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*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND (2 OF 6): ENGLAND (10 OF 12) ***

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EDWARD THE SECOND, the sonne of Edward the first.

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The tenour of the kings letters patents. The tenour of the said sixt letter lacking a direction.

Edward, the second of that name, the sonne of Edward the first, borne at Carnaruan in Wales, began his reigne ouer England the seauenth day of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1307, of the world, 5273, of the comming of the Saxons 847, after the conquest 241, about the tenth yeare of Albert emperour of Rome, and the two and twentith of the fourth Philip, surnamed Le Beau, as then king of France, and in the third yeare after that Robert le Bruce had taken vpon him the crowne and gouernement of Scotland. His fathers corpse was conueied from Burgh vpon Sands, vnto the abbie of Waltham, there to remaine, till things were readie for the buriall, which was appointed at Westminster.

Continuation of Matt.

Within thrée daies after, when the lord treasurer Walter de Langton bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield (thorough whose complaint Péers de Gaueston had béene banished the land) was going towards Westminster, to make preparation for the same buriall, he was vpon commandement from the new king arrested, committed to prison, and after deliuered to the hands of the said Péers, being then returned againe into the realme,

The bishop of Couentrie committed to prison.

Officers remooued.

who sent him from castell to castell as a prisoner. His lands and tenements were seized to the kings vse, but his mooueables were given to the foresaid Péers. Walter Reignold that had béene the kings tutor in his childhood, was then made lord treasurer, and after when the sée of Worcester was void, at the kings instance he was by the pope to that bishoprike preferred. Also Rafe bishop of London was deposed from the office of lord Chancellour, and John Langton bishop of Chichester was thereto restored. Likewise, the barons of the excheker were removued, and other put in their places. And Amerie de Valence earle of Penbroke was discharged of the wardenship of Scotland, and Iohn de Britaine placed in that office, whom he also made earle of

But now concerning the demeanour of this new king, whose disordered maners brought himselfe and manie others vnto destruction; we find that in the beginning of his gouernement, though he was of nature given to lightnesse, yet being restreined with the prudent aduertisements of certeine of his councellors, to the end that he might shew some likelihood of good proofe, he counterfeited a kind of grauitie, vertue and modestie; but yet he could not throughlie be so bridled, but that foorthwith he began to plaie divers wanton and light parts, at the first indéed not outragiouslie, but by little and little, and that couertlie. For having

Polydor.

Péers de Gaueston.

The yeare next insuing, the Ile of Man was taken by Robert Bruce.

reuoked againe into England his old mate the said Péers de Gaueston, he receiued him into most high fauour, creating him earle of Cornewall, and lord of Man, his principall secretarie, and lord chamberlaine of the realme, through whose companie and societie he was suddenlie so corrupted, that he burst out into most heinous vices; for then vsing the said Péers as a procurer of his disordred dooings, he began to haue his nobles in no regard, to set nothing by their instructions, and to take small héed vnto the good gouernement of the common-wealth, so that within a while, he gaue himselfe to wantonnes, passing his time in voluptuous pleasure, and riotous excesse: and to helpe them forward in that kind of life, the foresaid Péers, who (as it may be thought, he had sworne to make the king to forget himselfe, and the state, to the which he was called) furnished his court with companies of iesters, ruffians, flattering parasites, musicians, and other vile and naughtie ribalds, that the king might spend both daies and nights in iesting, plaieng, blanketing, and in such other filthie and dishonorable exercises: and moreouer, desirous to advance those that were like to him selfe, he procured for them honorable offices, all which notable preferments and dignities, sith they were ill bestowed, were rather to be accounted dishonorable than otherwise, both to the giver and the receiver, sith

Sufficiens honor est homini, cùm dignus honore est, Qui datur indigno non est honor, est onus, imò Ludibrium, veluti in scena cùm ludius est rex, Quippe honor est soli virtuti debita merces.

About the thirtéenth day of October, a parlement was holden at Northampton, in the which it was ordeined by the kings appointment, that the coine of his father king Edward should be still currant, notwithstanding the basenesse thereof, as some reputed it, and therefore it was mooued in the parlement to haue it disanulled. ¶ Also, order was taken for the buriall of his fathers corpse, which was solemnelie conueied from Waltham, and brought to Westminster the seauen and twentith day

Northampton.

Péers de Gaueston

of October following, where with all funerall pompe it was interred. Moreouer, at the same parlement, a marriage was concluded betwixt the earle of Cornewall Péers de Gaueston, and the daughter of Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, which he had by his wife the countesse Ioane de Acres the kings sister, which marriage was solemnized on All hallowes day next insuing.

About the two and twentith of Ianuarie, the king sailed ouer into France, and at Bullongne in Picardie on the foure and twentith day of Ianuarie, he did homage to the French king for his lands of Gascoine and Pontieu, and on the morrow after, maried Isabell the French kings daughter, and on the seauenth of Februarie he returned with hir into England, and comming to London, was ioifullie received of the citizens, and on the five and twentith daie of Februarie, being Shrouesundaie in the leape yeare, they were solemnlie crowned by the bishop of Winchester, bicause that Robert the archbishop of Canturburie was not as then within the realme. There was such prease and throng of people at this coronation, that a knight called sir Iohn Bakewell aliàs Blackwell, was thrust or crowded to death. \P On the day of the circumcision this yeare, a great tempest of thunder and lightning began about euensong time, that continued the most part of the night following.

On wednesdaie after the Epiphanie, the knights templers in England were apprehended all in one day by the kings commandement, vpon suspicion of hainous crimes & great enormities by them practised, contrarie to the articles of the christian faith. The order of their apprehension was on this wise. The king directed his writs vnto all and euerie the shiriffes of counties within the realme, that they should give summons to a certeine number of substantial persons, knights or other men of good accompt, to be afore them at certeine places within their gouernements, named in the same writs, on the sunday the morrow after the Epiphanie then next insuing, and that the said shiriffes faile not to be there the same day in their owne persons, to execute that which in other writs to them directed, and after to be sent, should be conteined. The date of this writ was the fiftéenth of December.

The K. passeth ouer into France.

1308.

of Februarie, as *Tho. de* la More writeth.

The king and quéene crowned.

Tho. Walsin.

Sir John Blackwell smoothered and thrust to death. Continuation of N. Triuet.

The order taken for the apprehension of the tēplers.

The second writ was sent by certeine chapleins, in which the shiriffes were commanded vpon the opening of the same, foorthwith to receive an oth in presence of the said chapleins, to put in execution all that was therein conteined, and not to disclose the contents to any man, till they had executed the same with all expedition, and therewith to take the like oth of those persons, whom by vertue of the first writ they had summoned to appeare afore them. An other writ there was also framed & sent by the same chapleins, by the which the said shiriffes were commanded to attach by their bodies, all the templers within the precinct of their gouernements, and to seize all their lands and goods into the kings hands, togither with their writings, charters, déeds, and miniments, and to make thereof a true inuentarie and indenture, in presence of the warden of the place, whether he were brother of that order, or any other, & in presence of honest men being neighbors; of which indenture, one part to remaine in the custodie of the said warden, and the other with the shiriffe, vnder his seale that should so make seizure of the said goods: and further, that the said goods and chattels should be put in safe custodie, and that the quicke goods and cattell should be kept and found of the premisses as should séeme most expedient, and that their lands and possessions should be manured and tilled to the vttermost commoditie.

Further, that the persons of the said templers being attached, in manner as before is said, should be safelie kept in some competent place out of their owne houses, but not in streight prison, but in such order, as the shiriffes might be sure of them to bring them foorth when he should be commanded, to be found in the meane time according to their estate of their owne goods so seized, and hereof to make a true certificat vnto the treasurer and barons of the excheker, what they had doone concerning the premisses, declaring how manie of the said templers they had attached, with their names, and what lands and goods they had seized by vertue of this precept. The date of these two last writs was from Biflet the 20 of December, and the returne thereof to be made vnto the excheker, was the morrow after the Purification. There were writs also directed into Ireland, as we have there made mention, and likewise vnto Iohn de Britaine earle of Richmond the lord warden of Scotland, & to Eustace de Cotesbach chamberleine of Scotland, to Walter de Pederton iustice of Westwales, and to Hugh Aldighle aliàs Audlie iustice of Northwales, to Robert Holland justice of Chester, under like forme and maner as in Ireland we have expressed.

The malice which the lords had conceived against the earle of Cornewall still increased, the more indéed through the high bearing of him, being now advanced to honour. For being a goodlie gentleman and a stout, he would not once yéeld an inch to any of them, which worthilie procured him great enuie amongst the chéefest péeres of all the realme, as sir Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne, sir Guie earle of Warwike, and sir Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, the earles of Glocester, Hereford, Arundell, and others, which vpon such wrath and displeasure as they had conceiued against him, thought it not conuenient to suffer the same any longer, in hope that the kings mind might happilie be altered into a better purpose, being not altogither converted into a venemous disposition, but so that it might be cured, if the corrupter thereof were once banished from him.

Herevpon they assembled togither in the parlement time, at the new temple, on saturdaie next before the feast of saint Dunstan, and there ordeined that the said Péers should abiure the realme, and depart the same on the morrow after the Natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist at the furthest, and not to returne into the same againe at any time then after to come. To this ordinance the king (although against his will) bicause he

Tho. Walsi.

Cōntinuatiō of *N. Triuet.*

saw himselfe and the realme in danger, gaue his consent, and made his letters patents to the said

earles and lords,	to witnesse the same.

The tenour of the kings letters patents.

Notum vobis facimus per præsentes, quòd amodò vsque ad diem dominus Petrus de Gaueston regnum nostrum est abiuraturus & exiturus, videlicet in crastino natiuitatis S. Iohannis Baptistæ proximo sequenti: nos in quantum nobis est nihil faciemus, nec aliquid fieri permittemus, per quod exilium dicti domini Petri in aliquo poterit impediri, vel protelari, quin secundum formam à prælatis, comitibus, & baronibus regni nostri, ordinatam, & per nos libero consensu confirmatam, plenariè perficiatur. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum apud Westm. 18 die Maij. Anno regni nostri primo.

These letters were read, heard, and allowed in the presence of all the Noble men of this land, the day and yeare abouesaid. ¶ The archbishop of Canturburie, being latelie returned from Rome, where he had remained in exile in the late deceassed kings daies for a certeine time, did pronounce the said Péers accursed, if he taried within the realme longer than the appointed time, and likewise all those that should aid, helpe or mainteine him, as also if he should at any time hereafter returne againe into the land.

To conclude, this matter was so followed, that at length he was constreined to withdraw himselfe to Bristow, and so by sea as a banished man to saile into Ireland.

The king being sore offended herewith, as he that fauoured the earle more than that he could be without his companie, threatned the lords to be reuenged for this displeasure, and ceassed not to send into Ireland vnto Péers, comforting him both with fréendlie mesages, and rich presents, and as it were to shew that he meant to reteine him still in his fauour, he made him ruler of Ireland as his deputie there. A wonderfull matter that the king should be so inchanted with the said earle, and so addict himselfe, or rather fix his hart vpon a man of such a corrupt humor, against whome the heads of the noblest houses in the land were bent to deuise his ouerthrow: but the lesse maruell it is that the king bare him such a feruant affection, and set his hart vpon him, considering that

---- vetus autorum sententia, mores Quòd similes, simile & studium sunt fomes amoris, Sic vanus vanum, studiosus sic studiosum Diligit, & socios adeunt animalia cœtus.

The lords perceiuing the kings affection, and that the treasure was spent as lauishlie as before, thought with themselves that it might be that the king would both amend his passed trade of life, and that Péers being restored home, would rather aduise him thereto, than follow his old maners, considering that it might be well perceived, that if he continued in the incouraging of the king to lewdnesse, as in times past he had doone, he could not thinke but that the lords would be readie to correct him, as by proofe he had now tried their meanings to be no lesse. Herevpon to retein a mitter as was thought on both sides. Péers by consent of the lords.

reteine amitie, as was thought on both sides, Péers by consent of the lords was restored home againe (the king méeting him at Chester) to his great comfort and reioising for the time, although the malice of the lords was such, that such ioy lasted not long.

In the fourth yeare of king Edward was a councell holden at London against the templers, the which councell indured from the beginning of Maie, till Iune. In this councell they confessed the fame, but not the fact of the crimes laid to their charge, except two or thrée ribalds that were amongst them: but bicause they could not cleare themselues, they were adiudged vnto perpetuall penance within certeine monasteries. The king this yeare fearing the enuie of the lords against Péers de Gaueston, placed him for his more safetie in Bambourgh castell, bearing the prelats and lords in hand, that he had committed him there to prison for their pleasures.

This yeare also there were ordinances made for the state and gouernement of the realme, by the prelats, earles and barons, which were confirmed with the sentence of excommunication against all them that should go about to breake the same. The king neither allowed of them nor obserued them, although he had confirmed them with his seale, and sent them to all cathedrall churches and counties, to be registered in perpetuall memorie thereof. The king indéed was lewdlie led, for after that

An. Reg. 2.

The earle of Cornewall banished the realme. The kings fauour towards the earle of Cornwall.

Polydor.

Fabian.

The earle of Cornewall deputie of Ireland.

Hen. Marle.

1309.

An. Reg. 3.

Hen. Marle

1310.

An. Reg. 4.

The addition to *Triuet*.

The earle of Cornewall placed in Bambourgh castell.

Polydor.

Caxton.

perpetuall memorie thereof. The king indéed was lewdlie led, for after that the earle of Cornewall was returned into England, he shewed himselfe no changeling (as writers doo affirme) but through support of the kings fauour, bare himselfe so high in his doings, which were without all good order, that he séemed to disdaine all the péeres & barons of the realme. Also after the old sort he prouoked the king to all naughtie rule and riotous demeanour, and hauing the custodie of the kings iewels and treasure, he tooke out of the iewell-house a table, & a paire of trestels of gold, which he deliuered vnto a merchant called Aimerie de Friscobald, commanding him to

conueie them ouer the sea into Gascoine. This table was judged of the common people, to belong sometime vnto king Arthur, and therefore men grudged the more that the same should thus be sent out of the realme.

The king this yeare raised a great power to go into Scotland. And about the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, having with him Péers de Gaueston earle of Cornewall, and the earles of Glocester and Warren, he came to Berwike, which towne he caused to be fortified with a strong wall, and a mightie déepe ditch, and although the other earles would not come to serue him in that voiage, by reason of a new variance risen amongst them, yet he marched foorth into Scotland, to séeke his aduersarie Robert le Bruce: but Robert refusing the battell, kept him foorth of the waie, so that the king was driven to returne to Berwike againe, without méeting with his enimie. And he was no sooner come backe, but the said Robert and his people entred into Louthian, sore molesting such as were yéelded to the king of England. The king aduertised thereof, followed them, but could doo no good, & so returned. The earle of Cornewall laie at

1311.
Rich. Southw.
An. Reg. 5.
Berwike fortified.
The king entred into

Rockesbourgh, and the earle of Glocester at Norham to defend those parts. After Candlemasse, the king sent the earle of Cornewall, with two hundred men of armes to S. Iohns towne, beyond the Scotish sea, who received to the kings peace all those that inhabited beyond that sea vp to the mounteins. The king laie still at Berwike, but the earles of Glocester and Warren, after the beginning of Lent, rode into the forest of Solkirke, and received the foresters & other the inhabitants there to the kings peace. ¶ In this fift yeare of the kings reigne, but somwhat before this present, in the yeare 1310, Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne gouernour of England in the kings absence departed this life, in whose place the earle of Glocester was chosen gouernour, and therefore he returned now into England. This earle of Lincolne was buried in the new worke at Paules. Lieng on his death bed, he requested (as was reported) Thomas earle of Lancaster, who had married his daughter, that in any wise he should stand with the other lords in defense of the commonwelth, and to mainteine his quarell against the earle of Cornewall, which request earle Thomas faithfullie accomplished: for by the pursute of him, and of the earle of Warwike chéefelie, the said earle of Cornewall was at length taken and beheaded (as after shall appeare.) Some write that king Edward the first vpon his death-bed, charged the earles of Lincolne, Warwike, and Penbroke, to foresée that the foresaid Péers returned not againe into England, least by his euill example he might induce his sonne the prince to lewdnesse, as before he had alreadie doone.

Thomas earle of Lancaster came towards Berwike, to doo homage to the king for the earledome of Lincolne fallen to him in right of his wife, now after the deceasse of hir father the late earle of Lincolne. But he was counselled not to go foorth of the realme to the king, so that therevpon rose no small displeasure, and great doubt least there would have followed civill warres about it. Neverthelesse, at length the king was persuaded to come over the water vnto Hagerston, foure miles distant from Berwike, and there received homage of the earle, and so they continued fréends, and for that time departed asunder in louing maner. The lords perceiving the mischéefe that dailie followed and increased by that naughtie man (as they tooke it) the earle of Cornewall, assembled at Lincolne and there tooks as they continued as the contract to the same and careful as the contract to the same and careful as the contract to the c

Fabian.

Hen. Marley.

Rich. South.

The earle of Cornewall banished into Flanders.

Lincolne, and there tooke counsell togither, and concluded eftsoones to banish him out of the realme, and so therevpon shortlie after, about Christmasse (as some write) or rather, as other haue, within the quindene of saint Michaell, he was exiled into Flanders, sore against the kings will and pleasure, who made such account of him, that (as appeared) he could not be quiet in mind without his companie, & therefore about Candlemasse he eftsoones reuoked him home.

But he being nothing at all amended of those his euill manners, rather demeaned himselfe woorse than before he had doone, namelie towards the lords, against whom vsing reprochfull spéech, he called the earle of Glocester bastard, the earle of Lincolne latlie deceased bursten bellie, the earle of Warwike the blacke hound of Arderne, and the earle of Lancaster churle. Such lords and other more that were thus abused at this earle of Cornewals hands, determined to be reuenged vpon him, and to dispatch the realme of such a wicked person: and therevpon assembling their powers togither, came towards Newcastell, whither the king from Yorke was remooued, and now hearing of their approch, he got him to Tinmouth, where the quéene laie, and vnderstanding there that Newcastell was

Maister Fox.

Thom. Wals.

The earle of Cornewall taken.

taken by the lords, he leauing the quéene behind him, tooke shipping, and sailed from thence with his dearelie belooued familiar the earle of Cornewall, vnto Scarbourgh, where he left him in the castell, and rode himselfe towards Warwike. The lords hearing where the earle of Cornewall was, made thither with all spéed, and besieging the castell, at length constreined their enimie to yéeld himselfe into their hands, requiring no other condition, but that he might come to the kings presence to talke with him.

The king hearing that his best beloued familiar was thus apprehended, sent to the lords, requiring them to spare his life, and that he might be brought to his presence, promising withall that he would sée them fullie satisfied in all their requests against him. Wherevpon the earle of Penbroke persuaded with the barons to grant to the kings desire, vndertaking vpon forfeiture of all that he had, to bring him to the king and backe againe to them, in such state and condition as he received him.

The kings request for his life.

The earle of Penbroks suit to the other lords.

When the barons had consented to his motion, he tooke the earle of Cornewall with him to bring him where the king laie, and comming to Dedington, left him there in safe kéeping with his seruants, whilest he for one night went to visit his wife, lieng not farre from thence.

