeant at the law ioined with them for counsell, touching the perusing of the records, which was granted them, and day giuen ouer till the next morrow in the White-hall, where they sat about these matters thrée daies together.

The duke of Britaine.

7

On the morrow following, being the éeuen of Simon and Iude the apostles, the commons required to heare the iudgement of king Richard. Wherevpon the archbishop of Canturburie appointed to speake, declared how that the king that now is, had granted king Richard his life; but in such wise as he should remaine in perpetuall prison, so safelie kept, that neither the king nor realme should be troubled with him. It was also concluded, that if anie man went about to deliuer him, that then he should be the first that should die for it. After this, the commons praied that the lords and other that were of king Richards counsell, might be put to their answers for their sundrie misdemeanors, which was granted. On Wednesday following, being the morrow after the feast of Simon and Iude, all the processe of the parlement holden the 21 yéere of king Richards reigne was read openlie, in which it was found, how the earle of Warwike had confessed himselfe guiltie of treason, and asked pardon and mercie for his offense: but the earle denied that euer he acknowledged anie such thing by woord of mouth, and that he would prooue in what manner soeuer should be to him appointed. Therein was also the appeale found of the dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Excester, the marquesse Dorset, the earles of Salisburie and Glocester; vnto the which ech of them answered by himselfe, that they neuer assented to that appeale of their owne frée wils, but were compelled thereto by the king: and this they affirmed by their othes, and offered to prooue it by what manner they should be appointed.

K. Richard appointed to be kept in perpetuall prison.

*Hall.*

The earle of Warwike.

Sir Walter Clopton said then to the commons; If ye will take aduantage of the processe of the last parlement, take it, and ye shall be receiued therevnto. Then rose vp the lord Morlie, and said to the earle of Salisburie, that he was chiefe of counsell with the duke of Glocester, and likewise with king Richard, & so discovered the dukes counsell to the king, as a traitor to his maister, and that he said he would with his bodie prooue against him, throwing downe his hood as a pledge. The earle of

Sir Walter Clopton.

The lord Morlie

Salisburie sore moued héerewith, told the lord Morlie, that he falslie béelied him, for he was neuer traitor, nor false to his maister all his life time, and therewith threw downe his gloue to wage battell against the lord Morlie. Their gages were taken vp, and deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the parties were arrested, and day to them giuen till another time.

appeleth the earle of Salisburie.

On Mondaie following, being the morrow after All soules day, the commons made request, that they might not be entred in the parlement rols, as parties to the iudgement giuen in this parlement, but there as in verie truth they were priuie to the same: for the iudgement otherwise belonged to the king, except where anie iudgment is giuen by statute enacted for the profit of the common-wealth, which request was granted. Diuers other petitions were presented on the behalfe of the commons, part whereof were granted, and to some there was none answer made at that time. Finallie, to auoid further inconuenience, and to qualifie the minds of the enuious, it was finallie enacted, that such as were appellants in the last parlement against the duke of Glocester and other, should in this wise following be ordred. The dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Excester there present, were iudged to loose their names of dukes, togither with the honors, titles and dignities therevnto belonging. The marquesse Dorset being likewise there present, was adiudged to lose his title and dignitie of marquesse; and the earle of Glocester being also present, was in semblable maner iudged to lose his name, title and dignitie of earle.

Dukes and others deprived of their titles.

8 Moreouer, it was further décréd against them, that they and euerie of them should lose and forfeit all those castels, lordships, manors, lands, possessions, rents, seruices, liberties and reuenues, whatsoever had beene giuen to them, at or since the last parlement, belonging aforetime to any of those persons whom they had appealed, and all other their castels, manors, lordships, lands, possessions, rents, seruices, liberties, and reuenues whatsoever, which they held of the late kings gift, the daie of the arrest of the said duke of Glocester, or at any time after, should also remaine in the kings disposition from thencefoorth, and all letters patents and charters, which they or any of them had of the same names, castels, manors, lordships, lands, possessions, and liberties, should be surrendered vp into the chancerie, there to be cancelled. Diuerse other things were enacted in this parlement, to the preiudice of those high estates, to satisfie mens minds that were sore displeased with their doings in the late kings daies, as now it manifestlie appéered. For after it was vnderstood that they should be no further punished than as before is mentioned, great murmuring rose among the people against the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, the earle of Northumberland, and other of the councell, for sauing the liues of men whom the commons reputed most wicked, and not worthie in anie wise to liue. But the king thought it best, rather with courtesie to reconcile them, than by cutting them off by death to procure the hatred of their freends and alies, which were manie, and of no small power.

*Tho. Walsi.*

The hatred which the cōmons had cōmitted against the appellāts.

After that the foresaid iudgement was declared with protestation by sir William Thirning iustice, the earle of Salisburie came and made request, that he might haue his protestation entered against the lord Morlie, which lord Morlie rising vp from his seat, said, that so he might not haue; bicause in his first answer he made no protestation, and therefore he was past it now. The earle praied day of aduisement, but the lord Morlie praied that he might lose his aduantage, sith he had not entered sufficient plee against him. Then sir Mathew Gournie sitting vnderneath the king said to the earle of Salisburie, that forsomuch as at the first day in your answers, ye made no protestation at all, none is entered of record, and so you are past that aduantage: and therefore asked him if he would asked him if he would saie any other thing. Then the earle desired that he might put in mainprise, which was granted: and so the earle of Kent, sir Rafe Ferrers, sir Iohn Roch, & sir Iohn Draiton knights, mainprised the said earle bodie for bodie. For the lord Morlie all the lords and barons offred to vndertake, and to be suerties for him; but yet foure of them had their names entered, that is to saie, the lords Willoughbie, Beauchampe, Scales, and Berkelie: they had day till the fridaie after to make their libell.

The earle of Salisburie his request.

Sir Mathew Gournie.

The earle of Salisburie mainprised.

The lord Morlie mainprised.

After this came the lord Fitzwater, and praied to haue day and place to arreigne his appeale against the earle of Rutland. The king said he would send for the duke of Norffolke to returne home, and then vpon his returne he said he would proceed in that matter. Manie statutes were established in this parlement, as well concerning the whole bodie of the common-wealth (as by the booke thereof imprinted may appeare) as also concerning diuerse priuate persons then presentlie liuing, which partlie we haue touched, and partlie for doubt to be ouer-tedious, we doo omit. But this among other is not to be forgotten that the archbishop of Canturburie was not onelie restored to his former dignitie, being remooued from it by king Richard, who had procured one Roger Walden to be placed therein (as before ye haue heard) but also the said Walden was established Bishop of London, wherewith he séemed well content.

The lord Fitzwater.

The archb. of Canturburie restored to his sée.

Moreouer, the kings eldest sonne Henrie already created (as heire to his father, and to the crowne) prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall, and earle of Chester, was also intituled duke of Aquitaine: and to auoid all titles, claimes, and ambiguities, there

*Thom. Wals. Hall.*

The crowne intailed.

was an act made for the vniuing of the crowne vnto king Henrie the fourth, and to the heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, his foure sonnes, Henrie, Thomas, Iohn, and Humfrie, being named, as to whom the right should descend successiuelie by waie of intaile, in case where heires failed to any of them. By force of this act king Henrie thought himselfe firmelie set on a sure foundation, not néeding to feare any storme of aduerse fortune. But yet shortlie after he was put in danger to haue béene set besides the seat, by a conspiracie begun in the abbat of Westminsters house, which, had it not beene hindred, it is doubtfull whether the new king should haue inioied his roialtie, or the old king (now a prisoner) restored to his principalitie. But God (of whome the poet saith,

————humana rotat  
Instar volu'cris pulueris acti  
Turbine celeri mobilis auræ)

had purposed a disappointment of their coniuration, and therefore no maruell though the issue of their labours were infortunat by their flattering hope.

But now to make an end with this parlement. After that things were concluded and granted, so as was thought to stand with the suertie of the king, and good quiet of the realme, the king granted a free pardon to all his subiects, those excepted that were at the murther of the duke of Glocester, and such as had committed wilfull murther, or rape, or were knowne to be notorious théeues. And those that were to take benefit by this pardon, were appointed to sue foorth the charters therof, betwixt that present and the feast of All saints next insuing, and so was this parlement dissolved. Immediatlie after, the king (according to an order taken in the same parlement, to giue to vnderstand vnto all princes and countries about him, by what title and occasion he had taken to him the kingdome) sent ambassadors vnto them to signifie the same. Into Rome were sent, Iohn Treneuant bishop of Hereford, sir Iohn Cheinie knight, & Iohn Cheinie esquier. Into France, master Walter Skirlow bishop of Durham, and Thomas Persie earle of Worcester. Into Spaine, Iohn Trenour bishop of saint Asaph, and sir William Parre knight. Into Almanie the bishop of Bangor, and two others.

*Tho. Walsi.*

Ambassadors sent to forren princes.

The Scots in time of the late parlement, taking occasion of the absence of the northerne lords, and also by reason of great mortalitie that afflicted the northerne people that yeare, inuaded the borders, tooke the castell of Warke, that was assigned to the safe keeping of sir Thomas Greie knight, who then was at the parlement, as one of the knights of the shire, by meanes of whose absence, the enimies the sooner (as is to be thought) obtained their desire, and so kept that castell a certeine time, and finallie spoiled it, and ouerthrew it to the ground. Besides all this they did manie other mischeefes in the countrie, to the vndooing of manie of the kings subiects. This yeare Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norffolke died in exile at Venice, whose death might haue béene worthilie bewailed of all the realme, if he had not béene consenting to the death of the duke of Glocester. The same yeare deceased the duchesse of Glocester, thorough sorrow (as was thought) which she conceiued for the losse of hir sonne and heire the lord Humfrie, who being sent for foorth of Ireland (as before ye haue heard) was taken with the pestilence, and died by the waie.

The castell of Warke taken by the Scots. Sir Thom. Greie.

The death of the duke of Norffolke.

The duchesse of Glocester deceaseth.

But now to speake of the conspiracie, which was contriued by the abbat of Westminster as chéefe instrument thereof. Ye shall vnderstand, that this abbat (as it is reported) vpon a time heard king Henrie saie, when he was but earle of Derby, and younge of yeares, that princes had too little, and religious men too much. He therefore doubting now, least if the king continued long in the estate, he would remooue the great beame that then greued his eies, and pricked his conscience, became an instrument to search out the minds of the nobilitie, and to bring them to an assemblie and councell, where they might consult and commen together, how to bring that to effect, which they earnestlie wished and desired; that was, the destruction of king Henrie, and the restoring of king Richard. For there were diuerse lords that shewed themselues outwardlie to fauor king Henrie, where they secretlie wished & sought his confusion. The abbat after he had felt the minds of sundrie of them, called to his house on a day in the terme time, all such lords & other persons which he either knew or thought to be as affectioned to king Richard, so enuious to the prosperitie of king Henrie, whose names were, Iohn Holland earle of Huntington late duke of Excester, Thomas Holland earle of Kent late duke of Surrie, Edward earle of Rutland late duke of Aumarle sonne to the duke of Yorke, Iohn Montacute earle of Salisburie, Hugh lord Spenser late earle of Glocester, Iohn the bishop of Carleill, sir Thomas Blunt, and Maudelen a priest one of king Richards chappell, a man as like him in stature and proportion in all lineaments of bodie, as vnlike in birth, dignitie, and conditions.

*Hall.*

What mooued the abbat of Westminster to conspire against the king.

The lords that conspired against the duke.

The abbat highlie feasted these lords, his speciall freends, and when they had well dined, they withdrew into a secret chamber, where they sat downe in councell, and after much talke & conference had about the bringing of their purpose to passe concerning the destruction of king Henrie, at length by the aduise of the earle of Huntington it was deuised, that they should take vpon them a solemne iusts to be enterprised betweene him and 20 on his part, & the earle of Salisburie and 20 with

A iusts deuised to be



him at Oxford, to the which triumph k. Henrie should be desired, & when he should be most busilie marking the martiall pastime, he suddenlie should be slaine and destroyed, and so by that means king Richard, who as yet liued, might be restored to libertie, and haue his former estate & dignitie. It was further appointed, who should assemle the people, the number and persons which should accomplish and put in execution their deuised enterprise. Hervpon was an indenture sextipartite made, sealed with their seales, and signed with their hands, in the which each stood bound to other, to do their whole indeuour for the accomplishing of their purposed exploit. Moreouer, they sware on the holie euangelists to be true and secret each to other, euen to the houre and point of death.

holden at Oxford.

An indenture  
sextipartite.

When all things were thus appointed, the earle of Huntington came to the king vnto Windsore, earnestlie requiring him, that hé would vouchsafe to be at Brentford on the daie appointed of their iustes, both to behold the same, and to be the discoverer and indifferent iudge (if anie ambiguitie should rise) of their couragious acts and dooings. The king being thus instantlie required of his brother in law, and nothing lesse imagining than that which was pretended, gentlie granted to fulfill his request. Which thing obtained, all the lords of the conspiracie departed home to their houses, as they noised it, to set armorers on worke about the trimming of their armour against the iusts, and to prepare all other furniture and things readie, as to such a high & solemne triumph apperteined. The earle of Huntington came to his house and raised men on euerie side, and prepared horsse and harness for his compassed purpose, and when he had all things readie, he departed towards Brenford, and at his comming thither, he found all his mates and confederates there, well appointed for their purpose, except the earle of Rutland, by whose follie their practised conspiracie was brought to light and disclosed to king Henrie. For this earle of Rutland departing before from Westminster to see his father the duke of Yorke, as he sat at dinner, had his counterpane of the indenture of the confederacie in his bosome.

He is desired to come  
and see the iusts.

The father espieing it, would néeds see what it was: and though the sonne humblie denied to shew it, the father being more earnest to see it, by force tooke it out of his bosome; and perceiuing the contents thereof, in a great rage caused his horses to be saddled out of hand, and spitefullie reproouing his sonne of treason, for whome he was become suertie and mainpernour for his good abearing in open parlement, he incontientlie mounted on horssebacke to ride towards Windsore to the king, to declare vnto him the malicious intent of his complices. The earle of Rutland seeing in what danger he stood, tooke his horsse and rode another waie to Windsore in post, so that he got thither before his father, and when he was alighted at the castell gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saieing that he must néeds deliuer the keies to the king. When he came before the kings presence, he kneeled downe on his knées, beséeching him of mercie and forgiuenesse, and declaring the whole matter vnto him in order as euerie thing had passed, obtained pardon. Therewith came his father, and being let in, deliuered the indenture which he had taken from his sonne, vnto the king, who thereby perceiuing his sonnes words to be true, changed his purpose for his going to Brenford, and dispatched messengers foorth to signifie vnto the earle of Northumberland his high constable, and to the earle of Westmerland his high marshall, and to other his assured frends, of all the doubtfull danger and perillous iopardie.

The duke of Yorke  
taketh the indenture  
from his son.

The earle of Rutland  
vttereth the whole  
conspiracie to the king.

11

The conspirators being at Brenford, at length perceiued by the lacke of the earle of Rutland, that their enterprise was reuealed to the king, and therevpon determined now openlie with speare and shield to bring that to passe which before they couertlie attempted, and so they adorned Maudelen, a man most resembling king Richard, in roiall and princelie vesture, and named him to be king Richard, affirming that by fauour of his kéepers he was escaped out of prison, and so they came forwards in order of warre, to the intent to destroie king Henrie. Whilest the confederators with their new published idoll, accompanied with a strong armie of men, tooke the direct waie towards Windsore, king Henrie admonished thereof, with a few horssemen in the night came to the Tower of London about twelue of the clocke, where in the morning he caused the maior of the citie to apparell in armour the best and most couragious persons of the citie, which brought to him thrée thousand archers, and three thousand bill-men, besides them that were appointed to kéepe and defend the citie.

Magdalen counterfeited  
to be king Richard.

The K. cometh to the  
tower of London.

The conspirators comming to Windsore, entered the castell, and vnderstanding that the king was gon from thence to London, determined with all spée to make towards the citie: but changing that determination as they were on their waie, they turned to Colbroke, and there staid. King Henrie issuing out of London with twentie thousand men, came streight to Hunslo heath, and there pitched his campe to abide the comming of his enimies: but when they were aduertised of the kings puissance, amazed with feare, and forthinking their begun enterprise, as men mistrusting their owne companie, departed from thence to Berkhamstéed, and so to Circester, & there the lords tooke their lodging. The earle of Kent, and the earle of Salisburie in one Inne, and the earle of Huntington and lord Spenser in an other, and all the host laie in the fields, wherevpon in the night season, the bailiffe of the towne with fourescore

The lords come to  
Windsore.

The king goeth foorth  
against them.

They retire.

They come to Circester.

The bailiffe of Circester  
setteth vpon them on

archers set on the house, where the erle of Kent and the other laie, which house was manfullie assaulted and stronglie defended a great space. The earle of Huntington being in an other Inne with the lord Spenser, set fire on diuerse houses in the towne, thinking that the assailants would leaue the assault and rescue their goods, which thing they nothing regarded. The host lieng without, hearing noise, and seeing this fire in the towne, thought verelie that king Henrie had béene come thither with his puissance, and therevpon fled without measure, euerie man making shift to saue himselfe, and so that which the lords deuised for their helpe, wrought their destruction; for if the armie that laie without the towne had not mistaken the matter, when they saw the houses on fire, they might easilie haue succoured their chéefeteins in the towne, that were assailed but with a few of the townesmen, in comparison of the great multitude that laie abroad in the fields. But such was the ordinance of the mightie Lord of hostes, who disposeth althings at his pleasure.

their lodgings.  
The lords set fire on  
their lodgings.

*Hall. Froissard.*

The earle of Huntington and his companie seeing the force of the townesmen to increase, fled out on the backside, intending to repaire to the armie which they found dispersed and gone. Then the earle seeing no hope of comfort, fled into Essex. The other lords which were left fighting in the towne of Circester, were wounded to death and taken, and their heads stricken off and sent to London. Thus writeth Hall of this conspiracie, in following what author I know not. But Thomas Walsingham and diuerse other séeme somewhat to dissent from him in relation of this matter; for they write that the conspiratours ment vpon the sudden to haue set vpon the king in the castell of Windsore, vnder colour of a maske or mummerie, and so to haue dispatched him; and restoring king Richard vnto the kingdome, to haue recouered their former titles of honour, with the possessions which they had lost by iudgement of the last parlement. But the king getting knowledge of their pretended treasons, got him with all spéed vnto London.

*Thom. Wals.*

A maske.

12

The conspirators, to wit, the earles of Kent and Salisburie, sir Rafe Lumlie, and others, supposing that the king had not vnderstood their malicious purpose, the first sundaie of the new yeare, which fell in the octaues of the Innocents, came in the twilight of the euening into Windsore with foure hundred armed men, where vnderstanding that the king was withdrawne upon warning had of their purposed intention, they forthwith returned backe, and came first vnto Sunnings, a manor place not farre from Reading, where the quéene wife to king Richard then laie. Here setting a good countenance of the matter, the earle of Kent declared in presence of the queenes servants that the lord Henrie of Lancaster was fled from his presence with his children and fréends, and had shut up himselfe & them in the Tower of London, as one afraid to come abroad, for all the brags made heretofore of his manhood: and therefore (saith he) my intention is (my lords) to go to Richard that was, is, and shall be our king, who being alreadie escaped foorth of prison, lieth now at Pomfret, with an hundred thousand men. And to cause his spéech the better to be beléueed, he tooke awaie the kings cognisances from them that ware the same, as the collars from their necks, and the badges of cressants from the sleeues of the seruants of houshold, and throwing them awaie, said that such cognisances were no longer to be borne.

1400.

*Harding.*

The words of the earle  
of Kent.

Thus hauing put the quéene in a vaine hope of that which was nothing so, they departed from thence vnto Wallingford, and after to Abington, intising the people by all meanes possible vnto rebellion, all the waie as they went, and sending their agents abroad for the same purpose: at length they came to Circester in the darke of the night, and tooke vp their lodgings. The inhabitants of that towne suspecting the matter, and iudging (as the truth was) these rumors which the lords spred abroad to be but dreams, they tooke therevpon counsell together, got them to armor, and stopped all the entries and outgates of the Innes where these new ghestes were lodged, insomuch that when they about midnight secretlie attempted to haue come foorth, and gone their waies, the townesmen with bow and arrowes were readie to slaie them, and keepe them in. The lords perceiuing the danger, got them to their armor and weapons, and did their best by force to breake through and repell the townesmen. But after they had fought from midnight till three of the clocke in the afternoone of the next daie, and perceiued they could not preuaile, they yeilded themselues to the townesmen, beseching them to haue their liues saued, till they might come to the kings presence.

The lords yéeld  
themselues.

This request they had obtained, if a préest that was chapleine to one of them, had not in the meane time set fire vpon certeine houses in the towne, to the end that whiles the townesmen should busie themselues to quench the fire, the lords might find meanes to escape. But it came nothing to passe as he imagined, for the townesmen leauing all care to saue their houses from the rage of the fire, were kindled more in furie towards the lords, and so to reuenge themselves of them, they brought them foorth of the abbei where they had them in their hands, and in the twilight of the euening, stroke of their heads. ¶ The earle of Salisburie (saith Thomas Walsingham) who in all his life time had béene a faouurer of the Lollards or Wickleuists, a despiser of images, a contemner of canons, and a scorner of the sacraments, ended his daies (as it was reported) without the \*sacrament of confession. These be the words of Thom. Wals. which are set downe, to signifie that the earle of Salisburie was a

A priest set fire on the  
houses of Circester.

*Abr. Fl. out of Tho.  
Walsin. pag. 404.*

\* He died vnconfessed.

bidden ghest to blockham feast with the rest: and (as it should séeme by his relation) the more maligned, bicause he was somewhat estranged fro the corruption of the religion then receiued, and leaned to a sect pursued with spitefulnesse and reuenge.

13 John Holland earle of Huntington (as Thomas Walsingham writeth) was not with the lords at the castell of Windsore, but staid about London to behold the end of his businesse: and hearing how the matter went, farre contrarie to that he wished, he sought to flie by sea; but not able to get awaie, by reason the wind being contrarie would not permit him, he tooke his horsse, and hauing a knight with him called sir John Shellie, he road into Essex, attempting to haue fled from thence by sea: but still the wind was so against him, that he was continuallie driuen backe when he was about to make saile, and so comming againe to land, he was taken one euening at Pitwell in Essex, in a mill (that belonged to one of his trustie fréends) as he sat there at supper, together with the said sir John Shellie. The commons of the countrie that tooke him, brought him first to Chelmesford, and after to Plashie, where on the daie of S. Maurie, that is the fiftéenth of Ianuarie, about sun setting he was beheaded, in the verie place in which the duke of Glocester was arrested by king Richard. He confessed with lamentable repentance (as writers doo record) that diuers & manie waies he had offended God and his prince, because that vnderstanding the purpose of the other lords, he had not reuealed the same.

The lords beheaded.

*Chr. S. Alb.*

The earle of Huntington taken.

He is beheaded.

The lord \*Hugh Spenser, otherwise called earle of Glocester, as he would haue fled into Wales, was taken and carried to Bristow, where (according to the earnest desires of the commons) he was beheaded. Maudelen fléeing into Scotland, was taken by the waie, and brought to the Tower. Manie other that were priuie to this conspiracie, were taken, and put to death, some at Oxford, as sir Thomas Blunt, sir Benet Cilie knight, and Thomas Wintercell esquier; but sir Leonard Brokas, and sir John Shellie knights, John Maudelen, and William Ferbie chapleins, were drawne, hanged, and beheaded at London. There were ninetéene in all executed in one place and other, and the heads of the cheefe conspirators were set on polles ouer London bridge, to the terror of others. Shortlie after, the abbat of Westminster, in whose house the conspiracie was begun (as is said) goeing betweene his monasterie & mansion, for thought fell into a sudden palsie, and shortlie after, without speech, ended his life. The bishop of Carleill was impeached, and condemned of the same conspiracie; but the King of his mercifull clemencie, pardoned him of that offense, although he died shortly after, more through feare than force or sicknesse, as some haue written. Thus all the associats of this vnhappy conspiracie tasted the painefull penance of their plesant pastime.

\* Thomas Spenser, saith *Wal. & others.*

*Hall.*

Execution.

*Tho. Walsing. Hall.*

The abbat of Westminster dieth suddëlie. *Thom. Wals.*

The bishop of Carleill dieth through feare, or rather thorough gréeefe of mind, to sée the wicked prosper as he tooke it. *Hall.*

Thus haue yee heard what writers haue recorded of this matter, with some difference betwixt them that write, how the king should haue béene made awaie at a iusts; and other that testifie, how it should haue béene at a maske or mummerie: but whether they meant to haue dispatched him at a mumming, or at a iusts, their purpose being reuealed by the earle of Rutland, they were brought to confusion (as before yée haue heard.) And immediatlie after, king Henrie, to rid himselfe of anie such like danger to be attempted against him thereafter, caused king Richard to die of a violent death, that no man should afterward faine himselfe to represent his person, though some haue said, he was not priuie to that wicked offense. The common fame is, that he was euerie daie serued at the table with costlie meat, like a king, to the intent that no creature should suspect anie thing done contrarie to the order taken in the parlement; and when the meat was set before him, he was forbidden once to touch it; yea, he was not permitted so much as to smell to it, and so he died of forced famine.

The sundrie reports of K. Richar. death.

¶ But Thomas Walsingham is so farre from imputing his death to compoulsorie famine, that he referreth it altogether to voluntarie pining of himselfe. For when he heard that the complots and attempts of such his faouurers, as sought his restitution, and their owne aduancement, annihilated; and the chéeefe agents shamefullie executed; he tooke such a conceit at these misfortunes (for so Thomas Walsingham termed them) and was so beaten out of hart, that wilfullie he starued himselfe, and so died in Pomfret castell on S. Valentines daie: a happie daie to him, for it was the beginning of his ease, and the ending of his paine: so that death was to him daintie and swéet, as the poet saith, and that verie well in bréeefe,

*Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsi. pag. 404, 405.*

14

Dulce mori miseris,  
Neque est melius morte in malis rebus.

*Corn. Gall.*

One writer, which séemeth to haue great knowledge of king Richards dooings, saith, that king Henrie, sitting on a daie at his table, sore sighing, said, "Have I no faithfull fréend which will deliuer me of him, whose life will be my death, and whose death will be the preseruacion of my life;" This saieng was much noted of them which were present, and especiallie of one called sir Piers of Exton. This knight incontinentlie departed from the court, with eight strong persons in his companie, and came to Pomfret, commanding the esquier that was accustomed to sew and take the assaie before king Richard, to doo so no more, saieng; "Let him eat now, for he shall not long eat." King Richard sat downe to dinner, and was serued without courtesie or assaie, wherevpon much maruelling at the sudden change, he demanded of the esquier whie he did not his dutie; "Sir (said he) I am otherwise commanded by sir

*Thom. Walsin.* Sir Piers de Exton a murderer of King Richard.

