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

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

HENRIE THE SIXT,

sonne and heire to Henrie the fift.

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After that death had bereft the world of that noble prince king Henrie the fift, his onelie sonne prince Henrie, being of the age of nine moneths, or thereabouts, with the sound of trumpets was openlie proclamed king of England and France the thirtith daie of August, by the name of Henrie the sixt; in the yeare of the world fiue thousand, thrée hundred, eightie and nine, after the birth of our Sauieur 1422, about the twelwe yeare of the emperour Frederike the third, the fortith and two and last of Charles the sixt, and the third yeare of Mordaks regiment (after his father Robert)

1422.

An. Reg. 1.

Buchan lib. 10.

gouernour of Scotland. The custodie of this yoong prince was appointed to Thomas duke of Excester, & to Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester. The duke of Bedford was deputed regent of France, and the duke of Glocester was ordeined protectour of England; who taking vpon him that office, called to him wise and graue counsellors, by whose aduise he prouided and tooke order as well for the good government of the realme & subiects of the same at home, as also for the maintenance of the warres abroad, and further conquest to be made in France, appointing valiant and expert capteins, which should be readie, when néed required. Besides this, he gathered great summes of monie to mainteine men of warre, and left nothing forgotten that might aduance the good estate of the realme.

While these things were a dooing in England, the duke of Bedford regent of France studied most earnestlie, not onelie to kéepe and well order the countries by king Henrie late conquered; but also determined not to leaue off warre & trauell, till Charles the Dolphin (which was now aflote, because king Charles his father in the moneth of October in this present yeare was departed to God) should either be subdued, or brought to obeisance. And suerlie the death of this king Charles caused alterations in France. For a great manie of the nobilitie, which before, either for feare of the English puissance, or for the loue of this king Charles (whose authoritie they followed) held on the English part, did now reuolt to the Dolphin, with all indeuour to driue the English nation out of the French territories. Whereto they were the more earnestlie bent, and thought it a thing of greater facilitie, because of king Henries yoong yeares; whome (because he was a child) they estéemed not, but with one consent reuolted from their sworne fealtie: as the recorder of the Englishmens battels with forren nations, verie aptlie doth note, saieng:

Hïc Franci puerum regem neglectui habentes
Desciscunt, violátque fidem gens perfida sacro
Consilio ante datam.

The duke of Bedford being greatlie mooued with these sudden changes, fortified his townes both

with garrisons of men, munition, and vittels, assembled also a great armie of Englishmen and Normans, and so effectuously exhorted them to continue faithfull to their liege and lawfull lord yoong king Henrie, that manie of the French capteins willinglie sware to king Henrie fealtie and obedience, by whose example the communtie did the same. Thus the people quieted, and the countrie established in order, nothing was minded but warre, and nothing spoken of but conquest.

The Dolphin which lay the same time in the citie of Poitiers, after his fathers deceasse, caused himselfe to be proclaimed king of France, by the name of Charles the seuenth: and in good hope to recouer his patrimonie, with an haultie courage preparing war, assembled a great armie: and first the warre began by light skirmishes, but after it grew into maine battells. The Dolphin thinking not to lose anie occasions of well dooing, sent the lord Grauille to the towne of Pont Meulan, standing on the riuer of Seine, who comming to the same vpon the sudden, the fourtéenth of Ianuarie, tooke it and slue a great number of English souldiors, which he found within it.

Pont Meulan surprised by the Frêch.

1423.

Enguerant.

When the duke of Bedford the regent, aduertised of this sudden surprise, appointed the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie (a man both for policie and courage, liker to the old Romans than to men of his daies) accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, the lord Scales, the yoong lord Poinings, sir Iohn Fastolfe maister of the houshold, with himselfe and diuerse others, to besiege the said towne of Pont Meulan, which after two moneths siege was rendred to the said earle, and the lord Grauille sware to be true to the king of England euer after that day: but shortlie after, forgetting his oth, he turned French againe.

Lord Grauille falsified his oth.

The earle of Salisburie appointed sir Henrie Mortimer, and sir Richard Vernon, capteins of the towne, and from thence went into Champaigne, and there besieged the towne of Sens, tooke it, and sir William Marin the capteine within it, and slue all the souldiors that kept it, made capteins there sir Hugh Godding, and sir Richard Aubemond. ¶ In this season, Humfrie duke of Glocester, either striken in loue, or vpon some other occasion, married the ladie Iaquet or Iauelin, daughter and sole heire to William of Bauier duke of Holland, which was lawfull wife to Iohn duke of Brabant then liuing, who afterwards (as after ye shall heare) recouered hir out of the dukes hands.

The chances thus happening (as you before haue heard) Iohn duke of Bedford, Philip duke of Burgognie, and Iohn duke of Britaine made a fréendlie méeting in the citie of Amiens, where they renewed the old league and ancient amitie made betwéene the noble prince king Henrie the fift and them, adding thereto these conditions and agréments, ech of them to be to the other fréend and aider; and the enemie of the one to be enemie to the other; and all they to be fréends and aiders to the king of England, welwiller to his welwillers, and aduersarie to his aduersaries. And (bicause that affinitie is commonlie the bond of amitie) there was concluded a mariage betwéene the duke of Bedford, and the ladie Anne sister to the duke of Burgognie, which was after solemnized at Trois in Champaigne, in the presence of the duke of Burgognie brother to the bride, and of hir vnclé the duke of Brabant, the earles of Salisburie and Suffolke, and of nine hundred lords, knights, and esquiers, with such feast and triumph, as before that time had not béene séene of the Burgognions.

Affinitie an interteiner of friendship.

Whilest these matters were in hand, the Parisiens, thinking to blind the eies of the duke of Bedford, wrote to him how diuerse castels and fortresses lieng about their territories, were replenished with their enimies, dailie stopping their passages, and robbing their merchants, to their vtter vndoing, if they by his helpe were not relieued. But this was but a glose of the Parisiens, meaning to cause him to go about the winning of some strong hold, whilest they in his absence might bring into the citie Charles the Dolphin, that then called himselfe French king; for so had they appointed, assigning to him the daie of his comming, and the post of his entrie. But their practise being discouered to the duke of Bedford, he with a great power entered into Paris, one daie before the faire was appointed, & two nights before he was looked for of his enimies being vnprouided, and suddenlie caused the conspirators within the citie to be apprehended, and openlie to be put to execution.

The Parisiens preuented of their practises.

This doone, putting a mistrust in the Parisiens, he caused the castels and fortresses néere and adioining to the citie, to be furnished with Englishmen. And to auoid all night-watchers about Paris, and the confines thereof, he first tooke into his possession either by assault or composition, the towne of Trainelle and Braie vpon Seine. And bicause two castels, the one called Pacie, and the other Coursaie were also euil neighbours to the Parisiens, he sent sir Iohn Fastolfe great maister of his houshold with a notable armie to win the same castels; which he did, and with preie and prisoners returned backe againe to his maister the regent.

In this verie season, the Dolphin sent the lord William Steward earle of Buchquhane that was constable of France, and the earle of Ventadour in Auuergne, and manie other noble men of his part, to laie siege to the towne of Crauant in the countie of Auxerre, within the parts of Burgognie. Wherof hearing the lord regent, and the duke of Burgognie they assembled a great armie, and appointed the earle of Salisburie to haue the guiding thereof; who with his capteins and men of warre, English and Burgognions, came in good arraie to giue battell to the besiegers. And bicause the riuer of Yonne, which runneth by the said towne, was betwéene

The English armie entreth the riuer and winneth the banke.

the English armie, and their aduersaries, they could not well assaile their enimies, which defended the bankes and passages verie stronglie: yet notwithstanding, both horssemen and footmen of the English part couragiously put themselues into the riuer, and with fine force recouered the banke, whome the Burgognions incontinentlie followed.

When they were all gotten into the plaine, the archers shot, the bill men strake, and long was the fight in doubtfull balance. But in conclusion the Frenchmen not able to resist the force of the English nation, were discomfited, slaine, and chased, leauing a glorious victorie to the Englishmen and Burgognions. There were slaine of the Frenchmen an eightéene hundred knights and esquiers, beside commons: of Scots néere hand thrée thousand. Amongest the Frenchmen these were chieftest that were slaine: the earle of Lestrake, the earl of Comigens, the earle of Tonnoire, the lord Coquart de Comeron, the bastard of Arminake, the viscount of Touraine, the bastard of Forrestes, the lord de Port, and the lord Memorancie.

Of Scots the lord of saint Iohns towne, sir Iohn of Balgarie, sir Iohn Turnbull, sir Iohn Holiburton, sir Robert Lislie, sir William Coningham, sir William Dowglas, sir Alexander Hume, sir William Lislie, sir Iohn Rotherford, sir William Craiford, sir Thomas Seton, sir William Hamilton, and his sonne, Iohn Pillot. There were taken the earle of Buchquhane constable of France, which lost his eie, the earle of Ventadour, sir Alexander Meldrine, sir Lewes Ferignie, and two and twentie hundred gentlemen of the French part. Of Englishmen there were slaine sir Iohn Greie, sir William Hall, sir Gilbert Halsall one of the marshals of the field, Richard ap Madocke, and one and twentie hundred souldiers and men of warre.

