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(3 of 6): England (4 of 9), by Raphael Holinshed**

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*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND
AND IRELAND (3 OF 6): ENGLAND (4 OF 9) ***

**EDWARD THE FOURTH, EARLE OF
MARCH,
sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.**

After that this prince Edward earle of March had taken vpon him the gouvernement of this realme of England (as before ye haue heard) the morow next insuing, being the fourth of March, he rode to the church of saint Paule, and there offered: and after Te Deum soong, with great solemnitie he was conueied to Westminster, and there set in the hall with the scepter roiall in his hand, whereto people in great numbers assembled. His claime to the crowne was declared to be by two maner of waies, the first, as sonne and heire to duke Richard his father, right inheritor to the same; the second, by authoritie of parlement, and forfeiture committed by king Henrie. Wherevpon it was againe demanded of the commons, if they would admit and take the said erle as their prince and souereigne lord, which all with one voice cried; yea, yea.

An. Reg. 1.

The earle of March taketh vpon him as king.

His title declared.

This part thus plaied, he entered into Westminster church vnder a canopie with solemne procession, and there as king offered; and herewith taking the homages of all the nobles there present, he returned by water to London, and was lodged in the bishops palace; and on the morrow after, he was proclaimed king by the name of Edward the fourth, throughout the citie. This was in the yeare of the world 5427, and after the birth of our Saviour 1461 after our accompt, beginning the yeare at Christmasse; but after the vsuall accompt of the church of England 1460, the twentieth of emperour Frederike the third; the nine and thirith and last of Charles the seuenth French king; and first yeare of the reigne of James the third king of Scots.

He is proclaimed king.

Whilest these things were adooing in the southparts, king Henrie being in the north countrie, assembled a great armie, trusting (for all this) to subdue his enimies; namelie, sith their chiefe ringleader the duke of Yorke was dispatched out of the waie. But he was deceiued: for out of the ded stocke sprang a branch more mightie than the stem; this Edward the fourth, a prince so highlie faouored of the people, for his great liberalitie, clemencie, vpright dealing, and courage, that aboute all other, he with them stood in grace alone: by reason whereof, men of all ages and degrees to him dailie repaired, some offering themselues and their men to ieopard their liues with him, and other plentiouslie gaue monie to support his charges, and to mainteine his right.

By which meanes, he gathered together a puissant armie, to the intent by battell (sithens none other waies would serue) at once to make an end of all. So, his armie and all things prepared, he departed out of London the twelwe daie of March, and by easie iournies came to the castell of Pomfret, where he rested, appointing the lord Fitz Walter to keepe the passage at Ferribridge with a good number of tall men. King Henrie on the other part, hauing his armie in readinesse, committed the gouernance thereof to the duke of Summerset, the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, as men desiring to reuenge the death of their parents, slaine at the first battell at saint Albons. These capteins leauing king Henrie, his wife, and sonne, for the most safegard within the citie of Yorke, passed the riuier of Wharfe with all their power, intending to stop king Edward of his passage ouer the riuier of Aire.

And the better to bring that to passe, the lord Clifford determined to make a charge vpon them that kept the passage of Ferribridge; and so he departed with his light horssemen from the great armie on the saturdaye before Plamesundaie; and earelie yer his enimies were aware, slue the keeppers and wan the bridge. The lord Fitz Walter hearing the noise, suddenlie rose out of his bed, and vnarmed with a pollax in hand, thinking that it had béene but a fraie amongst his men, came downe to appease the same; but yer he knew what the matter meant was slaine, and with him the bastard of Salisburie brother to the earle of Warwike, a valiant young gentleman, and of great audacitie.

The lord Fitzwater slaine.

When the earle of Warwike was informed hereof, like a man desperat, he mounted on his hacknie, and hasted puffing and blowing to king Edward, saieng; "Sir, I prairie God haue mercie of their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprise haue lost their liues. And bicause I see no succors of the world but in God, I remit the vengeance to him our creator and redéemer." With that he alighted downe, and slue his horse with his sword, saieng; Let him flée that will, for suerlie I will tarrie with him that will tarrie with me: and kissed the crosse of his sword as it were for a vow to the promise. King Edward, perceiuing the courage of his trustie friend the earle of Warwike, made proclamation, that all men which were afraid to fight, should depart: and to all those that tarried the battell, he promised great rewards, with addition that anie souldier which voluntarilie would abide, and afterwards, either in or before the fight should seeme to flée or turne his backe, then he that could kill him, should haue a great reward and double wages.

The earle of Warwike.

A proclamation.

After this proclamation ended, the lord Fauconbridge, sir Walter Blunt, Robert Horne with the fore-ward passed the riuier at Castelford, three miles from Ferribridge, intending to haue inuironed the lord Clifford and his companie, but they being therof aduertised, departed in great hast toward king Henries armie; yet they met with some that they looked not for, & were so trapt yer they were aware. For the lord Clifford, either for heat or paine, putting off his gorget, suddenlie with an arrow (as some saie) without an head, was striken into the throte, and immediatlie rendred his spirit; and the earle of Westmerlands brother and all his companie almost were there slaine, at a place called Dintingdale, not far from Towton. This end had the lord Clifford, which slue the earle of Rutland knéeling on his knees, whose young sonne

The lord Clifford slain.

Dintingdale.

Crueltie paid with sudden mischief.

Thomas Clifford was brought vp with a shepheard in poore habit, euer in feare to be knowne, till king Henrie the seuenth obtained the crowne, by whom he was restored to his name and possessions.

When this conflict was ended at Ferribridge, the lord Fauconbridge, hauing the fore-ward, bicause the duke of Norffolke was fallen sicke, valiantlie vpon Palmesundaie in the twilight set foorth his armie and came to Saxton, where he might apparantlie behold the host of his aduersaries, which were accompted thréescore thousand men, and thereof aduertised king Edward, whose whole armie amounted to eight and fortie thousand six hundred and thréescore persons: which incontinentlie with the earle of Warwike set forward, leauing the rere-ward vnder the gouernance of sir Iohn Wenlocke, sir Iohn Dinham, and other. And first of all, he made proclamation, that no prisoner should be taken. So the same daie about nine of the clocke, which was the nine and twentieth daie of March, being Palmesundaie, both the hostes approached in a faire plaine field, betwéene Towton and Saxton.

The lord Fauconbridge.

Saxton.

Whethamsted saith, that K. Hèries power excéeded in number king Edwards by twentie thousand men.

An heaueie proclamaïo.

When ech part perceiued other, they made a great shout; and at the same instant there fell a small sléete or snow, which by violence of the wind that blew against them, was driuen into the faces of king Henries armies, so that their sight was somewhat dimmed. The lord Fauconbridge, leading K. Edwards fore-ward, caused euerie archer vnder his standard to shoot one flight (which before he caused them to prouide) and then made them to stand still. The northerne men feeling the shot, but by reason of the sléet, not well viewing the distance betwéene them and their enimies, like forward men shot their sheafe arrowes as fast as they might: but all to losse, for they came short of the southerne men by thréescore yards.

Palmesundaie field.

So their shot almost spent, the lord Fauconbridge marched forward with his archers, which not onelie shot their whole sheafes, but also gathered the arrowes of their enimies, and let a great part flie against their first owners, and suffered a great sort of them to stand, which sore troubled the legs of the northerne men, when the battell ioined. The earle of Northumberland and Andrew Trollop, chiefe capteins of king Henries vawward, séeing their shot not to preuaile, hasted to ioine with their enimies, and the other part slacked not their pase. This battell was sore foughten, for hope of life was set aside on either part, & taking of prisoners proclaimed a great offense, so euerie man determined to vanquish or die in the field.

The earle of Northumberland.

The obstinate minds of both parts.

This deadlie conflict continued ten houres in doubtfull state of victorie, vncerteinlie heauing and setting on both sides; but in the end, king Edward so couragiously comforted his men, that the other part was discomfited and ouercome, who like men amazed, fled toward Tadcaster bridge to saue themselues, where in the mid waie is a little brooke called Cocke, not verie broad, but of a great déepenesse, in which, what for hast to escape, and what for feare of their followers, a great number was drowned there. It was reported, that men aliue passed the riuer vpon dead carcasses, and that the great riuer of Wharfe whereinto that brooke dooth run, and of all the water comming from Towton, was coloured with bloud.

King Henries part discomfited.

Cocke or riuer.

The chase continued all night, and the most part of the next daie, and euer the northerne men (as they saw anie aduantage) returned againe, and fought with their enimies, to the great losse of both parts. For in these two daies were slaine (as they that knew it wrote) on both parts six and thirtie thousand seuen hundred thréescore & sixteene persons, all Englishmen and of one nation, whereof the chiefe were the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lord Dacres, and the lord Welles, sir Iohn Neuill, Andrew Trollop, Robert Horne, and manie other knights and esquiers, and the earle of Deuonshire was taken prisoner, but the dukes of Summerset and Excester fled from the field and saued themselues.

The number slaine in battell of Saxtō, otherwise called Palmesundaie field.

After this great victorie, king Edward rode to Yorke, where he was with all solemnitie receiued; and first he caused the heads of his father, the earle of Salisburie, and other his freends, to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies: and there he caused the earle of Deuonshire, and thrée other to be beheaded, and set their heads in the same place. King Henrie, after he heard of the irrecouerable losse of his armie, departed incontinentlie with his wife and sonne to the towne of Berwike, and leauing the duke of Summerset there, went into Scotland, and comming to the king of Scots, required of him and his councell, aid, and comfort.

King Henrie withdraweth to Berwike, & from thence into Scotland.

The yong king of Scots, lamenting the miserable state of king Henrie, comforted him with faire words and friendlie promises, and assigned to him a competent pension to liue on, during his abode in Scotland. King Henrie, in recompense of this courtesie and friendship, deliuered to the king of Scots the towne of Berwike, whereof he had got possession. He faithfullie supported the part of king Henrie, and concluded a mariage betwixt his sister, and the yong prince of Wales, but the same was neuer consummate, as after ye shall heare. When king Henrie was somewhat settled in the relme of Scotland, he sent his wife and sonne into France to king Reiner hir father, trusting by his aid and succour to assemble an armie, and once againe to

Quéene Margaret with hir sonne goeth into France.

recouer his right and dignitie: but he in the meane time made his aboad in Scotland, to see what waie his friends in England would studie for his restitution.

The quéene being in France, did obtaine of the yoong French king then Lewes the eleuenth, that all hir husbands friends, and those of the Lancastriall band, might safelie and suerlie haue resort into anie part of the realme of France, prohibiting all other of the contrarie faction anie accesse, or repair into that countrie. ¶ Thus ye haue heard, how king Henrie the sixt, after he had reigned eight and thirtie yeares & od moneths, was driuen out of this realme. But now leauing him with the princes of his part, consulting together in Scotland, and queene Margaret his wife gathering of men in France, I will returne where I left, to proceed with the doings of king Edward.

This yoong prince, hauing with prosperous success obtained so glorious a victorie in the mortall battell at Towton, and chased all his aduersaries out of the realme, or at the least waies put them to silence, returned after the maner and fashion of a triumphant conquerour, with great pompe vnto London; where according to the old custome of the realme, he called a great assemblie of persons of all degrees, and the nine & twentieth daie of Iune was at Westminster with solemnitie crowned and anointed king. ¶ In which yeare, this king Edward called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which, the state of the realme was greatlie reformed, and all the statutes made in Henrie the sixt his time (which touched either his title or profit) were reuoked.

In the same parlement, the earle of Oxford far striken in age, and his sonne and heire the lord Awbreie Véer, either through malice of their enimies, or for that they had offended the king, were both, with diuerse of their councellers, attainted, and put to execution; which caused Iohn earle of Oxford euer after to rebell. There were also beheaded the same time, sir Thomas Tudenham knight, William Tirell, and Iohn Montgomerie esquiers, and after them diuerse others. Also after this, he created his two yoonger brethren dukes, that is to saie, lord George duke of Clarence, lord Richard duke of Glocester; and the lord Iohn Neuill, brother to Richard earle of Warwike, he first made lord Montacute, and afterwards created him marques Montacute.

Beside this, Henrie Bouchier brother to Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, was created earle of Essex; and William lord Fauconbridge was made earle of Kent. To this Henrie lord Bouchier, a man highlie renowmed in martiall feats, Richard duke of Yorke long before this time, had giuen his sister Elizabeth in mariage, of whome he begat foure sonnes, William, Thomas, Iohn and Henrie: the which William being a man of great industrie, wit, and prouidence in graue and weightie matters, married the ladie Anne Wooduile, decended of high parentage, whose mother Iaquet was daughter to Peter of Lutzenburgh earle of saint Paule, by the which Anne he had lord Henrie earle of Essex, one daughter named Cicile, married to Water lord Ferrers of Chartleie and an other called Isabell, which died vnmarrid.

The earle of Kent was appointed about this time to kéepe the seas, being accompanied with the lord Audelie, the lord Clinton, sir Iohn Howard, sir Richard Walgraue, and others, to the number of ten thousand, who landing in Britaine, wan the towne of Conquet, and the Isle of Reth, and after returned. When all things were brought in order, and framed as king Edward in maner could wish, Henrie duke of Summerset, sir Rafe Persie, and diuerse other, being in despaire of all good chance to happen vnto king Henrie, came humblie, & submitted themselues vnto king Edward, whome he gentlie receiued. Which clemencie notwithstanding, both the one and the other (when time serued) reuolted from king Edward, and betooke themselues to take part with Henrie, vnto whom they had béene adherents before: bicause they grew in hope that in the end the confederats, to whom they so closelie did cleaue both in effection and seriousnessse of labour (though they pretended a temporall renunciation of all dutie and service for their securitie sake) should haue the honor of victorie against their gainstanders. But as commonlie the euent of enterprises fall out flat contrarie to mens expectation and hope; so came it to passe with these, whose hope though it were gréene and flourie in the prosecuting of their affaires, yet in the knitting vp of the matter and vnluckie successe thereof, it fell out in triall to be a flattering, a false, and a fruitlesse hope: and therefore that is a true and a wise sentence of the comicall poet & well seruing the purpose:

Inesperata accidunt magis sæpè quàm quæ speres.

All this season was king Henrie in Scotland, and quéene Margaret (being in France) found such friendship at the French kings hands, that she obtained a crue of fiue hundred Frenchmen, with the which she arriued in Scotland. And after that she had reposed hir selfe a time, she sailed with hir gallant band of those ruffling Frenchmen toward Newcastle, and landed at Tinmouth. But whether she were afraid of hir owne shadow, or that the Frenchmen cast too manie doubts; the truth is, that the whole armie returned to their ships, and a tempest rose so suddenlie, that if she had not taken a small carauell, and that with good spéed arriued at Berwike, she had beene taken at that present time by hir aduersaries.

And although fortune was so fauourable to hir, yet hir companie with stormie blasts was driuen on the shore before Banburgh castell, where they set their ships on fire, and fled to an Iland called holie Iland, where they were so assailed by the bastard Ogle, and an esquier called Iohn Manners, with other of king Edwards freends, that manie of them were slaine, and almost foure

1462.

Iohn Stow.

An. Reg. 2.

The duke of Summerset & other, submit them to king Edward.

Plaut. in Mostel.

1463.

An. Reg. 3.

The Quéene returneth forth of France.

hundred taken prisoners: but their coronell Peter Bressie, otherwise called monsieur de Varenne, happened vpon a fisherman, and so came to Berwike vnto queene Margaret, who made him capteine of the castell of Alnewike, which he with his Frenchmen kept, till they were rescued.

Shortlie after quéene Margaret obtained a great companie of Scots, and other of hir friends, and so bringing hir husband with hir, and leauing hir sonne called prince Edward in the towne of Berwike, entered Northumberland, tooke the castell of Banburgh, and stuffed it with Scottishmen, and made thereof capteine sir Rafe Greie, and came forward toward the bishoprike of Durham. When the duke of Summerset heard these newes, he without delaie reuolted from king Edward, and fled to king Henrie. So likewise did sir Rafe Persie, and manie other of the kings friends. But manie mo followed king Henrie, in hope to get by the spoile: for his armie spoiled and burned townes, and destroyed fields whersoouer he came. King Edward aduertised of all these things, prepared an armie both by sea and land.

Banburgh castell.

The duke of Summerset reuolteth.

Some of his ships were rigged and vittelled at Lin, and some at Hull, and well furnished with souldiers were herewith set fourth to the sea. Also the lord Montacute was sent into Northumberland, there to raise the people to withstand his enimies. And after this, the king in his proper person, accompanied with his brethren, and a great part of the nobilitie of his realme, came to the citie of Yorke, furnished with a mightie armie, sending a great part thereof to the aid of the lord Montacute, least peraduenture he giuing too much confidence to the men of the bishoprike and Northumberland, might through them be deceiued.

The lord Montacute then hauing such with him as he might trust, marched fourth towards his enimies, and by the waie was incountered with the lord Hungerford, the lord Roos, sir Rafe Persie, and diuerse other, at a place called Hegelie moore, where suddenlie the said lords, in maner without stroke strikeng, fled; and onelie sir Rafe Percie abode, and was there manfullie slaine, with diuerse other, saieng when he was dieng; I haue saued the bird in my bosome: meaning that he had kept his promise and oth made to king Henrie: forgetting (belike) that he in king Henries most necessitie abandoned him, and submitted him to king Edward, as before you haue heard.

The lord Montacute.

Hegelie moore.

Sir Rafe Persie.

The lord Montacute séeing fortune thus prosperouslie leading his saile, aduanced forward; & learning by espials, that king Henrie with his host was incamped in a faire plaine called Liuels, on the water of Dowill in Examshire, hasted thither, and manfullie set on his enimies in their owne campe, which like desperate persons with no small courage receiued him. There was a sore foughten field, and long yer either part could haue anie aduantage of the other: but at length the victorie fell to the lord Montacute, who by fine force entered the battell of his enimies, and constreined them to flie, as despairing of all succours. In which flight, and chase were taken Henrie duke of Summerset, which before was reconciled to king Edward, the lord Roos, the lord Molins, the lord Hungerford, sir Thomas Wentworth, sir Thomas Husseie, sir Iohn Finderne, and manie other.

Exham field.

The duke of Summerset taken.

King Henrie was a good horsseman that day, for he rode so fast awaie that no man might ouertake him; and yet he was so neere pursued, that certeine of his henchmen were taken, their horssees trapped in blue veluet, and one of them had on his head the said king Henries helmet, or rather (as may be thought, & as some say) his high cap of estate, called Abacot, garnished with two rich crownes, which was presented to king Edward at Yorke the fourth day of Maie. The duke of Summerset was incontinentlie beheaded at Exham; the other lords and knights were had to Newcastle, and there (after a little respit) were likewise put to death. Beside these, diuerse other, to the number of fiue and twentie, were executed at Yorke, and in other places.

King Henrie fled.

The duke of Summerset beheaded.

Sir Humfrie Neuill, and William Tailbois, calling himselfe earle of Kime, sir Rafe Greie, and Richard Tunstall, with diuerse other, which escaped from this battell, hid themselues in secret places: but yet they kept not themselues so close, but that they were espied and taken. The earle of Kime was apprehended in Riddesdale, and brought to Newcastle, and there beheaded. Sir Humfrie Neuill was taken in Holdernesse, and at Yorke lost his head. After this battell called Exham field, king Edward came to the citie of Durham, and sent from thence into Northumberland the earle of Warwike, the lord Montacute, the lords Fauconbridge & Scroope, to recouer such castels as his enimies there held, and with force defended.

The earle of Kime, otherwise Angus, beheaded.

They first besieged the castell of Alnewike, which sir Peter Bressie and the Frenchmen kept, and in no wise would yéeld, sending for aid to the Scots. Whervpon sir George Dowglas erle of Angus, with thirtéene thousand chosen men, in the day time came and rescued the Frenchmen out of the castell; the Englishmen looking on, which thought it much better to haue the castell without losse of their men, than to léese both the castell and their men, considering the great power of the Scots, & their owne small number; and so they entered the castell and manned it. After this, they woone the castell of Dunstanburgh by force, and likewise the castell of Banburgh. Iohn Gois, seruant to the duke of Summerset, being taken within Dunstanburgh, was brought to Yorke, and there beheaded.

Alnewike castell besieged.

Sir Rafe Greie being taken in Banburgh, for that he had sworne to be true to king Edward, was

disgraced of the high order of knighthood at Doncaster, by cutting off his gilt spurs, renting his cote of armes, and breaking his sword ouer his head: and finallie, he was there beheaded for his manifest periurie. After this, king Edward returned to Yorke, where (in despite of the earle of Northumberland, who then kept himselfe in the realme of Scotland) he created sir Iohn Neuill, lord Montacute earle of Northumberland; and in reproofe of Iasper earle of Penbrooke he created William lord Herbert earle of the same place. But after, when by mediation of friends, the earle of Northumberland was reconciled to his fauour, he restored him to his possessions, name, and dignitie; and preferred the lord Montacute to the title of marques Montacute: so that in degree, he was aboue his elder brother the earle of Warwike; but in power, policie, & possessions, far mener.

King Edward, though all things might séeme now to rest in good case, yet he was not negligent in making necessarie prouision against all attempts of his aduersarie king Henrie, and his partakers; and therefore raised bulworks, and builded fortresses on ech side of his realme, where anie danger was suspected for the landing of anie armie. He caused also espials to be laid vpon the marches, fore against Scotland, that no person should go out of the realme to king Henrie and his companie, which then soiourned in Scotland. But all the doubts of trouble that might insue by the means of king Henries being at libertie, were shortlie taken away and ended: for he himselfe, whether he was past all fear; or that hée was not well established in his wits and perfect mind; or for that he could not long kéepe himselfe secret, in disguised atire boldlie entred into England.

1464.

An. Reg. 4.

He was no sooner entred, but he was knowne and taken of one Cantlow, and brought toward the king, whom the earle of Warwike met on the way by the kings commandement, and brought him through London to the Tower, & there he was laid in sure hold. ¶ But it is woorthie the noting, which I haue obserued in a late chronographers report touching this matter; namelie, that king Henrie was taken in Cletherwood, beside Bungerleie Hippingstons in Lancashire, by Thomas Talbot sonne and heire to sir Edward Talbot of Basshall, and Iohn Talbot his cosin of Colebrie, which deceiued him being at his dinner at Wadington Hall, and brought him toward London, with his legs bound to the stirrups, where he was met by the earle of Warwike, and arested at Esildon; doctor Manning deane of Windsor, doctor Bedle, and yoong Ellerton being in his companie, with their feet bound vnder the horse bellies were brought also to the Tower of London.

King Henrie taken.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 717.

Quéene Margaret hearing of the captiuitie of hir husband, mistrusting the chance of hir sonne, all desolate and comfortlesse departed out of Scotland, and passed into France, where she remained with hir father duke Reiner, till she returned into England to hir harme, as after ye shall heare. The new duke of Summerset, and his brother Iohn, sailed into France, where they also liued in great miserie; till duke Charles, bicause he was of their kin, as descended of the house of Lancaster by his mother, succoured them with a small pension, which was to them a great comfort. The earle of Penbroke went from countrie to countrie, not alwaies at his hearts ease, nor in safetie of life. [As for his dignitie and reputation, it was the more obscured, for that he had lost the title of his honor, and left at his wits end, doubtfull and vncerteine in contrarie factions (as manie more) what to say or doo for his best securitie. Neuertheless he concealed his inward discontentment, and as oportunitie of time ministred matter, so he grew in courage, and fell to practises of force (with other complices) therby to accomplish the cloudie conceits of his troubled mind, being persuaded, that temporall misfortunes are, if not vtterlie auoidable, yet manfullie to be withstood, or at least with audacitie & courage to be suffered, as the poet properlie saith:

The earle of Penbroke.

Ab. Flem.

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.]

Vir. Aen. 6.

King Edward being thus in more suertie of his life than before, distributed the possessions of such as tooke part with king Henrie the sixt, to his souldiers and capteins, which he thought had well deserued: and besides this, he left no other point of liberalitie vnshewed, whereby he might allure to him the beneuolent minds and louing hearts of his people. And moreouer to haue the loue of all men, he shewed himselfe more familiar both with the nobilitie and commonaltie, than (as some men thought) was conuenient, either for his estate, or for his honor: notwithstanding the same liberalitie be euer after vsed. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newlie augmented. The coine both gold and siluer (which yet at this day is) he newlie deuised, and diuided; for the gold he named roials and nobles, and the siluer he called grotes and halfe grotes.

New coine stamped.

¶ In Michaelmasse terme were made sergeants at law, Thomas Yoong, Nicholas Geneie, Richard Neale, Thomas Brian, Richard Pigot, Iohn Greenfield, Iohn Catesbie, and Gwie Fairfax, which held their feast in the bishop of Elies place in Holborne. To the which feast the maior of London, with the aldermen, shiriffes, and commons of diuerse crafts being bidden, repaired. But when the maior looked to be set to keepe the state in the hall, as it beene vsed in all places of the citie and liberties, out of the kings presence (vnknowne to the sergeants and against their wils, as they said) the lord Graie of Ruthen then treasurer of England was there placed. Wherevpon the maior, aldermen, and commons departed home, and the maior made all the aldermen to dine with him. Howbeit he and all the

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 716.

Sergeants feast.

Register of maiors.

The maior of London departeth from the

citizens were greatlie displeas'd that he was so dealt with, and the new sergeants and others were right sorie therefore, and had rather than much good it had not so happened. This was then (as my record reporteth more at large) registred to be a president in time to come.

sergeants feast.

After that king Edward had reduced the state of the publike affaires vnto his liking; to purchase himselfe a good opinion, and fauourable iudgement among the commons, he made proclamations, that all persons, which were adherents to his aduersaries part, & would leaue their armour, and submit themselues wholie to his grace and mercie, should be cléerlie pardoned and forgiuen. By this kind of courteous dealing he wan him such fauour of the people, that euer after, in all his warres, he was (thorough their aid and support) a victor and conquerour. When his realme was thus brought into a good and quiet estate, it was thought méet by him and those of his councill, that a marriage were prouided for him in some conuenient place; and therefore was the earle of Warwike sent ouer into France, to demand the ladie Bona, daughter to Lewes duke of Sauoie, and sister to the ladie Carlot, then quéene of France; which Bona was at that time in the French court.

The earle of Warwike, comming to the French king, then lieng at Tours, was of him honourable receiued, and right courteously interteined. His message was so well liked, and his request thought so honourable for the aduancement of the ladie Bona, that hir sister quéene Carlot obtained both the good will of the king hir husband, and also of hir sister the foresaid ladie: so that the matrimonie on that side was cleerlie assented to, and the erle of Dampmartine appointed (with others) to saile into England, for the full finishing of the same. But here consider the old prouerbe to be true, which saith, that mariage goeth by destinie. For, during the time that the earle of Warwike was thus in France, and (according to his instructions) brought the effect of his commission to passe, the king being on hunting in the forest of Wichwood besides Stonistratford, came for his recreation to the manor of Grafton, where the duchesse of Bedford then sojourned, wife to sir Richard Wooduile lord Riuers, on whome was then attendant a daughter of hers, called the ladie Elizabeth Graie, widow of sir Iohn Graie knight, slaine at the last battell of saint Albons, as before ye haue heard.

The earle of Warwike sent into France about a marriage.

The ladie Elizabeth Graie.

This widow, hauing a sute to the king for such lands as hir husband had giuen hir in iointure, so kindled the kings affection towards hir, that he not onelie fauoured hir sute, but more hir person; for she was a woman of a more formall countenance than of excellent beautie; and yet both of such beautie and fauour, that with hir sober demeanour, swéete looks, and comelie smiling (neither too wanton, nor too bashfull) besides hir pleasant toong and trim wit, she so alured and made subiect unto hir the heart of that great prince, that after she had denied him to be his paramour, with so good maner, and words so well set as better could not be deuised; he finallie resolved with himselfe to marrie hir, not asking counsell of anie man, till they might perceiue it was no bootie to aduise him to the contrarie of that his concluded purpose; sith he was so farre gone that he was not reuocable, and therefore had fixed his heart vpon the last resolution: namelie, to applie an holesome, honest, and honourable remedie to his affections fiered with the flames of loue, and not to permit his heart to the thraldome of vnlawful lust; which purpose was both princelie and profitable; as the poet saith:

Vtile propositum est sæuas extinguere flammās,
Nec seruum vitij pectus habere suum.

Ouid. de rem. am. lib.
1.

But yet the duchesse of Yorke his moother letted this match as much as in hir laie: & when all would not serue, she caused a precontract to be alleged, made by him with ladie Elizabeth Lucie. But all doubts resolved, all things made cléere, and all cauillations auoided, priuillie in a morning he married the said ladie Elizabeth Graie at Grafton beforesaid, where he first began to fansie hir. And in the next yere after she was with great solemnitie crowned quéene at Westminster. Hir father also was created earle Riuers, and made high constable of England: hir brother lord Anthonie was married to the sole heire of Thomas lord Scales: sir Thomas Graie sonne to sir Iohn Graie the quéenes first husband, was created marques Dorset, and married to Cicelie heire to the lord Bonuille. The French king was not well pleased to be thus dallied with; but he shortlie (to appease the gréepe of his wife and hir sister the ladie Bona) married the said ladie Bona to the duke of Millan.

1465.

An. Reg. 5.

Now when the earle of Warwike had knowledge by letters sent to him out of England from his trustie friends, that king Edward had gotten him a new wife, he was not a little troubled in his mind, for that he tooke it his credence thereby was greatlie minished, and his honour much stained, namelie in the court of France: for that it might be iudged he came rather like an espiall, to mooue a thing neuer minded, and to treat a marriage determined before not to take effect. Suerlie he thought himselfe euill vsed, that when he had brought the matter to his purposed intent and wished conclusion, then to haue it quaille on his part; so as all men might thinke at the least wise, that his prince made small account of him, to send him on such a sléuelesse errand.

The earle of Warwike offended with the kings mariage.

All men for the most part agrée, that this marriage was the onlie cause, why the earle of Warwike conceiued an hatred against king Edward, whome he so much before fauoured. Other affirme other causes; and one speciallie, for that king Edward did attempt a thing once in the earles house, which was much against the earles honestie (whether he would haue deflowered his

daughter or his néece, the certeintie was not for both their honours openlie reuealed) for suerlie, such a thing was attempted by king Edward; which loued well both to behold and also to féele faire damsels. But whether the iniurie that the earle thought he receiued at the kings hands, or the disdaine of authoritie that the earle had vnder the king, was the cause of the breach of amitie betwixt them: truth it is, that the priuie intentions of their harts brake into so many small pieces, that England, France, and Flanders, could neuer ioine them againe, during their naturall liues.

But though the earle of Warwike was earnestlie inflamed against the king, for that he had thus married himselfe without his knowledge, hauing regard onelie to the satisfieng of his wanton appetite, more than to his honour or suertie of his estate; yet did he so much dissemble the matter at his returne into England, as though he had not vnderstood anie thing thereof: but onelie declared what he had doone, with such reuerence, and shew of fréendlie countenance, as he had béene accustomed. And when he had taried in the court a certaine space, he obtained licence of the king to depart to his castell of Warwike, meaning (when time serued) to vtter to the world, that which he then kept secret, that is to saie, his inward grudge, which he bare towards the king, with desire of reuenge, to the vttermost of his power. Neuerthelesse, at that time he departed (to the outward shew) so farre in the kings fauour, that manie gentlemen of the court for honours sake gladlie accompanied him into his countrie.

The earle of Warwike keepeth his gréefe secret.

¶ This yéere it was proclamed in England, that the beakes or pikes of shooes and boots should not passe two inches, vpon paine of cursing by the cleargie, and forfeiting twentie shillings, to be paid one noble to the king, and other to the cordwainers of London, and the third to the chamber of London; and for other cities and townes the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the yeare of our Lord 1382, the pikes of shooes and boots were of such length, that they were faine to be tied vp vnto the knees with chaines of siluer and gilt, or at the least with silken laces.

Abr. Fl. ex l. S. pag. 717.

Long piked shooes forbidden.

In this yeare also, the kings daughter, the ladie Elizabeth, after wife to king Henrie the seauenth, was borne; king Edward concluded an amitie and league with Henrie king of Castile, and Iohn king of Aragon; at the concluding whereof, he granted licence for certaine Cotteshold shéepe, to be transported into the countrie of Spaine (as people report) which haue there so multiplied and increased, that it hath turned the commoditie of England much to the Spanish profit. Beside this, to haue an amitie with his next neighbour the king of Scots, he winked at the losse of Berwike, and was contented to take a truce for fiftéene yeares. Thus king Edward, though for refusall of the French kings sister in law he wan him enimies in France; yet in other places he procured him fréends: but those fréends had stood him in small stéed, if fortune had not holpe him to an other, euen at his elbow.

1466.

An. Reg. 6.

Cotteshold shéepe transported into Spaine.

Truce with Scots.

This was Charles earle of Charolois, the sonne and heire apparrant vnto Philip duke of Burgognie, which Charles being then a widower, was councelled to be suter vnto king Edward, for to haue in mariage the ladie Margaret, sister to the said king, a ladie of excellent beautie, and indued with so manie worthie gifts of nature, grace, and fortune, that she was thought not vnworthie to match with the greatest prince of the world. The lord Anthonie bastard brother to the said earle Charolois, commonlie called the bastard of Burgognie, a man of great wit, courage, and valiantnesse, was appointed by his father duke Philip, to go into England in ambassage, about this sute; who being furnished of plate and apparell, necessarie for his estate, hauing in his companie gentlemen, and other expert in all feats of chiuallrie and martiall prowess, to the number of foure hundred horsse, tooke his ship, and arriued in England, where he was of the king & nobles honourable receiued.

1467.

An. Reg. 7.

The bastard of Burgognie ambassadour into England.

This message being declared, ye may be sure the same was ioifullie heard of the king and his counsell; the which by that affinitie, saw how they might be assured of a buckler against France. But yet the earle of Warwike, bearing his heartie fauour vnto the French king, did as much as in him laie by euill reports to hinder this marriage: but this notwithstanding, at length, the king granted to the bastards request; and the said bastard openlie in the kings great chamber contracted the said ladie Margaret, for, and in the name of his brother the said earle of Charolois. After this marriage thus concluded, the bastard challenged the lord Scales, brother to the queene, a man both equal in hart and valiantnesse with the bastard, to fight with him both on horssebacke, and on foot: which demand the lord Scales gladlie accepted.

Iusts betwixt the bastard of Burgognie & the lord Scales.

The king causing lists to be prepared in West-smithfield for these champions, and verie faire and costlie galleries for the ladies, was present at this martiall enterprise himselfe. The first daie they ran together diuerse courses with sharpe speares, and departed with equall honor. The next day they turneied on horssebacke. The lord Scales horsse had on his chafron a long sharpe pike of steele, and as the two champions coped together, the same horsse (whether thorough custome or by chance) thrust his pike into the nosethrils of the bastards horsse; so that for verie paine he mounted so high, that he fell on the one side with his maister, and the lord Scales rode round about him with his sword in his hand, vntill the king commanded the marshall to helpe vp the bastard, which openlie said; "I can not hold me by the clouds, for though my horsse faileth me,

surelie I will not faile my contercompanion." The king would not suffer them to doo anie more that daie.

The morow after, the two noblemen came into the field on foot, with two polaxes, and fought valiantlie: but at the last, the point of the polax of the lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the bastards helme, and by fine force might haue plucked him on his knees: the king suddenlie cast downe his warder, and then the marshals them seuered. The bastard not content with this chance, and trusting on the cunning which he had at the polax, required the king of iustice, that he might performe his enterprise. The lord Scales refused it not, but the king said, he would aske councill: and so calling to him the constable, and the marshall, with the officers of armes, after consultation had, and the lawes of armes rehearsed, it was declared for a sentence definitiue, by the duke of Clarence, then constable of England, and the duke of Norffolke, then marshall; that if he would go forward with his attempted challenge, he must by the law of armes be deliuered to his aduersarie, in the same state and like condition as he stood when he was taken from him.

The law of armes.

The bastard hearing this iudgement, doubted the sequele of the matter; and so relinquished his challenge. Other challenges were doone, and valiantlie atchiued by the Englishmen, which I passe ouer. Shortlie after came sorowfull tidings to the bastard, that his father duke Philip was dead, who therevpon taking his leaue of king Edward, and of his sister the new duchesse of Burgognie, liberallie rewarded with plate and iewels, with all spéed returned to his brother the new duke, who was not a little glad of the contract made for him with the said ladie, as after well appeared. In this same yeare, king Edward, more for the loue of the marques Montacute, than for anie fauour he bare to the earle of Warwike, promoted George Neuill their brother to the archbishoprike of Yorke.