The same night it chanced, that Guie erle of Warwike came to the verie place where the erle of Cornewall was left, and taking him from his kéepers, brought him vnto Warwike, where incontinentlie it was thought best to put him to death, but that some doubting the kings displeasure, aduised the residue to staie; and so they did, till at length an ancient graue man amongst them exhorted them to vse the occasion now offered, and not to let slip the meane to deliuer the realme of such a dangerous

Gauers heath or Gauersuch. The earle of Cornewall beheaded.

person, that had wrought so much mischéefe, and might turne them all to such perill, as afterwards they should not be able to avoid, nor find shift how to remedie it. And thus persuaded by his words, they caused him streitwaies to be brought foorth to a place called Blackelow, otherwise named by most writers, Gauerslie heath, where he had his head smitten from his shoulders, the twentith day of Iune being tuesdaie. A just reward for so scornefull and contemptuous a merchant, as in respect of himselfe (bicause he was in the princes fauour) estéemed the Nobles of the land as men of such inferioritie, as that in comparison of him they deserved no little iot or mite of honour. But lo the vice of ambition, accompanied with a rable of other outrages, euen a reprochfull end, with an euerlasting marke of infamie, which he pulled by violent meanes on himselfe with the cords of his owne lewdnesse, and could not escape this fatall fall: for

Ad mala patrata sunt atra theatra parata.

When the king had knowledge hereof, he was woonderfullie displeased with those lords that had thus put the said earle vnto death, making his vow that he would sée his death reuenged, so that the rancour which before was kindled betwixt the king and those lords, began now to blase abroad, and spred so farre, that the king euer sought occasion how to worke them displeasure. This yeare, the thirtéenth of Nouember, the kings eldest sonne named Edward (which succéeded his father in the kingdome by the name of Edward the third) was borne at Windsore. King Edward now after that the foresaid Piers Gaueston the earle of Cornewall was dead, nothing reformed his maners, but as one that detested the counsell and admonition of his Nobles, chose such to be about him, and to be of his priuie councell, which were knowne to be men of corrupt and most wicked liuing (as the writers of that age report) amongst these were two of the Spensers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the sonne, which were notable instruments to bring him vnto the liking of all kind of naughtie and euill rule.

The kings displeasure. K. Edward y^e third borne.

The Spensers.

By the counsell therefore of these Spensers, he was wholie lead and gouerned: wherewith manie were much offended, but namelie Robert the archbishop of Canturburie, who foresaw what mischéefe was like to insue: and therefore to prouide some remedie in time, he procured that a parlement was called at London. In the which manie good ordinances and statutes were deuised and established, to oppresse the riots, misgouernance, and other mischéefes which as then were vsed: and to kéepe those ordinances, the king first, and after his lords received a solemne oth, that in no wise neither he nor they should breake them. By

Fabian. A parlement.

The L. Hugh Spenser the sonne at the first not fauored of the K.

this means was the state of the realme newlie restored, and new councellours placed about the king. But he neither regarding what he had sworne, neither weieng the force of an oth, obserued afterwards none of those things, which by his oth he had bound himselfe to obserue. And no maruell: for suerlie (as it should séeme by report of Thomas de la More) the lords wrested him too much, and beyond the bounds of reason, causing him to receive to be about him whome it pleased them to appoint. For the yoonger Spenser, who in place of the earle of Cornwall was ordeined to be his chamberleine, it was knowne to them well inough, that the king bare no good will at all to him at the first, though afterwards through the prudent policie, and diligent industrie of the man, he quicklie crept into his fauour, and that further than those that preferred him could have wished.

But now to our purpose. About the same time, to wit, vpon the eleauenth of Maie, the aforesaid Robert archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, ninetéene yeares after his first entrance into the gouernment of that sée. After him was Walter bishop of Worcester translated vnto the sée of Canturburie, and was the nine and fortith archbishop that had ruled the same. ¶ Also William the archbishop of Yorke deceassed, and one William Melton succéeded him the two & fortith archbishop that had gouerned that sée. This archbishop Melton, though he was most studious of things perteining to religion, bestowing almost his whole time about the same, yet neuerthelesse he was not forgetfull of that which belonged to the aduancement of the common-wealth, and therefore being at London vpon a time, Simon the elect bishop of Whitherne came to Yorke, that he might be consecrated of him: wherefore this archbishop gaue commandement to

Continuation of Triuet. Polydor. The bishop of Whitherne consecrated at Yorke by the bishop

of Carleill.

Iohn the bishop of Carleill, to consecrate the said Simon, and in his name to receive of him his oth of obedience, which commandement the said bishop of Carleill did dulie execute.

The king and quéene this yeare in Maie went ouer into France, where they were present in Paris on Whitsundaie at the coronation of Philip sonne to the French king, created that day king of Nauarre. ¶ Iohn de Drokensford bishop of Bath and Welles was appointed warden of the realme till the kings returne. In Iulie the king returned backe from his iournie into France, and landed at Sandwich the mondaie before the feast of S. Margaret, having dispatched his businesse with the French king in good and honorable maner, for his lands and countrie of Gascoine. ¶ About this season Maurice fitz Thomas, and Thomas fitz Iohn maried two sisters that were daughters to Richard earle of Vlnester. In this meane time, Robert Bruce recouered the most part of all Scotland, winning out of the Englishmens hands such castels as they held within Scotland, chasing all the souldiers which laie there in garrison, out of the countrie, and subduing such of the Scots as held on the English part.

King Edward to be reuenged herof, with a mightie armie brauelie furnished, and gorgiouslie apparelled, more séemelie for a triumph, than méet to incounter with the cruell enimie in the field, entred Scotland, in purpose speciallie to rescue the castell of Sterling, as then besieged by the Scotishmen. But at his approching néere to the same, Robert Bruce was readie with his power to give him battell. In the which king Edward nothing doubtfull of losse, had so vnwiselie ordered his people, and confounded their ranks, that even at the first joining, they were not onelie beaten downe and ouerthrowne, by those that coped with them at hand, but also were wounded with shot a farre off, by those their enimies which stood behind to succour their fellowes when néed required, so that in the end the Englishmen fled to saue their liues, and were chased and slaine by the Scots in great number.

The king escaped with a few about him, in great danger to haue beene either taken or slaine. Manie were drowned in a little riuer called Banokesborne, néere to the which the battell was foughten. There were slaine of noble men, Gilbert earle of Glocester, Robert lord Clifford, the lord Giles Argentine, the lord Paine Tiptost, the lord William Marshall, the lord Reginald Daincourt, the lord Edmund of Mauley the kings steward, with other lords and barons to the number of 42, and of knights and baronets to the number of 67.

There were slaine of all sorts vpon the English part that daie about ten thousand men, ouer and beside the prisoners that were taken. Amongst the which were accounted 22 men of name, as the earle of Hereford, the lord Iohn Segraue, William lord Latimer, Maurice lord Berkley, and others. He that listeth to heare more of this discomfiture may read thereof further at large in the Scotish historie.

The king of England having escaped from this battell, which was fought on Midsummer day in the yéere aforesaid, came to Yorke, where he held a councell of his lords, to have their aduise by what means he might best restore his armie, and reuenge the losse which he had susteined at the hands of his enimie R. Bruce. And shortlie after was sir Peter Spalding sent vnto Berwike, with a crew of souldiers to defend the towne against the said Bruce, who intended shortlie to laie siege to that towne, as the king had certeine vnderstanding. Also the Scotishmen aduanced highlie in their minds for the late gotten victorie, passed ouer into Ireland, vnder the conduct of Edward Bruce, the brother of Robert Bruce, sore afflicting that countrie, by spoile, sword, and fire: the villages were robbed, the townes and castels which they wan were sacked, and after fired, so vtterlie to deface them.

The Irishmen being put in great feare herewith, assembled togither, and ioined themselues with such Englishmen as laie there in garrisons, ouer the which the lord Iohn Bermingham as deputie had the chéefe charge. Thus being ioined togither, they made earnest resistance against the attempts of their enimies in defense of the countrie. And so by that means they warred and fought one against an other, with great slaughter on both sides, the Scotishmen on their part dooing their best to obteine the gouernement of the countrie, having alreadie obteined no small portion thereof, and created Edward Bruce king there; and the Irishmen on the other part, inforcing their whole indeuor to beat the enimie backe, and to rid him out of the countrie. But at length the inuincible obstinatnesse of the Irishmen preuailed, through aid of the Englishmen (as after shall appeare.) Neuerthelesse in the meane while, as some English chronicles make mention, there died of the Scots in these

The Scots not onelie thus inuaded Ireland, but also continued their rage against England. For the same yeare about the feast of Peter and Paule, they entered into the bishoprike of Durham, & spoiled the countrie vnto Hartilpoole, which towne they robbed of all the goods which they there found, the inhabitants being fled with their ships to the sea. About

warres to the number of thirtie thousand, and aboue fiftéene thousand Irishmen.

Continuation of Triuet. Thom. Wals.

An. Reg. 7.

Record. Tur.

Hen. Marle.

Mariages.

The successe of Robert Bruce.

The king of England passeth into Scotland.

The English men chased.

The king escapeth. The battell of Banokesborne.

The great slaughter of Englishmen.

Polydor.

Fahian.

Croxden.

Addition to Triuet and Matth. Paris.

An. Reg. 8.

A councell holden at Yorke. Sir Peter Spalding.

1315.

The Scots in Ireland.

The lord Berminghâ.

Great slaughter of Scots in Ireland.

Ri. Southw.

The bishoprike of Durham spoiled by the

Maudelentide following, the king of Scots entred England with a mightie armie on the west borders, and comming to Carleill besieged the citie, remaining before it ten daies, but they within so valiantlie defended themselues and their wals, that the Scots lost more than they wan, sauing that during their abode at this siege, they robbed and wasted the countries of Allerdale, Copeland, and Westmerland. The 11 day after their comming thither, when they had assaied all their force and policie to win the citie, and saw themselues nothing to preuaile, but to lose their men and trauell, they raised their field, and returned into Scotland with dishonor, leaving behind them all their engines of warre, so that besides the dishonour which he susteined by the repulse, in lieu of lucre he suffered losse, and therefore this lesson by exemplification would be learned and practised, that

An. Reg. 9. Rob. Bruce inuadeth England. Carleill beseiged. The siege raised.

Res bene quisque gerens lucra fit inde ferens.

Now as they went their waie, certeine Englishmen following them, tooke Iohn de Murrey, who in the battell of Striueling had for his part 13 English knights prisoners, beside esquiers and others. They tooke also with him one Robert Berdolfe a great enimie of the Englishmen.

Great raine. John of Eltham borne. Hen. Marle. Dundalke burnt. The battell of Comeran.

li Iohn de Murrey taken.

This yeare there fell excéeding great raine and abundance of wet, in the moneths of Iulie and August, that the husbandmen of the countrie could not get in that small crop which then stood on the ground, and that which they inned, yéelded not the hoped quantitie, as when it came to the threshing well appeared. ¶ On the day of the Assumption of our ladie, Iohn the kings second sonne was borne at Eltham. ¶ A knight of Lancashire called sir Adam Banister raised war in this yeare of king Edwards reigne, against his lord the earle of Lancaster; but about the feast of saint Martine he was taken and beheaded. ¶ Also this yeare, Edward de Bruce brother to the king of Scots, entred into the north parts of Vlnester with a great armie, vpon the day of S. Augustine in Maie, and afterwards burnt Dundalke, and a great part of Argile. The Irishmen also burnt the church of Athird. Moreouer in the battell of Comeran in Vlnester, Richard earle of Vlnester fled, and sir Richard Bourgh, & sir Iohn Mandeuile, and sir Alane fitz Waren were taken prisoners. The castell of Norbrough was also taken, & at Kenils in Meth the lord Roger Mortimer was discomfited by

the foresaid Edward Bruce, and manie of the said sir Rogers men were slaine and taken.

Also in the ninth yeare of king Edwards reigne, before Christmasse, a blasing starre or comet appeared in the north part of the element, by the space of a moneth togither, and after followed dearth and death (as after shall appeare.) Guie earle of Warwike, a man of great counsell and skilfull prouidence, departed this life this yeare, and was buried at the abbeie of Bordisley. ¶ About Midsummer the Scots eftsoones entred into England, dooing much mischéefe with fire and sword, in like sort as they had vsed to doo before time, not sparing (as some write) so much as those houses wherin women laie in childbed. At their comming to Richmond, the gentlemen of the countrie that were got into the castell to defend it, compounded with the enimies for a great summe of monie, to spare the towne and countrie about it, without dooing further damage thereto at that iournie.

A blasing star dearth and death. The decease of Guie earle of . Warwike.

Croxden.

1316.

Rich. South.

An. Reg. 10.

The Scots having received the monie, turned their march toward the west parts, and iournieng thréescore miles, came to Fourneis, burning all the countrie thereabouts, and tooke awaie with them all the goods and prisoners, both men and women which they might laie hands on, and so returned, reioising most of such iron as they had got in that iournie, for

they had great want in Scotland of that kind of metall in those daies. The dearth by reason of the vnseasonable weather in the summer and haruest last past still increased, for that which with much adoo was inned, after when it came to the proofe, yéelded nothing to the value of that which in sheafe it séemed to conteine, so that wheat and other graine which was at a sore price before, now was inhanced to a farre higher rate, the scarsitie thereof being so great, that a quarter of wheat was sold for fortie shillings, which was a great price, if we shall consider the allaie of monie then currant. ¶ Also by reason of the murren that fell among cattell, béefes and muttons were vnresonablie priced.

About this season, the lord Henrie Beaumont a man of high valiancie and noble courage, having gotten togither a power of men, entred into Scotland, and after he had taken great booties and spoiles in the countrie, he being intrapped by sir Iames Dowglas, lost the most part of his men, togither with the prey which they had gotten. The displeasure of these mishaps was increased with the naughtie and bold presumption of sir Gilbert Middleton knight, who being offended that maister Lewes Beaumont was preferred vnto the bishops sée of Durham, and Henrie Stamford put from it, that was first elected and after displaced by the kings suit made vnto the pope, tooke the said Lewes Beaumont and his brother Henrie on Winglesdon moore néere vnto Darington, leading the

The lord Beaumont discomfited.

Lewes Beaumont taken by sir Gilbert Middleton.

bishop to Morpath, and his brother the lord Beaumont vnto the castell of Mitford, and so deteined them as prisoners, till they had redéemed their libertie with great sums of monie. Herewith the said sir Gilbert being aduanced in pride, proclaimed himselfe duke of Northumberland, and ioining in fréendship with Robert Bruce the Scotish king, cruellie destroied the countie of Richmond. With such traitorous parts William

Sir Gilbert Middleton

proclaimeth himselfe duke.

Felton, and Thomas Heton, being not a little stirred, first wan by force the castell of Mitford, and after apprehended sir Gilbert Middleton, with his companion Walter Selbie, and sent them vp to London, where shortlie after they were drawne, hanged and quartered.

Some write that the said sir Gilbert was put to death for robbing two cardinals, to wit, Gancellino the popes chancellour, and Lucas de Flisco, that were sent from pope Iohn the two and twentith, to consecrate the foresaid Lewes Beaumont bishop of Durham, and to intreat a peace betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, and also to make an agréement betwixt the king and the earle of Lancaster. The which being met with vpon Winglesdon moore in Yorkeshire by the said Gilbert, were robbed of such stuffe & treasure as they brought with them, but yet escaped themselues and came to Durham, and from thence sent messengers to Robert Bruce, to persuade him to some agréement. But whereas he would not condescend to any reasonable conditions of peace at that time, they determined to go into Scotland to talke with him themselues: but before they came to the borders, king Robert, who judged it not to stand with his profit to have any peace in that season, sent certeine of his people to forbid the cardinals the entrie of his realme. The cardinals being thus iniuriouslie handled, pronounced the Scots by their legantine power accursed; and interdicted their whole realme. And

Gancellino and Flisco cardinals. Thom. Walsi. Fabian. Polydor. The cursse pronounced against the Scots.

bicause they saw nothing lesse than any hope to doo good with king Robert touching any composition or agréement to be had, they returned againe to the pope, without any conclusion of that for the which they were sent.

After that Edward Bruce had atchived such enterprises in other parts of Ireland, as in the last yéere yée haue heard, he went vnto Fenath, and to Skeres in Leinister, and there the lord chéefe iustice Edmund Butler rose

against him, with the lord Iohn fitz Thomas, that was after erle of Kildare, sir Arnold Power, and diuerse other, with a great armie. But by reason of discord that chanced amongst them, they scaled their armie, and departed out of the field on the 26 daie of Februarie. Edward Bruce then burned the castell of Leis, and after returning into Vlnester, he besieged the castell of Knockfergus, and slue Thomas Mandeuile, and his brother Iohn, at a place called Down, as they came thither out of England. After this the foresaid Edward returned into Scotland.

In this season vittels were so scant and déere, and wheat and other graine brought to so high a price, that the poore people were constreined thorough famine to eat the flesh of horsses, dogs, and other vile beasts, which is woonderfull to beléeue, and yet for default there died a great multitude of people in divers places of the land. Foure pence in bread of the courser sort would not suffice one man a daie. Wheat was sold at London for foure marks the quarter and aboue. Then after this dearth and scarsitie of vittels insued a great death and mortalitie of people, so that what by warre of the Scots, and what by this mortalitie and death, the people of the land were woonderfullie wasted and consumed. O pitifull depopulation!

A pitiful famine. Tho. Wals. Fabian. A sore mortalitie of people.

Edward Bruce before the feast of Easter returned againe into Ireland, with the earle of Murrey and other noble men of Scotland, having with them a great armie, and besieged the castell of Knockfergus, and after they went to another castell where they tooke a baron prisoner: & there Edward Bruce laie for a season. Also Richard earle of Vlnester lay in saint Maries abbie by Dublin, where the major and communaltie of the citie tooke him, and put him in prison within the castell of Dublin. They also slue his men, and spoiled the abbie. After this the foresaid Edward Bruce went to Limerike, after the feast of saint Matthew the apostle, and there soiourned till Easter was past.

In the meane while Roger de Mortimer the kings deputie arrived at Waterford with a great armie, by reason whereof Edward le Bruce for feare departed, and got him into the vttermost parts of Vlnester, and Iohn fitz Thomas was made earle of Kildare. Also Occoner of Conneigh, and manie other Irishmen of Connagh and Meth were slaine néere to Aurie by the Englishmen of those parts. There was a great slaughter also made of the Irishmen néere vnto Thistildermote, by the lord Edmund Butler, and an other also at Baliteham of Omorth by the same Edmund. The lord deputie deliuered the earle of Vlnester out of prison, and after Whitsuntide banished out of Meth sir Walter Lacie, and sir Hugh Lacie, giuing their lands awaie from them vnto his knights, and they went ouer into Scotland with Edward

Iohn fitz Thomas erle of Kildare.

Bruce, who returned thither about that time. The death still increased as by some writers it

Croxden.

In the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the second his reigne, vpon the saturdaie night before Midlent sundaie, the towne of Berwike was An. Reg. 11. betraied to the Scots, through the treason of Peter Spalding. The castell

should appeare.

held good tacke a while, till for want of vittels they within were constreined to deliuer it into the Scotishmens hands, who wan also the same time the castell of Harbotell, Werke, and Medford, so that they possessed the more part of all Northumberland, euen vnto Newcastell vpon Tine, sauing that certeine other castels were defended against them. In Maie they entred with an armie further into the land, burning all the countrie before them, till they came to Ripon, which towne they spoiled, and tarieng there thrée daies, they received a thousand marks of those that were got into the church, and defended it against them, for that they should spare the towne, and not put it to the fire, as they had alreadie doone the townes of Northalerton and Bourghbridge as they came forwards. In their going backe they burnt Knaresbourgh, and Skipton in

Ri. Southwell.

Berwike betraied to the Scots. Castels woon by the Scots.

Northalerton and Bourghbridge burnt.

Crauen, which they had first sacked, and so passing through the middest of the countrie, burning and spoiling all before them, they returned into Scotland with a maruellous great multitude of cattell, beside prisoners, men and women, and no small number of poore people, which they tooke with them to helpe to drive the cattell.