After this fortunate victorie was the earle of Salisburie made (by the lord regent) lieutenant and vicegerent for the king and the said lord regent in the countries of France, Brie, and Champagne; and sir Iohn Fastolf was substituted deputie vnder the lord regent within the duchie of Normandie on this side the riuer of Seine; and withall he was also made gouernour of the countries of Aniou and Maine. The earle of Salisburie after fiue moneths siege, wan by surrender the towne and castell of Montaguillon in Brie; the capteins whereof, the one named Pregent of Cotinie, and Guille Bourgois Britons, sware neuer to beare armour against the Englishmen on this side the riuer of Loire. In the mean time of that siege, the earle of Suffolke tooke by force the castell of Coucie, and the strong castell of la Roch in Masconnois he got by appointment.

An. Reg. 2

In this second year of king Henrie the sixt, Iames (the first of that name & the hundred & second K. of Scotland, tooke to wife the ladie Iane, daughter to Iohn earle of Summerset deceased, and sister to Iohn then duke of Summerset, and also coosine germane remoued to king Henrie, and néece to the duke of Winchester, and to the duke of Excester) was set at libertie, couenanting to paie a small portion of monie more than was allowed to him for his wiues marriage monie, and left hostages for the same. But before his departure out of the realme, he did his homage vnto the the yoong king of England Henrie the sixt at the castell of Windsor, before thrée dukes, two archbishops, twelue earles, ten bishops, twentie barons, and two hundred knights and esquiers, beside others, in order of words according to the tenour hereafter following.

1424

Ann. 1423, per Buchanan.

Homage doone by the king of Scotland to king Henrie the sixt.

The formall recognisance or acknowledgement of the said homage.

I, IAMES STEWARD, K. of Scots, shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England & France, the noble and superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland; and to you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome of Scotland, which I hold and claime of you; and I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowledge and shall doo you seruice due for the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid. So God helpe me, and these holie euangelists.

But notwithstanding this his oth, and the great bounteous liberalitie of the mother & vncles of his wife, in bestowing on him abundance of plate & treasure, with rich clothes of arras; he had not béene long at home, but that soone out of France into Scotland ouer came there Iames Steward, who (after manie of the Scottish nobilitie by diuerse occasions in France consumed) grew to be capteine of the horssemen there. With him came the archbishop of Remes with power and commission for concluding a league betwéene France and Scotland, and also of a mariage betwéene Lewes the Dolphins sonne and Margaret Iameses daughter, though both verie yoong. Which matters acordinglie accomplished, to France againe they got them. So Iames became as firm French as any of his predecessours.

*Buchan. lib. 10. An.
1425. W. P.*

But now to leaue the Scottish king amongst his countriemen in Scotland, and returne to the dooings of England. I find that the duke of Gloucester, being protector and gouernour of the realme, prepared an armie of ten thousand men, and sent them ouer to his brother the regent into France; who comming into the territorie of Paris, were ioifullie of him receiued.

*Compeigne
surrendered to the
English by a policie.*

About the same time the Frenchmen got by stealth diuerse townes out of the Englishmens hands, and amongst other the faire towne of Compiegne was one, and the pretie towne of Crotoie an other. When the duke of Bedford was aduertised hereof, he determined not to let the matter passe in such sort, but with all conuenient spéed sent foorth a force to recouer these townes againe. And first the earle of Suffolke with the earle of Lignie, and diuerse other capteins of the Englishmen went to besiege Compiegne, and lodged on the one side of the riuer of Sohame, as the lord Lisle Adham, sir Thomas Ramston, and the prouost of Paris laie on the other side. The Frenchmen within the towne well furnished with good souldiers, munition, and vittels, couragiously defended themselues.

The Englishmen remembring that Guilliam Remond, other wise called Mariolaine had béen the leader of the souldiers within the towne (which Mariolaine before at Pacie was taken prisoner by sir Iohn Fastolfe) caused him to be brought from Paris vnto the campe, and set him in a chariot with an halter about his necke, and conueied him to the gibet without the towne, sending word to them within, that if they would not without delaie render the towne, their capteine should incontinentlie be strangled afore their faces. Which moued the souldiers so much, by reason of the loue they bare to their old capteine and gouernour, that for the deliuerance of him and partlie of themselues they yéelded the towne, so that both he and they might depart with horsse and harness onelie in sure conduct and safetie. Yet yer this towne of Compiegne was deliuered, sir Philip Hall, which was sent to Crotoie by the lord regent with eight hundred men to besiege it, got it suddenlie by assault yer the Frenchmen had either disposed their garrison, or appointed their lodgings.

*Compeigne & Crotoie
recouered from the
French.*

About the same time sir Iohn de la Poole brother to the duke of Suffolke, being capteine of Auranches in Normandie, assembled all the garrisons of the base marches of the countrie of Aniou, and came before the citie of Angiers, burnt the suburbes, spoiled and destroyed the whole countrie; and hauing as manie prisoners as his men might go awaie with, he was incountered by the earle of Aumarle, the vicount of Narbonne, and six thousand Frenchmen; which finding the Englishmen out of arae, incumbred with carriage of their great spoile, suddenlie set on them, gaue them the ouerthrow, slue thrée hundred and tooke manie prisoners; as the said sir Iohn de la Poole, sir Iohn Basset, Iohn Aufort lieutenant of Faleise, Iohn Clifton, Henrie Mortimer, and other to the number of six hundred.

But though the Frenchmen got here in this place, they went not awaie with like gaine in an other: for the bastard de la Baulme, and the lord Craignar capteins of Courallon, with a great band made rode into Masconnois, whom by chance Matthew ^[1]Gough and other Englishmen, which were also abroad in the countrie, met and incountred. There was a sore fight betwéene the parties, being of courage and number in maner equall. But after long conflict, the Frenchmen almost all were slaine and taken, and the bastard being well horsed, fled; after whome followed vpon the spurres, Matthew ^[2]Gough chasing him euen to his castell gate, and there tooke him: for the which act he was much praised of the erle of Salisburie (to whom he presented the said bastard) and had not onelie the rights giuen him that belonged to the prisoner but also was rewarded with a goodlie courser at the earles hands.

[1] Or rather Goche.

[2] Goche.

About this season, Arthur brother to Iohn duke of Britaine, commonlie called the earle of Richmond, hauing neither profit of the name, nor of the countrie, notwithstanding that king Henrie the fift had created him earle of Yurie in Normandie, and gaue him not onelie a great pension, but also the whole profits of the same towne of Yurie; yet now, bicause that the duke his brother was returned to the part of the Dolphin, he likewise reuolting from the English obeisance, came to the Dolphin to Poictiers, and there offered himselfe to serue him, whom the Dolphin gladlie accepted, reioising more thereof, than if he had gained an hundred thousand crownes: for the Britons within the towne of Yurie, hearing that their maister was ioined with the Dolphin, kept both the towne and castell against the duke of Bedford, furnishing it dailie with new men and munition.

The lord regent aduertised hereof, raised an armie of Englishmen and Normans, to the number of eightéene hundred men of armes, and eight thousand archers and other. He had in his companie the earles of Salisburie and Suffolke, the lords Scales, Willoughbie, and Poinings, sir Reginald Graie, sir Iohn Fastolfe, sir Iohn Saluaine, sir Lancelot Lisle, sir Philip Hall, sir Iohn Pashleie, sir Iohn Greie, sir Thomas Blunt, sir Robert Harling, sir William Oldhall, and manie other, both knights and esquiers, with whom he came before the towne of Yurie, which was well defended, till they within perceiued themselues in danger, by reason of a mine which the Englishmen made, wherevpon they yéelded the towne. But the capteins of the castell would not presentlie render the place, howbeit they promised to deliuer it, if the same were not rescued at a day assigned by the Dolphin or his power.

Vpon this promise, hostages were deliuered into the possession of the lord regent, by whose licence an herald was sent to the Dolphin, to aduertise him of the time determined; who vnderstanding the distresse of his fréends, incontinentlie sent Iohn duke of Alanson, as his lieutenant generall, the erle Douglas, whome at their setting foorth he made duke of Touraine, and the earle Buchquhane as then constable of France, the erls of Aumarle, Ventadoure, Tonnere, Maulieurier, and Forests, the vicounts of Narbonne, and Touars, the lords of Grauille, Gaules, Malicorne, Mannie, Ballaie, Fountains, Montfort, and manie other noble knights and esquiers, to the number of fiftéene thousand Frenchmen and Britons, besides fiue thousand Scots, whome the earle Dowglas had but latelie transported out of Scotland.

This roiall armie approched within two miles of Yurie. But when the duke of Alanson understood by such as he had sent to view the conduct of the Englishmen, that he could not get anie aduantage by assailing them (although the Dolphin had giuen him streict commandement to fight with the regent) he retired backe with his whole armie to the towne of Vernueill in Perch, that belonged to the king of England; sending word to the garrison, that he had discomfited the English armie, and that the regent with a small number with him by swiftnesse of horsse had saued himselfe. The inhabitants of Vernueill, giuing too light credit herevnto receiued the duke of Alanson with all his armie into the towne.