The death of the duke of Burgognie.

George Neuill
archbishop of Yorke.

Charles duke of Burgognie reioising that he had so well sped, for conclusion of marriage with king Edwards sister, was verie desirous to see hir, of whome he had heard so great praise, & wrote to king Edward, requiring him to send his sister ouer vnto him, according to the couenants passed betwixt them. King Edward being not slacke in this matter, appointed the dukes of Excester and Suffolke, with their wiues, being both sisters to the ladie Margaret, to attend hir, till she came to hir husband. And so after that ships, and all other necessarie prouisions were readie, they being accompanied with a great sort of lords and ladies, and others, to the number of fiue hundred horsse, in the beginning of Iune departed out of London to Douer, and so sailed to Sluis, and from thense was conueied to Bruges, where the marriage was solemnized betwixt the duke and hir, with great triumphs, and princelie feastings. Touching the pompe had and vsed at the setting forward of this ladie on hir voiage it is a note worth the reading; and therefore necessarilie here interlaced for honours sake.

1468.

An. Reg. 8.

The ladie Margaret
sister to king Edward,
sent ouer to the duke of
Burgognie.

On the eighteenth of Iune, Margaret sister to K. Edward the fourth began hir iornie from the Wardrobe in London, toward hir marriage with Charles duke of Burgognie: first she offered in the church of saint Paule, and then rode thorough the citie, the earle of Warwike riding before hir, with earles and barons a great number; the duchesse of Norffolke, with other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. And at hir entrie into Cheape, the maior of London and his brethren the aldermen presented hir with a paire of rich basons, & in them an hundred pounds of gold and that night she lodged at the abbeie of Stratford, where the king then laie: from thense she tooke hir iournie to Canturburie.

*Abr. Fl. ex l. S. pag.
719, 720. in Quart.*

The king riding after to see hir shipping, on the first of Iulie, she tooke the sea at Margate, and there tooke leaue of the king hir brother, and departed. There returned backe againe with the king, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Warwike, Shrewesburie, and Northumberland. And there abode with hir in the ship, the lord Scales, the lord Dacres, hir chamberlaine, sir Iohn Wooduile, sir Iohn Howard, and manie other famous knights and esquiers. She was shipped in the new Ellen of London, and in hir nauie the Iohn of Newcastell, the Marie of Salisburie, and manie other roiall ships, and on the morrow landed at Sluis in Flanders. Now as soone as hir ship & companie of ships were entered into the hauen, there receiued hir sir Simon de Lelein and the water bailiffe, in diuerse boats and barks apparelled readie for hir landing.

The first estate that receiued hir was the bishop of Utright well accompanied, and the countesse of Shorne bastard daughter to duke Philip of Burgognie, and with hir manie ladies and gentlewomen; and so procéeding in at the gate of the towne, the same towne was presented to hir, she to be souereigne ladie thereof: also they gaue to hir twelue marks of gold Troie weight, the which was two hundred pounds of English monie: and so procéeded thorough the towne to hir lodging, euerie housholder standing in the street with a torch in his hand burning. On the morrow the old duchesse of Burgognie came to hir, accompanied with manie great estates. On the third of Iulie came the duke of Burgognie to Sluis, with twentie persons secretlie, and was there openlie affianced to the ladie Margaret, by the bishop of Salisburie and the lord Scales, in presence of the lord Dacres, the duchesse of Norffolke, the ladie Scales, and all the knights & esquiers, gentlewomen inuironing the chamber.

On the 8 of Iulie (being saturday) by the duke of Burgognies appointment, the lady Margaret removed by water to the Dame. And on the sunday in the morning betwixt fiue and six of the clocke, the mariage was solemnized betwixt them, by the bishops of Salisburie and of Turneie; there being present the old duchesse of Burgognie, the lord Scales, the lord Dacres, with the knights, esquiers, ladies and gentlewomen that came out of England. The great triumphs,

feastings, shewes of pageants, with other strange deuises, and iustings, were such as I haue not read the like, and would be ouer long in this place to set downe.

¶ Of this aliance with other more mention is honorablie made in the [1]declaration of the causes that moued the Quéene of England to giue aid to the defense of the people afflicted & oppressed in the low countries by the Spaniards, namelie for the maintenance of perpetuall amitie. Which declaration is so set fourth in this booke, as the same in the seuen and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne was published: vnto which yeare I remit the reader (for the further search thereof) for that it conteineth much memorable matter, touching the manifest causes of concord to be continued betwéene them of the low countries and vs English.

Abr. Fl.

[1] Giuen at Richmont on the first of October. *An. Dom. 1585. & An. Reg. 27.*

Sir Thomas Cooke late maior of London, was by one named Hawkins appeached of treason, for the which he was sent to the Tower, and his place within London seized by the lord Riuers, and his wife and seruants cleerelie put out therof. The cause was this. The forenamed Hawkins came vpon a season vnto the said sir Thomas, requesting him to lend a thousand markes vpon good suertie, wherevnto he answered, that first he would know for whome it should be and for what intent.

Fabian. 497.

Sir Thomas Cooke.

At length, vnderstanding it should be for the vse of queene Margaret, he answered he had no currant wares whereof anie shifts might be made without too much losse: and therefore required Hawkins to mooue him no further in that matter, for he intended not to deale withall: yet the said Hawkins exhorted him to remember, what benefits he had receiued by hir when she was in prosperitie, as by making him hir wardrober, and customer of Hampton, &c.

But by no meanes the said Cooke would grant goods nor monie, although at last the said Hawkins required but an hundred pounds, he was faine to depart without the value of a penie, and neuer came againe to mooue him, which so rested two or three years after, till the said Hawkins was cast in the Tower, and at length brought to the brake, called the duke of Excesters daughter, by meanes of which paine he shewed manie things, amongst the which the motion was one that he had made to sir Thomas Cooke, and accused himselfe so farre, that he was put to death.

By meane of which confession, the said sir Thomas was troubled (as before is shewed) when the said sir Thomas had laine in the Tower from Whitsuntide till about Michaelmas, in the which season manie inquiries were made to find him guiltie, and euer quit, till one iurie (by meanes of sir Iohn Fog) indicted him of treason, after which an oier and terminer was kept at the Guildhall, in which sat with the maior the duke of Clarence, the earle of Warwike, the lord Riuers, sir Iohn Fog, with other of the kings councill.

To the which place the said Thomas was brought, and there arreigned vpon life and death, where he was acquitted of the said indictment, and had to the counter in Bread street, and from thence to the kings bench. After a certeine time that he was thus acquitted, his wife got againe the possession of hir house, the which she found in an euill plight; for such seruants of the lord Riuers and sir Iohn Fog, as were assigned to kéepe it, made hauocke of what they listed.

Also at his place in Essex named Giddihall, were set an other sort to kéepe that place, the which destroyed his déere in his parke, his conies, and his fish without reason, and spared not brasse, pewter, bedding, & all that they might carie, for the which might neuer one penie be gotten in recompense, yet could not sir Thomas Cooke be deliuered, till he had paied eight thousand pounds to the king, and eight hundred pounds to the quéene.

In this meane time, the earle of Warwike bearing a continuall grudge in his hart toward king Edward, since his last returne out of France, persuaded so with his two brethren, the archbishop, and the marques, that they agreed to ioine with him in anie attempt which he should take in hand against the said king. The archbishop was easilie allured to the earles purpose, but the marques could by no meanes be reduced to take anie part against king Edward of a long time, till the earle had both promised him great rewards and promotions, and also assured him of the aid and power of the greatest princes of the realme. And euen as the marques was loth to consent to his vnhappy conspiracie, so with a faint hart he shewed himselfe an enimie vnto king Edward which double dissimulation was both the destruction of him and his brethren. ¶ And that they were persuasions of no small force, which the earle of Warwike vsed to the archbishop and marques, I haue thought good here to interlace, as I find remembred by Edward Hall in forme following.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. in Edw. 4. fol. cxcviiij, &c.

The persuasions of the earle of Warwike vnto his two brethren against king Edward the fourth.

My deere and welbeloued brethren, the incredible faithfulnessse, the secret sobernesse, and the politike prudence that I haue euer by long continuance of time experimented in you both, dooth not onelie incourage my heart, yea and setteth me in great hope of obtaining my purpose, but also putteth me out of all dread and mistrust, firmelie beléeuing, and suetlie iudging, that you both will with tooth and naile endeouour your selues, to the vttermost of your power, to bring to effect and purpose the thing that I now shall declare vnto you. Suerlie, I would in no wise that you should thinke, that that which I shall speake to you of king Edward and king Henrie, should rise of any lightnesse or phantasie of my mind, or anie trifeling toie latelie fallen into my imagination; but the true experience and iust iudgement that I haue of them both, their qualities and conditions, in manner compell and constraine me to saie as I say and to doo as I doo.

For suerlie, king Henrie is a godlie, good, and a vertuous person, neither forgetting his freends, nor putting in obliuion anie benefit by him of a meane person receiued, nor yet anie paine for his causes susteined hath he left vnrewarded: to whome God hath sent a sonne, called prince Edward, borne to be of great worthinesse and praise, of much bountiffulnessse and liberalitie, of whome men may manie laudable things coniecture, considering the paine, labour, and trauell, that he taketh to helpe his father out of captiuitie and thraldome. King Edward on the contrarie side, is a man contumelious, opprobrious, and an iniurious person; to them that deserue kindnesse he sheweth vnkindnesse, and them that loue him he deadlie hateth, now detesting to take anie paine for the preferment or maintenance of the publike wealth of this realme, but all giuen to pastime, pleasure, and daliance; sooner preferring to high estate men descended of low bloud and base degree, than men of old and vndefiled houses, which haue both supported him and the common-wealth of his realme.

So that I now perceiue, that it is euen come to this point, that he will destroie all the nobilitie; or else the nobilitie must shortlie of verie necessitie destroie and confound him. But reason would, that we that were first hurt, should first reuenge our cause: for it is not vnknownen to you both, how that he, immediatlie after he had obtained the crowne, began first secretlie, and then openlie to enuie, disdaine, and impugne the fame, glorie, and renowme of our house and familie; as who said, that all the honor, preferment, and authoritie that we haue, we had onelie receiued at his hands, and that we had neither obtained dignitie nor rule by our great labour, aid and trauell. Which to all men may seeme vntrue, that consider that our name, chiefe title, and principall authoritie, was to vs giuen by king Henrie the sixt, and not by him. But if euery man will remember, who first toke part with his father, when hee claimed the crowne (who at that time, for that cause was in great ieopardie, and almost slaine by the kings meniall seruants, and who neuer left this man in prosperitie nor aduersitie, till he had the garland, and the realme in quietnesse) shall manifestlie perceiue, that we and our bloud haue shewed our selues more like fathers to him, than he like a freend to vs.

If we haue receiued any benefits of him, suerlie they be not so much as we haue deserued, nor so much as we looked for; and yet they be much more than he would we shuld inioy, as ye both well perceiue and know. Let these things ouerpasse, and speake of the vngentle, vntrue, and vnprincelie handling of me in the last ambassage, being sent to the French king for to treat a mariage for him, hauing full authoritie to bind and to lose, to contract and conclude. Which thing when I had finished & accomplished: how lightlie his mind changed, how priuilie he vowed, and how secretlie he married, both you know better than I. So that by this meanes, I was almost out of all credence in the court of France, both with the king and queene, as though I had come thither like an espiall, to moue a thing neuer minded; or to treat of a mariage determined before neuer to take effect. Whereby the fame of all our estimation, which all kings and princes haue conceiued in vs (partlie obtained by the vertue & prowesse of our noble ancestors, and partlie atchiued by our owne paines & forward acts) shall now be obfuscate, vtterlie extinguished, and nothing set by.

What worme is touched, and will not once turne againe? What beast is striken, that will not rore or sound? What innocent child is hurt that will not crie? If the poore and vnreasonable beasts, if the selie babes that doo lacke discretion, grone against harme to them proffered; how ought an honest man to be angrie, when things that touch his honestie be dailie against him attempted? But if a meane person in that case be angrie: how much more ought a noble man to fume & stirre coales, when the high type of his honour is touched, his fame in maner brought to infamie, and his honour almost blemished & appalled, without his offense or desert? All this brethren you know to be true, the dishonor of one is the dishonor of vs all, and the hurt of one is the hurt of all: wherefore, rather than I will liue vnreuenged, or suffer him to reigne, which hath sought my decaie and dishonor, I will suerlie spend my life, lands, and goods, in setting vp that iust and good man king Henrie the sixt: and in deposing this vntrue, vnfaithful, and vnkind prince (by our onelie means) called king Edward the fourth.

Beside all this, the earle of Warwike, being a far casting prince, perceiued somewhat in the duke of Clarence, whereby he iudged that he bare no great good will towards the king his brother; and therevpon, feeling his mind by such talke as he of purpose ministred, vnderstood how he was bent, and so wan him to his purpose: and for better assurance of his faithful friendship, he

offered him his eldest daughter in mariage, with the whole halfe deale of his wiues inheritance. And herevpon, after consultation had of their weightie businesse and dangerous affaires, they sailed ouer to Calis, of the which towne the earle was capteine, where his wife & two daughters then soiourned, whome the duke (being in loue with hir person) had great desire to visit.

But the earle, hauing in continuall remembrance his purposed enterprise, appointed his brethren, the archbishop and the marquesse, that they should by some meanes in his absence stir vp some new rebellion in the countie of Yorke, and other places adioining, so that this ciuill warre should séeme to all men to haue béene begun without his assent or knowlege, being on the further side of the seas. The duke of Clarence being come to Calis with the earle of Warwike, after he had sworne on the sacrament to kéepe his promise and pact made with the said earle whole and inuiolate, he married the ladie Isabell, eldest daughter to the earle, in our ladies church there. Shortlie after, according as he had béene aforehand deuised, a commotion was begun in Yorkeshire, to the great disquieting of that countrie. The same chanced by this means.

1469.

An. Reg. 9.

A commotion in Yorkeshire.

There was in the citie of Yorke an old and rich hospitall, dedicated to saint Leonard, for the harbourough and reléeuing of poore people. Certaine euill disposed persons of the earle of Warwikes faction, intending to set a broile in the countrie, persuaded the husbandmen to refuse to giue anie thing to the said hospitall, affirming that the corne giuen to that good intent, came not to the vse of the poore; but was conuerted to the behoofe of the maister of the hospitall, and the preests, whereby they grew to be rich, and the poore people wanted their due succour and reléeffe. And not content with these saiengs, they fell to dooings: for when the proctors of the hospitall, according to their vsage, went about the countrie to gather the accustomed corne, they were sore beaten, wounded, and euill intreated.

Saint Leonards hospital in Yorke.

Shortlie after, the conspiracie of the euill disposed people grew to an open rebellion, so that there assembled to the number of fifteene thousand men, euen readie bent to set on the citie of Yorke. But the lord marquesse Montacute, gouernour and president of that countrie for the king, taking spéedie counsell in the matter, with a small number of men, but well chosen, incountered the rebels before the gates of Yorke: where (after a long conflict) he tooke Robert Huldorne their capteine, and before them commanded his head to be striken off, and then (bicause it was a darke euening) he caused his souldiers to enter into Yorke, and there to refresh them. Héere manie men haue maruelled, whie the marquesse thus put to death the capteine of those people, which had procured this their rebellious enterprise.

A rebellion.

Robert Huldorne capteine of the rebels taken and beheaded.

Some saie he did it, to the intent to séeme innocent and faultlesse of his brothers dooings. But other iudge, that he did it, for that contrarie to his promise made to his brother, he was determined to take part with king Edward, with whome (as it shall after appeare) he in small space entered into grace and faour. The rebels being nothing dismaied with the death of their capteine, but rather the more bent on mischéefe, by faire meanes and craftie persuasions got to them Henrie, sonne to the lord Fitz Hugh, and sir Henrie Neull sonne and heire to the lord Latimer, the one being nephue and the other cousine germane to the erle of Warwike. Although these yoong gentlemen bare the names of capteins, yet they had a gouernour that was sir Iohn Coniers, a man of such courage & valiantnesse, as few are to be found in his daies within the north parts.

Sir Iohn Coniers.

After they saw that they could not get Yorke, bicause they wanted ordinance, they determined with all speed to march toward London, intending to raise such a toie in the peoples minds, that they should thinke king Edward neither to be a lawfull prince, nor yet profitable to the common-wealth. King Edward hauing perfect knowledge of all the dooings of the earle of Warwike, and of his brother the duke of Clarence, was by diuerse letters certified of the great armie of the northerne men, with all spéed comming toward London; and therefore in great hast he sent to William lord Herbert, whom (as yée haue heard) he had created earle of Penbroke; requiring him without delaiie to raise his power, and incounter with the northerne men.

The earle of of Penbroke.

The earle of Penbroke, commonlie called the lord Herbert, both readie to obeie the kings commandement, according to his dutie, and also desirous to reuenge the malice which he bare to the earle of Warwike, for that he knew how he had béene the onelie let whie he obtained not the wardship of the lord Bonneuilles daughter and heire for his eldest sonne, accompanied with his brother sir Richard Herbert, a valiant knight, and aboue six or seauen thousand Welshmen, well furnished, marched forward to incounter with the northerne men. And to assist him with archers, was appointed Humfrie lord Stafford of Southwike, named but not created earle of Deuonshire by the king, in hope that he would serue valiantlie in that iournie: he had with him eight hundred archers.

The lord Stafford.

When these two lords were met at Cotteshold, they heard how the northerne men were going toward Northampton: wherevpon the lord Stafford, and sir Richard Herbert, with two thousand well horsed Welshmen, rode forth afore the maine armie, to sée the demeanour of the northerne men: and at length, vnder a woods side, they couertlie espied them passing forward, and suddenlie set on the rere-ward: but the northerne men with such nimblenesse turned about, that in a moment the Welshmen were discomfited, and manie taken, the remnant

The Welshmen discomfited.

returned to the armie with small gaine. The northerne men well cooled with this small victorie, went no further southwards, but tooke their waie toward Warwike, looking for aid of the earle, which was latelie come from Calis, with his sonne in law the duke of Clarence, and was raising men to aid his freends and kinsfolke.

The king likewise assembled people to aid the erle of Penbroke, but before either part receiued succour from his fréend or partaker, both the armies met by chance in a faire plaine, néere to a towne called Hedgecote, foure miles distant from Banberie, where there are thrée hilles, not in equall quantitie, but lieng in maner (although not fullie) triangle. The Welshmen got first the west hill, hoping to haue recouered the east hill also, which if they might haue obtained, the victorie had beene theirs, as their foolish prophesiers told them before. These northerne men incamped on the south hill; the earle of Penbroke and the lord Stafford of Southwike were lodged in Banberie, the daie before the field, which was saint Iames daie, and there the earle of Penbroke put the lord Stafford out of an Inne, wherein he delighted much to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: and yet it was agréed betwixt them, that which of them soeuer obtained first a lodging, should not be displaced.

Hedgecote. Bâberie field.

Discord what it breedeth.

The lord Stafford in great despite departed with his whole band of archers, leauing the earle of Penbroke almost desolate in the towne, who with all diligence returned to his host, lieng in the field vnpurueied of archers. Sir Henrie Neuell, sonne to the lord Latimer, tooke with him certeine light horssemen, and skirmished with the Welshmen in the euening, iust before their campe, where dooing right valiantlie, but a little too hardilie aduenturing himselfe, was taken and yeilded, and yet cruellie slaine. Which vnmercifull act the Welshmen sore rued the next day yer night: for the northerne men sore displeased for the death of this nobleman, in the next morning valiantlie set on the Welshmen, and by force of archers caused them quicklie to descend the hill, into the vallie, where both the hoasts fought.

The earle of Penbroke did right valiantlie, and so likewise did his brother sir Richard Herbert, in so much that with his polax in his hand, he twice by fine force passed thorough the battell of his aduersaries, and without anie hurt or mortall wound returned. But sée the hap, euen as the Welshmen were at point to haue obtained the victorie, Iohn Clappam esquier, seruant to the earle of Warwike, mounted vp the side of the east hill, accompanied onelie with fiue hundred men, gathered of the rascals of the towne of Northampton, and other villages about, hauing borne before them the standard of the earle of Warwike, with the white beare, crieng; A Warwike, a Warwike.

The valiant manhood of sir Richard Herbert.

Iohn Clappam.

The Welshmen, thinking that the earle of Warwike had come on them with all his puissance, suddenlie as men amazed, fled: the northerne men them pursued, and slue without mercie, so that there died of the Welshmen that daie, aboue fiue thousand, besides them that fled and were taken. The earle of Penbroke, and his brother sir Richard Herbert, with diuerse gentlemen, were taken and brought to Banberie, where the earle with his brother, and other gentlemen, to the number of ten, that were likewise taken, lost their heads. But great mone was made for that noble and hardie gentleman, sir Richard Herbert, being able for his goodlie personage and high valiancie to haue serued the greatest prince in christendome. [But what policie or puissance can either preuent or impugne the force of fate, whose law as it standeth vpon an inuitable necessitie; so was it not to be dispensed withall; and therefore destinie hauing preordeined the maner of his deth, it was patientlie to be suffered, sith puissantlie it could not be auoided, nor politikelie preuented, nor violentlie resisted: for

The Welshmen slaine.

Abr. Flem.

---sua quenq; dies ad funera raptat.]

The Northamptonshire men, with diuerse of the northerne men by them procured, in this furie made them a capteine, called Robert Hilliard, but they named him Robin of Reddesdale, and suddenlie came to Grafton, where they tooke the earle Riuers, father to the quéene, and his son sir Iohn Wooduile, whome they brought to Northampton, and there beheaded them both without iudgement. The king aduertised of these mischances, wrote to the shiriffes of Summersetshire, and Deuonshire, that if they might by anie meanes take the lord Stafford of Southwike, they should without delaie put him to death. Herevpon search was made for him, till at length he was found in a village within Brentmarch, and after brought to Bridgewater where he was beheaded.

Robin of Reddesdale.

The erle Riuers and his sonne beheaded.

The lord Stafford of Southwike beheaded.

After the battell was thus fought at Hedgecote commonlie called Banberie field, the northerne men resorted toward Warwike, where the earle had gathered a great multitude of people, which earle receiued the northerne men with great gladnes, thanking sir Iohn Coniers, and other their capteins for their paines taken in his cause. The king in this meane time had assembled his power, and was comming toward the earle, who being aduertised thereof, sent to the duke of Clarence, requiring him to come and ioine with him. The duke being not farre off, with all speed repaired to the earle, and so they ioined their powers together, and vpon secret knowledge had, that the king (bicause they were entered into termes by waie of communication to haue a peace) tooke small héed to himselfe, nothing doubting anie outward attempt of his enimies.

The earle of Warwike, intending not to léese such opportunitie of aduantage, in the dead of the

night, with an elect companie of men of warre (as secretlie as was possible) set on the kings field, killing them that kept the watch, and yer the king was ware (for he thought of nothing lesse than of that which then hapned) at a place called Wolnie, foure miles from Warwike, he was taken prisoner and brought to the castell of Warwike. And to the intent his friends should not know what was become of him, the earle caused him by secret iournies in the night to be conueied to Middleham castell in Yorkeshire, and there to be kept vnder the custodie of the archbishop of Yorke, and other his freends in those parties. King Edward being thus in captiuitie, spake euer faire to the archbishop, and to his other kéepers, so that he had leaue diuerse daies to go hunt. [Which exercise he vsed, as it should séeme not so much for regard of his recreation, as for the recouerie of his libertie: which men estéeme better than gold, and being counted a diuine thing, dooth passe all the wealth, pleasure, and treasure of the world; according to the old saieng:

King Edward taken prisoner.

Middleham castell.

Abr. Flem.

Non bene profuluo libertas venditur auro,
Hoc cœleste bonum præterit orbis opes.]

Now on a daie vpon a plaine when he was thus abroad, there met with him sir William Stanleie, sir Thomas a Borough, and diuerse other of his friends, with such a great band of men, that neither his kéepers would, nor once durst moue him to returne vnto prison againe. Some haue thought that his kéepers were corrupted with monie, or faire promises, and therefore suffred him thus to scape out of danger. After that he was once at libertie, he came to Yorke, where he was ioifullie receiued, and taried there two daies: but when he perceiued he could get no armie together in that countrie to attend him to London, he turned from Yorke to Lancaster, where he found his chamberleine the lord Hastings well accompanied, by whose aid and such others as drew to him, being well furnished, he came safelie to the citie of London.

Sir William Stanleie.

K. Edward is deliuered out of captiuitie.

He commeth to London.

When the earle of Warwike, and the duke of Clarence had knowledge how king Edward by the treason or negligence of them (whome they had put in trust) was escaped their hands, they were in a wonderfull chafe: but sith the chance was past, they began eftsoones to prouide for the warre, which they saw was like to insue; and found much comfort, in that a great number of men, deliting more in discord than in concord, offered themselues to aid their side. But other good men desirous of common quiet, and lamenting the miserable state of the realme, to redresse such mischiefe as appeared to be at hand by these tumults, tooke paine, and road betweene the king, the earle, and the duke, to reconcile them ech to other.

Their charitable motion and causes alledged, because they were of the chieftest of the nobilitie, and therefore caried both credit and authoritie with them, so asswaged the moods both of the king, the duke, and the earle, that ech gaue faith to other to come and go safelie without ieopardie. In which promise both the duke and earle putting perfect confidence, came both to London. At Westminster, the king, the duke, and the earle, had long communication together for to haue come to an agreement: but they fell at such great words vpon rehersall of old matters, that in great furie without any conclusion they departed, the king to Canturburie, and the duke and the earle to Warwike, where the earle procured a new armie to be raised in Lincolneshire, and made capteine thereof sir Robert Welles, sonne to Richard lord Welles, a man of great experience in warre.

The king aduertised hereof without delaie prepared an armie, and out of hand he sent to Richard lord Welles, willing him vpon the sight of his letters, to repaire vnto him: which to doo he had oftentimes refused, excusing himselfe by sicknesse and feblenesse of bodie. But when that excuse serued not, he thinking to purge himselfe sufficientlie of all offense and blame before the kings presence, tooke with him sir Thomas Dimmocke, who had married his sister, and so came to London. And when he was come vp, being admonished by his fréends that the king was greatlie with him displeased, he with his brother in law tooke the sanctuarie at Westminster.

1470.

Sir Thomas Dimmocke.

But king Edward, trusting to pacifie all this busie tumult without anie further bloudshed, promised both those persons their pardons, causing them vpon his promise to come out of sanctuarie to his presence, and calling to him the lord Welles, willed him to write to his sonne to leaue off the warre, and in the meane season he with his armie went forward, hauing with him the lord Welles, and sir Thomas Dimmocke. And being not past two daies iournie from Stamford, where his enimies had pitched their field, and hearing that sir Robert Welles, not regarding his fathers letters, kept his campe still, he caused the lord Welles, father to the said sir Robert, and sir Thomas Dimmocke to be beheaded, contrarie to his promise.

An. Reg. 10.

The lord Welles and Thomas Dimmocke beheaded.

Sir Robert Welles, hearing that the king approached, and that his father and sir Thomas Dimmocke were beheaded, though he was somewhat doubtfull to fight, before the earle of Warwike were with his power assembled, yet hauing a yong and lustie courage, manfullie set on his enimies. The battell was sore fought on both sides, and manie a man slaine; till sir Robert, perceiuing his people at point to flie, was busilie in hand to exhort them to tarie, and in the meane time compassed about with enimies was there taken, & with him sir Thomas de Land knight, and manie more. After the taking of their capteine, the Lincolneshire men amazed, threw awaie their coats the lighter to run

Losecote field.

awaie, and fled amaine, and therefore this battell is called there yet vnto this daie, Losecote field.

The king reioising at this victorie, caused sir Robert Welles, and diuerse other to be put to execution in the same place. The fame went at this battell were slaine ten thousand men at the least. The earle of Warwike laie at the same time at his castell of Warwike, and meant to haue set forward the next daie toward his armie in Lincolnshire. But when he heard that the same was ouerthrowne, he tooke new counsell, and with all diligence imagined how to compasse Thomas lord Stanleie, which had married his sister, that he might be one of the conspiracie. Which thing when he could not bring to passe (for the lord Stanleie had answered him, that he would neuer make warre against king Edward) he thought no longer to spend time in wast; and mistrusting he was not able to méet with his enimies, he with his sonne in law the duke of Clarence departed to Excester, and there tarieng a few daies, determined to saile into France, to purchase aid of king Lewes.

The faithfulnessse of the lord Stanleie.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike take the sea.

Now resting vpon this point, he hired ships at Dartmouth: and when the same were readie trimmed and decked, the duke and the earle with their wiues, and a great number of seruants imbarcked themselues, and first tooke their course towards Calis, whereof the earle was capteine, thinking there to haue left his wife and daughters, till he had returned out of France. But when they were come before the towne of Calis, they could not be suffered to enter: for the lord Vauclere a Gascoigne, being the earles deputie in that towne, whether he did it by dissimulation, or bearing good will to king Edward (as by the sequele it may be doubted whether he did or no) instead of receiuing his master with triumph, he bent and discharged against him diuerse peeces of ordinance, sending him word he should not there take land.

The earle of Warwike kept out of Calis.

This nauie lieng thus before Calis at anchor, the duchesse of Clarence was there deliuered of a faire sonne, which child the earles deputie would scarce suffer to be christened within the towne; nor without great intreatie would permit two flagons of wine to be conueied aboard to the ladies lieng in the hauen. The king of England aduertised of the refusall made by monsieur de Vauclere to the earle of Warwike, was so much pleased therewith, that incontinentlie he made him chiefe capteine of the towne of Calis by his letters patents, which he sent to him out of hand, and thereof discharged the earle as a traitor and rebell. Thus was the one in respect of his accepted seruice honorablie aduanced; and the other, in regard of his disloialtie shamefullie disgraced: whereof as the one tooke occasion of inward delight; so the othe could not be void of grudging conceipts.

Monsieur de Vauclere made deputie of Calis.

The duke of Burgognie (vnto whome king Edward had written, that in no wise he should receiue the earle of Warwike, nor anie of his friends within his countries) was so well pleased with the dooings of monsieur de Vauclere, that he sent to him his seruant Philip de Cumins, and gaue him yéerelie a thousand crownes in pension, praieng and requiring him to continue in truth and fidelitie toward king Edward, as he had shewed and begun. But although monsieur de Vauclere sware in the said Philips presence, trulie to take king Edwards part; yet he sent priuillie to the earle of Warwike lieng at Whitsanbaie, that if he landed, hee should be taken and lost: for all England (as he said) tooke part against him; the duke of Burgognie, and all the inhabitants of the towne, with the lord Duras the kings marshall, and all the retinue of the garrison were his enimies.

The double dealing of monsieur de Vauclere.

The lord Duras was a Gascoigne also.

The earle, hauing this aduertisement from his feigned enimie, with his nauie sailed toward Normandie, and by the waie spoiled and tooke manie ships of the duke of Burgognies subiects, and at the last (with all his nauie and spoiles) he tooke land at Diepe in Normandie, where the gouernor of the cuntry friendlie welcomed him, and aduertised king Lewes of his arriuall. The French king, desirous of nothing more than to haue occasion to pleasure the erle of Warwike, of whom the hie renowme caused all men to haue him in admiration, sent vnto him, requiring both him and his sonne in law the duke of Clarence, to come vnto his castell of Ambois, where he then soiourned. The duke of Burgognie, hearing that the duke and earle were thus receiued in France, sent a post with letters vnto king Lewes, partlie by waie of request, and partlie by way of menacing, to dissuade him from aiding of his aduersaries, the said duke and earle.

The earle of Warwike landed at Diepe.

Ambois.

But the French king little regarded this sute of the duke of Burgognie, and therefore answered, that he might and would succour his friends, and yet breake no leage with him at all. In the meane time, K. Edward made inquirie for such as were knowne to be aiders of the earle of Warwike within his realme, of whom some he apprehended as guiltie, and some (doubting themselues) fled to sanctuarie, and other trusting to the kings pardon, submitted themselues, as Iohn marques Montacute, whom he courteouslie receiued. When quéene Margaret that soiourned with duke Reiner hir father, heard tell that the earle of Warwike was come to the French court, with all diligence shee came to Ambois to sée him, with hir onelie sonne prince Edward.

Iohn marques Montacute.

With hir also came Iasper earle of Penbroke, and Iohn earle of Oxford, which after diuerse imprisonments latelie escaped, fled out of England into France, and came by fortune to this assemblie. These persons, after intreatie had of their affaires, determined by meanes of the French king to conclude a league and amitie betweene them. And first to begin withall,

The earles of Penbroke & Oxford.

for the sure foundation of their new intreatie, Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne second daughter to the earle of Warwike, which ladie came with hir mother into France. After which mariage, the duke and the earles tooke a solemne oth, that they should neuer leaue the warre, till either king Henrie the sixt, or his sonne prince Edward, were restored to the crowne: and that the quéene and the prince should depute and appoint the duke and the earle to be gouernors & consuators of the common-wealth, till time the prince were come to estate. Manie other conditions were agréed, as both reason & the weightnesse of so great businesse required.

A league.

Edward prince of Wales married.

Whilest these things were thus in dooing in the French court, there landed a damsell, belonging to the duchesse of Clarence; as she said: which made monsieur de Vaucléere beleue, that she was sent from king Edward to the duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike with a plaine ouerture and declaration of peace. Of the which tidings Vaucléere was verie glad for the earles sake. But this damsell comming to the duke, persuaded him so much to leaue off the pursute of his conceiued displeasure towards his brother king Edward, that he promised at his returne into England, not to be so extreme enemie against his brother as he was taken to be: and this promise afterward he did kéepe. With this answer the damsell returned into England, the earle of Warwike being thereof clearelie ignorant.

The promise of the duke of Clarence.

The French king lent both ships, men, and monie vnto quéene Margaret, and to hir partakers, and appointed the bastard of Burbon, admerall of France, with a great nauie to defend them against the nauie of the duke of Burgognie, which he laid at the mouth of the riuer Saine, readie to incounter them, being of greater force than both the French nauie and the English fléet. And yet king Reiner did also helpe his daughter with men and munition of warre. When their ships and men were come together to Harflue, the erle of Warwike thought not to linger time: bicause he was certified by letters from his friends out of England, that assoone as he had taken land, there would be readie manie thousands to doo him what seruice and pleasure they could or might. And beside this, diuerse noble men wrote that they would helpe him with men, armor, monie, and all things necessarie for the warre, and further to aduenture their owne bodies in his quarell.

Suerlie his presence was so much desired of all the people, that almost all men were readie in armour, looking for his arriuall: for they iudged that the verie sunne was taken from the world when hée was absent. When he had receiued such letters of comfort, he determined with the duke, and the earles of Oxford and Pembroke (bicause quéene Margaret and hir sonne were not yet fullie furnished for the iournie) to go before with part of the nauie, and part of the armie. And euen as fortune would, the nauie of the duke of Burgognie at the same time by a tempest was scattered, & driuen beside the coast of Normandie: so that the earle of Warwike in hope of a bonne voiage, caused sailes to be halsed vp, and with good speed landed at Darmouth in Deuonshire, from whence almost six moneths passed he tooke his iournie toward France (as before ye haue heard.) When the earle had taken land, he made proclamation in the name of king Henrie the sixt, vpon high paines commanding and charging all men able to beare armor, to prepare themselues to fight against Edward duke of Yorke, which contrarie to right had vsurped the crowne. It is almost not to be beléueed, how manie thousands men of warre at the first tidings of the earles landing resorted vnto him.

The loue which the people bare to the earle of Warwike.

A proclamation.

King Edward wakened with the newes of the earles landing, and the great repaire of people that came flocking in vnto him, sent fourth letters into all parts of his realme to raise an armie: but of them that were sent for, few came, and yet of those few the more part came with no great good willes. Which when he perceiued, he began to doubt the matter, and therefore being accompanied with the duke of Glocester his brother, the lord Hastings his chamberlaine, which had married the earles sister, and yet was euer true to the king his maister, and the lord Scales brother to the quéene, he departed into Lincolnshire. And bicause he vnderstood that all the realme was vp against him, and some part of the earle of Warwiks power was within halfe a daies iournie of him, following the aduise of his counsell, with all hast possible he passed the Washes in great ieopardie, & comming to Lin found there an English ship, and two hulkes of Holland readie (as fortune would) to make saile.