In the 12 yeare of Edward the seconds reigne, in August, the king and the earle of Lancaster came to talke togither in a plaine beside Leicester, where they were made fréends to the outward shew, so that in the yeare next following, the said earle went with the king to the siege of Berwike. About the feast of the Natiuitie of our ladie, the two cardinals, which were vet remaining in England, sent foorth commandements vnto all the prelats and priests within the realme, that thrée times in euerie solemne masse, they should denounce Robert Bruce that called himselfe king of Scotland accursed, with all his councellors and fautors, and on the behalfe of the pope, they deprived him by denunciation of all honour, and put all his lands vnder interdiction, disabling all their children [to the second degrée] that held with him, as vnworthie & vnfit to receive or take vpon them any ecclesiasticall function. They denounced also all the prelats of Scotland and men of religion, exempt, and not exempt, excommunicate and accursed.

An. Reg. 12.

Additions to Triuet.

The king & the earle of Lancaster made friends.

Rob. Bruce pronounced accursed.

The lord Roger Mortimer returned againe into England, and Alexander Bicnor was made chéefe iustice of Ireland. ¶ Also Edward Bruce, with sir Walter and sir Hugh Lacie, bringing with them a great armie, returned out of Scotland, and arrived at Dundalke, on the day of saint Calixt the pope. But néere to the same place sir Iohn Brimingham, Richard Tute, and Miles of Verdon, with a power of 1324 men incountred them, and slue the said Edward le Bruce, and aboue the number of 8200 men, or (as other haue) but 5800. The said sir Iohn Birmingham brought the head of Edward le

Hen. Marl.

Th. Walsing.

Bruce ouer into England, and presented it to the king. Wherevpon the king in recompense of his seruice, gaue vnto him the earledome of Louth, to hold to him and his heires males, and the baronie of Athird to him and his heires generall.

About this season, or somewhat before, about Midsummer (as Southwell saith) a naughtie fellow called Iohn Poidras, or (as some books haue) Ponderham, a tanners son of Excester comming to Oxford, and there thrusting himselfe into the kings hall that stood without the wals, gaue foorth that he was sonne and right heire of king Edward the first, and that by means of a false nursse he was stolne out of his cradle, and this Edward the second being a carters son was brought in and laid in his place, so that he by reason thereof was afterwards hardlie fostered and brought vp in the north part of Wales. At length being laid for, he fled to the church of the white friers in Oxford, trusting there to be safe through the immunitie of the place, bicause king Edward the first was their founder. But when he could not kéepe his toong, but still fondlie vttered his follie, and stood in his opinion, so that great rumor thereof was raised, he was at length taken out of that church, & caried to Northampton, where he was there arreigned, condemned, and had foorth to a place in the countrie called the copped oke, where he was drawne, hanged, and as a traitour bowelled. At the houre of his death he confessed, that in his house he had a spirit in likenesse of a cat, which amongst other things assured him that he should be king of England.

In this season, to wit, in the yeare 1319, a great murreine and death of cattell chanced through the whole realme, spreading from place to place, but speciallie this yeare it reigned in the north, where as in the yeares before it began in the south parts. The king desirous to be reuenged of the Scots, made preparation to leuie a mightie armie; and for want of sufficient numbers of men in other places towards the north parts, the king caused much people to come vnto him out of the south and east parts of the realme, amongst the which the citie of London was constreined to find at their costs and charges two hundred men, sending them to Yorke, where the generall assemblie of the armie was made. From thence, after he had received his men from sundrie countries and good townes of his realme, he went to Berwike, & laid siege to the towne. In which meane time the Scots being assembled, came to the borders, passed by the English host, and entring into England, came in secréet wise downe into the marches of Yorkeshire, and there slue the people, and robbed them in most cruell wise.

Murren of cattell.

An. Reg. 13.

The king goeth to Berwike. The Scots come into the parts of Yorke.

Wherefore the archbishop of Yorke, meaning in time of such necessitie to doo his indeuour in defense of his countrie, assembled such power as he

Auesburie.

could get togither, of clearkes, moonks, canons, and other spirituall men of the church, with husbandmen and such other vnapt people for the warres: and thus with a great number of men and few warlike or discréet chéefeteins, he togither with the bishop of Elie, as then lord chancellour, came foorth against the Scots, and incountred with them at a place called Mitton vpon Suale, the twelfth day of October. Here as the Englishmen passed ouer the water of Suale, the Scots set fire vpon certeine stacks of haie, the smoke whereof was so huge, that the Englishmen might not sée

The discomfiture of Mitton voon Suale. Caxton. Polydor.

where the Scots laie. And when the Englishmen were once got ouer the water, the Scots came vpon them with a wing in good order of battell, in fashion like to a sheeld, egerlie assailing their enimies, who for lacke of good gouernement were easilie beaten downe and discomfited, without shewing any great resistance: so that there were slaine to the number of two thousand and the residue shamefullie put to flight.

The archbishop, the lord chancellor, and the abbat of Selbie, with helpe of their swift horsses escaped, and diverse other. The major of Yorke named Nicholas Fleming was slaine, & sir William Diremin préest taken prisoner. Manie were drowned, by reason that the Scots had gotten betwixt the Englishmen and the bridge, so that the Englishmen fled betwixt that wing

Caxton.

of the Scots and their maine battell, which had compassed the Englishmen about on the one side, as the wing did vpon the other. And bicause so manie spirituall men died in this battell, it was after named of manie writers the white battell. The king of England informed of this ouerthrow given by the Scots to the Northerne men, he brake vp his siege incontinentlie, and returned to

Thus all the kings exploits by one means or other quailed, and came but to euill successe, so that the English nation began to grow in contempt by the infortunate gouernment of the prince, the which as one out of the right waie, rashlie and with no good aduisement ordered his dooings, which thing so gréeued the noblemen of the realme, that they studied day and night by what means they might procure him to looke better to his

Polydor. The enuie of the lords towards the Spensers.

office and dutie; which they judged might well be brought to passe, his nature being not altogither euill, if they might find shift to remooue from him the two Spensers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the sonne, who were gotten into such fauour with him, that they onelie did all things, and without them nothing was doone, so that they were now had in as great hatred and indignation (sith

---- liuor non déerit iniquus Dulcibus & lætis, qui fel confundat amarum)

both of the lords and commons, as euer in times past was Péers de Gaueston the late earle of Cornwall. But the lords minded not so much the destruction of these Spensers, but that the king ment as much their aduancement, so that Hugh the sonne was made high chamberleine of England, contrarie to the mind of all the noblemen, by reason whereof he bare himselfe so hautie and proud, that no lord within the land might gainsaie that which in his conceit séemed good.

In this thirtéenth yeare of his reigne, in Iune king Edward went ouer into France, where at Amiens he found the French king, of whome he received the countie of Pontieu, which the said French king vpon his comming to the crowne had seized into his hands, bicause the king of England had not doone to him his homage due for the same. Also this yeare the pope granted to the king of England the tenth of ecclesiasticall reuenues for one yeare, as before that time he had likewise doone. ¶ About this season, pope Iohn, being informed of the great destruction and vnmercifull warre which the Scots made vpon the Englishmen, and namelie for that they spared neither church nor chapell, abbeie nor priorie, he sent a generall sentence vnder his bulles of lead vnto the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke, appointing them that if Robert le Bruce the Scotish king would not recompense king Edward for all such harmes as the realme of England had by him susteined, and also make restitution of the goods that had béene taken out of churches and monasteries, they should pronounce the same sentence against him and his complices.

Additions to N. Triuet. ecclesiasticall liuings An. Reg. 14. Caxton. Scots eftsoons accursed.

Wherevpon when the Scots tooke no regard to the popes admonition, the archbishop proceeded to the pronouncing of the foresaid sentence, so that Robert Bruce, Iames Dowglas, and Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey, and all other that kept him companie, or them in any wise mainteined, were accurssed throughout England euerie day at masse thrée times. Howbeit, this nothing holpe the matter, but put the king and the realme to great cost and charge, and in the meane season the commons of the realme were sore oppressed by sundrie waies and means, diuerse of them lost their goods and possessions, being taken from them vpon surmised and feined quarels, so that manie were vtterlie vndoone, and a few singular and misordered persons were aduanced.

After the Epiphanie, when the truce failed betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, an armie of Scots entred England, and came into the bishoprike of Durham. The earle of Murrey staied at Darington, but Iames Dowglas and the steward of Scotland went foorth to waste the countrie, the one towards Hartlepoole and Cleueland, and other towards

132	1. 		 	 	 _	
Rich	n. So	uth		 	 -	

Richmond: but they of the countie of Richmond (as before they had doone) gaue a great summe of monie to saue their countrie from inuasion. The Scots at that time remained within England by the space of fiftéene daies

The Scots inuade England.

or more. The knights and gentlemen of the north parts did come vnto the earle of Lancaster that laie the same time at Pomfret, offering to go foorth with him to give the enimies battell, if he would assist them: but the earle séemed that he had no lust to fight in defense of his prince, that sought to oppresse him wrongfullie (as he tooke it) and therefore he dissembled the matter, and so the Scots returned at their pleasure without encounter.

About this season, the lord William de Bruce that in the marches of Wales enioied diuerse faire possessions to him descended from his ancestors, but through want of good gouernement was run behind hand, offered to sell a certeine portion of his lands called Gowers land lieng in the marches there, vnto diuerse noble men that had their lands adioining to the same, as to the earle of Hereford, and to the two lords Mortimers, the vncle & nephue, albeit the lord Mowbraie that had maried the onelie daughter and

Thom. Wals.

The chéefe cause of the variance betwixt y^e lords and the Spēsers.

heire of the lord Bruce, thought verelie in the end to have had it, as due to his wife by right of inheritance. But at length (as vnhap would) Hugh Spenser the yoonger lord chamberleine, coueting that land (because it laie néere on each side to other lands that he had in those parts) found such means through the kings furtherance and helpe, that he went awaie with the purchase, to the great displeasure of the other lords that had béene in hand to buie it.

Hereby such hartburning rose against the Spensers, that vpon complaint made by the erle of Hereford vnto the earle of Lancaster, of their presumptuous dealing, by ruling all things about the king as séemed best to their likings, it was thought expedient by the said earles that some remedie in time (if it were possible) should be prouided. Wherevpon the said earls of Lancaster and Hereford, with the lords Roger Tuchet, Roger Clifford, Iocelin Deieuille, Roger Bernsfield, the two Mortimers, Roger the vncle and Roger the nephue, William de Sullie, William de Elmbrige, Iohn Gifford of Brimesfield, and Henrie Tieis, all barons; the which with diuerse other lords and knights, and men of name, assembling togither at Shierborne in Elmedone, sware each of them to stand by other, till they had amended the state of the realme. But yet notwithstanding this their oth, the most part of them afterwards forsaking the enterprise, submitted themselues to the king.

Neuerthelesse, whether for that the king by a proclamation set foorth the sixtéenth of March, had commanded (as some write) that the lords Mowbraie, Clifford, and Deieuille for disobeieng to make their personall appearance before him, should auoid the land within ten daies next insuing, or for that they meant with all spéed to put their enterprise in

The lords take armes vpon them against the Spensers.

execution, we find that the earle of Hereford, the lords Mortimer, the vncle and nephue, the lord Roger Damorie, the lord Iohn Mowbraie, the lord Hugh Audelie, and his sonne named also Hugh, the lord Clifford, the lord Iohn Gifford of Brimesfield, the lord Morice Berkeley, the lord Henrie Tieis, the lord Iohn Matrauers, with manie other that were alied togither, hauing the consent also of the earle of Lancaster, on the wednesdaie next after the feast of the Inuention of the crosse, hauing with them to the number of eight hundred men of armes, fiue hundred hoblers, and ten thousand men on foot, came with the kings banner spread vnto Newport in Wenloks lands, where they tooke the castell that belonged vnto the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenser the yoonger.

They also tooke Kaerdie, Kersillie, Lantrissane, Taluan, Lamblethian, Kenefegis, Neoth, Drusselan, and Diuenor; part of his men which in the foresaid places they found, they slue, as sir Iohn Iwain, and sir Matthew de Gorges knights, with 15 other of his men that were Welshmen: part

They inuade the Spensers lands.

they tooke and put them in prison, as sir Rafe or Randulfe de Gorges being sore wounded, sir Philip Ioice, sir Iohn de Frissingfield, sir Iohn de Dunstable, William de Dunstable, and manie other, of the which the most part were put to their ransome. They tooke, spoiled and destroied so much in value of his goods as amounted vnto two thousand pounds. They tooke vp in such debts as were owing to him in those parts, to the summe of thrée thousand pounds, and of his rents to the value néere hand of a thousand pounds. They burnt 23 of his manors which he had in those parts of Wales, with his barnes, and did what hurt they could deuise, burning or taking awaie all his writings and euidences. After they had remained 15 daies there, they came into England, with the like force and disorder inuading his castels, manors and possessions, so that the damage which they did here vnto the said lord chamberleine, amounted to the value of ten thousand pounds.

The king aduertised of their dooings, sent vnto them the archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere lord steward of his house, to request them to desist and leaue off from such their outragious dooings, and comming to the parlement which he had alreadie summoned, they might put in their complaints and grieuances, & he would sée that they should haue iustice, according as equitie should require. The lord Badelismere forsaking the king, became one of the confederacie with the barons, and so the archbish. was glad to returne alone, leauing the L.

The king sendeth to the lords.

The lord Badelismere reuolteth to the side of the barons.

Badelismere behind him, who sent the king word by the archbishop, that till they had expelled the Spensers out of the realme, they would not giue ouer their enterprise. On saint Barnabies day they came to a manour of Hugh Spenser the father called Fasterne, in the countie of Wiltshire, and spoiled the same with diverse and manie other manors, as well in Wiltshire, as else where, to wit, in Glocestershire, Dorsetshire, Hamshire, Barkeshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrie,

Cambridgeshire, Huntingtonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Chesshire, and Warwikeshire, making such hauocke of all such goods or cattell as belonged to the said Hugh Spenser the father, that he was thought to be indamaged to the value of thirtie thousand pounds, burning his houses, beating, maining and ransoming his men.

Furthermore not contented to spoile those places which belonged to him, but hearing that in the abbeie of Stanlie he had laid vp monie and euidences, they brake into that abbeie, and tooke out thereof a thousand pounds in readie coine, beside euidences and writings, to the indamaging of him to the value of six thousand pounds, and likewise entring into the castell of Marleburgh, where the said Hugh Spenser the father had laid vp in wooll to the number of 36 sacks, they tooke the same and other of his goods, as well in plate as apparell, to the value in all of six thousand pounds. And they did not onelie spoile the possessions, houses, goods, and cattels of the two Spensers, whersoeuer they could heare that the same were to be found, but also they vsed the like disorder against all such as were knowne to be fréends or well-willers, to either the father or sonne, sending commissions vnto such as should sée the same executed to the most extremitie, so that in this rage of enuie and hot reuenge there was no parcialitie, but that one with another, the innocent with the nocent, the guiltlesse with the guiltie went to wracke, and (as the old prouerbe saith concurring with common practise

Quòd sus peccauit succula sæpe luit)

finallie, after they had satisfied their desires in such riotous sort, they raised the people, and constrained them to sweare to be of their accord, and so came forward with the like force towards the parlement that was summoned to be holden at London thrée wéeks after Midsummer. At their comming to S. Albons, they sent the bishops of London, Salisburie, Elie, Hereford, and Chichester, to the king with their humble suit in outward apperance, though in effect and verie déed more presumptuous than was requisite. Their chéefe request was that it might please his highnesse to put from him the Spensers, whose counsell they knew to be greatlie against his honour, and hereof not to faile if he tendered the quiet of his realme. They also required letters patents of him, containing a generall pardon for the indemnitie of themselues, and all those that had beene in armes with them, so as they should not be

armes towards the parlement. They send to the king.

The barons raise the

people and came in

The king herevnto answered, that as concerning Hugh Spenser the father, he was abroad on his busines beyond the seas, and that Hugh the sonne was on the sea for the safe kéeping of the cinque ports, as by his office he

impeached by the king for any transgressions past or present, in time hereafter to come.

The kings answer.

was bound, and that they ought not by any right or custome to be banished, before they have made answere to the crimes objected against them. He added further, that their request wanted foundation of law and reason. And if it might be proued that the Spensers had in any wise offended against the statutes and ordinances of the land, they were alwaies readie to make their answere as the lawes of the realme should require. Lastlie he added this with an oth, that he would not be forsworne contrarie to that which at his coronation he had taken vpon him by oth, through granting letters of peace and pardon to such notorious offenders in contempt of his person, and to the trouble and disguieting of the whole realme.

The barons vpon knowledge had what answer the king made to their requests, foorthwith got them to armour, and with a great power of men of armes and other, came to the parlement, which the king had summoned to begin at Westminster thrée wéekes after Midsummer. Their retinue were apparelled in a sute of iakets or coats of colours demie, partie yellow and gréene with a band of white cast ouerthwart. By reason whereof that parlement long after was called The parlement of white bands. Then to sée the kings peace kept within the citie, the maior caused a thousand men well armed to watch dailie in diuerse wards, & at diuerse gates of the

Caxton.

lord maior of London

citie, which watch began at foure of the clocke in the morning, and so continued till six at night, and then as manie were appointed to the night watch, continuing the same till the houre of fiue in the morning. And for the more suertie that this night watch should be well and sufficientlie kept, two aldermen were assigned nightlie to ride about the citie with certeine officers of the towne, to sée the watchmen well and discréetlie guided. The gates were shut at nine of the clocke & opened againe at seauen in the morning. Also euerie citizen was warned to haue his armour by him, that he might be readie vpon anie occasion when he should be called.

Neuerthelesse the barons being come in forceable wise (as yée haue heard) vnto this parlement, they constreined the earle of Richmond, Arundell, Warren, and Penbroke, to agrée vnto their purpose; and likewise some of the bishops they compelled through feare to take an oth to ioine with them in their purpose, for the expelling of the Spensers out of the realme, and so comming all togither before the king, they published certeine articles against the said Spensers, both the father and sonne,

Matt. West.

The Spensers banished barons.

wherevpon they made an award, that they should be disherited and banished the land during their liues, if by the king and consent of all the lords in parlement assembled, they should not be restored. They had day and place appointed where to passe foorth of the land, to wit, at Douer, and not elsewhere, betwixt the daie of his award made, and the feast of the decollation of saint Iohn Baptist, that day to be counted for one. Diuers articles (as before is said) were laid to the charge of those Spensers.

1 Amongst other things it was alledged; First that Hugh Spenser the sonne, being on a time angrie and displeased with the king, sought to allie and confederate himselfe with the lord Gifford of Brimesfield, and the lord Richard Gray to haue constreined and forced the king by strong hand to haue followed his will and pleasure.

Articles wherwith the barons charged the Spēsers.

- 2 Secondlie it was alledged, that the said Spensers as well the father as the sonne, had caused the king to ride into Glocestershire, to oppresse and destroie the good people of his land, contrarie to the forme of the great charter.
- 3 Thirdlie, that where the earle of Hereford, and the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, had gone against one Thlewillin Bren, who had raised a rebellion against the king in Glamorganshire, whiles the lands of the earle of Glocester were in the kings hands, the same Thlewillin yéelded himselfe to the said earle, and to the lord Mortimer, who brought him to the king, vpon promise that he should have the kings pardon, and so the king received him. But after that the said earle and lord Mortimer were out of the land, the Spensers taking to them roiall power, tooke the said Thlewillin and led him vnto Kardif, where after that the said Hugh Spenser the sonne had his purpartie of the said earle of Glocesters lands, he caused the said Thlewillin to be drawne, headed and quartered, to the discredit of the king, and of the said earle of Hereford and lord Mortimer, yea and contrarie to the lawes and dignitie of the imperiall crowne.
- 4 Fourthlie, the said Spensers counselled the king to foreiudge sir Hugh Audlie, sonne to the lord Hugh Audlie, and to take into his hands his castels and possessions. They compassed also to have atteinted the lord Roger Damorie, that thereby they might have enioied the whole earledome of Glocester.