Verneuil gotten from the Englishmen by crediting a lie.

In the meane time came the daie of the rescues of Yurie, which for want thereof was deliuered to the duke of Bedford by the capteine called Gerard de la Pallier, who presenting vnto the duke of Bedford the keies of the castell, shewed him a letter also signed and sealed with the hands and seales of eightéene great lords, who the daie before promised by the tenour of the same letter to giue the duke battell, and to raise the siege. "Well (said the duke) if their hearts would haue serued, their puissance was sufficient once to haue proffered, or to haue performed this faithfull promise: but sith they disdaine to séeke me, God and saint George willing, I shall not desist to follow the tract of their horssees till one part of us be by battell ouerthrowne." And herewith he sent foorth the earle of Suffolke with six hundred horssemen, to espie the dooings of the Frenchmen, and where they were lodged. The earle riding foorth, passed by Dampuile, and came to Bretueill, where he heard certeine newes where the Frenchman had gotten Verneueill, and remained there still.

These newes he sent by post vnto the duke of Bedford, the which incontinentlie vpon that aduertisement set forward in great hast towards his enimies. The Frenchmen hearing of his comming, set their people in arraie, and made all one maine battell without fore ward or rere ward; and appointed foure hundred horssemen, Lombards and others to breake the arraie of the Englishmen, either behind, or at the sides, of the which was capteine sir Stephan de Vnoiles, called the Hire. The duke of Bedford likewise made one entier battell, and suffered no man to be on horssebacke, and set the archers (euerie one hauing a sharpe stake) both on the front of the battell, and also on the sides, like wings. And behind were all their horssees tied together, either by the reins or by the tailes, with the carts and cariages, to the defense whereof were two thousand archers appointed.

The ordering of their battels.

Héerewith either part being come almost to the ioining, the duke of Alanson, on the one side, exhorted his people to plaie the men, declaring vnto them, that the conclusion of this battell should either deliuer them out of vile seruitude, or place them in the vale of bondage. On the other side, the duke of Bedford, to incourage his men, willed them to remember how oft they had subdued those their aduersaries in battell (with whome they should now cope) for the most part, euer being the lesse number against the greater. Againe, he declared how necessarie it was to tame the bold attempts of the presumptuous Dolphin now in the beginning, least if the fire were suffered further to burne, it must haue néed of the more water to quench it.

Manie words he vttered, to put them in hope of good successe and victorie. But scarce had he ended his exhortation, when the Englishmen rushed foorth, and boldlie set on their enimies, crieng, Saint George, a

The battell of Vernoile the 28 of August, 1424.

Bedford, a Bedford: and the Frenchmen likewise cried Montioy saint Denis. Then began the battell right fierce on both sides, continuing for the space of thrée houres in doubtfull balance, fortune shewing hir selfe so equall, that no eie could iudge to whether part she was more fauourable. But at length, after that those foure hundred horssemen, which were appointed, as yée haue hard, to brake the arraie of the Englishmen, had passed thorough on the one side vnto the place where the cariages and horssees stood, and could not passe further, by reason of the fierce shot of the English bowes, they falling to the spoile made a hand, and therewith departed. Those archers then that were appointed to kéepe the cariages, being now at libertie, came forward, and so fiercelie shot at the thickest prease of their enimies fighting on foot, that in the end they were not able longer to indure, but were borne downe by fine force, and so vanquished.

This battell was fought the eight and twentieth of August, in the yeare of our Lord a thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, in the which battell were slaine of the Frenchmen the earles of Aumarle, Ventadour, Forest, Marie, the lords Grauille, Gaules, Fountaines, Ambois, Touars, Montenie, Combreste, Brunell, Tumble, and Poisie, beside thrée hundred knights. The vicount Narbonne was hanged on a gibbet, bicause he was one of the murtherers of the duke of Burgognie. Of Scots also were slaine, Archembald earle Dowglas, that was made (as before is mentioned) duke of Touraine, Iames Dowglas sonne to the said Archembald earle of Wicton, Iohn earle of Bouqhen newlie made constable of France, sir Alexander Meldrin, sir Henrie Balglaue, sir Iohn Sterling, William of Homelsdon, sir James Graie, sir Robert Randen, sir Alexander Linsaie, sir Robert Steward, sir Robert Swinton, and seauen and twentie hundred Scots of name and armes, beside others.

So that in this battell were slaine by report of Montioy king at armes in France, and the English haralds there present, of Frenchmen & Scots nine thousand and seauen hundred: and of Englishmen one and twentie hundred, but no man of name, sauing fiue yoong esquiers. And there were taken prisoners, Iohn duke of Alanson, the bastard of Alanson, the lord of Faiect, the lord of Hormit, sir Piers Harison, sir Lois de Gaucourt, sir Robert Brusset, sir Iohn Turnebull a Scot, and two hundred gentlemen, beside common soldiers. The Frenchmen within Vernoill, séeing the Dolphins armie thus ouerthrowne, deliuered the towne to the regent, their liues saued. Then was sir Philip Hall appointed capteine there, and the lord regent returned, and came to Rone, and after to Paris.

Fiue thousand saith *Aemilius* but *Nicholas Giles* saith there died but foure thousand on both parts.

Dudley and Charleton, two of the English nobilitie, were slaine at this battell, as *Ia. Meir* saith.

The Dolphin that called himselfe king of France, was sore appalled with the ouerthrow of his armie: for he was driuen out of all the countries in maner, that apperteined to the crowne of France, & might resort to none except to Bourbonois, Aluergne, Berrie, Poictow, Touraine, a part of Aniw, and Languedoc: yet to shew himselfe as king, he erected his court of parlement, his chancerie, & all other courts in the citie of Poictiers, and there established his great seale, with all due circumstances thereto apperteining: where he continued fouretéene yeares together, and then was remooued to Paris, after he had got that citie, and expelled the Englishmen, as after shall appeare.

The duke of Bedford lieng at Paris, sent the lord Scales, sir Iohn Montgomerie, sir Iohn Fastolfe, with two thousand men to winne the countries of Aniw, and Maine, vnto whom were rendred without assault, the strong castels of Beaumont le Vicount, Teune, Sillie, Osce, Courcieriers, Roussie, Vasse, Couetemenant, and twentie other, which I doo héere passe ouer. Such was then the opinion conceiued of the English puissance, so oft tried, prooued, and preuailing, that the Frenchmen thought the Englishmen would haue all which they wished for or wrought for.

The lord Scales sent to conquer Aniw and Maine.

The earle of Salisburie, with the said lord Scales, and the other capteins before named, were appointed with an armie of ten thousand men, to besiege the rich and strong citie of Mans, the chéefe citie of all the countrie of Maine; whither when they came, they made their approches, and planted their batterie to the wals, so that with the shot of their great péeces (which kind of engins before that time had not béene much séene nor heard of in France) the citie was within a few daies despoiled of all hir towers and outward defenses. The citizens and soldiers, perceiuing in what danger they stood, & knowing not how to remedie the matter, offered the towne vpon this condition, that all persons which would tarrie within the towne, might abide; and all that would depart with horsse and harnesse onelie, should be permitted: which offers were accepted, and the towne rendered, whereof the earle made capteine the earle of Suffolke, and his lieutenant sir Iohn Fastolfe.

Mans deliuered to the Englishmen.

After this, the earle of Salisburie besieged the faire towne of saint Susan, whereof was capteine one Ambrose de Lore, a right valiant chéefteine. The earle caused the towne to be assaulted at his first commmg to it; but he lost more than he gained, and therefore left off his assaults, and caused a trench to be cast about the towne, and so planted his batterie, by force whereof he ouerthrew the walles, in such sort that the capteine offered for himselfe and his soldiers 200000 crownes, so that they might depart in their doublets onelie, which summe (bicause winter approached) was accepted, and the towne yéelded. Of this towne sir Iohn Popham was made capteine. Then the erle went to Maine la Iuhez, which towne after fiue wéekes siege was yéelded, and appointed to the kéeping of sir Iohn Montgomerie, knight.

After the feast of the Purification of our ladie, the earle of Salisburie besieged the castell de la Fert Barnard; during which siege a sale was made of the towne of Alanson being in the

Englishmens possession, by a Gascoigne that was one of the garrison there. But this sale being opened to the erle of Salisbury by the same Gascoigne at the daie appointed, the lord Willoughbie and sir Iohn Fastolfe, with two thousand men were sent to incounter with the buiers of that towne; so that when Charles de Villiers chéefe merchant of this ware, came earlie in a morning with two hundred horsemen, and thrée hundred footmen, and approached the towne, abiding for the Gascoigne, yer he was aware, the Englishmen had compassed him and his companie round about, and setting vpon the Frenchmen, slue and tooke all the whole number of them, saue Peter Danthenazie and fiue and twentie other, which by the swiftnesse of their horssees saued themselues.