Piers of Exton, which is newlie come from K. Henrie." When king Richard heard that word, he tooke the keruing knife in his hand, and strake the esquier on the head, saieng The diuell take Henrie of Lancaster and thée together. And with that word, sir Piers entred the chamber, well armed, with eight tall men likewise armed, euerie of them hauing a bill in his hand.

King Richard perceiuing this, put the table from him, & steping to the formost man, wrung the bill out of his hands, & so valiantlie defended himselfe, that he slue foure of those that thus came to assaile him. Sir Piers being halfe dismaied herewith, lept into the chaire where king Richard was wont to sit, while the other foure persons fought with him, and chased him about the chamber. And in conclusion, as king Richard trauersed his ground, from one side of the chamber to an other, & comming by the chaire, where sir Piers stood, he was felled with a stroke of a pollax which sir Piers gaue him upon the head, and therewith rid him out of life, without giuing him respite once to call to God for mercie of his passed offenses. It is said, that sir Piers of Exton, after he had thus slaine him, wept right bitterlie, as one striken with the pricke of a giltie conscience, for murthuring him, whome he had so long time obeied as king. After he was thus dead, his bodie was imbalmed, and séered, and couered with lead, all saue the face, to the intent that all men might see him, and perceiue that he was departed this life: for as the corps was conueied from Pomfret to London, in all the townes and places where those that had the conueiance of it did staie with it all night, they caused dirige to be soong in the euening, and masse of requiem in the morning; and as well after the one seruice as the other, his face discouered, was shewed to all that courted to behold it.

The desperat manhood of king Richard.

K. Richard murthured.

Thus was the corps first brought to the Tower, and after through the citie, to the cathedrall church of saint Paule bare faced, where it laie thrée daies together, that all men might behold it. There was a solemne obsequie doone for him, both at Paules, and after at Wesminster, at which time, both at dirige ouernight, and in the morning at the masse of requiem, the king and the citizens of London were present. When the same was ended, the corps was commanded to be had vnto Langlie, there to be buried in the church of the friers preachers. The bishop of Chester, the abbats of saint Albons and Waltham, celebrated the exequies for the buriall, none of the nobles nor anie of the commons (to accompt of) being present: neither was there anie to bid them to dinner after they had laid him in the ground, and finished the funerall seruice. He was after by king Henrie the fift remooued to Westminster, and there honorable intoomed with quéene Anne his wife, although the Scots vntrulie write, that he escaped out of prison, and led a vertuous and a solitarie life in Scotland, and there died, & is buried (as they hold) in the blacke friers at Sterling. ¶ But Fabian and others doo as it were point out the place of his interrement, saieng that he lieth intoomed on the south side of saint Edwards shrine, with an epitaph expressing partlie his proportion of bodie and partlie his properties of mind, as after followeth in a rimed hexastichon:

The dead bodie of K. Richard brought to the Tower.

He is buried at Langlie.

*Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 378.*

Prudens & mundus, Richardus iure secundus,  
Perfatum victus, iacet hîc sub marmore pictus,  
Verax sermone, fuit & plenus ratione,  
Corpore procerus, animo prudens vt Homerus,  
Ecclesiæ fauit, elatus suppeditauit,  
Quemuis prostrauit, regalia qui violauit.

When the newes of king Richards deposing was reported in France, king Charles and all his court wondering, detested and abhorred such an iniurie doone to an annointed king, to a crowned prince, and to the head of a realme: but in especiall, Walerane earle of saint Paule, which had married king Richards halfe sister, mooued with great disdain towards king Henrie, ceased not to stirre king Charles & his councill to make warres against the Englishmen, and he himselfe sent letters of defiance into England. The earles sute was easilie agréed vnto, and an armie roiall appointed with all speed, to inuade England. The armie was come downe into Picardie, redie to be transported into England: but when it was certeinlie knowen, that king Richard was dead, and that the enterprise of his deliuerance (which was chéeflie meant) was frustrate and void, the armie was dissolved. But when the certentie of K. Richards death was intimate to the Gascoignes, the most part of the wisest men of the countrie were right pensiuie: for they iudged verelie, that hereby the English nation should be brought to dishonour, and losse of their ancient fame and glorie, for committing so heinous an offense against their king and soueraigne lord, the memorie whereof (as they thought) would neuer die: and cheeflie, the citizens of Burdeaux tooke the matter verie sore at the stomach: for they bare excéeding fauour to king Richard, because he was borne and brought vp in their citie, and therefore more than all the residue they shewed themselves to abhorre so heinous a déed.

Forren princes not without cause abhorre to heare of the shamefull murther of king Richard.

How the Gascoignes tooke the death of K. Richard.

The Frenchmen hauing understanding hereof, thought with themselues that now was the time for them to practise with the Gascoignes to reduce them from the English obeisance, vnder their subiection. Herevpon came Lewes duke of Bourbon vnto Agen, and wrote to diuerse cities and townes, on the confines of Guien, exhorting them with large promises, and faire sugred words, to reuolt from the Englishmen, and to

The duke of Bourbon.

become subjects to the crowne of France; but his trauell preuailed not: for the people vnderstanding that the English yoke was but easie in comparison to the French bondage, determined to abide rather in their old subiection, than for a displeasure irrecouerable to aduerture themselues on a new doubtfull perill; yet it was doubted, least the cities of Burdeaux, Dar, and Baion, would haue reuolted, if the lords of the marches about those places had leaned to them in that purpose, for they sent their commissioners to Agen, to treat with the duke of Burbon. But forsomuch as the lords, Pomiers, Mucident, Duras, Landuras, Copane, Rosem, & Langurant, were minded to continue still English, those cities durst not without them turne to the French obeisance, for they could not haue stirred out of their gates, but those lords would haue béene readie at their elbowes, to haue caught them by the sléeues.

*Froissard.*

King Henrie being aduertised of the Frenchmens couert meanings, and also of the wauering minds of the Gascoignes, sent Thomas Persie earle of Worcester with two hundred men of armes, and four hundred archers into Guien, to aid and assist sir Robert Knols, his lieutenant there. The chiefest capteines that accompanied the earle in this iournie were these: first, his nephew sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Colleuill, sir William Lisle, Iohn de Graillie base sonne to the capitall de Boeuf, sir William Draiton, sir Iohn Daubreticourt: also there went with him the bishop of London and master Richard Doall or Dolleie. The earle at his arrual so wiselie intreated the noble men, so grauelie persuaded the magistrats of the cities and townes, and so gentlie and familiarlie vsed and treated the commons, that he not onelie appeased their furie and malice, but brought them to louing and vniforme obeisance, receiuing of them othes of obedience, & loiall fealtie, which doone, he returned againe into England with great thanks.

*Polydor. Froissard.*

The earle of Worcester sent into Gascoigne.

The French king perceiuing he could not bring his purpose about, neither by inuading England, nor by practising with the Gascoignes, sent a solemne ambassage into England, requiring to haue his daughter the ladie Isabell, sometime espoused to king Richard, restored to him againe. King Henrie gentlie receiued those that were sent to him about this message, and for answer, promised to send his commissioners vnto Calis, which should further commune and conclude with them. ¶ This séemeth dissonant from the report of Fabian deriued out of Gagwine. For he saith that Charles hearing of the suppression of K. Richard, sent 2 of his household knights into England, requiring king Henrie the fourth, then newlie made king, to send home his daughter Isabell, latelie married vnto king Richard, with such dowrie as with hir was promised. In dooing of which message king Henrie took such displeasure, that he threw the said two knights in prison; where through one of them (named Blanchet) died in England, and, the other called Henrie, after great sicknesse returned into France: wherefore if Fabian plaie not the fabler, those that were sent on the said message were not gentlie receiued of king Henrie; vnlesse to be cast in prison and discourteouslie dealt withall stand countable for beneuolence & gentle interteinment. But to remit this and the like variances among writers to such as can reconcile them, let vs returne to the storie.

Ambassadors from the French king.

*Abr. Fl.* out of Fabian, pag. 364.

It was not inough that K. Henrie was thus troubled now in the first yere of his reigne, with ciuill sedition, and the couert practises of Frenchmen; but that the Scots also tooke vpon them to make open warre against him: it chanced (as in the Scottish chronicles more at large appeareth) that George of Dunbar, earle of the marches of Scotland, being in displeasure with Robert king of Scots, fled into England, to Henrie earle of Northumberland, whervpon the Scottish king depriued him of all his dignities and possessions, and caused his goods to be confiscate, and after wrote to the king of England, requiring him if he would haue the truce anie longer to continue, either to deliuer into his possession the earle of March and other traitors to his person, or else to banish them out of his realmes and dominions. King Henrie discretly answerd the herald of Scotland, that the words of a prince ought to be kept: and his writings and seale to be inuiolate: and considering that he had granted a safe conduct to the earle and his companie, he should neither without cause reasonable breake his promise, nor yet deface his honor. Which answer declared to the king of Scots, he incontinentlie proclaimed open warre against the king of England, with fire and sword. Herevpon, one sir Robert Logon, a Scottish knight, with certeine ships well appointed for the warre, meant to haue destroyed the English fléet that was come on the coasts of Scotland, about Aberden, to fish there: but (as it chanced) he met with certeine ships of Lin, that fought with him, and tooke him prisoner, with the residue of his companie, so that he quite failed of his purpose, and came to the losse himselfe.

George earle of March fléeth into England.

The answer of king Henrie to the Scottish ambassadors.

Open warre proclaimed by the king of Scots against England.

*Thom. Wals.*

Robert Logon taken prisoner.

At the same time, the Englishmen spoiled also certeine of the Iles of Orkenie. This summer, great death chanced in this land, manie dieing of the pestilence, wherewith sundrie places were infected. King Henrie perceiuing that policie oftentimes preuenteth perill, and vnderstanding the naughtie purposes of the Scots, gathered a great armie, and entred into Scotland, burning townes, villages, and castels, with a great part of the townes of Edinburgh and Léeth, and besieged the castell of Edinburgh in the end of September, whereof was capteine Dauid duke of Rothsaië, and a prince of the realme, with Archembald earle of Dowglas, hauing with them manie hardie men of warre. Robert duke of Albanie, that was appointed gouernour of

The Iles of Orkenie spoiled by Englishmen.

Mortalitie of people. King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.

The duke of Rothsaië.

The duke of Albanie.

the realme, because the king was sicke and not méet to rule, sent an herald vnto king Henrie, promising him battell within six daies at the furthest, if he would so long tarrie, which king Henrie promised to doo right gladlie, and gaue to the herald for bringing him so acceptable newes, a gowne of silke, and a cheine of gold. But king Henrie staid six daies, and sixtéene too, without hearing any word of the gouernors comming. Then the winter beginning to wax cold, and foule weather still increasing, caused the king to breake vp his siege, and so returned without battell or skirmish offered.

*Anno Reg. 2.*

In the meane time that the king was thus in Scotland, the Scots made a rode into Northumberland, and burned diuerse townes in Bamburroughshire. At the kings comming backe to Yorke, there were two strangers, the one a Frenchman, and the other an Italian, requiring to accomplish certeine feats of armes, against sir Iohn Cornewall, and Ianico de Artois. Their request was granted, and the strangers were put to the worst, whereby sir Iohn Cornewall obtained the kings fauour so farre fourth, that he married the kings sister, the widow of Iohn Holland, earle of Huntington. Yet some said, that the knight and the countesse were agréed aforehand, without the kings consent. In the kings absence, whilest he was fourth of the realme in Scotland against his enimies, the Welshmen tooke occasion to rebell vnder the conduct of their capteine Owen Glendouer, dooing what mischeefe they could deuise, vnto their English neighbours. This Owen Glendouer was sonne to an esquier of Wales, named Griffith Vichan: he dwelled in the parish of Conwaie, within the countie of Merioneth in North Wales, in a place called Glindourwie, which is as much to saie in English, as The vallie by the side of the water of Dée, by occasion whereof he was surnamed Glindour Dew.

King Henrie returneth home. The Scots burne in Northumberland. Iusts at Yorke.

Sir Iohn Cornewall marrieth the kings sister.

The welshmen rebell by the setting on of Owen Glendouer.

*Iohn Stow.*

Owen Glendouer what he was.

He was first set to studie the lawes of the realme, and became an vtter barrester, or an apprentice of the law (as they terme him) and serued king Richard at Flint castell, when he was taken by Henrie duke of Lancaster, though other haue written that he serued this king Henrie the fourth, before he came to atteine the crowne, in roome of an esquier, and after, by reason of variance that rose betwixt him and the lord Reginald Greie of Ruthin, about the lands which he claimed to be his by right of inheritance: when he saw that he might not preuaile, finding no such fauor in his sute as he looked for, he first made warre against the said lord Greie, wasting his lands and possessions with fire and sword, cruellie killing his seruants and tenants. The king aduertised of such rebellious exploits, enterprised by the said Owen, and his vnruilie complices, determined to chastise them, as disturbers of his peace, and so with an armie entered into Wales; but the Welshmen with their capteine withdrew into the mountaines of Snowdon, so to escape the reuenge, which the king meant towards them. The king therefore did much hurt in the countries with fire and sword, sleing diuerse that with weapon in hand came fourth to resist him, and so with a great bootie of beasts and cattell he returned.

*Tho. Walsi.*

The occasion that moued him to rebell.

The king entreth into wales, meaning to chastise the rebels.

The emperour of Constantinople comming into England to sue for aid against the Turkes, was met by the king on Blackeheath, vpon the feast day of saint Thomas the apostle, and brought vnto London with great honor. The king bare all his charges, presenting him with gifts at his departure, meet for such an estate. After the feast of the Epiphanie, a parlement was holden, in which an act was made, against those that held opinions in religion, contrarie to the receiued doctrine of the church of Rome; ordeining, that wheresoeuer any of them were found and prooued to set fourth such doctrine, they should be apprehended, and deliuered to the bishop their diocesane; and if they stood stiffelie in their opinions, and would not be reformed, they should be deliuered to the secular power, to be burnt to ashes. The first that tasted the smart of this statute, was one William Hawtrée or Sawtrée a priest, that being apprehended was burnt in Smithfield, in time of this parlement.

The emperour of Constantinople cometh into Englad. 1401.

A Parlement.

One burnt in Smithfield.

About the same time, king Henrie (according to promise made (as ye have heard) vnto the French ambassadors, sent ouer into the countrie of Guisnes, Edward earle of Rutland, otherwise in king Richards daies intituled duke of Aumarle, son to Edmund duke of Yorke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and his sonne the lord Henrie Persie, the lord Yuan Fitzwarren, the bishops of Winchester and Lincolne: where the duke of Burbon, the lords Charles d'Albert, Charles de Hangest, Iohn de Chastelmorant, the Patriarche of Ierusalem, and the bishops of Paris and Beauuois, were readie there to commune with them, and so they assembling together at sundrie times and places, the Frenchmen required to haue queene Isabell to them restored, but the Englishmen séemed loth to depart with hir, requiring to haue hir married to Henrie Prince of Wales, one in bloud and age in all things to hir equall; but the Frenchmen would in no wise condescend thereto, without their kings consent, who at that present was not in case to vtter his mind, being troubled with his wonted disease. The commissioners then began treat of peace, and at length renewed the truce to endure for six and twentie yeares yet to come; wherevnto the foure yeares passed being added, made vp the number of thirtie yeares, according to the conclusion agreed vpon, in the life time of king Richard.

Additions of the chronicles of Flanders. There was also the erle of Deuonshire, as *Froissard* saith. The hath *Froissard*. Cômmissioners met to treat of peace.

The French king troubled with a frensie.

Truce for 26 yeares.

Some authors affirme, that there was a new league concluded, to continue, during the liues of both the princes. The Frenchmen diuerse times required to haue some

*Hall.*

The Frenchmen demand

dower assigned forth for queene Isabell, but that was at all times vtterlie denied, for that the marriage betwixt hir and king Richard was neuer consummate, by reason whereof she was not dowable. Neuerthelesse, she was shortlie after sent home, vnder the conduct of the earle of Worcester, associat with diuerse other noble and honorable personages, both men and women, hauing with hir all the iewels, ornaments, and plate which she brought into England, with a great surplusage besides giuen to hir by the king. She was deliuered betwixt Bullongne and Calis, to Valeran earle of saint Paule, the French kings lieutenant in Picardie, who being accompanied with the bishop of Chartres, the lord de Hugueuile, the ladie of Monpensier sister to the erle of March, the ladie of Lucenburgh sister to the said earle of saint Paule, & diuerse other ladies and gentlewomen, which receiued hir with great ioy and gladnesse, and taking leaue of the English lords and ladies, they conueied hir to the dukes of Burgognie and Burbon, that attended for hir, not far off, upon a hill, with a great number of people. They first conueied hir to Bullogne, & after to Abuile, from whence the duke of Orleance conueied hir to Paris, vnto the presence of the king hir father, and the queene hir mother: she was after giuen in marriage vnto Charles, sonne to Lewes duke of Orleance.

a dower for queene Isabell.

Additions of the chron. of Flanders.

She is deliuered home.

She is conueied to Paris.

Hir second marriage.

About the same time, Owen Glendouer and his Welshmen did much hurt to the kings subiects. One night as the king was going to bed, he was in danger to haue beene destroyed; for some naughtie traitorous persons had conueied into his bed a certeine iron made with smiths craft, like a caltrop, with three long prickes, sharp and small, standing vpright, it such sort, that when he had laid him downe, & that the weight of his bodie should come vpon the bed, he should haue beene thrust in with those prickes, and peradventure slaine: but as God would, the king not thinking of any such thing, chanced yet to féele and perceiue the instrument before he laid him downe, and so escaped the danger. ¶ Howbeit he was not so soone deliuered from feare; for he might well haue his life in suspicion, & prouide for the preservation of the same; sith perils of death crept into his secret chamber, and laie lurking in the bed of downe where his bodie was to be reposed and to take rest. Oh what a suspected state therefore is that of a king holding his regiment with the hatred of his people, the hart grudgings of his courtiers, and the peremptorie practises of both together? Could he confidentlie compose or setle himselfe to sleepe for feare of strangling? Durst he boldly eat and drinke without dread of poisoning? Might he aduenture to shew himselfe in great méetings or solemne assemblies without mistrust of mischeefe against his person intended? What pleasure or what felicitie could he take in his princelie pompe, which he knew by manifest and fearfull experience, to be enuiied and maligned to the verie death? The state of such a king is noted by the poet in Dionysius, as in a mirror, concerning whom it is said,

Anno Reg. 3. Owen Glendouer.

The danger of the king to haue béene destroyed.

19

Districtus ensis cui super impia  
Ceruice pendet, non Siculæ dapes  
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,  
Non auium cytharæq. cantus.

Hor. lib. ca. 3, Ode. 1.

This yeare, the eight day of April deceased the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike. In the moneth of March appeared a blasing starre, first betwéene the east part of the firmament and the North, flashing fourth fire and flames round about it, and lastlie shooting fourth fierie beams towards the north, foreshewing (as was thought) the great effusion of bloud that followed, about the parts of Wales and Northumberland. For much about the same time, Owen Glendouer (with his Welshmen) fought with the lord Greie of Ruthen, comming fourth to defend his possessions, which the same Owen wasted and destroyed: and as the fortune of thatdaies worke fell out, the lord Greie was taken prisoner, and manie of his men were slaine. This hap lifted the Welshmen into high pride, and increased meruelouslie their wicked and presumptuous attempts.

1402.

The earle of Warwike depareth this life. A blasing starre.

The lord Greie of Ruthen taken in fight by Owë Glendouer

About Whitsuntide a conspiracie was deuised by certeine persons, that wished the kings death, mainteining and bruting abroad, that king Richard was aliue, and therefore exhorted men to stand with him, for shortlie he would come to light, and reward such as tooke his part with iust recompense. Herewith, there was a priest taken at Ware, or (as some books haue) at Warwike, who had a kalendar or roll, in which a great number of Names were written, more than were in any wise guiltie of the fact, as afterwards appeared by the same priests confession. For being examined, whether he knew such persons as he had so inrolled, & were there present before him, he said he neuer knew them at all; and being demanded wherefore he had then so recorded their names, he answered, because he thought they would gladlie doo what mischief they could against king Henrie, vpon any occasion offered in reuenge of the iniuries doone to king Richard, by whom they had beene aduanced, and princelie preferred. When therefore there appeared no more credit in the man, he was condemned, drawen, hanged, and quartered, and diuerse that had beene apprehended about that matter, were released, and set at libertie. Shortlie after, the prior of Laund (who for his euil gouernment had béene depriued of his state and dignitie) was likewise executed, not for attempting any thing of himselfe, but onlie for that he confessed, that he knew euil counsell and concealed it. His name was Walter Baldocke, a canon sometime in Dunstable, and by king Richard promoted to

A brute was spred abroad that king Richard was liuing.

A priest takē.

He is executed.

The prior of Laund apprehended.

the priorship of Laund.

20

Also the same time, certeine greie friers were apprehended for treason which they had deuised to bring to passe, and one of them, whose name was Richard Frisebie, being asked what he would doo if king Richard had béene aliue, and present with them, answered stoutlie, that he would fight against any man in his quarrell; euen to death. Herevpon, he was condemned, drawen, and hanged in his friers wéed, to the great confusion of his brethren; but they made earnest instance to haue his bodie taken downe, and buried with diriges and exequies, and had their sute granted. Sir Roger of Claringdon knight was also put to death about this conspiracie, with two of his seruants, the one an esquier, the other a yeoman. He was base sonne (as was reported) vnto Edward, eldest sonne to king Edward the third, surnamed the blacke prince. On Corpus Christi daie at euensong time, the diuell (as was thought) appeared in a towne of Essex called Danburie, entring into the church in likenesse of a greie frier, behauing himselfe verie outragiously, plaieng his parts like a diuell indéed, so that the parishioners were put in a maruellous great fright.

Greie friers apprehended.

A greie frier hanged in his habit.

Sir Roger Claringdon.

The diuell appeareth in likenesse of a greie frier.

At the same instant, there chanced such a tempest of wind, thunder, and lightning, that the highest part of the roofe of that church was blowen downe, and the chancell was all to shaken, rent, and torne in péeces. Within a small while after, eight of those greie friers that had practised treason against the king were brought to open iudgement, and conuicted were drawen and headed at London; and two other suffered at Leicester, all which persons had published king Richard to be aliue. Owen Glendouer, according to his accustomed manner, robbing and spoiling within the English borders, caused all the forces of the shire of Hereford to assemble together against them, vnder the conduct of Edmund Mortimer earle of March. But cōming to trie the matter by battell, whether by treason or otherwise, so it fortunéd, that the English power was discomfited, the earle taken prisoner, and aboue a thousand of his people slaine in the place. The shamefull villanie vsed by the Welshwomen towards the dead carcasses, was such, as honest eares would be ashamed to heare, and continent toongs to speake thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried, without great summes of monie giuen for libertie to conueie them awaie.

Eight friers executed.

The earle of March taken prisoner in batell by Owen Glendouer.

The king was not hastie to purchase the deliuerance of the earle March, bicause his title to the crowne was well inough knowen, and therefore suffered him to remaine in miserable prison, wishing both the said earle, and all other of his linage out of this life, with God and his saints in heauen, so they had beene out of the waie, for then all had béene well inough as he thought. But to let these things passe, the king this yeare sent his eldest daughter Blanch, accōpanied with the earle of Summerset, the bishop of Worcester, the lord Clifford, and others, into Almanie, which brought hir to Colin, and there with great triumph she was married to William duke of Bauier, sonne and heire to Lewes the emperour. About mid of August, the king to chastise the presumptuous attempts of the Welshmen, went with a great power of men into Wales, to pursue the capteine of the Welsh rebell Owen Glendouer, but in effect he lost his labor; for Owen conueied himselfe out of the waie, into his knowen lurking places, and (as was thought) through art magike, he caused such foule weather of winds, tempest, raine, snow, and haile to be raised, for the annoiance of the kings armie, that the like had not beene heard of; in such sort, that the king was constrained to returne home, hauing caused his people yet to spoile and burne first a great part of the countrie. The same time, the lord Edmund of Langlie duke of Yorke departed this life, and was buried at Langlie with his brethren. The Scots vnder the leding of Patrike Hepborne, of the Hales the yoonger, entring into England, were ouerthrowen at Nesbit, in the marches, as in the Scottish chronicle ye may find more at large. This battell was fought the two and twentieth of Iune, in this yeare of our Lord 1402.

The suspicion of K. Henrie grounded vpō a guiltie conscience.

The kings daughter married into Germanie.

Intemperat weather.

The deceasse of the duke of Yorke. Scots ouerthrowen.

21

Archembald earle Dowglas sore displeased in his mind for this ouerthrow, procured a commission to inuade England, and that to his cost, as ye may likewise read in the Scottish histories. For at a place called Homildon, they were so fiercelie assailed by the Englishmen, vnder the leading of the lord Persie; surnamed Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, that with violence of the English shot they were quite vanquished and put to flight, on the Rood daie in haruest, with a great slaughter made by the Englishmen. We know that the Scottish writers note this battell to haue chanced in the yeare 1403. But we following Tho. Walsingham in this place, and other English writers, for the accompt of times, haue thought good to place it in this yeare 1402, as in the same writers we find it. There were slaine of men of estimation, sir Iohn Swinton, sir Adam Gordon, sir Iohn Leuiston, sir Alexander Ramsie of Dalehousie, and three and twentie knights, besides ten thousand of the commons: and of prisoners among other were these, Mordacke earle of Fife, son to the gouernour Archembald earle Dowglas, which in the fight lost one of his eies, Thomas erle of Murrey, Robert earle of Angus, and (as some writers haue) the earles of Atholl & Menteith, with fiue hundred other of meaner degrés. After this, the lord Persie, hauing bestowed the prisoners in suer kéeping, entered Tiuidale, wasting and destroieng the whole countrie, and then besieged the castell of Cocklawes, whereof was capteine one sir Iohn Grenlow, who compounded with the Englishmen, that if the castell were not succoured within three moneths, then he would deliuer it into their

Scots vanquished at Homildon.

The number slaine.

Prisoners taken.

The castell of Cocklawes besieged by the lord Persie.



hands.