These and other articles of misdemeanour in the Spensers were exhibited, to persuade the king and others, that they were vnprofitable members in the common-wealth, and not worthie of those places which they occupied. Now after that their disheriting and banishment was concluded in manner as before is said, the earle of Hereford and other the lords that had prosecuted the quarell against them, came before the king, and humblie on their knées besought him of pardon for all things which they had committed against him, his lawes, or any other person in the pursuit of the said Spensers. The king, being brought into a streict, durst not but grant vnto all that which they requested, establishing the same by statute.

The parlement being thus ended, the king and quéene went to Canturburie, there to visit the shrine of Thomas Becket somtime archbishop there. From thence he went to the Ile of Tenet, that he might méet with his deare & welbeloued councellour Hugh Spenser the yoonger, whome he had of late sent in ambassage vnto the French king, and now being returned by sea into those parts, he was desirous to sée him, that he might haue conference with him: and so comming togither, they spent certeine daies in commoning of such matters as they thought good. The

The king goeth to Canturburie.

He commeth to talke with the lord chamberlaine.

king calling to him the mariners of the cinques ports, committed to them the custodie of the said Hugh, who for a time kept him with them in their ships, and the king sailing alongst the coast to Porchester, conferred with him of manie things.

From Porchester the king ment to returne vnto London, there to méet the quéene, who in hir returne from Canturburie would haue lodged one night in the castell of Léeds, which the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere late steward of the kings house had by exchange of the king for other lands, and now taking part with the barons, had left his wife and children with

The quéene not suffered to lodge in the castell of Léeds.

other of his fréends and treasure in the same castell. Those that were put in trust with kéeping this castell, would neither permit quéene nor other to enter therein, without expresse commandement from their lord and maister, and so they signified not onelie to the quéenes seruants that came before to make prouision for hir, but also declared the same to hirselfe comming thither in person.

This chanced verie vnluckilie for the barons: for where the quéene had euer sought to procure peace, loue and concord betwixt the king and his lords, shée tooke such displeasure with this deniall made to hir for one nights lodging in that castell, that vpon hir gréeuous complaint sent to the

The king besiegeth the castell of Léeds.

king, he foorthwith raised a mightie armie out of Kent and Essex, from the cinque ports, and of the Londoners, and hauing with him his brethren, Thomas earle Marshall, and Edmund earle of Kent, also the earls of Richmond, Penbroke, Arundell, and Atholl, he hasted thither, & laid siege about the castell; constreining them within by all meanes that might be deuised.

In the meane time, at the suit of the lord Badelismere, the earle of Hereford, and other lords of the confederacie, came with a great power vnto Kingstone, about the feast of Simon and Iude, and there staieng certeine daies for some of their companie that were to come vnto them, they sent vnto the king the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London, with the earle of Penbroke, requiring him to remooue his siege, till by parlement some order might be taken: but the king would not giue eare to their suit, but continued his siege till the castell was yéelded to him. For those that were at Kingstone cowardlie leuing their enterprise, came not forward, but returned backe againe. They that were within the castell, hauing simplie submitted themselues to the king, caused twelve or

The lords came with a power to raise the siege.

The castell of Léeds yéelded.

Walter Culpepper executed.

thirtéene of them to suffer death. Amongst other was one Walter Culpepper reckoned for the

chéefe of them that defended the castell against the king. The wife of the lord Badelismere, with his nephue Bartholomew de Burwash was sent to the tower of London, but his sister was sent to Douer castell, there to remaine in safe kéeping. The castell of Léeds being thus yéelded to the king, he entred the same on All halowes daie, and shortlie after the castell of Chilham was delivered, and the castell of Tunbridge left void by them that had it in kéeping. The king thus bestirring him, came into Essex, and seized into his hands the lands of the lord Badelismere, and likewise the lands of such as were his mainteiners, abbettors, fréends, fauourers, and furtherers; of the which such as he could méet with he put in prison, and herewith summoned an armie to méet him at Cirencester about saint Lucies day the virgine. And then about saint Andrews tide he came to London, where the archbishop of Canturburie had called a prouinciall councell.

At the same time Hugh Spenser the sonne, being latelie come from the sea, yéelded himselfe prisoner to the kings ward, beséeching the king that he might have right ministred to him, concerning the wrongs and iniuries to him doone by the barons in maner as before ye haue heard, speciallie for the award which in parlement they had procured to be enacted against

The lord chāberleine yéeldeth himselfe to the law.

him, the errours committed in the processe, whereof he besought the king that he might be admitted to shew: as first, in that they made themselues iudges: secondlie, in that he was not called to answer: thirdlie, for that the same award was made without the assent of the prelats, who are péeres of the parlement as well as the temporall lords: fourthlie, in that the said barons had no record in their pursuit vpon the causes conteined in that award: fiftlie, in that the award was made against the forme of the great charter of franchises, wherein is conteined that none shall be foreiudged nor destroied but by lawfull judgment of his péers, according to the law of the land. Further, he alledged that it was to be considered, how the said barons and great men being summoned to come in due maner vnto that parlement, they came in forceable wise with all their powers. A like petition was also exhibited on the behalfe of Hugh Spenser the father, for redresse to be had of the wrongs and losses, which in like case he had susteined.

The king fauouring inough the causes and petitions of the Spensers, granted their requests, and deliuered the petitions vnto the archbishop of Canturburie and his suffragans, the which at the same time were there assembled in their prouinciall councell aforesaid, requiring to have their aduise and opinion therein. He likewise requested of the earles and barons that were then with him, and of the councellors in law, what they thought of this matter. The prelats vpon deliberation had declared that in their opinion, the said award as touching the disheriting and banishing of the Spensers, the father and sonne was erronious, and not rightlie decréed, and for themselues they denied that they either did or could thinke it reason to consent therevnto, and therefore they required that it might be repealed, and the kings brother Edmund earle of Kent, Iohn de Britaine earle of Richmond, Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, and

An. Reg. 15. The king asketh the

opinions of the prelats.

The declaration of the

prelats.

The declaration of the

Edmund earle of Arundell, then being in presence of the king, and likewise of the foresaid prelats, affirmed that the said award pronounced against the Spensers was made contrarie to law and right, and therefore as the prelats requested, that the same might be repealed.

Further, the said earles alledged, that the assent which they gaue in the said award, was for doubt of the vnlawfull force which the barons brought vnto the said parlement, when they made that award, and for that the said earles that now were with the king, had counselled him to suffer the said award to passe, for feare of the said force, and confessed they had doone euill, and besought him of pardon for their offenses in so doing. The king thus having caused the prelats, earles, barons, and lawiers there present to vtter their judgements in maner aforesaid, he iudiciallie reuoked and quite disanulled the processe of the said award, made as well touching the banishment, as the disheriting of the Spensers, and restored them to his peace and allegiance, and to their former estates, in all conditions as they inioied the same before the making of the said award, notwithstanding certeine letters to the contrarie of the earle of Lancaster, and other lords of his faction, which for the approuing and ratifieng of the said processe they directed vnder their seales to the king as yet remaining at London.

They wrote also to the prelats, iustices, and barons of the excheker, to induce the king to give his assent to that which in the tenor of their letters was conteined. The earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Mortimer of Cherke, to armour. & the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, entring the marches of Wales, came to Glocester, and tooke that citie. The castell was also deliuered The lord saint Iohn. vnto them by the constable thereof. The king having his people comming

The barons againe get

dailie vnto him, whereby his armie was hugelie increased, about the feast of saint Nicholas he set foorth from London, and with him there went his brother Edmund earle of Kent, Iohn earle of Richmond, Edmund earle of Arundell, and manie other great lords and barons. The quéene with hir children he left in the tower of London. The lord Iohn de saint Iohn comming to submit himselfe vnto the king, at the intercession of diuerse noble men, with much adoo had his pardon at length granted him.

The king passing forward, seized into his hands the townes, castels, manors, and goods of them that were against him. But in the meane time the lord Henrie de Tieis, with certeine other that were entred into Glocestershire (hearing that a great multitude of people was assembled out of the countrie of Cirencester by the kings commandement) came thither and chased them home to their houses, putting them in feare of

The lord Tieis. The K. writeth to the

their liues, if they should offer to resist him. The king comming to erle of Lancaster. Crikelade after the feast of saint Lucie the virgin, wrote to the earle of Lancaster an answer of his letters, which he had received from him at London, modestlie reprouing him, for that he had so gréeuouslie and vndutifullie reproched him, without respect had to his roiall estate, and also presumed to assigne a daie within the which he should reforme those things which he misliked in him, as if he were his subject and vnderling, & beside this was now ioined with his aduersaries against him, where on his behalfe there had beene no let nor staie at any time, but that they might be fréends & remaine in quiet togither. Wherein though he did more than stood with the dignitie of his roiall title, in somuch as he had the earles life at his commandement, yet for that he tollerated such insolencie of behauiour, as was vnséemelie to be shewed against the person of his prince, the kings clemencie and patience is highlie therein to be commended; though his forbearing and séeking means of quietnesse did neuer a whit amend the malignant mind of the earle, whose hart was so inchanted with ambition and supereminent honour, that he quite forgat this good lesson of submission and due allegiance,

Vt nequeas lædi maiori semper obedi.

From Crikelade the king went to Cirencester, where he held the feast of Christmasse, the earles of Norffolke, Penbroke, Surrie, and other great lords comming thither to ioine their powers with his. Thither came also a great strength of footmen, part of the which vnder the leading of one Robert Aquarij a right famous capteine, tooke the castell of Bromfield, those that had the kéeping of it fléeing foorth of it. The king comming to Worcester about Newyeres tide, caused the walles of the citie to be repared, committing the custodie thereof vnto William de Longchampe. After the Epiphanie he passed on the side of Seuerne towards Shrewsburie, where, at his comming thither he was honourablie received by the burgesses that came foorth to méet him in armor, and so conueied him into their towne being stronglie fensed. In this meane time the Scots now that the truce was ended, entring with a strong power into England, destroied all the countrie to Newcastell vpon Tine with fire and sword.

The K. kéepeth his Christmasse at Crikelade. Earles that came to the king to Crikeland.

1322.

The Scots inuade Northumberland. Castels taken by the Welshmen.

The Welshmen with their capteine Griffin Loitis tooke the castels in Wales, which were kept by the people of the lord Mortimer the elder. They tooke also the castels of Mole, Chirke, and Olono, the kéepers whereof comming vnto the king to Shrewsburie submitted themselues to him, who shortlie after sent them to the tower of London. The lord Hugh Audelie the elder, the lord Iohn de Hastings, and diverse other comming in, and submitting themselues to the king were likewise committed to ward. The lord Roger Damorie entring into the citie of Worcester destroied all that which the K. had appointed to be doone, about the fortification thereof.

The earle of Lancaster lieng at Pomfret, and hearing of all this businesse, wrote to the earle of Hereford, and other lords that were with him, that they should make hast to come to him at Pomfret, promising from thencefoorth to be their generall and leader. The earle of Hereford reioising at these newes, togither with all those that were about him, leauing Glocester and all other strengths which they held in those parts, set forward to passe through the middest of the realme, spoiling by the way mens cattell and goods verie disorderlie, and so came through to the earle of Lancaster. The king getting into his hands all the castels of his

The earle of Lacaster writeth to the erle of Hereford.

The earle of Hereford cometh to ioine with the earle of Lancester.

aduersaries in those parts, went to Hereford, where he was honorablic received of the cleargie and citizens. His armie increased dailie, many comming in vnto him, that before durst not for feare of his aduersaries. The bishop of Hereford was sharplie checked, bicause he had taken part with the kings enimies.

The king sent from hence the lord Iohn Hastings into Southwales, to take in his name the seizine of the castels belonging to the earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Damorie, and the lord Hugh Spenser the yoonger, which the barons had the last yeare got into their hands, all which being now taken to the kings vse, were furnished with faithfull garrisons. ¶ The king, after this, comming to Glocester, condemned the shiriffe of Hereford to be hanged, for that he had taken part against him with the barons. The lord Maurice Berkley came to the king to Glocester, submitting himselfe to the kings pleasure. After this the king came by Weston vnder edge towards Couentrie, where he had appointed as well such as he had latlie licenced to depart to their homes to refresh themselues for a time, as also diverse other, to assemble with their powers to go with him from thence against his aduersaries. The day of this assemblie was the friday next after the first sundaie in Lent. The king from Couentrie went to Meriuall, and there lodged in the abbeie for his more ease, writing to William Sutton vnder-

The lord Berkley submitteth himselfe to the K.

They appointed to méet at Couentrie.

Wil. Sutton.

Killingworth holden against the K. Tikehil castle besieged. Letters intercepted.

constable of Warwike castell, commanding him to be attendant on the shiriffe of Warwike, in helping him to watch the entries and issues to and from the castell of Killingworth that was holden against him. In the meane time certeine of the lords that were gone to the earle of Lancaster besieged Tickehill castell fiftéene daies togither, but preuailed not.

There were letters intercepted about the same time, which a messenger brought foorth of Scotland, thrée closed and thrée open, for there were six in all. The king sent them to the archbishop of Canturburie, who by his commandement published them in open audience at London. The first was

King Arthur a name feined of purpose.

closed with the seale of the lord Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrie, lord of Annandale and of Man, lieutenant to Robert le Bruce king of Scotland, which conteined a safe conduct for sir Thomas Topcliue chapleine, and one to be associate with him to come into Scotland, and to returne from thence in safetie. The second was sealed with the seale of sir Iames Dowglas for a like safe conduct for the same persons. The third was closed with the seale of the said earle of Murrie for the safe conduct of the lord Iohn de Mowbraie, and the lord Iohn de Clifford, and fortie horsses with their pages for their safe comming vnto the said erle into Scotland, and for their abiding there and returning backe. The fourth was closed with the seale of Iames Dowglas, directed to king Arthur. The fift was closed with the seale of Iames Dowglas directed vnto the lord Rafe Neuill. The sixt had no direction, but the tenour thereof was this as followeth.

The tenour of the said sixt letter lacking a direction.

You shall vnderstand my lord, that the communication before hand had is now brought to effect. For the earle of Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh de Audelie the yoonger, Bartholomew de Badelismere, Roger de Clifford, Iohn Gifford, Henrie Teis, Thomas Manduit, Iohn de Willington, and all other are come to Pomfret and are readie to make you good assurance, so that you will perform couenant with them, to wit for your comming to aid vs, and to go with vs into England and Wales, to liue and die with vs in our quarell. We therefore beséech you to assigne vs day and place, where we may méet, and we will be readie to accomplish fullie our businesse: and we beséech you to make vs a safe conduct for thirtie horsses, that we may in safetie come to your

The king, when such earles and lords as he had licenced for a time were returned (his brother the earle of Northfolke excepted) & that the most part of those men of warre were assembled that had summons, although diuerse came not at all; about the first sundaie in Lent he set forward towards his enimies, having with him to the number of sixtéene hundred men of armes on horssebacke, and footmen innumerable; with this power passing foorth towards his aduersaries, he caused proclamation to be made, that he was readie to receive all men to his peace, that would come and submit themselues, those excepted which had béene at the siege of Tikehill castell, or at the taking of the citie of Glocester, or at the inuasion made vpon his men at Bridgenorth.

At his comming to a little village called Caldwell, he sent afore him certeine bands to Burton vpon Trent, where he ment to haue lodged: but the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelie the yonger, Iohn de Mowbraie, Bartholomew de Badelismere, Roger de Clifford, Iohn Gifford de Bremesfield, Henrie Tieis, and many other, being gotten thither before, kept the bridge, and assailing the kings people which he had thus sent before, some of them they slue, and some

they wounded, so defending the bridge, that none could passe, and by reason that the waters, and speciallie the riuer of Trent through abundance of raine that was latelie fallen, were raised, there was no meane to passe by the foords, wherevpon the king was constreined to staie the space of thrée daies, in which meane time, the earles and their complices fortified the bridge at Burton, with barriers and such like defenses, after the maner of warre, but the king at length vpon deliberate aduise taken how to passe the riuer, ordeined that the earle of Surrie with certeine armed men, should go ouer by a bridge that was thrée miles distant from Burton, that he might come vpon the backes of the

The earles of Richmond and Penbroke were appointed to passe by a foord, which they had got knowledge of, with three hundred horssemen in complet armour, and the king with his brother the earle of Kent should follow them, with the residue of the armie, sauing that Robert Aquarie or Waters, with certeine bands of footmen was commanded to assaile the bridge, which he did verie manfullie, causing the archers & crossebowes to annoie them that kept it, so as he might draw the whole power of the enimies that waie, till the king and the earles were passed by the foord. But after that the earles of Lancaster and Hereford with their complices, heard that the king was passed with his armie, they came foorth with their people into the fields, and put them in order of battell: but perceiuing the great puissance which the king had there readie to encounter them, without more adoo they fled setting fire on the towne, and leauing all their vittels and other things behind them. The kings people comming spéedilie forward, and entring the towne, quenched the fire, and fell to the spoile of such things as the enimies for hast had left behind them. The king kept nothing to himselfe, but onelie a faire cup

enimies, as they were fighting with those that should assaile them afront.

On the same night, being wednesdaie, the king came to Tutburie, and lodged in the castell, sending foorth the next day with all spéed, letters to the shiriffe of Derbishire and Notinghamshire, aduertising him both of the successe he had against his enimies, and withall, pronouncing them and all their adherents, rebels and traitors to him and his realme, and that for such they should be reputed, taken and vsed. Wherefore he commanded in

that belonged to the earle of Lancaster, a péece estéemed to be of some great value.

forward towards his

He made a proclamation.

The king setteth

Record Tur.

The earle of Surrie.

Peraduenture at

The earles of Richmond & Penbroke.

The K. passeth by a

The earles of Lancaster & Hereford flée and set fire on the towne.

Tutburie.

the same letters or writs, vpon forfeiture of all that the said shiriffe might forfeit, he should pursue the said rebels, that is, the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelie the yoonger, Iohn de Mowbraie, Bartholomew de Badelismere, Roger de Clifford, Iohn Gifford de Brimesfield, Henrie Tieis, and all and euerie other person or persons that were of their confederacie, or in their companies; causing hue and crie to be raised vpon them, in what part soeuer they might be heard of, and in all places where the said shiriffe should thinke it expedient, and to inioine and streightlie command all and singular persons, the said rebels and enimies to pursue, take and arrest, and them to deliuer vnto the said shiriffe, and that such as

were not able to pursue them, yet with hand or horne they should leuie hue and crie against them, in paine that being found negligent herein, to be accompted for fauourers and adherents to the said rebels and traitors, and that the said shiriffe should therevpon apprehend them, and put them in prison. The writ was dated at Tutburie the eleuenth of March, and the like writs were directed and sent foorth to all other shiriffes through the realme, and likewise to the bishop of Durham, and to the iustice of Chester.

Beside this, he directed also other writs to the said shiriffes and others, that although he had been constreined to passe in forceable wise through diuerse parts of his realme, and the marches of Wales, to suppresse the malicious rebellion of diuerse his subjects, and that as yet he was

Proclamations made for the peace to be kept.

constreined to continue his journie in such forceable wise, neuertheles his pleasure was, that the peace should be mainteined and kept throughout his realme, with the statutes, lawes and customes inuiolated, and therfore he commanded the said shiriffes, that they should cause the same to be proclaimed in places where was thought most expedient, as well within liberties as without, inhibiting that any maner of person, of what state or condition soeuer he was, vpon paine that might fall thereon, to attempt any thing to the breach of peace; but that euerie man should séeke to mainteine and preserue the peace and tranquillitie of the people, with the statutes, lawes and good customes of the land, to the vttermost of his power: this alwaies observed, that the rebels, wheresoeuer they might be found, should be arrested, and committed to safe custodie. The daie of this writ was at Tutburie aforesaid on the twelfth of March.