After this conflict, the lord Willoughbie returned to the earle of Salisbury, lieng still at siege before the towne de la Fert Barnard, which shortlie after was rendered vp into the erle of Salisburies hands, to whome the lord regent gaue it, to inioie to him and his heires for euer. Beside this, the said earle partlie by assalt, & partlie by composition tooke diuers other, as saint Kales; where he made capteine Richard Gethin esquier; Thanceaux Lermitage, where he made gouernour Matthew ^[3]Gough; Guerland of the which he assigned ruler Iohn Banaster; Malicorne, whereof he made capteine William Glasdale esquier; Lisle Soubz Boulton, whereof was made capteine sir Lancelot Lisle knight; Loupelland, whereof was made capteine Henrie Branch; Montseur, of the which was made capteine sir William Oldhall knight: la Suze was assigned to the kéeping of Iohn Suffolke, esquier. And besides this, aboue fortie castels and piles were ouerthrowne and destroyed. The newes hereof reported in England, caused great reioising among the people, not onelie for the conquest of so manie townes & fortresses, but also for that it had pleased God to giue them victorie in a pitched field: whereof generall processions were appointed, to render vnto God humble thanks for his faour so bestowed vpon them.

Generall processions
after victorie.

[3] Or rather Goche.

This yeare after Easter, the king called a parlement at Westminster, by aduise of the péeres; and comming to the parlement house himselfe, he was conueied through the citie vpon a great courser, with great triumph, the people flocking into the stréets to behold the child, whome they iudged to haue the liuelie image and countenance of his father, and like to succéed him, and be his heire in all princelie qualities, martiall policies, and morall vertues, aswell as in his realmes, seigniories and dominions. In this parlement was granted to the king a subsidie of twelue pence the pound, towards the maintenance of his warres, of all merchandize, comming in or going out of the realme, as well of Englishmen as strangers.

An. Reg. 3.

A subsidie of tannage
and poundage.

During which parlement, came to London Peter duke of Quimbre, sonne to the king of Portingale, cousine germane remoued to the king; which of the duke of Excester and the bishop of Winchester his vncler was highlie feasted, he was also elected into the order of the garter. During the same season, Edmund Mortimer, the last earle of March, of that name (which long time had béene restrained from his libertie, and finallie waxed lame) deceased without issue, whose inheritance descended to the lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridge, beheaded (as before yée haue heard) at the towne of Southampton. ¶ In the time of this parlement also was sir Iohn Mortimer cousine to the same earle, either for desert or malice, atteinted of treason, and put to execution, of whose death no small slander arose amongst the common people.

The prince of
Portingale commeth to
London.

After all these things doone in England and in France, Humfreie duke of Glocester, who had married the ladie Iaquet, or Iaqueline of Bauier, countesse of Heinault, Holland, and Zeland (notwithstanding she was coupled in marriage afore to Iohn duke of Brabant, as yet liuing, and had continued with him a long space) passed now the sea with the said ladie, and went to Mons or Bergen in Heinault, where the more part of the people of that countrie came and submitted themselues vnto him, as to their souereigne lord, in right of his said wife, the ladie Iaquet or Iaqueline: with which dooing hir former husband was greatlie mooued. And likewise the duke of Burgognie, being great friend to the same duke of Brabant, was much offended: who of old familiaritie wrote louinglie to the duke of Glocester, requiring him to reforme himselfe according to reason, and to forsake his vngodlie life, both in kéeping of an other mans wife, and also in séeking to vsurpe other mens rights and titles.

Herevpon went letters betwixt them for a time, but at length when the duke of Burgognie perceiued that the duke of Glocester meant to mainteine his interest, & to make wane against the duke of Brabant; he tooke part with the duke of Brabant so earnestlie, that he consented to fight with the duke of Glocester bodie to bodie within lists in defence of the duke of Brabants quarell, and further aided the duke of Brabant in his warres against the duke of Glocester, with all his puissance, insomuch that in the end (after the duke of Glocesters returne into England) the duke of Brabant recouered all the towns in Heinault, which the ladie Iaquet or Iaqueline held against him. And further the same ladie was by composition deliuered by them of the towne of Mons vnto the duke of Burgognie; who caused hir to be conueied vnto Gant, from whence she made shift to escape into Holland, where she was obeied as countesse of the countrie.

Then made she warre in hir owne defense against the dukes of Burgognie and Brabant, who sought to spoile hir of all hir towns and lands: but they procured pope Martin the fift (before whome the matter was) to giue sentence that the first matrimonie with the duke of Brabant was good, and the second with the duke of Glocester to be vnlawfull. But in the meane time, the lord Fitz Walter was sent ouer to the aid of the ladie Iaquet or Iaquelin, with a power of Englishmen,

landed in Zeland, néere vnto the towne of Zerixe, aginst whome came the duke of Burgognie, and incountring with them and other such Hollanders and Zelanders, as were ioined with them, néere to a place called Brewers hauen, there discomfited them; so that of English, Hollanders, and Zelanders, with the said lord Fitz Walter, were slaine seauen or eight hundred, and the residue chased to the water. At length, when the duke of Glocester vnderstood the sentence pronounced against him by the pope, he began to wax wearie of his wife the said ladie Iaquet, by whome he neuer had profit, but losse, and tooke in a second marriage Eleanor Cobham, daughter to the lord Cobham of Sterberow, which before (as the fame went) was his souereigne paramour, to his slander and dishonour.

A little before this time, sir Thomas Rampston, sir Philip Branch, sir Nicholas Burdet, and other Englishmen, to the number of fiue hundred men of warre, repared and fortified the towne of S. James de Beuuron, situate on the frontiers of Normandie towards Britaine, within halfe a league of the duke of Britains ground, with whome as then they had open warre; and so began to doo manie displeasures to his people. Wherevpon Arthur earle of Richmont and Yurie, brother to the said duke, and latelie before created constable of France, assembled an huge power of men to the number of fortie thousand (as some haue written) and with the same came before the said towne of S. James de Beuuron, and planted his siege verie stronglie about it, inforcing with his great ordinance to ouerthrow the wals. And one day amongst other, he determined to giue the assault, and so did, the which continued a long space verie hot and earnest.

Alias Bowron.

Twentie thousand hath
Nicholas Giles.

S. James de Beuuron
besieged.

The Britons Britonants were come downe into a low bottome, where there was a little pond or fish poole, and they must néeds passe by a streict waie to come to the walles in great danger. On that side of the towne was a little bulworke, which sir Nicholas Burdet kept, hauing with him a fortie or eightie fighting men: and ouer against the same bulworke there was a gate well furnished also with English souldiers; so that the Britons which came downe into the ditches in great number to giue the assault, heard on either side them the Englishmen (within the said bulworke and gate) make a great noise, in crieng Salisburie and Suffolke; with the which crie the Britons being maruelouslie astonied, began to recoile in great disorder. And therewith the said sir Nicholas Burdet issued forth vpon them, and pursuing them right valiantlie, slue them downe, so that there died of them what by the sword, and what by drowning in the said poole, about seauen thousand or eight hundred, and to the number of fiftie were taken prisoners. And beside this, those Englishmen gained eightéene standards and one baner.

Sir Nicholas Burdet.

*Enguerant de
Monstreller.*

Incontinentlie the newes hereof were reported to the constable of France, who was busie at the assault on the other side of the towne, whereof he was sore displeased, and no lesse amazed; so that he caused the retreat to be sounded, for all the siege on that side toward the poole was alreadie raised. After this, vpon counsell taken amongst the Frenchmen, it was determined that they should dislodge: and so about the middest of the next night, the constable and all the residue of his people departed toward Fougiers, leauing behind them great plentie of artillerie both great and small, with victuals, and all their other prouisions: as fourtéene great guns and fortie barrels of powder, thrée hundred pipes of wine, two hundred pipes of bisket and flower, two hundred frailes of figs and reisins, and fiue hundred barrels of herrings.

Somewhat before this season fell a great diuision in the realme of England, which of a sparkle was like to haue grown to a great flame. For whether the bishop of Winchester called Henrie Beaufort, sonne to Iohn duke of Lancaster by his third wife, enuied the authoritie of Humfrie duke of Glocester, protectour of the realme; or whether the duke disdained at the riches and pompous estate of the bishop: sure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their partakers: so that the citizens of London were faine to kéepe dailie and nightlie watches, and to shut vp their shops for feare of that which was doubted to haue insued of their assembling of people about them. The archbishop of Canturburie and the duke of Quimbre, called the prince of Portingale, rode eight times in one daie betwéene the two parties, and so the matter was staid for a time. But the bishop of Winchester, to cléere himselfe of blame so farre as he might, and to charge his nephue the lord protectour with all the fault, wrote a letter to the regent of France, the tenor whereof insueth.

Dissention betwixt the
duke of Glocester and
the bishop of
Winchester.

The bishop of Winchesters letter excusatorie.

Right high and mightie prince, and my right noble, and after one, lieuest lord, I recommend me vnto you with all my hart. And as you desire the welfare of the king our souereigne lord, and of his realmes of England and France, your owne health, and ours also: so hast you hither. For by my truth, if you tarie, we shall put this land in aduenture with a field; such a brother you haue here, God make him a good man. For your wisdom knoweth, that the profit of France standeth in the welfare of England, &c. Written in great hast on All hallowen euen. By your true seruant to my liues end, Henrie Winchester.