The first two moneths passed, and no likelihood of rescue appeared; but yer the third moneth was expired, the Englishmen being sent for to go with the king into Wales, raised their siege and departed, leauing the noble men prisoners with the earle of Northumberland, and with his sonne the lord Persie, to keepe them to the kings vse. In this meane while, such as misliked with the doctrine and ceremonies then vsed in the church, ceased not to vtter their consciences, though in secret, to those in whome they had affiance. But as in the like cases it commonlie hapneth, they were bewraied by some that were thought chieflie to faouour their cause, as by sir Lewes Clifford knight, who hauing leaned to the doctrine a long time, did now (as Thomas Walsingham writeth) disclose all that he knew vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, to shew himselfe as it were to haue erred rather of simplenesse and ignorance, than of frowardnesse or stubborn malice. The names of such as taught the articles and conclusions maintained by those which then they called Lollards or heretikes, the said sir Lewes Clifford gaue in writing to the said archbishop. Edmund Mortimer earle of March, prisoner with Owen Glendouer, whether for irksomnesse of cruell captiuitie, or feare of death, or for what other cause, it is vncerteine, agréed to take part with Owen, against the king of England, and tooke to wife the daughter of the said Owen.

The professors of wicklifs doctrine.

Sir Lewes Clifford bewraieith his fellowes.

The earle of March marieth the daughter of Owen Glendouer.

Strange wonders happened (as men reported) at the natiuitie of this man, for the same night he was borne, all his fathers horsses in the stable were found to stand in bloud vp to the bellies. The morow after the feast of saint Michaell, a parlement began at Westminster, which continued the space of seauen weekes, in the same was a tenth and a halfe granted by the cleargie, and a fiftéenth by the communalitie. Moreouer, the commons in this parlement besought the king to haue the person of George earle of March a Scottishman, recommended to his maiestie, for that the same earle shewed himselfe faithfull to the king & his realme. ¶ There was also a statute made, that the friers beggers should not receiue any into their order, vnder the age of fourteene yeares. In this fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, ambassadors were sent ouer into Britaine, to bring from thence the duches of Britaine, the ladie Iane de Nauarre, the widow of Iohn de Montford, late duke of Britaine, surnamed the conqueror, with whom by procurators the king had contracted matrimonie. In the beginning of Februarie, those that were sent returned with hir in safetie, but not without tasting the bitter stormes of the wind and weather, that tossed them sore to and fro, before they could get to land. The king met hir at Winchester, where the seuenth of Februarie, the marriage was solemnized betwixt them.

Anno Reg. 4.  
A parlement.

George earle of March recommended to the king by parlement.

1403.

Ambassadors.

Whilest these things were thus in dooing in England, Waleran earl of saint Paule, bearing still a deadlie and malicious hatred toward king Henrie, hauing assembled sixtéene or seuentéene hundred men of warre, imbarked them at Harflew, and taking the sea, landed in the Ile of Wight, in the which he burned two villages, and foure simple cotages, and for a triumph of so noble an act, made foure knights. But when he heard that the people of the Ile were assembled and approached to fight with him, he hasted to his ships and returned home: wherewith the noble men of his companie were displeased, considering his prouision to be great and his gaine small. In the same verie season, Iohn earle of Cleremont sonne to the duke of Bourbon, wan in Gascoigne out of the Englishmens possession, the castels of saint Peter, saint Marie, and the New castell; and the lord de la Bret wan the castell of Carlassin, which was no small losse to the English nation.

The earle of saint Paule in the Ile of Wight.

The earle of Cleremont in Gascoigne.

22

Henrie earle of Northumberland, with his brother Thomas earle of Worcester, and his sonne the lord Henrie Persie, surnamed Hotspur, which were to king Henrie in the beginning of his reigne, both faithfull freends, and earnest aiders, began now to enuie his wealth and felicitie; and especiallie they were gréeued, bicause the king demanded of the earle and his sonne such Scottish prisoners as were taken at Homeldon and Nesbit: for of all the captiues which were taken in the conflicts foughten in those two places, there was deliuered to the kings possession onlie Mordake earle of Fife, the duke of Albanies sonne, though the king did diuers and sundrie times require deliuerance of the residue, and that with great threatnings: wherewith the Persies being sore offended, for that they claimed them as their owne proper prisoners, and their peculiar preies, by the counsell of the lord Thomas Persie earle of Worcester, whose studie was euer (as some write) to procure malice, and set things in a broile, came to the king vnto Windsore (vpon a purpose to prooue him) and there required of him, that either by ransome or otherwise, he would cause to be deliuered out of prison Edmund Mortimer earle of March, their cousine germane, whome (as they reported) Owen Glendouer kept in filthie prison, shakled with irons, onelie for that he tooke his part, and was to him faithfull and true.

The request of the Persies.

The king began not a little to muse at this request, and not without cause: for in déed it touched him somewhat neere, sith this Edmund was sonne to Roger earle of March, sonne to the ladie Philip, daughter of Lionell duke of Clarence, the third sonne of king Edward the third; which Edmund at king Richards going into Ireland, was proclamed heire apparant to the crowne and realme, whose aunt called Elianor, the lord Henrie Persie had married; and therefore king Henrie could not well heare,

that anie man should be in earnest about the aduancement of that linage. The king when he had studied on the matter made answer that the earle of March was not taken prisoner for his cause, nor in his seruice, but willinglie suffered himselfe to be taken, bicause he would not withstand the attempts of Owen Glendouer and his complices, and therefore he would neither ransome him, nor reléue him.

The Persies with this answer and fraudulent excuse were not a little fumed, insomuch that Henrie Hotspur said openlie: Behold, the heire of the relme is robbed of his right, and yet the robber with his owne will not redeeme him. So in this furie the Persies departed, minding nothing more than to depose king Henrie from the high type of his roialtie, and to place in his seat their cousine Edmund earle of March, whom they did not onlie deliuer out of captiuitie, but also (to the high displeasure of king Henrie) entered in league with the foresaid Owen Glendouer. Héerewith, they by their deputies in the house of the archdeacon of Bangor, diuided the realme amongst them, causing a tripartite indenture to be made and sealed with their seales, by the couenants whereof, all England from Seuerne and Trent, south and eastward, was assigned to the earle of March: all Wales, & the lands beyond Seuerne westward, were appointed to Owen Glendouer: and all the remnant from Trent northward, to the lord Persie.

The saieng of the L. Persie.

The conspiracies of the Persies with Owen Glendouer.

An indenture tripartite.

A diuision of that which they had not.

23 This was doone (as some haue said) through a foolish credit giuen to a vaine prophesie, as though king Henrie was the moldwarpe, cursed of Gods owne mouth, and they three were the dragon, the lion, and the wolfe, which should diuide this realme betwéene them. Such is the deuiation (saith Hall) and not diuination of those blind and fantasticall dreames of the Welsh prophesiers. King Henrie not knowing of this new confederacie, and nothing lesse minding than that which after happened, gathered a great armie to go againe into Wales, whereof the earle of Northumberland and his sonne were aduertised by the earle of Worcester, and with all diligence raised all the power they could make, and sent to the Scots which before were taken prisoners at Homeldon, for aid of men, promising to the earle of Dowglas the towne of Berwike, and a part of Northumberland, and to other Scottish lords great lordships and seigniories, if they obtained the upper hand. The Scots in hope of gaine, and desirous to be reuenged of their old greefes, came to the earle with a great companie well appointed.

A vaine prophesie.

The Persies raise their powers.

They craue aid of Scots.

The Persies to make their part séeme good, deuised certeine articles, by the aduise of Richard Scroope, archbishop of Yorke, brother to the lord Scroope, whome king Henrie had caused to be beheaded at Bristow. These articles being shewed to diuerse noblemen, and other states of the realme, moued them to fauour their purpose, in so much that manie of them did not onelie promise to the Persies aid and succour by words, but also by their writings and seales confirmed the same. Howbeit when the matter came to triall, the most part of the confederates abandoned them, and at the daie of the conflict left them alone. Thus after that the conspirators had discovered themselues, the lord Henrie Persie desirous to procéed in the enterprise, vpon trust to be assisted by Owen Glendouer, the earle of March, & other, assembled an armie of men of armes and archers foorth of Cheshire and Wales. Incontinentlie his vnclé Thomas Persie earle of Worcester, that had the gouernement of the prince of Wales, who as then laie at London in secret manner, conueied himselfe out of the princes house, and comming to Stafford (where he met his nephue) they increased their power by all waies and meanes they could deuise. The earle of Northumberland himselfe was not with them, but being sicke, had promised vpon his amendement to repaire vnto them (as some write) with all conuenient spéed.

The archbish. of Yorke of counsell with the Persies in conspiracie.

*Thom. Wals.*

The earle of Worchester gouernour to the prince slippeth from him. *Hall.*

These noble men, to make their conspiracie to séem excusable, besides the articles aboue mentioned, sent letters abroad, wherein was contained, that their gathering of an armie tended to none other end, but onlie for the safegard of their owne persons, and to put some better gouernment in the commonwealth. For whereas taxes and tallages were daillie leuied, vnder pretense to be imploied in defence of the realme, the same were vainlie wasted, and vnprofitable consumed: and where through the slanderous reports of their enimies, the king had taken a greeuous displeasure with them, they durst not appeare personallie in the kings presence, vntill the prelat and barons of the realme had obtained of the king licence for them to come and purge themselues before him, by lawfull triall of their péeres, whose iudgement (as they pretended) they would in no wise refuse. Manie that saw and heard these letters, did commend their diligence, and highlie praised their assured fidelitie and trustinesse towards the commonwealth.

The pretense of the Persies, as they published it abroad.

But the king vnderstanding their cloaked drift, deuised (by what meanes he might) to quiet and appease the commons, and deface their contriued forgeries; and therefore he wrote an answer to their libels, that he maruelled much, sith the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Henrie Persie his sonne, had receiued the most part of the summes of monie granted to him by the cleargie and communalitie, for defence of the marches, as he could euidentlie prooue what should mooue them to complaine and raise such manifest slanders. And whereas he vnderstood, that the earles of Northumberland and Worcester, and the lord Persie had by their letters signified to their freends abroad, that by reason of the slanderous reports of their enimies, they

The kings answer to the Persies libell.

durst not appeare in his presence, without the mediation of the prelates and nobles of the realme, so as they required pledges, whereby they might safelie come afore him, to declare and alledge what they had to saie in prooffe of their innocencie, he protested by letters sent fourth vnder his seale, that they might safelie come and go, without all danger, or anie manner of indamagement to be offered to their persons.

But this could not satisfie those men, but that resolved to go forwards with their enterprise, they marched towards Shrewsburie, vpon hope to be aided (as men thought) by Owen Glendouer, and his Welshmen, publishing abroad throughout the countries on each side, that king Richard was aliue, whome if they wished to seee, they willed them to repaire in armour vnto the castell of Chester, where (without all doubt) he was at that present, and redie to come forward. This tale being raised, though it were most vntrue, yet it bred variable motions in mens minds, causing them to wauer, so as they knew not to which part they should sticke; and verelie, diuers were well affected towards king Richard, speciallie such as had tasted of his princelie bountifulnes, of which there was no small number. And to speake a truth, no maruell it was, if manie enuided the prosperous state of king Henrie, sith it was euident enough to the world, that he had with wrong vsurped the crowne, and not onelie violentlie deposed king Richard, but also cruellie procured his death; for the which vndoubtedlie, both he and his posteritie tasted such troubles, as put them still in danger of their states, till their direct succeeding line was quite rooted out by the contrarie faction, as in Henrie the sixt and Edward the fourth it may appeare.

Poore K. Richard is still aliue with thē that wish K. Henries ouerthrow.

But now to returne where we left. King Henrie aduertised of the proceedings of the Persies, fourthwith gathered about him such power as he might make, and being earnestlie called vpon by the Scot, the earle of March, to make hast and giue battell to his enimies, before their power by delaieng of time should still too much increase, he passed forward with such speed, that he was in sight of his enimies, lieng in campe néere to Shrewesburie, before they were in doubt of anie such thing, for the Persies thought that he would have staid at Burton vpon Trent, till his councill had come thither to him to giue their aduise what he were best to doo. But herein the enimie was deceived of his expectation, sith the king had great regard of expedition and making speed for the safetie of his own person, wherevnto the earle of March incited him, considering that in delaie is danger, & losse in lingering, as the poet in the like case saith:

The kings speedie diligence.

Tolle moras, nocuit semper differre paratis,  
Dum trepidant nullo firmatæ robore partes.

By reason of the kings sudden cōming in this sort, they staid from assaulting the towne of Shrewesburie, which enterprise they were readie at that instant to haue taken in hand, and fourth with the lord Persie (as a capteine of high courage) began to exhort the capteines and souldiers to prepare themselues to battell, sith the matter was growen to that point, that by no meanes it could be auoided, so that (said he) this daie shall either bring vs all to aduancement & honor, or else if it shall chance vs to be ouercome, shall deliuer vs from the kings spitefull malice and cruell disdain: for plaieng the men (as we ought to doo) better it is to die in battell for the commonwealths cause, than through cowardlike feare to prolong life, which after shall be taken from vs, by sentence of the enimie.

The Persies troubled with the kings sudden comming.

The lord Persie exhorteth his complices to stick to their tackle.

Herevpon, the whole armie being in number about fourtéene thousand chosen men, promised to stand with him so long as life lasted. There were with the Persies as chiefeines of this armie, the earle of Dowglas a Scottish man, the baron of Kinderton, sir Hugh Browne, and sir Richard Vernon knights, with diuerse other stout and right valiant capteins. Now when the two armies were incamped, the one against the other, the earle of Worcester and the lord Persie with their complices sent the articles (whereof I spake before) by Thomas Caiton, and Thomas Saluain esquiers to king Henrie, vnder their hands and seales, which articles in effect charged him with manifest periurie, in that (contrarie to his oth receiued vpon the euangelists at Doncaster, when he first entred the realme after his exile) he had taken vpon him the crowne and roiall dignitie, imprisoned king Richard, caused him to resigne his title, and finallie to be murthered. Diuerse other matters they laid to his charge, as leuieng of taxes and tallages, contrarie to his promise, infringing of lawes & customes of the realme, and suffering the earle of March to remaine in prison, without traouelling to haue him deliuered. All which things they as procurers & protectors of the commonwealth, tooke vpon them to prooue against him, as they protested vnto the whole world.

The number of the Persies armie.

The Persies sent their articles to the king.

King Henrie charged with periurie.

Procurers & protectors of the commonwealth.

King Henrie after he had read their articles, with the defiance which they annexed to the same, answered the esquiers, that he was readie with dint of sword and fierce battell to prooue their quarrell false, and nothing else than a forged matter, not doubting, but that God would aid and assist him in his righteous cause, against the disloiall and false forsworne traitors. The next daie in the morning earlie, being the euen of Marie Magdalene, they set their battells in order on both sides, and now whilst the warriors looked when the token of battell should be giuen, the abbat of Shrewesburie, and one of the clearks of the priuie seale, were sent from the king vnto the Persies, to offer them pardon, if they would come to any reasonable

The kings answer to the messengers that brought the articles.

The king offereth to pardon his aduersaries.

agrément. By their persuasions, the lord Henrie Persie began to giue eare vnto the kings offers, & so sent with them his vncler the earle of Worcester, to declare vnto the king the causes of those troubles, and to require some effectuell reformation in the same.

It was reported for a truth, that now when the king had condescended vnto all that was resonable at his hands to be required, and seemed to humble himselfe more than was meet for his estate, the earle of Worcester (vpon his returne to his nephue) made relation cleane contrarie to that the king had said, in such sort that he set his nephues hart more in displeasure towards the king, than euer it was before, driuing him by that meanes to fight whether he would or not: then suddenlie blew the trumpets, the kings part crieng S. George vpon them, the aduersaries cried Esperance Persie, and so the two armies furiouslie ioined. The archers on both sides shot for the best game, laieng on such load with arrowes, that manie died, and were driuen downe that neuer rose againe.

The earle of worchesters double dealing in wrong reporting the kings words.

The Scots (as some write) which had the fore ward on the Persies side, intending to be reuenged of their old displeasures doone to them by the English nation, set so fiercelie on the kings fore ward, led by the earle of Stafford, that they made the same draw backe, and had almost broken their aduersaries arraie. The Welshmen also which before had laine lurking in the woods, mounteines, and marishes, hearing of this battell toward, came to the aid of the Persies, and refreshed the wearied people with new succours. The king perceiuing that his men were thus put to distresse, what with the violent impression of the Scots, and the tempestuous stormes of arrowes, that his aduersaries discharged fréely against him and his people, it was no need to will him to stirre: for suddenlie with his fresh battell, he approached and relieued his men; so that the battell began more fierce than before. Here the lord Henrie Persie, and the earle Dowglas, a right stout and hardie capteine, not regarding the shot of the kings battell, nor the close order of the ranks, pressing forward together bent their whole forces towards the kings person, comming vpon him with speares and swords so fiercelie, that the earle of March the Scot, perceiuing their purpose, withdrew the king from that side of the field (as some write) for his great benefit and safegard (as it appeared) for they gaue such a violent onset vpon them that stood about the kings standard, that slaieing his standard-bearer sir Walter Blunt, and ouerthrowing the standard, they made slaughter of all those that stood about it, as the earle of Stafford, that daie made by the king constable of the realme, and diuerse other.

*Hall.*  
The Scots.

The welshmen comme to aid the Persies.

The earle of March.  
*Tho. Walsin.*

26

The prince that daie holpe his father like a lustie yoong gentleman: for although he was hurt in the face with an arrow, so that diuerse noble men that were about him, would haue conueied him foorth of the field, yet he would not suffer them so to doo, least his departure from amongst his men might happilie haue striken some feare into their harts: and so without regard of his hurt, he continued with his men, & neuer ceased, either to fight where the battell was most hot, or to incourage his men where it séemed most néed. This battell lasted thrée long houres, with indifferent fortune on both parts, till at length, the king crieng saint George victorie, brake the arraie of his enimies, and aduentured so farre, that (as some write) the earle Dowglas strake him downe, & at that instant slue sir Walter Blunt, and thrée other, apparelled in the kings sute and clothing, saieng: I maruell to see so many kings thus suddenlie arise one in the necke of an other. The king in deed was raised, & did that daie manie a noble feat of armes, for as it is written, he slue that daie with his owne hands six and thirtie persons of his enimies. The other on his part incouraged by his doings, fought valiantlie, and slue the lord Persie, called sir Henrie Hotspurre. To conclude, the kings enimies were vanquished, and put to flight, in which flight, the earle of Dowglas, for hast, falling from the crag of an hie mounteine, brake one of his cullions, and was taken, and for his valiantnesse, of the king frankelie and freelie deliuered.

*Hall.*  
The valiance of the yoong prince.

A sore battell & well maintained.

The valiant dooings of the earle Dowglas.

The high manhood of the king.

The lord Persie slaine.

The earle Dowglas taken prisoner.

There was also taken the earle of Worcester, the procuror and setter foorth of all this mischéefe, sir Richard Vernon, and the baron of Kinderton, with diuerse other. There were slaine vpon the kings part, beside the earle of Stafford, to the number of ten knights, sir Hugh Shorlie, sir Iohn Clifton, sir Iohn Cokaine, sir Nicholas Gausell, sir Walter Blunt, sir Iohn Caluerleie, sir Iohn Massie of Podington, sir Hugh Mortimer, and sir Robert Gausell, all the which receiued the same morning the order of knighthood: sir Thomas Wendesleie was wounded to death, and so passed out of this life shortlie after. There died in all vpon the kings side sixteene hundred, and foure thousand were gréeuouslie wounded. On the contrarie side were slaine, besides the lord Persie, the most part of the knights and esquiers of the countie of Chester, to the number of two hundred, besides yeomen and footmen, in all there died of those that fought on the Persies side, about fiue thousand. This battell was fought on Marie Magdalene euen, being saturdaye. Vpon the mondaie folowing, the earle of Worcester, the baron of Kinderton, and sir Richard Vernon knights, were condemned and beheaded. The earles head was sent to London, there to be set on the bridge.

The earle of Worcester taken.

Knights slaine on the kings part.

The slaughter of Cheshire men at this battell.

The earle of Worcester and others beheaded.

The earle of Northumberland was now marching forward with great power, which he had got thither, either to aid his sonne and brother (as was thought) or at least

The earle of westmerland raiseth a

towards the king, to procure a peace: but the earle of Westmerland, and sir Robert Waterton knight, had got an armie on foot, and meant to meet him. The earle of Northumberland, taking neither of them to be his freend, turned suddenlie back, and withdrew himselfe into Warkewoorth castell. The king hauing set a staie in things about Shrewesburie, went straight to Yorke, from whence he wrote to the earle of Northumberland, willing him to dismisse his companies that he had with him, and to come vnto him in peaceable wise. The earle vpon receipt of the kings letters came vnto him the morow after saint Laurence daie, hauing but a few of his seruants to attend him, and so excused himselfe, that the king (bicause the earle had Berwike in his possession, and further, had his castels of Alnewike, Warkewoorth, and other, fortified with Scots) dissembled the matter, gaue him faire words, and suffered him (as saith Hall) to depart home, although by other it should séeme, that he was committed for a time to safe custodie.

The king returning fourth of Yorkeshire, determined to go into Northwales, to chastise the presumptuous dooings of the vnrulie Welshmen, who (after his comming from Shrewesburie, and the marches there) had doone much harme to the English subiects. But now where the king wanted monie to furnish that enterprize, and to wage his souldiers, there were some that counselled him to be bold with the bishops, and supplie his want with their surplusage. But as it fortunied, the archbishop of Canturburie was there present, who in the name of all the rest boldlie made answer, that none of his prouince should be spoiled by anie of those naughtie disposed persons; but that first with hard stripes they should vnderstand the price of their rash enterprize. But the king neuerthelesse so vsed the matter with the bishops for their good wils, that the archbishop at length to pleasure him, calling the cleargie together, got a grant of a tenth, towards the kings necessarie charges.

The Britaines vnder the conduct of the lord of Cassils, spoiled and burnt the towne of Plimmouth, and returned without receiuing anie damage, but immediatlie therevpon, the western men manning fourth a fléet, vnder the gouernement of one William Wilford esquier, made saile ouer to the coasts of Britaine, where they tooke aboute fortie ships laden with oile, sope, and Rochell wine, to the quantitie of a thousand tunne, or much thereabouts. In returning homewards, they burnt fortie other vessels, and landing at Pennarch, they burnt townes and villages six leagues within the countrie, together with the towne of saint Matthew, and all the buildings there, thrée leagues round about the same townes. About the feast of All saints, a parlement began at Couentrie, and continued there till saint Andrewes tide: but at length, bicause vittels waxed déere, and lodging was streict, it was adiorned from thence vnto London, there to begin againe in the octaues of the Epiphanie. The same time, a pardon was granted and proclamed, for all such as had taken part with the Persies against the king, and likewise for other offenders, those excepted that had consented to betraie Calis, whom the king sent thither to suffer for their offences. A little before Christmas the Frenchmen meant to haue robbed and spoiled the Ile of Wight, but when a thousand of them were set on land, and had got together a great bootie of cattell; suddenlie there came vpon them such number of people that they were constrained to withdraw to their ships, leauing their preie behind them, and no small number of their men to paie for their shot, so that they wan little by that iournie, returning home with shame and dishonor.

This yeare in the parlement holden at London (beginning the morow after the feast of saint Hilarie, and continuing twelue wéeks) the earl of Northumberland was restored vnto his former dignities, lands and goods, the Ile of Man onlie excepted, which by reason of the of the forfeiture made by the earle of Salisburie, the king which by reason had first giuen vnto him, and now depriued him thereof, where all his other lands, possessions, and liuings were wholie to him and his heires restored. By authoritie of the same parlement a subsidie was also granted to the king, of euerie knights féé twentie shillings, whether the same were holden of him by menaltie, or otherwise. Moreouer, euerie man and woman that might dispend in lands the value of twentie shillings & so vpward, aboute the reprises, whether the same lands belonged to the laie fee, or to the church, paid for euerie pound twelue pence: and those that were valued to be woorth in goods twentie pounds and vpwards, paid also after the rate of lands, that is, twelue pence for euerie pound. ¶ This séemeth to be that subsidie which Thomas Walsingham calleth a sore surcharging subsidie, or an vnaccustomed tax: the forme and maner wherof (saith he) I had here interlaced, but that the verie granters and authors thereof had rather that the posteritie should be vtterlie ignorant thereof, and neuer heare of it; sithens it was granted vpon this condition, that hereafter it should not be drawne into example; neither might the euidences thereof be kept in the kings treasure, nor in the exchequer; but the records thereof presentlie (after the iust accounts giuen vp) burned; neither should writs or commissions be sent abroad against the collectors or inquirers hereof for their better inquest.

The Frenchmen about the same time came before the Ile of Wight with a great nauie, and sent certeine of their men to the shore, to demand in name of king Richard, and of his wife quéene Isabell, a tribute or speciall subsidie in monie, of the inhabitants of that Ile; who answered, that king Richard was dead, and queene Isabell sometime his

power against the earle of Northumberland.

The king goeth to Yorke.

The earle of Northumberland commeth to the king.

The welshmen molest the English subiects.

It was spoken like a prelat.

A tenth leuied of the cleargie.

William Wilford.

Ships taken.

*Anno Reg. 5. A parlement at Couentrie.*

Adiorned to London.

A pardon.

Frenchmen inuade the Ile of Wight.

They are repelled.

1404.

The parlement beginneth againe. The earle of Northumberland restored. The Ile of Man.

*Abr. Fl. out of Tho. Walsin. Hypod. pag. 164.*

The Frenchmens demand of the Ile of Wight. The answer of the Ilandmen.

wife had béene sent home to hir parents and countrie, without condition of anie dowrie or tribute: wherefore, they answered reasonable, that none they would giue: but if the Frenchmen had desire to fight, they willed them to come on land, and there should be none to resist them; and after they were on land, they promised to giue them respite for six houres space to refresh themselues, and that time being once expired, they should not faile to haue battell. When the Frenchmen heard of this stout answer made by the Ilandmen, they had no lust to approach néere to the land, but returned without further attempt.

About this season, the duke of Orleance, brother to the French king, a man of no lesse pride than hautinesse of courage, wrote letters to king Henrie, aduertising him, that for the loue he bare to the noble feats of chivalrie, he could imagine nothing either more honorable or cōmendable to them both, than to meet in the field each part with an hundred knights and esquiers, all being gentlemen, both of name and armes, armed at all points, and furnished with speares, axes, swords, and daggers, and there to fight and combat to the yeelding; and euerie person, to whome God should send victorie, to haue his prisoner, & him to ransome at his pleasure, offering himselfe with his companie to come to his citie of Angulesme, so that the king would come to the lands of Burdeaux, and there defend this challenge.

The duke of Orleance his challenge.