King Edward cometh to Lin and taketh ship to passe ouer sees.

Wherevpon he with his brother the duke of Glocester, the lord Scales, and diuerse other his trustie friends, entered into the ship. The lord Hastings taried a while after, exhorting all his acquaintance, that of necessitie should tarie behind, to shew themselues openlie as friends to king Henrie for their owne safegard, but hartilie required them in secret to continue faithfull to king Edward. This persuasion declared, he entered the ship with the other, and so they departed, being in number in that one ship and two hulkes, about seuen or eight hundred persons, hauing no furniture of apparell, or other necessarie things with them, sauing apparell for warre.

The lord Hastings.

The number that passed ouer with king Edward.

Abr. Fl.

[For it was no taking of leasure to prouide their corporall necessaries (though the want of them could hardlie be borne) in a case of present danger; considering that they were made against by the contrarie faction with such swift pursute. And it had bene a point of extreme follie, to be carefull for the accidents, permitting in the meane time the substance vnto the spoile.]

As king Edward with saile and ore was thus making course towards the duke of Burgognies countrie (whither he determined at the first to go) it

King Edward arriued at it

chanced that seven or eight gallant ships of Easterlings, open enimies both to England and France, were abrode on those seas, and espieng the kings vessels, began to chase him. The kings ship was good of saile, and so much gat of the Easterlings, that he came on the coast of Holland, and so descended lower before a towne in the cuntry called Alquemare, and there cast anchor as néere the towne as was possible, bicause they could not enter the hauen at an ebbing water. The Easterlings also approched the English ship, as néere as their great ships should come at the low water, intending at the floud to haue their preie: as they were verie like to haue attained it in déed, if the lord Gronture, gouernor of that cuntry for the duke of Burgognie, had not by chance béene at the same time in that towne.

Alquemare.

The lord Gronture.

This lord (vpon knowledge had of king Edwards arriuell there in the hauen, and in what danger he stood by reason of the Easterlings) commanded them not to be so hardie as once to meddle with anie Englishmen, being both the dukes fréends and alies. Then did king Edward & all his companie come on land. Who after they had beene well refreshed & gentlie comforted by the lord Gronture, they were by him brought to the Hagh, a rich towne in Holland, where they remained a while, hauing all things necessarie ministred to them by order of the duke of Burgognie, sent vnto the lord Gronture, immediatlie vpon certificat from the said lord Gronture of king Edwards arriuell. [Héere we see in what perplexities king Edward and his retinue were, partlie by enimies at home in his owne cuntry, whose hands he was constrained to flée from by the helpe of the sea; partlie also by aduersaries abroad, seeking opportunitie to offer him not the incounter onelie, but the ouerthrow. And suerly, had not good fortune faouored him, in preparing readie meanes for him to auoid those imminent dangers; he had doubtlesse fallen among the weapons of his owne countrimen, and so neuer haue feared forren force: but in escaping both the one and the other, euen with shift of so spéedie expedition, it is a note (if it be well looked into) of happinesse, if anie happinesse may be in preseruacion from ruine and reproch.]

Now let all Englishmen (saith Edward Hall) consider (as before is rehearsed) what profit, what commoditie, and what helpe in distresse, the mariage of the ladie Margaret, king Edwards sister to the duke Charles, did to him in his extreame necessitie; and but by that meane vncurable extremitie: for his alies and confederats in Castile and Arragon were too far from him, either speedilie to flie to, or shortlie to come fro with anie aid or armie. The French king was his extreme enimie, and freend to king Henrie, for whose cause in the king of Scots (for all the leage betwéene them) he did put little confidence and lesse trust. The states and all Eastland were with him at open war, and yet by this marriage, God prouided him a place to flie to, both for refuge and reléefe.

Edw. Hall. fol. ccix.

[But for the further and cleerer explanation of these stratagems, or rather ciuill tumults, it shall not be amisse to insert in this place (sith I cannot hit vpon one more conuenient) a verie good note or addition receiued from the hands of maister Iohn Hooker chamberlaine of Excester; the contents whereof are of such qualitie, that they cannot stand in concurrence with anie matter introduced within the compasse of the ninth yeare of this kings reigne (as he had quoted it) and therefore I thought it méet to transfer the same to this tenth yeare; considering that some part of the matter by him largelie touched, is briefelie in the premisses already remembred.]

Abr. Flem.

¶ This yeare (saith he) was verie troublesome, and full of ciuill wars and great discords. For after that king Edward the fourth was escaped out of prison, at Wolneie besides Warwike, he mustered and prepared a new armie. Wherevpon the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence, mistrusting themselues, prepared to passe the seas ouer to Calis, and first of all sent awaie the duches of Clarence daughter to the said earle, who was then great with child, and she being accompanied with the lord Fitz Warren, the lord Dinham, and the baron of Carew, and a thousand fighting men came to this citie of Excester the eighteenth daie of March, and was lodged in the bishops palace. Sir Hugh, or (as some saie) sir William Courtneie, who then faouored the partie of king Edward the fourth, assembled a great troope and armie of all the fréends he could make, and inuironing the citie, besieged the same; he pulled downe all the bridges, rampered vp all the waies, and stopped all the passages, so that no vittels at all could be brought to this citie for twelue daies together, which being doone vpon a sudden and vnlooked for, vittels waxed short and scant within the citie, and by reason of so great a multitude within the same, the people for want of food began to murmur and mutter.

Iohn Hooker, alias Vowell.

Lord Dinhā, and baron Carew, with their power come to Excester.

The duches and the lords of hir companie, mistrusting what might and would be the sequele hereof, began to deale with the maior, and required to haue the keies of the gates to be deliuered into their hands and that they would vndertake the safe custodie of the citie. Likewise sir William Courtneie did send his messenger to the maior, and required the gates to be opened and to giue him entrance: or els he would with sword and fier destroye the same. The maior and his brethren being in great perplexities, and hauing to answer not onelie the lords within and the knight without, but most of all doubting the common people within, who being impatient of penurie, were deafe to all persuasions and listen to any counsels: did so order and handle the matter, as that by good spéeches and courteous vsages, euerie partie was stopped and staid, vntill by means and mediations of certeine good and godlie men, an intreatie was made, the matter was compounded and the siege raised, and euerie man set at libertie.

The next daie after which conclusion, the gates being opened, to wit, the third of Aprill 1470, the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence came to this citie, and here rested, and sojourned themselues vntill sufficient

The duke of Clarence and the earle of

shipping was provided for their passage over the seas, and then they all embarked themselves, and passed over to Calis. The king in this meane time mustered his armie, and prepared with all speed all things necessarie to follow and pursue his said aduersaries, and came to this citie, thinking to find them here the fourteenth of Aprill being saturday 1470, with fortie thousand fighting men: but the birds were fled awaie before his comming. Neuertheless the king came and entred into the citie, being accompanied with sundrie noble men; namely, the bishop of Elie then lord treasurer, the duke of Norffolke earle marshall, the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Wilshire sonne to the duke of Buckingham, the earle of Worcester constable of England, the earle of Shrewesburie, the earle Riuers, the lord Hastings, the lord Graie of Codnor, the lord Audelie, the lord Saie, the lord Sturton, the lord Dacres, the lord Montioie, the lord Stanlei, the lord Ferris, and the baron of Dudlei.

Warwike soiorne at Excester, and are pursued of the king.

Before whose comming, the maior being aduertised thereof, tooke order, and gaue commandement to euerie citizen and inhabitant, being of abilitie, to provide and prepare for himselfe a gowne of the cities liuerie, which was then red colour, and to be in a readinesse for receiuing of the king, which was accordinglie doone. And when the king was come neere to the citie, the maior being verie well attended with foure hundred persons well and seemelie apparelled in the cities liuerie, went to the south gate, and without the same attended the kings comming. Who when he was come, the maior did his most humble obeisance, and therewith Thomas Dowrish then recorder of the citie made vnto his grace an humble oration, congratulating his comming to the citie: which ended, the maior deliuered vnto the king the keies of the gates and the maces of his office, and therewith a pursse of one hundred nobles in gold, which his grace tooke verie thankfullie. The monie he kept, but the keies and the maces he deliuered backe to the maior; and then the maior tooke the mace and did beare it through the citie bare-headed before the king, vntill he came to his lodging.

The king is receiued verie honorablie into the citie of Excester.

The citizens beneuolence to the king.

The next daie following, being Palmesundaie, the king in most princelie and roiall maner came to the cathedrall church of saint Peters, to heare the diuine seruice, where he followed and went in procession after the maner as was then vsed, round about the churchyard, to the great ioy and comfort of all the people: he continued in the citie thre daies vntill the tuesday then following; who when he had dined tooke his horsse and departed backe towards London, and gaue to the maior great good thanks for his intertainment. About foure moneths after this, in August, the duke of Clarence and the erle of Warwike returned againe from Calis, with all their retinue, & landed some at Plimmouth, some at Dartmouth, and some at Exmouth: but all met in this citie, and from hence they all passed towards London, and at euerie place they proclaimed king Henrie the sixt, which when king Edward heard, he was very much troubled therewith: and not able then to withstand their force, he passed the seas to his brother in law the duke of Burgognie.

How long the king continued in the citie.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike arriue on the English coasts.

This yeare also, being verie troublesome, and the gouernement vncerteine, men were in great perplexities, & wist not what to doo. And among manie there was one speciallie to be remembred, who to rid himselfe out of these troubles, did deuise this practise: his name was sir William Haukesford knight, a man verie well learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe iustices at the law: he dwelled at Annorie in Deuonshire, a gentleman of great possessions, and hauing neuer a sonne, the lord Fitz Warren, sir Iohn Sentleger, & sir William Bulleine, who married his daughters, were his heires. This man being one of the chiefest lawiers in the land, was dailie sought to and his councill asked: and he considering that when the sword ruled, law had a small course, and finding by experience what fruits insue such counsell as dooth not best like the parties, was verie heaueie, sorrowfull, and in great agonies.

The practise of a knight being chiefe iustice at the law to rid himselfe of life.

Herevpon suddenlie he called vnto him the keeper of his parke, with whom he fell out and quareled, because (as he said) he was slothfull and careles, and did not walke in the nights about the parke, but suffered his game to be spoiled and his deere to be stolen, wherefore he willed him to be more vigilant and carefull of his charge, and also commanded him that if he met anie man in his circuit and walke in the night time, and would not stand nor speake vnto him, he should not spare to kill him what so euer he were. This knight, hauing laid this foundation, and minding to performe what he had purposed for the ending of his dolefull daies, did in a certeine darke night secretlie conueie himselfe out of his house, and walked alone in his parke. Then the keepeer in his night walke hearing one stirring and comming towards him, asked who was there? but no answer was made at all.

An vniust or surmised charge of the knight against the keepeer of his parke.

Then the keeper willed him to stand, which when he would not doo, the keepeer nocked his arrow and shot vnto him, and killed him; who when he perceiued that it was his maister, then he called to remembrance his maisters former commandement. And so this knight, otherwise learned and wise, being affraid to displease man, did displease God, and verie disorderlie ended his life. It is inrolled amongst the records of this citie, of a commission directed to Iohn earle of Deuonshire, & from him sent to the maior of the citie of Excester to be proclaimed. The words be these: Decimoquarto die Aprilis, vz. in vigilia Paschæ, An. 49. Hen. 6.

The keepeer killeth his maister the knight with an arrow.

commissio domini regis directa Iohanni comiti Deuon. missa est maiori vt proclamaretur. And likewise in an other place: Quatuor marcæ sunt solutæ Iohanni comiti Deuon. ex assensu maioris.

Howbeit, certeine it is there was no such earle of that name, onelie there was Iohn Holland then liuing duke of Excester, wherefore something is mistaken herein.

But was this a practise (thinke you) beséeming a man of worship, learning, and iudgement, to make awaie himselfe, bicause he saw a temporall interruption of his prosperitie? Suerlie how much learning so euer he had in the lawes of the land, litle at all or none (as appeareth) had he in suffering the forces of aduersitie, whom the feare of it did so terrifie, that it droue him to his end. Wise therefore is the counsel of the comedie-writer, and worthie of imitation, that a man, when he is in best case and highest degré of welfare, should euen then meditate with himselfe how to awaie with hardnesse, with penurie, perils, losse, banishment, and other afflictions: for so shall he prepare himselfe to beare them with patience when they happen: as souldiers trained vp in militarie exercises at home, are so much the forwarder for the field, & fitter to incounter their foes (with lesse dread of danger) when they come abroad to be tried: and therefore it is wiselie (& to the purpose) said of Virgil:

Abr. Flem.

---superando omnis fortuna ferendo est.

Aeneid. 5.

But to returne to the princes affaires. When the fame was once spread abroad that K. Edward was fled the relme, an innumerable number of people resorted to the earle of Warwike to take his part, but all K. Edwards trustie fréends went to diuerse sanctuaries, and amongst other his wife quéene Elizabeth tooke sanctuarie at Westminster, and there in great penurie forsaken of all hir friends, was deliuered of a faire son called Edward, which was with small pompe like a poore mans child christened, the godfathers being the abbat and prior of Westminster, and the godmother the ladie Scroope. [But what might be the heauinesse of this ladies hart (thinke we) vpon consideration of so manie counterblasts of vnhappinesse inwardlie conceiued? Hir husband had taken flight, his adherents and hir fréends sought to shroud themselues vnder the couert of a new protector, she driuen in distresse forsooke not that simple refuge which hir hard hap forced vpon hir; and (a kings wife) wanted in hir necessitie such things as meane mens wiues had in superfluitie, & (a corosiuie to a noble mind) a prince of renowned parentage was (by constreint of vnkind fortune) not vouchsafed the solemnitie of christendome due and decent for so honorable a personage.]

K. Edwards fréends take sanctuarie.

Quéene Elizabeth deliuered of a prince.

Ab. Flem.

The Kentishmen in this seson (whose minds be euer moueable at the change of princes) came to the subvrbs of London, spoiled mansions, robbed béerehouses, and by the counsell of sir Geffrie Gates and other sanctuarie men, they brake vp the kings Bench and deliuered prisoners, and fell at Ratcliffe, Limehouse, & S. Katharins, to burning of houses, slaughter of people, and rauishing of women. Which small sparkle had growne to a greater flame, if the earle of Warwike with a great power had not suddenlie quenched it, and punished the offenders: which benefit by him doone, caused him much more to be estéemed and liked amongst the commons than he was before. When he had settled all things at his pleasure, vpon the twelue daie of October he rode to the Tower of London, and there deliuered king Henrie out of the ward, where he before was kept, and brought him to the kings lodging, where he was serued according to his degré.

The Kentishmen make an hurlie burlie.

King Henrie fetched out of the Tower & restored to his kingly gouernement.

On the fiue and twentieth day of the said moneth, the duke of Clarence accompanied with the earles of Warwike and Shrewesburie, the lord Strange, and other lords and gentlemen, some for feare, and some for loue, and some onelie to gaze at the wauering world, went to the Tower, and from thense brought king Henrie apparelled in a long gowne of blew veluet, through London to the church of saint Paule, the people on euerie side the stréets reioising and crieng; God saue the king: as though ech thing had succéeded as they would haue had it: and when he had offered (as kings vse to doo) he was conueied to the bishops palace, where he kept his household like a king. [Thus was the principalitie posted ouer somtimes to Henrie, sometimes to Edward; according to the swaie of the partie preuailing: ambition and disdaine still casting fagots on the fire, whereby the heat of hatred gathered the greater force to the consumption of the péeres and the destruction of the people. In the meane time, neither part could securelie possesse the regalitie, when they obtained it; which highmindednesse was in the end the ouerthrow of both principals and accessaries, according to the nature thereof noted in this distichon by the poet:

Fastus habet lites, offensis fastus abundat,
Fastus ad interitum præcipitare solet.]

When king Henrie had thus readepted and eftsoons gotten his regall power and authoritie, he called his high court of parlement to begin the six and twentieth day of Nouember at Westminster; in the which king Edward was adiudged a traitor to the countrie, and an vsurper of the realme. His goods were confiscat and forfeited. The like sentence was giuen against all his partakers and freends. And besides this it was inacted, that such as for his sake were apprehended, and were either in captiuitie or at large vpon suerties, should be extremelie punished according to their demerits, amongst whome was

A parlement.

K. Edward adiudged an vsurper.

the lord Tiptoft earle of Worcester lieutenant for king Edward in Ireland, exercising there more extreme crueltie than princelie pietie, and namelie on two infants being sonnes to the earle of Desmond.

[This earle of Worcester, being found in the top of an high trée, in the forest of Wailbridge, in the countie of Huntington, was brought to London, and either for treason to him laid, or malice against him conceiued, was atteinted, and beheaded at the Tower hill, and after buried at the Blacke friers.] Moreouer, all statutes made by king Edward were clearlie reuoked, and the crownes of the realmes of England and France were by authoritie of the same parlement intailed to king Henrie the sixt, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to remaine to George duke of Clarence, & to his heires male: and further, the said duke was inabled to be next heire to his father Richard duke of Yorke, and to take from him all his landes and dignities, as though he had béene his eldest sonne at the time of his death. Iasper earle of Penbroke, and Iohn earle of Oxford, with diuerse other by king Edward atteinted, were restored to their old names, possessions, and ancient dignities.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 725.

The earle Tiptoft beheaded.

The crowne intailed.

Beside this, the earle of Warwike, as one to whom the common-wealth was much bounden [and euer had in great fauour of the commons of this land, by reason of the exceeding houshold which he dailie kept in all countries where euer he soiourned or laie: and when he came to London, he held such an house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakefast, and euerie tauerne was full of his meat, for who that had anie acquaintance in that house, he should haue had as much sod and rost as he might carrie vpon a long dagger] he (I saie) was made gouernour of the realme, with whom as fellow was associat George duke of Clarence. And thus was the state of the realme quite altered. To this parlement came the marquesse Montacute, excusing himselfe, that for feare of death he declined to take king Edwards part, which excuse was accepted. When quéene Margaret vnderstood by hir husbands letters, that the victorie was gotten by their fréends, she with hir sonne prince Edward and hir traine entered their ships, to take their voiage into England: but the winter was so sharpe, the weather so stormie, and the wind so contrarie, that she was faine to take land againe, and to deferre hir iournie till another season.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 722, 723.

The earle of Warwike his housekéeping.

Fabian.

The earle of Warwike instituted gouernour of the realme.

About the same season, Iasper earle of Penbroke went into Wales, to visit his lands in Penbrokeshire, where he found lord Henrie sonne to his brother Edmund earle of Richmond, hauing not full ten yeares of age; he being kept in maner like a captiue, but honorablie brought vp by the ladie Herbert, late wife to William earle of Penbroke, beheaded at Banburie (as ye before haue heard.) This Henrie was borne of Margaret the onelie daughter and heire of Iohn the first duke of Summerset, then not being full ten yeares of age, the which ladie though she were after ioined in mariage with lord Henrie sonne to Humfreie duke of Buckingham, and after to Thomas Stanleie earle of Derby, both being young and apt for generation, yet she had neuer anie more children, as though she had doone hir part to bring foorth a man child, and the same to be a king (as he after was indéed) intituled by the name of Henrie the seuenth (as after ye shall heare.)

Iasper earle of Penbroke.

Margaret countesse of Richmond and Derby.

The earle of Penbroke tooke this child, being his nephue, out of the custodie of the ladie Herbert, and at his returne brought the child with him to London to king Henrie the sixt, whome when the king had a good while beheld, he said to such princes as were with him: Lo, suerlie this is he, to whom both we and our aduersaries leauing the possession of all things shall hereafter giue roome and place. So this holie man shewed before the chance that should happen, that this earle Henrie so ordeined by God, should in time to come (as he did indéed) haue and inioy the kingdome and whole rule of this realme of England. ¶ So that it might seeme probable by the coherence of holie Henries predictions with the issue falling out in truth with the same; that for the time he was indued with a propheticall spirit. And suerlie the epithet or title of holie is not for naught attributed vnto him, for it is to be read in writers, that he was by nature giuen to peaceableness, abhorring bloud and slaughter, detesting ciuill tumults, addicted to deuotion, verie frequent in praier, and not estéeming so highlie of courtlie gallantnesse as stood with the dignitie of a prince. In consideration wherof, he procured against himselfe an apostasie of his people both natiue and forren; who reuolted and fell from fealtie. And whie? The reason is rendred by the same writer, namelie:

The saieng of king Henrie the sixt, of Henrie of Richmond after king Henrie the seuenth.

Ab. Flem.

Quòd tales homines populus sceleratior odit,
Fastidit, detestatur: non conuenit inter
Virtutem & vitium, lucem fugère tenebræ.

The earle of Warwike, vnderstanding that his enimie the duke of Burgognie had receiued king Edward, and meant to aid him for recouerie of the kingdome, he first sent ouer to Calis foure hundred archers on horssebacke to make warre on the dukes countries; and further, prepared foure thousand valiant men to go ouer shortlie, that the duke might haue his hands euen full of trouble at home. And where ye haue heard that the erle of Warwike was kept out of Calis at his fléeing out of England

The ragged staffe.

into France, ye shall note that within a quarter of an houre after it was knowne that he was returned into England; and had chased king Edward out of the realme; not onelie monsieur de Vaucléere, but also all other of the garrison & towne shewed themselues to be his fréends; so that the ragged staffe was taken vp and worne in euerie mans cap, some ware it of gold enameled, some of siluer; and he that could haue it neither of gold nor siluer, had it of whitish silke or cloth: such wauering minds haue the common people, bending like a reed with euerie wind that bloweth.

The duke of Burgognie, hauing an armie readie at the same time to inuade the frontiers of France, to recouer the townes of saint Quintines and Amiens, latelie by the French king taken from him, doubted to be hindered greatlie by the Englishmen, if he should be constrained to haue warre with them: for the duke of Burgognie held not onlie at that season Flanders, but also Bulleine, and Bullennois, and all Artois, so that he was thereby in danger to receiue harme out of Calis on ech side. Therefore he sent ambassadors thither, which did so much with the councell there, that the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the realme of England and the dukes countries; onelie the name of Henrie put in the writing in stéed of Edward. This matter hindered sore the sute of king Edward, dailie suing to the duke for aid at his hands, the more earnestlie indéed, bicause of such promises as by letters were made vnto him out of England, from his assured fréends there.

The duke of Burgognie sendeth ambassadors to Calis.

But duke Charles would not consent openlie to aid king Edward; but yet secretlie vnder hand by others he lent vnto him fiftie thousand florens of the crosse of S. Andrew, and further caused foure great ships to be appointed for him in the hauen of de Véere, otherwise called Camphire in Zeland, which in those daies was free for all men to come vnto, and the duke hired for him fouretéene ships of the Easterlings well appointed, & for the more suertie tooke a bond of them to serue him trulie, till he were landed in England, and fiftene daies after. The Easterlings were glad of this iournie, trusting if he got againe the possession of England, they should the sooner come to a peace, and obtaine restitution of their liberties and franchises, which they claimed of former time to haue within this realme. The duke of Burgognie cared not much on whose side the victorie fell, sauing for paiment of his monie: for he would oft saie, that he was fréend to both parties, and either part was fréendlie to him.

1471.

He aideth K. Edward vnder hand.

In déed, as he was brother in law to the one, so was he of kin to the other, as by his grandmother being daughter to Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster. When therefore all king Edwards furniture and prouision for his iournie were once readie, hauing now with him about two thousand able men of warre, beside mariners, he entered into the ships with them, in the hauen before Flishing in Zeland, vpon the second day of March: and bicause the wind fell not good for his purpose, he taried still aboard for the space of nine daies, before it turned méet for his iournie. But after that the wind once came about (as he wisht) the sails were hoisted vp on the 11 of March being monday, & forward they sailed, directing their course streight ouer towards the coast of Norffolke. On the next day being tuesday, & the twelwe of March, toward the euening, they road before Cromer, where the king sent to land sir Robert Chamberleine, with sir Gilbert Debenham knights, and diuerse other, to the end they might discouer the countrie, and vnderstand how the people within the land were bent towards him, especiallie those countries there next adioining.

W. Fleetwood.

He arriueth on the coast of Norffolke.

Vpon their returne, he vnderstood that there was no suertie for him to land in those parties, by reason of the good order which the earle of Warwike, and the earle of Oxford especiallie had taken in that countrie to resist him: for not onelie the duke of Norffolke, but all other the gentlemen (whome the earle of Warwike had in anie suspicion) were by letters of priuie seale sent for, and either committed to safe kéeping about London, or else inforced to find suertie for their loiall demeanor towards king Henrie: yet those knights and other that were thus sent forth to make inquirie, were well receiued of their frends, and had good cheare. But after the king perceiued by their report, how things stood thereabouts, he caused his ships to make course towards the north parts.

An. Reg. 11.

The earle of Oxford.

The same night folowing, a great storme of winds and weather rose, sore troubling the seas, and continued till the fourtéenth day of that moneth being thursday, on the which day with greater danger, by reason of the tempestuous rage and torment of the troubled seas, he arriued at the head of Humber, where the other ships were scattered from him, each one seuered from other; so that of necessitie they were driuen to land in sunder where they best might, for doubt to be cast awaie in that perillous tempest. The king with the lord Hastings his chamberleine, and other to the number of fiue hundred men being in one ship, landed within Humber on Holdernesse side, at a place called Rauenspurgh, euen in the same place where Henrie erle of Derby, after called king Henrie the fourth landed, when he came to depriue king Richard the second of the crowne, and to vsurpe it to himselfe.

He arriueth at the head of Humber.

He landeth at Rauenspurgh.

Richard duke of Glocester, and three hundred men in his companie, tooke land in another place foure miles distant from thence, where his brother king Edward did land. The earle Riuers, and with him two hundred men, landed at a place called Pole, fourtéene miles from the hauen where the king came on land. The residue of his people landed some here some there, in place where for their suerties they thought best. On the morrow, being the fiftéenth of March, now that the

tempest ceased, and euerie man being got to land, they drew from euerie of their landing places towards the king, who for the first night was lodged in a poore village, two miles from the place where he first set foot on land. [As for his traine, though the season of the yeere was naturallie cold, & therefore required competent refection by warmth, it is to be supposed, that all their lodgings were hard inough, sith the principals prouision was sorie inough. But what of that? Better (in cases of extremitie) an hard shift than none at all.]

Touching the folks of the countrie, there came few or none to him. For by the incensing of such as had bin sent into those parts from the erle of Warwike, and other his aduersaries, the people were shrewdlie induced to stand against him. But yet, in respect of the good will that manie of them had borne to his father, they could haue béene content, that he should haue inioied his right to his due inheritance of the duchie of Yorke, but in no wise to the title of the crowne. And herevpon they suffered him to passe, not seeking to annoie him, till they might vnderstand more of his purposed meaning. The king, perceiuing how the people were bent, noised abroad that hée came to make none other chalenge but to his inheritance of the duchie of Yorke: and withall ment to passe first into the citie of Yorke, and so forward towards London, to incounter with his aduersaries that were in the south parts.

For although his néerest waie had béene through Lincolneshire: yet bicause in taking that waie hée must haue gone againe to the water, in passing ouer Humber; he doubted least it would haue bin thought that he had withdrawne himselfe to the sea for feare. And to auoid the rumors that might haue beene spred thereof, to the hinderance of his whole cause, he refused that waie, and tooke this other, still bruting it (as before we said) that his comming was not to chalenge the crowne, but onelie to be restored vnto his fathers right and inheritance of the duchie of Yorke, which was descended to him from his father. And here it séemed that the colour of iustice hath euer such a force in it selfe amongst all men, that where before few or none of the commons could be found that would offer themselues to take his part: yet now that he did (as they thought) claime nothing but that which was his right, they began streight to haue a liking of his cause.

And where there were gathered to the number of six or seuen thousand men in diuerse places, vnder the leading chieflie of a priest and of a gentleman called Martine de la Mare, in purpose to haue stopped his passage: now the same persons tooke occasion to assist him. And when he perceiued mens minds to bée well qualified with this feined deuse, he marched foorth till he came to Beuerleie, which stood in his direct waie as he passed toward Yorke. He sent also to Kingston vpon Hull, distant from thence six miles, willing that he might be there receiued: but the inhabitants, who had bene laboured by his aduersaries, refused in anie wise to grant therevnto.

Martine de la Mare or
Martine of the sea.

He passeth toward
Yorke.

The earle of Warwike aduertised by messengers of king Edwards arriuall, and of his turning toward Yorke, with all hast wrote to his brother the marquesse Montacute, who had laine at the castell of Pomfret all the last winter with a great number of souldiers, willing him to consider in what case their affaires stood, and therevpon with all spéed to set vpon king Edward, or else to keepe the passages, and to staie him from comming anie further forward, till he himselfe as then being in Warwikeshire busie to assemble an armie, might come to his aid with the same. [Thus laboured the earle of Warwike by policie and puissance, as well of his owne as others power, to further his owne purpose, hauing sworne in heart a due performance of that, which he had solemnlie vowed and promised before.]

Sée before page 277.

But this notwithstanding, although there were great companies of people of the countries thereabouts assembled, yet they came not in sight of the king, but suffered him quietlie to passe; either bicause they were persuaded that he ment (as he in outward words pretended) not to claime anie title to the crowne, but onelie his right to the duchie of Yorke; or else for that they doubted to set vpon him, although his number were farre vnequall to theirs; knowing that not onelie he himselfe, but also his companie were minded to sell their liues dearlie, before they would shrink an inch from anie that was to incounter them. It maie be that diuerse of the capteins also were corrupted: and although outwardlie they shewed to be against him, yet in heart they bare him right good will, and in no wise minded to hinder him. So forward he marched, till he came to Yorke, on a monday being the eighteenth day of March.

K. Edward without
interruption passeth
forward to Yorke.

Before he came to the citie by the space of thrée miles, the recorder of Yorke, whose name was Thomas Coniers (one knowne in déed not to beare him anie faithfull good will) came vnto him; & gaue him to vnderstand, that it stood in no wise with his suertie, to presume to approach the citie:

Thomas Coniers
recorder of Yorke.

for either hée should be kept out by force, or if he did enter, he shuld be in danger to be cast away by his aduersaries that were within. King Edward neuertheless, sith he was come thus farre forward, knew well inough there was no going backe for him, but manfullie to procéed forward with his begun iournie, and therefore kept on his way. And shortlie after there came to him out of the citie, Robert Clifford, and Richard Burgh, who assured him that in the quarell which he pretended to pursue, to wit, for the obtaining of his right to the duchie of Yorke, he should not faile but be receiued into the citie.

But immediatlíe after came the said Coniers againe, with the like tale and information as he had brought before. And thus king Edward one while put in comfort, and another while discouraged, marched foorth till he came to the gates of the citie, where his people staied; whilst he and about sixtéene or seuentéene other such as he thought méetest, went forth and entred the citie with the said Clifford & Burgh. And (as some

K. Edward commeth to
Yorke.

He receiueth an oth.

write) there was a priest readie to saie masse, in which masse time the king receiued the sacrament of the communion, & there solemnlie sware to kéepe and obserue two speciall articles: although it was farre vnlike that he minded to obserue either of them: the one was that he should vse the citizens after a gentle and courteous maner: and the other, that he should be faithfull and obedient vnto king Henries commandements.

For this wilfull periurie (as hath béene thought) the issue of this king suffered (for the fathers offense the depriuation not onelie of lands and worldlie possessions, but also of their naturall liues,) by their cruell vnclé K. Richard the third. [And it may well be.] For it is not likelie that God, in whose hands is the bestowing of all souereigntie, will suffer such an indignatie to be doone to his sacred maiestie, and will suffer the same to passe with impunitie. And suerlie, if an oth among priuate men is religiouslie to be kept, sith in the same is an exact triall of faith and honestie; doubtlesse of princes it is verie nicelie and preciselie to be obserued: yea they should rather susteine a blemish and disgrace in their roialtie, than presume to go against their oth and promise, speciallie if the same stand vpon conditions of equitie: otherwise they prooue themselues to be impugners of fidelitie, which is a iewell surpassing gold in price and estimation, as the poet prudentlie saith:

Charior est auro non simulata fides.

When king Edward had thus gotten into the citie of Yorke, he made such meanes among the citizens, that he got of them a certeine summe of monie; and leauing a garison within the citie contrarie to his oth, for fear least the citizens after his departure, might happilie mooue some rebellion against him, he set forward the next day toward Todcaster, a towne ten miles from thence, belonging to the earle of Northumberland. The next day he tooke his waie toward Wakefield and Sendall, a castell and lordship belonging to the inheritance of the dukes of Yorke, leauing the castell of Pomfret vpon his left hand, where the marques Montacute with his armie laie, and did not once offer to stop him.

The marques Montacute suffereth king Edward to passe by him.

Whether the marques suffered him to passe by so, with his good will or no, diuerse haue diuerslie coniectured. Some thinke that it lay not in the power of the marques greatlie to annoie him, both for that the king was well beloued in those parties; & againe, all the lords & commons there for the most part were towards the earle of Northumberland, and without him or his commandement they were not willing to stirre. And therefore the earle in sitting still and not moouing to and fro, was thought to doo king Edward as good seruice as if he had come to him, and raised people to assist him; for diuerse happilie that should haue come with him, remembring displeasures past, would not haue béene so faithfull as the earle himselfe, if it had come to the iumpe of anie hazard of battell.

About Wakefield and the parts there adioining, some companie of his freends came to him, whereby his power was increased; but nothing in such numbers as he looked for. From Wakefield he crossed on the left hand, so to come againe into the high waie, and came to Doncaster, and from thence vnto Notingham. Here came to him sir William Parre, and sir Iames Harrington, with six hundred men well armed and appointed also there came to him sir Thomas Burgh, & sir Thomas Montgomerie with their aids, which caused him at their first comming to make proclamation in his owne name, to wit, of K. Edward the fourth, boldlie affirming to him, that they would serue no man but a king.

K. Edward commeth to Northamptō.

Edw. Hall.

Whilest he remained at Notingham, and also before he came there, he sent abroad diuerse of his auaunt courrers to discouer the countrie, and to vnderstand if there were anie power gathered against him. Some of them that were thus sent, approached to Newarke, and vnderstood that within the towne there, the duke of Excester, the earle of Oxenford, the lord Bardolfe, and other were lodged with a great power to the number of foure thousand men, which they had assembled in Essex, Norffolke, Suffolke, and in the shires of Cambridge, Huntington, and Lincolne. The duke of Excester, and the earle of Oxenford, with other the chéeffe capteins, aduertised that king Edwards foreriders had béene afore the towne in the euening, supposed verelie that he and his whole armie were comming towards them.

The duke of Excester with a power at Newarke.

Héerevpon, they not thinking it good to abide longer there, determined with all spéed to dislodge, and so about two of the clocke after midnight they departed from Newarke, leauing some of their people behind, which either stale awaie from them, and taried of purpose, or could not get awaie so soone as their fellowes. In déed the foreriders that so discouered them within the towne of Newarke, aduertised the king thereof in all post hast, who incontinentlie assembled his people, and foorthwith marched towards them: but before he came within thrée miles of the towne, he had knowledge that they were fled and gone from Newarke. Whervpon he returned againe to Notingham, intending to kéepe on his néerest waie towards the earle of Warwike, whome he vnderstood to be departed from London, and to be come into Warwikeshire, where & in the countries adioining he was busied in leuieng an armie, with the which he purposed to distresse him.

The king then from Notingham came to Leicester, where three thousand able men, and well furnished for the warre came vnto him. These were such as he knew would liue and die in his quarrell, the most part of them belonging vnto the lord Hastings, the kings chamberlaine. And thus he, being more stronglie accompanied than before, departed from Leicester,

K. Edward commeth to Leicester.

The earle of Warwike in

and came before the wals of the cite of Couentrie, the nine and twentieth daie of March. The earle of Warwike was withdrawne into this cite, kéeping himselfe inclosed therein with his people, being in number six or seauen thousand men. The king sent to him, and willed him to come foorth into the field, and there to make an end of the quarell in plaine battell: but the earle at that present refused so to doo.

Couentrie.

For although, vnder pretense of king Henries authoritie, he was reputed the kings generall lieutenant of the whole realme, whereby he had got such power together, as was thought able inough to match with the king for number; yet because he doubted how they were bent in his fauour, he durst not commit the matter vnto the doubtfull chance of battell, till he had more of his trustie fréends about him. The king therefore thrée daies together prouoked him to come foorth, but when he saw it would not be, he remooued to Warwike an eight miles from Couentrie, where he was receiued as king, and so made his proclamations from that time foorth in all places where he came vnder his accustomed name and title of king.