The lord Roger Damorie laie sicke in his bed at the same time in the priorie of Tutburie, who after he had heard what judgement the king had pronounced against him, departed this life within two daies after. But the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with other in their companie that fled from the discomfiture at Burton, lost manie men and horsses in their flieng away, by reason of such pursuit as was made after them. Diuerse of them that had taken part with the lords against the king, came now and submitted themselues vnto him, amongst the which were sir Gilbert de Ellesfield, and sir Robert Holland knights. The king yet had the said Holland in some suspicion, bicause he had promised to haue come to him before. The earle of Lancaster had sent him at this time to raise his tenants in Lancashire, and to bring them vnto him, but he deceived him, and came not to him at all, wherevpon the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with the other barons, being come vnto Pomfret fell to councell in the Friers there, and finallie, after much debating of the matter, and considering how by the vntrue dealing of the said Robert Holland, their side was much weakened, it was concluded, that they should go to the castell of Dunstanborough, and there remaine till they might purchase the

The lord Damorie departed this life.

Sir Gilbert de Ellesfield & sir Robert Holland submit themselues to the king.

The earles of Lancaster & Hereford came to Pomfret.

Rich. South.

Sir Andrew Herkley.

kings pardon, sith their enterprise thus quailed vnder their hands: and herewith setting forward that waie foorth, they came to Borough bridge, where sir Andrew de Herkley with the power of the countesse of Cumberland and Westmerland had forlaid the passage, and there on a tuesdaie being the 16 of March, he setting vpon the barons, in the end discomfited them, and chased their

In this fight was slaine the earle of Hereford, the lord William de Sullie. with sir Roger de Bourghfield, and diuerse others. And there were taken Thomas earle of Lancaster, the lord Roger Clifford son to that lord Roger which died in the battell of Bannockesborne in Scotland, the lord Gilbert Talbot, the lord Iohn Mowbraie, the lord Hugh de Willington, the lord Thomas Manduit, the lord Warren de Lisle, the lord Philip Darcie, the lord Thomas Wither, the lord Henrie de Willington, the lord Hugh de Knouill, the lord Philip de Beche, the lord Henrie de Leiborne, the lord Henrie de Bradborne, the lord Iohn de Beckes, the lord Thomas Louell, the lord William fitz William, Robert de Wateuille, Iohn de Strikeland, Odnell Heron, Walter Pauelie of Stretton, and a great number of other esquires and gentlemen. This

The earle of Hereford slaine.

The earle of Lancaster taken. Barōs taken.

The battell of Borough bridge.

battell was fought on the fiftéenth day of March, in the yeare 1322 after the accompt of them that begin the yeare at the Circumcision, which was in the said fiftéenth yéere of this kings reigne.

The bodie of the earle of Hereford was sent to Yorke, two friers of the order of preachers being appointed to looke to it, till the king tooke order for the burieng of it. The lord Clifford also, bicause he was wounded with an arrow, was sent vnto Yorke. At the same time, the lord Henrie Percie

The castell of Pomfret is rendred to the king.

tooke the lord Henrie Tieis, and Iohn de Goldington knight, with two esquires, and within a few daies after, Donald de Mar tooke the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere, the lord Hugh Audelie the yoonger, the lord Iohn Gifford, the lord William Tuchet, and in maner all those which escaped by flight from this battell were taken in one place or other, by such of the kings seruants and fréends as pursued them. Vpon the one and twentith of March, came sir Andrew de Harkley vnto Pomfret, bringing with him the earle of Lancaster and other prisoners. The king was come thither a few daies before, and had the castell yéelded to him by the constable, that not manie daies past was appointed to the kéeping thereof by the earle, which earle now being brought thither captiue, was mocked, scorned, and in derision called king Arthur.

On the morrow after being mondaie, the two and twentith of March, he was brought before these noble men, Edmund earle of Kent, John earle of Richmond, Aimer earle of Penbroke, Iohn erle of Surrie, Edmund earle of

The earle of Lancaster arreigned.

Arundell, Dauid earle of Atholl, Robert earle of Anegos, the lord Hugh Spenser the father, the lord Robert de Malmesthorp iustice, and others with them associate, before whome he was arreiegned of high treason, for that he had raised warre against the king, and defended the passage of Burton bridge, for the space of thrée daies togither against him, and after when it was perceiued that the king had passed the riuer, he with Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, and other their complices like traitors, set fire

on the said towne, and cruellie burnt part of the houses and men of the same towne, and after, the said earle of Lancaster with his complices, arranged himselfe in field with his armie and banners displaid readie to fight against the king, till that perceiuing the kings power to be ouerstrong for him & his partakers to resist, he togither with them fled, committing by the waie diuerse felonies and roberies, till they came to Burrough bridge, where finding certeine of the kings faithfull subjects readie to resist them, they assailed the said faithfull subjects with force of armes and banners displaied, slaieng diverse of them, till finallie the said earle of Lancaster was caught, and other of his complices, some taken, some slaine, and the residue put to flight, so that there wanted no good will in the said earle of Lancaster and others, whie the king should not haue béene vanquished. Which treasons, murthers, burning of houses, destroieng of the kings people, being plainlie & manifestlie knowne to the earls, barons, lords, and other people of the land, the said earle of Lancaster was therevpon adjudged to die, according to the law in such cases prouided, that is, to be drawne, hanged, and headed. But bicause he was the quéenes vncle, and sonne to the kings vncle, he was pardoned of all saue heading, and so accordinglie therevnto suffered at Pomfret the two and twentith of March.

Thus the king séemed to be reuenged of the displeasure doone to him by the earle of Lancaster, for the beheading of Péers de Gaueston earle of Cornewall, whom he so déerelie loued, and bicause the earle of Lancaster was the chéefe occasioner of his death, the king neuer loued him entirelie after. ¶ So that here is verified the censure of the scripture expressed by the wisedome of Salomon, that the anger and displeasure of the king is as the roring of a lion, and his reuenge ineuitable. Wherefore it is an hie point of discretion in such as are mightie, to take heed how they giue edge vnto the wrath of their souereigne, which if it be not by submission made blunt, the burthen of the smart insuing will lie heavie vpon the offender, even to his vtter vndooing, and losse (perhaps) of life. In this sort came the mightie earle of Lancaster to his end, being the greatest péere in the realme, and one of the mightiest earles in christendome: for when he began to leauie warre against the king, he was possessed of fiue earledomes, Lancaster, Lincolne, Salisburie, Leicester, and Derbie, beside other seigniories, lands, and possessions, great to his aduancement in honor and puissance. But all this was limited within prescription of time, which being expired, both honour and puissance were cut off with dishonour and death, for (O mutable state!)

> Inuida fatorum series, summisq; negatum Stare diu.

executed in their countries, as sir Thomas Mandit and others.

On the same day, the lord William Tuchet, the lord William fitz William, the lord Warren de Lisle, the lord Henrie Bradborne, and the lord William Chenie barons, with Iohn Page an esquire, were drawne and hanged at Pomfret aforesaid, and then shortlie after, Roger lord Clifford, Iohn lord Mowbraie, and sir Gosein d'Eeuill barons, were drawne and hanged at Yorke. At Bristow in like manner were executed sir Henrie de Willington, and sir Henrie Montfort baronets; and at Glocester the lord Iohn Gifford, and sir William Elmebridge knight; and at London the lord Henrie Teies baron, at Winchelsie, Sir Thomas Culpepper knight; at Windsor, the lord Francis de Aldham baron; and at Canturburie, the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere, and the lord Bartholomew de Ashbornham,

barons. Also at Cardiffe in Wales, sir William Flemming knight was executed: diuerse were

But now touching the foresaid earle of Lancaster, great strife rose afterwards amongst the people, whether he ought to be reputed for a saint or no. Some held, that he ought to be no lesse estéemed, for that he did manie almesdéeds in his life time, honored men of religion, and mainteined a true guarell till his liues end. Also, his enimies continued not long after, but came to euill end. Others conceived an other opinion of him, alledging, that he fauoured not his wife, but lived in spouse-breach, defiling a great number of damosels and gentlewomen. If anie offended

Auesburie.
Nic. Triuet.
Caxton.

him, he slue him shortlie after in his wrathfull mood. Apostataes and other euill dooers he mainteined, and would not suffer them to be punished by due order of law. All his dooings he vsed to commit vnto one of his secretaries, and tooke no héed himselfe thereof: and as for the manner of his death, he fled shamefullie in the fight, and was taken and put to death against his will, bicause he could not avoid it: yet by reason of certeine miracles which were said to be doone néere the place both where he suffered, and where he was buried, caused manie to thinke he was a saint; howbeit, at length, by the kings comandement, the church doores of the priorie where he was buried, were shut and closed, so that no man might be suffered to come to the toome to bring any offerings, or to do any other kind of deuotion to the same. Also, the hill where he suffered was kept by certeine Gascoignes, appointed by the lord Hugh Spenser the sonne then lieng at Pomfret, to the end that no people should come and make their praiers there in worship of the said earle, whome they tooke verelie for a martyr.

When the king had subdued the barons, shortlie after, about the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, he held a parlement at Yorke, in which A parlement at Yorke.

parlement, the record and whole processe of the decrée or iudgement concerning the disheriting of the Spensers, ordeined by the lords in parlement assembled at London the last summer, was now throughlie examined, and for their errours therein found, the same record and processe was cléerelie adnihilated and reuersed, and the said Spensers were restored to all their lands and offices, as before. And in the same parlement the lord Hugh Spenser the father was made earle of Winchester, and the lord Andrew de Herklie earle of Carleill. Moreouer, in the same parlement, all such were disherited as had taken part with the earls of Lancaster & Hereford, except the lord Hugh Audelie the yoonger, and a few other, the which lord Hugh was pardoned, bicause he had

The record touching the banishing of the Spensers reuersed.

Creation of earls.

The lord Audelie pardoned.

married the kings néece, that was sister to Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester which was slaine in Scotland, at the battell of Bannockesborne, as before is mentioned.

At this time also master Robert Baldocke, a man euill beloued in the realme, was made lord chancellour of England. This Robert Baldocke, and one Simon Reding were great fauourers of the Spensers, and so likewise was the earle of Arundell, whereby it may be thought, that the Spensers did helpe to aduance them into the kings fauour, so that they bare no small rule in the realme, during the time that the same Spensers continued in prosperitie, which for the terme of fiue yeares after that the foresaid barons (as before is expressed) were brought to confusion, did woonderfullie increase, and the guéene for that she gaue good and faithfull counsell, was nothing regarded, but by the Spensers meanes cléerelie worne out of the kings fauour. Moreouer, we find, that in this

Robert Baldocke is made lord chancellour.

Polydor.

The quéene giueth good counsell. The kings eldest sonne created prince of Wales.

parlement holden at Yorke, the kings sonne Edward was made prince of Wales, and duke of Aquitaine.

Also the king caused the ordinances made by the earles and barons to be examined by men of great knowledge and skill, and such as were thought necessarie to be established, he commanded that the same should be called statutes, and not ordinances. Beside a great subsidie granted to the king by the temporaltie, the cleargie of all the prouince of Canturburie granted fiue pence of euerie marke, and they of the prouince of Yorke foure pence. Aimer earle of Penbroke, being returned home from this parlement holden at Yorke, was arrested by certeine knights, sent with authoritie therevnto from the king, who brought him backe to Yorke, where at length thorough suit of certeine noble men, he was vpon his oth taken to be a faithfull subject, and in consideration of a fine which he

Statutes.

A subsidie.

Addition to Triuet.

The earle of Penbroke

paied to the king, set at libertie. The occasion of his imprisonment came, for that he was accused and detected to be a secret fauourer of the barons cause against the Spensers in time of the late troubles.

Moreouer, shortlie after the king gathered the sixt penie of the temporall mens goods thorough England, Ireland and Wales, which had béene Fabian. granted to him at the foresaid parlement holden at Yorke, towards the

defending of the realme against the Scots. This tax was not gathered without great murmur and grudge, the realme being in such euill and miserable state as it then was. ¶ This yeare also the sunne appeared to mans sight in colour like to bloud, and so continued six houres, to wit, from seuen of the clocke in the morning of the last daie of October, vntill one of the clocke in the afternoone of the same daie.

Here is to be noted, that during the time whilest the civill warre was in hand betwixt king Edward and his barons, the Scots and Frenchmen were not idle, for the Scots wasted & destroied the countrie of the bishoprike of Durham (as before ye haue partlie heard) & the Frenchmen made roades & incursions into the borders of Guien, alledging that they did it vpon good and sufficient occasion, for that king Edward had not doone his

Polydor.

The Scots inuade the bishoprike of Durham.

homage vnto the king of France, as he ought to have doone, for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu. But the true occasion that mooued them to attempt the warres at that present, was for that they were in hope to recouer all the lands which the king of England held within France, cléerelie out of his hands, for so much as they vnderstood the discord betwixt him and his barons, and how infortunatlie he had sped against the Scots, by reason whereof they iudged the time to serue most fitlie now for their purpose.

In the octaves of the nativitie of saint Iohn Baptist, Robert Bruce entring into England by Carleill, kept on his waie through Cumberland, Coupeland, Kendall, and so into Lancashire, till he came to Preston in Andernesse, which towne he burnt, as he had doone others in the countries through which he had passed. There were some of the Scots that forraied the countrie fiue miles on this side Preston southwards, and thus being fourescore long miles within England, they returned homewards, and entred againe into Scotland without incounter, after they had béene at this time within England the space of thrée wéeks and thrée daies. King Edward being thus beset with two mischiefes both at one time, thought good first to prouide remedie against the néerer danger, which by the Scots was still at hand, and therefore he meant to go against them

Rich. South.

Rob. Bruce inuadeth

Sée more hereof in Scotland.

An. Reg. 16.

himselfe, and to send his brother Edmund earle of Kent into Guien, to defend that countrie from the Frenchmen. Herevpon now in the sixtéenth yeare of his reigne, after that the Scots were returned home with a great bootie and rich spoile, he got togither a wonderfull great armie of men, and entring into Scotland, passed far within the countrie, not finding any resistance at all (as the most part of our writers doo agrée) but at length, through famine and diseases of the flix and other maladies that fell amongst the Englishmen in the armie, he was constreined to come backe,

The king goeth into Scotland with an army.

Merimouth.

and in his waie besieged the castell of Norham, which fortresse he wan within ten daies after he had begun to assault it.

Robert Bruce immediatlie after the English armie was retired home, raised a power, and entring into England by Sulwaie sands laie at a place called Beaumond, not past three miles fro Carleill, by the space of fiue daies, sending in the meane time the most part of his armie abroad to spoile and harrie the countrie on euerie side, and afterwards remouing from thence, he passed towards Blackamore, having knowledge by diligent espials, that king Edward was in those parts, giving himselfe more to pastime in hunting there within the woods about Blackamore, than to the good ordering of his people which he had then about him. Wherevoon the Scotish king Bruce, entring into that wild and moorish countrie, where he had not béene afore, conueied his enterprise so warilie, and with such diligent industrie, that on saint Lukes daie, comming vpon the English armie at vnwares, he put the same to flight, so that the king himselfe was in great danger to haue béene taken prisoner. For (as some authors write) the Scots had almost taken him at dinner in the abbeie of Beighland. Sir Iohn Britaine earle of Richmond was taken at this battell, and the kings treasure was spoiled and carried awaie, with the provision and ordinance that belonged to the host.

The king escaping awaie, got to Yorke, and the Scots having thus the vpper hand, after they had spoiled the monasterie of Riuale, and taken their pleasure there, they passed foorth into Yorkeswold, destroieng that countrie euen almost vnto Beuerlie, which towne they ransomed, receiuing a summe of monie for sparing it, least they should have burnt it, as they did other. The earle of Carleill being commanded by the king to raise the powers of Cumberland, Westmerland, and Lancashire, did so, and according to that he had in commandement, bringing them belowe the countries vnto Yorke, found the K. there in no plight to give battell to his enimies, all things being brought about him into great confusion: wherevpon he licenced his people to depart to their homes againe, and the

Rich. South.

Yorkeswoll spoiled by the Scots. Beuerlie ransomed. The earle of Carleill raiseth an armie.

Fabian.

Scots so returned without battell home into their countries, entring into Scotland the morrow after All hallowes daie, after they had remained in England at this time, one whole moneth and foure daies. Some write, that in their returne, they spoiled Northalerton, and diuerse other townes and places as they passed.

In the same yeare, there was a great conspiracie practised by certein persons that had taken part with the barons in the late warres, purposing to set at libertie in one selfe night, all those noble men and others, that were by the king kept in prison for that quarrell. Certeine therefore of those conspirators came to the castell of Walingford, within the which the Sir Iohn Goldington. lord Maurice Berkelie, and the lord Hugh Audlie remained as prisoners.

prisoners at libertie.

The conspirators found shift to enter the castell by a posterne gate towards the Thames side, howbeit not so secretlie but that the townesmen having knowledge thereof, assembled togither, and besieged them that were so entred the castell, till the earles of Kent and Winchester came with a great power to réenforce the siege, so that in the end, they that had made this attempt fled into the chappell of the castell, in hope to be saued through sanctuarie of the place, but they were (against the willes of the deane and préests of the colledge there that sought to defend them) taken foorth by force, so that sir Iohn de Goldington knight, sir Edmund of the Bech chapleine, and an esquire called Roger Walton, were sent to Pomfret, and there put in prison; the esquire was after sent to Yorke, and there drawne and hanged. This enterprise caused all other prisoners to be more streightlie looked vnto.

In this yeare was begun a wicked practise of treason vpon this occasion. Where K. Edward having assaied fortune so froward towards him, in chance of warre against the Scots at sundrie times, was therby taught to doubt the triall thereof any further, and rather to séeke for peace, he appointed Andrew Herklie earle of Carleill, to séeke some means, whereby a peace might be concluded betwixt him and king Robert. The earle by the kings commandement, going into Scotland, and comming vnto king Robert, whome he found at Loghmaban, intreated with him of warre, and

Rich. Southw. Polydor.

not of peace; for whether it were so that he despaired of the state of king Edwards businesse, which prospered neither at home nor abroad; chéefelie by reason of his owne wilfull negligence (as some write) or whether of his owne nature this earle delighted in nothing so much, as in deceipt, craft, and treason: he concluded vpon points with the Scotish king, how, when, and where king Edward should be betraied, and to the end that couenanted faith on either side might be the more suerlie kept and obserued, the sister of K. Robert was affianced vnto the said earle of Carleill: a verie beautifull ladie and as comelie as was anie where to be séene or found.

This practise being thus contriued, shortlie after the king got knowledge thereof, though by whome it was not certeinlie knowne: so hard a thing it

Treason will euer come to light by one meane is for man to conceale and kéepe secret that thing which he goeth about, or other. though he studie neuer so much so to doo, namelie in matters of treason, which hath a thousand féet to créepe abroad, and which way soeuer it goeth, it leaueth a thousand prints of the footsteps behind it, by the which it may be discourred to the world. When therefore the earle came backe againe to Carleill, he was arrested by commandement from the king, and straightwaies being arreigned of the treason, he was thereof condemned

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The earle of Carleill put to death.

and put to execution. His head was sent vnto London, and there set vpon the bridge, or rather vpon some turret of the tower. So hard a matter it is for traitors to escape the hands of the executioner; vnder whose hatchet they submit their heads to be hewen from their shoulders, euen then when they haue conceiued their traitorous attempts in hart, for God who hath placed princes in thrones of roialtie, to this end hath vouchsafed them a superlatiue degrée of dignitie, that they might be obeied, neither will his iustice permit impunitie to the disloiall enterprises and complots of malefactors, common peace-disturbers, hautie-harted Nemrods; ambitious Hamans, or anie lewd malcontent: for

Acer Dei est oculus ad omnia videndum, Eius pœnas non effugit mortalis, Viuere volens ergo ne faciat morte digna.