The king of England grauelie answered herevnto, that he maruelled why the duke vnder colour of dooing déeds of armes for a vaine-glorie, would now séeke to breake the peace betwixt the realmes of England and France, he being sworne to mainteine same peace sith he might further vnderstand, that no king annointed, of verie dutie, was bound to answer anie challenge, but to his péere of equall state and dignitie: and further declared, that when opportunitie serued, he would passe the sea, and come into his countrie of Gascoigne, with such companie as he thought conuenient, and then might the duke set forward with his band, for the accomplishment of his couragious desire, promising him in the word of a prince, not thence to depart, till the duke either by fulfilling his owne desire in manner aforesaid, or by singular combat betwéene them two onelie, for auoiding of more effusion of Christian blood, should thinke himselfe fullie satisfied. To this and much more contained in the kings answer, the duke replied, and the king againe reioined, not without tawnts and checks vnfitting for their estates. The duke of Orleance offended highlie (as he might séeme) furnished against the king of England with an armie of six thousand men, entered into Guien, and besieged the towne of Vergi, whereof was capteine sir Robert Antlfield, a right hardie and valiant knight, hauing with him onelie thrée hundred Englishmen, which defended the fortresse so manfullie, that the duke (after he had laine three moneths) and lost manie of his men, without honour or spoile returned into France.

The answer of king Henrie.

The duke of Orleance besieged Vergi in Guien.

29

After this, the admerall of Britaine highlie encouraged, for that the last yeere he had taken certeine English ships laden with wines, accompanied with the lord du Chastell, a valiant baron of Britaine, and twelue hundred men of armes, sailed forth with thirtie ships from S. Malos, and came before the towne of Dartmouth, and would haue landed; but by the puissance of the townesmen and aid of the countrie, they were repelled, in the which conflict, the lord du Chastell, and two of his brethren, with foure hundred other were slaine, and aboue two hundred taken prisoners and put to their ransoms, amongst whom the lord of Baqueuille the marshall of Britaine was one. All this summer, Owen Glendouer and his adherents, robbed, burned, and destroyed the countries adioining néere to the places where he hanted, and one while by sleight & guileful policie, an other while by open force, he tooke and slue manie Englishmen, brake downe certeine castels which he wan, and some he fortified and kept for his owne defense. Iohn Trenor bishop of Assaph, considering with himselfe how things prospered vnder the hands of this Owen, fled to him, and tooke his part against the king. About the same time, the Britaines and the Flemings tooke certeine ships of ours laden with merchandize, and slue all the mariners, or else hanged them.

The lord du Chastell slaine.

Owen Glendouer wasted the English marches.

Crueltie of the Britains & Flemings.

Also, the old countesse of Oxford, mother to Robert Veere late duke of Ireland, that died at Louaine, caused certeine of hir seruants, and other such as she durst trust, to publish and brute abroad, thorough all the parts of Essex, that king Richard was aliue, and that he would shortlie come to light, and claime his former estate, honor, and dignitie. She procured a great number of harts to be made of siluer and gold, such as king Richard was woont to giue unto his knights, esquiers, & fréends, to weare as cognizances, to the end that in bestowing them in king Richards name, she might the sooner allure men to further hir lewd practises: and where the fame went abroad, that king Richard was in Scotland with a great power of Frenchmen and Scots, readie to come to recouer his realme, manie gaue the more light credit vnto this brute thus set forth by the said countesse.

The countes of Oxford.

K. Richard once againe aliue.

The persuasions also of one Serlo, that in times past was one of king Richards chamber, greatlie increased this error, for the same Serlo, hearing in France (whither he was fled) that his maister king Richard was in Scotland aliue, conueied himselfe thither, to vnderstand the truth of that matter, and finding there one indeed that greatlie resembled him in all lineaments of bodie, but yet was not the man himselfe (as he well perceiued) vpon malice that he bare to king Henrie, aduertised

Serlo one of K. Richard's chamber.

by letters sent vnto diuerse of king Richards freends, that he was aliue indéed, and shortlie would come to shew himselfe openlie to the world, when he had once made his waie readie to recouer his kingdome, to the confusion of his enimies, and comfort of his fréends. These forged inuentions caused manie to beleue the brute raised by the countesse of Oxford, for the which they came in trouble, were apprehended and committed to prison. The countesse hir selfe was shut vp in close prison, and all hir goods were confiscat, and hir secretarie drawn and hanged, that had spred abroad this fained report, in going vp and downe the countrie, blowing into mens eares that king Richard was aliue, & affirming that he had spoken with him in such a place and in such a place, apparelled in this raiment and that raiment, with such like circumstances.

The countesse of Oxford committed to prison.

Hir secretary executed.

About the feast of saint Iohn Baptist, at the kings commandement, the earle of Northumberland came to Pomfret, and brought with him his nephues, and his nephues sonnes, whereby he cleared himselfe of a great deale of suspision, manie doubting before his comming that he had given euill counsell to the yong men, whereby to mooue them to rebellion, and to withstand the king. Sir William Clifford also came with the earle, and brought the foresaid Serlo with him, whom he had apprehended vpon his comming to him at Berwike, in hope to haue found succour at his hands; in consideration whereof the king pardoned the said sir William Clifford of his disobedience shewed, in keeping the castell of Berwike against him, in which dooing he had committed manifest treason.

The earle of Northumberland cometh to the king.

Sir William Clifford bringeth Serlo to the king.

30 This Serlo being knowen to be the man that had béene the chiefe murtherer of the duke of Glocester, when he was made awaie at Calis, was diligentlie examined who were helpers with him in the execution thereof, and after what sort they made him awaie: Serlo knowing there was no waie with him but death, would not vtter any other, but confessed for his owne part, he was worthie for that wicked déed to die ten thousand deaths, and shewed such outward appearance of repentance, that manie sore lamented his case, and promised to hire priests to sing masses, (as the manner was) for his soule, of their owne costs and charges. He was condemned to die at Pomfret, and was drawn from thence through euerie good towne, through which those that had the conueiance of him passed with him till they came to London, where he was executed, confessing euerie thing to be true concerning his wicked pretense, as before is recited: and further, that when he perceiued how their counterfeit practise would come to light and be openlie reuealed, he meant to haue returned into France, but wanting monie, he thought to haue béene relieved with some portion at the hand of the said sir William Clifford, and this caused him to come vnto Berwike, to shew him his necessitie, who to make his owne peace, did apprehend him, and present him to the king, as before ye haue heard.

Serlo examined for the duke of Glocesters death.

He is drawn through euerie goode towne. He is executed at Lōdon.

King Henrie wanting monie in the feast of saint Faith the virgine, assembled at Couentrie his high court of parlement, in the which, the lord Stephan Scroope of Masham, and the lord Henrie Fitz Hugh obtained first to haue places of barons. Moreouer, it is to be noted, that this was called The laie mans parlement, bicause the shiriffes were appointed to haue a speciall regard, that none should be chosen knights for the counties, nor burgesses for the cities and townes, that had any skill in the lawes of the land. This was doone, and when they came together to talke of the weightie affaires of the realme, speciallie how the king might be relieved with monie, to beare such charges as he was knowen to be at, as well in defending the realme from the Scots and Welshmen at home, as from the Britains, Flemings, and Frenchmen abroad, it was thought most expedient, that the spiritualltie should be depriued of their temporall possessions, to the reliefe of the kings necessitie. Herevpon rose great altercation betwixt the cleargie and the laitie; the knights affirming, that they had oftentimes serued the king, not onelie with their goods, but also with their persons in great dangers and ieopardies, whilst the spiritualltie sat at home, and help the king nothing at all. Thomas Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie stoutlie answered herevnto, that the cleargie had alwaie giuen to the king as much as the laitie had doone, considering they had oftener giuen their tenths to him than the laitie their fiftéens: also, that more of their tenants went foorth into the kings warres, than the tenants of them of the laie fée: beside this, they praied day and night for the kings good successe against his enimies.

Anno Reg. 6.

The leymens parlement.

Strife betwixt the laitie and spiritualltie.

The archbishop of Canturburie answereth for his brethren.

When the speaker named sir Iohn Cheinie, in replieng by plaine speach, séemed little to esteeme such praiers of the church, the archbishop was set in a great chafe, and with sharpe words declaring what he thought must needs follow, both of the king and kingdome, when praiers and suffrages of churchmen came to be so little set by, he grew to such impatiencie, that he flatlie told the speaker, that although he séemed little to estéeme the religion of the cleargie, he would not haue him to thinke, that he should take awaie the possessions of the church, without finding such as would seeke to withstand him, for if (said he) the archbishop of Canturburie maie liue, thou shalt haue hot taking awaie any manner of thing that is his. After this, when the archbishop perceiued that the king winked at these matters, he rose from his place and comming before the king, knéeled downe, and besought him to consider, how through the faour and grace of the almightie God, he had attained to the kingdome, and therefore he ought to remember his first purpose and intent, which was, to saue

Sir Iohn Cheinie speaker of the parlement.

The archb. chafeth.

He spake like a lord.

vnto euerie man his right, so far as in him laie.

31 He willed him likewise to haue in consideration the oth which he willinglie had receiued, that is, that he should aduance the honor of the church, and the ministers thereof cherish and mainteine. Also, to haue in mind the danger and dishonour that redounded to such as brake their othes: so that he besought him to permit and suffer the church to inioy the priuileges and liberties, which in time of his predecessors it had inioied, requesting him to stand in awe of that king, by whom all kings did reigne; and to feare the censures and condemnation that those incurred, which tooke and bereft from the church any good or right belonging to it, who most certeinlie (said he) are accursed. When the archbishop had vsed this, or the like speach, the king commanded him to go to his seat againe, assuring him, that his intent and purpose was to leaue the church in as good state, or better, than he found it.

The kings answer to the archbishop.

The archbishop herewith turning to the knights and burgesses of the parlement, said vnto them; "You, and such other as you be, haue giuen counsell vnto the king and his predecessors, to confiscate and take into their hands the goods and possessions of the celles, which the Frenchmen and Normans possessed here in England, and affirmed that by the same he and they should heape vp great riches, and indéed those goods and possessions (as is to be prooued) were worth manie thousands of gold; and yet it is most true, that the king at this day is not halfe one marke of siluer the richer thereby, for you haue begged and gotten them out of his hands, and haue appropriated the same vnto your selves, so that we may coniecture verie well, that you request to haue our temporalties, not to aduance the kings profit, but to satisfie your owne greedie covetousnesse, for vndoubtedlie if the king (as God forbid he should) did accomplish your wicked purposes and minds, he should not be one farthing the richer the yeare next after: and trulie, sooner will I suffer this head of mine to be cut off from my shoulders, than that the church should lose the least right that appertineth to it."

The knights said little, but yet they procéded in their sute to haue their purpose forward, which the archbishop perceiuing (as an other Argus, hauing his eie on each side, to marke what was doone) laboured so to disappoint their dooings, that he wan the favour of certeine of the temporall lords to assist him, who constantlie auouched by their consents, that the church should neuer be spoiled of the temporalties, and herein they acquitted the archbishop and prelat, one pleasure for an other, which they had doone for them before, when the commons in this parlement required, that all such lands and reuenues as sometime belonged to the crowne, and had béene giuen awaie, either by the king, or by his predecessors king Edward, and king Richard, should be againe restored to the kings vse; vnto which request, the archbishop and other the prelat would in no wise consent: thus by the stout diligence of the archbishop Arundell that petition of the commons, touching the spiritual temporalties, came to none effect. [Yea the knights themselues, who verie instantlie had stood in this error, acknowledging their maliciousness & guiltinesse herein, besought the archbishop of Canturburie to pardon them; and gaue thanks that by his couragiousnesse the church in this so troublesome a time reuiued, calling to mind the saieing of an ethnike, by way of application, to the said archbishops his praise:

*Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsi. Hypod. pag. 167.*

—sub principe duro  
Temporibusq; malis ausus es esse bonus.

32 Two fiftéens were granted by the commons, with condition, that the same should be paid vnto the hands of the lord Furniuall, who should sée that monie imploied for maintenance of the kings warres. Moreouer, at the importunate sute of the commons, the letters patents that had béene made to diuerse persons of annuities to them granted by king Edward and king Richard, were called in and made void, not without some note of dishonor to the king. The cleargie granted to the king a tenth and a halfe, notwithstanding that the halfe of one tenth latelie granted was yet behind, and appointed to be paid vpon saint Martins daie now next comming. About this season, great losse happened in Kent, by breaking in of waters, that ouerflowed the sea banks, as well in the archbishop of Canturburies grounds, as other mens, whereby much cattell was drowned. Neither did England alone bewaile her losses by such breakings in of the sea, but also Zealand, Flanders, & Holland tasted of the like damage.

Two fiftéens granted.  
Letters patents reuoked.  
A tenth and a halfe granted by the cleargie.  
ouerflowing of the sea.

William Wickham bishop of Winchester, being a man of great age, deceased this yeare, leauing behind him a perpetuall memorie of his name, for the notable monuments which he erected, in building two colleges, one at Winchester for grammarians, and the other at Oxenford called the new college, purchasing lands and reuenues for the maintenance of students there, to the great commoditie of the commonwealth: for from thence, as out of a good nurserie, haue come fourth diuerse men in all ages excellentlie learned in all sciences. ¶ And héere I haue not thought it impertinent to speake somewhat of this worthie prelat (considering that by him so great a benefit hath returned to the commonwealth) according to such notes as I haue séene collected by that painfull traueller in search of antiquities Iohn Leland, who saith, that as some haue supposed, the said Wickham, otherwise called

The death of Williã Wickham.



Perot, was base sonne to one Perot, the towne-clerke of Wickham in Hampshire, of which place he tooke his surname, and that one maister Wodall a gentleman, dwelling in the said towne, brought him vp at schoole, where he learned his grammar, and to write verie faire, in so much that the constable of Winchester castell, a great ruler in those daies in Hampshire, got him of maister Wodall, and retained him to be his secretaire, with whome he continued, till king Edward the third, comming to Winchester, conceived some good liking of the yong man, and tooke him to his seruice, and withall vnderstanding that he was minded to be a churchman, he first made him parson and deane of saint Martins in London, then archdeacon of Buckingham.

But for so much as his seruice was right acceptable to the king, as he that with great dexteritie could handle such affaires of the state, or other matters of charge as were committed to his hands, the king still kept him about his person, as one of his chéefe chapleins of houshold, and imploied him in sundrie offices, as occasions serued: and first he made him surueior of his works and buildings, namelie at Windsore, in repairing of that castell, and also at Quinburrrough, where, by the kings appointment, a strong fortresse was raised, for defence of the realme on that side. After this, he was aduanced to the kéeping of the priuie seale, made ouerséer of the wards and forrests, also treasurer of the kings reuenues in France, and at length was made bishop of Winchester. Yet the Blacke prince did not greatlie fauour him, wherevpon Wickham procured to kéepe him occupied in warres beyond the seas. But at length Iohn duke of Lancaster, and Alice Perers king Edwards concubine, conceiuing some great displeasure against him, found meane to procure the king to banish him the realme, and then he remained in Normandie and Picardie for the space of seauen yeares, or thereabout, and might not be restored so long as king Edward liued. But after his deceasse, about the second yeare of king Richard the seconds reigne, he was restored home, and purchased a general pardon for all matters past that might be surmized against him, or laid to his charge.

He was also at one time treasurer of England (as *Leland* gathereth.)

33

Afterwards he bare himselfe so uprightlie in that dangerous time, when such misliking and priuie enuie reigned betwixt the king and his nobles, that both parts séemed to like of him, insomuch that when the king made him lord chancellor, there was not anie that greatlie repined thereat; and verelie in that the king made choise of him before others to occupie that place, it argueth there was not so euill a disposition in the king, nor lacke of discretion in order of gouernment, as writers seeme to charge him with. But where other could not so well beare iniuries at others hands as happilie Wickham could, the fire of dissention cheeflie kindled thereof. For if the duke of Ireland, and the earle of Suffolke, with those of that faction could haue refrained to shew their displeasures, when the duke of Gloucester and other his complices pinched at them (for that they saw the king haue them in more estimation than they wished) matters might haue béene qualified peraduenture with lesse adoo, and without danger to haue insued to either part. But howsoeuer it went with them, it may doubtlesse be easilie coniectured, that Wickham was a man of singular wisdom, and politike forecast, that could from meane degré in such wise clime aloft, and afterwards passe through the chances and changes of variable fortune, kéeping himselfe euer so in state, that he grew at length to be able to furnish the chargeable expenses of two such notable foundations which he left behind him, to make his name immortall. But leauing the consideration hereof to others, I will returne to the purpose from whence I haue thus far stepped.

In this sixt yeare, the fridaie after saint Valentines daie, the earle of March his sonnes earlie in the morning were taken foorth of Windsore castell, and conueied awaie, it was not knowne whither at the first, but such search and inquirie was made for them that shortlie after they were heard of, and brought backe againe. The smith that counterfeited the keies, by the which they that conueied them thence got into the chamber where they were lodged, had first his hands cut off, and after his head striken from his shoulders. The ladie Spenser, sister to the duke of Yorke and widow of the lord Thomas Spenser, executed at Bristow (as before yee haue heard) being apprehended and committed to close prison, accused hir brother the duke of Yorke, as chéefe authour in stealing awaie the said earle of March his sonnes. And further, that the said duke ment to haue broken into the manor of Eltham the last Christmasse, by scaling the wals in the night season, the king being there the same time, to the intent to haue murthered him. For to prooue hir accusation true she offered that if there were anie knight, or esquier, that would take vpon him to fight in hir quarrell, if he were ouercome, she would be content to be burnt for it.

1405.

-----  
The earle of Marches sonnés.

*Thom. Walsin.*

The ladie Spenser cōmitted to ward.

She accuseth hir brother the duke of Yorke.

One of hir esquiers named William Maidstone, hearing what answer his ladie and mistresse propounded, cast downe his hood, and proffered in hir cause the combat. The duke likewise cast downe his hood, readie by battell to cleare his innocencie. But yet the kings sonne lord Thomas of Lancaster arrested him, and put him vnder safe kéeping in the Tower, till it were further knowne what order should be taken with him, and in the meane time were all his goods confiscate. The same time was Thomas Mowbraie earle marshall accused, as priuie to the purpose of the duke of Yorke, touching the withdrawing of the earle of March his children, who confessed indéed that he knew of the dukes purpose: but yet in no wise gaue his consent therevnto,

Williã Maidstone esquier offred to fight in his ladies quarrell.

The earle marshall accused.

and therefore besought the king to be good and gracious lord vnto him for concealing the matter, and so he obtained pardon of that offense.

34

The king had assembled at the same time the most part of the nobilitie at London, to consult with them for diuerse weightie matters, concerning the state of the commonwealth, and about some aid of monie which he required: but the lords shewed themselues not willing to satisfie his request. He therefore caused the spirituall lords as well as the temporall, to méet at S. Albons in the Lent season, about the same matter; but yet obtained not his purpose, by reason the barons were sore against him, and so at length on Palme sundaie they went their waie, each man to his home, hauing gratified the king in nothing concerning his demand. In the meane time, to wit the fiftéenth of March at a place in Wales called Huske, in a conflict fought betwixt the Welshmen and certeine of the princes companie, the sonne of Owen Glendouer was taken, and fiftéene hundred Welshmen taken and slaine. Also in Maie about the feast daie of S. Dunstane, was the chancellor of the said Owen taken prisoner, and a great number of other taken and slaine. The prisoners were brought vp to London, where the chancellor was committed to safe keeping in the Tower.

The k. wanteth monie & can get none of the lords.

¶ This was a shrewd discomfiture to the Welsh by the English, on whome sinister lot lowred, at such time as more than a thousand of them were slaine in a hot skirmish; and such shamefull villanie executed vpon the carcasses of the dead men by the Welshwomen; as the like (I doo belieue) hath neuer or sildome beene practised. For though it was a cruell déed of Tomyris quéene of the Massagets in Scythia, against whome when Cyrus the great king of Persia came, and had slaine hir sonne, she by hir policie trained him into such streicts, that she slue him and all his host; and causing a great vessel to be filled with the bloud of Cyrus and other Persians, did cast his head thereinto, saieng; Bloud thou hast thirsted and now drinke thereof thy fill: againe, though it was a cruell déed of Fuluaia the wife of Marcus Antonius (at whose commandement Popilius cut off the head and hands of that golden mouthed orator Tullie, which afterwards were nailed vp ouer the place of common plées at Rome) to hold in her hands the toong of that father of eloquence cut out of his head after the same was parted from his shoulders, and to pricke it all ouer with pins and néedels: yet neither the crueltie of Tomyris nor yet of Fuluaia is comparable to this of the Welshwomen; which is worthie to be recorded to the shame of a sex pretending the title of weake vessels, and yet raging with such force of fiercenesse and barbarisme. For the dead bodies of the Englishmen, being aboute a thousand lieng vpon the ground imbrued in their owne bloud, was a sight (a man would thinke) greeuous to looke vpon, and so farre from exciting and stirring vp affections of crueltie; that it should rather haue mooued the beholders to commiseration and mercie: yet did the women of Wales cut off their priuities, and put one part thereof into the mouthes of euerie dead man, in such sort that the cullions hoong downe to their chins; and not so contented, they did cut off their noses and thrust them into their tailles as they laie on the ground mangled and defaced. This was a verie ignominious déed, and a woorsse not committed among the barbarous: which though it make the reader to read it, and the hearer to heare it, ashamed: yet bicause it was a thing doone in open sight, and left testified in historie; I see little reason whie it should not be imparted in our mother toong to the knowledge of our owne countrimen, as well as vnto strangers in a language vnknowne. And thus much by waie of notifieng the inhumanitie and detestable demeanour of those Welshwomen, after the conflict betwéene the English and the Welsh, whereof desultorie mention is made before pag. 520, where Edmund Mortimer earle of March was taken prisoner.

*Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Wals. Hypod. pag. 159.*

*Iust. lib. 1. Herod. lib. 1. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 7.*

35

Valeran earle of S. Paule, by the assent of the French king, assembled fiue hundred men of armes, fiue hundred Genowaies with crossebowes, and a thousand Flemings on foot, with the which he laid siege to the castell of Marke, thrée leagues from Calis, vpon the fiftéenth daie of Iulie. Capteine of the castell as then for the king of England was one sir Philip Hall, hauing with him foure score archers, and four and twentie other soldiers, which defended the place so manfullie, that the earle retired into the towne, and there lodged, fortifieng it for feare of rescue that might come from Calis. The next daie he gaue an other assault to the castell, and tooke the vtter court, wherein was found a great number of horsse, kine, and other cattell. The next daie there issued forth of Calis two hundred men of armes, two hundred archers, and three hundred footmen, with ten or twelue wagons laden with vittels and artillerie, conducted by sir Richard Aston knight, lieutenant of the English pale for the earle of Summerset, capteine generall of those marches.

The castell of Marke besieged about the middest of Maie as *Iac. Meir.* saith. Sir Philip Hall.

The Frenchmen aduertised that the Englishmen were comming to remooue the siege, issued not forth of their lodgings, but kept them within their closure. Neuerthelesse, the Englishmen shot so sharpelie and closelie together, that the Flemings and footmen began to flie: the men of armes fearing the slaughter of their horsse, ran awaie with a light gallop. The Genowaies which had spent the most part of their shot at the assaults made to the castell, shewed small resistance, and so all the number of the French part were slaine and put to flight. The earle of S. Paule and diuerse other escaped awaie, and by S. Omers got to Therouenne, or (as others saie) to saint Omers. But there were taken to the number of thrée or foure score, and amongst other the lord de Dampier seneshall of Ponthien, monsieur de Weriners, monsieur de

The earle of S. Paule put to flight. *Ia. Meir.*

Vinales, monsieur de Noielles, monsieur Iohn de Hangests capteine of Bullongne, the lord de Rambures, monsieur Lionell Darreis capteine of Graueling, monsieur Peter Rasser capteine of Arde, also Combernard capteine of Tirouan, Boid Chanon capteine of Montoire, Iohn Chanon capteine of Lisle, Stenebecke capteine of Ralingham, the bastard of Burneuill capteine of Burburgh. There were slaine about 60, and among them as cheefe sir Robert Berengueuill, the lord of Quercus, Morell de Saucuses, the lord Courbet de Rempeupret, and others.

The Englishmen had the spoile of the earls campe, and being returned to Calis, within fiue daies after there issued foorth about fiue hundred men meaning to haue woone the towne of Arde with a sudden assault, which they gaue to it in the night time. But sir Manfrid de Bois, and the lord Rigine, did so valiantlie defend it, that the Englishmen with losse of fortie of their men were constreined to returne vnto Calis, after they had burnt the dead bodies in an old house, for that the enimies should not perceiue what losse the Englishmen had susteined. After this, the French king, to auoid perils, laid in garison at Bullongne, and in other places, the marques of Pount, sonne to the duke of Bar, the earle of Dampnie, and sir Iohn Harpadan a knight of great renowne and estimation. The duke of Burgognie likewise sent a number of soldiers vnto Graueling, vnder the leading of one Iohn Vandenwall, and to other fortresses alongst the coast he sent new supplies, for doubt of the Englishmens inuasions.

Arde assaulted by Englishmen.

The marques du Pount.

The king of England in deed hearing of the preparation made for warre by the Frenchmen, leuied for foure thousand men which he sent vnto Calis, and to the sea, of the which 3000 were vnder the conduct of the kings sonne. The lord Thomas of Lancaster, and the earle of Kent, the two and twentieth daie of Maie (as some write) came vpon the coast of Flanders, and entring the hauen of Sluis, burnt foure great ships which they found there lieng at anchor. On the fift daie after their comming into that hauen they went on land, thinking to haue fought with the duke of Burgognie. But as other write, after they had besieged the castell that stood in the mouth of the hauen, and loosing thrée score of their men, amongst which they name one to beare the title of earle of Penbroke (whom they buried for the time in the church of Mude) fiue daies after their comming thither they determined to depart from thence, perceiuing the castell would not easilie be woone, but first they spoiled the countrie about them, and burnt Heis fléet, otherwise called Condekirke, and diuerse other places thereabout.

An armie sent to Calis and to the sea.

*Chr. Fland. Ia. Meir.*  
The English men besieged the castell of Sluis.