The duke of Bedford being sore gréeued and disquieted with these newes, constituted the earle of Warwike, which was latelie come into France with six thousand men, his lieutenant in the French dominions, and in the duchie of Normandie; and so with a small companie, he with the duchesse his wife returned againe ouer the seas into England, and the tenth daie of Januarie he was with all solemnitie receiued into London, to whome the citizens gaue a paire of basins of siluer and gilt, and a thousand markes in monie. Then from London he rode to Westminster, and was lodged in the kings palace. The fiue and twentieth daie of March after his comming to London, a parlement began at the towne of Leicester; where the duke of Bedford openlie rebuked the lords in generall, bicause that they in the time of warre, thorough their priuie malice and inward grudge, had almost mooued the people to warre and commotion, in which time all men ought or should be of one mind, hart, and consent: requiring them to defend, serue, & dread their souereigne lord king Henrie, in performing his conquest in France, which was in manner brought to conclusion. In this parlement the duke of Glocester laid certeine articles to the bishop of Winchester his charge, the which with the answers hereafter doo insue; as followeth.

A parlement holden at
Leicester.

The articles of accusation and accord betwéene the lord of Glocester, and the lord of Winchester.

Here insueth the articles, as the kings councill hath concerned, the which the high and mightie prince my lord of Glocester hath surmised vpon my lord of Winchester chancellor of England, with the answer to the same.

Articles set fourth by the duke of Glocester, against Henrie bishop of Winchester.

1 First, whereas he being protectour, and defendour of this land, desired the Tower to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein; Richard Wooduile esquier (hauing at that time the charge of the kéeping of the Tower) refused his desire and kept the same Tower against him vndulie and against reason, by the commandement of my said lord of Winchester; and afterward in approouing of the said refusall, he receiued the said Wooduile, and cherished him against the state and worship of the king, and of my said lord of Glocester.

2 Item, my said lord of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my said lord of Glocester, or of the kings councill, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kings person, and to haue remoued him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windsor, to the intent to put him in gouernance as him list.

3 Item, that were my said lord of Glocester (to whome of all persons that should be in the land, by the waie of nature and birth, it belongeth to see the gouernance of the kings person) informed of the said vndue purpose of my said lord of Winchester declared in the article next abouesaid, and in letting thereof, determining to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king to haue prouided as the cause required; my said lord of Winchester vntrulie, and against the kings peace, to the intent to trouble my said lord of Glocester going to the king, purposing his death, in case that he had gone that waie, set men of armes and archers at the end of London bridge next Suthworke: and in forebarring of the kings high waie, let draw the chaine of the stoupes there, and set vp pipes and hurdles in manner and forme of bulworks: and set men in chambers, cellars & windowes, with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the intent to bring finall destruction to my said lord of Glocesters person, as well as of those that then should come with him.

4 Item, my said lord of Glocester saith and affirmeth, that our souereigne lord his brother that was king Henrie the fift, told him on a time, when our souereigne lord being prince was lodged in the palace of Westminster in the great chamber, by the noise of a spaniell, there was on a night a man spied and taken behind a ^[4]tapet of the said chamber, the which man was deliuered to the earle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his being there at that time; the which so examined, at that time confessed that he was there by the stirring and procuring of my said lord of Winchester, ordeined to haue slaine the said prince therein his bed: wherefore the said earle of Arundell let sacke him fourthwith, and drowned him in the Thames.

[4] Or hanging.

5 Item, our souereigne lord that was, king Henrie the fift, said vnto my said lord of Glocester, that his father king Henrie the fourth liuing, and visited then greatlie with sicknesse by the hand of God, my said lord of Winchester said vnto the king (Henrie the fift then being prince) that the king his father so visited with sicknesse was not personable, & therefore not disposed to come in conuersation and gouernance of the people; and for so much, counselled him to take the gouernance and crowne of this land vpon him.

The answer of the bishop.

Here insue the answers to the accusations made by my lord of Winchester chancellour of England, vnto the causes and matters of heauinesse, declared in the articles against him by my lord of Glocester.

1 First, as of the refusall made vnto my lord of Glocester, of opening the Tower to him, of his lodging therein, by the commandement of my said lord of Winchester; he answereth, that in the presence of my said lord of Glocester before his comming out of his countrie of Heinault, for causes such as were thought resonable, it séemeth lawfull that the Tower should haue béene notablie stored and kept with vittels: howbeit it was not foorthwith executed, and that in likewise after that my said lord of Glocester, was gone into his said countrie of Heinault, for seditious and odious billes and languages, cast and vsed in the cite of London, sounding of insurrection and rebellion against the kings peace, and destruction aswell of diuerse estates of this land, as strangers being vnder the defense, in so much that in doubt thereof, strangers in great number fled the land. And for the more sure kéeping of the said Tower, Richard Wooduile esquier so trusted with our souereigne lord the king that dead is (as well ye know) & also chamberlaine and councillor vnto my lord of Bedford, with a certeine number of defensible persons assigned vnto him, was made deputie there by the assent of the kings councill, being that time at London, for to abide therein, for the safegard thereof; and streictlie charged by the said councill, that during that time of his said charge, he should not suffer any man to be in the Tower stronger than himselfe, without speciall charge or commandement of the king by the aduise of his councill.

2 Item, that soone after (vpon the comming of my said lord of Glocester into this land from his countrie of Heinault) the said lords of the kings councill were informed, that my said lord of Glocester grudged with the said maner of inforcing the Tower, and let saie to them of London, that he had well vnderstand that they had béene heauilie threatened for the time of his absence, and other wise than they should haue béene, if he had béene in this land. Wherefore he was right euill contented, and especiallie of the said forcing of the Tower, set vpon them in manner of a chased villain, considering the good equitie and truth that they had alwaies kept vnto the king, offering them there vpon remedie if they would.

3 Item, that after this, Richard Scot lieutenant of the Tower, by the commandement of my said lord of Glocester, brought vnto him frier Randolph, the which had long before confessed treason doone by him against the kings person that dead is, for the which knowlege he was put to be kept in the said Tower, & streictlie commanded vnder great paine giuen vnto the said Scot, to kéepe him streictlie & suerlie, & not to let him out of the said Tower without cōmandment of the king by aduise of his councill. The which frier Randolph, my said lord of Glocester kept then with himselfe (not witting to the said Scot) as he declared to my said lord of Winchester, soone after that he had brought the said frier Randolph to my lord of Glocester; saieng to my lord of Winchester, that he was vndoone but he helped him, & expressed, as for cause of the withholding of frier Randolph: and saieng moreouer, that when he desired of my said lord of Glocester, the deliuerance of the said frier Randolph, to lead him againe vnto the Tower, or sufficient warrant for his discharge: my said lord of Glocester answered him, that his commandement was sufficient warrant and discharge for him. In the which thing abouesaid, it was thought to my lord of Winchester, that my said lord of Glocester tooke vpon him further than his authoritie stretched vnto, and caused him to doubt and dread, least that he would haue procéded further. And at such time as the said Wooduile came vnto him, to aske his aduice and counsell, of lodging my said lord of Glocester in the Tower; he aduised and charged him, that before he suffered my said lord of Glocester, or any person to lodge therein stronger than himselfe, he should purueie him a sufficient warrant therof, of the king, by the aduise of his councill.

Frier Randolph.

4 Item, as to the said article of the foresaid causes of heauinesse, my said lord chancellor answereth, that he neuer purposed to set hand on the kings person, nor to remoue him, or that he should be remoued, or put in any manner of gouernance, but by the aduice of the kings councill. For he could not perceiue any manner of goodnesse or of aduantage that might haue growne to him thereof, but rather great perill and charge; and hereof my said lord of Winchester is readie to make prooffe, in time and place conuenient.

5 Item, as to the third article of the foresaid causes and heauines, my lord chancellor answereth, that he was oft and diuerse times warned, by diuerse credible persons, aswell at the time of the kings last parlement, holden at Westminster, as before and since, that my said lord of Glocester purposed him bodilie harme, & was warned therof and counselled by the said persons, and that diuerse times, to absteine him from comming to Westminster as my said lord of Winchester declared vnto my said lord of Glocester.

6 Item, that in the time of the said parlement, diuerse persons of low estate of the cite of London, in great number assembled on a day vpon the wharfe, at the crane of the vinetrée, and wished and desired that they had there the person of my lord of Winchester, saieng that they would haue throwen him into the Thames, to haue taught him to swim with wings. Whereof billes and language of slander and threatnings were cast and spoken in the said cite by my said lord the chancellor, which caused him to suppose that they that so said and did, willed and desired his destruction, although they had no cause.

7 Item, that after the comming to London of sir Rafe Botiller, and maister Lewes, sent from my lord of Bedford, to the rest of the lords of the councill, they being informed, that my said lord of Glocester did beare displeasure to my said lord of Winchester, they came to the said lord of

Glocester to his In, the second sundaie next before All hallondaie, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderstanding of the said displeasure, praieng him to let them know if he bare such displeasure against my said lord of Winchester, and also the causes thereof. At the which time (as my said lord of Winchester was afterwards informed) my said lord of Glocester affirmed that he was heauie toward him, and not without causes that peradventure he would put in writing.