¶ But there be that write otherwise (as it may well be) thus, that this earle of Carleill, perceiuing the miserie of his countrie, without consent of the king of England, made peace with the king of Scots, vnder this forme, as

Ri. Southwell.

by Richard Southwell we find recorded. First, the earle promised faithfullie for him and his heires, that they should with all their force and means possible, séeke to mainteine the said king of Scots, his heires and successors, in the peaceable possession of the kingdome of Scotland, and that to their powers they shuld fight against all those that would not agrée vnto that couenant, as against them that should séeme to be enimies vnto the common-wealth of both the realmes of England and Scotland. The king of Scots promised faithfullie for his part, to defend the said earle, his heires, and adherents in the said couenant or paction, and not onelie to kéepe peace with England, but also to build a monasterie within Scotland, assigning reuenues thereto, to the value of fiue hundred marks, to celebrate diuine seruice, and to pray continuallie for the soules of them that were dead, by occasion of the passed warres betwixt England and Scotland; and further, that he should give to the king of England within ten yeares, fortie thousand pounds of silver; and that the king of England should have the king of Scots eldest sonne, to marrie him vnto some ladie of his bloud, as he should thinke expedient. To the performance of all which couenants well and truelie to be obserued, Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey sware on the behalfe of the king of Scots, and the earle of Carleill sware for himselfe: and héerewith certeine writings indented were drawne and ingrossed, to the which interchangeablie they set their hands and seales.

After that the earle of Carleill was returned home, he called to Carleill all the chéefe persons of the countrie, as well spirituall as temporall, and there rather through feare, than otherwise, constrained them to receive

The lord Lucie.

an oth, that they should aid & assist him to their powers, to sée all the couenants as abouesaid performed and kept. After that these things were knowne to the king and the realme, although some of the communaltie liked well inough of the matter, bicause they hoped thereby to remaine in peace, especiallie those of the north parts, the king yet and his councell (not without cause) were sore offended, for that he whom the king had so latelie aduanced, should confederate himselfe with the Scots, to the prejudice of the king and his crowne, concluding any couenants of peace without his consent, wherevpon reputing him for a ranke traitor, the king sent vnto the lord Antonie Lucie, to apprehend the said earle by some meanes if he might, and for his paines he should not faile to be well rewarded.

The lord Lucie watching his time, when the earles men were gone some whither abroad, and but few left about him, the morrow after the feast of saint Matthew the apostle, he entred the castell of Carleill, as it were to talke with the earle of some businesse, as his manner was at other times to doo. He had with him sir Hugh Lowther, sir Richard Denton, and sir Hugh Moricebie knights, and foure esquiers, beside other priuilie armed, so that leauing some at euerie gate and doore as he entred, he came into the hall, and there finding the earle inditing letters, arrested him. Herewith when certeine of the earles seruants made a noise, and cried, Treason, treason, the porter of the inner gate would have shut it vpon them that were thus entred, but sir Richard Denton slue that porter with his owne hands, and there was not one more slaine by them in the apprehension of the earle, for all other his seruants yéelded themselues and the house vnto the said lord Lucie, without more resistance.

Howbeit one of his seruants that saw these dooings, got awaie, and with all spéed ran to the péele of Heihead, and shewed to the earles brother Michaell de Herkley. Michaell Herkeley what was chanced to the earle, wherever the william Blunt Michaell foorthwith fled into Scotland, and with him sir William Blunt The earle of Carleils indgement. councell. The lord Lucie streightwaies sent a messenger to the king vnto

Yorke, aduertising him how he had taken the earle, and therefore required to vnderstand further of the kings pleasure. The king foorthwith sent the lord Geffrey Scroobe iustice, with a number of armed men vnto Carleill, the which came thither on saint Chaddes daie, and the morrow after, being the third of March, he sat in judgement vpon the said earle, in the castell of Carleill, and there (as out of the kings mouth) he pronounced sentence against him in this wise; first, that he should be disgraded of his earledome, by the taking awaie from him the sword which the king

had gird him with, and likewise of his knighthood, by cutting off his spurs from his héeles, and that after this, he should be drawen from the castell through the citie vnto the place of execution, where felons were accustomed to suffer, and there to be hanged, afterwards headed, and then his head to be sent vnto London, there to be set aloft vpon one of the turrets of the tower, and his quarters to be diuided, one to be set vp at Carleill, an other at Newcastell vpon Tine, the third at Bristow, & the fourth at Douer.

When he had heard this iudgement, he said; "You have divided my bodie at your pleasure, and I commit my soule vnto God:" and being according to the iudgement drawen to the place where he suffered, he neuer shranke at the matter, but boldlie behaued himselfe, declaring at the verie houre of his death, that his intention in concluding the agréement with the Scots was good, and proceeding not of any euill meaning, but tending onelie to the wealth and quietnes of the realme. Neither could such friers as were permitted to come to him before his arreignement to heare his confession, get any thing more of him, but that his meaning was good, and

His constancie at his death. Fabian. Caxton.

that which he had concluded with the king of Scots was not doone vpon any euill purpose, whereby any hurt might insue, either to the king or to the realme. ¶ Thus haue we thought good to shew the cause of this earles death, as by some writers it hath béene registred; although there be that write, that the ouerthrow at Beighland chanced through his fault, by misleading a great part of the kings host, and that therefore the king being offended with him, caused him to be put to death, albeit (as I thinke) no such matter was alleged against him at the time of his arreignement.

About this season was the foundation begun of S. Michaels colledge in Cambridge, by one sir Henrie Stanton knight, chancellour of the excheker. About the feast of the Ascension, there came as commissioners from the king of England vnto Newcastell, Aimerie earle of Penbroke, and the lord chamberlaine Hugh Spenser the yoonger, and other foure personages of good accompt. And from the king of Scots, there came the bishop of saint Andrews, Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey, and other foure of good credit to treat of peace, or at the leastwise of some long truce, and through the good will and pleasure of God, the author of all peace and quietnesse, they concluded vpon a truce, to indure for thirtéene yeares, and so about the feast of saint Barnabe the apostle, it was proclaimed in

Polydor. Rich. South. Commissioners méet to intreat of peace. A truce concluded.

both realmes, but yet so, that they might not traffike togither, bicause of the excommunication wherewith the Scots were as yet intangled, although as some write, about the same time, the interdict wherein the realme of Scotland stood bound, was by pope Iohn released.

The French K. being latelie come to the crowne, sent certeine ambassadors vnto king Edward, to wit, the lord Beouille, and one Andreas de Florentia a notarie, to give summons vnto him from the French king, to come and doo homage for the lands which he held in France, as for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu. And though the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenser the sonne, and the lord chancellour Robert Baldocke did what they could to procure these ambassadors, not to declare the cause of their comming to the king, yet when they should depart, they admonished the king to come and doo his homage vnto the French king, and vpon this admonition the said Andreas framed a publike instrument, by vertue whereof, the French king made processe against the king of England, and seized into his hands diverse townes and castels in Aquitaine, alledging that he did it for the contumacie shewed by the king of England, in refusing to come to doo his homage, being lawfullie summoned, although the king was throughlie informed, that the summons was neither lawfull, nor touched him anie thing at all.

Polydor. Hect. Boetius.

Messengers from the French king.

The French king taketh townes in Aquitane.

About the same time, the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmor, giving his kéepers a drinke that brought them into a sound and heauie sléepe, escaped out of the tower of London where he was prisoner. This escape of the lord Mortimer greatlie troubled the king, so that immediatlie vpon the

The lord Mortimer breaketh out of the towre.

first news, he wrote to all the shiriffes of the realme, that if he chanced to come within their roomes, they should cause hue and crie to be raised, so as he might be staied and arrested, but he made such shift, that he got ouer into France, where he was received by a lord of Picardie, named monsier Iohn de Fieules, who had faire lands in England, and therefore the king wrote to him, reprouing him of vnthankfulnesse, considering he had béene euer readie to pleasure him, and to aduance his profits and commodities, and yet notwithstanding he did succour the said lord Mortimer, and other rebels that were fled out of his realme.

In Lent this yeare, a parlement was holden at London, in the which diuerse things were intreated, amongst other the chéefest was, to determine for the sending of some honorable ambassage to the French king, to excuse the king for not comming to him to doo his homage, according to the pretended summons. ¶ In the same parlement, Adam bishop of Hereford was arrested, and examined vpon points of treason, for aiding, succouring, and mainteining the Mortimers, and other of the rebels. This bishop was reckoned to be wise, subtill, and learned, but otherwise, wilfull, presumptuous, and given to mainteine factions. At the

1324.
A parlement.
The bishop of Hereford arrested.

first, he disdeined to make anie answer at all, and finallie, when he was in manner forced thereto, he flatlie told the king, that he might not make any answere to such matters as he was charged with, except by the licence and consent of his metropolitane the archbishop of Canturburie, and other his péeres. Héerevpon, the said archbishop and other bishops made such

Thom, Wals.

sute, that he was committed to the kéeping of the said archbishop, with him to remaine, till the king had taken order for his further answer.

Within few daies after, when the king called him againe before his presence, to make answere to the matters laid against him, the archbishops of Canturburie, Yorke, Dublin, and ten other bishops came with their crosses afore them, and vnder a colour of the priviledge and

The presumtuous demeanor of prelats.

liberties of the church, tooke him awaie, before he had made anie answere, forbidding all men on paine of excommunication, to laie anie hands vpon him. The king greatlie offended with this bold procéeding of the prelats, caused yet an inquest to be impanelled, to inquire of the bishop of Herefords treasons, and vpon the finding of him giltie, he seized into his hands all the temporalties that belonged to his bishoprike, and spoiled his manours and houses most violentlie, in reuenge of his disloiall dealings.

Moreouer, in this parlement, the lands and possessions that belonged sometime to the Templers, and had beene deliuered vnto the knights Hospitalers, otherwise called knights of the Rodes by the king in the seauenth yeare of his reigne (according to the decrée of the councell of Vienna) were by authoritie of this parlement assured vnto the said knights, to enioy to them and their successors for euer. Also it was concluded, that the earle of Kent, and the archbishop of Dubline should go ouer as ambassadours into France, to excuse the king for his not comming in person to the French king, to doo his homage for the lands he held in France. Moreouer, in the same parlement, the king granted, that all the dead bodies of his enimies and rebels that had suffered and hanged still on the gallowes, should be taken downe, and buried in the churchyards next to the places where the same bodies were hanging, and not elsewhere, by such as would take paine to burie them, as by his writs directed vnto the shiriffes of London, and of the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Glocester, Yorke, and Buckingham it appeared. And not onelie this libertie was granted at that time for the taking down of those bodies, but (as some write) it was decréed by authoritie in the same parlement, that the bodies of all those that from thenceforth should be hanged for felonies, should

Ra. Tur. Lands beloging to the templers. License to burie the bodies of the rebels. Record. Tur.

incontinentlie be buried, which ordinance hath béene euer since obserued.

The earle of Kent, and the archbishop of Dubline going ouer into France, could not light vpon anie good conclusion for the matter about the which they were sent, bicause the same time, or rather somewhat before, the lord Rafe Basset of Draiton, being the kings seneshall in Guien, had ouerthrowne a certeine towne, newlie fortified by the Frenchmen on the frontiers, for that the inhabitants, trusting on the French kings fauour and maintenance, refused to obeie the lawes and ordinances of the countrie of Aquitaine, and séemed to despise and set at naught the authoritie of the said lord Basset in that countrie, contrarie to all right, good order or reason. Neuerthelesse, the French king tooke the matter so gréeuouslie, that except the lord Basset might be constreined to come vnto Paris, and there make answer to his offense, he would not hearken to anie other satisfaction. And therevpon, when the ambassadours were returned, he sent his vncle the lord Charles de Valois earle of Aniou, with a mightie

Ambassadors sent into France.

The lord Basset.

An. Reg. 18.

The earle of Aniou sent into Guien.

The earle of Kent.

armie, against the English subjects into Guien, where entring into Agenois, he tooke and seized all that countrie into the French kings hands. The earle of Kent being now gotten into those parts, with a great number of other capteins and men of warre sent thither by the king of England, resisted the enimies verie manfullie, in so much that vpon their approch to the Rioll, a strong towne in those parts, the earle of Kent as then being within it, did issue foorth, and giuing them battell, slue (as some write) fouretéene hundred of their men, so that they were glad to lodge at the first somewhat further off the towne.

Whilest this siege remained before the towne of the Rioll, the king of England wrote his letters to the duke of Britaine, as one of the péeres of France, declaring the iniurious dealing of the French king, who had sent his vncle the earle of Aniou with an armie against his people in Agenois, where he had taken manie townes, destroied his people, and now had besieged his nephue Edmund earle of Kent, within the towne of the Rioll, inforsing his whole puissance wrongfullie to bereaue him of all the duchie of Guien, and against all reason, and the prerogative of the péeres of France, to an euill president or example in time to come of the perpetuall

The king of England writeth to the duke of

Record Tur.

seruitude of the said péeres. "And although" saith the king of England, "that the French alledge that we haue béen lawfullie summoned to come and doo homage, and haue refused so to doo, that is not so: for we were neuer in due order required as was conuenient, neither could we doo homage, by reason of the great iniuries and hard dealings practised against vs, from the feast of Easter last, till the date of those his present letters (which was the sixt of October, in this eightéenth yeare of his reigne) and yet," saith he, "there was neuer anie lawfull processe had against vs before our péeres, in the great chamber at Paris, as had béene requisite."

Herevpon he requested the duke of Britaine, that for the preseruation and maintenance of the honorable estate of the péeres of France, & for iustice sake he would helpe to aid him, either by waie of request, or other convenient meanes, so as the said streict dealings and iniurious wrongs may ceasse, and the estate of the péereship may be mainteined as was requisite. He wrote likewise to the lord Iohn the infant, the lord of Biskie, and to the ladie Marie of Biskie gouernesse of the king of Castile and Leon, and to Iames king of Aragon, requesting them to aid him with men

A truce takē.

of warre, as well horssemen as footmen, against his aduersarie the French king, that most vniustlie went about to depriue him of his inheritance. But howsoeuer the matter went, no aid came to the earle of Kent from any part, till at length, the Frenchmen so reinforced the siege, that the towne was deliuered to the earle of Aniou, and a truce taken vpon certeine conditions, that further talke might be had, for the conclusion of some peace.

Then were sent ouer other ambassadors, as the lord Iohn de Sullie a Frenchman borne, and one maister Iohn de Shordich, but the lord Sullie had so strange interteinment for some displeasure which the French king conceiued against him, that if the French quéene had not the beter intreated for him, he had lost his head; and as for the other, he had also returned home without bringing any thing to passe, of that for the which he was sent. After this, the pope sent the archbishop of Vienna, and the bishop of Orange, to the princes of either realme, to exhort them to some agréement, but they could doo no good, and so taking monie of the cleargie for their expenses, they returned. After this, about the twentith daie after Christmasse, there was a parlement called at London, in the which the king required to have the aduise of the lords, how he might worke for sauing of the duchie of Guien, sore molested by the French. Hervpon it was concluded, that the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, and Iohn de Britaine earle of Richmond, should go ouer as ambassadors to

The lord de Sullie sent into France in ambassage.

The pope sendeth ambassadors to the kings of England and

1325.

Other ambassadors sent ouer into France.

the French king, who comming into France, after manie argumentations, allegations, and excuses, made on both parts, at length received a certeine forme of pacification at the French kings hands, with the which the bishop of Winchester was sent backe to England, the bishop of Norwich, and the earle of Richmond remaining there, till it might be known how the king of England would like thereof.

Finallie it was thought good, that the quéene shuld go ouer to hir brother the French king, to confirme that treatie of peace vpon some reasonable conditions. She willinglie tooke vpon hir the charge, and so with the lord Iohn Crumwell, & other foure knights, without any other great traine, taking sea, she landed in France, where of the king hir brother she was ioifullie receiued, and finallie she being the mediatrix, it was finallie accorded, that the K. of England should give to his eldest sonne the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu, and that the French king receiuing homage of him for the same, he should restore into his hands

The quéene is sent ouer into France to talke with hir brother the French king.

A peace and concord

the said countie, and the lands in Guien, for the which they were at variance, and for those countries which had béene forraied and spoiled, the earle of Aniou should fullie sée him satisfied, as right did require.

Vpon the couenants the French king wrote his letters patents into England, and other letters also of safe conduct, as well for the sonne as for the king himselfe, if it should please him to come ouer himselfe in

An. Reg. 19.

person. Upon which choise great deliberation was had, as well at Langdon, as at Douer, diuerse thinking it best that the king should go ouer himselfe: but the earle of Winchester and his sonne the lord chamberleine, that neither durst go ouer themselues with the king, nor abide at home in his absence, gaue contrarie counsell, and at length preuailed so, that it was fullie determined that the kings eldest sonne Edward should go ouer, which turned to their destruction, as it appeared afterward.

Herevpon the king made a charter of grant vnto his sonne, of the duchie of Guien, and countie of Pontieu, to haue and hold to him & his heires kings of England, with condition, that if he chanced to depart this life | sent into France. whilest his father liued, those lands should return to his father againe, so

The prince of Wales is

as the French king might not marrie the kings sonne at his pleasure, nor appoint vnto him any gardians or gouernours. This ordinance was made at Douer by the kings charter, with consent of the prelats and other noble men of the realme there present, the morrow after the Natiuitie of our ladie, and on the thursdaie following, the kings sonne tooke the sea, and with him Walter bishop of Excester and others in competent number, and about the feast of saint Matthew the apostle, he did homage to his vncle the French king at Bois de Vincennes, vnder certeine protestations made, as well on the one part as the other.

The summer this yeare prooued excéeding hot and drie, so that springs and rivers failed to yéeld their accustomed course of waters, by reason whereof great numbers of cattell and beasts, both wild and tame died, through lacke of conuenient liquor to asswage their vehement thirst. In the beginning of the next spring, king Edward sent into France vnto his wife and sonne, commanding them, now that they had made an end of their businesse, to returne home with all convenient spéed. The quéene

The king sendeth for his wife and son to

receiuing the message from hir husband, whether it was so that she was staied by hir brother, vnto whome belike she had complained after what manner she was vsed at hir husbands hands, being had in no regard with him: or for that she had no mind to returne home, bicause she was loth to sée all things ordered out of frame by the counsell of the Spensers,

The womans dissimulation.

whereof to heare she was wearie: or whether (as the manner of women is) she was long about to prepare hir selfe forward, she slacked all the summer, and sent letters euer to excuse hir tarriance. But yet bicause she would not run in any suspicion with hir husband, she sent diuerse of hir folkes before hir into England by soft iournies. A lamentable case, that such diuision should be betwéene a king and his quéene, being lawfullie married, and hauing issue of their bodies, which ought to haue made that their copulation more comfortable: but (alas) what will not a woman be drawne and allured vnto, if by euill counsell she be once assaulted? And what will she leaue vndoone, though neuer so inconvenient to those that should be most déere vnto hir, so hir owne fansie and will be satisfied? And how hardlie is she revoked from procéeding in an euill action, if she haue once taken a taste of the same? As verie truly is reported by the comedie-writer, saieng,

Malè quod mulier incœpit nisi efficere id perpetrat, Id illi morbo, id illi senio est; ea illi miseræ miseria est: Si bene facere incœpit, eius eam citò odium percipit, Nimísq; paucæ sunt defessæ, malè quæ facere occæperint; Nimísq; paucæ efficiunt, si quid occæperint benefacere; Mulieri nimiò malefacere melius est onus, quàm bene.