K. Edward prouoketh the earle of Warwike to fight.

He cômeth to Warwike.

He lodged héere at Warwike, the rather (as was thought) to prouoke the earle to issue foorth of Couentrie to giue him battell, howbeit that deuise nothing auailed. But yet there came dailie diuerse persons on the earls behalfe to treat with the king about a peace, that some good composition might haue béene concluded; & the king for the aduancement of peace and tranquillitie within the realme, offered large conditions; as a frée pardon of life to the earle, and all his people, with manie other beneficiall articles on their behalves, which to manie seemed verie reasonable, considering their heinous offenses. But the earle would not accept anie offers, except he might haue compounded so as it pleased himselfe, & as was thought in no wise to stand with the king honour, and suertie of his estate.

A treatie for peace.

In this meane while, the earle of Warwike still looked for the duke of Clarence, who by the said earls appointment had assembled a power of men of war about London: but when the earle perceiued that the duke lingered foorth the time, and did not vse such diligence as was requisit, as one that had béene in doubt of warre or peace, he began to suspect that the duke was of his brother corrupted, and therein he was nothing deceiued. For true it is, that whilest the king was as yet beyond the seas, in the dominion of the duke of Burgognie, the duke of Clarence began to weie with himselfe the great inconuenience into the which as well his brother king Edward as himselfe and his yoonger brother the duke of Glocester were fallen, through the dissention betwixt them: (which had beene compassed and brought to passe by the politike working of the earle of Warwike and his complices.)

The duke of Clarence.

As first the disheriting of them all from their rightfull title to the crowne; secondlie the mortall and detestable war that could not but insue betwixt them, to such mischéefe, that to whether part the victorie inclined, the victor should remaine in no more suertie of his owne person or estate after the vpper hand got, than before; and thirdlie he well perceiued already, that he was had in great suspicion, and not heartilie beloued of anie the lords and rulers that were assured partakers with king Henrie and the Lancastrian faction: insomuch they sticked not dailie to go about to breake and make void the appointments, articles, and couenants, made and promised to him, and of likelihood would dailie more and more intend thereto: for in truth he saw, that they purposed nothing so much as the destruction both of him and all his bloud.

All which things throughlie considered, with manie other as they were laid afore him by right wise and circumspect persons, which in this behalfe had conference with him, he consented that by some secret waies and meanes a reconciliation might be had betwixt him and his brethren, the king and the duke of Glocester. The which to bring to some good and full effect, these honorable personages following became dealers therein. First of all the duches of Yorke their mother, the duches of Excester and the duches of Suffolke their sisters; the lord cardinall of Canturburie, the bishop of Bath, the earle of Essex; but most speciallie the duches of Burgognie their sister also, and diuerse other right wise and prudent personages, who wrought by mediation of certeine preests, and others, such as they vsed for messengers betwixt them.

Préests vsed for priuie messengers.

Finallie, by the earnest trauell and diligence shewed by the said duches of Burgognie (who incessantlie sent to and fro such hir trustie messengers now to the king being on that side the seas, and then to the duke remaining héere in England) at length they were made fréends, and a perfect agrément concluded and ratified, with assurance betwixt them so stronglie as might be. To the furthering whereof the kings chamberlaine the lord Hastings failed not to doo his best, so as by his good diligence, it was thought the king was the sooner induced to with to ioine eftsoones in true fréendship with his said brother of Clarence. And as it well appeared, the duke of Clarence acquitted himselfe faithfullie therein.

K. Edward and his brother of Clarence reconciled vnwitting to the earle of Warwike.

For hearing now that his brother king Edward was landed and comming forward towards London, he gathered his people, outwardlie pretending to passe with them to the aid of the earle of Warwike against his brother: although inwardlie he meant the contrarie, and so accompanied with about foure thousand men, he marched foorth towards the place where he thought to find his brother. King Edward being then at Warwike, and vnderstanding that his brother of Clarence approached, in an afternoone issued foorth of that towne with all his forces, and passed on till he came into a faire large field thrée miles distant from Warwike towards Banburie, where he might

The dissimulation of the duke of Clarence.

behold his brother of Clarence in good arraie of battell, comming towards him.

When they were now within halfe a mile approched together, the king placed his people in order of battell vnder their baners, and so left them standing still, and appointed them to kéepe their ground, whilest he taking with him his brother of Glocester, the lord Riuers, the lord Hastings, & a few other, went foorth to méet his brother of Clarence: and in like sort the duke of Clarence tooke with him a few of the nobilitie that were about him, and leauing his armie in good order, departed from them to meet the king, and so they met betwixt both the hosts, with so swéet salutations, louing demeanor, and good countenances, as better might not be deuised betwixt brethren of so high and noble estate. O what a hearts ioy was this to the people, to sée such an accord and mutuall attonement betweene these péeres! It was the onelie pleasure in the world, to the which all other compared are but counterfet, and that dooth the psalmist testifie,

The brethren méet
louinglie together.

Nil charitate mutua fratrum, nihil
Iucundius concordia.

Buchan. in psal. 133.

Besides this the like fréendlie intertainment, and courteous demeanor appeared in the salutings of other noble men that were on them attendant; wherof all such as saw it, and loued them, greatlie reioised; giuing God thanks for that ioifull méeting, vnitie, and concord, appearing thus manifestlie betwixt them: and herewith the trumpets and other instruments sounded, & the king withall brought the duke vnto his armie, whome he saluting in most courteous wise, welcomed them into the land; and they humblie thanking him, did to him such reuerence as appertained to the honour of such a worthie personage. This was a goodlie and a gracious reconcilment, beneficiall to the princes, profitable to the péeres, and pleasurable to the people, whose part had beene déepest in dangers and losse, if discord had not beene discontinued.

This doone, the king leauing his hoast againe, keeping their ground with the same few persons which he tooke with him before, went with his brother of Clarence vnto his armie, and saluting them with swéete and courteous words, was ioifullie of them welcomed: and so after this, they all came together ioining in one. And either part shewing themselues glad thus to méet as fréends with the other, they went louinglie together vnto Warwike with the king, where and in the countrie thereabouts they lodged, as they thought stood most with their ease and safeties. Herewith the duke of Clarence desired about all things to procure some good and perfect accord betwixt his brother the king, and the earle of Warwike.

In this was he the more studious, bicause he saw that such an accord should bring great quietnesse to the land, and deliuer the common-wealth of manie dangers that might insue by reason of such numbers of partakers, as well lords as other that were confederat with the earle. The said duke treated with the king present, and sent messengers vnto Couentrie to the earle, moouing as well the one as the other most instantlie to frame their minds vnto a pacification. The king at the instance of his brother was contented to offer large conditions, and verie beneficiall for the earle and his partakers, if they would haue accepted them.

The duke of Clarence
séeketh to make peace
betwixt the king and
the earle of Warwike.

But the earle, whether vtterlie despairing of his owne safetie, if he should agréé to anie peace; or else happilie for that he thought it stood with his honour to stand vnto such promises and couenants as he had made with the French king, and with the quéene Margaret, and hir sonne prince Edward (to whome he was bound by oth not to shrinke or swarue from the same) he refused all maner of such conditions as were offered. Insomuch that when the duke had sent to him, both to excuse himselfe of the act which he had doone, and also to require him to take some good waie with king Edward, now while he might, the earle (after he had patientlie heard the dukes message) he séemed greatlie to abhorre his vnfaithfull dealing, in turning thus from his confederats and alies contrarie to his oth and fidelitie.

To the messengers (as some write) he gaue none other answer but this, that he had rather be like himselfe, than like a false and periured duke; and that he was fullie determined neuer to leaue warre, till he had either lost his owne life, or vtterlie subdued his enimies. At it was thought, the earle of Oxenford's persuasion wanted not, to make him the more stiflie to hold out; and rather to trie the vttermost hazard of warre, than to agréé to acknowledge king Edward for his lawfull souereigne lord and king. Whervpon no appointment nor anie agréement at all could be brought to passe; and so all that treatie, which the duke of Clarence had procured, brake off & tooke none effect. There came to the earle of Warwike, whilest he laie thus at Couentrie (besides the earle of Oxenford) the duke of Excester, and the lord marquesse Montacute, by whose comming that side was greatlie strengthened, and the number much increased.

The earle of Warwiks
answer to the duke of
Clarence message.

The king, vpon consideration hereof and perceiuing he could not get the earle to come foorth of Couentrie, departed from Warwike, and eftsoones shewing himselfe with his people before the citie of Couentrie, desired the earle and his power to come foorth into the fields, that they might end their quarrell by battell: which the earle and the other lords with him vtterlie refused as then to doo. This was the fift of Aprill being fridaie. The king herevpon was resolued to march towards London, where his principall aduersarie king Henrie remained, vsing his kinglie authoritie by diuerse such of the nobilitie as were about him, whereby king Edward was barred and disappointed of manie aids and assistants, which he was sure to haue, if he could once breake

K. Edward passeth
London.

that force of the roiall authoritie, that was still thus exercised against him in king Henries name.

Wherefore (by the aduise of his brethren and others of his councell) accordinglie as it had beene ordeined before this his last setting foorth from Warwike, he kept on his waie towards London, comming to Dantrie on the saturdaye at night: & on the morow being Palmesundaie, he heard seruice in the church there, & after rode to Northhampton, where he was ioifullie receiued. From thense he tooke the next way towards London, leauing continuallie behind him (as he passed foorth) a competent band of speares and archers, to beat backe such of the earle of Warwiks people, as peradventure he might send abroad to trouble him and his armie by the waie. Which prouidence and foresight it not vnnesessarie to vse; for that he knew well enough, that the heart of an enemie, frieng in the fire of hatefull hostilitie, will pretermit no opportunitie either of time or place to laie in wait for his destruction, against whom he beareth an inward grudge, with a desire of vengeance to the death.

In this meane while, that things passed in maner (as before ye haue hard) Edmund duke of Summerset, & his brother Iohn marquisse Dorset, Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, and others being at London, had knowledge by aduertisements out of France, that queene Margaret with hir sonne prince Edward, the countesse of Warwike, the prior of S. Iohns, the lord Wenlocke, and diuerse others their adherents and partakers, with all that they might make, were readie at the sea side, purposing with all speed to saile ouer into England, and to arriue in the west cuntrye. Wherevpon they departed foorth of London, and with all hast possible drew westward, there to raise what forces they could, to ioine with those their fréends, immediatlie after they should once come on land, and so to assist them against king Edward and his partakers.

True it is, that the queene with hir sonne, and the other persons before mentioned, tooke their ships, the foure and twentieth daie of March, continuing on the seas before they could land (thorough tempests and contrarie winds) by the space of twentie daies, that is, till the thirtéenth of Aprill: on which daie, or rather on the fourtéenth, they landed at Weimouth, as after shall appeare. But now touching king Edwards procéding forward on his iournie toward London, ye haue to vnderstand, that vpon the tuesdaye the ninth of Aprill he came to saint Albons, from whence he sent comfortable aduertisements to the queene his wife remaining within the sanctuarie at Westminster, and to others his faithfull fréends in and about London, to vnderstand by couert meanes how to deale to obtaine the fauour of the citizens, so as he might be of them receiued.

The earle of Warwike, vnderstanding all his dooings and purposes, wrote to the Londoners, willing & charging them in anie wise to keepe king Edward out of their citie, and in no condition to permit him to enter: and withall he sent to his brother the archbishop of Yorke, willing him by all meanes possible to persuade the Londoners not to receiue him; but to defend the citie against him for the space of two or threé daies at the least: promising not to faile but to come after him, and to be readie to assaile him on the backe, not doubting but wholie to distresse his power and to bring him to vtter confusion. The archbishop herevpon, on the ninth of Aprill, called vnto him at Paules, all such lords, knights, and gentlemen, with others that were partakers on that side, to the number in all of six or seauen thousand men in armour.

The archbishop of Yorke.

Herewith also he caused king Henrie to mount on horssebacke, and to ride from Paules thorough Cheape downe to Walbroke, & so to fetch a compasse (as the custome was when they made their generall processions) returning backe againe to Paules vnto the bishops palace, where at that time he was lodged. The archbishop supposed, that shewing the king thus riding thorough the stréets, he should haue allured the citizens to assist his part. True it is, the maior & aldermen had caused the gates to be kept with watch and ward: but now they well perceiued that king Henries power was too weake, as by that shew it had well appeared, to make full resistance against king Edward, and so not for them to trust vnto, if king Edward came forward, and should attempt to enter the citie by force: for it was not vnknowne vnto them, that manie of the worshipfull citizens, and others of the commons in great numbers, were fullie bent to aid king Edward, in all that they might, as occasion serued.

King Henrie sheweth himselfe to the Londoners.

Thus, what thorough loue that manie bare to king Edward, and what thorough feare that diuerse stood in, leaust the citie being taken by force might happilie haue beene put to the sacke, with the losse of manie an innocent mans life; the maior, aldermen, and others the worshipfull of the citie fell at a point among themselues, to kéepe the citie to K. Edwards vse, so as he might haue free passage and entrie into the same at his pleasure. The archbishop of Yorke, perceiuing the affections of the people, and how the most part of them were now bent in fauour of king Edward vpon the said kings approach towards the citie, he sent foorth secretlie a messenger to him, beséeching him to receiue him againe into his fauour, promising to be faithfull to him in time to come, and to acquit this good turne hereafter with some singular benefit and pleasure.

The Londoners resolute to receiue king Edward.

The archbishop of Yorke.

The king, vpon good causes and considerations therevnto him moouing, was contented to receiue him againe into his fauour. The archbishop hereof assured, reioised greatlie, well & truelie acquiting him concerning his promise made to the king in that behalfe. The same night following was the Tower recouered to king Edwards vse. And on the morow being thursdaye, and the eleuenth of Aprill, king Edward quietlie made his entrie into the citie with his power, hauing fiew hundred smokie gunners marching foremost, being strangers, of such as he had brought

The Tower recouered to king Edwards vse.

K. Edward entereth into London.

ouer with him. He first rode vnto Paules church, & from thense he went to the bishops palace, where the archbishop of Yorke presented himselfe vnto him, and hauing king Henrie by the hand, deliuered him vnto king Edward, who being seized of his person, and diuerse other his aduersaries, he went from Paules to Westminster, where he made his deuout praiers, giuing God most heartie thanks for his safe returne thither againe.

King Henrie is deliuered to him.

This doone, he went to the quéene to comfort hir, who with great patience had abidden there a long time, as a sanctuarie woman, for doubt of hir enimies; and in the meane season was deliuered of a yoong prince, whom she now presented vnto him, to his great hearts reioising & comfort. From Westminster the king returned that night vnto London againe, hauing the quéene with him, and lodged in the house of the duchesse his moother. On the morow being good fridaie, he tooke aduise with the lords of his bloud, and other of his councell, for such businesse as he had in hand; namelie, how to subdue his enimies as sought his destruction. Thus with consultation preuenting his actions, he obtained fortunate successe, wherwith his hart was the more aduanced to ioine issue with his aduersaries, whome (rather than they should triumph ouer him) he was resolutelie minded to vanquish, if his procéedings might proue prosperous as his present good lucke.

The earle of Warwike, calling himselfe lieutenant of England, vnder the pretended authoritie of King Henrie, hoping that king Edward should haue much a doo to enter into London, marched foorth from Couentrie with all his puissance, following the king by Northhampton, in hope to haue some great aduantage to assaile him, speciallie if the Londoners kept him out of their citie, as he trusted they would; for then he accounted himselfe sure of the vpper hand: or if he were of them receiued, yet he hoped to find him vnprouided in celebrating the feast of Easter; and so by setting vpon him on the sudden, he doubted not by that meanes to distresse him. But king Edward, hauing intelligence of the earles intention, prouided all things necessarie for battell; & hearing that the earle of Warwike was now come vnto S. Albons with his armie, he determined to march foorth to incounter him before he should approach neere the citie.

The earle of Warwike followeth the king.

The earle of Warwike accompanied with Iohn duke of Excester, Edmund duke of Summerset, Iohn earle of Oxford, and Iohn Neuill marquesse Montacute his brother, vnderstanding that king Edward was not onelie receiued into London, but also had got king Henrie into his hands, perceiued that the triall of the matter must néeds be committed to the hazard of battell; and therefore being come to the towne of saint Albons, he rested there a while, partlie to refresh his souldiers, and partlie to take counsell how to procéed in his enterprise. At length, although he knew that his brother the marquesse Montacute was not fullie well persuaded with himselfe, to like of this quarell which they had in hand; yet the brotherlie affection betwixt them tooke awaie all suspicion from the earle, and so he vtterlie resolved to giue battell, meaning to trie whereto all this tumult would grow; and counting it a blemish to his honor, not to prosecute that with the sword, which he had solemnelie vowed to doo on his word.

Edw. Hall.

Hervpon remoued they towards Barnet, a towne standing in the midwaie betwixt London and saint Albons aloft on a hill; at the end whereof towards saint Albons there is a faire plaine for two armies to meet vpon, named Gladmore heath. On the further side of which plaine towards saint Albons the earle pight his campe. king Edward on the other part, being furnished with a mightie armie (hauing ioined to that power which he brought with him certeine new supplies) upon Easter euen the thirtéenth of Aprill in the after noone marched foorth, hauing his said armie diuided into foure battels. He tooke with him king Henrie, and came that euening vnto Barnet, ten small miles distant from London; in which towne his foreriders finding certeine of the earle of Warwikes foreriders, beat them out, & chased them somewhat further than halfe a mile from the towne, where, by an hedge side they found readie assembled a great number of the earle of Warwikes people.

Gladmore heath.

The ordering of the kings armie.

The king after this comming to Barnet, would not suffer a man to remaine in the towne (that were of his host) but commanded them all to the field, and with them drew toward his enimies, and lodged with his armie more neere to them than he was aware of, by reason it was darke, so as he could not well discerne where they were incamped, fortieng the field the best he could for feare of some sudden inuasion. He tooke his ground not so euen afore them as he would haue doone, if he might haue discovered the place where they had lien; and by reason thereof he incamped somewhat aside slips of them, causing his people to kéepe as much silence as was possible, [least making anie noise with the busseling of their armour and weapons or otherwise with their toongs, the enimie might haue come to some knowledge of the kings priue purpose, and so by preuention haue disappointed his policie by some prouident deuise; which bicause they wanted for the present time, it turned to their disadvantage; after the old prouerbe:

K. Edward lodged before his enimies.

Nescit prodesse qui nescit prouidus esse.]

They had great artillerie on both parts, but the earle was better furnished therewith than the king, and therefore in the night time they shot off from his campe in maner continuallie; but dooing little hurt to the kings people, still ouershooting them, by reason they laie much néerer than the earle or anie or his men did estéeme. And such silence was kept in the kings campe, that no noise bewraied them where they laie. For to the end it should not be knowne to

Artillerie.

A good policie.

the enimies, how neere the king with his armie was lodged vnto them, the king, would not suffer anie of his gunnes in all that night to be shot off, least thereby they might haue gessed the ground, and so leuelled their artillerie to his annoiance.

Earelie on the next morning betwixt foure and fiue of the clocke, notwithstanding there was a great mist that letted the sight of both parts to discouer the fields, the king aduanced his banners, and caused his trumpets to sound to the battell. On the other part, the earle of Warwike, at the verie breake of the daie, had likewise set his men in order of battell in this maner. In the right wing he placed the marquesse Montacute, and the earle of Oxford with certeine horssemen, and he with the duke of Excester tooke the left wing. And in the middest betweene both, he set archers, appointing the duke of Summerset to guide them as their chiefteine. King Edward had set the duke of Glocester in the fore-ward. The middle-ward he himselfe with the duke of Clarence, hauing with them king Henrie, did rule & gouerne. The lord Hastings led the rere-ward, and beside these thrée battels, he kept a companie of fresh men in store, which did him great pleasure before the end of the battell.

Edw. Hall.

The order of battell of both sides.

Here is to be remembered, that aswell the king on his part, as the earle of Warwike on his, vsed manie comfortable words to incourage their people, not forgetting to set foorth their quarels as iust and lawfull; the king naming his aduersaries traitors and rebels, & the earle accounting him a tyrant, & an iniurious vsurper. But when the time came that they once got sight either of other, the battell began verie sharpe and cruell, first with shot, and after by ioining at hand blowes. Yet at the first they ioined not front to front, as they should haue doone, by reason of the mist that tooke awaie the sight of either armie, and suffered the one not to discerne perfectlie the order of the other; insomuch that the one end of the earle of Warwikes armie ouer-raught the contrarie end of the kings battell which stood westward, and by reason thereof (through the valiancie of the earle of Oxford that led the earles voward) the kings people on that part were ouermatched, so that manie of them fled towards Barnet, and so to London, bringing newes that the erle of Warwike had woone the field.

The valiancie of the earle of Oxford.

[Which report happilie might haue béene iustified and fallen out to be true, had not preposterous fortune happened to the earle of Oxford and his men, who had a starre with streames on their liuries; as king Edwards men had the sunne with streames on their liuries: wherevpon the earle of Warwiks men, by reason of the mist not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the earle of Oxfords men that were on their owne part, and then the earle of Oxford and his men cried treason, and fled with eight hundred men.]

Abr. Fl. ex l. S. pag. 727.

But touching the kings people which were pursued in the chase as they fled, and were put to the worst, manie were wounded, and manie slaine outright. But the residue of those that fought in other parts could not perceiue this distresse of the kings people, because the thicke mist would not suffer them to see anie space farre off, but onelie at hand: and so the kings battell that saw not anie thing what was doone beside them, was nothing discouraged. For (a few excepted that stood next to that part) there was not anie one that wist of that discomfiture; and the other of the earle of Warwikes men, that fought in other places somewhat distant from them, were nothing the more incouraged by this prosperous successe of their fellowes, for they perceiued it not. And in like case as at the west end the earles battell ouer-reached the kings, so at the east end the kings ouer-reached the earls, and with like successe put the earls people in that place to the worse.

At length after sore fight, and greater slaughter made on both sides, king Edward hauing the greater number of men (as some write, though other affirme the contrarie) began somewhat to preuaile: but the earle on the other side remembering his ancient fame and renowne, manfullie stucke to it, and incouraged his people, still supplieng with new succors in places where he saw expedient, and so the fight renewed more cruell, fierce, & bloudie than before, insomuch that the victorie remained still doubtfull, though they had fought from morning till it was now far in the daie. K. Edward therefore willing to make an end of so long a conflict, caused new power of fresh men (which he had for this purpose kept in store) to set on his enimies.

The manfull courage of the earle of Warwike.

The earle of Warwike was nothing abashed herewith, but vnderstanding that this was all the residue of king Edwards power, comforted his men to beare out this last brunt, and in so dooing the victorie was sure on their side, and the battell at an end: but king Edward so manfullie and valiantlie assailed his aduersaries, in the middle and strongest part of their battell, that with great violence he bare downe all that stood in his waie; for he was followed and assisted by a number of most hardie and faithfull men of warre, that shewed notable prooffe of tried manhood in that instant necessitie. The earle of Warwike (when his souldiers all wearied with long fight, and sore weakened with woundes and hurts receiued in the battell) gaue little heed to his words (being a man of an inuincible stomach) rushed into the middest of his enimies, whereas he (aduenturing so farre from his companie, to kill and slea his aduersaries, that he could not be rescued) was amongst the preasse of his enimies stricken downe and slaine.

The earle of Warwike slaine.

The marquesse Montacute, thinking to succour his brother, was likewise ouerthrowne and slaine, with manie other of good calling, as knights and esquiers, beside other gentlemen. [But some saie that the said marquesse, hauing agreed priuilie with king Edward, did weare his liuerie, whome one of his brother the earle of Warwiks men espieng, fell vpon him and killed

The marquesse Montacute slaine.

him outright.] Some write that this battell was so driuen to the vttermost point, that king Edward was constreined to fight in his owne person, and that the earle of Warwike, which was wont euer to ride on horse-backe from place to place, and from ranke to ranke, comforting, his men, was now aduised by the marquesse his brother, to leaue his horsse, and to trie the extremitie by hand strokes, [which may be probable & likelie. But by the report of some it séemeth that he was not slaine in the heat of the conflict, among the rout of the fighting men, but afterwards in this sort. For when he saw the kings power preuaile and his owne sore impaired and past hope of good speed, with the slaughter of his adherents (gentlemen of name) and himselfe in the verie mouth of the enemie in possibilitie to be deuoured, he left vpon a horsse to flie, and comming into a wood where was no passage, one of king Edwards men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked skin. Sir William Tirrell knight was killed on the earle of Warwikes part.]

Abr. Flem.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 727.

On both parties were slaine (as Ed. Hall saith) ten thousand at the least, where Fabian saith but fifteene hundred and somewhat aboue. Other write that there died in all about three thousand. Vpon the kings part were slaine, the lord Crumwell, the lord Saie, the lord Montiois sonne and heire, sir Humfrie Bouchier sonne to the lord Berners, and diuerse other knights, esquiers, and gentlemen. The battell indured the space of thrée hours verie doubtfull by reason of the mist, and in skirmishing and fighting, now in this place, now in that, but finallie the victorie fell on the kings side; and yet it could not be estéemed that his whole armie passed nine thousand fighting men (as some write) where his aduersaries (as by the same writers appeareth) were farre aboue that number. But bicause those that so write, séeme altogither to fauor king Edward, we maie beléue as we list.

The number slaine at Barnet field.

The duke of Summerset, and the earle of Oxford fled in companie of certeine northerne men, which had béene at the battell; and (as some write) the earle of Oxford kept foorth with them, and retired after into Scotland. But yet as well the duke of Summerset, as the said earle of Oxford, in fléeing toward Scotland, changed their purpose vpon the waie, and turned into Wales to Iasper earle of Penbroke. The duke of Excester being striken downe and sore wounded, was left for dead in the field, amongst other the dead bodies, bicause he was not knowne, and by reason thereof comming to himselfe, got vp, and in great danger escaped vnto Westminster, and there tooke sanctuarie. [But some say, that after hée had lien in the field, spoiled, wounded, and (to sée to) void of life, from seuen of the clocke in the morning, till foure at after noone, he was caried to a seruants house of his there by (named Ruthland) where (after his wounds were searched and dressed by a surgian) he was conueied into Westminster sanctuarie.]

The duke of Summerset and the earle of Oxford.

Hall.

The duke of Excester.

Abr. Flem.

King Edward hauing got this victorie, refreshing himselfe and his people a while at Barnet, returned the same daie vnto London, like a triumphant conqueror, leading with him king Henrie as a captiue prisoner: & so making a solemne entrie at the church of saint Paule, offred his standard. The dead bodies of the earle and marques were brought to London in a coffin, & before they were buried, by the space of thrée daies laie open visaged in the cathedrall church of S. Paule, to the intent that all men might easilie perceiue, that they vnfeinedlie were dead. The common brute ran, that the king was not so ioious of the erles death, as sorowfull for the losse of the marques, whom he full well knew (and no lesse was euident to other) to be his faithfull friend and well-willer; for whose onelie sake, he caused both their bodies to be buried with their ancestors in the priorie of Bissam.

Edw. Hall.

On the tuesdaie in Easter wéeke came knowledge to king Edward, that quéene Margaret the wife of king Henrie, with hir sonne prince Edward was landed vpon Easter day at Weimouth in Dorsetshire, accompanied with Iohn Longstrother prior of saint Iohns, commonlie called lord treasurer of England, who went ouer into France to fetch them; also the lord Wenlocke, a man made onelie by king Edward, beside diuerse other knights and esquiers, of whome part had béene long foorth of the realme, and part newlie gone ouer thither to them, in companie of the lord treasurer. They tooke their ships at Hunflue, the foure and twentieth of March (as before you haue heard) but through contrarie winds and tempests, they were driuen backe, and constreined to abide for conuenient wind.

Quéene Margaret landeth with a power out of France.

Now, although it came sometimes about fit for their purpose, yet it continued not long in that end; so as if therevpon they tooke the sea at anie time, they were forced to returne backe againe to land yer they could passe halfe the way ouer. And thus being diuerse times vnder saile, in hope to passe the seas hither into England, they were still driuen backe againe, till the thirtéenth of Aprill being Easter éeuen; on which day the wind comming fauorable about, they tooke the seas, and sailed forward towards this land. The countesse of Warwike, hauing a ship of aduantage, arriued before the other at Portesmouth, and from thence she went to Southampton, meaning to haue gone to Weimouth, where she vnderstood that the quéene was landed: but here had shee knowledge of the losse of Barnet field, and that hir husband was there slaine. Wherevpon she went no further towards the quéene, but secretlie got hir ouer the water into the new forest, and tooke sanctuarie within the abbeie of Beaulieu.

The countesse of Warwike taketh sanctuarie.

Quéene Margaret, and hir sonne prince Edward, with the other that landed at Weimouth, went from thence to an abbeie néere by called

The duke of

Cerne. Thither came vnto them Edmund duke of Summerset, and Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, with others, and welcommed them into England, comforting the quéene in the best maner they could, and willed hir not to despaire of good successe; for albeit they had lost one field (whereof the queene had knowledge the same day being mondaie in easter wéeke, the fiftéenth of Aprill, and was therefore right sorrowfull) yet they doubted not but to assemble such a puissance (and that verie shortlie) foorth of diuerse parts of the realme, as being faithfull, and wholie bent to spend their liues, and shed the best bloud in their bodies for hir sake, & hir sonnes, it should be hard for king Edward to resist them with all the power he had or could make.

Summerset, and the earle of Deuonshire cōfort quéene Margaret.

The presence of these noble men greatlie comforted hir, and relieued hir of the sorrowes that in maner ouerwhelmed hir pensieue heart: for she doubted sore the end of all these procéedings, the which they concluded to follow vpon the aduancement of hir and hers. Speciallie it misgaue hir, that some euill should chance to hir sonne prince Edward for shee greatlie weied not of hir owne perill (as she hir selfe confessed) and therefore she would gladlie haue had them either to haue deferred the battell till a more conuenient time: or else that hir sonne might haue béene conueied ouer into France againe, there to haue remained in safetie, till the chance of the next battell were tried: but they being of a contrarie mind, and namelie the duke of Summerset, she at length consented vnto that which they were resoluéd vpon.

Edw. Hall.

The feare which quéene Margaret had for hir sonne.

Thus euerie man being bent to battell, gathered his power by himselfe, first in Summersetshire, Dorsetshire, and part of Wiltshire, and after in Deuonshire and Cornewall. For the better encouraging of which countries to ioine with them in their quarrell, they repaired to Excester. Here they sent for sir Iohn Arundell, and sir Hugh Courtenie, and manie other in whom they had anie confidence. To be short, they wrought so, that they raised the whole powers of Cornewall and Deuonshire, and with a great armie departing foorth of Excester, they tooke the right waie to Glastenburie, and from thence to Bath, raising the people in all parts where they came: for those countries had bene so laboured, first by the earle of Warwike, and after by the duke of Summerset, and the earle of Deuonshire (which two noble men were reckoned as old inheritors of the same countries) that the people séemed there greatlie inclined to the fauor of king Henrie.

King Edward, being at London, was dailie aduertised by faithfull espials of all the dooings of his aduersaries, and was in no small agonie, bicause he could not learne what waie his enimies ment to take; for he purposed to incounter them in one place or other before they should approach neere to London. And vpon such resolution, with such an armie as he had got about London, furnished with all artillerie and other prouisions necessarie, he set forward the nintéenth of Aprill, and came to Windsor, where he staid a season, as well to celebrate the feast of saint George, as to abide the comming of such bands as he had appointed to repaire thither vnto him, making there his generall assemblie.

K. Edward setteth forward against his enimies.

The enimies to masker him the more, sent foorth their foreriders vnto sundrie townes, both aswell to raise people in the countries about, as to make the king beléue that their purpose was to passe those waies, where they ment not once to come. And herevpon when they departed from Excester, they sent first their foreriders streight to Shaftesburie, and after to Salisburie, and then they tooke the streight waie to Taunton, Glastenburie, and after to Wels, where houering about in the countrie, they sent another time their foreriders to a towne called Yuell, and to Bruton, as if their meaning had béene to draw towards Reading, and so through Barkeshire, and Oxfordshire to haue marched streight to London, or else to haue set vpon the king at some aduantage, if it were offered.

But king Edward, considering aduisedlie of the matter, perceiued well that they being in an angle of the realme, if they ment to go to London, they must either hold the streight waie foorth by Salisburie, or else drawing vp to the sea side, passe alongst through Hampshire, Sussex and Kent; or happilie if they mistrusted their owne strengths, as not able to match with his puissance, they would then slip on the left hand, and draw towards Chesshire, and Lancashire, there to increase their forces, and peradventure by the waie to ioine with a power of Welshmen, vnder the leading of Iasper earle of Penbroke, who had béene sent into Wales long afore, to frame and put in a readines the people there to asist king Henries friends at their comming thitherwards. And such was their purpose in deed, for they had great confidence in such aid, as they trusted to haue of the Chesshire and Lancashire men.

King Edward, meaning to approach néerer vnto them, that he might the sooner make waie to stop them of their passage, on which hand soeuer they drew, departed from Windesore the morrow after saint Georges day, being the foure and twentieth day of Aprill, kéeping foorth his iournie, till on saturday the twentieth and seuenth of Aprill he came to Abington, where he laie sundaie all daie. On mondaie he marched forward to Chichester, where he had sure aduertisement, that they intended to be at Bath the next daie being tuesday, and on wednesday to come forward to giue him battell. Wherevpon king Edward, desirous to see his people in order of battell, drew them foorth of the towne, and incamped in the field three miles distant from thence, still busieng himselfe about his necessarie affaires affording no time to idlennesse or loitering: for he knew that there was no waie more expedite and readie to tire him in trauell, than to be giuen to negligence and slouth, the two weariers of well dooing, as the old saieng is:

Desidia pressus erit in studio citó fessus.

On the morrow, hearing no certentie of their comming forward, he marched to Malmesburie, still seeking to incounter them: but héere he had knowledge, that they hauing changed their purpose, meant not to giue him battell; and therefore were turned aside, and gone to Bristow, where they were receiued, reléeued and well refreshed by such as faoured their cause, as well with vittels, men, and monie, as good store of artillerie. Wherevpon they were so encouraged, that the thursdaie after they tooke the field againe, purposing to giue king Edward battell indéed; and for the same intent had sent their foreriders to a towne, distant from Bristow nine miles, called Sudburie, appointing a ground for their field, a mile from the same towne, toward the kings campe, called Sudburie hill.

Sudburie. hill.

The king heereof aduertised, the same thursdaie, being the first of Maie, with his armie faire ranged in order of battell, came towards the place by them appointed for their field: but they came not there. For hearing that king Edward did thus approach vpon a new change of resolution, they left that waie: albeit some of their herbingers were come as farre as Sudburie towne, and there surprised fiue or six of the kings partie, which were rashlie entred that towne, attending onelie to prouide lodgings for their maisters. The lords thus hauing eftsoones changed their purpose, not meaning as yet to fight with the king, directed their waie streight towards Berkelie, traouelling all that night. From Berkelie they marched forward towards Glocester.

The king in the meane time, on the thursdaie in the afternoone, came to the same ground called Sudburie hill, and there staid a certeine space, sending foorth scowriers, to hearken what they might vnderstand of the enimies, whome he tooke to be somewhere at hand. But when he could not heare anie certentie of them, he aduanced forward, lodging his vant-gard in a vallie beyond the hill, towards the towne of Sudburie, and laie himselfe (with the residue of his people) at the same place, called Sudburie hill. About thrée of the clocke after midnight, he was aduertised, that his enimies had taken their waie by Berkeleie, towards Glocester. Héerevpon, taking aduise of his counsell what was best to doo, he was counselled to send some of his seruants with all spéed vnto Glocester, to Richard Beauchampe, sonne and heire to the lord Beauchampe of Powike, to whome he had (before this present) committed the rule and custodie of the towne and castell of Glocester.

The king sent therefore with all spéed vnto him, commanding him to doo his best to defend the towne and castell against his enimies, if they came to assaile the same, as it was supposed they intended: and if they so did, he promised to come with his whole armie presentlie to the rescue. The messengers did their diligence, and so being ioifullie receiued into Glocester, the towne and castell, by the vigilant regard of the said Richard Beauchampe, was put in safe keeping. And this message was doone in good time, for true it is, there were diuerse in the towne, that could haue béene well contented that the quéene, and the lords with hir, should haue béene receiued there, and would haue aduentured to haue brought it to passe, if they had not béene thus preuented.