8 Item, that after the mondaie next before Allhallondaie last past in the night, the people of the said citie of London, by the commandement of my said lord of Glocester, as it was said (for what cause my lord the chancellor wist not) assembled in the citie, armed and arraied, and so continued all the night. Amongst diuerse of the which (the same night by what excitation, my said lord the chancellor wist not) seditious and heauie language was vsed, and in especiall against the person of my lord the chancellor. And so the same mondaie at night, my said lord of Glocester sent vnto the Ins of court at London, charging them of the court dwelling in the same, to be with him vpon the morrow at eight of the clocke in their best arraie.

9 Item, that on the morrow being tuesdaie next following, my said lord of Glocester sent earlie vnto the maior and aldermen of the said citie of London, to ordeine him to the number of thrée hundred persons on horsse backe, to accompanie him vnto such a place as he disposed him to ride, which (as it was said) was vnto the king, to the intent to haue his person, and to remoue him from the place that he was in, without assent or aduise of the kings counsell. The which thing was thought vnto my said lord the chancellor, that he ought in no wise to haue doone, nor had not béene séene so before.

10 Item, that my said lord the chancellor, considering the things aboue said, and doubting therefore of perils that might haue insued thereof, intending to purueie there against, and namelie for his owne suertie and defense, according to the law of nature, ordeined to let, that no force of people should come on the bridge of London towards him, by the which he or his might haue béene indangered or noied, not intending in any wise bodilie harme vnto my said lord of Glocester, nor to any other person, but onelie his owne defense, in eschewing the perill abouesaid.

11 Item, as toward the fourth and fift of the said articles, my lord the chancellor answereth, that he was euer true to all those that were his souereigne lords and reigned vpon him, and that he neuer purposed treason or vntruth against any of their persons, and in especiall against the person of our said souereigne lord Henrie the fift. The which considering the great wisdome, truth, and manhood that all men knew in him, he would not for the time that he was king, haue set on my said lord the chancellor so great trust as he did, if he had found or thought in him such vntruth. The which thing my said lord the chancellor offered to declare and shew, as it belongeth to a man of his estate to doo, requiring therevpon my lord of Bedford and all the lords spirituall and temporall in this parlement, that it might be séene that there were iudges conuenient in this case, that they would doo him right, or else that he might haue leaue of the king by their aduise to go sue his right, before him that ought to be his iudge.

12 And as toward the letter sent by my lord of Winchester vnto my lord of Bedford, of the which the tenor is before rehearsed, of the which my lord of Glocester complained him of the malicious and vntrue purpose of my said lord of Winchester, as toward the assembling of the people, and gathering of a field in the kings land, in troubling thereof, and against the kings peace: my said lord of Winchester answereth, that if his said letters duellie vnderstand, and in such wise as he vnderstood and meant in the writing of them, it maie not reasonable be gathered and taken, that my said lord of Winchester intended to gather any field, or assemble people in troubling of the kings land, and against the kings peace, but rather purposed to acquite him to the king in his truth, and to kéepe the rest and peace in the kings land, and to eschew rebellion, disobedience and all trouble. For by that that in the beginning of the said letter, he calleth my said lord of Bedford his lieuest lord after one, that is the king, whome he ought to accept of dutie of his truth, the which he hath euer kept, and will kéepe.

13 Moreouer, in the said letter he desireth the comming home of my lord of Bedford, for the welfare of the king and of his realmes of England and of France, which stand principallie in kéeping of his rest and peace, and praieth my said lord of Bedford to spéed his cōming into England, in eschewing of ieopardie of the land, and of a field, which he dread him might haue followed if he had long taried. As toward those words; "If ye tarie, we shall put this land in aduerture with a field, such a brother ye haue here, &c." My said lord of Winchester saith, the sooth is: before or he wrote the said letter, by the occasion of certeine ordinances made by the maior and aldermen of London against the excessiue taking of masons, carpentars, tilers, plasterers, and other labourers for their dailie iournies, and approued by the kings deuse and counsell, there were cast manie heauinesses and seditious billes vnder the names of such labourers, threatning rising with manie thousands, and menacing of estates of the land, and likewise seditious and euill language sowen and so continued and likelie to haue insued, of purpose and intent of disobedience and rebellion. To the redressing of which, it séemed to my lord the chancellor, that my said lord of Glocester did not his indeuour diligence that he might haue shewed. For lacke of which diligence, they that were disposed to doo disobeisance were encouraged & imboldned, so that it was like, that they should haue made a gathering, and that the king and his true subiects should haue béene compelled to haue made a field to haue withstand them; the which field making, had béene aduentering of this land, and in tokening that it was neuer my said lord chancellors intent, to gather no field, but as truth most stirred him against such as riotouslie would make such assemblie against our souereigne lord, and the weale of this land, he desired so hastilie the comming of my said lord of Bedford: the which he would in

no wise haue so greatlie desired, if he would haue purposed him vnto any vnlawful making of a field; for he wist well, that my said lord of Bedford would most sharplie haue chastised and punished all those, that so would make any riotous assemblie.

When this answer was made, the duke caused this writing following openlie to be proclaimed.

Be it knowne to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lord of Bedford, and all the lords spirituall & temporall, assembled in this present parlement, to acquite him and them, and to procéed truelie, iustlie, and indifferentlie, without any parcialitie in any maner or matter or quarels, moued or to be moued betwéene my lord of Glocester on that one partie, & my lord of Winchester chancellor of England on that other partie. And for suer kéeping of the kings peace it is accorded by my said lord of Bedford, & by my said lords spirituall and temporall, an oth to be made in forme as followeth, that is to saie.

The oth of the lords.

That my said lord of Bedford, and my said lords, spirituall and temporall, and ech of them shall (as far forth as their cunnings and discretions suffice) trulie, iustlie, and indifferentlie counsell and aduise the king, and also procéed and acquit themselues in all the said matters, and quarels, without that they or any of them shall priuilie and apertlie make or shew himselfe to be partie or parciall therein, not leauing or eschewing so to doo for affection, loue, méed, doubt, or dread of any person or persons. And that they shall in all wise kéepe secret all that shall be commoned by waie of counsell, in the matters and quarrels abouesaid, in the said parlement, without that they or any of them shall by word, writing of the king, or in any wise open or discouer it to any of the said parties, or to any other person that is not of the said counsell: but if he haue a speciall commandement or leaue therevnto of the king or my said lord of Bedford. And that ech of them shall with all his might and power, assist by waie of counsell, or else shew it vnto the king, my lord of Bedford, and to the rest of my said lords to put the said parties to reason; and not to suffer that any of the said parties by them, or by their assistance, procéed or attempt by way of fight against the kings peace; nor helpe, assist, or comfort any of them thereto: but let them with all their might and power withstand them, and assist vnto the king, and my said lord of Bedford, in kéeping of the kings peace, and redressing all such manner of procéeding by waie of fight or force.

Dukes: the duke of Bedford, the duke of Norffolke, the duke of Excester. Bishops: the archbishop of Cañturburie, the bishop of Carleill, the bishop of Bath, the bishop of Landaffe, the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of Chichester, the bishop of Worcester, the bishop of saint Davids, the bishop of London, the bishop of Duresme. Earles: the earle of Northumberland, the earle of Stafford, the earle of Oxford. Lords: the lord Hungerford, the lord Tiptost, the lord Poinings, the lord Cromwell, the lord Borough, the lord Louell, the lord Botreux, the lord Clinton, the lord Zouch, the lord Audeleie, the lord Ferreis of Groubie, the lord Talbot, the lord Roos, the lord Greie, the lord Greie of Ruthen, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Barkeleie. Abbats: the abbat of Waltham, the abbat of Glastenburie, the abbat of S. Augustines in Canturburie, the abbat of Westminster, the abbat of S. Maries in Yorke, the abbat of S. Albons not sworne bicause he was not present. ¶ Which oth in manner and forme aboue rehearsed, all the lords aswell spirituall as temporall, being in this parlement at Leicester assembled, the fourth day of March, promised vpon their faith, dutie, and allegiance, which they owe to the king their souereigne lord, truelie to obserue and kéepe, according to the true meaning and purport of the same.

The Arbitrement.

In the name of God Amen. We Henrie archbishop of Canturburie, Thomas duke of Excester, Iohn duke of Norffolke, Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, Iohn bishop of Bath, Humfrie earle of Stafford, William Alnwicke kéeper of the kings priuie seale, Rafe lord Cromwell, arbitrators in all maner of causes, matters and quarrels of heauinesses & gréeuances, with all incidents, circumstances, dependents, or connexes being and hanging betwéene the high & worthie prince Humfrie duke of Glocester on the one partie, and the worshipful father in God Henrie bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England on the other partie, by either of them, for the pleasing of the said quarrels and debates taken and chosen in maner and forme as it is contained more plainelie in a compromise made therevpon, of the which the tenor insueth in this forme.