This doone, they tooke vp the bodie of him whom the Flemish writers call the earle of Penbroke, and got them againe to the sea, for that they were aduertised how the duke of Burgognie meant to besiege Calis. Wherevpon raising their siege thus from Sluis castell, they returned vnto the defense of the towne of Calis, so much desired of the French nation. As they returned homewards, they met with three caricks of Genoa, of the which one hauing the wind with hir, meant to haue ouerthrowne the ship wherein the lord Thomas of Lancaster was aboard: but by the good foresight of the master of the ship that ruled the sterne, suddenlie turning the same, the violent swaie of that huge vessell comming so vpon them, was auoided; but yet the caricke stroke off the nose of the English ship, and brused hir on the side. Then began the fight verie cruell, till the earle of Kent came to the rescue: and so finallie after a great conflict and bloudie battell betwixt the caricks and English ships, the victorie remained with the Englishmen, who taking the caricks, turned their sailes towards Normandie, where they arriued and burnt the townes of Hoggue, Mountburge, Berflie, saint Petronils and other, to the number of thirtie six, passing foorth into the countrie without resistance, the space of thirtie miles, spoiling all that came in their waie. This doone, they returned, and brought the caricks into the chamber at Rie, where one of them by misfortune of fire perished, to the losse & no gaine of either of the parties.

A great fight by sea.

Thre caricks are taken.

Townes in Normandie burnt.

Iohn duke of Burgognie hauing obtained licence to besiege Calis, prepared an armie of six thousand men of armes, fiftéene hundred crosbowes, & twelue thousand footmen, the which being assembled, and all necessarie prouision readie at saint Omers, he was by the French king countermanded, and not suffered to proceed anie further in that weightie enterprise. And this was thought to be partlie the cause of the malice that he conceiued against the duke of Orleance, supposing that through him (enuieng his glorie) he was thus disappointed of his purpose. Whilest such dooings were in hand betwixt the English and French, as the besieging of Marke castell by the earle of saint Paule, and the sending foorth of the English fléet, vnder the gouernance of the lord Thomas of Lancaster, and the earle of Kent, the king was minded to haue gone into Wales against the Welsh rebels, that vnder their chéefteine Owen Glendouer, ceased not to doo much mischéeffe still against the English subiects.

The duke of Burgognie prepareth to besiege Calis.

The chéefe root of the malice betwixt the dukes of Burgognie & Orleance.

But at the same time, to his further disquieting, there was a conspiracie put in practise against him at home by the earle of Northumberland, who had conspired with Richard Scroope archbishop of Yorke Thomas Mowbraie earle marshall sonne to Thomas duke of Norfolke, who for the quarrell betwixt him and king Henrie had béene banished (as ye haue heard) the lords Hastings, Fauconbridge, Berdolfé, and

A new cōspiracie against king Henrie by the earle of Northumberland & others.

diuerse others. It was appointed that they should meet altogether with their whole power, vpon Yorkeswold, at a daie assigned, and that the earle of Northumberland should be cheefteine, promising to bring with him a great number of Scots. The archbishop accompanied with the earle marshall, deuised certeine articles of such matters, as it was supposed that not onelie the commonaltie of the Realme, but also the nobilitie found themselues gréeued with: which articles they shewed first vnto such of their adherents as were néere about them, & after sent them abroad to their fréends further off, assuring them that for redresse of such oppressions, they would shed the last drop of blood in their bodies, if néed were.

The archbishop not meaning to staie after he saw himselfe accompanied with a great number of men, that came flocking to Yorke to take his part in this quarrell, foorthwith discovered his enterprise, causing the articles aforesaid to be set vp in the publike stréets of the citie of Yorke, and vpon the gates of the monasteries, that ech man might vnderstand the cause that mooued him to rise in armes against the king, the reforming whereof did not yet apperteine vnto him. Herevpon knights, esquiers, gentlemen, yeomen, and other of the commons, as well of the citie, townes and countries about, being allured either for desire of change, or else for desire to see a reformation in such things as were mentioned in the articles, assembled together in great numbers; and the archbishop comming foorth amongst them clad in armor, encouraged, exhorted, and (by all meanes he could) pricked them foorth to take the enterprise in hand, and manfullie to continue in their begun purpose, promising forgiuennesse of sinnes to all them, whose hap it was to die in the quarrell: and thus not onelie all the citizens of Yorke, but all other in the countries about, that were able to beare weapon, came to the archbishop, and the earle marshall. In déed the respect that men had to the archbishop, caused them to like the better of the cause, since the grautie of his age, his integritie of life, and incomparable learning, with the reuerend aspect of his amiable personage, mooued all men to haue him in no small estimation.

The archbishop of yorke one of the chéefe conspirators.

The archbishop in armor.

The estimation which men had of the archbishop of Yorke.

The king aduertised of these matters, meaning to preuent them, left his iournie into Wales, and marched with all spéed towards the north parts. Also Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, that was not farre off, together with the lord Iohn of Lancaster the kings sonne, being informed of this rebellious attempt, assembled together such power as they might make, and together with those which were appointed to attend on the said lord Iohn to defend the borders against the Scots, as the lord Henrie Fitzhugh, the lord Rafe Eeuers, the lord Robert Umfreuill, & others, made forward against the rebels, and comming into a plaine within the forrest of Galtree, caused their standards to be pitched downe in like sort as the archbishop had pitched his, ouer against them, being farre stronger in number of people than the other, for (as some write) there were of the rebels at the least twentie thousand men.

The earl of westmerland and the lord Iohn of Lancaster the kings sonne prepare themselues to resist the kings enimies.

The forest of Galtree.

When the earle of Westmerland perceiued the force of the aduersaries, and that they laie still and attempted not to come forward vpon him, he subtillie deuised how to quaille their purpose, and foorthwith dispatched messengers vnto the archbishop to vnderstand the cause as it were of that great assemblie, and for what cause (contrarie to the kings peace) they came so in amour. The archbishop answered, that he tooke nothing in hand against the kings peace, but that whatsoever he did, tended rather to aduance the peace and quiet of the common-wealth, than otherwise; and where he and his companie were in armes, it was for feare of the king, to whom he could haue no free accesse, by reason of such a multitude of flatterers as were about him; and therefore he maintained that his purpose to be good & profitable, as well for the king himselfe, as for the realme, if men were willing to vnderstand a truth: & herewith he shewed foorth a scroll, in which the articles were written wherof before ye haue heard.

The subtill policie of the earle of westmerland.

The archbishops protestation why he had on him armes.

The messengers returning to the earle of Westmerland, shewed him what they had heard & brought from the archbishop. When he had read the articles, he shewed in word and countenance outwardly that he liked of the archbishops holie and vertuous intent and purpose, promising that he and his would prosecute the same in assisting the archbishop, who reioising hereat, gaue credit to the earle, and persuaded the earle marshall (against his will as it were) to go with him to a place appointed for them to commune together. Here when they were met with like number on either part, the articles were read ouer, and without anie more adoo, the earle of Westmerland and those that were with him agréed to doo their best, to see that a reformation might be had, according to the same.

The earle of Westmerland vsing more policie then the rest: "Well (said he) then our trauell is come to the wished end: and where our people haue beene long in armour, let them depart home to their woonted trades and occupations: in the meane time let vs drinke together in signe of agreement, that the people on both sides maie sée it, and know that it is true, that we be light at a point." They had no sooner shaken hands together, but that a knight was sent streight waies from the archbishop, to bring word to the people that there was peace concluded, commanding ech man to laie aside his armes, and to resort home to their houses. The people beholding such tokens of peace, as shaking of hands, and drinking together of the lords in louing

The earle of westmerlāds politike dealing.

manner, they being already wearied with the vnaccustomed trouble of warre, brake vp their field and returned homewards: but in the meane time, whilst the people of the archbishops side withdrew awaie, the number of the contrarie part increased, according to order giuen by the earle of Westmerland; and yet the archbishop perceiued not that he was deceiued, vntill the earle of Westmerland arrested both him and the earle marshall with diuerse other. Thus saith Walsingham.

The archbishop of Yorke and the earle marshall arrested. *Exton.*

But others write somewhat otherwise of this matter, affirming that the earle of Westmerland in deed, and the lord Rafe Eeuers, procured the archbishop & the earle marshall, to come to a communication with them, vpon a ground iust in the midwaie betwixt both the armies, where the earle of Westmerland in talke declared to them how perilous an enterprise they had taken in hand, so to raise the people, and to moue warre against the king, aduising them therefore to submit themselues without further delaiue vnto the kings mercie, and his sonne the lord Iohn, who was present there in the field with banners spread, redie to trie the matter by dint of sword if they refused this counsell: and therefore he willed them to remember themselues well: & if they would not yeeld and craue the kings pardon, he had them doo their best to defend themselues.

Herevpon as well the archbishop as the earle marshall submitted themselues vnto the king, and to his sonne the lord Iohn that was there present, and returned not to their armie. Wherevpon their troops scaled and fled their waies: but being pursued, manie were taken, manie slaine, and manie spoiled of that that they had about them, & so permitted to go their waies. Howsoeuer the matter was handled, true it is that the archbishop, and the earle marshall were brought to Pomfret to the king, who in this meane while was aduanced thither with his power, and from thence he went to Yorke, whither the prisoners were also brought, and there beheaded the morrow after Whitsundaie in a place without the citie, that is to vnderstand, the archbishop himselve, the earle marshall, sir Iohn Lampleie, and sir Robert Plumpton. ¶ Vnto all which persons though indemnities were promised, yet was the same to none of them at anie hand performed. By the issue hereof, I meane the death of the foresaid, but speciallie of the archbishop, the prophesie of a sickelie canon of Bridlington in Yorkshire fell out to be true, who darklie inough foretold this matter, & the infortunate euent thereof in these words hereafter following, saieng:

Pacem tractabunt, sed fraudem subter arabunt,  
Pro nulla marca, saluabitur ille\* hierarcha.

The archbishop of Yorke, the earle marshall, & others put to death. *Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsin. Hypod. pag. 168.*

\* *Archiepiscopus.*

The archbishop suffered death verie constantlie, insomuch as the common people tooke it he died a martyr, affirming that certeine miracles were wrought as well in the field where he was executed, as also in the place where he was buried: and immediatlie vpon such bruits, both men and women began to worship his dead carcasse, whom they loued so much, when he was aliue, till they were forbidden by the kings fréends, and for feare gaue ouer to visit the place of his sepulture. The earle marshalls bodie by the kings leaue was buried in the cathedrall church, manie lamenting his destinie; but his head was set on a pole aloft on the wals for a certeine space, till by the kings permission [after the same had suffered manie a hot sunnie daie, and manie a wet shower of raine] it was taken downe and buried together with the bodie.

The archbishop reputed a martyr.

After the king, accordinglie as séemed to him good, had ransomed and punished by gréeuous fines the citizens of Yorke (which had borne armour on their archbishops side against him) he departed frō Yorke with an armie of thirtie and seuen thousand fighting men, furnished with all prouision necessarie, marching northwards against the earle of Northumberland. At his cōming to Durham, the lord Hastings, the lord Fauconbridge, sir Iohn Colleuill of the Dale, and sir Iohn Griffith, being conuicted of the conspiracie, were there beheaded. The earle of Northumberland, hearing that his counsell was bewraied, and his confederats brought to confusion, through too much hast of the archbishop of Yorke, with thrée hundred horsse got him to Berwike. The king comming forward quickelie, wan the castell of Warkewoorth. Wherevpon the earle of Northumberland, not thinking himselve in suertie at Berwike, fled with the lord Berdolge into Scotland, where they were receiued of Dauid lord Fleming.

The lords executed.

The earle of Northumberland.

The king comming to Berwike, commanded them that kept the castell against him to render it into his hands, and when they flatlie denied so to doo, he caused a péece of artillerie to be planted against one of the towers, and at the first shot ouerthrowing part thereof, they within were put in such feare, that they simplie yeelded themselues without any maner of condition, wholie to remaine at the kings pleasure. Herevpon the chiefest of them, to wit, sir Willian Greistoke, sonne to Rafe baron of Greistoke, sir Henrie Beinton, and Iohn Blenkinsop, with foure or fiue other were put to death, and diuerse other were kept in prison. Some write that the earle of Northumberland at his entring into Scotland, deliuered the towne of Berwike vnto the Scots, who hearing of king Henries approach, and despairing to defend the towne against him, set fire on it and departed. There was not one house that was left vnburnt, except the friers and the church.

Berwike castell yeelded to the king.

The sonne of the lord Greistoke and others put to death. *Exton.*

After that the king had disposed things in such conuenient order as stood with his

The castell of Alnewike yeelded to the king.

pleasure at Berwike, he came backe, and had the castell of Alnewike deliuered vnto him, with all other the castels that belonged to the erle of Northumberland in the north parts, as Prodhaw, Langlie, Cockermouth, Aluham, and Newstéed. Thus hauing quieted the north parts, he tooke his iournie directlie into Wales, where he found fortune nothing fauourable vnto him, for all his attempts had euill successe, in somuch that losing fiftie of his cariages through abundance of raine and waters, he returned; and comming to Worcester, he sent for the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops, declaring to them the misfortune that had chanced to him, in consideration whereof he requested them to helpe him with some portion of monie, towards the maintenance of his warres, for the taming of the presumptuous and vnquiet Welshmen.

The K. passeth into wales.

He looseth his cariages. He returneth.

In the meane time, the French king had appointed one of the marshals of France called Montmerancie, and the master of his crosbowes, with twelue thousand men to saile into Wales to aid Owen Glendouer. They tooke shipping at Brest, and hauing the wind prosperous, landed at Milford hauen, with an hundred and fourtie ships, as Thomas Walsingham saith; though Enguerant de Monstrellet maketh mention but of an hundred and twentie. The most part of their horsse were lost by the waie for lacke of fresh water. The lord Berkleie, and Henrie Paie, espieng their aduantage, burnt fiftéene of those French ships, as they laie at road there in the hauen of Milford: and shortlie after the same lord Berkleie, and sir Thomas Swinborne, with the said Henrie Paie, tooke other fourtéene ships, as they came that waie with prouision of vittels and munition foorth of France to the aid of the other.

*Hall.* The marshall Môtmerâcie sent to aid Owen Glendouer.

In the meane while the marshall Montmerancie, with his armie, besieged the towne of Carmarden, and wan it by composition, granting to the men of warre that kept it against him, licence to depart whither they would, & to take with them all their moouable goods: the castell of Penbroke they assaulted not, estéeming it to be so well manned, that they shuld but lose their labour in attempting it. Notwithstanding they besieged the towne of Hereford west, which neuertheless was so well defended by the earle of Arundell and his power, that they lost more than they wan, and so they departed towards the towne of Denbigh, where they found Owen Glendouer abiding for their comming, with ten thousand of his Welshmen. Here were the Frenchmen ioifullie receiued of the Welsh rebels, and so when all things were prepared, they passed by Glamorganshire towards Worcester, and there burnt the suburbs: but hearing of the kings approach, they suddenlie returned towards Wales.

Carmarden woone by the French.

Hereford west manfullie defended.

*Enguerant de Monstrellet* saith they burnt the townes but could not win the castell.

The suburbs of worcester burnt.

The king with a great puissance followed, and found them imbattelled on a high mounteine, where there was a great vallie betwixt both the armies, so that either armie might plainelie perceiue the other, and either host looked to be assailed of his aduersarie, & therefore sought to take the aduantage of ground. Thus they continued for the space of eight daies from morning till night, readie to abide, but not to giue battell. There were manie skirmishes, and diuerse proper feats of armes wrought in that meane while, in the which the French lost manie of their nobles and gentlemen, as the lord Patroullars de Tries, brother to the marshall of France, the lord Matelonne or Martelonne, the lord de la Valle, and the bastard of Bourbon, with other, to the number (as some haue written) of fiue hundred. But Enguerant de Monstrellet affirmeth, that vpon their returne into France, there wanted not aboute thréescore persons of all their companies.

40

French lords slaine.

After they had laine thus one against another the space of eight daies (as before is said) vittels began to faile, so that they were inforced to dislodge. The French and Welshmen withdrew into Wales, and though the Englishmen followed, yet impeached with the desart grounds and barren countrie, thorough which they must passe, as our felles and craggie mounteins, from hill to dale, from marish to wood, from naught to woorsse (as Hall saith) without vittels or succour, the king was of force constrained to retire with his armie, and returne againe to Worcester, in which returne the enimies tooke certeine cariages of his laden with vittels. The Frenchmen after the armies were thus withdrawne, returned into Britaine, making small brags of their painefull iournie.

The Frenchmen returne home. *Anno Reg. 7.*

This yeare at London, the earle of Arundell married the bastard daughter of the king of Portingale, the king of England and the quéene with their presence honoring the solemnitie of that feast, which was kept with all sumptuous roialtie, the morrow after saint Katharins daie. ¶ And on the daie of the Conception of our ladie, the ladie Philip king Henries daughter was proclaimed quéene of Denmarke, Norwaie, and Sweden, in presence of such ambassadors, as the last summer came hither from the king of those countries, to demand hir in marriage for him, and had so trauelled in the matter, that finallie they obtained it. ¶ On the daie of the translation of saint Martine, the towne of Roiston was on fire. This yeare the first of March a parlement began, which continued almost all this yeare: for after that in the lower house they had denied a long time to grant to any subsidie: yet at length, a little before Christmasse, in the eight yeare of his reigne they granted a fifteenth to the losse and great damage of the communitie, for through lingering of time, the expenses of knights and burgesses grew almost in value to the summe that was demanded.

*Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsin.* Roiston burned.

1406.

A parlement. A fifteenth grâted by the temporalitie.

Moreouer, by the clergie a new kind of subsidie was granted, to the king, to be leuied

A new kind of subsidie

of stipendarie priests and friers mendicants, and other such religious men as soong for the dead, celebrating (as they termed it) anniuersaries: euerie of them gaue halfe a marke, in reliefe of other of the cleargie that had still borne the burthen for them before. Whervpon now they murmured and grudged sore, for that they were thus charged at that present. The same time the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolfe, warned by the lord Daudid Fleming, that there was a conspiracie practised to deliuer them into the king of Englands hands, fled into Wales to Owen Glendouer. This cost the lord Fleming his life: for after it was knowne that he had disclosed to the earle of Northumberland what was meant against him, and that the earle therevpon was shifted awaie, certeine of the Scots slue the said lord Fleming.

granted by the cleargie.

The lord Fleming lost his life for giuing knowledge to the earle of Northumberland of that which was meant against him.

Wherevpon no small grudge rose betwixt those that so slue him, and the said lord Flemings friends. For this and other matters, such dissention sproong vp amongst the Scottish nobilitie, that one durst not trust another, so that they were glad to sue for a truce betwixt England and them, which was granted to indure for one yeare, as in some books we find recorded. This truce being obtained, Robert king of Scotland (vpon considerations, as in the Scottish historie ye may read more at large) sent his eldest son Iames intituled prince of Scotland (a child not past nine yeares of age) to be conueied into France, vnder the conduct of the earle of Orkenie, and a bishop, in hope that he might there both remaine in safetie, and also learne the French toong.

Dissention amög the Scottish nobilitie.

Eleuen yeares saith *Harding*. The prince of Scotland staid here in England.

41 But it fortunied, that as they sailed neare to the English coast about Flambrough head in Holdernesse, their ship was taken and staid by certeine mariners of Claie (a towne in Norffolke) that were abroad the same time; and so he and all his companie being apprehended the thirtith of March, was conueied to Windsore, where though he had letters from his father, which he presented to the king, contening a request in his sonnes behalfe for fauour to be shewed towards him, if by chance he landed within any of his dominions: yet was he deteined, and as well he himselfe as the earle of Orkenie was committed to safe keeping in the Tower of London, but the bishop got away and escaped (as some write) by what means I know not. By the Scottish writers we find that this chanced in the yeare 1404, that is two yeares before the time noted in diuerse English writers, as Thomas Walsingham and other. But *Harding* saith it was in the ninth yeare of king Henries reigne, to wit, in the yeare 1408.

But whensoever it chanced, it is to be thought, that there was no truce at that present betweene the two realmes, but that the warre was rather open, sith diuerse English rebels still remained in Scotland, and were there succored to the high displeasure of king Henrie. ¶ By authoritie of the parlement that all this time continued, the Britons that serued the quéene, with two of hir daughters were banished the realme. Robert Halome chancellor of Oxford, as then being in the popes court at Rome, was created archbishop of Yorke. ¶ Moreouer the same time, the pope gaue vnto Thomas Langlie the bishoprike of Durham, which by the death of Walter Skirlow was then void. In the summer of this yeare, the ladie Philip the kings younger daughter was sent ouer to hir affianced husband, Erike king of Denmarke, Norwaie, and Sweden, being conueied thither with great pompe, and there married to the said king, where she tasted (according to the common spéech vsed in praieng for the successe of such as match together in mariage) both ioy and some sorrow among. There attended hir thither Henrie Bowet bishop of Bath, and the lord Richard brother to the duke of Yorke.

*Hall*.

Robert Halome archb. of Yorke.

The king and the quéene brought hir to Lin where she took shipping.

*Tho. Walsi*.

There was a iusts held at London, betwixt the earle of Kent and the erle of Marre a Scottishman; also sir Iohn Cornewall, and the lord Beaumont, against other two Scottish knights, whereof the honor remained with the Englishmen. In the parlement which yet continued, the duke of Yorke was restored to his former libertie, estate and dignitie, where manie supposed that he had beene dead long before that time in prison. Edmund Holland earle of Kent was in such fauour with king Henrie, that he not onelie aduanced him to high offices and great honors, but also to his great costs and charges obtained for him the ladie Lucie, eldest daughter, and one of the heirs of the lord Barnabo of Millane, which Barnabo paied to him 100000 ducates, in the church of S. Marie Oueries in Southwarke, by the hands of Don Alfonso de Cainuola, vpon the day of the solemnization of the marriage, which was the foure and twentieth of Ianuarie.

**An. Reg. 8.**

The duke of Yorke restored to libertie. The earle of Kent in fauour with the king.

He marrieth a daughter of Barnabo lord of Millane.

¶ In this yeare Roger of Walden departed this life; who hauing béene tossed vp and downe with sundrie changes of fortune, tried in a short time how inconstant, vncerteine variable, wandering, vnstable, and flitting she is; which when she is thought firmelie to stand, she slipperinglie falleth; and with a dissembling looke counterfaiteth false ioies. For by the meanes of hir changeableness, the said Roger of a poore fellow, grew vp to be high lord treasurer of the realme, and shortlie after archbishop of Canturburie; but by what right, the world knoweth; considering that the lord Thomas Arundell was then liuing. Anon after he was deposed from his dignitie, and lead the life of an ordinarie priuat man a long time; within a while after againe he was promoted and made bishop of London, which sée he had not possessed a full yeare, but was depriued, and Nicholas Hobwith succeeded in his roome. So that hereby men are taught not to be proud of their preferment, nor to reckon of them as of perpetuities, sithens they may be as soone dispossessed as possessed of them; and

*Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsi. Hypod. pag. 161.*

Roger of waldens variable fortune.

for that all estates & degrés depend vpon Gods power and prouidence, whereof the poet diuinelie saieth,

Ludit in humanis diuina potentia rebus,  
Et certam præsens vix habet hora fidem.

*Ouid. lib. de Pont. 4.*

In this yeare the seuenth of Maie was Thomas Langlie consecrated bishop of Durham after the decease of Walter Skirlow. In which place he continued one and thirtie yeares. He among other his beneficiall déeds beautified the church of Durham for euer with a chanterie of two chapleines. Besides which for the increase of learning (wherwith himselfe was greatlie furnished) he built two schooles, the one for grammar to instruct youth, whereby in following time they might be made more able to benefit themselues and serue their countrie: and the other of musicke, wherein children might be made apt to serue God and the church, both which schooles he erected in a parcell of ground cōmonlie called The plaie gréene. To which buildings (for he was one that delighted much therein, and like vnto the philosopher Anaxagoras supposed that there was not any more earthlie felicitie, than to erect sumptuous palaces, wherby after their death the memorie of the founders might haue continuance) he added manie sumptuous parts of the palace of Durham. In the towne whereof he did also from the ground (of most statelie stone) erect a new gaole with the gate-house to the same, in that place where of old it remained, and then by iniurie of time fallen downe and consumed. This man inioied the sée of Durham almost the whole time of thrée kings, that is; about six yeares and six moneths in the time of Henrie the fourth, nine yeares and fiue moneths in the time of Henrie the fift, and fifteene yeares in the time of Henrie the sixt; during the gouernment of all which princes, he was all his life time highlie estéemed and reuerenced for his singular wisdom, and for the great authoritie he bare in publike, betwéene whome and the maior of Newcastle arose great contention, about a bridge called Tinebridge in the towne of Gateshed or Gotesched, in Latine called Caput capræ. But in the yeare of our redemption 1416, and of Henrie the fift, the fourth, and of his bishoprike, the eleuenth, this bishop had the recouerie thereof, as appeareth by the letter of atturnie of the said bishop, made to diuerse to take possession of the same.

An addition of *Francis Thin.*

The letter of atturnie wherby the bishop authorised diuerse to take possession of Tinebridge.

THOMAS Dei gratiâ episcopus Dunelmensis omnibus ad quos præsentis litteræ peruenerint salutem. Sciatis quòd assignauimus & deputauimus dilectos & fideles nostros Radulphum de Ewrie cheualier senescallum nostrû Dunelmie, Williamum Chanceler cancellarium, infra comitatum & libertatem Dunelmie, ac Williamum Claxton vicecomitem nostrum Dunelmie coniunctim & diuisim, ad plenam & pacificam seisinam, de duabus partibus medietatis cuiusdam pontis vocati Tinebridge, in villa nostra de Gatesheued, infra comitatum & libertatem Dunelmie existentis. Quæ quidem duæ partes medietatis prædictæ, continent & faciunt tertiam partem eiusdem pontis vsque austrum, in prædicta villa de Gatesheued. Super quas duas partes nuper maior & communitas villæ Noui castri super Tinam, quandam turrim de nouo ædificare cæperût, & quas quidem duas partes cum franchisiis, iurisdictionibus, & iuribus regalibus super easdem duas partes medietatis prædictæ, nuper in curia domini regis versus maiorem & communitatem dictæ villæ Noui castri recuperauimus nobis & successoribus nostris episcopis Dunelmie, & in iure ecclesiæ nostræ sancti Cuthberti Dunelmie possidendas de vicecomite Westmerlandiæ, prætextu eiusdē breuis dicti domini regis sibi directi nomine nostro recipiendas; & turrim prædictâ ad opus nostrum saluò & securè custodiendam. Ratum & gratum habiturus quicquid idē Radulphus, Williamus & Willielmus nomine nostro fecerint in præmissis. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fierifecimus patentes. Datum Dunelmie per manus Williampi Cancellarii nostri 26 Octobris, anno pontificatus nostri vndecimo.