Againe, the quéene and the lords with hir had good intelligence, with diuerse in the towne, so as they were put in great hope to haue entred the same: wherevpon they trauelled their people right sore all that night and morning, comming before the towne of Glocester vpon the fridaie about ten of the clocke. And when they perceiued that they were disappointed of their purpose, and their entrie flatlie denied, they were highlie therewith displeased; for they knew verie well, that diuerse within the towne bare their good willes towards them: but after they had vsed certeine menacing braueries, and made a shew as if they had meant to assault the gates and walles, & so to haue entred by force, they departed their waies, marching with all speed possible towards Teukesburie.

It might be maruelled at, whie they attempted not the winning of Glocester indéed, considering the freends which they knew they had within it. But the cause which mooued them cheeflie to forbear, was, for that as well they without, as the other within the towne, knew that king Edward approached at hand, and was readie to set vpon them on the backes, if they had once begun to haue assaulted the towne; and so, neither they within the towne that were the kings freends doubted the enimies forces, nor the enimie indéed durst attempt anie such enterprise against them. About foure of the clocke in the afternoone, they came to Teukesburie, hauing trauelled that night last past, and that daie, six and thirtie long miles, in a foule cuntry, all in lanes and stonie waies, betwixt woods, without anie good refreshing, so that as well the men as the horsse were right wearie.

Glocester whie it was not assaulted.

A long march.

And where the more part of their armie consisted of footmen, the capteins could not haue gone anie further, except they would haue left their footmen behind them, and so of necessitie they were driuen to staid there, determining to abide the aduantage that God would send them. For well they knew that the king followed them verie néere at hand, so as if they should haue gone further, and left the most part of their companie behind, as it could not otherwise haue chanced, he would haue béene readie to haue taken the aduantage wholie, so to distresse them. Héerevpon they pight their field in a close, euen hard at the townes end, hauing the towne and the abbeie at their backes; and directlie before them, and vpon each side of them, they were defended with cumbersome lanes, déepe ditches, and manie hedges, beside hils and dales, so as the place séemed as noisome as might be to approach vnto.

The place where the lords incamped.

The king on this fridaie, verie erlie in the morning, aduanced his standards and in good order of battell hauing diuided his armie into thrée wards, marched through the the plaines of Cotteswold. The daie was verie hot, and hauing in his armie about thrée thousand footmen, he trauelled with them and the residue thirtie miles and more. By all which waie, they

The painfull march of king Edward with his armie.

could find neither horssemeat, nor mans meat, nor not so much as water for their horssees, except one little brooke, of the which they receiued no great reléefe; for what with the horssees and carriages that passed thorough it, the water became so troubled, that it serued them to no vse: and still all that daie king Edward with his armie was within fiue or six miles of his enimies, he in the plaine countrie, and they among the woods.

King Edward had euer good espials, to aduertise him still what his enimies did, and which waie they tooke. At length he came with all his armie vnto a village called Chiltenham, like a fiue miles distant from Teukesburie, where he had certeine knowledge that his enimies were alreadye come to Teukesburie, and were incamped there, purposing to abide him in that place, and to deliuer him battell. King Edward therevpon made no long delaie, but tooke a little refection himselfe, and caused his people to doo the like, with such prouision of vittels as he had appointed to be conueied foorth with him for the reléefe of himselfe and his armie. This doone, he set forward towards his enimies, and lodged that night in a field not past thrée miles distant from them.

Chiltenham.

On the morrow being saturdaye, and fourth of Maie, he drew towards his enimies, and marshalled his armie, diuided into thrée battells in this sort. He put his brother the duke of Glocester in the fore-ward, and himselfe in the middle-ward. The lord Marques, and the lord Hastings led the rere-ward. Heerwith he approached the enimies campe, which was right hard to be assailed, by reason of the déepe ditches, hedges, trées, bushes, and cumbersome lanes, wherewith the same was fensed, both a front, and on the sides, so as the king could not well approach them to anie aduantage: and to be the better in a readinesse to beat backe the kings power, when he should come to assault them, they were imbattelled in this order.

The ordering of king Edwards battell.

The duke of Summerset, and his brother the lord Iohn of Summerset led the fore-ward. The middle-ward was gouerned by the prince, vnder the conduct of the lord of saint Iohn, and the lord Wenlocke (whome king Edward had aduanced to the degré of a baron.) The rere-ward was appointed to the rule of the earle of Deuonshire. Thus may yée perceiue, that king Edward was put to his shifts, how (to anie aduantage) to assault his enimies. Neuerthelesse, he being well furnished with great artillerie, the same was aptlie lodged to annoie the enimies, that they receiued great damage thereby; and the duke of Glocester, who lacked no policie, galled them gréuouslie with the shot of arrowes: and they rewarded their aduersaries home againe with like paiement, both with shot of arrowes, and great artillerie, although they had not the like plentie of guns as the king had. The passages were so cumbersome, that it was not possible to come vpon anie euen hand, to ioine at handblowes.

The ordering of the lords hoast.

The duke of Glocester.

Teukesburie field.

The duke of Glocester, vpon a politike purpose (as some haue written) reculed backe with all his companie, which when the duke of Summerset perceiued, either moued therewith, or else bicause he was too sore annoied with the shot in that place where he and his fore-ward stood, like a knight more couragious than circumspect, came out of his strength with his whole battell, and aduanced himselfe somewhat aside slips the kings voward, and by certeine passages aforehand, and for that purpose prouided (to the kings part, although vnknowne) he passed a lane, and came into a faire open close right before the king, where he was imbattelled, not doubting but the prince and the lord Wenlocke, with the middle-ward, had followed iust at his backe. But whether the lord Wenlocke dissembled the matter for king Edwards sake, or whether his hart serued him not, still he stood, and gaue the looking on.

The duke of Summerset.

The king, or (as other haue) the duke of Glocester, taking the aduantage that he aduerted for, turned againe face to face vnto the duke of Summerset his battell, and winning the hedge and ditch of him, entred the close, and with great violence put him and his people vp towards the hill from whence they were decended. Héere is to be noted, that when the king was come before his enimies, yer he gaue the onset, he perceiued that vpon the right hand of their campe there was a parke, and much store of wood growing therein; and doubting least his aduersaries had laid an ambush within that wood, he chose foorth of his companies two hundred speares, commanding them to kéepe a stale, like a quarter of a mile from the field, to attend vpon that corner of the wood out of the which the ambush, if anie were, was to issue, and to incounter with them, as occasion serued: but if they perceiued that there was no ambush at all, then to imploie their seruice as they should see it expedient and behouefull for the time.

Edw. Hall.

The politike foresight of the king.

This politike prouision for danger that might haue insued (although there was none that waie foorth) serued yet before the end of the battell, to great good purpose. For when those speares perfectlie vnderstood that there was no ambush within the wood, and withall saw conuenient time to imploie themselues, they came and brake with full randon vpon the duke of Summerset and his voward a flanke, in so violent wise vpon the sudden, that where they had before enough to doo with those with whom they were first matched, now with this new charge giuen on them by those two hundred speares, they were not a little dismaied; and to conclude, so discouraged, that streightwaie they tooke them to flight. Some fled into the parke, other into the meadow there at hand, some into the lanes, & some hid them in ditches, each one making what shift he could, by the which he hoped best to escape: but manie neuerthelesse were beaten downe, slaine, and taken prisoners.

The vātgard of the lords distressed.

The duke of Summerset séeing this vnfortunate chance, as some write, turned to the midle-ward, and there finding the lord Wenlocke standing still, after he had reuiled him, and called him traitor, with his ax he stroke the braines out of his head. The duke of Glocester pursuing after them that fled with the duke of Summerset to their campe, where the rest of their armie stood, entred the trench, and after him the king, where he bare himselfe so knightlie, that therevpon the quéenes part went to wracke, and was put to flight; the king and other falling in chase after them, so that manie were slaine, but especiallie at a mill in the meadow fast by the towne a great sort were drowned. Manie ran towards the towne, some to the church, and diuerse to the abbeie, and other to other places, where they thought best to saue themselues. [This was the last fought field or pight battell tried betwéene the potentats of this land in king Edward the fourths daies (which chanced on the fourth of Maie, being saturdaye, in the eleuenth yeare of his reigne, and in the year of Lord, 1471) as Anglorum prælia affirmeth, saieng:

A terrible stroke.

Abr. Flem.

Vltima postremæ locus est Teuxburia pugnæ.]

In the winning of the campe, such as stood to it were slaine out of hand. Prince was taken as he fled towards the towne, by sir Richard Crofts, and kept close. In the field and chase were slaine, the lord Iohn of Summerset, called marquesse Dorset, Thomas Courtenie earle of Deuonshire, sir Iohn Delues, sir Edward Hampden, sir Robert Whitingham, and sir Iohn Leukener, with thrée thousand others. After the field was ended, proclamation was made, that whosoever could bring foorth prince Edward alieue or dead, should haue an annuities of a hundred pounds during his life, and the princes life to be saued, if he were brought foorth alieue. Sir Richard Crofts, nothing mistrusting the kings promise, brought foorth his prisoner prince Edward, being a faire and well proportioned yong gentleman; whom when king Edward had well aduised, he demanded of him, how he durst so presumptuouslie enter into his realme with banner displaid.

Edw. Hall.

Prince Edward taken.

Nobles slaine.

Sir Richard Crofts deliuereth the prince in hope that his life should haue bene saued.

Wherevnto the prince boldlie answered, saieng; "To recouer my fathers kingdome & heritage, from his father and grandfather to him and from him after him to me lineallie descended." At which words king Edward said nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some saie) stroke him with his gantlet; whome incontinentlie, George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Glocester, Thomas Greie marquesse Dorset, and William lord Hastings that stood by, suddenlie murdered: for the which cruell act, the more part of the doers in their latter daies dranke of the like cup, by the righteous iustice and due punishment of God. His bodie was homelie interred with the other simple corpses, in the church of the monasterie of blacke monks in Teukesburie.

Prince Edward murdered.

After the victorie was thus atchiued, the king repaired to the abbeie church there, to giue God thanks for that good successe, which it had pleased him to blesse him with: and there finding a great number of his enimies, that were fled thither to saue themselues, he gaue them all his free pardon; albeit there was no franchise there for rebels, but that he might haue commanded them to haue béene drawn foorth without breach of anie liberties of that church. He granted also that the dead bodies, as well of the lords as other, slaine in that battell, might be buried in the same church, or else where it pleased their friends or seruants, without anie quartering & heading, or setting vp heads or quarters in any publike places. O the patience and clemencie of this good king, who (besides the putting vp of wrongs doone to him by violence of foes without vengeance) fréelie forgaue the offenders, and did so honorablie temper his affections!

There were found in the abbeie and other places of the towne, Edmund duke of Summerset, Iohn Lonstrother lord prior of S. Iohn, sir Thomas Tressham, sir Gerueis Clifton, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, which were apprehended, and all of them being brought before the duke of Glocester, sitting as constable of England, and the duke of Norffolke, as marshall in the midst of the towne, they were arreigned, condemned, and iudged to die; and so vpon the tuesdaye, being the seuenth of Maie, the said duke and the lord prior, with the two forenamed knights, and twelue other knights, were on a scaffold, set vp in the middle of the towne for that purpose, beheaded, and permitted to be buried, without anie other dismembring, or setting vp of their heads in anie one place or other.

The duke of Summerset & others beheaded.

The same tuesdaye, the king departed from Teukesburie towards Worcester, and by the waie had knowledge that quéene Margaret was found in a poore house of religion, not far from thence, into the which she was withdrawen for safegard of hir selfe, on saturdaye in the morning, being the daie of the battell. She was after brought to London as prisoner, and so kept, till hir father ransomed hir with great summes of monie, which he borowed of Lewes the eleuenth king of France. And bicause he was not able to make repaiment thereof, he sold vnto the said Lewes (as the French writers affirme) the kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sicils, with the countie of Prouance. King Edward being at Worcester, had aduertisements brought foorth of the north parts, that the people there were about to assemble in armour against him, in fauour of king Henrie: wherevpon he left the right way to London, and rode to Couentrie, meaning to increase the number of his people, and so with a puissant armie to go northwards.

Quéene Margaret taken.

Herevpon, comming to Couentrie the eleuenth of Maie, and remaining there thrée daies, he well refreshed such as had béene with him at Teukesburie field. Hither was brought to him queene

Margaret, from whence she was conueied to London, there to remaine in safe keeping (as before you haue hard.) Whilst he was busie in sending abroad vnto his friends to leaue an armie, he was aduertised that the commotion in the north was pacified. For after it was knowen abroad, how he obtained the victorie, as well at Teukesburie, as at Barnet, and in manner subdued all his enimies, the capteins that had stirred the people to that rebellion, began to quaille, and forsooke their companies.

Diuerse of them made sute to the earle of Northumberland, that it might please him to be a mediator to the king for their pardon; so that now, there was no rebellion in all the north parts, but that as well the citie of Yorke, as all other places, were at the kings commandement, readie in all things to obei him as true and loiall subjects. And this was confirmed by the earle of Northumberlands owne mouth, who on the fouretéenth of Maie came to the king, as yet remaining at Couentrie: by reason whereof it was not thought néedfull, that the king should trauell anie further northward at that time, either about the pacieng of the people, or to see execution doone vpon the offenders, sith all was there in good tranquillitie and quiet.

Rebellion in the north pacified.

The earle of Northumberland.

But now when all things séemed to be at rest, and no rebellion after so happie victories doubted, newes came to him before his cōming to Couentrie, from the lords of his bloud, abiding at London, that one Thomas Neuell, bastard sonne to that valiant capteine the lord Thomas Fauconbridge (who had latelie before beene sent to the sea by the earle of Warwike, and after fallen to practise pirasie) had spoiled diuerse merchants ships, Portingals and others, in breach of the ancient amitie that long had continued betwixt the realms of England and Portingale; and furthermore, had now got to him a great number of mariners, out of all parts of the land, and manie traitors and misgouerned people from each quarter of the realme, beside diuerse also fourth of other countries that delighted in theft and robberies, meaning to worke some exploit against the king.

Thomas Nevill bastard Fauconbridge.

And verelie, his puissance increased dailie, for hauing béene at Calis, and brought from thence into Kent manie euill disposed persons, he began to gather his power in that cōtrie, meaning (as was thought) to attempt some great and wicked enterprise. After the kings comming to Couentrie, he receiued aduertisements, that this bastard was come before London, with manie thousands of men by land, and also in ships by water, purposing to rob and spoile the citie. Manie Kentishmen were willing to assist him in this mischieuous enterprise, and other were forced against their wils to go with him, or else to aid him with their substance and monie, insomuch that within a short time, he had got together sixtéene or seuentene thousand men, as they accomted themselues.

The bastard Fauconbridge before London with an armie.

With these he came before the citie of London the twelwe of Maie, in the quarrell (as he pretended) of king Henrie, whom he also meant to haue out of the Tower, & to restore him againe vnto his crowne & roiall dignitie. And for that intent, he required to enter the citie with his people, that receiuing king Henrie fourth of the Tower, they might passe with him through the citie, and so to march streight towards king Edward, whose destruction they vowed to pursue, with all their vttermost indeuors. But the maior and aldermen of the citie would not in anie wise agree to satisfie their request herein, vtterlie refusing to receiue him or anie of his companie into the citie.

King Edward from time to time by posts was informed of all these dooings, & by aduise of his councell, the fouretéenth of Maie, sent to the succors of the maior and aldermen fiftéene hundred of the choisest souldiers he had about him, that they might helpe to resist the enimies, till he had got such an armie together as was thought necessarie, meaning with all conuenient spéed to come therewith to the rescue of the citie, and preservation of the quéene, prince, and his daughters, that were within the Tower, not in verie good safegard, considering the euill dispositions of manie within the citie of London, that for the fauour they had borne to the earle of Warwike, and desire to be partakers of the spoile, cared not if the bastard might haue attained to his full purpose and wished intent.

Succours sent to the citie of London.

On the sixtenth of Maie, king Edward set fourth of Couentrie towards London. But here ye haue to vnderstand, that when the bastard could not be receiued into the citie, neither by gentle persuasions, nor gréeuous threatnings, he made semblance to passe ouer the Thames at Kingston bridge, ten miles from London, and thitherwards he drew with his whole power by land, leauing his ships afore saint Katharines and thereabouts. His pretense was, to spoile and destroe Westminster, and the suburbs of the citie on that side, and after to assault the citie it selfe, to trie if he might enter by force, and so be reuenged of the citizens that had refused to receiue him. [Notwithstanding all which stirring of coles & proud port, with haughtinesse of hart & violence of hand thinking to beare downe the people, as an inundation or flowing of water streams dooth all before it: yet he came short of his purpose, and pulled vpon his owne pate finall destruction: though he thought himselfe a man ordeined to glorie, & was tickled with the like flating persuasion that one had in his hart, who said:

The bastards purpose to spoile the suburbs of London.

Magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria vires.]

Prop. lib. 4.

Now as he was onwards vpon his iornie, he was aduertised, that king

Edward was preparing to come forwards against him, assisted in manner with all the great lords of the realme, and others in great number, more than he had beene at anie time before. By reason whereof, doubting what might follow, if passing the riuer he should fortune so to be inclosed, that he should be driuen thereby to incounter with the kings power at such ods, he thought it best to alter his purpose; and so returning, came backe againe before London, & mustered his people in S. Georges field, ranged and placed in one entier battell.

The dastard altereth his purpose.

And to the intent they might worke their purposed feat, before the kings comming to the rescue, they resouled with all their forces to assault the citie, and to enter it if they could by plaine strength, that putting it to the sacke, they might conueie the riches to their ships, which laie in the riuer betwixt saint Katharins and Blackewall, neere to Ratcliffe. Herevpon hauing brought certeine peeces of artillerie foorth of their ships, they planted the same amongst the water side, right ouer against the citie, and shot off lustilie, to annoie them within so much as was possible.

But the citizens on the other side lodged their great artillerie against their aduersaries, and with violent shot therof so galled them, that they durst not abide in anie place amongst the water side, but were driuen euen from their owne ordinance. Yet the bastard not meaning to leaue anie waie vnassaied that might aduance his purpose, appointed a great number of his retinue to set fire on the bridge, so to open the passage, and to enter into the citie that way forth; and withall, he caused aboue thrée thousand other to passe by ships ouer the Thames; giuing order, that when they were got ouer, they should diuide themselues into two battels, the one to assault Algate, and the other Bishops gate, which order accordinglie was executed.

The bastard meaneth to enter the citie by force.

For they did their best at both places to force the gates, not sparing to bend and discharge such guns as they had brought with them against the same, nor ceassing with arrowes to annoie those that there stood at defense: whereby much hurt was doone, as well at the one place as the other, fire being set on both the gates in purpose to haue burnt them vp, and so to haue entered. The fire which they had kindled on the bridge little auailed them, although they burnt there to the number of a thréescore houses. For the citizens had laid such péeces of ordinance directlie in their waie, that although the passage had béene wholie open, they should haue had hard entering that waie foorth. The maior, aldermen, and other worshipfull citizens were in good arraie, and each man appointed and bestowed where was thought néedfull.

Algate and Bishops gate assaulted.

Houses burnt on the bridge.

The earle of Essex, and manie knights, esquiers, and gentlemen, with their fréends and seruants, came to aid the citizens, taking great paine to place them in order, for defense of the gates and walles: and furthermore, deuised how and in what sort they might make a sallie foorth vpon the enimies to distresse them: and suerlie, by the intermingling of such gentlemen and lords seruants in euerie part with the citizens, they were greatlie encouraged to withstand their enimies. Yet the rebels, vnder the leading of one Spising, bare themselues so stoutlie at Algate, that they wan the bulworks there, and droue the citizens backe within the portculice, & entered with them, to the number of six or eight: but some of them were slaine with the fall of the portculice that was let downe vpon them, to kéepe the residue out, and those that were entered within the gate were suddenlie dispatched.

Héerewith they lashed fréelie the one part at the other with guns and bowes, although no great hurt was doone with shot; till at length Robert Basset alderman (that was appointed to the kéeping of this gate), with the most part of the citizens, and the recorder, named Ursewike, either of them being well armed in strong iackes, commanded the portculice to be drawn vp, and mantenantie rushed foorth vpon their enimies, putting them backe vnto saint Bothulpes church. At the same instant, the earle Riuers, hauing got together a foure or fíue hundred men, well chosen and apparelled for the warre, issued foorth at the posterne by the Tower, and assailing the Kentishmen, euen vpon the point as they were thus put backe, mightilie laid vpon them.

The valiancie of Robert Basset alderman.

And first he plaged them with the swift and thicke flight of his arrowes, and after ioining with them at handstrokes, slue and tooke manie of them prisoners; so that the rebels were fullie put to flight, and followed first to Mile-end, and from thense some vnto Poplar, some to Stratford, and Stepnith, and in maner each waie foorth about that part of the citie, the chase being followed for the space of two miles in length. Manie of them were of Essex, and so made their course homewards; but the more part of them fled to the water side, and getting to their ships, passed ouer the Thames to the rest of their companie. The other likewise that were busie to assault Bishops gate, when they vnderstood that their fellowes were discomfited and fled from Algate, they likewise slipped awaie, and made the best shift they could to saue themselues.

There were a seauen hundred of them that fled from Algate, and other places, slaine outright, beside the prisoners. And yet there were fiers burning all at once at Algate, Bishops gate, & on the bridge, and manie houses consumed with the same fiers. But now the bastard, vnder whome that companie was directed that had set fire on the bridge, when he saw that he might not preuaile, and vnderstood the euill succes of those which he had set ouer the Thames, he withdrew also, and left the bridge. Here the hardie manhood of Rafe Iosselin alderman is not to be passed with silence; who (after he had valiantlie resisted the bastard & his band that assaulted the bridge) vpon their retire sallied foorth vpon them, and following them in chase amongst the water side, till they came beyond Ratcliffe, slue and tooke verie manie of them.

Rafe Iosselin.

The bastard notwithstanding gathered his companies together, and with such as were willing to remaine with him incamped on Blackeheath, by the space of thrée daies next insuing, to wit, the sixteenth, seauentéenth, and eightéenth of Maie, vtterlie despairing of his wished preie, sith he had béene repelled from London, to his vtter confusion. And now to conclude, hearing that king Edward was comming with a right puissant armie, the said bastard and his people durst no longer abide; but brake vp and dispersed themselues, some one waie, and some an other. They of Calis got them thither againe with all spéed, and such as were of other countries repaired likewise to their homes, and manie of the Kentishmen went also to their houses. The bastard with his mariners, and such riotous rebels, robbers, and wicked persons, as sought nothing but spoile, got them to shipboard, and with all their vessels drew downe to the coast.

The bastard incampeth on Blackeheath.

King Edward, hauing assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men (as some write) and accompanied in maner with all the great lords of England, came to London the one and twentieth of Maie, being tuesdaie, where he was honourable receiued by the maior, aldermen, and other worshipfull citizens: where euen vpon their first méeting with him he dubbed diuerse of them knights; as the maior, the recorder, & other aldermen, and worshipfull commoners of the citie, which had manfullie and valiantlie acquit themselues against the bastard Fauconbridge & his wicked companie of rebels. Moreouer, here is to be remembred, that poore king Henrie the sixt, a little before deprived (as ye haue heard) of his realme and imperiall crowne, was now in the Tower spoiled of his life, by Richard duke of Glocester (as the constant fame ran) who (to the intent that his brother king Edward might reigne in more suertie) murdered the said king Henrie with a dagger.

Edw. Hall.

King Henrie the sixt murdered in the Tower.

Howbeit, some writers of that time, fauoring altogether the house of Yorke, haue recorded, that after he vnderstood what losses had chanced vnto his fréends, and how not onelie his sonne, but also all other his chéefe partakers were dead and dispatched, he tooke it so to hart, that of pure displeasure, indignation, and melancholie, he died the three and twentieth of Maie. The dead corps on the Ascension euen was conueied with billes and glaucs pompouslie (if you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of saint Paule, and there laid on a beire or coffen bare faced, the same in presence of the beholders did bléed; where it rested the space of one whole daie. From thense he was caried to the Blackfriars, and bled there likewise: and on the next daie after, it was conueied in a boat, without priest or clerke, torch or taper, singing or saieng, vnto the monasterie of Chertseie, distant from London fiftéene miles, and there was it first buried: but after, it was remooued to Windesor, and there in a new vawt, newlie intoomed. He reigned eight and thirtie yeares, six moneths and od daies, and after his readeption of the crowne six moneths. He liued two and fiftie yeares, hauing by wife one onelie sonne, called Edward, prince of Wales.

The nine and twentieth of Maie.

He was of a séemelie stature, of bodie slender, to which proportion all other members were answerable; his face beautifull, wherein continuallie was resident the bountie of mind with the which he was inwardlie indued. Of his owne naturall inclination he abhorred all the vices as well of the bodie as of the soule. His patience was such that of all the iniuries to him doone (which were innumerable) he neuer asked vengeance, thinking that for such aduersitie as chanced to him, his sinnes should be forgotten and forgiuen. What losses soeuer happened vnto him, he neuer esteemed, nor made anie account therof; but if anie thing were doone, that might sound as an offense towards God, he sore lamented, and with great repentance sorowed for it.

So then verie vnlike it is, that he died of anie wrath, indignation, and displeasure bicause his businesse about the kéeping of the crowne on his head tooke no better successe: except peradventure ye will saie, that it gréeued him, for that such slaughters and mischéuees as had chanced within this land, came to passe onelie through his follie and default in gouernment: or (that more is) for his fathers, his grandfathers, and his owne vniust vsurping and deteining of the crowne. But howsoeuer it was, for these before remembred, and other the like properties of reputed holinesse, which was said to rest in him, it pleased God to worke miracles for him in his life time as men haue listed to report.

By reason whereof, king Henrie the seauenth sued to Pope Iulio the second, to haue him canonized a saint. But for that the canonizing of a king séemed to be more costlie than for a bishop, the said king left off his sute in that behalfe; thinking better to saue his monie, than to purchase a new holie daie of saint Henrie with so great a price, remitting to God the iudgement of his will and intent. ¶ But bicause princes princelie qualified, can not be too highlie praised, I will here record a collection of his commendable conditions, dooings, and saiengs, as I find them set downe to my hand, to his perpetuall renowme; and right worthie of imitation, not onelie of such as are singled out from among infinite thousands, to be magnified with roialtie; but also of priuat and meane men that conuerse and liue one with an other in the world.

Canonizing of kings, déere.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 730, 731, &c.

This king hauing inioied as great prosperitie as fauourable fortune could afoord, & as great troubles on the other side as she frowning could powre out; yet in both the states he was patient and vertuous, that he maie be a patterne of most perfect vertue, as he was a worthie example of fortunes inconstancie. He was plaine, vpright, farre from fraud, wholie giuen to praier, reading of scriptures, and almesdeeds; of such integritie of life, that the bishop which had béene his confessour ten yeares, auouched that he had not all that time committed anie mortall crime: so

continent, as suspicion of vnchast life neuer touched him: and hauing in Christmasse a shew of yoong women with their bare breasts laid out presented before him, he immediatlie departed with these words: "Fie, fie, for shame; forsooth you be too blame."

Before his marriage, he liked not that women should enter his chamber, and for this respect he committed his two brethren by the moothers side, Iasper and Edmund to most honest & vertuous prelatz to be brought vp. So farre he was from couetousnesse, that when the executors of his vncler the bishop of Winchester, surnamed the rich cardinall, would haue giuen him two thousand pounds, he plainelie refused it, willing them to discharge the will of the departed, and would scarselie condescend at length to accept the same summe of monie toward the indowing of his colleges in Cambridge & Eaton. He was religiouslie affected (as the time then was) that at principall holidaiies, he would weare sackcloth next his skin. Oth he vsed none, but in most earnest matters these words: Forsooth and forsooth.

He was so pitifull, that when he saw the quarter of a traitor against his crowne ouer Criplegate, he willed it to be taken awaie, with these words: "I will not haue anie christian so cruellie handled for my sake." Manie great offenses he willinglie pardoned and receiuing at a time a great blow by a wicked man which compassed his death, he onelie said; "Forsooth forsooth, yée doo fowlie to smite a king annoited so." Another also which thrust him into the side with a sword when he was prisoner in the Tower, was by him pardoned when he was restored to his state and kingdome. Not long before his death, being demanded whie he had so long held the crowne of England vniustlie; he replied: "My father was king of England, quietlie inioieng the crowne all his reigne: and his father my grandsire was also king of England, and I euen a child in my cradell was proclaimed and crowned king without anie interruption; and so held it fortie yeares well-neere, all the states dooing homage vnto me, as to my antecessors: wherefore I maie saie with king Daud; The lot is fallen vnto me in a faire ground; yea, I haue a goodlie heritage, my helpe is from the Lord which saueth the vpright in heart."

This good king being of himselfe alwaies naturallie inclined to doo good, and fearing least he might séeme vnthanke full to almightie God for his great benefits bestowed vpon him, since the time he first tooke vpon him the regiment of his realme, determined about the six and twentieth yeare of his reigne, for his primer notable worke (as by the words of his will I find expressed) to erect and found two famous colledges in the honor and worship of his holy name, and for the increase of vertue, the dilatation of cunning, and establishment of christian faith, whereof the one in Cambridge to be called his colledge roiall of our ladie and saint Nicholas: and the other at Eaton beside Windsore, to be called his colledge of our blessed ladie.

The kings colledge in Cambridge.

And for the performance of this his deuout purpose, he infeoffed certeine bishops, with other noble and worshipfull personages, by his letters patents, with lands and possessions, parcell of his inheritance of the duchie of Lancaster, to the cleare value of well néere foure & thirtie hundred pounds by yéere. Which letters patents he after confirmed by his act of parlement, declaring also by his will vnto his said feoffées, his intent and meaning, how the same shuld be imploied vpon the edifications of his said two colledges. Whereof (in my iudgement) the deuise is so excellent, and the buildings so princelie and apt for that purpose, as I cannot omit to set forth vnto you the verie plot of the whole colledge in Cambridge, euen as I find mentioned almost verbatim in his will, supposing that if the rest of the house had procéeded according to the chappell alreadie finished (as his full intent and meaning was) the like colledge could scant haue béene found againe in anie christian land. The words of the will are thus.

As touching the dimensions of the church of my said colledge of our ladie and S. Nicholas of Cambridge, I haue deuised and appointed, that the same church shall conteine in length 288 foot of assise, without anie Iles, and all of the widenesse of fortie foot. And the length of the same church from the west end vnto the altars at the quiere doore, shall conteine an hundred and twentie foot. And from the prouosts stall, vnto the gréece called Gradus chori ninetie foot; for thirtie six stalles on either side of the same quiere, answering to threescore and ten fellowes, and ten priests conducts, which must be De prima forma. And from the said stalles vnto the east end of the said church, threescore & two foot of assise. Also a reredosse bearing the roodloft, departing the quiere and the bodie of the church conteining in length fortie foot, and in breadth fourtéene foot. The walles of the same church to be in height ninetie foot imbattelled, vawted and charerooffed, suffcientlie butteraced, and euerie butterace fined with finials. And in the east end of the same church, shall be a window of nine daies, and betwixt euerie butterace a window of fiue daies.

The chappell.

The bodie of the church.

The quiere.

The roodloft.

The height of the chappell.

The east window.

And betwixt euerie of the same butteraces in the bodie of the church, on both sides of the same church, a closet with an altar therein, conteining in length twentie foot, and in breadth ten foot, vawted and finished vnder the soile of the Ile windowes. And the pauement of the church to be inanced foure foot and aboue the ground without. And the height of the pauement of the quiere one foot and an halfe aboue the pauement of the church. And the pauement of the altar thrée foot aboue that. And on the north side of the quiere a vestrie conteining in length fiftie foot, and in breadth twentie and two foot, departed into two houses beneath, & two houses aboue, which shall conteine in height twentie two foot in all, with an entrie from the quiere vawted. And at the west end of the church a cloister square, the east pane conteining in length an hundred seuentie and fiue foot,

The side chappells.

The vestrie.

The cloister.

and the west pane as much. The north pane two hundred foot, and the south pane as much, of the which the deambulatorie thirtéene foot wide, and in height twentie foot to the corbill table, with cleare stories and butteraces with finials, vawted & imbattelled. And the ground thereof foure foot lower than the church ground.

And in the middle of the west pane of the cloister a strong tower square, conteining foure and twentie foot within the walles. And in the height one hundred and twentie foot to the corbill table. And foure small turrets ouer that fined with pinacles. And a doore into the said cloister inward, but outward none. And as touching the dimensions of the housing of the said colledge, I haue deuised and appointed in the southside of the said church a quadrant, closing to both ends of the same church; the east pane whereof shall contene two hundred and thirtie foot in length, and in breadth within the walles two and twentie foot. In the same panes middle, a tower for a gatehouse, conteining in length thirtie foot, and in breadth two and twentie, and in height thréescore foot, with thrée chambers ouer the gate, euerie one ouer the other. And on either side of the same gate foure chambers, euerie one conteining in length fiue & twentie foot, and in bredth two and twentie foot. And ouer euerie of these chambers, two chambers aboue of the same measure or more, with two towers outward, and two towers inward.

The stéeple.

The base court.

The east pane.

The great gate.

The south pane shall contene in length two hundred thirtie and eight foot, and in breadth two and twentie foot within, in which shalbe seuen chambers, euerie one conteining in length nine and twentie foot, and in breadth twentie and two, with a chamber parcell of the prouosts lodging, conteining in length thirtie and fiue foot, and with a chamber in the east corner of the same pane, conteining in length twentie and fiue foot, and in breadth thirtie and two foot. And ouer euerie of all these chambers, two chambers, and with fiue towers outward, and thrée towers inward. The west pane shall contene in length two hundred and thirtie foot, and in breadth within twentie & foure foot, in which at the end toward the church shall be a librarie, conteining in length an hundred and ten foot, and in breadth twentie and foure foot. And vnder it a large house for reading and disputations, conteining in length eleuen foot. And two chambers vnder the same librarie, each conteining twentie and nine foot in length, and in breadth foure and twentie foot.

The south pane.

The west pane.

The librarie.

The disputation house.

And ouer the said librarie a house of the same largenesse, for diuerse stuffe of the said colledge. In the other end of the same pane a hall, conteining in length an hundred foot, vpon a vawt of twelue foot high, ordeined for the cellar and butterie: and the breadth of the hall six and thirtie foot. On euerie side thereof a baie window. And in the nether end of the same hall toward the middle of the same pane, a pantrie & butterie, euerie of them in length twentie foot, and in breadth seuentéene foot. And ouer that two chambers for officers. And at the nether end of the hall toward the west, a goodlie kitchin. And the same pane shall haue inward two towers, ordeined for the waies into the hall and librarie. And in euerie corner of the said quadrant, shall be two corner towers, one inward, and one outward, more than the towers aboue rehearsed.

The wardrobe.

The hall.

The pantrie and butterie.

The colledge kitchin.

And at the vpper end of the hall, the prouosts lodging, that is to wit, more than the chambers for him aboue specified, a parlour on the ground, conteining six and thirtie foot in length, and two and twentie foot in breadth, & two chambers aboue of the same quantitie. And westward closing thereto a kitchin for him, a larderhouse, stables, and other necessarie housings and ground. And westward beyond these houses, and the said kitchin ordeined for the hall, a bakehouse, brewhouse, and other houses of office: betwixt which there is left a ground square of fourscore foot in euerie pane for wood and such stuffe. And in the middle of the said large quadrant, shall be a conduit, goodlie deuised for the ease of the same colledge. And I will, that the edification proceed in large forme of my said colledge cleane and substantiall, setting apart superfluitie of so great curious workes of intaile and busie moulding.

The prouosts lodging.

The bakhouse and brewhouse.

The woodyard.

The water conduit.

And I haue deuised and appointed that the precinct of my said colledge, as well on both sides of the garden from the colledge to the water, as in all other places of the same precinct, be inclosed with a substantiall wall, of the height of fourtéene foot, with a large tower at the principall entrie against the middle of the east pane, out of the high stréet. And in the same tower a large gate, and another tower in the middle of the west end at the new bridge. And the same wall to be creasted, imbattelled, and fortified with towers, as manie as shall be thought conuenient therevnto. And I will that my said colledge be edified of most substantiall & best abiding stuffe, of stone, lead, glasse, and iron, that maie best be had and prouided thereto. ¶ Thus much I haue enlarged by occasion of reading this good kings will: the cunning deuise whereof I leaue to the considerate iudgement of such as be expert in architecture, heartilie desiring almightie God to put into the heart of some noble prince of this land, one day to make perfect this roiall worke so charitablie begun.