Memorandum, the seauenth daie of March in the fourth yeare of our souereigne lord the king, Henrie the sixt, the high and mightie prince Humfrie duke of Glocester at the reuerence of God, and for the good of the king our souereigne lord in this land, & namelie at the reuerence, and especiallie at the request and praier of the mightie and high prince my lord of Bedford his brother, agréed him to put, and putteth all maner matters and quarels indéed, with all their incidents, circumstances, dependents and connexes that touchen him and his person, that he hath in anie wise doo, or féeleth himselfe gréeued or heauie against my lord his vnclé, my lord of Winchester: or else that my lord of Winchester findeth him agréued against him, in as much as they touch him or his person from the beginning of the world vnto this daie, in the aduise, ordinance and arbitrement of the worthie father in God, Henrie archbishop of Canturburie, the high and noble prince Thomas duke of Excester, and Iohn duke of Norffolke, the worshipful father in God Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, Iohn bishop of Bath, the noble lord Humfrie earle of Stafford, the worshipfull persons maister William Alnewicke kéeper of the kings priuie seale, and Rafe lord Cromwell, promising and behighting by the faith of his bodie, & word of his princehood and kings sonne, to doo, kéepe, obserue, and fulfill for him and his behalfe, all that shall be declared, ordeined, and arbitrated, by the foresaid archbishop, dukes, bishops, earle, kéeper of the priuie seale, and lord Cromwell in all matters and quarels abouesaid.

1424

An. Reg. 4.

Granting also and promising ouer that, to be comprehended in the foresaid arbitrement, as toward putting awaie all heauinesses and displeasures, in anie wise contained, by my lord of Glocester against all those that haue in anie wise assisted, counselled, or faouored vnto his said vnclé of Winchester, and as toward anie matters that be touching my lord of Glocester, remitteth it, and the gouernance thereof vnto the king & his councell, they to déeme it by the aduise of his councell, as him thinketh it to be doone. In wnesse of the which thing to this present compromise my said lord of Glocester hath subscribed his name with his owne hand: Humfreie Glocester. And in like forme my lord of Winchester in another compromise hath subscribed with his owne hand vnder the word of his priesthood, to stand at the aduise, ordinance, & arbitrement of the persons abouesaid, Mutatis mutandis.

A décrée or order taken by the kings councell for the pacifieng of the quarels and variances that were betwéene the duke of Glocester, and the bishop of Winchester.

The causes aforesaid and quarels by vs séene, heard, and diligentlie examined and décréd, by the assent of the said parties, ordeine and award, that my lords of Glocester and of Winchester, for any thing doone or spoken, by that one partie against that other, or by anie of theirs, or anie other person or persons, afore the seuenth daie of this present moneth of March, neuer hereafter take causes, quarels, displeasures, or heauinesses, that one against the other, ne neither against the counsellors, adherents, or faouurers of that other for anie thing or things that are past. And that my said lord of Glocester be good lord to my said lord of Winchester, & haue him in loue and affection as his kinsman & vnclé. And that my said lord of Winchester haue to my said lord of Glocester true and sad loue and affection, doo and be readie to doo him such seruice as apperteineth of honestie to my said lord of Winchester and his estate to doo. And that each of them be good lord vnto all those adherents, counsellors, and faouurers of that other, and shew them at all times faouorable loue and affection, as for anie thing by them doone or said, before the seauenth daie of March.

And we décrée, ordeine, and award, that my said lord of Winchester, in the presence of the king our souereigne lord, my lord of Bedford, and my lord of Glocester, and the residue of the lords spirituall and temporall, and commons being in this this present parlement, saie and declare in maner and forme that followeth: My souereigne lord, I haue well vnderstand, that I am noised among the states of your land, how that the king our souereigne lord that was, at that time being prince, and lodged in the great chamber at Westminster, by the baieng of a spaniell, there was on a night taken behind a [5] tapet in the same chamber, a man, that should haue confessed, that he was there by mine excitation and procuring, to haue slaine the foresaid prince there in his bed; wherevpon he was sacked, and foorthwith also drowned in the Thames.

[5] Or hanging.

Furthermore, I am accused, how that I should haue stirred the king that last died, the time also

that he was prince, to haue taken the gouernance of this realme, and the crowne vpon him, his father liuing the same time, being king. Through which language and noising, I féele my name and fame greatlie enblemished in diuerse mens opinions. Wherevpon, I take first God to my witnes, and after all the world, that I haue béene at all times, and am true louer, and true man, to you my souereigne lord, and shall be all my life. And also, I haue béene to my souereigne lord that was your father, all the time of his reigne, true man, and for such he tooke me, trusted me and cherished me to his liues end; and as I trust, no man will affirme the contrarie, nor neuer in my life procuring nor imagining death nor destruction of his person, ne assenting to any such thing, or like thereto, the time that he was king or prince, or else in other state.

I was likewise true man to king Henrie the fourth; all the time that he was my souereigne lord, and reigned vpon me. In which matters, in all maner of wise that it liketh to you my souereigne lord for to command me, I am readie for to declare me: and furthermore, where, how, and when it shall like you, by the aduise of your councell, to assigne me. Wherefore I beséech you my souereigne lord, as humblie as I can, considering that there is no grounded processe, by the which I might lawfullie in these matters abouesaid, be conuict (blessed be God) to hold me, and declare me, by the aduise of all the lords, spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement, true man to you my souereigne lord, and so to haue béene vnto my souereigne lords that were your father and grandfather, and true man also to haue béene at all times to your said father whilst he was prince, or else in anie other estate, the said slander and noise notwithstanding, and this same declaration to be inacted in this your said present parlement.

The which words declared in maner as it is abouesaid, it séemeth to my said lords the arbitrators, that it is méet, that my said lord of Winchester draw him apart, and in the meane time, the lords being present, be singularlie examined therevpon, and saie their aduise. And if it be assented by them, in maner as my said lord of Winchester desireth, let him be called againe, and that then my lord of Bedford haue these words in effect that follow: Faire vncle, the king my lord by the aduise of his councell, hath commanded me to saie to you, that he hath well vnderstand and considered all the matters which yée haue héere openlie declared in his presence, and therevpon yée desire a petition, that he will declare you, and by the aduise and assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement, he declareth you a true man to him, and that yée haue so béene to my lord his father, and grandfather, also true man to my lord his father while he was prince, or else in anie other estate, the said dislander and noising notwithstanding, and will that the said declaration be so inacted in this present parlement.

After the which words thus said (as before is declared) it was décréd also by the said lords arbitrators, that the said lord of Winchester should haue these words that follow vnto my said lord of Glocester: My lord of Glocester, I haue conceiued to my great heauinesse, that yée should haue receiued by diuerse reports, that I should haue purposed and imagined against your person, honor, and estate, in diuerse maners, for the which, yée haue taken against me great displeasure: Sir, I take God to my witsnesse, that what reports so euer haue béene to you of me, peradventure of such as haue had no great affection to me, God forgiue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purposed anie thing that might be hindering or preiudice to your person, honor, or estate: and therefore I praie you, that yée be vnto me good lord from this time forth; for by my will, I gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to doo hereafter by the grace of God. The which words so by him said, it was décréd by the same arbitrators, that my lord of Glocester, should answer and saie: Faire vncle, sith yée declare you such a man, as yée saie, I am right glad that it is so, and for such a man I take you. And when this was doone, it was décréd by the same arbitrators, that euerie each of my lord of Glocester, and Winchester, should take either other by the hand, in the presence of the king and all the parlement, in signe and token of good loue & accord, the which was doone, and the parlement adorned till after Easter.

At this reconciliation, such as loued peace reioised (sith it is a fowle & pernicious thing for priuat men, much more for noblemen to be at variance, sith vpon them depend manie in affections diuerse, whereby factions might grow to the shedding of bloud) though others, to whom contention & hartgrudge is delight, wished to see the vttermost mischéefe that might therof insue, which is the vtter ouerthrow and desolation of populous tribes, euen as with a litle sparkle whole houses are manie times consumed to ashes; as the old prouerbe saith, and that verie well and aptlie;

Sola scintilla perit hæc domus aut domus illa

But when the great fier of this dissention, betwéene these two noble personages, was thus by the arbitrators (to their knowledge and iudgement) vtterlie quenched out, and laid vnder boord; all other controuersies betwéene other lords, taking part with the one partie or the other, were appeased, and brought to concord, so that for ioy the king caused a solemne fest to be kept on Whitsundaie; on which daie he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge, (whome his father at Southampton had put to death, as before yée haue heard) duke of Yorke, not foreséeing that this preferment should be his destruction, nor that his séed should of his generation be the extreame end and finall conclusion. He the same daie also promoted Iohn lord Mowbraie, and earle marshall, sonne and heire to Thomas duke of Norffolke (by king Richard the second exiled this realme) to the title, name, and stile of duke of Norffolke.