43

According wherevnto in the said yeare, possession was deliuered in the presence of these persons, whose names I thinke not vnmeet for their posterities cause to be remembred, being persons of good credit and of antiquitie, that is to saie, Iohn Lomelie, Rafe Ewraie, Robert Hilton, William Fulthrop, William Tempest, Thomas Suerties, Robert \*Cogniers, William Claxton shiriffe of Durham, Robert de †Egle, Iohn Bertram, Iohn Widington, and Iohn Middleton knights of Northumberland, Christopher Morslie, Will. Osmunderlaw knights of Westmerland; and also in the presence of these esquiers, Robert Hilton, Robert Ewrie, William Bowes, Iohn Coniers, William Lampton the elder, Iohn de Morden, William Lampton the yoonger, Hugh Burunghell, Iohn Britlie, William Bellingham, Robert Belthis, Henrie Talboies; Thomas Garbois, Iohn de Hutton, William Hutton, Thomas Cooke of Fisburn, and fiue others. This bishop also procured certeine liberties from the pope in the church of Durham, by vertue of which grant they which were excommunicate (and might not inioy the priuilege of any sacraments, in other places throughout the bishoprike) should yet baptise their children in a font of that church, in an especiall place appointed therefore, and also receiue the other sacraments there to be administred vnto them. He died the eight and twentieth of Nouember in the yeare of our redemption 1437, and was buried in the church of Durham in the chanterie which he

\*: Coniers.  
†: Ogle.



had before erected. Before whose death at his manour of Holdon he builded all the west gates there of goodlie stone and lime, with the chambers thereto belonging on which he placed his armes.

The duke of Orleance hauing leuied a mightie armie, had besieged the townes of Burge and Blaie in Gascoigne, meaning with force to win the same; but so it fortunéd, that for the space of eight wéekes together, there passed not one daie without tempest of raine, snow, and haile, mixed with winds and lightnings, which killed as well men as cattell, by reason whereof he lost (as was reported) six thousand men, so that he was constreined to breake vp his camps from before both those townes, and to get him awaie with dishonor, for all his brags and boasts made at his first comming thither. The same time, Henrie Paie and certeine other persons of the fiue ports, with fiftéene ships, tooke an hundred and twentie prises, which laie at anchor in and about the coast of Britaine, laden with iron, salt, oile, & Rochell wines.

1407.

—————  
The duke of Orleance besiegeth townes in Gascoigne.

Henrie Paie a valiant seaman.

In this season also billes were set vp in diuerse places of London, and on the doore of Paules church, in which was contened that king Richard being aliue and in health, would come shortlie with great magnificence & power to recouer againe his kingdome: but the contriuer of this deuise was quicklie found out, apprehended, and punished according to his demerits. ¶ The citie of London this yeare in the summer was so infected with pestilent mortalitie, that the king durst not repaire thither, nor come neere to it. Whervpon he being at the castell of Leeds in Kent, and departing from thence, tooke ship at Quinburgh in the Ile of Shepie, to saile ouer vnto Lée in Essex, and so to go to Plaschie, there to passe the time till the mortalitie was ceased.

K. Richard still aliue as was feigned.

As he was vpon the sea, certeine French pirats which laie lurking at the Thames mouth to watch for some preie, got knowledge by some meanes (as was supposed) of kings passage, and therevpon as he was in the midst of his course, they entred among his fléet, and tooke foure vessels next to the kings ship, and in one of the same vessels sir Thomas Rampston the kings vicechamberlaine, with all his chamber stufte and apparell. They followed the king so néere, that if his ship had not béene swift, he had landed sooner in France than in Essex: but such was his good hap, that he escaped and arriued at his appointed port. The lord Camois, that was commanded with certeine ships of warre to waft the king ouer (whether the wind turned so that he could not kéepe his direct course, or that his ship was but a slug) ran so far in the kings displeasure, that he was attached & indited, for that (as was surmized against him) he had practised with the Frenchmen, that the king might by them haue béene taken in his passage.

The king in danger to be taken by French pirats.

Sir Thomas Rampston taken.

The king escaped through swiftnesse of his ship.

The lord Camois put in blame.

Yee haue heard that the pope by vertue of his prouision had giuen the archbishoprike of Yorke vnto maister Robert Halom; but the king was so offended therewith, that the said Robert might in no wise inioy that benefice, and so at length, to satisfie the kings pleasure, maister Henrie Bowet was translated from Bath vnto Yorke, and maister Robert Halom was made bishop of Salisburie then void by remoouing of Henrie Chichellie to S. Dauids. The lord Henrie prince of Wales this yeare in the summer season besieged the castell of Abirusewith, and constreined them within to compound with him vnder certeine conditions for truce; but the prince was no sooner from thence departed, but that Owen Glendouer by subtile craft entered the castell, put out the kéeperes, and charging them with treason for concluding an agrément without his consent, placed other in that fortresse to defend it to his vse.

Henrie Bowet archbishop of Yorke.

Abirusewith.

Owen Glendouer.

About the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, that ancient warriour and worthie knight sir Robert Knols departed this life: he was (as before yée haue heard) borne of meane parentage, but growen into such estimation for his valiant prowesse, as he was thought méet to haue the leading of whole armies, and the rule and gouernment of large prouinces. For not long before his deceasse, he being gouernour of Aquitaine, incumbred with age, resigned his office vnto sir Thomas Belfort, a right valiant capteine, and therewith returned into England, where he died at a manour place of his in Norffolke, & from thence brought to London in a litter, with great pompe and much torch light, was buried in the church of White friers in Fleetstreet by the ladie Constance his wife, where was doone for him a solemne obsequie, with a great feast, and liberall dole to the poore.

Sir Robert Knols departeth this life. *Bermondsey.*

S. Albons.

He was buried in the white friers.

Besides the diuerse noble exploits, and famous warlike enterprises atchiued by this valiant sonne of Mars, he (to continue the perpetuall memorie of his name) builded the bridge of Rochester, ouer the riuer of Medwaie with a chappell at the end thereof; he repaired also the bodie of the church of the White friers where he was buried, which church was first founded by the ancestour of the lord Greie of Codner. He also founded a college of secular priests at Pomfret, and did manie other things in his life right commendable. Sir Thomas Rampston constable of the tower was drowned, in comming from the court as he would haue shut the bridge, the streame being so big, that it ouerturned his barge. This yeare the twentieth of October began a parlement holden at Glocester, but remooued to London as should appeare in Nouember; for (as we find) in that moneth this yéere 1407, and ninth of this kings reign, a subsidie was granted by authoritie of a parlement then assembled at London,

He built Rochester bridge commonlie called Knols bridge.

*Thom. Wals.*

An. Reg. 9.

*Thom Wals.*  
A subsidie.

to be leuied through the whole realme.

The lord Camois was arreigned the last of October, before Edmund earle of Kent that daie high steward of England, and by his péeres acquit of the offense, whereof he had beene indicted (as before yee haue heard) and so dismissed at the barre, was restored againe both to his goods, lands, and offices. ¶ This yeare the winter was excéeding sharpe through frost and snow that continued & couered the ground by all the moneths of December, Ianuarie, Februarie, and March, insomuch that thrushes, blackbirds, and manie thousand birds of the like smaller size, perished with verie cold and hunger.

The lord Camois  
arreigned & acquitted.

The earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolfe, after they had béene in Wales in France and Flanders, to purchase aid against king Henrie, were returned backe into Scotland, and had remained there now for the space of a whole yeare: and as their euill fortune would, whilest the king held a councill of the nobilitie at London, the said earle of Northumberland and lord Bardolfe, in a dismall houre, with a great power of Scots returned into England, recouering diuerse of the earls castels and seigniories, for the people in great numbers resorted vnto them. Héerevpon encouraged with hope of good successe, they entred into Yorkeshire, & there began to destroie the countrie. At their cōming to Threske, they published a proclamation, signifieng that they were come in comfort of the English nation, as to reléue the common-wealth, willing all such as loued the libertie of their countrie, to repaire vnto them, with their armor on their backes, and in defensible wise to assist them.

1408.

The earle of Northumb.  
& the lord Bardolfe  
returne into Englād.

The king aduertised hereof, caused a great armie to be assembled, and came forward with the same towards his enimies: but yer the king came to Notingham, sir Thomas, or (as other copies haue) Rafe Rokesbie shiriffe of Yorkeshire, assembled the forces of the countrie to resist the earle and his power, comming to Grimbaut brigs, beside Knaresborough, there to stop them the passage; but they returning aside, got to Weatherbie, and so to Tadcaster, and finallie came forward vnto Bramham more, neere to Haizelwood, where they chose their ground méet to fight vpon. The shiriffe was as readie to giue battell as the earle to receiue it, and so with a standard of S. George spred, set fiercelie vpon the earle, who vnder a standard of his owne armes incountered his aduersaries with great manhood. There was a sore incounter and cruell conflict betwixt the parties but in the end the victorie fell to the shiriffe. The lord Bardolfe was taken, but sore wounded, so that he shortlie after died of the hurts. ¶ As for the earle of Northumberland, he was slaine outright: so that now the prophesie was fulfilled, which gaue an inkling of this his heaue hap long before; namelie,

The shiriffe of  
Yorkeshire.

His hardie corage to  
fight.

The earle of  
Northumberland slaine.

*Abr. Fl. out of Tho.  
Walsin. Hypod. pag. 172*

Stirps Persitina periet confusa ruina.

For this earle was the stocke and maine root of all that were left aliue called by the name of Persie; and of manie more by diuerse slaughters dispatched. For whose misfortune the people were not a little sorrie, making report of the gentlemans valiantnesse, renowne, and honour, and applieng vnto him certeine lamentable verses out of Lucane, saieng;

Sed nos nec sanguis, nec tantùm vulnera nostri  
Affecere senis; quantum gestata per vrbem  
Ora ducis, quæ transfixo deformia pilo  
Vidimus.

For his head, full of siluer horie heares, being put vpon a stake, was openlie carried through London and set vpon the bridge of the same citie: in like maner was the lord Bardolfes. The bishop of Bangor was taken and pardoned by the king, for that when he was apprehended, he had no armor on his backe. This battell was fought the nineteenth day of Februarie. ¶ The king to purge the North parts of all rebellion, and to take order for the punishment of those that were accused to haue succoured and assisted the earle of Northumberland, went to Yorke, where when manie were condemned, and diuerse put to great fines, and the countrie brought to quietnesse, he caused the abbat of Hailes to be hanged, who had béene in armour against him with the foresaid earle.

The abbat of Hails  
hanged.

In the beginning of March, the king sent Edmund Holland earle of Kent with an armie of men imbarked in certeine ships of warre vnto the sea, bicause he had knowledge that diuerse rouers were wafting about the coasts of this land, and did much hurt. When the earle had serched the coasts, and could meet with no enimie abrode, he was aduertised by espials, that the pirats hearing of his comming to sea were withdrawne into Britaine: wherefore the said earle intending to be reuenged on them, whome he sought, directed his course thither, and finding that they had laid vp their ships in the hauens, so as he could not fight with them by sea, he lanced out his boates, and with his fierce souldiers tooke land, and manfullie assaulted the towne of Briake standing by the sea side. They within stoutlie defended themselues, dooing their best to repell the Englishmen, with throwing darts, casting stones, and shooting quarels; in which conflict the earle receiued a wound in his head, so that he died thereof within fiue daies after.

The earle of Kent sent  
to the sea.

Briake in Britaine  
assaulted by the  
Englishmen.  
The earle of Kent  
wouëd to death.

45

46

The Englishmen not dismaied with his death, but the more desirous to obteine their purpose, continued their assaults, till by fine force they entered the towne, set it on fire, and slue all that made resistance; and after for want of a generall to command what should be doone, they being pestered with preies and prisoners, returned into England. ¶ The countesse of Kent that was daughter (as yée haue heard) to Bernabo viscont lord of Millaine, hauing no issue by hir husband, was now moued by the king after hir husbands death, to marrie with his bastard brother the earle of Dorset, a man verie aged and euill visaged; wherevpon she misliking him, meant rather to satisfie hir owne fancie, and therefore chose for hir husband Henrie Mortimer, a goodlie young bacheller, by whome she had issue a daughter named Anne, married to sir Iohn Awbemond.

Briake taken by force.

The countes of Kent maketh hir owne choise of hir second husband.

This yeare, the next daie after the feast daie of Marie Magdalen, in a councell holden at London by the cleargie, the doctors of the vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxenford being there, with the rest assembled, debated the matter, whether they ought to withdraw from the pope, paiments of monie, and their accustomed obedience, considering that contrarie to his word and promise so solemnlie made, and with an oth confirmed, he withdrewe himselfe from the place where he (according to couenants) should haue béene present, to aduance an agrément and concord in the church. ¶ Vpon the euen of the Natiuitie of our ladie, there chanced such flouds through abundance of raine, as the like had not béene séene afore by anie man then liuing. Also about the feast of All saints, the cardinal of Burges came into England, to informe the king and the cleargie of the inconstant dealing of pope Gregorie, in like maner as he had informed the French king and the Frenchmen, to the end that he might persuade both these kings which were accounted the chéefe in christendome, to put vnto their helping hands, that the same pope Gregorie might be induced to obserue and performe that oth, which he had receiued, so as by the roiall authoritie of those two kings, concord might be had in the church. The French king (as this cardinall alleged) following the aduise of the learned men of the vniuersities of Paris, Bologna, Orleans, Tholouse, and Montpellier, to auoid the danger of fauouring schisme, determined to obeie neither the one nor the other that contended for the papasie, vntill peace and concord might be restored in Christes church. The king vnderstanding the purpose of the cardinall, shewed him what courtesie might be deuised, offering to beare his charges, so long as it pleased him to remaine in England, and promising him to consider aduisedlie of the matter.

A disputation betwixt diuines of Oxford & Cambridge for their obediēce to the pope.

#### An. Reg. 10.

The cardinal of Burges cōmeth into England in disfauor of pope Gregorie.

The resolutiō of the French king concerning the two popes.

This yeare after the Epiphanie the archbishop of Canturburie called the cleargie of the prouince of Canturburie to a conuocation in Paules church at London, to choose sufficient persons that might go vnto the generall councell, appointed to be kept at Pisa: herevpon were chosen Robert Halom bishop of Salisburie, Henrie Chichleie bishop of saint Daud, & Thomas Chillingden prior of Christes church in Canturburie. The king before this had sent ambassadors vnto pope Gregorie, and also to the cardinals; to wit, sir Iohn Coluill knight, and maister Nicholas Rixton clearke, with letters, signifieng the gréefe he had conceiued for the inconuenient that fell in the christian common-wealth thorough the schisme; and withall putting the pope in remembrance what mischéefe and destruction of people had chanced by the same schisme. These and the like matters, to vtter what desire he had to haue a vnitie in the church, he declared frankelie in his letters directed to the pope, so as it might appear to the world, how soberlie and modestlie he sought to induce the pope to procure peace & concord in the church. ¶ Certaine collections of which letters (as I find them in Thomas Walsingham) I haue here set downe in commendation of this king so excellentlie minded.

1409.

A cōuocation at S. Paules in London. Ambassadors appointed to go to the councell at Pisa. The contents of the kings letters to the pope.

47

*Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Wals. Hypod. pag. 159.*

An extract of the kings letter to pope Gregorie.

MOST holie father, if the seat apostolicall would vouchsafe by prouidence to consider, how great dangers haue inuaded the whole world vnder the pretext of schisme, and speciallie the slaughter of christian people, which is of aboue two hundred thousand (as it is auouched) by the outrage of warres and battell sproong vp in sundrie parts of the world; & now latelie to the number of thirtie thousand (by meanes of the dissention about the bishoprike of Leods betweene two, one contending vnder the authoritie of true pope, and the other vnder the title of antipape) slaine in a foughten field, whereof we make report with greefe; trulie the said seat would be pensiue in spirit, and with due sorow troubled in mind; yea at the motion of a good conscience, it would rather giue ouer the honour of that apostolicall seat, than suffer such detestable deeds further to be committed, vnder the cloke of dissimulation, taking example of the true and naturall mother, which pleading before king Salomon, chose rather to part with hir owne child, than to see him cut in sunder. And although by that new creation of nine cardinals, against your oth (that we maie vse the words of others) made by you, wherof a vehement cause of woondering is risen, it maie in some sort be supposed (as it is likelie) that your intent respecteth not anie end of schisme; yet farre be it alwaies from the world, that your circumspect seat should be charged by anie person with so great inconstancie of mind, whereby the last errour might be counted woorsse than the first, &c.

An extract of the said kings letter to the cardinals.

WE being desirous to shew how great zeale we had, & haue, that peace might be granted & given to the church by the consent of the states of our realme, haue sent ouer our letters to our lord the pope, according to the tenure of a copie inclosed within these presents effectually to be executed. Wherefore we doo earnestlie beseech the reuerend college of you; that if happilie the said Gregorie be present at the generall councill holden at Pisa, about the yeelding vp of the papasie, according to the promise and oth by him manie a time made, to fulfill your and our desires, as we wish and beare our selues in hand he will doo; that you will so order things concerning his estate, that thereby God maie cheeflie be pleased, and as well Gregorie himselfe, as we, who deseruedlie doo tender his honour and commoditie with all our harts, maie be beholden to giue you and euerie of you manifold thanks.

This yeare certeine learned men in Oxford and other places, publikelie in their sermons maintained and set fourth the opinions and conclusions of Wickliffe. This troubled the bishops and other of the clergie sore, insomuch that in their conuocation house, the six and twentieth of Iune, by a speciall mandat of the lord chancellor in presence of the procurators, regents, and others, as Richard Courtneie, Richard Talbot, Nicholas Zouch, Walter Midford, & such like in great multitude: sentence was pronounced by Iohn Wels, doctor of the canon law against the books of Iohn Wickliffe doctor of diuinitie, intituled De sermone in monte, Triologorum de simonia, De perfectione statuum, De ordine Christiano, De gradibus cleri ecclesiae: and to these was added the third treatise, which he compiled of logike or sophistrie. These books and the conclusions in the same contened, the chancellor of the vniuersitie of Oxford by common consent and assent of the regents and non regents of the same vniuersitie, reprocured, disanulled and condemned, inhibiting on paine of the great curse and deprivation of all degrés scholasticall, that none from thencefoorth should affirme, teach, or preach by anie manner of meanes or waies, the same hereticall books (as they tearmed them) contening anie the like opinions as he taught and set fourth in the same books.

Wicklifs doctrine maintained by the learned.

Sentēce pronounced against Wicklifs books.

48

This yeare about Midsummer, were roiall iusts holden at London in Smithfield betwixt the seneschall of Heinalt, and certeine Henewers challengers, and the earle of Summerset, and certeine Englishmen defendants. The Welsh rebell Owen Glendouer made an end of his wretched life in this tenth yeare of king Henrie his reigne, being driuen now in his latter time (as we find recorded) to such miserie, that in manner despairing of all comfort, he fled into desert places and solitarie caves, where being destitute of all releefe and succour, dreading to shew his face to anie creature, and finallie lacking meat to susteine nature, for méere hunger and lacke of food, miserablie pined awaie and died. This yeare Thomas Beaufort earle of Surrie was made chancellor, and Henrie Scroope lord treasurer. A parlement began this yeare in the quindene of saint Hilarie, in which the commons of the lower house exhibited a bill to the to the king and lords of the vpper house, contening effect as followeth.

*Fabian.* Iusts in Smithfield.

Owen Glendouer endeth his life in great miserie.

An. Reg. 11.  
Officers made.

1410.

————  
A parlement.

#### A supplication to the king.

TO the most excellent lord our k. and to all the nobles in this present parlement assembled, your faithfull commons doo humblie signifie, that our souereigne lord the king might haue of the temporall possessions, lands & reuenues which are lewdlie spent, consumed and wasted by the bishops, abbats, and priors, within this realme, so much in value as would suffice to find and susteine one hundred and fiftie earles, one thousand & fiue hundred knights, six thousand and two hundred esquiers, and one hundred hospitals more than now be.

*Tho. Walsi.*  
*Fabian.*

The king (as some write) vpon aduised consideration hereof had, misliked of the motion, & therevpon commanded that from thencefoorth they should not presume to studie about anie such matters. An other thing the commons sued to haue granted vnto them, but could not obtaine: which was, that clearks conuicted should not from thence fourth be deliuered to the bishops prison. Moreouer they demanded to haue the statute either reuoked or qualified, which had béene established by authoritie of parlement, in the second yeare of this kings reigne, against such as were reputed to be heretiks, or Lollards. By force whereof it was prouided, that wheresoeuer such manner of persons should be found and knowne to preach or teach their erroneous doctrine, they should be attached with the kings writ, and brought to the next goale: but the king séemed so highlie to fauour the cleargie, that the commons were answered plainelie, they should not come by their purpose, but rather that the said statute should be made more rigorous and sharpe for the punishment of such persons.

*Thom. Wals.*

King Henrie a fauorer of the clergie.

During this parlement one Iohn Badbie a tailor, or (as some write) a smith, being conuict of heresie, was brought into Smithfield, and there in a tun or pipe burnt to death, in pitifull manner. The kings eldest sonne the lord Henrie prince of Wales being present, offered him his pardon, first before the fire was kindled, if he would haue recanted his opinions; and after when the fire was kindled, hearing him make a roring noise verie pitifullie, the prince caused the fire to be plucked backe, and exhorting him being with pitifull paine almost dead, to remember himselfe, and renounce his opinions, promising him not onelie life, but also thrée pence a daie so

Iohn Badbie burnt.  
*Tho. Walsi.*

The prince being present at the execution offereth him pardon.

49 long as he liued to be paid out of the kings coffers: but he hauing recouered his spirits againe, refused the princes offer, choosing eftsoones to tast the fire, and so to die, than to forsake his opinions. Wherevpon the prince commanded, that he should be put into the tun againe, from thencefoorth not to haue anie fauour or pardon at all, and so it was doone, and the fire put to him againe, and he consumed to ashes.

Notable constancie of Badbie.

The king demanded in this parlement, that it might be granted to him, to haue euerie yeare in which he held no parlement a tenth of the cleargie, and a fifteenth of the laitie; but the estates would not agrée therevnto, by reason whereof, the parlement continued till almost the middle of Maie. At length they granted to giue him a fifteenth, not without murmuring and grudging of the commonaltie. About this season died the lord Thomas Beauford earle of Surrie. The eleuenth of April or therabouts, the towne of saint Omers was burnt by casuall fire together with the abbeie, in which towne was such strange and maruellous prouision of engines, and all manner of furniture and preparation for the winning of Calis, as the like had neuer béene séene nor heard of. Some write, that they of Calis standing in doubt of such purueiance, & great preparation deuised to annoie them, procured a yoong man to kindle a fire, whereby all that dreadfull prouision was consumed to ashes, and so they within Calis deliuered of a great great deale of care and feare which they had thereof.

The kings demand in parlement.

A long parlement.

A fifteenth granted. Earle of Surrie deceaseth. Preparation made to win Calis.

*Thom. Walsi.*

¶ But Tho. Walsingham maketh a full & complet declaration, both concerning the dukes devise, & also of the Calesians deliuerance from the danger of the same; which because it perfecteth the report of this present matter, I haue thought good to set downe word for word as I find it in his Hypodigme. About the ninth of April (saith he) the towne of saint Andomair was burned with the abbeie, wherein was hidden and laid vp the execrable prouision of the duke of Burgognie, who had vowed either to destroie the towne of Calis, or else to subdue it to the will and pleasure of the French. There a great manie engines to this daie no where seene, there an excéeding sort of vessels contening poison in them were kept in store, which he had aforehand prouided to cast out to the destruction of the said towne. For he had gathered together serpents, scorpions, todes, and other kinds of venemous things, which he had closed and shut vp in little barrels, that when the flesh or substance of those noisome creatures was rotten, and dissolued into filthie matter, he might laie siege to Calis, and cast the said barrels let out of engines into the towne; which with the violence of the throw being dasht in pièces, might choke them that were within, poison the harnessed men touched therewith, & with their scattered venem infect all the stréets, lanes, & passages of the towne. In the meane time, a certeine yoong man allured with couetousnesse of gold, or lead with affection and loue towards the kings towne, asked of the gouernours what reward he should deserue, that would discharge and set frée the towne from so great a feare, and would burne all the prouision which they suspected. Herevpon they leuied a summe of that yellow metall (namelie gold) wherewith the yoong man contented, went his waie, and with fire readie made for the purpose, did not onelie burne the said venemous matter and infected stufte, but also together with the monasterie almost the whole towne.

*Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Wals. Hypod. pag. 175.*

The engines of the duke of Burgognie against Calis that shot out barrels of poison.

50 Moreouer this yeare sir Robert Umfreuill vice-admeral of England, annoied the countries on the sea coasts of Scotland: for comming into the Forth with ten ships of warre, and lieng there fourtéene daies together, he landed euerie daie on the one side of the riuier or the other, taking preies, spoiles & prisoners; notwithstanding the duke of Albanie, and the earle Dowglas were readie there, with a great power to resist him: he burnt the galliot of Scotland (being a ship of great account) with manie other vessels lieng the same time at the Blackenesh ouer against Lieth. At his returne from thence, he brought with him fourtéene good ships, and manie other great prises of cloathes, both woollen, and linnen, pitch, tarre, woad, flower, meale, wheat and rie, which being sold abroad, the markets were well holpen thereby, so that his surname of Robert Mendmarket séemed verie well to agrée with his qualities, which name he got by this occasion.

Sir Robert Umfreuill viceadmerall.

*Harding..*

His exploit in Scotland.

His surname Robert Mendmarket.

About foure years before this, he burnt the towne of Peples on the market daie, causing his men to meat the cloathes which they got there with their bowes, & so to sell them awaie, wherevpon the Scots named him Robert Mendmarket. Shortlie after his returne from the sea now in this eleuenth yeare of king Henries reigne, he made a road into Scotland by land, hauing with him his nephue yoong Gilbert Umfreuill earle of Angus (commonlie called earle of Kime) being then but fourtéene yeares of age, and this was the first time that the said earle spread his banner. They burnt at that time Iedwoorth, and the most part of Tiuidale. This yeare there died of the bloudie flix in the citie of Burdeaux fourtéene thousand persons, and so sore raged that disease in Gascoigne and Guien, that there wanted people to dresse their vines, and presse their grapes.

By what occasion he came by that surname.

The earle of Angus Umfreuill cōmonlie called erle of Kime.

1411.

An. Reg. 12.

A great death by the flix.

John Prendergest and William Long.