The precinct of the colledge.

The water gate.

But now to returne to king Edward. Ye shall vnderstand, that after his

comming to London, hée rested there but one daie, or two at the most, taking his iournie foorthright into Kent with all his armie, folowing the bastard, and other his complices, to suppressse them, if they were in anie place assembled againe to resist him. But after they were once dispersed, they durst not shew themselues againe in armor, those onlie excepted that were withdrawne vnto Sandwich with the bastard; which for the more part were mariners, about eight or nine hundred, beside certeine other euill disposed persons, that accompanied him as his souldiers, and men of warre, with whose assistance the bastard kept that towne by strength, hauing in the hauen seuen and fortie ships great and small, vnder his gouernance.

Sandwich kept by the rebels.

But vpon the kings approaching néere vnto those parties, they sent to him for pardon, promising that vpon a reasonable appointment, for the safeguard of their liues, and other indemnities to be had for their benefit, they would become his faithfull subiects, and deliuer into his hands all the ships. Their offer the king vpon great considerations, and by good deliberate aduise of counsell, thought best to accept: and therevpon (being at that time in Canturburie) hée granted to their petitions, and sent immediatlie vnto Sandwich his brother Richard duke of Glocester, to receiue them to mercie, together with all the ships, which according to their promise they deliuered into his hands.

The rebels sue for pardon.

But notwithstanding that (as some write) the bastard Fauconbridge, and other of his companie that were got to Sandwich, had thus their pardons by composition at the kings hand; we find neuertheless, that the said bastard Fauconbridge, being afterwards at sea (a rouing belike, as he had vsed before) came at length into the open hauen at Southhampton, and there taking land, was apprehended, and shortlie after beheaded. This chanced (as should appeare by Fabian) about the latter end of October. Moreouer, Roger Vaughan that had béene sent by king Edward into Wales, anon after Teukesburie field (being a man of great power in that countrie) to intrap and surprise by some secret sleight the earle of Penbroke, the said earle being thereof aduertised, tooke the same Roger, and without delay stroke off his head.

The bastard of Fauconbridge beheaded.

Roger Vaughan taken and beheaded.

After this, was the earle besieged in the towne of Penbroke by Morgan Thomas; but the siege was raised by Daudid Thomas, brother to the said Morgan, a faithfull friend to the earle; and then the earle by his helpe was conueied to Tinbie, where he got ships, and with his nephue the lord Henrie earle of Richmond sailed into Britaine, where, of the duke they were courteouslie interteined; with assurance made, that no creature should doo them anie wrong or iniurie within his dominions. King Edward visiting diuerse places in Kent, sate in iudgement on such as had aided the bastard in the last commotion, of whome diuerse were condemned and executed, as Spising one of the capteins that assaulted Algate, whose head was set vp ouer the same gate: and so likewise was the head of one Quintine, a butcher, that was an other capteine amongst them, and chiefe of those that assaulted Bishops gate, as some write.

Dauid Thomas.

The earle of Penbroke with his nephue the earle of Richmond passe ouer into Britaine.

Execution.

Moreouer, at Canturburie the maior of that citie was executed, and diuerse other at Rochester, Maidston and Blackeheath: for the lord marshall and other iudges, being appointed to hold their oier and determiner in that countrie of Kent, there were aboute an hundred indicted and condemned. Diuerse also of Essex men that had béene partakers in this rebellion with the bastard, & holpe to set fire on Bishops gate and Algate, were hanged betwixt Stratford and London. Manie also of the wealthie commons in Kent were put to grievous fines.

Now when the king had made an end of his businesse in that countrie, he returned to London, comming thither againe vpon Whitsun éeuen, being the first of Iune. And hauing thus within the space of eleuen wéekes recouered in maner the whole possession of his realme, being relieued of the most part of all his doubtfull feare, he ment to remooue all stops out of the waie. Wherefore he sent the archbishop of Yorke, brother to the earle of Warwike, and to the marques Montacute ouer to Guisnes, there to be kept in safe custodie within the castell, where he continued a long season, till at length he was by friendship deliuered, and shortlie after (through verie anguish of mind) departed this life; whome Laurence Bath, and after him Thomas Rotheram in the sée of Yorke, did ordinarilie succéed. Beside this, Iohn earle of Oxford, which after Barnet field both manfullie and valiantlie kept saint Michaels mount in Cornewall, either for lacke of aid, or persuaded by his friends gaue vp the mount, and yielded himselfe to king Edward (his life onelie sauéd) which to him was granted. But to be out of all doutfull imaginations, king Edward also sent him ouer the sea to the castell of Hammes, where, by the space of twelue yeeres hée was in strong prison shut vp and warilie looked to.

Fabian.

The archbishop of Yorke.

The earle of Oxford.

1472.

King Edward was not a litle disquieted in mind, for that the earls of Penbroke & Richmond were not onlie escaped out of the realme, but also well receiued and no woorsse interteined of the duke of Britaine: he sent therefore in secret wise graue & close messengers to the said duke, the which should not sticke to promise the duke great and rich rewards, so that he would deliuer both the earles into their hands and possession. The duke, after he had heard them that were sent, made this answer, that he could not with his honor

An. Reg. 12.

Messengers sent to the duke of Britaine.

deliuer them, to whome he had giuen his faith to see them preserued from all iniurie: but this (he said) he would doo for the king of England, that they should be so looked vnto, as he néeded not to doubt of any attempt to be made against him by them, or by their meanes.

The king receiuing this answer, wrote louinglie to the duke of Britaine that he would consider his fréendship with conuenient rewards, if it should please him to be as good as his promise. The duke, perceiuing gaine comming by the abode of the two English earles in his countrie, caused them to be separated in sunder, and all their seruants being Englishmen to be sequestred from them, and in their places appointed Britains to attend them. In the thirtéeenth yeare of his reigne, king Edward called his high court of parlement at his palace of Westminster, in the which all lawes and ordinances made by him before that daie were confirmed, and those that king Henrie had abrogated, after his readeption of the crowne, were againe reuiued. Also lawes were made for the confiscation of traitors goods, and for the restoring of them that were for his sake fled the realme, which of his aduersaries had béene atteinted of high treason, and condemned to die.

1473.

An. Reg. 13.

A parlement.

Moreouer, towards his charges of late susteined, a competent summe of monie was demanded, and fréelie granted. There was also a pardon granted almost for all offenses; and all men then being within the realme, were released and discharged of all high treasons and crimes, although they had taken part with his aduersaries against him. In this season the duke of Burgognie had sore wars with the French king; and to be the more spéedelie reuenged on his aduersarie, he sent ambassadors into England, to persuade king Edward to make warre also on the French king, for the recouerie of his ancient right to the realme of France, by the same French king against all equitie withholden and deteined. In which attempt of his, there was some fauour of discrét policie, and a prouident forecast for his greater safetie, besides the likelie possibilitie to obtaine that whereto he made challenge: sith the huger hosts (if the hardier hearts) are of most force, according to that saieng:

A subsidie.

A pardon.

Ambassadors from the duke of Burgognie.

Virtus vnita fortior.

And therefore, by procuring the king of Englands power to ioine with his, he supposed his purpose atchiueable with the more facilitie. King Edward not so much for the loue he bare to the duke of Burgognie, as for desire to be reuenged on the French king, whome he tooke to be his enimie for aiding the earle of Warwike, quéene Margaret, and hir sonne prince Edward, with their complices, gaue good eare to the duke of Burgognie his messengers, and finallie (after he had taken aduise of his councill) the said messengers were answered, that king Edward in the beginning of the next yeare would land at Calis with a puissant armie, both to reuenge such injuries as he had receiued at the French kings hands, and also to recouer his right, which he wrongfullie deteined from him.

In déed the time serued verie well for the Englishmen to atchiue some high enterprise in France at that present. For not onelie the duke of Burgognie as then made warre against the French king, but also manie great men within the realme of France, misliking the manners of their king, began to haue secret intelligence with the said duke; and namelie Lewes of Lutzenburgh earle of saint Paule constable of France, was secretlie confederate with the duke of Burgognie, intending verelie to bring the French king to some great hinderance, the better to haue his purpose accomplished in certeine weightie matters. King Edward vnderstanding all these things, was greatlie encouraged to make a iournie into France, and therevpon with all diligence prepared all things readie for the same.

Opportunitie not to be neglected.

The earle of S. Paule.

But bicause he wanted monie, and could not well charge his commons with a new subsidie, for that he had receiued the last yeare great summes of monie granted to him by parlement, he deuised this shift, to call afore him a great number of the wealthiest sort of people in his realme; and to them declaring his néed, and the requisite causes thereof, he demanded of euerie of them some portion of monie, which they sticked not to giue. And therefore the king willing to shew that this their liberalitie was verie acceptable to him, he called this grant of monie, A beneuolence: notwithstanding that manie with grudge gaue great sums toward that new found aid which of them might be called, A meleuolence. But the king vsed such gentle fashions toward them, with freendlie praier of their assistance in his necessitie, that they could not otherwise doo, but franklie and fréelie yéeld and giue him a reasonable and competent summe.

A shift to recouer monie.

¶ But here I will not let passe a pretie conceipt that happened in this gathering, in the which you shall not onelie note the humilitie of a king, but more the fantasie of a woman. King Edward had called before him a widow, much abounding in substance, and no lesse growne in yeares, of whome he merilie demanded what she gladlie would giue him toward his great charges? By my trueth quoth she, for thy louelie countenance thou shalt haue euen twentie pounds. The king looking scarce for the halfe of that summe, thanked hir, and louinglie kist hir. Whether the flauor of his breath did so comfort hir stomach, or she esteemed the kisse of a king so pretious a iewell, she swore incontinentlie, that he should haue twentie pounds more, which she with the same will paied that she offered it. ¶ This yeare the duke of Excester was found dead in the sea betwéene Douer and Calis, but how he came there

Abr. Flem. ex. Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxxvj.

Iohn Stow.

the certaintie could not be knowne.

When all things conuenient for such an enterprise were in a readinesse, the king came to Douer, where he found fiue hundred ships and hoies readie to transport him and his armie. And so the fourth daie of Iulie he passed ouer, and landed at Calis with great triumph; but his armie, horsstes, and munitions of war scarce passed ouer in twentie daies. In this armie (being one of the best appointed that had passed out of England into France in manie yeares before) were fifteene hundred men of armes well horssed, of the which the most part were barded and richlie trapped, and manie of them trimmed in one sute. There were also fiftéene thousand archers with bowes and arrowes, of the which a great number were on horsbacke. There were also a great companie of other fighting men, and of such as serued to set vp tents and paulions, to attend the artillerie and to inclose their campe, and otherwise to labour and be imploied in seruice.

1474.

An. Reg. 14.

The K. with an armie passeth ouer into France.

In all this armie was there not one page. The king of England was at his ariually highlie displeased with the duke of Burgognie, who in the word of a prince had promised to meet him at his landing, with two thousand men of armes and light horssemen, besides a great number of lanceknights and halberdiers, and that he would haue begun the war three moneths before the kings transporting; whereas contrarilie the duke laie lingering at the siege of Nusse, and let passe the occasion of atchiuing a more profitable enterprise. King Edward incontinentlie dispatched the lord Scales in post vnto the duke, to put him in remembrance of his promise, and to aduise him to come and ioine with him before the summer were spent.

The siege of Nusse.

The lord Scales.

Before king Edward departed from Douer, he sent an officer of armes vnto the French king with a defiance. The French king, receiuing the king of Englands letters at the messengers hand, read the same; and after he had considered thereof at leasure, he called the English herald aside, and to him declared the little trust that was to be put in the duke of Burgognie and the constable, by whose procurement he knew that king Edward was procured to come at that season into France; and therefore it should be better for him to haue peace with an old enimie, than to staie vpon the promises and familiaritie of a new dissembling freend, which peace did highlie please God, & was the thing that he most desired. ¶ But to giue the greater grace to the matter in hand, it is good to laie downe the forme of the French kings spéech to the said herald, to whome he vttered these words in his wardrobe, as Edward Hall reporteth.

A defiance sent to the French king.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxvij.

"Sir I know and well wot, that the king of England your maister, is neither decended in these parts of his owne frée motion, nor yet of vs required; but onelie entised and prouoked by the duke of Burgognie, and somewhat inforced by the commons of his realme. But now you may see that the season of the yeare passeth, and the duke of Burgognie is in poore estate, returning from Nusse almost discomforted. The constable also, with whome the king your souereigne lord (I am sure) hath some intelligence, for fauour that your maister hath married his néece, is not so sure a freend as he is taken for. And if all the world knew how I haue promoted him, and what I haue doone for him, they would little thinke, that he would so vntrulie handle me as he dooth. For I assure you, he is a déepe dissembler, & in continuall dissimulation intendeth to lead his life, interteining all men for his owne profit. And although the king your maister be vnure of all his other promises, yet of one thing he shall be sure, that is, he shall be euer dissembled withall. And therefore I saie to you, and not to your maister, that he were better haue a peace with an old enimie, than the promises and familiaritie of a new dissembling fréend, which peace most pleaseth God, and is the thing that I most doo desire."

When he had thus said, he gaue the herald thrée hundred crownes, promising him a thousand crownes if anie good appointment came to passe. This herald was borne in Normandie, who being more couetous of the crownes than secret (according as of dutie by his office he ought to haue beene) promised to doo all things that in him laie, and further shewed waies by the which the French king might enter into the port of treatie for peace, the which he doubted not would sort to a good conclusion. The French king glad to heare these things, gaue to the herald when he should depart, beside the other reward, a péece of Crimson veluet of thirtie yards long. The lord Scales, comming to the duke of Burgognie before Nusse, could not persuade him to raise his field, and (as it stood him vpon) to come and ioine with king Edward, till at length constreined thereto by other means, he left Nusse vnconquered and sending the most part of his armie into Lorraine, came with a small companie to king Edward lieng before Calis.

The office of an herald.

The duke of Burgognie commeth to king Edward.

King Edward at the first comming of the duke vnto him, séemed much to reprooue his vnwise dealing, in making so slow hast to ioine with him at this time, sith for his sake, and at his sute, he had passed the seas with his armie, to the intent to make wars in France in reuenge of both their iniuries; the time seruing their turnes so well as they could wish or desire, the opportunitie whereof could neuer happilie be recouered againe. The duke after he had excused himselfe, with alledging the dishonour that should haue redounded to him, if he had left the siege of Nusse without meane of some shew of composition, encouraged king Edward to aduance forward with manie golden promises, aswell of his owne part, as of the constable. The king agréed to the dukes persuasion, and so set forward.

But yet when he was entred into the dukes countries, the Englishmen

were not so freendlie interteined as they looked to haue béene: for at their comming to Peronne, there were but a few suffered to enter the gates, the remnant were driuen to lodge in the fields, better purueied of their owne, than of the dukes prouision. And at their comming before saint Quintines (which towne the constable had promised to deliuer into the hands of the duke of Burgognie) the artillerie shot off, and they of the towne came foorth both on horssebacke and foot to skirmish with them that approached, of the which two or three were slaine. This interteinement seemed strange to king Edward, pondering the last daies promise with this daies dooing. But the duke excused the matter, and would haue persuaded him to make countenance to besiege the towne, that the constable might haue a colour to render it into his hands, as though he did it by constraint.

The constable of France
a déepe dissembler.

But the king, remembring what had béene told to his herald by the French K. how he should be dissembled with, perceiued the French kings words to be too true, and therefore thought it more sure to heare the faire words of the constable and the duke, than to giue credit to their vntrue and deceitfull dooings. The Englishmen returned vnto their campe in a great chafe towards the constable; and the next daie to increase their displeasure, an other corosiuie was ministred, that smarted sorer. For duke Charles of Burgognie tooke his leaue suddenlie of king Edward, alledging that he must néeds see his armie in Artois, promising shortlie with all his puissance to returne againe to the great commoditie of them both. This departing much troubled the king of England, bicause he looked for no such thing; but thought rather that he should haue had the duke his continuall fellow in armes: and therefore this dissembling and vnstedfast working caused the king to thinke that he neuer thought, and to doo that he neuer intended.

The duke of Burgognie
departeth.

The French king in this meane while had assembled a mightie power; ouer the which he had made monsieur Robert de Estoutuile capteine, whome he sent to Artois, to defend the frontiers there against the king of Englands entrie, and he himselfe tarried still at Senlis: but though he shewed countenance thus of warre, yet inwardlie desirous of peace, according to the aduise giuen him by the English herald, he caused a varlet or yeoman (as I may call him) to be put in a coat of armour of France, which for hast was made of a trumpet baner. For king Lewes was a man nothing precise in outward shewes of honor, oftentimes hauing neither officer of armes, trumpet in his court, nor other roiall appurtenances belonging to the port of a prince, which should be glorious and replenished with pompe, as the poet saith:

Regia mirifici fulgent insignia regis.

This counterfeit herald, being throughlie instructed in his charge, was sent to the king of England, and so passing foorth: when he approched the English campe, he put on his coat of armes, & being espied of the outriders, was brought to a tent, where the lord Howard and the lord Stanleie were at dinner, of whome he was courteouslie receiued, and by them conueied to the kings presence, vnto whom he declared his message so wittilie, that in the end he obtained a safe conduct for one hundred horssees, for such persons as his maister should appoint to meet, as manie to be assigned by king Edward in some indifferent place betwéene both armies, to haue a like safe conduct from his said maister, as he receiued from him. ¶ The words of which herald are woorth the noting, reported in writers as followeth.

A messenger sent to
the king of England.

Abr. Fl. ex. Edw. Hall.
fol. Ccxxxix, ccxxx.

The heralds oration to the king vttered with boldnesse of face and libertie of toong.

Right high and mightie prince, right puissant and noble king, if your excellent wisdome did perfectlie know, or your high knowledge did apparantlie perceiue, what inward affection and feruent desire the king my maister hath alwaies had, to haue a perfect peace, a sure vnitie, & a brotherlie concord betweene your noble person and your realme, and his honorable personage and his dominions, you would & (for truths sake) should confesse and saie, that neuer christian prince more thirsted for an amitie, nor yet no louer hath more sought to attein to the fauour of his paramor, than he hath sought to haue with you a perpetuall fréndship, amitie, and aliance: to the intent that the subiects of both the relms, quietlie liuing vnder two princes, confederate and combined together in an indissoluble confederacie and league, may mutuallie imbrace ech other in their harts, may personallie haue resort and frequent each others princes territories and dominions, with their merchandizes and wares: and finallie, the one to liue with the other, as freend with freend, brother with brother, companion with companion, in continuall loue, rest, and tranquillitie. And for his part he dooth affirme & saie, that since he receiued first the crowne of his kingdome, and was annointed with the holie ampull, he neuer attempted, nor yet once imagined anie war, or thing preiudiciall toward your roiall person, your realme, or your people.

If you peradventure will saie, that he supported & maintained the earle of Warwike against your maiestie, he suerlie that dooth & will denie: for he aided him against the duke of Burgognie, whome he knew not onelie to be his extreame enimie, but also to laie in wait (both by sea and land) either to take him, or vtterlie to destroie him. Which duke of Burgognie, onelie for his owne cause, hath excited and solicted your highnesse to come ouer the troublous and tempestuous seas, to the intent to cause (yea in maner to compell) the king my master, to condescend to such treatie and appointment, as should be to his onlie profit, and neither to your honour, nor yet to your game. For if he & such other as dailie flattered him for their peculiar profits (as he had manie in deed that dailie sucked at his elbow) had once obtined the thing that they breathed for, all your affaires were put in obliuion, and left at large for them, or their assistants, euen as they be at this daie. Hath not the duke of Burgognie caused you first to come into France; after to set forward your armie; and in conclusion, for lacke of his promise, to loose the faire season of the yeare, and to lie in the fields in winter. Which warre (if it continue) shall neither be profitable to you, nor to your nobilitie, nor yet pleasant but painefull to your communalitie: and finallie to both the realmes, and especiallie to merchant men shall bring both miserie, pouertie, and calamitie.

Came the duke of Burgognie from Nusse to Calis, onlie to visit you? Rode he all that post hast onelie to blind you? Returned he backe into Loraine againe for anie cause but onelie to leaue you desolate, & to abandon you? Did he or the constable keepe anie one promise with you? Why doo you then beleuee, and yet still trust them, in whome you neuer found faith nor fidelitie? But if God will it so ordeine, that you and my master may ioine in league and amitie, I dare both saie and sweare, that the fine steele neuer cleaued faster to the adamant stone than he will sticke & claspe with you, both in wealthe and wo, in prosperitie and aduersitie. And if it shall please you, to harken to anie reasonable treatie, I being a poore man, shall (on ieopardie of my life which is my chiefe treasure) vndertake, that this communication shall sort and come to such an effect, that both you & your nobilitie shall be glad and reioise, and your commons shall be contented and pleased; and they that haue deceiued you, shall be both abashed and ashamed. Most humblie beséeching your highnesse, if your pleasure shall incline this waie, that I may haue a sure safe conduct for one hundred horsse, for such personages as the king my master shall send vnto you with further intimation of his mind and purpose. And if your pleasure shall be to haue the communication in anie place indifferent betweene both the armies, then shall I warrant you the like safe conduct for your men, as you doo send for ours.

When he had accomplished his message and instructions, the king of England and his counsell highlie commended his audacitie, his toong, and his sobernesse, giuing to him in reward a faire gilt cup, with a hundred angels: deliuering him a safe conduct according to his request and demand, with the which he with speed departed, hauing with him an English herald to bring a like safe conduct from the French king.

After that the safe conducts were deliuered on both parts, the ambassadours met at a village beside Amiens. On the king of Englands side, the lord Howard; sir Thomas Saintleger; doctor Morton after bishop of Elie, & chancellor of England, were cheefe. For the French king, the bastard of Burbon admerall of France; the lord Saint Pierre; & the bishop of Eureux called Heberge, were appointed as principall. The Englishmen demanded the whole realme of France, or at the least Normandie and whole Aquitaine. The allegations were proued by the Englishmen, and politikelie defended by the Frenchmen, so that with arguments, without conclusion, the day passed, and the commissioners departed, and made relation to their maisters. The French king and his counsell would not consent, that the Englishmen should haue one foot of land within France; but rather determined to put him selfe & the whole realme in hazard and aduerture.

Commissioners appointed to treat of peace.

At the next méeting the commissioners agréed vpon certeine articles, which were of both the princes accepted and allowed. It was first accorded, that the French king should paie to the king of England without delaie seauentie & fiue thousand crownes of the sunne; and yearelie fiftie thousand crownes to be paid at London during king Edwards life. And

Articles of agrément betwéene king Edward and the French king.

further it was agréed, that Charles the Dolphin should marrie the ladie Elizabeth, eldest daughter to king Edward, and they two to haue for the maintenance of their estates the whole duchie of Guien, or else fiftie thousand crownes yearelie to be paid within the Tower of London by the space of nine yeares; and at the end of that terme, the Dolphin and his wife to haue the whole duchie of Guien, and of the charge the French king to be cléerelie acquit. And it was also concluded, that the two princes should come to an interview, and there take a corporall oth for the performance of this peace, either in sight of other.

Want of monie
procureth peace.

On the king of Englands part were comprised as alies (if they would thereto assent) the dukes of Burgognie and Britaine. It was also couenanted, that after the whole summe aforesaid of seuentie and fiew thousand crownes were paid to king Edward, he should leaue in hostage the lord Howard, and sir Iohn Cheinie maister of his horsse, vntill he with all his armie was passed the seas. This agrément was verie acceptable to the French king; for he saw himselfe and his realme thereby deliuered of great perill that was at hand: for not onelie he should haue béene assailed (if this peace had not taken place) both by the power of England and Burgognie, but also by the duke of Britaine, and diuerse of his owne people, as the constable and others. The king of England also vnderstanding his owne state, for want of monie, to mainteine the warres, if they should long continue (though otherwise he desired to haue attempted some high enterprise against the Frenchmen) was the more easilie induced to agrée by those of his councell, that loued peace better than warre, and their wiues soft beds better than hard armor and a stonie lodging.

But the duke of Glocester & others, whose swords thirsted for French bloud, cried out on this peace; saieng that all their trauell, paines, & expenses were to their shame lost and cast awaie, and nothing gained but a continuall mocke [and dailie derision of the French king and all his minions. This imagination tooke effect without delaie. For a gentleman of the French kings chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demand of an Englishman, how manie battels king Edward had vanquisht? He answered, nine: wherein he himselfe personallie had béene. "A great honoure" said the Frenchman. "But I praie you (quoth he smiling) how manie hath he lost?" The Englishman perceiuing what he meant, said: "one, which you by policie, and by no strength, haue caused him to loose."

The duke of Glocester
an enimie to peace.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall.
fol. Ccxxxj.

"Well" said the Frenchman, "you maie ponder in a paire of balance, the gaine of nine gotten battels, and the rebuke of this one in this maner lost: for I tell you, that we haue this saieng; the force of England hath and dooth surmount the force of France: but the ingenious wits of the Frenchmen excell the dull braines of Englishmen. For in all battels you haue béene the gainers, but in leagues and treaties our wits haue made you losers: so that you maie content your selues with the losse in treaties, for the spoile that you gat in warres and battels." This communication was reported to the French king, who priuilie sent for the Englishman to supper, and not onlie made him good cheere, but also gaue him a thousand crownes, to praise the peace and to helpe to mainteine the same. Yet neuertheless, he being not a little moued with these brags, declared all the communication to the duke of Glocester; who sware, that he would neuer haue set foot out of England, if he had not thought to haue made the Frenchmen once to assaie the strength & puissance of the Englishmen: but what so euer he thought, all things were transferred vnto an other end than he could imagine.]

When the duke of Burgognie heard that there was a peace in hand betwixt king Edward and the French king, he came in no small hast from Lutzenburg, onelie accompanied with sixteene horsstes into the king of Englands lodging, and began as one in a great chafe sore to blame his dooings, declaring in plaine termes how dishonorable this peace should be vnto him, hauing atchiued nothing of that about the which he came. The king of England, after he had giuen him leaue to speake his fansie, answered him somewhat roundlie againe, openlie reproouing him for his promise-breaking and vncourteous dealing with him: where for his cause cheeflie he had passed the seas, and now found him not to keepe touch in anie one point which he had couenanted. ¶ But to adde more weight to the matter in hand, sith it was so seriouslie debated betwéene the two potentats, let vs heare what talke historiens report to haue béene interchanged betwéene them. The king of England (saith mine author) not a little abashed both at the dukes sudden comming, and his fierce countenance, like one that would rather bite than whine, demanded of him the cause of his sudden comming. The duke sharpelie answered, to know whether he had either entered into anie communication, or onelie had absolutelie concluded a peace betwéene the French king and him. King Edward declared how that for sundrie and diuerse great and vrgent causes, touching as well the vniuersall publike wealth of the whole christianitie, as their owne priuate commoditie and the quietnesse of their realmes, he and the French king had concluded a peace and amitie for terme of nine yeares, in the which were comprised, as fellowes and fréends, both he and the duke of Britaine, requiring him to condescend and agrée to the same.

The duke of Burgognie
commeth in hast to the
king of England.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall.
fol. Ccxxxj.

"Oh Lord, oh saint George (quoth the duke of Burgognie) haue you thus doone in deed? Haue you passed the seas, entered into France, and without killing of a poore flie, or burning of a séelie shéepcote, and haue taken a shamefull truce? Did your noble ancestor, K. Edward the third, euer make armie into France (as he made manie) in the which he did not either game victorie in battell, or profit in conquering cities, townes, and countries? That victorious prince, as neere kin to me, as you to king Henrie the fift, I meane whose bloud you haue either rightfullie or wrongfullie (God knoweth) extinguished & destroyed, with a small puissance entered into France,

conquered whole Normandie, and not onelie conquered it, but peaceablie kept it, and neuer would either comen or agrée to anie league, vntill he had the whole realme of France offered him; & was thereof made regent and heire apparant. And you without anie thing dooing, or anie honour or profit gaining, haue condescended to a peace, both as honourable and as profitable to you as a peasecod, and not so wholesome as a pomegranat. Think you that I either moued you, or once intised you to take this iournie for my peculiar aduantage or commoditie (which of my power am able to reuenge mine owne causes, without helpe of others) but onelie to haue you recouer your old rights and possessions, which were from you both tortiouslie and wrongfullie withholden? And to the intent that you shall know that I haue no néed of your aid, I will neither enter into your league, nor take truce with the French king, till you be passed the sea, and haue beene there thrée moneths."

When duke Charles had thus said, he furiously threw downe his chaire, and would haue departed. But the king him staid and said: "Brother Charles, sith you haue spoken at leasure what you would, you must and shall heare again what you would not. And first, as concerning our entrie into France, no man liuing knoweth that occasion, neither so well, nor hath cause halfe so well to remember it as you: for if you haue not fullie put your greatest things (to be had in memorie) in your box of obliuion, you be not yet out of mind how the French king, for all your power, tooke from you the faire towne of Amiens, and the strong pile of saint Quintins, with diuerse other townes, which you neither durst nor yet were able either to rescue or defend. Since which time, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your fréends; yea, of your priuie chamber and secret councill (by whome all your secrets be to him reuealed and made open) you know or haue better cause to remember, and not to forget them. And when you determined to besiege the towne of Nusse, you thought your selfe in a great doubt, whether you should loose more at home by your absence (the French king dreaming and waiting like a fox for his preie) or gaine more in Germanie by your power and presence. And to kéepe the wolfe from the fold, that is, the French king from your castels and dominions, was the cheefe and principall cause whie you so faire praid me, so sore laboured and intised me to passe ouer the sea, promising mounteins of gold, which turned into snow and wasted into water, boasting and craking to send horssemen and footmen; and yet shewing neither lackie nor page. If we had made our enterprise for our selfe solie and in our owne quarell, thinke you that we would haue expected your comming? If the aduventure had béene for to haue recouered our right, imagine you that we would haue passed the sea so slenderlie as we did, looking for your aid? Nay, nay, you should haue well knowen, if we had intended a conquest, that we would haue so stronglie inuaded & set on the realme of France, that what with sauour of burning of townes, and infection of the aier, corrupted by the multitude of dead carcasses of our slaine enimies, your countries of Flanders & Brabant should haue had causes enow to wonder at: trusting that that which we had gotten, we would haue kept as well as anie of our ancestors haue doone.

"But bicause the verie occasion of the warre was yours, and that you wilfullie (I will not saie cowardlie) did not prosecute the same, the French king, who neuer offended me nor my subiects (except in mainteining the earle of Warwike, for the displeasure that you bare him against me) offered me, being destitute of all your succour and aid, both honourable and honest ouertures of peace, which offers I was in maner inforced (by verie reason) to incline to and accept, and so haue concluded a truce, which (God willing) I will both keepe and obserue." "God send you ioy" (quoth the duke) and so abruptlie ended his talke for that time.

Heerwith (being in a great rage) he bad the king of England farewell, and suddenlie tooke his horse, and rode againe to Lutzenburgh, promising not to enter into anie league with the French king, till king Edward was passed the seas againe into England, and had béene there thrée moneths: but this promise was not performed, for of necessitie he tooke a wiser waie, and agréed with the French king vpon a truce immediatly after the departure of the English armie out of his countrie. The constable of France also, doubting that his vntruth would be disclosed to his destruction, by means of this agréement betwéene the kings of England and France, as soone as he heard they were entred into communication thereof, sent to king Edward, requiring him not to credit the French kings promises, which he would no longer obserue, than vntill he should once vnderstand, that he was on the other side of the sea: and rather than he should agrée for want of monie, he offered to lend him fiftie thousand crownes. But the king of England, sith the accord was passed and agréed, would not change anie thing for the promises of so slipper a merchant as he knew the constable to be.

He departeth from the king in a rage.

The constable of France his offer to K. Edward.

¶ Then was the constable in maner on all sides in despaire, but yet he wrote to the French king by his messengers, beséeching him to giue no credit or beléefe to anie tale told or fained against him, without hearing his answer, affirming that the king had alwaies knowen his truth and fidelitie toward the crowne of France, and so should he still find him till his dieng daie; promising and warranting him, if that it should stand with his pleasure, that he would so compasse the duke of Burgognie, that they two should vtterlie destroie the king of England and his armie yer they returned. The councillors of the French king made answer, that their master and the king of England were ioined and confedered in a sure amitie. Wherefore they would in no wise know nor condescend to anie thing that might be either preiudiciall, or once sound to the detriment of the Englishmen: but they said, that the king their master much trusted the constable, and that for his sake he would talke with them in his priuie chamber. The French king, before their entrie into his chamber, caused the lord of Contaie, seruant vnto the duke of Burgognie, accompanied with the lord of Argenton, one of his priuie councill, to stand secretlie behind a séeling or hanging in his

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall.
fol. Ccxxxij, Ccxxxij.

chamber, & he himselfe sat in a chaire directlie before that place, so that what soeuer were purposed to him, they standing behind the cloth, might plainlie see and easilie heare the same.

Lewes de Creuell and his fellow entered into the kings chamber, of nothing thinking lesse than of the spirits inclosed. They declared what paine their master had taken for the French kings sake, to send, mooue and entise the duke of Burgognie to leaue, and clérelie to forsake the king of England, which duke they found in such a rage and furie against the Englishmen, that at their request he was not onelie vtterlie determined to forsake and refuse their amitie, but also would send out aduenturers and lanceknights, to rob and spoile them in their returning. And in speaking these words (thinking suerlie much to please the king) the said Lewes counterfeited the fashion and gesture of the duke of Burgognie, and began to stampe with his foot on the ground, and beat with his fist on the table, swearing by saint George that the king of England was not extracted of anie noble house, but was a yeomans sonne; and that when he was not woorth one halfepenie, he was restored to his kingdome, and made king onelie by his aid, reprouing and reuiling him with such ill words, and so shamefuii termes, that all the hearers abhorred it.

Shamefull & slanderous words against the K. of England.

The French king, faining that he was thicke of hearing, caused him to reiterate his saieng againe, who so counterfeited the verie gesture of the dukes angrie countenance and roring voice, that no man hath séene a better counterfeiter or actor in anie comedie or tragedie. The lord of Contaie was sore displeased to see his master made a iesting stocke; but he kept all these things secret, till his returne to his master. When the pageant was plaied, the king bad the messengers of the constable to haue him commended to his brother their master; and to declare to him that as newes rose & grew, he would therof aduertise him, & so gaue them licence to depart to their master, who thought himselfe now to be in great suertie of his estate, when in déed he was neuer so neere his fall and perdition: estéeming the duke of Burgognie to be his assured frénd, who hated him more than a Painime or Turke, accompting also the French king to haue no ill suspicion in him, who neither trusted nor yet beléueed anie word, writing or message that was either written or sent from him. Such end hath dissimulation, such fruit springeth of double dealing and craftie conueieng. For if either the constable had béene faithfull to the king his master, as of bounden dutie and allegiance he ought to be, or else had kept his promise made to the king of England and duke of Burgognie, and not dallied and dissembled with them, he had suerlie in his extremitie béene aided, succoured and comforted of one of these three at the least; where now he was of all three forsaken, and yet not forsaken, but sought for, looked for, and watched for; not for his profit or promotion, but for his vndooing and destruction: whereof he was the principall procurer, as manie a one besides; wherto the poet had an eie, when he made this outcrie of inward gréefe seasoned with sorrow and repentance:

Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis.

After the peace was concluded, the Englishmen were permitted to enter into the towne of Amiens, and there to buie all such necessarie things as they wanted, and had plentie of wine (for the French king had sent into their armie a hundred carts of the best wine that could be gotten) and good cheere made them of his owne costs. For at the enterie of euerie gate, there were two long tables set on euerie side of the street where they should passe; and at euerie table fiue or six gentlemen of the best companions of all the countrie were appointed to interteine the Englishmen as they entered, not onelie to see them serued without lacking [but also to drinke and make good cheere, and kéepe companie with them. And euer as they entered into the towne, they were taken by the bridels and in maner inforced to drinke, wheresoeuer they came they paid no monie, but were sent scot free.] This chéere lasted thrée or foure daies not onelie to the French kings cost, but also to his vnquietnesse at length, doubting to haue béene dispossessed of his towne.