Plaut. in Truc.

But to the purpose. King Edward not a little offended with king Charles, by whose meanes he knew that the woman thus lingered abroad, he procured pope Iohn to write his letters vnto the French king, admonishing him to send home his sister and hir sonne vnto hir husband. But when this nothing auailed, a proclamation was made in the moneth of December, the ninetéenth yeare of this kings reigne, that if the quéene and hir sonne entred not the land by the octaues of the Epiphanie next insuing in peaceable wise, they should be taken for enimies to the realme and

A proclamation.
Fabian.
Polydor.

crowne of England. ¶ Here authors varie, for some write, that vpon knowledge had of this proclamation, the quéene determined to returne into England foorthwith, that she might be reconciled to hir husband.

Others write, and that more truelie, how she being highlie displeased, both with the Spensers and the king hir husband, that suffered himselfe to be misled by their counsels, did appoint indéed to returne into England,

1326.

not to be reconciled, but to stir the people to some rebellion, wherby she might reuenge hir manifold iniuries. Which (as the proofe of the thing shewed) séemeth to be most true, for she being a wise woman, & considering that sith the Spensers had excluded, put out, and remooued all good men, from and besides the kings councell, and placed in their roomes such of their clients, seruants and fréends as pleased them, she might well thinke that there was small hope to be had in hir husband, who heard no man but the said Spensers, which she knew hated hir deadlie. Wherevpon, after that the tearme prefixed in the proclamation was expired, the king caused to be seized into his hands, all such lands, as belonged either to his sonne, or to his wife.

About the same time, one sir Robert Walkfare knight, a right hardie man of his hands, but craftie and subtill (who being taken in the warres which the lords raised against the king, had been committed to prison in the castell of Corfe) found means now to kill the constable of that castell most cruellie, and escaping awaie, got ouer to the quéene into France, and so the number of them that ran out of the realme vnto hir dailie increased. This sir Robert Walkfare was a great procurer of the discord betwixt the

Sir Robert Walkfare.

The bishop of Excester cometh from the quéene.

king and the lords, and a chéefe leader, or rather seducer of that noble man Humfrie de Bohune earle of Hereford: and whilest other gaue themselues to séeke a reformation in the decaied state of the common-wealth, he set his mind vpon murders and robberies. Diuerse other about the same time fled out of the realme vnto the quéene, and vnto hir sonne the earle of Chester. But in the meane time, Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, which hitherto had remained with the quéene in France, stale now from hir, and got ouer into England, opening to the king all the counsell and whole mind of the quéene: which thing turned first of all vnto his owne destruction, as shall after appeare.

About the same time, one sir Oliuer de Ingham, a yoong, lustie, and valiant knight, was by the kings sonne the duke of Aquitaine (not without his fathers consent) established lord warden of the marches of Guien, the which sir Oliuer gathering an armie of hired soldiers, Spaniards, Aragons, and Gascoins, inuaded the countrie of Agenois (which the French king held yet in his hands contrarie to couenant) and recouering it from the French, cléerelie reduced it to the English dominion. Moreouer, sir Iohn Oturum, sir Nicholas Kiriell, and sir Iohn Felton, admerals by the kings appointment, with the fléets of the east, south, and west parts, went to the sea, to apprehend such Frenchmen as they might méet withall. They according to their commission bestirred themselues so, that within few daises they tooks six scores soils of Normans, and brought them into En

Sir Oliuer de Ingham lieutenant of Gascoine.

Agenois recouered out of the Frenchmens hands.

Ships of Normandie taken.

daies they tooke six score saile of Normans, and brought them into England, wherevpon the displeasure sore increased betwixt the two realmes.

The king of England stood not onelie in doubt of the Frenchmen, but more of his owne people that remained in France, least they thorough helpe of the French should inuade the land, and therefore he commanded the hauens and ports to be suerlie watched, lest some sudden inuasion might happilie be attempted, for it was well vnderstood, that the quéene meant not to returne, till she might bring with hir the lord Mortimer, and the other banished men, who in no wise could obteine anie fauour at the kings hands, so long as the Spensers bare rule. ¶ The pope lamenting this matter, sent two bishops into England, to reconcile the king and quéene, and also to agrée the two kings. These bishops were reuerentlie receiued, but more than reuerence here they obteined not, and so departed as they came.

King Edward vnderstanding all the quéenes drift, at length sought the French kings fauour, and did so much by letters and promise of bribes with him and his councell, that quéene Isabell was destitute in manner of all helpe there, so that she was glad to withdraw into Heinault, by the comfort of Iohn the lord Beaumont, the earle of Heinault his brother, who being then in the court of France, and lamenting quéene Isabels case, imagined with himselfe of some marriage that might be had betwixt the yoong prince of Wales, and some of the daughters of his brother the earle of Heinault, and therevpon required hir to go into Heinault, and he would be glad to attend hir. She gladlie consenting hereto, went thither with him, where she was most ioifullie received with hir sonne, and all other of hir traine.

The Spensers (some write) procured hir banishment out of France, and that she was aduised by the earle of Arthois chéefelie to repaire into Heinault. Also I find, that the Spensers deliuered fiue barrels of siluer, the

summe amounting vnto fiue thousand marks, vnto one Arnold of Spaine a broker, appointing him to conueie it ouer into France, to bestowe it vpon such fréends as they had there of the French kings counsell, by whose means the king of France did banish his sister out of his relme. But this monie was met with vpon the sea by certeine Zelanders, and taken, togither with the said Arnold, and presented to the earle of Heinault, vnder whose dominion the Zelanders in those daies remained, of which good hap the earle and quéene Isabell greatlie reioised.

In the time that the quéene and hir sonne laie in the court of the earle of Heinault, a marriage was concluded betwixt the prince of Wales, and the ladie Philip, daughter to the said earle, vpon certeine conditions, whereof one was, that the said erle should at his proper costs set ouer into England the said prince of Wales, with a crue of foure hundred men of armes. But whether there was any such mariage as then concluded, and that in consideration thereof, the earle of Heinault aided quéene Isabell and hir sonne, it may be doubted, bicause other writers make no such report. Neuerthelesse, certeine it is, that the earls brother sir Iohn de Heinault lord Beaumont, was appointed with certeine bands of men of arms, to the number of foure hundred or fiue hundred, to passe ouer with the said quéene and hir sonne into England, and so therevpon began to

make his purueiance for that iournie, which thing when it came to the knowledge of king Edward and the Spensers, they caused musters to be taken through the realme, and ordeined beacons to be set vp, kept and watched, as well in the vallies by the sea side, as within the countries, vpon hilles and high grounds, that the same vpon occasion of the enimies arrivall, might be set on fire, to warne the countries adioining to assemble and resist them.

But quéene Isabell and hir sonne, with such others as were with hir in Heinault, staied not their iournie for doubt of all their aduersaries prouision, but immediatlie after that they had once made their purueiances, and were readie to depart, they tooke the sea, namelie the quéene, hir sonne, Edmund of Wodstoke earle of Kent, sir Iohn de Heinault aforesaid, and the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a man of good experience in the warres, and diuerse others, hauing with them a small companie of Englishmen, with a crue of Heinewiers and Almains, to the number of 2757 armed men, the which sailing foorth towards England, landed at length in Suffolke, at an hauen called Orwell besides Harwich, the 25 daie of September. Immediatlie after that the quéene and hir sonne were come to land, it was woonder to sée how fast the people resorted vnto them; and first of all, the earle Marshall, in whose lands she first

vnto them; and first of all, the earle Marshall, in whose lands she first came on shore, repaired vnto hir, so did the earle of Leicester, and diuerse barons & knights of those parts, with all the prelats in manner of the land, as the bishops of Lincolne, Hereford, Dubline, and Elie, the which being ioined with the quéene, made a great armie. The archbishop of Canturburie and others aided hir with monie.

After that she had refreshed hir people a little space at saint Edmundsburie, she marched foorth to séeke the aduersaries of hir and of the realme, as she bruted it; but they still kéeping themselues néere to the kings person, that vnder the shadow of the wings of his protection they

The answer of the Londoners to the king.

might remaine in more safegard, durst not depart from his presence. At the time of the quéenes landing he was at London, and being sore amazed with the newes, he required aid of the Londoners. They answered, that they would doo all the honour they might vnto the king, the quéene, and to their sonne the lawfull heire of the land: but as for strangers & traitors to the

An. Reg. 20.

The lord Beaumont of Heinault.

The quéene of England with hir son goeth into Heinault.

Polydor

Caxton.

Fabian.

A marriage concluded.

Caxton.

Prouision made in England to resist the quéene.

Tho. Walsin.

The quéene with hir son land in Suffolke.

Tho. Walsi.

The readinesse of the prelats to assist the quéene.

realme, they would kéepe them out of their gates, and resist them with all their forces: but to go foorth of the citie further than that they might returne before sunne-setting, they refused, pretending certeine liberties in that behalfe to them granted in times past, as they alledged.

The king not greatlie liking of this answer, fortified the tower, and leauing within it his yoonger son Iohn of Eltham, and the wife of the lord Chamberleine Hugh Spenser the yoonger that was his néece, he departed towards the marches of Wales, there to raise an armie against the quéene. Before his departure from London, he set foorth a proclamation, that euerie man vnder paine of forfeiting of life & goods, should resist them that were thus landed, assaile, and kill them, the quéene, his sonne Edward, and his brother the earle of Kent onelie excepted; and whosoeuer could bring the head or dead corps of the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, should have for his labour a thousand marks. The quéenes proclamations

The king forsaketh London, and goeth towards the marches of Wales. A proclamation set forth by the king.

The guéenes proclamation.

on the other part willed all men to hope for peace, the Spensers publike enimies of the realme, and the lord chancellor Robert Baldocke, with their assistants onlie excepted, through whose meanes the present trouble was happened to the realme. And it was forbidden, that no man should take ought from any person, and who so euer could bring to the quéene the head of Hugh Spenser the younger, should have two thousand pounds of the quéenes gift.

The king at his departure from London, left maister Walter Stapleton the bishop of Excester behind him, to have the rule of the citie of London. Then shortlie after, the quéene with hir son, making towards London, wrote a letter to the major, and the citizens, requiring to have assistance citie of London. for the putting downe of the Spensers, not onelie knowne enimies of theirs, but also common enimies to all the realme of England. To this Caxton. letter no answer at the first was made, wherefore an other was sent, dated

The bishop of Excester left in charge with the

at Baldocke the sixt daie of October, vnder the names of Isabell by the grace of God quéene of England, ladie of Ireland, and countesse of Pontieu, and of Edward eldest sonne to the king of England, duke of Guien, earle of Chester, of Pontieu and of Muttrell. This letter being directed to the major and communaltie of London, conteining in effect, that the cause of their landing and entring into the realme at that time, was onelie for the honor of the king and wealth of the realme, meaning hurt to no maner of person, but to the Spensers, was fastened vpon the crosse in Cheape, then called the new crosse in Cheape, on the night before the ninth daie of October. Diuerse copies of the same letter were set vp, and fastened vpon windowes and doores in other places of the citie, and one of the same copies was tacked vpon the lord maiors gates.

After which letter thus published in the citie, a great number of artificers, and other that loued not to sit in rest vpon such occasion of discord offered, now that things were in broile in other parts of the realme, assembled in great numbers, & with weapon in hand came to the lord maior of the citie, whom they knew to fauour the kings part, & therefore they forced him through feare of some iniurious violence, to receiue an oth to stand to their ordinance, which was to put to death all those that were aduersaries to the quéene, or had by any meanes procured the hinderance of the cities liberties, vnder pretext of which oth they ran and tooke one of the citizens, called John Marshall, who bicause he was verie familiar with the earle of Glocester, and therefore suspected to haue accused the citizens, they stroke off his head, and spoiled all his goods.

Fabian.

Thom. Walsi.

The lord maior forced to take an oth.

Iohn Marshall taken & beheaded.

On the same day, being the fourtéenth of October, continuing their rage, they ran to the house of the bishop of Excester, Walter de Stapleton, and setting fire on the gates, they entred and spoiled him of all his plate, iewels, monie and goods. And as it chanced in an infortunate houre for

beheaded.

him, the bishop being at the same time returning from the fields, would not séeme to shrinke, although he was admonished of these outragious attempts of the people; but sitting on horssebacke, came to the north doore of S. Paule, where foorthwith the furious people laid violent hands on him, threw him downe, and drew him most outragiouslie into Cheapeside, where they proclamed him an open traitor, a seducer of the king, and a destroier of their liberties. The bishop had vpon him a certeine cote of defense, which was called an aketon, the same therefore being plucked beside his backe as all other his garments, they shore his head from his shoulders, and to the like death they put two of his seruants, the one an esquire, and the other a yeoman. The bishops head was set on a pole for a spectacle, that the remembrance of his death, and the cause thereof might continue. His bodie was buried in an old churchyard of the pied friers, without any manner of exequies of funerall seruice doone for him.

The chiefest cause of the enimitie which the Londoners bare towards this bishop, rose hereof. He being lord treasuror, procured that the iustices itinerants did sit in the citie of London, and where manie of the citizens were found offendors, and justlie punished, as well by loosing their fréedoms, as by paieng their fines, and suffering corporall punishments, they conceiued a great displeasure towards him. Moreouer, it was said, that he had raised a great multitude of armed men against the quéene, and hir son the duke of Aquitaine, and therefore did the Londoners (as they affirmed) séeke to preuent his procéedings. ¶ The morrow after that they had thus beheaded the bishop of Excester, they tooke by chance sir Iohn Weston constable of the tower, and from him they tooke the keies of the same tower, and so entering the tower, they set all the prisoners at libertie, and in like case all those that were imprisoned in maner through the land were permitted to go at large, and all the banished men and outlawes were likewise restored home.

The Londoners having the tower thus at their commandement, removued all the officers therein placed by the king, and put other in their roomes, in the name of the lord Iohn de Eltham the kings son, whom they named warden of the citie and land. And yet they ceassed not to commit manie robberies & other outragious & most insolent parts. In the meane time, the king being come to Bristow, left that citie in the kéeping of the earle of Winchester. And with the earles of Glocester and Arundell, and the lord chancellor sir Robert Baldocke, he sailed ouer into Wales, there to raise a power of Welshmen in defense of himselfe against the quéene and hir adherents, which he had good hope to find amongest the Welshmen, bica

The king sailed into Wales.

Polydor.

His fauour towards the Welshmen.

adherents, which he had good hope to find amongest the Welshmen, bicause he had euer vsed them gentlie, and shewed no rigor towards them for their riotous misgouernance. Againe, he drew the rather into that part, that if there were no remedie, he might easilie escape ouer into Ireland, and get into some mounteine-countrie, marish-ground, or other streict, where his enimies should not come at him.

But now to speake of the quéene, yée most vnderstand, that after she had receiued knowledge from the Londoners, that they were wholie at hir deuotion, she being glad thereof, turned hir iournie toward Wales to follow the king, and comming to Oxenford, staied there a while, and still came people to hir from all sides. Héere Adam de Torleton the bishop of Hereford, which latelie before had béene sore fined by the king, for that he was accused to stirre the people to rebellion, and to aid the barons (as yée haue heard) made a pithie oration to the armie, declaring that the quéene and hir sonne were returned onelie into England, to the intent to persecute the Spensers, & reforme the state of the realme. And sith then that they now were come in maner to an end of the tyrannie of most naughtie men, and of the danger that might growe dailie thereof, he exhor

The quéene following the king commeth to Oxenford.

Tho. de la More.

The bishop of Hereford maketh an oration to the quéenes armie.

naughtie men, and of the danger that might growe dailie thereof, he exhorted them with patient minds to beare the small trauell that remained in pursuit of the enimies; and as for reward, they might looke for all things by the victorie, and the quéenes liberalitie, whose loue was such towards the common-wealth, as she onelie applied all hir endeuours and dooings to the aduancement thereof.

These words spoken, the quéene accompanied with a great power, departed from Oxenford, and went straight vnto Glocester, and sent before hir vnto Bristow the earle of Kent, the kings brother, sir Iohn of Hennegew, with other, to take the earle of Winchester. They did their

The quéene goeth to Glocester.

endeuour with such diligence, that the townesmen, compounding to be saued harmlesse in bodie and goods, deliuered the towne and castell vnto the quéene, & to hir sonne the prince. In the meane time, there came to the quéene at Glocester, the lord Percie, the lord Wake, and diuerse other, as well from the north parts, as foorth of the marches of Wales, so that hir armie hugelie increased.

From Glocester she passed by Berkley, and restored the castell of Berkley (which the earle of Glocester, Hugh Spenser the yoonger had held) vnto the lord Thomas Berkley, heire to the lord Maurice Berkley latelie before deceassed in prison, within the castell of Wallingford, togither with all the appurtenances to the honor of Berkley belonging. From thence she went to Bristow, and the morrow after hir thither comming, being the euen of the apostles Simon and Iude, through the instant calling vpon of the people, the earle of Winchester was drawne foorth in his cote armor vnto the common gallows, and there hanged. His head was after cut off, and sent to Winchester, whereof he was earle.

The lord Berkley.

The quéene commeth to Bristow.

The earle of Winchester executed.

The king in this meane time kept not in one place, but shifting hither and thither, remained in great care. Wherevpon sir Thomas Blunt, an ancient knight, and lord steward of the kings house, tooke his seruants, with vittels, horsses, and armour in great plentie, and came to the quéene, of whome, and likewise of hir sonne he was ioifullie receiued, and diuerse of them which he brought with him were reteined, and the other had letters

Sir Thomas Blunt, lord Steward to the king, reuolteth to the quéene.

of protection, and were sent awaie in louing manner. ¶ The king with the earle of Glocester, and the lord chancellor, taking the sea, meant to have gone either into the Ile of Lundaie, or else into Ireland, but being tossed with contrarie winds for the space of a wéeke togither, at length he landed in Glamorganshire, and got him to the abbeie and castell of Neith, there secretlie remaining vpon trust of the Welshmens promises. ¶ Hugoline Spenser, the sonne of the earle of Glocester, defended the castell of Kersilie, against the power of the quéene and of hir sonne till easter following, and then compounding for the safetie of his owne life, and all theirs within that castell, and likewise for the inioieng of their goods, he yéelded it to the hands of the men of warre that held siege before it in the quéenes name, and of hir sonne.

But now touching the king, whilest he was thus abroad, and no man wist where he was become, proclamations were made in the quéenes armie dailie, in the which he was summoned to returne, and to take the rule of the relme into his hands, if he would be conformable to the minds of his true liege men; but when he appeared not, the lords of the land assembled in councell at Hereford, whither the quéene was come from Bristow, and there was the lord Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine made warden of England, by common decrée, vnto whome all men, as to the lord

A councell at Hereford.

The prince of Wales made lord warden of the realme.

A new chancellor and

warden of the realme, made fealtie, in receiuing an oth of allegiance to be treasuror. faithfull and loiall to him. After this, they made the bishop of Norwich lord chancellor, and the bishop of Winchester lord treasuror.

The quéene remained about a moneths space at Hereford, and in the meane while sent the lord Henrie erle of Leicester, and the lord William la Zouch, and one Rice ap Howell, that was latelie deliuered out of the tower where he was prisoner, into Wales, to sée if they might find means to apprehend the king by helpe of their acquaintance in those parts, all thrée of them having lands thereabouts, where it was knowne the king for the more part kept. They vsed such diligence in that charge, that finallie with large gifts bestowed on the Welshmen, they came to vnderstand where the king was, and so on the day of saint Edmund the archbishop, being the sixtéenth of Nouember, they tooke him in the monasterie of Neith, néere to the castell of Laturssan, togither with Hugh Spenser the sonne called earle of Glocester, the lord chancellour Robert de Baldocke, and Simon de Reading the kings marshall, not caring for other the kings seruants, whome they suffered to escape.