John Prendergest knight, & William Long scowred the seas, as no pirat durst appeare, but that merchants & passengers might passe to & fro in safetie. But yet through disdaine of some that enuied their good successe, the same Prendergest and Long were accused of robberies which they should practise, in spoling such ships as they met with, of diuerse things against the owners wils. Prendergest was driuen to

take sanctuarie at Westminster, and could not be suffered to lodge in anie mans house for feare of the kings displeasure, commanding, that none should receiue him, and so was constreined to set vp a tent within the porch of saint Peters church there, and to haue his seruants to watch nightlie about him for doubt to be murdered of his aduersaries: but his associat William Long laie still at the sea, till the lord admerall hauing prepared certeine vessels went to the sea himselfe in person to fetch him: but yet he could not catch him vntill he had promised him pardon, and vndertaken vpon his fidelitie that he should haue no harme: but notwithstanding all promises, vpon his comming in he was shut vp fast in the Tower, and so for a time remained in durance. The archbishop of Canturburie minding in this season to visit the vniuersitie of Oxenford, could not be suffered, in consideration of priuileges which they pretended to haue.

Long committed to the Tower.

The archbishop of Canturburie not suffred to visit the vniuersitie of Oxenford.

The realme of France in this meane while was disquieted, with the two factions of Burgognie and Orleance, in most miserable wise, as in the French histories it maie further appeare. Neither could the king, being a lunatike person, and féeble of braine, take any full order for reforming of such mischéefs, so that the whole state of the kingdome was maruellouslie brought in decaie: neither tooke those troubles end by the death of the duke of Orleance (murdered at length through the practise of the duke of Burgognie) but rather more perilouslie increased. For the yoong duke of Orleance Charles, sonne to duke Lewes thus murdered, alied himselfe with the dukes of Berrie and Burbon, and with the earles of Alanson & Arminacke, whereby he was so stronglie banded against the duke of Burgognie, whome he defied as his mortall fo and enimie, that the duke of Burgognie fearing the sequele of the matter, thought good (because there was a motion of mariage betwixt the prince of Wales & his daughter) to require aid of king Henrie, who foreséeing that this ciuill discord in France (as it after hapned) might turne his realme to honor and profit, sent to the duke of Burgognie, Thomas earle of Arundell, Gilbert Umfreuill earle of Angus (commonlie called the earle of Kime) sir Robert Umfreuill, vnclie to the same Gilbert, sir Iohn Oldcastell lord Cobham, sir Iohn Greie, and William Porter, with twelue hundred archers.

1412.

France disquieted with two factions. The duke of Orleance murdered.

The earles of Arundell and Angus with others sent to aid the duke of Burgognie.

They tooke shipping at Douer, & landed at Sluis, from whence with speedie iournies in the latter end of this twelfth yeare of king Henries reigne they came to Arras, where they found the duke of Burgognie, of whom they were ioifullie receiued, & from thence he appointed them to go vnto Peron, where he assembled a power also of his owne subjects, and remoouing from thence, he marched through the countrie, by Roie, Bretueill, Beauois, and Gisors, till he came with his armie vnto Pontois, where he remained about the space of thrée wéeks. From Pontois the two and twentieth of October, the duke of Burgognie marched towards Paris, and passing the riuier of Saine at Pont Meulene, he staid not till he came to Paris, into the which he entred the 23 of October, late in the euening. The duke of Orleance laie at the same time at saint Denis, with the more part of his armie, & the residue kept the towne of S. Clou, where a bridge laie ouer the riuier of Saine. On the 9 of Nouember, with hard & sharpe fight the Englishmen gat the towne of saint Clou, with the bridge, slue & drowned nine hundred souldiors that were set there to defend that passage, besides 400 that were taken prisoners. They tooke also about 12 hundred horsse, which they found in the towne, with great riches, whereof the men of warre made their profit.

An. Reg. 13.

Saint Clou taken by the helpe of the Englishmen.

Among other prisoners, sir Manserd de Bos a valiant capteine was taken, and shortlie after put to death, as diuerse other were which the Burgognians bought of the Englishmen that had taken them prisoners. The tower that stood at the end of the bridge could not be woon. At an other bickering also, it chanced that the Englishmen, vnder the leading of the earle of Angus or Kime, had the vpper hand, and tooke manie prisoners, whom the duke of Burgognie would that they should haue béene likewise put to death as traitors to their countrie, but the said earle of Angus answered for himselfe, and the residue of the Englishmen, that they would rather die all in the place, than suffer their prisoners to be vsed otherwise than as men of war ought to be, that is, to haue their liues saued, and to be ransomed according as the law of armes required, and by that meanes they were preserued. The duke of Burgognie hauing the world at will (for the duke of Orleance immediatlie after the losse of saint Clou, departing from saint Denis, got him into the high countries) sent home the Englishmen with hartie thanks, and great rewards.

Sir Manserd de Bos put to death.

*Harding.*

This yeare, the king created his brother Thomas Beauford earle of Dorset; and his sonne the lord Thomas of Lancaster, that was lord steward of England, and earle of Aubemarle, he created duke of Clarence. Iohn duke of Burgognie, hauing now the gouernance both of the French king and his relme, so persecuted the duke of Orleance and his complices, that finallie they for their last refuge required aid of king Henrie, sending ouer vnto him certeine persons as their lawfull procurators (of the which one was called Albert Aubemont, a man of great wit, learning, & audacitie) to offer in name of the confederates vnto the said king Henrie and to his sonnes, certeine conditions, which were made and concluded the yeare of our lord 1412, the eight of Maie. The names of the chiefe confederats were these, Iohn duke of Berrie and earle of Poictou, Charles duke of Orleance, and Valois erle of Blois, and

*Recor. Turris.*  
Creations of noblemen.

*Hall.*

The Orleantiall factiō sueth to the K. of England for aid.

The confederates of the Orleantiall faction.

Beaumont lord of Coucie and Ach, Iohn duke of Bourbon, and Auuergne earle of Clearmont forest, and Lisle lord of Beaulieu, and Casteau Chinon, Iohn duke of Alanson, Barnard earle of Arminacke, and others. The effect of the articles which these confederats were agréed vpon touching their offer to the king of England, were as followeth.

The articles of couenants which they offered to the king of England.

1 First, they offered their bodies, finances, and lands, to serue the king of England, his heires, and successors, in all iust causes and actions, sauing alwaies their allegiance, knowing that he would not further inquire of them.

2 Secondlie, they offered their sonnes and daughters, néeces and nephues, and all other their kinsfolks to be bestowed in marriages accordingly to the pleasure of the king of England.

52 3 Thirdlie, they offered their castels, townes, treasures, & all their other goods, to serue the forsaid king.

4 Fourthlie, they offered their fréends, alies, and well-willers to serue him, being the most part of all the nobles of France, churchmen, clearkes, and honest citizens, as it should well appeare.

5 Fiftlie, they offered to put him in possession of the duchie of Guien, which they were readie to protest to belong vnto the king of England, in like and semblable wise, in libertie and franchises, as any other king of England his predecessor had held and inioied the same.

6 Sixtlie, that they would be readie to recognise the lands which they possessed within that duchie, to hold the same of the king of England, as of the verie true duke of Guien, promising all seruices and homages after the best maner that might be.

7 Seuenthlie, they promised to deliuer vnto the king, as much as laie in them, all townes and castels appertaining to the roialtie and seigniorie of the king of England, which are in number twentie townes and castels: and as to the regard of other townes & fortresses which were not in their hands, they would to the vttermost of their powers, helpe the king of England and his heires to win them out of his aduersaries hands.

8 Eightlie, that the duke of Berrie, as vassall to the king of England; and likewise the duke of Orleance his subiect and vassall, should hold of him by homage and fealtie, the lands and seigniories hereafter following, that is to saie; the duke of Berrie to hold onelie the countie of Ponthieu during his life, and the duke of Orleance to hold the countie of Angulesme during his life, and the countie of Perigourt for euer, and the earle of Arminacke to hold foure castels vpon certeine suerties and conditions, as by indenture should be appointed. For the which offers, couenants and agreements, they requested of the king of England to condescend vnto these conditions insuing.

The conditions which they requested of the king of England.

1 First, that the king of England, as duke of Guien should defend and succor them as he ought to doo, against all men, as their verie lord and souereigne, and speciallie vntill they had executed iustice fullie vpon the duke of Burgognie, for the crime which he committed vpon the person of the duke of Orleance.

2 Secondlie, that he should assist them against the said duke of Burgognie and his fautors; to recouer againe their goods, which by occasion of the said duke and his fréends they had lost and béene deprived of.

3 Thirdlie, that he should likewise aid them in all iust quarels, for recouering of damages doone to their fréends, vassals and subiects.

4 Fourthlie, to helpe and assist them for the concluding and establishing of a firme peace betwixt both the realmes, so far as was possible. ¶ And further they besought the king of England to send vnto them eight thousand men, to aid them against the duke of Burgognie and his complices, which dailie procured the French king to make war vpon them séeking by all waies & meanes how to destroie them.

The king of England louinglie interteined the messengers, and vpon consideration had of their offers, as well for that he detested the shamefull murther of the duke of Orleance (which remained vnpunished by support of such as mainteined the duke of Burgognie, who (as it appeared) would keepe promise no longer than serued his owne turne) as also for that the same offers seemed to make greatlie both for his honor and profit, thought that by the office of a king he was bound in dutie to succour them that cried for iustice, and could not haue it; and namelie sith in right they were his subiects and vassals, he ought to defend them in maintenance of his superioritie and seigniorie. Herevpon as duke of Guien, he tooke vpon him to succor and defend them against all men, as their verie lord and souereigne, and so sending awaie the messengers, promised to send them aid verie shortlie.

53

The king of England  
taketh vpō him to  
defend the Orleantiall  
faction.

This feat was not so secretlie wrought, but that it was knowne streightwaies in France. Wherefore the French kings counsell sent the earle of saint Paule downe into Picardie, with fiftéene hundred horssemen, and a great number of footmen, who approaching to Guisnes, attempted to assault the castell, but was repelled and beaten backe, so that he retired to the towne of saint Quintines, as one that neuer wan gaine at the Englishmens hands, but euer departed from them with losse and dishonor. In this meane season the French king being led by the duke of Burgognie, pursued them that tooke part with the duke of Orleance, commonlie called Arminacks, and after the winning of diuerse townes he besieged the citie of Burges in Berrie, comming before it vpon saturdaye the eleuenth of Iune, with a right huge armie. Within this citie were the dukes of Berrie and Burbon, the earle of Auxerre, the lord Dalbret, the archbishops of Sens and Burges, the bishops of Paris and Chartres, hauing with them fiftéene hundred armed men, and foure hundred archers and arcubalisters.

The earle of saint Paule assaulteth the castell of Guisnes.

His fortune against Englishmen.

There were with the king at this siege, his sonne the duke of Aquitane, otherwise called the Dolphin, the dukes of Burgognie and Bar, and a great number of other earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen; so that the citie was besieged euen till within the Faux burges of that side towards Dun le Roie. The siege continued, till at length through mediation of Philibert de Lignac, lord great maister of the Rhodes, and the marshall of Sauoie, that were both in the kings campe, traouelling betwixt the parties, there were appointed commissioners on both sides to treat for peace, to wit the master of the crosbowes, and the seneshall of Heinalt, and certeine other for the king; and the archbishop of Burges, with the lord of Gaucourt & others for the Orientall side. These cōming together on a fridaie, the fifteenth of Iulie in the Dolphins tent, vsed the matter with such discretion, that they concluded a peace, & so on the wednesdaie next following, the campe brake vp, & the king returned.

A peace concluded betwixt the two factions of Burgognie & Orleance.

Whilist these things were a dooing in France, the lord Henrie prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Henrie, got knowledge that certeine of his fathers seruants were busie to giue informations against him whereby discord might arise betwixt him and his father: for they put into the kings head, not onelie what euill rule (according to the course of youth) the prince kept to the offense of manie: but also what great resort of people came to his house, so that the court was nothing furnished with such a traine as dailie followed the prince. These tales brought no small suspicion into the kings head, least his sonne would presume to vsurpe the crowne, he being yet aliuie, through which suspicious gelousie, it was perceiued that he faouored not his sonne, as in times past he had doone.

The prince of Wales accused to his father. *Iohn Stow.*

The suspicious gelousie of the king toward his son.

The Prince sore offended with such persons, as by slanderous reports, sought not onelie to spot his good name abroad in the realme, but to sow discord also betwixt him and his father, wrote his letters into euerie part of the realme, to reprocue all such slanderous deuises of those that sought his discredit. And to cleare himselfe the better, that the world might vnderstand what wrong he had to be slandered in such wise: about the feast of Peter and Paule, to wit, the nine and twentieth daie of Iune, he came to the court with such a number of noble men and other his frends that wished him well, as the like traine had béene sildome seene repairing to the court at any one time in those daies. He was appparelled in a gowne of blew satten, full of small oilet holes, at euerie hole the néedle hanging by a silke thred with which it was sewed. About his arme he ware an hounds collar set full of S S of gold, and the turrets likewise being of the same metall.

The prince goeth to the court with a great traine.

His strange apparell.

54 The court was then at Westminster, where he being entred into the hall, not one of his companie durst once aduance himselfe further than the fire in the same hall, notwithstanding they were earnestlie requested by the lords to come higher: but they regarding what they had in commandement of the prince, would not presume to doo in any thing contrarie there vnto. He himself onelie accompanied with those of the kings house, was straight admitted to the presence of the king his father, who being at that time gréuouslie diseased, yet caused himselfe in his chaire to be borne into his priuie chamber, where in the presence of thrée or foure persons, in whome he had most confidence, he commanded the prince to shew what he had to saie concerning the cause of his comming.

The prince cōmeth to the kings preséce.

The prince knéeling downe before his father said: "Most redoubted and souereigne lord and father, I am at this time come to your presence as your liege man, and as your naturall sonne, in all things to be at your commandement. And where I vnderstand you haue in suspicion my demeanour against your grace, you know verie well, that if I knew any man within this realme, of whome you should stand in feare, my duetie were to punish that person, thereby to remooue that greefe from your heart. Then how much more ought I to suffer death, to ease your grace of that gréeffe which you haue of me, being your naturall sonne and liege man: and to that end I haue this daie made my selfe readie by confession and receiuing of the sacrament. And therefore I beseech you most redoubted lord and deare father, for the honour of God, to ease your heart of all such suspicion as you haue of me, and to dispatch me héere before your knees, with this same dagger" [and withall he deliuered vnto the king his dagger, in all humble reuerence; adding further, that his life was not so

His words to his father.



deare to him, that he wished to liue one daie with his displeasure] “and therefore in thus ridding me out of life, and your selfe from all suspicion, here in presence of these lords, and before God at the daie of the generall iudgement, I faithfullie protest clearlie to forgiue you.”

The king mooued herewith, cast from him the dagger, and imbracing the prince kissed him, and with shedding teares confessed, that in déed he had him partlie in suspicion, though now (as he perceiued) not with iust cause, and therefore from thencefoorth no misreport should cause him to haue him in mistrust, and this he promised of his honour. So by his great wisdom was the wrongfull suspicion which his father had conceiued against him remooued, and he restored to his fauour. And further, where he could not but gréuouslie complaine of them that had slandered him so greatlie, to the defacing not onelie of his honor, but also putting him in danger of his life, he humblie besought the king that they might answer their vniust accusation; and in case they were found to haue forged such matters vpon a malicious purpose, that then they might suffer some punishment for their faults, though not to the full of that they had deserued. The king séeming to grant his resonable desire, yet told him that he must tarrie a parlement, that such offenders might be punished by iudgement of their péeres: and so for that time he was dismissed, with great loue and signes of fatherlie affection.

The kings wordes to the prince his son.

*Exton.*

The princes request to haue his accusors to answer their wrōgful slanders.

¶ Thus were the father and the sonne reconciled, betwixt whom the said pick-thanks had sowne diuision, insomuch that the sonne vpon a vehement conceit of vnkindnesse sproong in the father, was in the waie to be worne out of fauour. Which was the more likelie to come to passe, by their informations that priuillie charged him with riot and other vnciuill demeanor vnséemelie for a prince. Indeed he was youthfullie giuen, growne to audacitie, and had chosen him companions agréable to his age; with whome he spent the time in such recreations, exercises, and delights as he fansied. But yet (it should séeme by the report of some writers) that his behaiour was not offensiue or at least tending to the damage of anie bodie; sith he had a care to auoid dooing of wrong, and to tender his affections within the tract of vertue, whereby he opened vnto himselfe a redie passage of good liking among the prudent sort, and was beloued of such as could discerne his disposition, which was in no degree so excessiue, as that he deserued in such vehement maner to be suspected. In whose dispraise I find little, but to his praise verie much, parcell whereof I will deliuer by the waie as a metyard whereby the residue may be measured. The late poet that versified the warres of the valorous Englishmen, speaking of the issue of Henrie the fourth saith of this prince (among other things) as followeth:

*Abr. Fl. out of Angl. præliis.*

55

—procero qui natu maximus hæres  
Corpore, progressus cùm pubertatis ad annos  
Esset, res gessit multas iuueniliter audax,  
Asciscens comites quo spar sibi iunxerat ætas,  
Nil tamen iniustè commisit, nil tamen vnquam  
Extra virtutis normam, sapientibus æquè  
Ac aliis charus.

*In Angl. præliis, sub. Hen. 4.*

About the same time, Iohn Prendergest knight, being restored to the kings fauour, with thirtie ships scowred the seas, tooke good prises of wine and vitels, which reléued the commons greatlie. Amongst other enterprises, he landed vpon the sudden at Craal on the faire day, tooke the towne, and robbed the faire, so as they that were come thither to sell their wares, had quicke vtterance and slow payment. King Henrie vnderstanding that the French king by setting on of the duke of Burgognie in pursuing the contrarie faction, had besieged the citie of Burges (as before yée haue heard) determined with all spéed to aid the duke of Orleance, & so about the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, he sent ouer an armie of eight hundred men of armes, and nine thousand archers, vnder the leading of his second sonne the duke of Clarence accompanied with Edward duke of Yorke, Thomas earle of Dorset and diuerse other noble men and worthie capteins. They landed in the Baie de la Hogue saint Wast, in the countrie of Constantine. The Englishmen swarmed like bées round about the countrie, robbing and spoiling the same.

Sir Iohn Prendergest restored to the kings fauour is sent to sea.

The duke of Clarence sent to aid the duke of Orleance.

Shortlie after their departure from the place where they landed, there came to them six hundred armed men of Gascoignes that were inrolled at Burdeaux. When newes thereof came to the French court, being then at Auxerre, incontinentlie the earles of Alanson and Richmond were dispatched to go vnto the English campe, bicause they had euer béene partakers with the duke of Orleance, to giue them thanks for their paines, and to aduertise them of the peace that had beene latelie concluded betwixt the parties, and therefore to take order with them, that they might be satisfied, so as they should not spoile & waste the countrie, as they had begun. But whereas the Englishmen were gréedie to haue, and the duke of Orleance was not rich to paie, they marched on towards Guien in good order, and what by sacking of townes, and ransoming of rich prisoners, they got great treasure, and manie good preies and booties.

*Enguerant.*

The earle of Alanson and Richmond sent to the duke of Clarence.

The duke of Clarence marcheth toward Guien.

Being passed the riuer of Loire they spoiled the towne of Beaulieu, and with fire and sword wasted the countries of Touraine and Maine. The lord de Rambures appointed

*Enguerant.*  
The lord of Rambures.  
The earles of Kent &

to resist such violence, was easilie vanquished. Moreouer, to the aid of the duke of Orleance, the king of England sent ouer to Calis the earls of Kent and Warwike, with two thousand fighting men, which spoiled and wasted the countrie of Bullennois, burnt the towne of Samer de Bois, and tooke with assault the fortresse of Russalt, and diuerse other. This yeare, the king abased the coines of his gold and siluer, causing the same to be currant in this realme, at such value as the other was valued before, where indéed the noble was woorsse by foure pence than the former, and so likewise of the siluer, the coines whereof he appointed to be currant after the same rate. ¶ In this yeare, and vpon the twelfth day of October, were thrée floods in the Thames, the one following vpon the other, & no ebbing betweene: which thing no man then liuing could remember the like to be seene.

Warwike sent ouer to Calis.

*Fabian.* Coine changed.

*Abr. Fl.* out of *Fabian*, pag. 388. Thrée floods without ebbing between.

56 ¶ In this kings time, and in the eighth yeare of his reigne (as Richard Grafton hath recorded) a worthie citizen of London named Richard Whittington, mercer and alderman, was elected maior of the said citie, and bare that office three times. This man so bestowed his goods and substance, that he hath well deserued to be registred in chronicles. First he erected one house or church in London to be a house of praier, and named the same after his owne name, Whittington college, remaining at this daie. In the said church, besides certeine preests and clearks, he placed a number of poore aged men and women, builded for them houses and lodgings, and allowed them wood coles, cloth, and wéekelie monie to their great reléefe and comfort. This man also at his owne cost builded the gate of London called Newgate in the yéere of our Lord 1422, which before was a most ouglie and lothsome prison. He also builded more than the halfe of S. Bartholomews hospitall in west Smithfield. He builded likewise the beautifull librarie in the graie friers in London now called Christs hospitall, standing in the north part of the cloister thereof, where in the wall his armes be grauen in stone. He also builded for the ease of the maior of London, his brethren, and the worshipfull citizens, on the solemne daies of their assemblie, a chapell adioining to the Guildhall; to the intent that before they entered into anie of their worldlie affaires, they should begin with praier and inuocation to God for his assistance: at the end ioining to the south part of the said chapell, he builded for the citie a librarie of stone, for the custodie of their records and other bookes. He also builded a great part of the east end of Guildhall; and did manie other good déeds worthie of imitation. By a writing of this mans owne hand, which he willed to be fixed as a schedule to his last will and testament, it appeareth what a pitifull and relenting heart he had at other mens miseries, and did not onelie wish but also did what he could procure for their releefe. In so much that he charged and commanded his executors, as they would answer before God at the daie of the resurrection of all flesh, that if they found anie debtor of his, whome if in conscience they thought not to be well worth three times as much as they owght him, and also out of other mens debt, and well able to paie, that then they should neuer demand it; for he clearelie forgaué it: and that they should put no man in sute for anie debt due to him: A worthie memoriall of a notable minded gentleman.

*Abr. Fl.* out of *R. Grafton*, pag. 433, 434, in folio.

Whittington college erected.

Charitie. Newgate builded.

S. Bartholomews hospital.

Guildhall chapell.

Guildhall enlarged.

Yée haue heard how the duke of Clarence and his armie did much hurt in the realme of France, in places as he passed: wherevpon at length, the duke of Orleance being earnestlie called vpon to dispatch the Englishmen out of France, according to an article comprised in the conclusion of the peace, he came to the duke of Clarence, rendering to him and his armie a thousand gramersies, and disbursed to them as much monie as he or his fréends might easilie spare; and for the rest being two hundred and nine thousand frankes remaining vnpaid, he deliuered in gage his second brother, Iohn duke of Angolesme, which was grandfather to king Francis the first, that reigned in our daies, sir Marcell de Burges, and sir Iohn de Samoures, sir Archembald Viliers, and diuerse other, which earle continued long in England, as after shall appeare. When this agreement was thus made betwixt the dukes of Orleance and Clarence, the English armie with rich preies, booties and prisoners came to Burdéaux, making warre on the frontiers of France, to their great game. In this meane while, the lord of Helie, one of the marshals of France, with an armie of foure thousand men, besieged a certeine fortresse in Guien, which an English knight, one sir Iohn Blunt kept, who with thrée hundred men that came to his aid, discomfited, chased, and ouerthrew the French power, tooke prisoners twelue men of name, and other gentlemen to the number of six score, and amongst other, the said marshall, who was sent ouer into England, and put in the castell of Wissebet, from whence he escaped, and got ouer into France, where seruing the duke of Orleance at the battell of Agincort he was slaine among other.

**An. Reg. 14.**  
The Duke of Orleance cometh to the English armie.

The lord of Helie marshall of France.

Sir Iohn Blunt.

57 In this fourtéenth and last yeare of king Henries reigne, a councill was holden in the white friers in London, at the which, among other things, order was taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made readie, and all other things necessarie to be provided for a voiage which he meant to make into the holie land, there to recouer the citie of Ierusalem from the Infidels. For it gréeued him to consider the great malice of christian princes, that were bent vpon a mischéefous purpose to destroie one another, to the perill of their owne soules, rather than to make war against the enimies of the christian faith, as in conscience (it séemed to him) they were bound. He held his Christmas this yeare at Eltham, being sore vexed with sicknesse, so that it was thought sometime, that he had beene dead; notwithstanding it pleased God

*Fabian.* The K. meant to haue made a iournie against the Infidels.

The king is vexed with sicknesse.

that he somewhat recovered his strength againe, and so passed that Christmasse with as much ioy as he might.

The morrow after Candlemas daie began a parlement, which he had called at London, but he departed this life before the same parlement was ended: for now that his prouisions were readie, and that he was furnished with sufficient treasure, soldiers, capteins, vittels, munitions, tall ships, strong gallies, and all things necessarie for such a roiall iournie as he pretended to take into the holie land, he was eftsoons taken with a sore sicknesse, which was not a leprosie, stricken by the hand of God (saith maister Hall) as foolish friers imagined; but a verie apoplexie, of the which he languished till his appointed houre, and had none other gréeffe nor maladie; so that what man ordeineth, God altereth at his good will and pleasure, not giuing place more to the prince, than to the poorest creature liuing, when he séeth his time to dispose of him this waie or that, as to his omnipotent power and diuine prouidence seemeth expedient. During this his last sicknesse, he caused his crowne (as some write) to be set on a pillow at his beds head, and suddenlie his pangs so sore troubled him, that he laie as though all his vitall spirits had beene from him departed. Such as were about him, thinking verelie that he had béene departed, couered his face with a linnen cloth.

The prince his sonne being hereof aduertised, entered into the chamber, tooke the crowne, and departed. The father being suddenlie reuiued out of that trance, quicklie perceiued the lacke of his crowne; and hauing knowledge that the prince his sonne had taken it awaie, caused him to come before his presence, requiring of him what he meant so to misuse himselfe. The prince with a good audacitie answered; "Sir, to mine and all mens iudgements you seemed dead in this world, wherefore I as your next heire apparant tooke that as mine owne, and not as yours." Well faire sonne (said the king with a great sigh) what right I had to it, God knoweth. Well (said the prince) if you die king, I will haue the garland, and trust to kéepe it with the sword against all mine enimies as you haue doone. Then said the king, "I commit all to God, and remember you to doo well." With that he turned himselfe in his bed, and shortlie after departed to God in a chamber of the abbats of Westminster called Ierusalem, the twentieth daie of March, in the yeare 1413, and in the yeare of his age 46, when he had reigned thirteene yeares, fiue moneths and od daies, in great perplexitie and little pleasure [or fourtéene yeares, as some haue noted, who name not the disease whereof he died, but refer it to sicknesse absolutelie, whereby his time of departure did approach and fetch him out of the world: as Ch. Okl. saith, whose words may serue as a funerall epigramme in memoriall of the said king Henrie:

Henricus quartus his septem rexerat annos  
Anglorum gentem summa cum laude & amore,  
Iamq; senescenti fatalis terminus æui  
Ingruerat, morbus fatalem accerserat horam.]