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxxiiij.

For on a daie there entered the number of nine thousand Englishmen well armed in sundrie companies, so that no Frenchman durst once forbid them to enter. But finallie, order was taken by the king of England, who meant no deceit, that no greater number should enter than was conuenient, and the other were called backe; so that the French king and his councill were well quieted, and rid of casting further perils than néed required. After this, both the kings enteruiewed together at Picquenie on the water of Some thrée leagues aboue Amiens, shewing great courtesie either to other. The letters of both their agrémentes were opened and red, & then either prince laid his right hand on the missall, and his left hand on the holie crosse (as it was termed) and tooke there a solemne oth to obserue and kéepe the treatie for nine yeares concluded betwéene them, with all their confederates and alies, comprised, mentioned and specified in the same, and further to accomplish the marriage or their children.

The interview betwixt king Edward the fourth, & the French king.

There was with either prince twelue noble men at this méeting, which was vpon a bridge cast ouer the water of Some, a grate being set ouerthwart the same in the midst, so from side to side, that the one prince could not come vnto the other; but onelie to imbrace ech other, in putting their armes through the holes of the ^[2]grate. There were foure Englishmen appointed to stand with the Frenchmen on the bridge to see their demeanour; and likewise foure Frenchmen were appointed to the Englishmen for the same purpose. There were with the king of England his brother the duke of Clarence, the earle of Northumberland, the bishop of Elie his chancellor, the lord Hastings his chamberleine, and eight others. They had louing and verie familiar talke together a good space, both afore their companie, and secretlie alone, whilst their companie (of

courtesie) withdrew somewhat backe.

[2]

Of timber like to the grate where the lions be kept in the Tower.

¶ But it is noteworthie which I read touching both the kings méeting, the manner of their attire, and demeanour; namelie that when the token of méeting by the shot of the artillerie was knowne, the French king with twelue noble men entered the bridge, and came to the closure, with whome was Iohn duke of Burbon, and the cardinal his brother, a prelat more méet for a ladies carpet, than for an ecclesiasticall pulpit, and ten other, amongst whome the lord of Argenton was in like disguised attire as the French king ware, for so was his pleasure that daie to haue him adorned. The king of England and foure other with him were apparelled in cloth of gold frised, hauing on his bonet of blacke veluet a flower delice of gold, set with verie rich and orient stones; he was a goodlie faire and beautifull prince, beginning a litle to grow in flesh. Now when he approached néere the grate, hée tooke off his cap, and made a low and solemne obeisance: the French king made to him an humble reuerence; but after his fashion somewhat homelie. King Lewes imbraced king Edward through the barriers, saieng: "Coosine you be right heartilie welcome into these parties, assuring you that there is no man in the world that I haue more desired to see and speake with, than with you: and now lauded be almightie God, we be here met together for a good and godlie purpose, whereof I doubt not but that we shall haue cause to reioise." The king of England thanked him, and answered to his words so soberlie, so grauelie, and so princelie, that the Frenchmen thereat not a litle mused. The chancellor of England made there a solemne oration in laud and praise of peace, concluding on a prophesie, which said that at Picquenie should be concluded a peace both honorable and profitable to the realmes of England and France.

*Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall.
fol. Ccxxxiiij.*

When the oth was taken and sworne (as before you haue heard) the French king said merilie to king Edward; "Brother, if you will take pains to come to Paris, you shall be feasted and interteined with ladies; and I shall appoint you the cardinall of Burbon for your confessor, which shall gladlie absolue you of such sinnes, if anie be committed." The king of England tooke these words pleasantlie and thankfullie, for he was informed that the cardinall was a good companion, and a chapleine méet for such a dalieng pastime. When this communication was merilie ended, the French king, intending to shewe himselfe like a maister amongst his seruants, made all his companie to draw backe from him, meaning to commune with the king of England secretlie. The Englishmen withdrew them without any commandement. Then the two kings communed alone secretlie, I thinke not to the profit of the constable of France. The French king demanded of king Edward, whether the duke of Burgognie would accept the truce? King Edward answered that he would once againe make an offer; and then vpon the refusall, he would referre and report the truth to them both. Then king Lewes began to speake of the duke of Britaine, whome he would faine haue excepted out of the league. To whome the king of England answered: Brother, I require you to mooue no warre to the duke of Britaine; for on my fidelitie, in the time of my néed and aduersitie, I neuer found a more friendlie, sure and stedfast loue than he.

The manerlie English
and vnmanerlie French.

Then king Lewes called his companie againe, and with most lowlie and amiable commendations tooke his leaue of the king of England, speaking certeine friendlie words to euerie Englishman: king Edward dooing likewise to the Frenchmen. Then both at one time departed from the barriers, & mounted on horssebacke, and departed; the French king to Amiens, and king Edward to his armie. To whom was sent out of the French kings house, all things necessarie for a prince, insomuch that neither torches nor torchets lacked vsent. When the French king was departed from Picquenie, he called to him the lord Argenton, saieng: "By the peace of God, the king of England is an amorous and a faire prince, he at the first becke would gladlie see Paris, where he might fortune to find such pleasant and talkatiue dames, which with faire words & pleasant pastimes might so allure him to their fantasies, that it might breed occasion in him to come ouer the sea againe, which I would not gladlie see. For his progenitors haue beene too long and too often both in Paris and Normandie. On this side the sea I loue neither his sight nor his companie; but when he is at home I loue him as my brother, and take him as my friend."

French loue.

The French king, after this departing, sore desired to make warre on the duke of Britaine: which he could not doo, except he were left out of the treatie. Wherefore he sent the lord of Bouchage, and the lord of saint Pierre, to the king of England, intreating him by all waies and motions possible, to leaue the duke of Britaine for his alie, and not to haue him comprehended in the league. The king of England hearing them so seriouslie and so feruentlie speake against the duke of Britaine; with an earnest countenance answered, saieng: "My lords, I assure you, if I were peaceable at home in my realme, yet for the defense of the duke of Britaine and his countrie, I would passe the seas againe, against all them that either would doo him iniurie, or make warre vpon him." The French lords nothing further saieng, much maruelled why the king of England so suerlie claue to the duke of Britains partie: but they knew not (or else at the least remembred not) that Henrie earle of Richmond was within the power and dominion of the duke of Britaine, whome king Edwards phantasie euer gaue him would make once a title to the crowne of England, as next heire to the house of Lancaster. For he knew well, that if the duke of Britaine would transport him into England (where hée had both kinsfolks and friends) with neuer so small an aid (yea, though it were but the shadow of an armie) then were he inforced newlie to begin againe a conquest, as though he had neuer woone the crowne, nor obtained the possession of the realme, which was the verie cause why he stucke so sore to the duke of Britains part.

The same night the lords returned to Amiens, and reported to their maister king Edwards

answer, who therewith was not the best pleased. But pleasure or displeasure, there was no remedie but to dissemble the matter. This same night also, there came the lord Howard, and two other of the king of Englands counsell, who had béene coadiutors toward the peace, to the French king to supper. The lord Howard said to the French king secretlie in his eare, that if it stood with his pleasure, he could persuade the king of England to come to Amiens, yea, peradventure as farre as Paris, familiarlie and friendlie to solace himselfe with him, as his trustie friend and faithfull brother. The French king, to whom this motion was nothing pleasant, calling for water, washed, and rose without anie answer making: but he said to one of his counsell, that he imagined in his owne conceipt, that this request would be made. The Englishmen began againe to commune of that matter, the Frenchmen politikelie brake their communication, saiong: that the king with all celeritie must march forward against the duke of Burgonie.

Although this motion séemed onelie to increase loue and continuall amitie betwéene the princes; yet the Frenchmen, hauing in their perfect remembrance the innumerable damages and hurts, which they of late daies had susteined by the English nation (whereby continuall hatred increased against them in France) thought by policie and wisdom, with faire words and friendlie countenance, to put by this request, and to motion them rather to depart homeward, than to pricke them forward to Paris; where peradventure they might be so interteined at this time, that they would at another come thither, both vndesired and vnwelcomed. This peace was said to be made onelie by the Holie-ghost, bicause that on the daie of méeting, a white dooue sat on the top of the king of Englands tent: whether she sate there to drie hir, or came thither as a token giuen by God, I referre it to your iudgment. At this treatie and méeting was not the duke of Glocester, nor other lords which were not content with this truce, but the duke came afterwards to Amiens, with diuerse other lords of England, to the French king, which both highlie feasted them, and also presented them with plate and horssees well garnished.

King Lewes, considering what gaine the Englishmen had gotten by making warre in France; and what miserie, what calamitie, and what pouertie the French nation had suffered, and manie yeares susteined, by reason of the said warres; determined clearelie rather to pacifie and interteine the English nation by faire words and great rewards (although it were to his great charge) than by too much hardinesse to put himselfe, his nobilitie & realme in hazard, by giuing them battell, as his predecessors had vnwiselie doone at Poitiers, and at Agincourt. Wherefore to buie peace, he granted king Edward for a yearelie tribute fiftie thousand crownes, to be paied at London; which, accounting a crowne at foure shillings, amounteth to ten thousand pounds. And to haue the fauour and good will of his chiefe counsellors, he gaue great pensions, amounting to the summe of sixteene thousand crownes a yeere, that is to saie: to his chancellor, to the lord Hastings his chiefe chamberleine, a man of no lesse wit than vertue, and of great authoritie with his maister, and that not without cause; for he had as well in time of aduersitie, as in the faire flattering world, well and trulie serued him: and to the lord Howard, to sir Thomas Montgomerie, to sir Thomas Sentleger, to sir John Cheinie maister of the kings horssees, to the marques Dorsset, sonne to the queene, and diuerse other, he gaue great and liberall rewards, to the intent to keepe himselfe in amitie with England, while he wan and obtained his purpose and desire in other places.

These persons had giuen to them great gifts, beside yearelie pensions. For Argenton his counsellor affirmed of his owne knowledge, that the lord Howard had in lesse than the tearme of two yeares, for reward in monie and plate, foure and twentie thousand crownes; & at the time of this méeting, he gaue to the lord Hastings the kings chiefe chamberleine, (as the Frenchmen write) an hundred markes of siluer, made in plate, whereof euerie marke is eight ounces sterling. But the English writers affirme, that he gaue the lord Hastings foure and twentie doozen bolles, that is to saie, twelue doozen gilt, & twelue doozen vngilt, euerie cup weieng seuentéene nobles: which gift, either betokened in him a great liberall nature, or else a great and especiall confidence that he had reposed in the said lord chamberleine. Beside this, he gaue him yearelie two thousand crownes pension, the which summe he sent to him by Piers Cleret, one of the maisters of his house, giuing him in charge to receiue of him an acquittance for the receipt of the same pension, to the intent that it should appeare in time to come, that the chancelor, chamberleine, admerall, maisters of the horssees to the king of England, and manie other of his counsell, had bin in fée and pensionaries of the French king, whose yearelie acquittances (the lord Hastings onelie excepted) remaine of record to be shewed in the chamber of accounts in the palace of Paris.

When Piers Cleret had paied the pension to the lord Hastings, he gentlie demanded of him an acquittance for his discharge. Which request when he denied, he then onlie asked of him a bill of thrée lines to be directed to the king, testifieng the receipt of the pension: to the intent that the king your maister should not thinke the pension to be imbeselled. The lord Hastings, although he knew that Piers demanded nothing but reason, answered him: "Sir this gift commeth onelie of the liberall pleasure of the king his maister, and not of my request: if it be his determinat will that I shall haue it, then put you it into my sléeue; and if not, I prairie you render to him his gift againe: for neither he nor you shall haue either letter, acquittance, or scroll signed with my hand of the receipt of anie pension, to the intent to brag another daie, that the kings chamberleine of England hath béene pensionarie with the French king, & shew his acquittance in the chamber of accounts, to his dishonor." Piers left his monie behind, and made relation of all things to his maister: which although that he had not his will, yet he much more praised the wisdom and policie of the lord Hastings, than of the other pensionaries, cōmmanding him yearlie to be paied, without anie discharge demanding.

When the king of England had receiued his monie, and his nobilitie their rewards, he trussed vp

his tents, laded his baggage, and departed towards Calis. [But yer he came there, he remembring the craftie dissimulation, and the vntrue dealing of Lewes earle of saint Paule, high constable of France, intending to declare him to the French king in his verie true likenesse and portrature, sent vnto him two letters of credence, written by the said constable, with the true report of all such words and messages as had béene to him sent, and declared by the said constable and his amdassadours. Which letters the French king gladlie receiued, and thankefullie accepted, as the cheefe instrument to bring the constable to his death; which he escaped no long season after, such is the end of dissemblers.] When king Edward was come to Calis, and had set all things in an order, he tooke ship, and sailed with a prosperous wind into England, and was roiallie receiued vpon Blackheath by the maior of London and the magistrates, and fiue hundred commoners apparrelled in murrie, the eight and twentieth daie of September, and so conueied through the cite of Westminster, where for a while (after his long labour) he reposed himselfe [euerie daie almost talking with the queene his wife of the marriage of his daughter, whome he caused to be called Dolphinesse: thinking nothing surer than that mariage to take effect, according to the treatie. The hope of which marriage caused him to dissemble, and doo things which afterward chanced greatlie to the French kings profit, & smallie to his.]

K. Edward returneth into England.

Edw. Hall fol. Ccxxxvj.

Edw. Hall fol. Ccxxxvj.

About the same season, the French king, to compasse his purpose for the getting of the constable into his hands, tooke truce with the duke of Burgognie for nine yeares as a contractor in the league, and not comprehended as an other princes alie. The king of England aduertised hereof, sent ouer sir Thomas Montgomerie to the French king, offering to passe the seas againe the next summer in his aid, to make warres on the duke Burgognie; so that the French king should paie to him fiftie thousand crownes for the losse which he should susteine in his custome, by reason that the woolles at Calis (bicause of the warres) could haue no vent, and also paie halfe the charges and halfe the wages of his souldiers and men of warre. The French king thanked the king of England for his gentle offer, but he alledged that the truce was alreadye concluded, so that he could not then attempt anie thing against the same without reproch to his honour.

Sir Thomas Môtgomerie.

But the truth was, the French king neither loued the sight nor liked the companie of the king of England on that side the sea; but when he was here at home, he both loued him as his brother, and tooke him as his freend. Sir Thomas Montgomerie was with plate richlie rewarded, and so dispatched. There returned with him the lord Howard and sir Iohn Cheinie, which were hostages with the French king, till the English armie were returned into England. King Edward, hauing established all things in good order, as men might iudge, both within his realme and without, was yet troubled in his mind, for that Henrie the earle of Richmond (one of the bloud of king Henrie the sixt) was aliue, and at libertie in Britaine: therefore to attempt eftsoones the mind of Francis duke of Britaine, he sent ouer vnto the said duke, one doctor Stillington, and two other his ambassadors laden with no small summe of gold.

1475.

An. Reg. 15.

Henrie earle of Richmond.

These ambassadors, declaring their message, affirmed that the king their maister willed to haue the earle of Richmond onelie for this purpose, to ioine with him in aliance by marriage, and so to plucke vp all the leauings or discord betwéene him and the contrarie faction. The duke gentlie heard the orators. And though at the first he by excuses denied their request, yet at the length, beléeuing that king Edward would giue to the earle his eldest daughter, the ladie Elizabeth in marriage, he consented to deliuer him, and receiued of the English orators a great summe of monie. But yer they were imbarcked with their preie, the duke being aduertised, that the earle of Richmond was not so earnestlie sought for, to be coupled in mariage with king Edwards daughter; but rather that his head might be chopped off with an hatchet, caused his treasurer Peter Landoise to conueie the said earle of Richmond into a sanctuarie at S. Malo, where the English ambassadors then laie, onelie staieng for a conuenient wind: who complained, that they were euill vsed, to be spoiled both of their monie and merchandize.

Ambassadors into Britaine.

The earle of Richmond taketh sanctuarie.

Yet bicause the matter was so handled, that it séemed the earle escaped into the sanctuarie through their owne negligence, after they had receiued him into their hands; they were soone answered: but yet promise was made, that the earle should be safelie kept, either in the sanctuarie, or else as prisoner in the dukes house, that they should not néed to feare him more than his shadow. And thus the king of England purchased for his monie the kéeping of his enimie, the space onelie of three daies and no more. King Edward was somewhat displeased with this chance, but yet trusting that the duke of Britaine would (according to promise) see the earle of Richmond safelie kept from dooing anie gréeuance to him or his subiects, put all doubts therof out of his mind, and began to studie how to kéepe a liberall princelie house, and therevpon storing his chests with monie, he imploied no small portion in good housekéeping.

¶ But hauing spoken thus much of the earle of Richmond, whome Edward Hall compareth to a shéepe betraied into the téeth and clawes of the wolfe, you shall vnderstand, that at such time as his troubles were set fresh abroach, and he knowing that he was going towards his death, for verie pensifenesse and inward thought, fell into a feruent and sore ague. In which verie season, one Iohn Cheulet, so estéemed among the princes of Britaine as few were in all the countrie, and in much credit, and well accepted with the duke, was (when these things were thus concluded)

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall fol. Ccxxxvj.

for his solace in the countrie. Who being hereof certified, was chafed with the abhominacion of the fact, resorted to the court, and familiarlie came to the dukes presence, where he stood so sadlie and so palie, without anie word speaking, that the duke was much abashed, and suddenlie maruelled at his sad and frowning countenance, and demanded of him what should signifie that dumpishnesse of mind, and inward sighing, the which by his countenance manifestlie appeared and was euident? He modestlie answered; "Most noble and redoubted lord, this palenesse of visage and deadlie looke dooth prognosticate the time of my death to approach and be at hand, which if it had chanced to me before this daie, I assure you, it had much lesse hurt me. For then had I not beene reserued to féele the dolorous pangs and sorowfull sighings, which a fact by you doone (that I thought impossible to be obtained) hath printed in my stomach and in my heart deeplie grauen: so that I well perceiue, that either I shall lose my life, or else liue in perpetuall distresse and continuall miserie.

"For you my singular good lord, by your vertuous acts and noble feats, haue gotten to you in manner an immortall fame, which in euerie mans mouth is extolled & aduanced about the high clouds. But alas me séemeth (I praie you pardon me my rudenesse) that now that you haue obtained so high praise and glorie, you nothing lesse regard than to kéepe and preserue the same inuiolate, considering that you, forgetting your faith and faithfull promise made to Henrie earle of Richmond, haue deliuered the most innocent yoong gentleman to the cruell tormentors, to be afflicted, rent in péeces, and slaine. Wherefore all such as loue you, of the which number I am one, cannot choose but lament & be sorie, when they see openlie the fame and glorie of your most renowned name, by such a disloialtie and vntruth against promise, to be both blotted and stained with a perpetuall note of slander and infamie." "Peace mine owne good Iohn (quoth the duke) I praie thée, beléue me there is no such thing like to happen to the earle of Richmond: for king Edward hath sent for him, to make of him, being his suspected enimie, his good and faire sonne in law."

"Well well (quoth Iohn) my redoubted lord, giue credence vnto me: the earle Henrie is at the verie brinke to perish, whome if you permit once to set but one foot out of your power and dominion, there is no mortall creature able héereafter to deliuer him from death." The duke being mooued with the persuasions of Iohn Cheulet, which either little beléued, or smallie suspected king Edward, to desire the earle for anie fraud or deceipt, or else seduced by blind auarice and loue of monie, more than honestie, fidelitie, or wisdom would require, did not consider what he vnaduisedlie did, or what he aduisedlie should haue doone. Wherefore, with all diligence he sent fourth Peter Landoise his chéefe treasurer, commanding him to intercept and slaie the earle of Richmond, in all hast possible, as before you haue heard.

¶ In this yeare deceased sir Iohn Crosbie knight, (not long before this, maior of London) and was buried in the parish church of saint Helen in Bishops gate stréet, vnto the repairing of which parish church he gaue fife hundred marks, and thirtie pounds to be distributed to poore housholders in the ward of Bishops gate: to the repairing of the parish church at Heneworth in Middlesex fortie pounds: to the repairing of London wall one hundred pounds: toward the making of a new tower of stone at the southend of London bridge, if the same were begun by the maior and comunaltie within ten yeares next after his deceasse, one hundred pounds: to the reparations of Rochester bridge ten pounds: to euerie the prisons in and about London liberallie. Also he gaue to the wardens and comunaltie of the grocers in London two large pots of siluer chased halfe guilt, weieng thirtéene pounds and fife ounces of Troie weight, to be occupied in their common hall, and elsewhere, at their discretions.

Abr. Fl. ex. I. S. pag. 752.

Sir Iohn Crosbie his gift to the citie.

In this yeare were inhanced to the honour of knighthood, after the custome of England, in the time of peace the kings eldest son Edward prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall, and earle of Chester, his second sonne the duke of Yorke, and with them the earle of Lincolnes sonne and heire, the duke of Suffolke, the lord Thomas Greie, the quéenes sonne, and Richard his brother, the earle of Shrewesburie, the earle of Wilshire, master Edward Wooduile, the lord Neuill, the lord Barkleis sonne and heire, the lord Audelies sonne and heire, the lord saint Amand, the lord Stanleis sonne and heire, the lord Suttons sonne and heire, the lord Hastings sonne and heire, the lord Ferrers of Charleis sonne and heire, master Herbert brother to the earle of Penbroke, master Vaughan Brian chiefe iudge, Liltilton one of the iudges of the common plées, master Bodringham, master Brian Stapleton, Kneuit, Pilkinton, Ludlow, Charleton &c. The same daie the king created the lord Thomas marquesse Dorset before dinner, and so in the habit of a marquesse about the habit of his knighthood he began the table of knights in saint Edwards chamber. At that time he ordeined that the kings chamberleine should go with the ancient and well nurtered knight, to aduertise and teach the order of knighthood to the esquiers, being in the baine. The king himselfe came in person and did honour to all the companie with his noble councill.

I. S. pag. 745.

Knights made by the king.

Liltilton

This yeare the duke of Burgognie was slaine by the Switzers, before the towne of Nancie in Lorraine, after whose death the French king wan all the townes which the said duke held in Picardie and Artois. And bicause that the towne of Bullen and countie of Bullenois appertained by right of inheritance vnto the lord Berthram de la Toure, earle of Auuergne, the French king bought of him his right and title in the same, and recompensed him with other lands in the countie of Forests, and in other

1476

An. Reg. 16.

The death of the duke of Burgognie.

places. And because the forenamed towne and countie were holden of the earledome of Artois he changed the tenure, and auowed to hold the same towne & countie of our ladie of Bolongne and therof did homage to the image in the great church of Bolongne, offering there an hart of gold, weieng two thousand crownes; ordeining further, that his heires and successors at their entrie into their estates, by themselues or their deputies should offer an hart of like weight and value, as a reliefe and homage for the same towne and countie.

¶ This yeare was Robert Basset maior of London, who did sharpe correction vpon bakers, for making of light bread, he caused diuerse of them to be set on the pillorie in Cornehill. And also one Agnes Daintie a butterwife for selling of butter new and old mingled together, being first trapped with butter dishes, was then set on the pillorie. ¶ The countesse of Oxford deceased and was buried at Windsore. ¶ Also this yeare Richard Rawson one of the shiriffes of London, caused to be builded one house in the church yard of S. Marie hospitall without Bishops gate of London, where the maior of that citie and his brethren the aldermen vse to sit and heare the sermons in the Easter holidiaies, as in times past appeared by an inscription on the front of the same house, now by wethering defaced, which I haue read in these words: Praie for the soules of Richard Rawson late Mercer and alderman of London, and Isabell his wife, of whose goods this worke was made and founded. Anno Dom. 1488.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 745.

Agnes Daintie on the pillorie.

By the diligence of Ralph Iosseline maior of London the wall about London was new made betwixt Algate and Creplegate: he caused the Moore field to be searched for claie, and bricke to be made and burnt there: he also caused chalke to be brought out of Kent, and in the same Moore field to be burnt into lime, for the furtherance of that worke. The maior with his companie of the drapers made all that part betwixt Bishops gate and Alhalowes church in the same wall. Bishops gate it selfe was new built by the merchants Almans of the Stilliard, and from Alhalowes church toward Moore gate a great part of the same was builded of the goods, & by the executors of sir Iohn Crosbie somtimes an alderman of London, as may appeare by his armes in two places fixed. The companie of Skinners made that part of the wall betweene Algate and Buries markes towards Bishops gate, as may appeare by their armes in threé places fixed: the other companies of the citie made the other deale of the said wall, which was a great worke to be doone in one yeare.

1477

Part of Lōdon wall new builded.

Iohn Rouse.

Bishops gate new builded.

Also this yeare Thomas Burdet an esquier of Arrow in Warwikeshire, sonne to sir Nicholas Burdet (who was great butler of Normandie in Henrie the sixt daies) was beheaded for a word spoken in this sort. King Edward in his progresse hunted in Thomas Burdets parke at Arrow, and slue manie of his deere, amongst the which was a white bucke, whereof Thomas Burdet made great account. And therefore when he vnderstood thereof, he wished the buckes head in his bellie that moued the king to kill it. Which tale being told to the king, Burdet was apprehended and accused of treason, for wishing the buckes head (hornes and all) in the kings bellie: he was condemned, drawne from the Tower of London to Tiburne, and there beheaded, and then buried in the Greie friers church at London. Wherefore it is good counsell that the wiseman giueth, saieng: Kéepe thy toong & kéepe thy life, for manie times we see, that spéech offendeth & procureth mischéefe, where silence is author neither of the one nor the other, as it is trulie and in praise of silence spoken by the poet:

Burdet for a word spoken beheaded.

Enguerant.

Register of the Greie friers.

---nulli tacuisse nocet, nocet esse loquutum.

About this season, through great mishap, the sparke of priuie malice was newlie kindled betwixt the king and his brother the duke of Clarence, insomuch that where one of the dukes seruants was suddenlie accused (I can not saie whether of truth, or vntrulie suspected by the dukes enimies) of poisoning, sorcerie or inchantment, and thereof condemned, and put to execution for the same; the duke which might not suffer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in his conscience iudged) nor yet forbear but to murmur and reprove the dooing thereof, moued the king with his dailie exclamation to take such displeasure with him, that finallie the duke was cast into the Tower, and therewith adiudged for a traitor, and priuie drowned in a butt of malmesie, the eleuenth of March, in the beginning of the seuententh yeare of the kings reigne.

An. Reg. 17.

George duke of Clarence drowned in a butt of malmesie.

Some haue reported, that the cause of this noble mans death rose of a foolish prophesie, which was, that after K. Edward one should reigne, whose first letter of his name should be a G. Wherewith the king and quéene were sore troubled and began to conceiue a gréuous grudge against this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end. And as the diuell is woont to incumber the minds of men which delite in such diuelish fantasies, they said afterward, that that prophesie lost not his effect, when after king Edward, Glocester vsurped his kingdome. Other alledged, that the cause of his death was for that the duke, being destitute of a wife, by the meanes of his sister the ladie Margaret, duchesse of Burgognie, procured to haue the ladie Marie, daughter and heire to hir husband duke Charles.

Prophesies diuelish fantasies.

Which marriage king Edward (enuieng the prosperitie of his brother) both gaine said and disturbed, and thereby old malice reuiued betwixt them: which the quéene and hir bloud (euer

mistrusting, and priuillie barking at the kings linage) ceased not to increase. But sure it is, that although king Edward were consenting to his death; yet he much did both lament his infortunate chance, & repent his sudden execution: insomuch that when anie person sued to him for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accustomablie saie, & openlie speake: "Oh infortunate brother, for whose life not one would make sute." Openlie and apparantlie meaning by such words that by the meanes of some of the nobilitie he was deceived and brought to confusion.

This duke left behind him two yoong infants begot of the bodie of his wife, the daughter of Richard late earle of Warwike: which children by destinie as it were, or by their owne merits, following the steps of their ancestors, succéded them in like misfortune and semblable euill chance. For Edward his heire, whome king Edward had created earle of Warwike was thrée and twentie yeares after, in the time of Henrie the seauenth, atteinted of treason, and on the Tower hill lost his head. Margaret his sole daughter married to sir Richard Pole knight, and by Henrie the eight restored to the name, title, & possessions of the earldome of Salisburie, was at length for treason committed against the said Henrie the eight atteinted in open parlement; and sixtie two yeares after hir father had suffered death in the Tower, she on the gréene within the same place was beheaded. In whose person died the verie surname of Plantagenet, which from Geffrie Plantagenet so long in the bloud roiall of this realme had florished and continued.

Edward erle of Warwike sonne & heire to George duke of Clarence.

Margaret duchesse of Salisburie.

After the death of this duke, by reason of great heat and distemperance of aire, happened so fierce & quicke a pestilence, that fiftéene yeares warre past consumed not the third part of the people, that onelie foure moneths miserablie and pitifullie dispatched & brought to their graues. So that if the number had béene kept by multiplieng of vnities, & out of them to haue raised a complet number, it would haue moued matter of verie great admiration. But it should séeme that they were infinit, if consideration he had of the comparison, inferred for the more effectuall setting foorth of that cruell and ceaselesse contagion. And suerlie it soundeth to reason, that the pestilence should fetch awaie so manie thousands, as in iudgement by proportion of fiftéene yeares warre one maie gather; and manie more too. For euerie man knoweth that in warres, time, place, persons, and meanes are limited: time of warre begun and ended; place circumscribed; persons imbattelled, and weapons also whereby the fight is tried: so that all these haue their limitations, beyond which they haue no extent. But the pestilence, being a generall infection of the aire, an element ordeined to mainteine life, though it haue a limitation in respect of the totall compasse of the world; yet whole climats maie be poisoned: and it were not absurd to saie, that all and euerie part of the aire maie be pestilentlie corrupted; and so consequentlie not limited: wherefore full well it maie be said of the pestilence (procuring so great a depopulation) as one saith of surfetting:

A great pestilence.

Ense cadunt multi, perimit sed crapula plures.

Auson.

The councellers of the yoong duchesse of Burgognie sent to K. Edward for aid against the French king. About the same time had the queene of England sent to the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, for the preferment of hir brother Anthonie erle Riuers to the yoong damsell. But the councill of Flanders, considering that he was but an earle of meane estate, and she the greatest inheritrice of all christendome at that time, gaue but deafe eare to so vnméet a request. To which desire, if the Flemings had but giuen a liking eare by outward semblance, and with gentle words delaid the sute, she had béene both succoured and defended. Whether king Edward was not contented with this refusall, or that he was loth to breake with the French king, he would in no wise consent to send an armie into Flanders against the French king: but yet he sent ambassadours to him with louing and gentle letters, requiring him to grow to some reasonable order & agrément with the yoong duchesse of Burgognie, or at the least to take a truce with hir at his request.

1478

An. Reg. 18.

The ambassadours of England were highlie receiued, bountifullie feasted, and liberallie rewarded, but answer to their desire had they none; sauing that shortlie after, the French king would send ambassadours, hostages, and pledges to the king of England their maister, for the perfecting and concluding of all things depending betweene them two; so that their souereigne lord & they should haue cause to be contented and pleased. These faire words were onelie delais to driue time, vntill he might haue space to spoile the yoong damsell of hir townes and countries. And beside this, to staie king Edward from taking part with hir, he wrote to him, that if he would ioine with him in aid, he should haue and inioie to him and his heires the whole countie & countrie of Flanders, discharged of homage, superioritie and resort, to be claimed by the French king, or his successors.

He also wrote that he should haue the whole duchie of Brabant, whereof the French king offered at his owne cost and charge to conquer foure of the chiefest and strongest townes within the said duchie, & them in quiet possession to deliuer to the king of England: granting further to paie him ten thousand angels toward his charges, with munitions of warre and artillerie, which he promised to lend him, with men and carriage for the conueiance of the same. The king of England refused to make anie warres against those countries that were thus offered to him: but if the French king would make him partner of his conquest in Picardie, rendering to him part of the townes alreadie gotten, as Bologne, Monsterell, and Abuile, then he would suerlie

Large offers made to the king of England by the French king.

take his part, and aid him with men at his owne costs and charges.

Thus passed faire words and golden promises betwéene these two princes: and in the meane time the yoong duchesse of Burgognie was spoiled of hir townes, castels & territories, till at length for maintenance she condescended to marrie with Maximilian sonne to the emperour Frederike, that he might kéepe the wolfe from the fold. King Edward in the ninetéenth yeare of his reigne began (more than he was before accustomed) to serch the forfeiture of penall lawes and statutes, as well of the chéefe of his nobilitie as of other gentlemen, being proprietaries of great possessions, or abundantlie furnished with goods; likewise of merchants, and other inferior persons. By reason whereof, it was of all men iudged that he would proue hereafter a sore and a rigorous prince among his subiects. But this his new inuented practise and couetous meaning (by reason of forreine aifaires and abridgement of his dales in this transitorie life, which were within two yeares after consumed) tooke some (but not great) effect.

1479

An. Reg. 19

¶ In this yeare was great mortalitie and death by the pestilence, not onelie in London, but in diuerse parts of the realme, which began in the latter end of September in the yeare last before passed, and continued all this yeare till the beginning of Nouember, which was about fourtéene moneths: in the which space died innumerable of people in the said citie & elsewhere. ¶ This yeare also the maior of London being in Paules, knéeling in his deuotions at saint Erkenwalds shrine, Robert Bifield one of the shiriffes vnaduisedlie knéeled downe nigh vnto the maior: whereof afterward the maior charged him to haue doone more than becomed him. But the shiriffe answering rudelie and stubbornlie, would not acknowledge to haue committed anie offense: for the which he was afterward by a court of aldermen fined at fiftie pounds to be paid toward the reparations of the conduits in London, which was trulie paid. ¶ This yeare Thomas Ilam one of the shirifs of London newlie builded the great conduit in Cheape, of his owne charges. ¶ This yeare also king Edward began his Christmasse at Waking, and at fiue daies end remooued to Gréenewich, where he kept out the other part of his Christmasse with great roialtie.

Abr. fl. ex I.S. pag. 747, 748.

Pestilence.

Vnaduised & vnséemelic demeanor punished with a fine.

Conduit in Cheape builded.

Ambassadors were sent to and fro betwixt the king of England and France, and still the French king fed the king of England with faire words, putting him in hope to match his sonne and heire the Dolphin with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to the king of England, according to the conclusions of agrément had and made at Picquenie betwixt them, although in verie déed he meant nothing lesse. His ambassadors euer made excuses if anie thing were amisse, and he vsed to send change of ambassadors; so that if those which had béene here before, and were returned, had said or promised anie thing (though they were authorised so to doo) which might turne to their masters hinderance, the other that came after, might excuse themselues by ignorance of that matter; affirming that they wanted commission once to talke or meddle with that matter: or if he perceiued that anie thing was like to be concluded contrarie to his mind, for a shift he would call his ambassadors home in great hast, and after send an other with new instructions nothing depending on the old.

1480

An. Reg. 20.

Thus the French king vsed to dallie with king Edward in the case of this mariage, onelie to kéepe him still in amitie. And certeinlie the king of England, being a man of no suspicious nature, thought sooner that the sunne should haue fallen from his circle, than that the French king would haue dissembled or broken promise with him. But there is none so soone beguiled, as he that least mistrusteth; nor anie so able to decieue, as he to whome most credence is giuen. But as in mistrusting nothing, is great lightnesse; so in too much trusting, is to much follie: which well appeared in this matter. For the French king, by cloking his inward determinate purpose with great dissimulation and large promises, kept him still in fréendship with the king of England, till he had wrought a great part of his will against the yoong duchesse of Burgognie. Which king Edward would not haue suffered, if he had put anie great doubt in the French kings faire promises, considering that the crowne of France was in this meane time so much increased in dominions, to the great re-enforcement of that realme.

The French king féedeth the king of England with faire words and promises.

¶ On the two and twentieth of Februarie were fiue notable théeues put to death, for robbing the church called saint Martins le grand in London, and other places; thrée of them were drawne to the Tower hill, hanged & burnt, the other two were pressed to death. A sore and seuer kind of execution no doubt, but yet thought by iustice meritorious in the malefactors, for their offences of sacrelege. Heinous enough had it beene to spoile a priuat man of his goods, and by law of nations punishable with death; but much more horrible, that prophane persons with polluted hands should priuilege or openlie so touch holie & consecrated things, as to take them out of a sacred place, whereto (for holy vses) they were dedicated, & applie them to the satisfieng of the corrupt concupiscences of their owne hearts, the bottomlesse gulfe whereof bicause no booties nor spoiles could satisfie; it stood with the high praise of iustice that they and their ceaselesse desires were seuered by deserued death; wherefore it is wiselie said by the comicall poet of such gréedie guts:

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 746, 749.