The king was deliuered to the earle of Leicester, who conueied him by Monmouth and Leadburie, to Killingworth castle, where he remained the whole winter. The earle of Glocester, the lord chancellor, and Simon de Reading, were brought to Hereford, and there presented to the quéene, where on the foure & twentith of Nouember, the said earle was drawne and hanged on a paire of gallowes of fiftie foot in height. Then was his head striken off, his bowels taken out of his bodie and burnt, and his bodie

The king is brought to Killingworth.

Hugh Spenser the yonger executed.

diuided in quarters. His head was sent to London, and set vpon the bridge with other, & his quarters were sent to foure seuerall parts of the realme, and there pight vpon poles, to be séene of the people. He was drawne in his owne cote armour, about the which there were letters embrodered plaine to be read, conteining a parcell of the 52 psalme, as followeth.

- 1 QVID gloriaris in malitia potens?
- · 2 Iniquitatem tota die, iniustitiam cogitauit lingua tua, sicut nouacula acuta fecistidolum,
- 3 Dilexisti malitiam super bonitatem, iniustitiam magis quàm loqui iustitiam,
- 4 Dilexisti omnia verba demersionis lingua dolosa,
- 5 Propterea Deus destruat te in finem, euellat te & emigrare te faciat de tabernaculo tuo, & radicem tuam de terra viuentium,
- 6 Videbunt iusti & timebunt, & super eum ridebunt, & dicent,
- 7 Ecce homo qui non posuit Deum adiutorem suum, sed sperauit in multitudine diuitiarum suarum, & præualuit in vanitate sua.
- 1 WHY boastest thou that thou canst do mischiefe?
- 2 Thy toong imagineth wickednesse, & with lies thou cuttest like a sharpe rasor,
- 3 Thou hast loued vngratiousnesse more than goodnesse, and to talke of lies more than righteousnesse,
- 4 Thou hast loued to speake all words that may doo hurt ô thou false toong,
- 5 Therefore shall God destroie thée for euer, he shall take thée, and plucke thée out of my dwelling, and roote thée out of the land of the liuing,
- 6 The righteous also shall sée this, and feare, and shall laugh him to scorne,
- 7 Lo this is the man that tooke not God for his strength, but trusted vnto the multitude of his riches, & strengthned himselfe in his wickednesse.

On the same daie was Simon de Reading drawne and hanged on the same gallowes, but ten foot lower than the other. This Reading being marshall of the kings house, had vsed the quéene very vncourteouslie, giuing hir manie reprochfull words, which now were remembred, and therefore may serue for an example, how dangerous a thing it is to speake euill of the higher powers. The common fame went, that after this Hugh Spenser the sonne was taken, he would receiue no sustenance, wherefore he was the sooner put to death, or else had he béene conueied to London, there to haue suffered. Iohn earle of Arundell was taken on S. Hughs day, in the parts about Shrewesburie, and the same day seuennight before the execution of the earle of Glocester, Hugh Spenser the yoonger, as well the said earle, who had béene euer a great fréend to both the Spensers, as also Iohn Daniell, and Thomas de Milcheldoure were put to death at Hereford, by procurement of the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, that hated them extreamelie, by reason whereof they were not like to spéed much better, for what he willed the same was doone, and without him the quéene in all these matters did nothing.

The chancellour Robert de Baldocke being committed to the custodie of Adam de Torleton bishop of Hereford, remained at Hereford in safe kéeping till Candlemasse next, and then the bishop being at London, appointed him to be brought vp, where not without the bishops consent (as was thought) he was taken out of his house by violence, and laid in Newgate, where shortlie after through inward sorow and extreame gréefe of mind he ended his life. Thus the quéene and hir companie hauing compassed their businesse in so happie maner as they could wish, she with hir sonne and a great companie of lords and gentlemen repaired vnto Wallingford, where they kept Christmasse togither with great ioy and

Simon de Reading executed.

Caxton.

The earle of Arundell taken.

Th. Walsing.

The fauour in which the lord Mortimer was with the quéene.

Robert Baldocke ended his life.

1327.

A parlement.

triumph, the king in the meane while remaining (as ye haue heard) at Killingworth, in a kind of honorable estate, although he was prisoner. ¶ After Christmasse, the quéene with hir son and such lords as were then with them, removued to London, where at their comming thither, which was before the feast of the Epiphanie, they were received with great ioy, triumph, and large gifts, and so brought to Westminster, where the

The king is deposed by act of parlement.

morrow after the same feast, the parlement which before hand had been summoned began, in which it was concluded and fullie agréed by all the states (for none durst speake to the contrarie) that for diuerse articles which were put vp against the king, he was not worthie longer to reigne, and therefore should be deposed, and withall they willed to haue his sonne Edward duke of Aquitaine to reigne in his place. This ordinance was openlie pronounced in the great hall at Westminster by one of the lords, on the feast day of saint Hilarie being tuesdaie, to the which all the people consented. The archbishop of Canturburie taking his theame, Vox populi, vox Dei, made a sermon, exhorting the people to praie to God to bestow of his grace vpon the new king. And so when the sermon was ended, euerie man departed to his lodging. But the duke of Aquitaine, when he perceived that his mother tooke the matter heavilie in appearance, for that hir husband should be thus depriued of the crowne, he protested that he would neuer take it on him, without his fathers consent, and so therevpon it was concluded, that certeine solemne messengers should go to Killingworth to mooue the king to make resignation of his crowne and title of the kingdome vnto his sonne.

There were sent on this message (as some write) thrée or (as other haue) two bishops, two earles, two abbats, two or (as Tho. de la More and Walsingham haue) foure barons, and for euerie countie, citie, and burrough, and likewise for the cinque ports, certeine knights and burgesses. The bishops that were sent were these (as T. de la More

Thom. de la More.

noteth) Iohn de Stratford bishop of Winchester, Adam de Torleton bishop of Hereford, and Henrie bishop of Lincolne. The two earles (as Southwell hath) were Lancaster and Warwike: the two barons, Rose and Courtney: beside these (as he saith) there were two abbats, two priors, two iustices, two friers of the order of preachers, two of the Carmelits, two knights for the commons on the north side of Trent, and two for the other on the south side of the same river: two citizens for London, two burgesses for the cinque ports, so as in all there went of this message (as Southwell saith) thrée and twentie or rather foure and twentie persons of one degrée and other.

None of the frier minors went, bicause they would not be the bringers of so heavie tidings, sith he had euer borne them great good will. The bishops of Winchester and Lincolne went before, and comming to Killingworth, associated with them the earle of Leicester, of some called the earle of Lancaster, that had the king in kéeping. And hauing secret conference with the king, they sought to frame his mind, so as he might be contented to resigne the crowne to his sonne, bearing him in hand, that if he refused so to doo, the people in respect of the euill will which they had conceiued against him, would not faile but procéed to the election of some other that should happilie not touch him in linage. And sith this was the onlie meane to bring the land in quiet, they willed him to consider how much he was bound in conscience to take that waie that should be so beneficiall to the whole realme.

The king being sore troubled to heare such displeasant newes, was brought into a maruelous agonie: but in the end, for the quiet of the realme and doubt of further danger to himselfe, he determined to follow their aduise, and so when the other commissioners were come, and that

Rich. South.	
The kings answer.	

the bishop of Hereford had declared the cause wherefore they were sent, in kings answer. the king in presence of them all, notwithstanding his outward countenance discouered how much it inwardlie grieued him; yet after he was come to himselfe, he answered that he knew that he was fallen into this miserie through his owne offenses, and therefore he was contented patientlie to suffer it, but yet it could not (he said) but gréeue him, that he had in such wise runne into the hatred of all his people: notwithstanding he gaue the lords most heartie thanks, that they had so forgotten their received injuries, and ceased not to beare so much good will towards his sonne Edward, as to wish that he might reigne ouer them. Therefore to satisfie them, sith otherwise it might not be, he vtterlie renounced his right to the kingdome, and to the whole administration thereof. And lastlie he besought the lords now in his miserie to forgive him such offenses as he had committed against them. Ah lamentable ruine from roialtie to miserable calamitie, procured by them chéefelie that should haue béene the pillers of the kings estate, and not the hooked engins to pull him downe from his throne! So that here we sée it verefied by triall, that

--- miser átg; infœlix est etiam rex, Nec quenquam (mihi crede) facit diadema beatum.

The ambassadours with this answer returning to London, declared the same vnto all the states, in order as they had received it, whervpon great ioy was made of all men, to consider that they might now by course of law procéed to the choosing of a new king. And so thervpon the nine and twentith day of Ianuarie in session of parlement then at Westminster

Polydor.	
Meredith.	

assembled, was the third king Edward, sonne to king Edward the second, chosen and elected king of England, by the authoritie of the same parlement, first (as before is said) confirmed by his fathers resignation: and the first day of his reigne they agréed to be the fiue and twentith of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1326 after the account of the church of England, beginning the yeare the fiue & twentith day of March, but by the common account of writers, it was in the yeare 1327. ¶ On the same daie sir William Trusell procurator for the whole parlement did renounce the old

king in name of the whole parlement, with all homages and fealties due to him, so that the same fiue and twentith day of Ianuarie hath beene reputed and taken for the first day of the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, so that whatsoeuer chanced before that day, is ascribed to be doone during the reigne of his father.

But now to make an end of the life, as well as of the reigne of king Edward the second, I find that after he was deposed of his kinglie honour and title, Thom. de la More. he remained for a time at Killingworth, in custodie of the earle of

Leicester. But within a while the queene was informed by the bishop of Hereford, (whose hatred towards him had no end) that the erle of Leicester fauoured hir husband too much, and more than stood with the suertie of hir sonnes state, wherevoon he was appointed to the kéeping of two other lords, Thomas Berkley, and Iohn Matreuers, who receiving him of the earle of Leicester the third of Aprill, conucied him from Killingworth vnto the castell of Berkley, situate not farre off from the riuer of Seuerne, almost the midwaie betwixt Glocester and Bristow.

But forsomuch as the lord Berkley vsed him more courteouslie than his aduersaries wished him to doo, he was discharged of that office, and sir Thomas Gourney appointed in his stead, who togither with the lord

Sir Thomas Gourney.

Matreuers conueied him secretlie (for feare least he should be taken from them by force) from one strong place to another, as to the castell of Corfe, and such like, still remoouing with him in the night season, till at length they thought it should not be knowne whither they had conueied him. And so at length they brought him backe againe in secret maner vnto the castell of Berkley, where whilest he remained (as some write) the quéene would send vnto him courteous and louing letters with apparell and other such things, but she would not once come néere to visit him, bearing him in hand that she durst not, for feare of the peoples displeasure, who hated him so extreamelie. Howbeit, she with the rest of hir confederats had (no doubt) laid the plot of their deuise for his dispatch, though by painted words she pretended a kind of remorse to him in this his distresse, & would séeme to be faultlesse in the sight of the world; for

Proditor illudit verbis dum verbera cudit.

But as he thus continued in prison, closelie kept, so that none of his fréends might haue accesse vnto him, as in such cases it often happeneth, when men be in miserie, some will euer pitie their state, there were diuerse of the nobilitie (of whome the earle of Kent was chéefe) began to deuise means by secret conference had togither, how they might restore

The earle of Kent conspireth to deliuer his brother.

him to libertie, discommending greatlie both quéene Isabell, and such other as were appointed gouernours to the yoong king, for his fathers streict imprisonment. The quéene and other the gouernours vnderstanding this conspiracie of the earle of Kent, and of his brother, durst not yet in that new and gréene world go about to punish it, but rather thought good to take awaie from them the occasion of accomplishing their purpose. And herevpon the quéene and the bishop of Hereford wrote sharpe letters vnto his kéepers, blaming them greatlie, for that they dealt so gentlie with him, and kept him no streictlier, but suffered him to haue such libertie, that he aduertised some of his fréends abroad how and in what manner he was vsed, and withall the bishop of Hereford vnder a sophisticall forme of words signified to them by his letters, that they should dispatch him out of the waie, the tenor whereof wrapped in obscuritie ran thus:

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est: To kill Edward will not to feare it is good.

Which riddle or doubtfull kind of spéech, as it might be taken in two contrarie senses, onelie by placing the point in orthographic called Coma, they construed in the worse sense, putting the Comma after Timere, and so presuming of this commandement as they tooke it from the bishop, they lodged the miserable prisoner in a chamber ouer a foule filthie dungeon, full of dead carrion, trusting so to make an end of him, with the abhominable stinch thereof: but he bearing it out stronglie, as a man of a tough nature, continued still in life, so as it séemed he was verie like to escape that danger, as he had by purging either vp or downe avoided the force of such poison as had béene ministred to him sundrie times before, of purpose so to rid him.

Wherevpon when they sawe that such practises would not serue their turne, they came suddenlie one night into the chamber where he laie in bed fast asléepe, and with heauie featherbeds or a table (as some write) being cast vpon him, they kept him down and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the same they thrust vp into his bodie an hot spit, or (as other haue) through the pipe of a trumpet a plumbers instrument of iron made verie hot, the which passing vp into his intrailes, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the same, but so as no appearance of any wound or hurt outwardlie might be once perceiued. His crie did

Tho Wals

Thom. de la More.

K. Edward the second

mooue manie within the castell and towne of Berkley to compassion, plainelie hearing him vtter a wailefull noise, as the tormentors were about to murther him, so that diverse being awakened therewith (as they themselues confessed) praied heartilie to God to receive his soule, when they vnderstood by his crie what the matter ment.

The quéene, the bishop, and others, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and banished the lord Matreuers, and Thomas Gourney, who flieng vnto Marcels, thrée yeares after being knowne, taken, and brought ignorant people. toward England was beheaded on the sea, least he should accuse the

The fond opinion of the

chiefe dooers, as the bishop and other. Iohn Matreuers, repenting himselfe, laie long hidden in Germanie, and in the end died penitentlie. Thus was king Edward murthered, in the yeare 1327, on the 22 of September. The fame went that by this Edward the second, after his death

The nature & disposition of king Edward the second.

manie miracles were wrought. So that the like opinion of him was conceiued as before had béene of earle Thomas of Lancaster, namelie amongst the common people. He was knowne to be of a good and courteous nature, though not of most pregnant wit.

And albeit in his youth he fell into certeine light crimes, and after by the companie and counsell of euill men, was induced vnto more heinous vices, yet was it thought that he purged the same by repentance, and patientlie suffered manie reproofes, and finallie death it selfe (as before ye haue heard) after a most cruell maner. He had suerlie good cause to repent his former trade of liuing, for by his vndiscréet and wanton misgouernance, there were headed and put to death during his reigne (by iudgement of law) to the number of 28 barons and knights, ouer and beside such as were slaine in Scotland by his infortunate conduct.

All these mischéefes and manie more happened not onlie to him, but also to the whole state of the realme, in that he wanted iudgement and prudent discretion to make choise of sage and discréet councillors, receiuing those into his fauour, that abused the same to their private gaine and aduantage, not respecting the aduancement of the common-wealth, so they themselues might atteine to riches and honour, for which they onelie sought, in somuch that by their couetous rapine, spoile, and immoderate ambition, the hearts of the common people & nobilitie were quite estranged from the dutifull loue and obedience which they ought to have shewed to their souereigne, going about by force to wrest him to follow their wils, and to seeke the destruction of them whome he commonlie fauoured, wherein suerlie they were worthie of blame, and to tast (as manie of them did) the deserved punishment for their disobedient and disloiall demeanors. For it was not the waie which they tooke to helpe the disfigured state of the commonwealth, but rather the readie meane to ouerthrow all, as if Gods goodnesse had not béene the greater it must néeds haue come to passe, as to those that shall well consider the pitifull tragedie of this kings time it may well appeare.

But to procéed with that which remaineth touching this infortunate prince. He had issue by his wife quéene Isabell two sonnes, Edward which was made king whilest he was yet aliue, and Iohn which died yoong: also two daughters, Elianor which died before she came to yeares able for mariage; and Ione which was after given in marriage vnto Dauid king of Scotland. He was indifferentlie tall of stature, strong of bodie, and

Oriall & S. Maries hall

healthfull, neither wanted there in him stoutnesse of stomach, if his euill councellors had béene remooued, that he might have shewed it in honorable exploits, which being kept backe by them, he could not doo. So that thereby it appeareth of what importance it is to be trained vp in youth with good and honest companie. ¶ It is said that he was learned, insomuch that there remaine verses, which (as some haue written) he made whilest he was in prison. Certeine it is he fauoured lerning, as by the erection of Oriall colledge in Oxford, & S. Maries hall, which were of his foundation, it may well be gathered.

Learned men we find recorded by Bale, to liue in this kings time these as follow. Iohn Duns that subtill logician, borne (as Leland hath gathered) in a village in Northumberland called Emildune, thrée miles distant from Alnwike, although other hold the contrarie, the Scots claiming him for their countrieman, and the Irishmen for theirs; Robert Walsingham a

Ex centuria 4 Bale.

Sée in Scotland. Carmelite frier that writ diuerse treatises, Iohn Wilton an Augustine frier, Walter Winterborne, Rafe Locksley, Nicholas Stanford, William Whitley, Thomas Ioice, Walter Ioice, William Gainesburgh, Robert Baston borne not farre from Notingham a Carmelite frier of Scarburgh, the same whome king Edward tooke with him into Scotland to write some remembrances of his victories, although being taken by the Scots, he was constreined by Robert Bruce to frame a dittie to a contrarie tune; Iohn Horminger a Suffolke man borne, William Rishanger a moonke of S. Albons an historiographer, Rafe Baldocke bishop of London wrote also an historie, which was intituled Historia Anglica; Richard Bliton a Lincolnshire man borne a Carmelite frier, Iohn Walsingham borne either in Walsingham or Brunham (as Bale supposeth) a Carmelite frier also, and wrote diuerse treatises; Thomas Chabham a canon of Salisburie and a doctor of diuinitie, Robert Plimpton borne in Deuonshire a regular canon, Thomas Castleford a moonke of Pomfret, William Mansfield, Iohn Canon, Robert Grime, William Askettle of Beuerley, Geffrey of Cornewall, Iohn Gatisdene, Theobald Anglicus, Stephan Eiton or Edon, Iohn Goldstone borne in Yorkeshire; Iohn Winchelsey, Nicholas de Lyra a Iew by birth of those that had their habitations in England, who wrote verie manie treatises, to his great commendation for his singular knowledge and zeale, which he shewed in disprouing the Rabines that still sought to kéepe the Iewish nation in blindnesse and vaine hope, in looking for another Messias; Rafe Acton an excellent divine, Iohn Dumbleton a logician, Thomas Langford borne in Maldon in Essex a logician, Osbert Pickenam a Carmelite frier of Lin in Norfolke, Nicholas Okeham a graie frier, William Ockam a frier minor that wrote diuerse treatises, and namelie against Iohn Duns, and likewise against Iohn the thrée and twentith pope of that name in fauour of the emperour Lewes of Bauier, Richard Walingford, Thomas Haselwood a canon of Léeds in Kent wrote a chronicle called Chronicon compendiarium, Robert Karew, Robert Perscrutator borne in Yorkeshire a blacke frier and a philosopher or rather a magician, Richard Belgraue a Carmelite, Brinkley a minorite; and others.

Transcriber's Notes:

Simple spelling, grammar, and typographical errors were corrected.

Punctuation normalized.

Anachronistic and non-standard spellings retained as printed.

The author's usage of accents was inconsistent. Specifically accented "ée" is far more prevalent than "ee" even for the same word. Changed all instances of "ee" to "ée."

*** END OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND (2 OF 6): ENGLAND (10 OF 12) ***

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