1413.

A parlement.

The k. sick of an apoplexie.  
*Hall.*

*Hall.*

The prince taketh awaie the crowne before his father was dead.

He is blamed of the king.  
His answer.  
A guiltie conscience in extremitie of sicknesse pincheth sore.

The death of Henrie the fourth.

*Ab. Fl. out of Angl. præl. sub. Hen. 4*

58 We find, that he was taken with his last sicknesse, while he was making his praiers at saint Edwards shrine, there as it were to take his leaue, and so to procéed foorth on his iournie: he was so suddenlie and greeuouslie taken, that such as were about him, feared least he would haue died presentlie, wherfore to reléeue him (if it were possible) they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the abbat of Westminster, where they laid him on a pallet before the fire, and vsed all remedies to reuiue him. At length, he recovered his spéech, and vnderstanding and perceiuing himselfe in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to know if the chamber had anie particular name, wherevnto answer was made, that it was called Ierusalem. Then said the king; "Lauds be giuen to the father of heauen, for now I know that I shall die heere in this chamber, according to the prophesie of me declared, that I should depart this life in Ierusalem."

*Fabian.*

Whether this was true that so he spake, as one that gaue too much credit to foolish prophesies & vaine tales, or whether it was fained, as in such cases it commonlie happeneth, we leaue it to the aduised reader to iudge. His bodie with all funerall pompe was conueied vnto Canturburie, and there solemnlie buried, leauing behind him by the ladie Marie daughter to the lord Humfrie Bohun earle of Hereford and Northampton, Henrie prince of Wales, Thomas duke of Clarence, Iohn duke of Bedford, Humfrie duke of Gloucester, Blanch duchesse of Bauier, and Philip quéene of Denmarke: by his last wife Iane, he had no children. This king was of a meane stature, well proportioned, and formallie compact, quicke and liuelie, and of a stout courage. In his latter daies he shewed himselfe so gentle, that he gat more loue amongst the nobles and people of this realme, than he had purchased malice and euill will in the beginning.

He is buried at Canturburie.

His issue.

His stature.

But yet to speake a truth, by his proceedings, after he had attained to the crowne, what with such taxes, tallages, subsidies, and exactions as he was constreined to charge the people with; and what by punishing such as mooued with disdeine to see him vsurpe the crowne (contrarie to the oth taken at his entring into this land, vpon his returne from exile) did at sundrie times rebell against him, he wan himselfe more hatred, than in all his life time (if it had beene longer by manie yeares than it was) had beene possible for him to haue weeded out & remooued. And yet doubtlesse,

woorthie were his subjects to tast of that bitter cup, sithens they were so readie to ioine and clappe hands with him, for the deposing of their rightfull and naturall prince king Richard, whose chéefe fault rested onlie in that, that he was too bountifull to his fréends, and too mercifull to his foes; speciallie if he had not béene drawne by others, to séeke reuenge of those that abused his good and courteous nature. ¶ But now to returne to the matter present. The duke of Clarence immediatlie vpon knowlege had of his father king Henrie the fourth his death, returned out of Guien into England, with the earle of Angolesme, and other prisoners.

Now will we rehearse what writers of our English nation liued in the daies of this king. That renowned poet Geffrie Chaucer is woorthilie named as principall, a man so exquisitlie learned in all sciences, that his match was not lightlie found any where in those daies; and for reducing our English toong to a perfect conformitie, he hath excelled therein all other; he departed this life about the yeare of our Lord 1402, as Bale gathereth: but by other it appeareth, that he deceased the fiue and twentieth of October in the yeare 1400, and lieth buried at Westminster, in the south part of the great church there, as by a monument erected by Nicholas Brigham it doth appeare. Iohn Gower descended of that worthie familie of the Gowers of Stitenham in Yorkeshire (as Leland noteth) studied not onelie the common lawes of this realme, but also other kinds of literature, and great knowledge in the same, namelie in poetically inuentions, applieng his indeuor with Chaucer, to garnish the English toong, in bringing it from a rude vnperfectnesse, vnto a more apt elegancie: for whereas before those daies, the learned vsed to write onelie in Latine or French, and not in English, our toong remained verie barren, rude, and vnperfect; but now by the diligent industrie of Chaucer and Gower, it was within a while greatlie amended, so as it grew not onelie verie rich and plentiful in words, but also so proper and apt to expresse that which the mind conceiued, as anie other vsuall language. Gower departed this life shortlie after the deceasse of his déere and louing freend Chaucer; to wit, in the yeare 1402, being then come to great age, and blind for a certeine time before his death. He was buried in the church of saint Marie Oueries in Southwarke.

*Iohn Stow.*

59

Moreouer, Hugh Legat borne in Hertfordshire, and a monke of saint Albons, wrote scholies vpon Architrenius of Iohn Hanuill, and also vpon Boetius De consolatione; Roger Alington, chancellor of the vniuersitie of Oxford, a great sophister, & an enimie to the doctrine of Wickliffe; Iohn Botrell, a logician; Nicholas Gorham, borne in a village of the same name in Hertfordshire, a Dominike frier, first proceeded master of art in Oxenford, and after going to Paris, became the French kings confessor, and therefore hath béene of some taken to be a Frenchman; Iohn Lilleshull, so called of a monasterie in the west parties of this realme whereof he was gouernour; Walter Disse, so called of a towne in Norfolke where he was borne, first a Carmelite frier professed in Norwich, and after going to Cambridge, he there procéded doctor, he was also confessor to the duke of Lancaster, and to his wife the duchesse Constance, & a great setter foorth of pope Urbans cause against the other popes that were by him and those of his faction named the antipapes; Thomas Maldon, so called of the towne of that name in Essex where he was borne: Iohn Edo, descended out of Wales by linage, and borne in Herefordshire, a Franciscane frier.

Adde to the forenamed, Nicholas Fakingham, borne in Norfolke, a greie frier, procéded doctor in Oxenford, a great diuine, and an excellent philosopher, prouinciall of his order here in England; Laurence Holbecke, a monke of Ramsie, well séene in the Hebrue toong, and wrote thereof a dictionarie; Iohn Colton, archbishop of Ardmach; Iohn Marrie, so called of a village in Yorkeshire where he was borne, a Carmelite of Doncaster; Richard Chefer borne in Norfolke, a diuine, and an Augustine frier in Norwich; Iohn Lathburie, a Franciscane frier of Reading; Nicholas Poutz; Richard Scroope brother to William Scroope, lord treasurer of England, studied in Cambridge, and proceeded there doctor of both the lawes, became an aduocat in the court of Rome, and afterwards was aduanced to the gouernement of the see of Couentrie and Lichfield, and at length was remooued from thence, and made archbishop of Yorke, he wrote an inuectiue against king Henrie, and at length lost his head, as before ye haue heard; Iohn Wrotham, a Carmelite frier of London, and after made warden of an house of his order in Calis.

Furthermore, Iohn Colbie, a Carmelite frier of Norwich; William Thorpe a northerne man borne, and student in Oxenford, an excellent diuine, and an earnest follower of that famous clearke Iohn Wickliffe, a notable preacher of the word, expressing his doctrine no lesse in trade of life, than in speech, he was at length apprehended by commandement of the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell, and committed to prison in Saltwood castell, where at length he died; Stephen Patrington, borne in Yorkeshire, a frier Carmelite, prouinciall of his order through England, of which brood there were at that season 1500 within this land, he was bishop of saint Dauids, and confessor to king Henrie the fift, about the fift yeare of whose reigne he deceased; Robert Mascall, a Carmelite frier of Ludlow, confessor also to the said K. who made him bishop of Hereford; Reginald Langham, a frier minor of Norwich: Actonus Dommicanus; Thomas Palmer, warden of the Blacke friers within the citie of London; Boston of Burie, a monke of the abbeie of Burie in Suffolke, wrote a catalog of all the writers of the church, and other treatises.

*Acts and moments of Iohn Fox.*

60

Moreouer, Thomas Peuerell, a frier Carmelite, borne in Suffolke, he was aduanced to the sée of Ossorie in Ireland by Richard the second, and after by pope Boniface the ninth remooued to Landaffe in Wales, and from thence called by Henrie the fourth, with consent of pope Gregorie the twelwe, to gouerne the sée of Worcester, and so continued bishop of that citie, vntill he ended his life in the yeare of our Lord 1418, which was about the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fift; Iohn Purueie, an excellent diuine, procéded master of art in Oxenford, he was apprehended for such doctrine as he taught, contrarie to the ordinances of the church of Rome, and was at length compelled by Thomas Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, to recant at Paules crosse seuen speciall articles, he wrote diuerse treatises, & was the second time committed to prison in king Henrie the fift his daies, by Henrie Chichleie, that succeeded Arundell in gouernement of the church of Canturburie; William Holme, a greie frier (and a good physician for curing diseases of the bodie, whatsoever his physicke was for the soule) he liued vntill Henrie the fift his daies, and deceased about the fourth yeare of his reigne; Nicholas Baiard, a blacke frier, a doctor of diuinitie professed at Oxenford; Thomas Rudburne, archdeacon of Sudburie, and bishop of saint Dauids in Wales, succéeding after Stephan Patrington, he wrote a chronicle, and certeine epistles (as Iohn Bale noteth.)

Sée maister *Fox*, in his booke of Acts, and monuments.

Finallie and to conclude, Nicholas Riston, who being sore greeued in mind, as diuerse other in those daies, to consider what inconuenience redounded to the church, by reason of the strife and bralling among the prelates for the acknowleging of a lawfull pope, two or thrée still contending for that dignitie, wrote a booke, intituled *De tollendo schismate*; Iohn Walter, an excellent mathematician, being first brought vp of a scholer in the college of Winchester, and after studied at Oxenford; Thomas of Newmarket, taking that surname of the towne in Cambridgeshire where he was borne, he for his worthinesse (as was thought) was made bishop of Careleill, well séene both in other sciences, and also in diuinitie; William Auger a Franciscane frier, of an house of that order in Bridgewater; Peter Russell a graie frier, and of his order the prouinciall héere in England; Iohn Langton, a Carmelite; Robert Wantham a moonke of Cernelie in Dorsetshire, wrote a booke in verse, of the originall and signification of words; William Norton, a Franciscane frier of Couentrie; Hugh Sueth, a blacke frier, and a great preacher; Richard Folsham a moonke of Norwich; Robert Wimbeldon, a singular diuine, and an excellent preacher, as appeareth by the sermon which he made vpon this text, *Redde rationem villicationis tuæ*.

Acts and monuments.

Thus farre Henrie Plantagenet sonne to Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancaster.

---

[*Original Title.*]

THE  
THIRD VOLUME  
OF  
**C H R O N I C L E S,**  
BEGINNING AT  
**DUKE WILLIAM THE NORMAN, COMMONLIE CALLED THE  
CONQUEROR;**  
AND  
***DESCENDING BY DEGREES OF YEERES***  
TO ALL THE  
**KINGS AND QUEENES OF ENGLAND**  
IN THEIR  
**ORDERLIE SUCCESSIONS:**  
FIRST COMPILED BY  
***RAPHAELL HOLINSHED,***

AND BY HIM EXTENDED TO THE

YEARE 1577.

NOW NEWLIE RECOGNISED, AUGMENTED, AND CONTINUED

(WITH OCCURRENCES AND ACCIDENTS OF FRESH MEMORIE)

TO THE YEARE 1586.

WHEREIN ALSO ARE CONTEINED MANIE MATTERS OF SINGULAR  
DISCOURSE

AND RARE OBSERUATION,

*FRUITFULL TO SUCH AS BE STUDIOUS IN ANTIQUITIES,*

OR

TAKE PLEASURE IN THE GROUNDS OF ANCIENT HISTORIES.

*With a third table (peculiarlie seruing this third volume) both of names and  
matters memorable.*

HISTORIE PLACEANT NOSTRATES AC PEREGRNÆ.

\*\*\* END OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES (3 OF 6): HISTORIE  
OF ENGLAND (1 OF 9) \*\*\*

Updated editions will replace the previous one—the old editions will be renamed.

Creating the works from print editions not protected by U.S. copyright law means that no one owns a United States copyright in these works, so the Foundation (and you!) can copy and distribute it in the United States without permission and without paying copyright royalties. Special rules, set forth in the General Terms of Use part of this license, apply to copying and distributing Project Gutenberg™ electronic works to protect the PROJECT GUTENBERG™ concept and trademark. Project Gutenberg is a registered trademark, and may not be used if you charge for an eBook, except by following the terms of the trademark license, including paying royalties for use of the Project Gutenberg trademark. If you do not charge anything for copies of this eBook, complying with the trademark license is very easy. You may use this eBook for nearly any purpose such as creation of derivative works, reports, performances and research. Project Gutenberg eBooks may be modified and printed and given away—you may do practically ANYTHING in the United States with eBooks not protected by U.S. copyright law. Redistribution is subject to the trademark license, especially commercial redistribution.

START: FULL LICENSE

THE FULL PROJECT GUTENBERG LICENSE

PLEASE READ THIS BEFORE YOU DISTRIBUTE OR USE THIS WORK

To protect the Project Gutenberg™ mission of promoting the free distribution of electronic works, by using or distributing this work (or any other work associated in any way with the phrase “Project Gutenberg”), you agree to comply with all the terms of the Full Project Gutenberg™ License available with this file or online at [www.gutenberg.org/license](http://www.gutenberg.org/license).

## **Section 1. General Terms of Use and Redistributing Project Gutenberg™ electronic works**

1.A. By reading or using any part of this Project Gutenberg™ electronic work, you indicate that you have read, understand, agree to and accept all the terms of this license and intellectual property (trademark/copyright) agreement. If you do not agree to abide by all the terms of this agreement, you must cease using and return or destroy all copies of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works in your possession. If you paid a fee for obtaining a copy of or access to a Project Gutenberg™ electronic work and you do not agree to be bound by the terms of this agreement, you may obtain a refund from the person or entity to whom you paid the fee as set forth in paragraph 1.E.8.

1.B. "Project Gutenberg" is a registered trademark. It may only be used on or associated in any way with an electronic work by people who agree to be bound by the terms of this agreement. There are a few things that you can do with most Project Gutenberg™ electronic works even without complying with the full terms of this agreement. See paragraph 1.C below. There are a lot of things you can do with Project Gutenberg™ electronic works if you follow the terms of this agreement and help preserve free future access to Project Gutenberg™ electronic works. See paragraph 1.E below.

1.C. The Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation ("the Foundation" or PGLAF), owns a compilation copyright in the collection of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works. Nearly all the individual works in the collection are in the public domain in the United States. If an individual work is unprotected by copyright law in the United States and you are located in the United States, we do not claim a right to prevent you from copying, distributing, performing, displaying or creating derivative works based on the work as long as all references to Project Gutenberg are removed. Of course, we hope that you will support the Project Gutenberg™ mission of promoting free access to electronic works by freely sharing Project Gutenberg™ works in compliance with the terms of this agreement for keeping the Project Gutenberg™ name associated with the work. You can easily comply with the terms of this agreement by keeping this work in the same format with its attached full Project Gutenberg™ License when you share it without charge with others.

1.D. The copyright laws of the place where you are located also govern what you can do with this work. Copyright laws in most countries are in a constant state of change. If you are outside the United States, check the laws of your country in addition to the terms of this agreement before downloading, copying, displaying, performing, distributing or creating derivative works based on this work or any other Project Gutenberg™ work. The Foundation makes no representations concerning the copyright status of any work in any country other than the United States.

1.E. Unless you have removed all references to Project Gutenberg:

1.E.1. The following sentence, with active links to, or other immediate access to, the full Project Gutenberg™ License must appear prominently whenever any copy of a Project Gutenberg™ work (any work on which the phrase "Project Gutenberg" appears, or with which the phrase "Project Gutenberg" is associated) is accessed, displayed, performed, viewed, copied or distributed:

This eBook is for the use of anyone anywhere in the United States and most other parts of the world at no cost and with almost no restrictions whatsoever. You may copy it, give it away or re-use it under the terms of the Project Gutenberg License included with this eBook or online at [www.gutenberg.org](http://www.gutenberg.org). If you are not located in the United States, you will have to check the laws of the country where you are located before using this eBook.

1.E.2. If an individual Project Gutenberg™ electronic work is derived from texts not protected by U.S. copyright law (does not contain a notice indicating that it is posted with permission of the copyright holder), the work can be copied and distributed to anyone in the United States without paying any fees or charges. If you are redistributing or providing access to a work with the phrase "Project Gutenberg" associated with or appearing on the work, you must comply either with the requirements of paragraphs 1.E.1 through 1.E.7 or obtain permission for the use of the work and the Project Gutenberg™ trademark as set forth in paragraphs 1.E.8 or 1.E.9.

1.E.3. If an individual Project Gutenberg™ electronic work is posted with the permission of the copyright holder, your use and distribution must comply with both paragraphs 1.E.1 through 1.E.7 and any additional terms imposed by the copyright holder. Additional terms will be linked to the Project Gutenberg™ License for all works posted with the permission of the copyright holder found at the beginning of this work.

1.E.4. Do not unlink or detach or remove the full Project Gutenberg™ License terms from this work, or any files containing a part of this work or any other work associated with Project Gutenberg™.

1.E.5. Do not copy, display, perform, distribute or redistribute this electronic work, or any part of this electronic work, without prominently displaying the sentence set forth in paragraph 1.E.1 with active links or immediate access to the full terms of the Project Gutenberg™ License.

1.E.6. You may convert to and distribute this work in any binary, compressed,

marked up, nonproprietary or proprietary form, including any word processing or hypertext form. However, if you provide access to or distribute copies of a Project Gutenberg™ work in a format other than “Plain Vanilla ASCII” or other format used in the official version posted on the official Project Gutenberg™ website (www.gutenberg.org), you must, at no additional cost, fee or expense to the user, provide a copy, a means of exporting a copy, or a means of obtaining a copy upon request, of the work in its original “Plain Vanilla ASCII” or other form. Any alternate format must include the full Project Gutenberg™ License as specified in paragraph 1.E.1.

1.E.7. Do not charge a fee for access to, viewing, displaying, performing, copying or distributing any Project Gutenberg™ works unless you comply with paragraph 1.E.8 or 1.E.9.

1.E.8. You may charge a reasonable fee for copies of or providing access to or distributing Project Gutenberg™ electronic works provided that:

- You pay a royalty fee of 20% of the gross profits you derive from the use of Project Gutenberg™ works calculated using the method you already use to calculate your applicable taxes. The fee is owed to the owner of the Project Gutenberg™ trademark, but he has agreed to donate royalties under this paragraph to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation. Royalty payments must be paid within 60 days following each date on which you prepare (or are legally required to prepare) your periodic tax returns. Royalty payments should be clearly marked as such and sent to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation at the address specified in Section 4, “Information about donations to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation.”
- You provide a full refund of any money paid by a user who notifies you in writing (or by e-mail) within 30 days of receipt that s/he does not agree to the terms of the full Project Gutenberg™ License. You must require such a user to return or destroy all copies of the works possessed in a physical medium and discontinue all use of and all access to other copies of Project Gutenberg™ works.
- You provide, in accordance with paragraph 1.F.3, a full refund of any money paid for a work or a replacement copy, if a defect in the electronic work is discovered and reported to you within 90 days of receipt of the work.
- You comply with all other terms of this agreement for free distribution of Project Gutenberg™ works.

1.E.9. If you wish to charge a fee or distribute a Project Gutenberg™ electronic work or group of works on different terms than are set forth in this agreement, you must obtain permission in writing from the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, the manager of the Project Gutenberg™ trademark. Contact the Foundation as set forth in Section 3 below.

1.F.

1.F.1. Project Gutenberg volunteers and employees expend considerable effort to identify, do copyright research on, transcribe and proofread works not protected by U.S. copyright law in creating the Project Gutenberg™ collection. Despite these efforts, Project Gutenberg™ electronic works, and the medium on which they may be stored, may contain “Defects,” such as, but not limited to, incomplete, inaccurate or corrupt data, transcription errors, a copyright or other intellectual property infringement, a defective or damaged disk or other medium, a computer virus, or computer codes that damage or cannot be read by your equipment.

1.F.2. LIMITED WARRANTY, DISCLAIMER OF DAMAGES - Except for the “Right of Replacement or Refund” described in paragraph 1.F.3, the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, the owner of the Project Gutenberg™ trademark, and any other party distributing a Project Gutenberg™ electronic work under this agreement, disclaim all liability to you for damages, costs and expenses, including legal fees. YOU AGREE THAT YOU HAVE NO REMEDIES FOR NEGLIGENCE, STRICT LIABILITY, BREACH OF WARRANTY OR BREACH OF CONTRACT EXCEPT THOSE PROVIDED IN PARAGRAPH 1.F.3. YOU AGREE THAT THE FOUNDATION, THE TRADEMARK OWNER, AND ANY DISTRIBUTOR UNDER THIS AGREEMENT WILL NOT BE LIABLE TO YOU FOR ACTUAL, DIRECT, INDIRECT, CONSEQUENTIAL, PUNITIVE OR INCIDENTAL DAMAGES EVEN IF YOU GIVE NOTICE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH DAMAGE.

1.F.3. LIMITED RIGHT OF REPLACEMENT OR REFUND - If you discover a defect in this electronic work within 90 days of receiving it, you can receive a refund of the money (if any) you paid for it by sending a written explanation to



the person you received the work from. If you received the work on a physical medium, you must return the medium with your written explanation. The person or entity that provided you with the defective work may elect to provide a replacement copy in lieu of a refund. If you received the work electronically, the person or entity providing it to you may choose to give you a second opportunity to receive the work electronically in lieu of a refund. If the second copy is also defective, you may demand a refund in writing without further opportunities to fix the problem.

1.F.4. Except for the limited right of replacement or refund set forth in paragraph 1.F.3, this work is provided to you 'AS-IS', WITH NO OTHER WARRANTIES OF ANY KIND, EXPRESS OR IMPLIED, INCLUDING BUT NOT LIMITED TO WARRANTIES OF MERCHANTABILITY OR FITNESS FOR ANY PURPOSE.

1.F.5. Some states do not allow disclaimers of certain implied warranties or the exclusion or limitation of certain types of damages. If any disclaimer or limitation set forth in this agreement violates the law of the state applicable to this agreement, the agreement shall be interpreted to make the maximum disclaimer or limitation permitted by the applicable state law. The invalidity or unenforceability of any provision of this agreement shall not void the remaining provisions.

1.F.6. INDEMNITY - You agree to indemnify and hold the Foundation, the trademark owner, any agent or employee of the Foundation, anyone providing copies of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works in accordance with this agreement, and any volunteers associated with the production, promotion and distribution of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works, harmless from all liability, costs and expenses, including legal fees, that arise directly or indirectly from any of the following which you do or cause to occur: (a) distribution of this or any Project Gutenberg™ work, (b) alteration, modification, or additions or deletions to any Project Gutenberg™ work, and (c) any Defect you cause.

## **Section 2. Information about the Mission of Project Gutenberg™**

Project Gutenberg™ is synonymous with the free distribution of electronic works in formats readable by the widest variety of computers including obsolete, old, middle-aged and new computers. It exists because of the efforts of hundreds of volunteers and donations from people in all walks of life.

Volunteers and financial support to provide volunteers with the assistance they need are critical to reaching Project Gutenberg™'s goals and ensuring that the Project Gutenberg™ collection will remain freely available for generations to come. In 2001, the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation was created to provide a secure and permanent future for Project Gutenberg™ and future generations. To learn more about the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation and how your efforts and donations can help, see Sections 3 and 4 and the Foundation information page at [www.gutenberg.org](http://www.gutenberg.org).

## **Section 3. Information about the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation**

The Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation is a non-profit 501(c)(3) educational corporation organized under the laws of the state of Mississippi and granted tax exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service. The Foundation's EIN or federal tax identification number is 64-6221541. Contributions to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation are tax deductible to the full extent permitted by U.S. federal laws and your state's laws.

The Foundation's business office is located at 809 North 1500 West, Salt Lake City, UT 84116, (801) 596-1887. Email contact links and up to date contact information can be found at the Foundation's website and official page at [www.gutenberg.org/contact](http://www.gutenberg.org/contact)

## **Section 4. Information about Donations to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation**

Project Gutenberg™ depends upon and cannot survive without widespread public support and donations to carry out its mission of increasing the number of public domain and licensed works that can be freely distributed in machine-readable form accessible by the widest array of equipment including outdated equipment. Many small donations (\$1 to \$5,000) are particularly important to maintaining tax exempt status with the IRS.

The Foundation is committed to complying with the laws regulating charities and

charitable donations in all 50 states of the United States. Compliance requirements are not uniform and it takes a considerable effort, much paperwork and many fees to meet and keep up with these requirements. We do not solicit donations in locations where we have not received written confirmation of compliance. To SEND DONATIONS or determine the status of compliance for any particular state visit [www.gutenberg.org/donate](http://www.gutenberg.org/donate).

While we cannot and do not solicit contributions from states where we have not met the solicitation requirements, we know of no prohibition against accepting unsolicited donations from donors in such states who approach us with offers to donate.

International donations are gratefully accepted, but we cannot make any statements concerning tax treatment of donations received from outside the United States. U.S. laws alone swamp our small staff.

Please check the Project Gutenberg web pages for current donation methods and addresses. Donations are accepted in a number of other ways including checks, online payments and credit card donations. To donate, please visit: [www.gutenberg.org/donate](http://www.gutenberg.org/donate)

## **Section 5. General Information About Project Gutenberg™ electronic works**

Professor Michael S. Hart was the originator of the Project Gutenberg™ concept of a library of electronic works that could be freely shared with anyone. For forty years, he produced and distributed Project Gutenberg™ eBooks with only a loose network of volunteer support.

Project Gutenberg™ eBooks are often created from several printed editions, all of which are confirmed as not protected by copyright in the U.S. unless a copyright notice is included. Thus, we do not necessarily keep eBooks in compliance with any particular paper edition.

Most people start at our website which has the main PG search facility: [www.gutenberg.org](http://www.gutenberg.org).

This website includes information about Project Gutenberg™, including how to make donations to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, how to help produce our new eBooks, and how to subscribe to our email newsletter to hear about new eBooks.