Fiue théeues for sacrilege seuerelie executed.

Quam quis auibus poscit escam auariter,
Decipitur in transenna perítque auaritia.

Plaut. in Rud.

In this yeare king Edward required great sums of monie to be lent him. The citizens of London granted him fiue thousand marks, which were seized of the fiue and twentie wards: which fiue thousand marks was trulie repaid againe in the next yeare following. ¶ Also this yeare on Whitsundaie K. Edward the fourth created the lord Berkleie, vicount Berkeleie, at Gréenewich. ¶ In this yeare also an house on London bridge called the common siege, or priuie, fell downe into the Thames, where thorough it fiue persons were drowned. ¶ This yeare the king with his quéene kept a roiall Christmas at Windsor.

Scala temporum.

Also this yéere was one Richard Chawrie maior of London, whome king Edward so greatlie faoured, that he tooke him (with certeine of his brethren the aldermen, & commons of the citie of London) into the forrest of Waltham, where was ordeined for them a pleasant lodge of gréene boughs, in which lodge they dined with great chéere; & the king would not go to dinner vntill he saw them serued. Moreouer he caused the lord chamberlaine, with other lords, to cheere the said maior and his companie sundrie times whilest they were at dinner. After dinner they went a hunting with the king, and slue manie deare, as well red as fallow, whereof the king gaue vnto the maior and his companie good plentie, and sent vnto the ladie mairesse and hir sisters the aldermens wiues, two harts, six bucks, and a tun of wine to make them merrie with, which was eaten in the drapers hall. The cause of which bountie thus shewed by the king, was (as most men did take) for that the maior was a merchant of wonderous aduentures into manie and sundrie countries. By reason whereof, the king had yearelie of him notable summes of monie for his customes, beside other pleasures that he had shewed vnto the king before times. ¶ This yéere the Scots began to stir, against whom the king sent the duke of Glocester & manie others, which returned againe without any notable battell.

The king feasteth the maior and aldermen.

Fabian pag. 512.

In this verie season Iames the third of that name king of Scots sent into England a solemne ambassage for to haue the ladie Cicilie, king Edwards second daughter, to be married to his eldest sonne Iames, prince of Scotland, duke of Rothsaiie, and earle of Caricke. King Edward and his councill, perceiuing that this affinitie should be both honourable and profitable to the realme, did not onelie grant to his desire; but also before hand disbursed certeine summes of monie, to the onelie intent that the marriage hereafter should neither be hindered nor broken. With this condition, that if the said mariage by anie accidentall meane should in time to come take none effect; or that king Edward would notifie to the king of Scots, or his councill, that his pleasure was determined to haue the said marriage dissolued: then the prouost and merchants of the towne of Edenburgh, should be bound for repayment of the said summes againe. All which things were with great deliberation concluded, passed, and sealed, in hope of continuall peace and indissoluble amitie.

Ambassadors fourth of Scotland.

But king Iames was knowne to be a man so wedded to his owne opinion, that he could not abide them that would speake contrarie to his fansie: by meanes whereof, he was altogether led by the counsell and aduise of men of base linage, whome for their flatterie he had promoted vnto great dignities and honourable offices. By which persons diuerse of the nobilitie of his realme were greatlie misused and put to trouble, both with imprisonment, exactions, & death; insomuch that some of them went into voluntarie exile. Amongst whome Alexander duke of Albanie, brother to king Iames, being exiled into France, & passing through England, taried with K. Edward: and vpon occasion mooued him to make warre against his brother, the said king Iames, for that he forgetting his oth, promise, and affinitie concluded with king Edward, caused his subiects to make roads and forraies into the English borders, spoiling, burning, and killing king Edwards liege people.

King Edward, not a little displeased with this vnprincipelie dooing, prouoked and set on also by the duke of Albanie, determined to inuade Scotland with an armie, as well to reuenge his owne injuries receiued at the hands of King Iames, as to helpe to restore the duke of Albanie vnto his countrie and possessions againe. Herevpon all the Winter season he mustered his men, prepared his ordinance, rigged his ships, and left nothing vnprovided for such a iournie: so that in the begining of the yeare, all things appertaining to the warre, and necessarie for his voiage, were in a readinesse. To be the cheefteine of his hoast, and lieutenant generall, Richard duke of Glocester was appointed by his brother king Edward; and with him were adioined as associats, Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie lord steward of the kings house, the lord Louell, the lord Greiestocke, and diuerse other noblemen and worthie knights.

Preparations for warre against Scotland.

1482

An. Reg. 22.

An armie sent into Scotland.

These valiant capteins came to Alnewike in Northumberland, about the beginning of Iulie, where they first incamped themselues, & marshalled their hoast. The fore-ward was led by the earle of Northumberland, vnder whose standard were the lord Scroope of Bolton, sir Iohn Middleton, sir Iohn Dichfield, and diuerse other knights, esquiers, & souldiers, to the number of six thousand and seauen hundred. In the midle-ward was the duke of Glocester, and with him the duke of Albanie, the lord Louell, the lord Greiestocke, sir Edward Wooduile, and other, to the number of fiue thousand & eight hundred men. The lord Neuill was appointed to follow, accompanied with thrée thousand. The lord Stanleie led the wing on the right hand of the dukes battell with foure thousand men of Lancashire & Cheshire. The lord Fitz Hugh, sir William a Parre, sir Iames Harrington, with the number of two thosand souldiers, guided the left wing. And beside all these, there were one thousand appointed to giue their attendance on the ordinance.

¶ In this yeare Edmund Shaw goldsmith and maior of London newlie builded Creplegate from the foundation, which gate in old time had bene a prison, wherevnto such citizens and other as were arrested for debt (or like trespasses) were committed, as they be now to the counters, as maie appear by a writ of king Edward the second, in these words: Rex vic' London salutem. Ex graui querela capti & detenti in prisona nostra de Creplegate, prox. li. quas coram Radulpho Sandwico, tunc custode ciuitatis nostræ London, & I. de Blackewell custode recognit. debitorum, &c. King Edward held his Christmas at Eltham, and kept his estate all the whole feast in his great chamber; and the quéene in hir chamber, where were dailie more than two thousand persons. The same yeare on Candlemas day, he with his quéene went on procession from saint Stephans chappell into Westminster hall, accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Greie, & sir James Liddall, ambassadors from Scotland. And at his procéeding out of his chamber he made sir Iohn Wood vnder-treasurer of England, & sir William Catesbie one of the iustices of the cōmon plées, knights.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 749.

Creplegate builded.

Records.

But to returne to the kings affaires concerning Scotland. The roiall armie aforesaid not intending to lose time, came suddenlie by the water side to the towne of Berwike, and there (what with force, and what with feare of so great an armie) tooke and entered the towne: but the earle of Bothwell, being capteine of the castell, would in no wise deliuer it; wherefore the capteines, vpon good and deliberate aduise, planted a strong siege round about it. When this siege was laid, the two dukes and all the other souldiers (except the lord Stanleie, sir Iohn Eldrington treasurer of the kings house, sir William a Parre, and foure thousand men that were left behind to keepe the siege before the castell) departed from Berwike toward Edenburgh; and in marching thitherward, they burnt and destroyed manie townes and bastiles. King Iames hauing small confidence in his communtie, and lesse trust in his nobilitie, kept himselfe within the castell of Edenburgh.

An. Reg. 23.

1483.

Berwike woone by the Englishmen.

The duke of Glocester entered into the towne, and at the especial desire of the duke of Albanie saued the towne, and the inhabitants from fire, bloud, and spoile, taking onelie of the merchants, such presents as they gentlie offered to him and his capteins, causing Gartier principall king at armes to make a publike proclamation at the high crosse in the market place of Edenburgh; by the which he warned and admonished king Iames, to kéepe, obserue, and performe, all such promises, compacts, couenants, and agréments, as he had concluded and sealed with the king of England, and also to make sufficient recompense vnto his subiects, for the tyrannic, spoile, and crueltie which he and his people had committed and doone, contrarie to the league, within the marches of his realme of England, before the first daie of August next insuing; and further without delaie to restore his brother the duke of Albanie to his estate, & all his possessions, offices, and authorities, in as large maner as he occupied & inioied the same before. Or else the duke of Glocester, lieutenant generall for the king of England, was readie at hand to destroe him, his people, and countries, with slaughter, flame, and famine.

King Iames would make no answer, neither by word nor writing, but kept himselfe close within the castell. But the lords of Scotland lieng at Hadington with a great puissance, determined first to practise with the duke of Glocester for a peace, and after by some meanes to allure the duke of Albanie from the English amitie. And vpon this motion, the second daie of August they wrote to the duke of Glocester, requiring that the mariage betwéene the prince of Scotland, and king Edwards daughter might be accomplished, according to the couenants: and further, that a peace from thencefoorth might be louinglie concluded betwéene both the realmes. The duke of Glocester answered againe vnto these demands; that for the article of the mariage, he knew not the king his brothers determinate pleasure, either for the affirmance or deniall of the same; but neuerthelesse he desired full restitution of all the sums of monie prested out in lone vpon the same mariage. And as for peace, he assured them that he wold agréee to none, except the castell of Berwike might be to him deliuered; or at the least wise, that he should vndertake that the siege lieng afore the same should not be troubled by the king of Scots, nor by anie of his subiects, nor by his or their procurement or meanes.

The Scottish lords, vpon this answer and demands of the duke of Glocester, sent to him the elect of Murreie, and the lord Dernelle, which excused the matter touching the repaiment of the monie: for that the time of the lawfull contract of the said mariage was not yet come, and no daie appointed for the monie to be paied before the contract begun. But for further assurance either for the contract to be made, or for the paiement of the monie, they promised therevnto accordinglie (as reason should require) to agréee. Secundarilie, as touching the castell of Berwike, they alledged, that it appertained to the realme of Scotland, as the old inheritance of the same.

The bishop elect of Murreie sent to the duke of Glocester.

The duke, notwithstanding all that they could saie, would agréee to no peace, except the castell of Berwike might be deliuered to the K. of England. And so the messengers departed. The same daie the archbishop of S. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, Colin earle of Argile, lord Campbell, and lord Andrew lord of Anandale chancellor of Scotland, wrote to the duke of Albanie, a solemne and an autenticall instrument, signed and sealed with their hands and seales, concerning a generall pardon to him and his servants, vpon certeine conditions to be granted; which conditions seemed to be so reasonable, that the duke of Albanie, desirous to be restored to his old estate, possessions, and natiue countrie, willinglie accepted the same.

But before he departed from the duke of Gloucester, he promised both by word and writing of his owne hand, to doo and performe all such things, as he before that time had sworne and promised to king Edward: notwithstanding anie agrément now made, or after to be made with the lords of Scotland. And for performance of the effect hereof, he againe tooke a corporall oth, and sealed the writing before the duke of Gloucester, in the English campe at Leuington besides Hadington, the third daie of August, in the yeare 1482. After he was restored, the lords of Scotland proclaimed him great lieutenant of Scotland; and in the kings name made proclamation, that all men within eight daies should be readie at Craushaus, both to raise the siege before the castell, and for the recouering againe of the towne of Berwike.

The duke of Albanie restored home.

He is created great lieutenant of Scotland.

The duke of Albanie wrote all this preparation to the duke of Gloucester, requiring him to haue no mistrust in his dealings. The duke of Gloucester wrote to him againe his mind verie roundlie, promising that he with his armie would defend the besiegers from all enimies that should attempt to trouble them, or else die in the quarell. To be briefe, when the lords of Scotland saw that it booted them not to assaie the raising of the siege, except they should make account to be fought withall, they determined to deliuer the castell of Berwike to the Englishmen, so that therevpon there might be an abstinence of warre taken for a season.

And herewith they sent to the duke of Gloucester a charter indented, which was dated the foure and twentieth daie of August, in the said yeare 1482 contracted betwéene the duke of Gloucester lieutenant generall for the king of England, & Alexander duke of Albanie lieutenant for James king of Scots; that an especiall abstinence of warre should be kept betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, as well by sea as by land, to begin the eighth daie of September next comming, & to indure till the fourth daie of Nouember next following. And in the same season, the towne & castell of Berwike to be occupied and remaine in the reall possession of such, as by the king of Englands deputie should be appointed.

Herevnto the duke of Gloucester agreed, and so then was the castell of Berwike deliuered to the lord Stanleie, and other thereto appointed; who therein put both Englishmen and artillerie, sufficient to defend it against all Scotland, for six months. The duke of Albanie also caused the prouost and burgesses of Edenburgh, to make a sufficient instrument obligatorie to king Edward, for the true satisfaction and contentation of the same monie, which he also sent by the said prouost to the duke of Gloucester to Alnewike; the verie copie whereof hereafter followeth.

The castell of Berwike deliuered.

The true copie of the said instrument obligatorie.

Be it knowne to all men by these present letters, vs Walter Bertraham, prouost of the towne of Edenburgh in Scotland, and the whole fellowship, merchants, burgesses, & communitie of the same towne, to be bound and obliged by these presents, vnto the most excellent, and most mightie prince Edward, by the grace of God king of England. That where it was communed and agreed betweene his excellencie on the one part, and the right high & mightie prince our souereigne lord, Iames king of Scots on the other part, that mariage and matrimonie should haue beene solemnized and had betwixt a mightie and excellent prince Iames the first begotten sonne and heire apparent to our souereigne lord aforesaid, & the right noble princesse Cicilie, daughter to the said Edward K. of England; and for the said mariage to haue beene performed, certeine and diuerse great summes of monie bene paid and contented by the most excellent prince, vnto our souereigne lord aforesaid, as by certeine writings betwixt the said princes therevpon made more at large plainlie appeares.

*Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall.
fol. Ccxlvj.*

That if it be the pleasure of the said Edward king of England, to haue the said mariage to be performed and completed, according to the said communication in writing, that then it shall be well and trulie, without fraud, deceit, or collusion obserued, kept, and accomplished on the partie of our souereigne lord aforesaid, & the nobles spirituall and temporall of the realme of Scotland. And if it be not the pleasure of the said excellent prince Edward king of England, to haue the said mariage performed and completed; that then we Walter, prouost, burgesses, merchants, and commons of the aboue named towne of Edenburgh, or anie of vs, shall paie and content to the king of England aforesaid, all the summes of monie that was paid for the said mariage, at such like termes & daies immediatlie insuing after the refusall of the said mariage, and in such like maner & forme as the said summes were afore deliuered, contented and paid; that then this obligation and bond to be void, and of no strength. Prouided alwaies, that the said Edward king of England, shall giue knowledge of his pleasure and election in the premisses in taking or refusing of the said mariage, or of repayment of the said sums of monie, to our said souereigne lord, or lords of his councill, or to vs the said prouost, merchants, or any of vs, within the realme of Scotland, being for the time, betwixt this & the feast of Alhalowes next to come.

To the which paiment well and trulie to be made, we bind and oblige vs, & euerie of vs, our heires, successors, executors, and all our goods, merchandizes, & things what soeuer they be, where soeuer, or in what place, by water or by land, on this side the sea or beyond, we shall happen to be found, anie league, anie truce or safegard made or to be made, notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof to this our present writing, and letters of bond, we, the said prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communitie, haue set our common seale of the said towne of Edenburgh, the fourth daie of Aueust, the yeare of our Lord God, 1482. Giuen in the presence of the right miehtie prince Richard duke of Glocester, Alexander duke of Albanie, the reuerend father in God Iames bishop of Dunkeld, & the right noble lord Henrie earle of Northumberland, Colin earle of Argile, Thomas lord Stanleie, maister Alexander English, and others, &c.

So that you see it was contained in the said instrument or writing, that king Edward should intimate his pleasure vnto the said prouost and burgesses of Edenburgh, before the feast of Alsaints next following, whether he would the mariage should take place, or that he would haue the paiment of the monie. According to which article, king Edward sent Gartier his principall king of armes, and Northumberland herald, to declare his refusall of the mariage, and the election and choise of the repayment of the monie. They came to Edenburgh eight daies before the feast of Alsaints, where (according to their commission and instructions) Gartier declared the pleasure of the king his maister vnto the prouost and burgesses of Edenburgh, to whom he openlie said as followeth.

Gartier king of armes is
sent into Scotland.

The intimation of Gartier king of armes to the Edenburghers.

I Gartier king of armes, seruant, proctour and messenger vnto the most high and mightie prince, my most dread souereigne lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, by vertue of certeine letters of procuracie here readie to be shewed to me, by my said souereigne lord made and giuen, make notice and giue knowledge vnto you prouost, burgesses, merchants and communitie of the towne of Edinburgh in Scotland, that whereas it was sometime communed and agreed betweene my said souereigne lord on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince James king of Scots on the other partie, that mariage and matrimonie should haue beene solemnized, and had betweene James the first begotten sonne of the said king of Scots, and ladie Cicilie, daughter to my said souereigne lord the king of England.

*Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall.
fol. Ccxlvij.*

And for the said mariage to haue been performed, certeine and diuers great sums of monie beene paied and contented by my said souereigne lord, which summes of monie, in case of refusall of the said mariage, by my said souereigne lord to be made and declared, yée the said prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communitie, and euerie one of you are bound and obliged by your letters, vnder your common seale of your towne of Edinburgh, to repaie vnto his highness vnder like forme, & at such termes as they were first paied. So that the king my souereigne lord would make notice and knowledge of his pleasure and election in taking or refusing of the said mariage, of the repaiment of the said sums of monie, before the feast of Alhalowes next to come; like as in your said letters, bearing date at Edinburgh the fourth daie of August last past, it was contained all at large.

The pleasure and election of my said souereigne lord, for diuerse causes and considerations him moouing, is to refuse the accomplishment of the said mariage, and to haue the repaiment of all such summes of monie, as (by occasion of the said betrusted mariage) his highnesse had paied. The said repaiment to be had of you prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communitie, and euerie of you, your heires and successours, according to your bond and obligation afore rehearsed. And therefore I giue you notice & knowledge by this writing, which I deliuer vnto you, within the terme in your said letters limited and expressed, to all intents and effects, which thereof may insue.

When Gartier had thus declared all things giuen to him in charge, the prouost and other burgesses made answer, that they now knowing the kings determinat pleasure, would (according to their bond) prepare for the repaiment of the said summes; and gentlie interteining Gartier conueied him to Berwike, from whence he departed to Newcastle, to the duke of Gloucester, making relation to him of all his dooings: which duke with all speed returned to Shrivthuton, and there abode. Shortlie after Gartiers departing, the duke of Albanie, thinking to obteine againe the high fauour of the king his brother, deliuered him out of captiuitie and prison, wherin he had a certeine space continued (not without the dukes assent, which besieged him in the castell of Edinburgh a little before) and set him at large, of whome outwardlie he receiued great thanks, when inwardlie nothing but reuenging & confusion was in the kings stomach fullie settled. So that shortlie after in the kings presence he was in ieopardie of his life, and all vnprouided for dread of death, constrained to take a small balinger, and to saile into France, where shortlie after riding by the men of armes, which incountered at the tilt, by Lewes then duke of Orleance, after French king, he was with mischarging of a speare by fortunes peruerse countenance pitifullie slaine and brought to death, leauing after him one onelie son named Iohn, which being banished Scotland, inhabited and married in France, and there died.

How dolorous, how sorrowfull is it to write, and much more painefull to remember the chances and infortunities that happened within two yeares in England and Scotland, betwéene naturall brethren. For king Edward, set on by such as enuied the estate of the duke of Clarence, forgetting nature and brotherlie amitie, consented to the death of his said brother. James king of Scots, putting in obliuion that Alexander his brother was the onelie organ and instrument, by whome he obtained libertie & frédome, seduced and led by vile and malicious persons, which maligned at the glorie and indifferent iustice of the duke of Albanie, imagined and compassed his death, and exiled him for euer. What a pernicious serpent, what a venemous toade, and what a pestiferous scorpion is that diuelish whelpe, called priuie enuie. Against it no fortresse can defend, no caue can hide, no wood can shadow, no fowle can escape, nor no beast can auoid. Hir poison is so strong, that neuer man in authoritie could escape from the biting of hir téeth, scratching of hir pawes, blasting of hir breth, & filth of hir taile. Notable therefore is the Greeke epigram in this behalfe, touching enuie of this kind, which saith, that a worsse thing than enuie there is not in the world, and yet hath it some goodnesse in it: for it consumeth the eies and the hart of the enuious. The words in their owne toong sententiouslie sound thus:

ὁ φθόνος ἐστὶ κάκιζον, ἔχει δὲ τὸ καλὸν ἐν αὐτῷ,
τίκα γὰρ φθονδρῶν ὄμματα καὶ κραδίαν

Although king Edward reioised that his businesse came to so good a conclusion with the Scots, yet he was about the same time sore disquieted in his mind towards the French king, whome he now perceiued to haue dallied with him, as touching the agreement of the mariage to be had

betwixt the Dolphin and his daughter the ladie Elizabeth. For the lord Howard, being as then returned out of France, certified the king (of his owne knowledge) how that he being present, saw the ladie Margaret of Austrich daughter to duke Maximilian, sonne to the emperor Frederike, receiued into France with great pompe and roialtie, and at Ambois to the Dolphin contracted and espoused. King Edward highlie displeased with such double and vniust dealing of the French king, called his nobles together, and opened to them his gréefes; who promised him for redresse thereof, to be readie with all their powers to make warres in France at his pleasure and appointment.

But whilest he was busie in hand to make his purueiance for warres thus against France, whether it was with melancholie and anger, which he tooke with the French kings dooings and vncourteous vsage; or were it by any superfluous surfet (to the which he was verie much giuen) he suddenlie fell sicke, and was so gréeuously taken, that in the end he perceiued his naturall strength in such wise to decaie, that there was little hope of recouerie in the cunning of his physicians, whome he perceiued onlie to prolong his life for a small time. Wherefore he began to make readie for his passage into another world, not forgetting (as after shall appeare) to exhort the nobles of his realme (aboue all things) to an vnitie among themselues. And hauing (as he tooke it) made an attonement betwixt the parties that were knowne to be scant freends, he commended vnto their graue wisdoms the gouernment of his sonne the prince, and of his brother the duke of Yorke, during the time of their tender yeares. But it shall not be amisse to adde in this place the words which he is said to haue spoken on his death-bed, which were in effect as followeth.

The words of king Edward vttered by him on his death-bed.

My welbeloued and no lesse betruſted fréends, counsellors, and alies, if we mortall men would dailie and hourlie with our ſelues reuolue, and intentiuelie in our hearts ingraue, or in our minds ſeriouslie ponder, the fraile and fading imbecillitie of our humane nature, and the vnſtablenesse of the ſame: we ſhould apparantlie perceiue, that we being called reaſonable creatures, and in that predicament compared and ioined with angels, be more worthie to be named and déemed persons vnreaſonable, and rather to be associate in that name with brute beaſts called vnreaſonable (of whoſe life and death no creature ſpeaketh) rather than in that point to be reſembled to the angelicall ſocietie and reaſonable companie.

*Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall.
fol. Ccxlvij. Ccxlix.*

For while health in vs flouriſheth, or proſperitie aboundeth, or the gloſing world laugheth, which is he, ſo reaſonable of vs all, that can ſaie (if he will not er from the truth) that he once in a wéeke remembreth his fatall end, or the preſcribed terme of his induring; or once prouided by labour, studie, or otherwiſe, to ſet a ſtedfaſt and ſure order for the ſecuritie, profit, and continuance either of his poſſeſſions & dominions, or of his ſequele and poſteritie which after him ſhall naturallie ſuccéed. Such is the blindneſſe of our fraile and weake nature, euer giuen to carnall concupiſcence and worldlie delectations, dailie darkened and ſeduced with that lithargious and deceiuable ſerpent called hope of long life, that all we put in obliuion our duetie preſent, and lesse remember the politike purueiance for things to come: for blindlie we walke in this fraile life, till we fall groueling, with our eies ſuddenlie vpon death.

The vanities of this world be to vs ſo agreeable, that when we begin to liue, we eſtéeme our life a whole world; which once ouerpaſſed, it ſheweth no better but duſt driuen awaie with a puffe of wind. I ſpeake this to you of my ſelfe, and for your ſelues to you; ſore lamenting and inwardlie bewailing, that I did not performe & finallie conſummate ſuch politike deuises, & good and godlie ordinances, in my long life and peaceable proſperitie, which then I fullie determined to haue begun, ſet forward, and completlie to haue finiſhed. Which now for the extreame paines and tortures of my angrie maladie, and for the ſmall terme of my naturall life, I can neither perform, neither yet liue to ſée either to take effect, or to ſort to anie good concluſion.

For God I call to record, my heart was fullie ſet, and my mind deliberative determined, ſo to haue adorned this realme with wholesome lawes, ſtatutes and ordinances; ſo to haue trained and brought vp mine infants and children in vertue, learning, actiuitie, and policie, that, what with their roiall poiſſance, & your fréendlie aſſiſtance, the proudeſt prince of Europe durſt not once attempt to moue anie hoſtilitie, againſt them, you, or this realme. But oh Lord, all things that I of long time haue in my mind reuolued and imagined, that ſtealing théefe death goeth about to ſubuert, and in the moment of an houre cléerelie to ouertred. Wherefore (as men ſaie) I now being driuen to the verie hard wall, haue perfect confidence and ſure hope in the aproued fidelitie, and conſtant integritie, which I haue euer experimented and knowne to be rooted and planted in the hearts of your louing bodies, towards me and mine.

So that I may ſaie and auouch, that neuer prince bearing ſcepter and crowne ouer realmes and regions, hath found or prooued more faithfull counsellors, nor truer ſubiects, than I haue doone of you; nor neuer potentate nor gouernour put more affiance and truſt in his vaſſals and ſeruants, than I, ſince the adeption of the crowne, firmelie haue fixed in your circumſpect wiſedoms and ſober diſcretions. And now of very force compelled, lieng in a doutfull hope, betwéene liuing and dieng, betwéene remembrance and obliuion, I doo require you, and inſtantlie moue you, that as I haue found you faithfull, obedient, and to all my requests and deſires (while I was here in health conuerſant with you) diligent and intentiue: ſo after my death, my hope is with a ſure anchor grounded, & mine inward conceipt vndoubtedlie reſolued, that the eſpeciall confidence and inward fidelitie, which ſo loag hath continued betwéene vs, bieing together liuing, ſhall not wholie by my death be extinct and vaniſhed like ſmoke.

For what auaieth fréendſhip in life, when truſt deceiueth after death? What profiteth amitie in apparent preſence, when confidence is fraudulentlie beguiled in abſence? What loue groweth by coniunction of matrimonie, if the ofſpring after doo not agree and accord? Or what profiteth princes to aduance and promote their ſubiects, if after their death, the bountifulneſſe by them ſhewed, be of the receiuers of the ſame and their ſequele neither regarded nor yet remembered? The parents make the marriage for an indiſſoluble amitie. Princes promote ſometime for fauour, ſometime for deſert, & ſometime for pleaſure: yet (if you will conſider) the verie ſcope, to the which all gifts of promotions doo finallie tend, is to haue loue, fauour, faithfull counſell, and diligent ſeruiſe, of ſuch as be by them promoted and exalted, not onelie in their owne liues, being but bréefe and tranſitorie: but alſo that they and their progenie, calling to remembrance the fauour, eſtimation, and aduancement, which they of ſo liberall and munificent a prince had receiued and obteined, ſhould with ſpeare and ſhield, toong and wit, hand and pen, continuallie studie to defend, counſell and preferre, not onelie him during his life, but alſo to ſerue, aſſiſt, and mainteine his ſequele and lineall ſucceſſion, as the verie images and carnall portratures of his ſtirpe, line, and ſtemme, naturallie deſcended.

In this caſe am I, whome you know, not without vnſpeakable trouble & moſt dangerous war to haue obteined the ſcepter and diademe of this realme and empire. During which reigne, I haue had either litle peace, or ſmall tranquillitie: and now when I thought my ſelfe ſure of a quiet life, and worldlie reſt, death hath blowne his terrible trumpet, calling and ſummoning me (as I truſt) to perpetuall tranquillitie and eternall quietneſſe. Therefore now, for the perfect and vnmouea- ble confidence that I haue euer had in you, and for the vnfeined loue that you haue euer ſhewed vnto

me, I commend and deliuer into your gouernance, both this noble realme, and my naturall children, and your kinsmen. My children by your diligent ouersight and politike prouision to be taught, informed, and instructed, not onelie in the sciences liberall, vertues morall, and good literature: but also to be practised in trickes of martiall actiuitie, and diligent exercise of prudent policie. For I haue heard clarkes saie, although I am vnlettered, that fortunate is that realme where philosophers reigne, or where kings be philosophers and louers of wisdom.

In this tender age, you may writh and turne them into euerie forme and fashion. If you bring them vp in vertue, you shall haue vertuous princes. If you set them to learning, your gouernours shall be men of knowledge. If you teach them actiuitie, you shall haue valiant capteins. If they practise policie, you shall haue both politike and prudent rulers. On the other side, if by your negligence they fall to vice (as youth is to all euill prone and readie) not onelie their honor, but also your honestie shall be spotted and appalled. If they be sluggards and giuen to slouth, the publike wealth of this realme must shortlie decaie. If they be vnlearned, they may by flatterie soone be blinded, and by adulation often deceiued. If they lacke actiuitie, euerie creature (be he neuer so base of birth) shall foile and ouerthrow them like dum beasts and beastlie dastards. Therefore I desire you, and in Gods name adiure you, rather to studie to make them rich in godlie knowledge, and vertuous qualities; than to take paine to glorifie them with abundance of worldlie treasure, and mundane superfluitie.

And certeinlie, when they come to ripenesse of age, and shall peradventure consider, that by your omission and negligent education, they haue not such graces, nor are indued with such notable qualities as they might haue béene, if you had performed the trust to you by me committed: they shall not onelie deplore and lament their vngarnished estate, and naked condition; but also it may fortune, that they shall conceiue inwardlie against you such a negligent vntruth, that the sequele thereof may rather turne to displeasure than thanks, and sooner to an ingratitude than to a reward. My kingdome also I leaue in your gouernance, during the minoritie of my children, charging you (on your honors oths and fidelitie made and sworne to me) so indifferentlie to order and gouerne the subjects of the same, both with iustice and mercie, that the wils of malefactors haue not too large a scope, nor the harts of the good people by too much extremitie be neither sorowfulle daunted, nor vnkindlie kept vnder. Oh I am so sléepe, that I must make an end. And now before you all I commend my soule to almightie God my sauour and redéemer, my bodie to the wormes of the earth, my kingdome to the prince my sonne: and to you my louing fréends my heart, my trust, and my whole confidence. [And euen with that he fell on sléepe.]

Hauing thus spoken, and set things in good staie, as might be supposed, he shortlie after departed this life at Westminster the ninth of Aprill, in the yeare 1483, after he had reigned two and twentie yeares, one moneth, and eight daies. His bodie was with funerall pompe conueied to Windsore, and there buried. He left behind him issue by the quéene his wife two sonnes, Edward and Richard, with fiue daughters; Elizabeth that was after quéene married to Henrie the seauenth; Cicilie married to the vicount Welles; Briget a nunne professed in Sion or Dertford, as sir Thomas More saith; Anne married to the lord Thomas Howard, after earle of Surrie, and duke of Norffolke; Katherine wedded to the lord William Courtenie sonne to the earle of Deuonshire. Beside these he left behind him likewise a base sonne named Arthur, that was after vicount Lisle. For the description of his person & qualities I will referre you to that which sir Thomas More hath written of him in that historie, which he wrote and left vnfinished of his sonne Edward the fift and of his brother king Richard the third: which we shall (God willing) hereafter make you partaker of, as we find the same recorded among his other workes, word for word; when first we haue (according to our begun order) rehersed such writers of our nation as liued in his daies.

As first, Nicholas Kenton borne in Suffolke a Carmelit frier in Gippeswich, prouinciall of his order through England; Henrie Parker a Carmelit frier of Doncaster, preached against the pride of prelats, and for such doctrine as he set foorth, was imprisoned with his fellow Thomas Holden, and a certeine blacke frier also for the like cause; Parker was forced to recant thrée speciall articles, as Bale noteth out of Leland; Iohn Harding an esquier borne in the north parts, wrote a chronicle in English verse, and among other speciall points therein touched, he gathered all the submissions and homages had and made by the Scotish kings, euen from the daies of king Athelstan [whereby it euidentlie may appeare, how the Scotish kingdome euen in manner from the first establishing thereof here in Britaine, hath beene appertaining vnto the kings of England, and holden of them as their chéefe, & superior lords.]

William Iue a doctor of diuinitie and prebendarie of saint Paules in London; Thomas Wilton a diuine, and deane of the said church of Paules in London; Iulian Bemis, a gentlewoman indued with excellent gifts both of bodie and mind, wrote certeine treatises of hawking and hunting, delighting greatlie hir selfe in those exercises and pastimes; she wrote also a booke of the lawes of armes, and knowledge appertaining to heralds; Iohn Stamberie borne in the west parts of this realme, a Carmelit frier, and confessor to king Henrie the sixt, he was also maister of Eaton colledge, and after was made bishop of Bangor, and remooued from thence to the sée of Hereford; Iohn Slueleie an Augustine frier, prouinciall of his order; Iohn Fortescue a iudge and chancellor of England, wrote diuerse treatises concerning the law and politike gouernement.

Rochus a Chaterhouse moonke borne in London, of honest parents, and studied in the vniuersitie of Paris, he wrote diuerse epigrams; Iohn Phreas borne also in London was fellow of Balioll colledge in Oxenford, and after went into Italie, where he heard Guarinus that excellent

philosopher read in Ferrara, he prooued an excellent physician and a skilfull lawier, there was not in Italie (whilst he remained there) that passed him in eloquence & knowledge of both the toongs, Gréeke and Latine; Walter Hunt a Carmelit frier, a great diuine, and for his excellencie in learning sent from the whole bodie of this realme, vnto the generall councill holden first at Ferrara, and after at Florence by pope Eugenius the fourth, where he disputed among other with the Gréekes, in defense of the order and ceremonies of the Latine church; Thomas Wighenhall a moonke of the order called Premostratensis in the abbeie of Durham in Norffolke.

Iohn Gunthorpe went into Italie, where he heard that eloquent learned man Guarinus read in Ferrara, after his comming home into England he was deane of Welles, and kéeper of the priuie scale; Iohn Hambois an excellent musician, and for his notable cunning therein made doctor of musicke; William Caxton wrote a chronicle called Fructus temporum, and an appendix ynto Treuisa, beside diuerse other bookes and translations; Iohn Miluerton a Carmelit frier of Bristow, and prouinciall of his order through England, Ireland, and Scotland, at length (bicause he defended such of his order as preached against endowments of the church with temporall possessions) he was brought into trouble, committed to prison in castell S. Angelo in Rome, where he continued thrée yeares, and at length was deliuered through certeine of the cardinals that were appointed his iudges; Daud Morgan a Welsh man, treasurer of the church of Landaffe, wrote of the antiquities of Wales, & a description of the countrie.

Iohn Tiptoft, a noble man borne, a great traueller, excellentlie learned, and wrote diuerse treatises, and finallie lost his head in the yeare 1471, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt the houses of Yorke and Lancaster; Iohn Shirwood bishop of Durham; Thomas Kent an excellent philosopher; Robert Huggon borne in Norffolke in a towne called Hardingham, wrote certeine veine prophesies; Iohn Maxfield a learned physician; William Gréene a Carmelit frier; Thomas Norton borne in Bristow an alcumist; Iohn Meare a moonke of Norwich; Richard Porland borne in Norffolke a Franciscane frier, and a doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Milling a moonke of Westminster, a doctor of diuinitie and preferred to the bishoprike of Hereford; Scogan a learned gentleman and student for a time in Oxford, of a plesant wit, and bent to meirie deuises, in respect whereof he was called into the court, where giuing himselfe to his naturall inclination of mirth & pleasant pastime, he plaied manie sporting parts, although not in such vnciuill maner as hath beene of him reported:

Thus farre the prosperous reigne of Edward the fourth, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.

Transcriber's Notes:

Punctuation normalized.

Anachronistic, non-standard, and inconsistent spellings retained as printed.

While the Greek accentuation is clearly defective, it has been retained as found.

*** END OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND (3 OF 6): ENGLAND (4 OF 9) ***

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