During this feast, the duke of Bedford adorned the king with the high order of knighthood, who on the same daie dubbed with the sword these knights, whose names insue: Richard duke of

Yorke, Iohn duke of Norffolke; the earle of Westmerland, Henrie lord Persie, Iohn lord Butler, sonne to the earle of Ormond, the lord Rosse, the lord Matrauers, the lord Welles, the lord Barkelie; sir Iames Butler, sir Henrie Greie of Tankaruile, sir Iohn Talbot, sir Rafe Greie of Warke, sir Robert Véere, sir Richard Greie, sir Edmund Hungerford, sir Walter Wingfield, sir Iohn Butler, sir Reginald Cobham, sir Iohn Passheleu, sir Thomas Tunstall, sir Iohn Chedocke, sir Rafe Langstre, sir William Drurie, sir William ap Thomas, sir Richard Carnonell, sir Richard Wooduile, sir Iohn Shirdlow, sir Nicholas Blunket, sir William Cheinie iustice, sir William Babington, sir Rafe Butler, sir Robert Beauchampe, sir Edmund Trafford, sir Iohn Iune chéefe baron, and diuerse others.

After this solemne feast ended, a great aid and subsidie was granted for the continuance of the conquest in France, and so therevpon monie was gathered, and men were prepared in euerie citie, towne, and countrie. During which businesse, Thomas duke of Excester, great vncler to the king, a right sage and discrét councellor, departed out of this mortall life, at his manor of Gréenewich, and with all funerall pompe was conueied through London to Berrie, and there buried. ¶ In the same yeare also died the ladie Elizabeth, halfe sister to the same duke, and of the whole bloud with king Henrie the fourth, married first to the lord Iohn Holland, duke of Excester, and after to the lord Fanhope, buried at the blacke friers of London.

The duke of Excester dieth.

[Philip Morgan after the death of Iohn Fortham (sometime treasurer of England, bishop of Elie and Durham, both which bishopriks, for anie thing that I can yet see, he inioied both at one time) was made bishop of Elie in the yeare of our redemption 1425, in this sort. Henrie the sixt and manie of the nobilitie had written to the conuent of the church of Elie, to choose William Alnewicke (doctor of both lawes confessor to the king and kéeper of the priuie seale) to be their bishop. Notwithstanding which (they hauing more regard to their owne priuileges and benefit) chose Peter the prior of Elie to succéed in the place of Iohn Fortham. But none of both these inioied that roome; for Martin bishop of Rome (stepping into the matter to make the third part, neither fauouring the kings motion nor approouing the monks election) remooued this William Morgan from the see of Worcester vnto Elie, sometime called Helix: as I haue séene it set downe in Saxon characters in an ancient booke of the liues of saints written in the Saxon toong, about the yeare of Christ 1010, before the time of Edward the confessor, and much about the time of Albo Floriacensis. This Morgan sat at Elie nine yeares, twentie and six wéeks, and foure daies, departing this life in his manour of Hatfield, in the yeare 1434, and was buried at the Charterhouse of London; being the twentie and fourth bishop that was installed in that place.]

Fr. Thin.

1425

While these things were thus a dooing in England, the earle of Warwike, lieutenant for the regent in France, entered into the countrie of Maine, & besieged the towne of Chateau de loire, the which shortlie to him was

1426

rendered, whereof he made capteine Matthew ^[6]Gough, esquier. After this, he tooke by assault the castell of Maiet, and gaue it for his valiantnesse to Iohn Winter esquier, and after that he conquered the castell of Lude, and made there capteine William Gladesdale gentleman. Here he was informed, that the Frenchmen were assembled in the countrie of Beausse, wherevpon he hasted thitherwards to haue giuen them battell, but they hauing knowledge of his approach, durst not abide to trie the matter with him by a pitch field, but fled before he came néere them.

[6] Or rather Goche. Iohn Winter.

The earle in his returne wan the castell of Montdublean by surrender; where he left the valiant lord Willoughbie, and then returned to Paris. During which season, he was ordeined by the thrée estates of the realme of England, to be gouernour of the yoong king in the place of the duke of Excester deceased; howbeit, he did not as yet returne into England, but remained in France for a season, and atchiued manie worthie enterprises. Whilest the lord regent of France was thus in England, meanes was made by the duke of Burgognie, for the deliuerie of the duke of Alanson, taken at the battell of Vernoile, and now for the summe of two hundred thousand crownes he was set at libertie; but he would not by anie meanes acknowlege the king of England to be his liege and souereigne lord.

The earle of Warwike made gouernour of the yoong king.

An. Reg. 5.

After that the duke of Bedford had set all things in good order in England, he tooke leaue of the king, and together with his wife returned into France, first landing at Calis, where the bishop of Winchester (that also passed the seas with him) receiued the habit, hat, and dignitie of a cardinall, with all ceremonies to it appertaining: which promotion, the late K. right déeplie persing into the vnrestrainable ambitious mind of the man, that euen from his youth was euer to checke at the highest; and also right well ascertained with what intollerable pride his head should soone be swollen vnder such a hat: did therefore all his life long kéepe this prelat backe from that presumptuous estate. But now the king being yoong and the regent his fréend, he obtained his purpose, to his great profit, and the impouerishing of the spiritualtie of this realme. For by a bull legantin, which he purchased from Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner had monie but he: so that he was called the rich cardinall of Winchester.

1427.

The bishop of Winchester made a cardinall.

W. P.

After that the lord regent was arriued in France, the lord of Rustinian, marshall of Britaine, assembled a great companie of the British nation, which fortified and repared the towne of Pontorson: and after the said

The lord of Rustinian taken and his people slaine and discomfited.

marshall, with a thousand men, entered into the countrie of Constantine, and comming before the towne of Auranches, was incountered by the Englishmen of that garrison; & after long fight, his people were put to the worse, chased, and discomfited, and he himselfe taken prisoner in the field. The duke of Bedford, hearing that the towne of Pontorson, situate within leagues of Mont Saint Michaell, was newlie fortified, and stronglie defended, sent thither the earle of Warwike, accompanied with the lord Scales, and other valiant capteins and souldiers, to the number of seauen thousand men, to besiege the towne; who so inuironed it on euerie side, that no man could steale neither in nor out.

The siege thus long continuing, vittels began to wax scant in the English armie: wherefore the lord Scales, hauing in his companie sir Iohn Harpeleie bailiffe of Constantine, sir William Brearton bailiffe of Caen, sir Rafe Tesson, sir Iohn Carbonell, and thrée thousand good men of warre, departed from the siege to get vittels, powder, and other things necessarie for their purpose. And as they were returning with their cariages by the sea coast, néere to Saint Michaels Mount, they suddenlie were incountered by their enimies, whereof were chéefe, the baron of Coloses, the lord Dausebost, capteine of the said Mount, the lord Mountabon, the lord Montburchier, the lord of Chateaugiron, the lord of Tintignat, the lord of Chateaubrian, with six thousand men of warre.

The lord Scales and his companie, perceiuing themselues beset on the one side with the sea, & on the other with their enimies, alighted from their horsse, and like couragious persons, there in an vnspeakeable furie, set on their enimies. The fight was fierce & cruell. The Englishmen kept themselues close together; so that their enimies could get no aduantage of them. At the last, the lord Scales cried S. George they flée. Wherevpon, the Englishmen tooke such courage, and the Frenchmen that fought before, were so dismaied, that they began to flée in déed. The Englishmen leaped on horsebacke, and followed them so, that they slue and tooke aboute eleuen hundred persons, among the which were taken the baron of Coloses, the vicount of Rone, and others. The lord of Chateaugiron, with a Scotish capteine, & diuerse other men of name were slaine. After this victorie, the lord Scales with his vittels, prouision, and prisoners, returned to the siege, where he was of the earle and other noble men ioiously receiued.

A hot skirmish.

On the cene thursdaie.

Enguerant.

Whilest the siege continued thus before Pontorson, Christopher Hanson, and other souldiers of the garrison of Saint Susan, made a rode into the countrie of Aniou, and came to a castell called Ramfort, which castell was so priuillie scaled, that the capteine within, and his companie, were taken or slaine, before they knew of their enimies approching. When knowledge hereof was giuen vnto the Frenchmen which were assembled, to the number of twentie thousand, to raise the siege that laie before Pontorson, they left that enterprise, and went to recouer the said castell of Ramfort, and so comming before it, planted their siege so on ech side of it, that at length by composition the Englishmen within, doubting to be taken by force, rendered vp the castell, hauing libertie to depart with bag and baggage.

Shortlie after, the lord of Raix, calling himselfe lieutenant generall for the Dolphin, entred into Maine with an armie of thrée thousand men, and by force tooke the castell of Malicorne, wherof was capteine an Englishman, one Oliuer Osbatersbie. In like maner, they tooke the little castell of Lude, and therein William Blackborne, lieutenant for William Glasdale esquier. After this, the Frenchmen returned backe to the Dolphin, and kept not on their iourneie to Pontorson, for that they vnderstood by espials, that the earle of Warwike, and the Englishmen there, determined to giue them battell, if they once attempted to raise the siege. They within the towne, being streictlie besieged, perceiuing no likelihood of succours, and séeing the English armie dailie increase, fell to treatie for doubt to be taken by force, and so rendered the towne vpon condition, that they might depart with horsse and harnesse onelie. Which being granted to them, the erle like a valiant capteine entred into the towne, and there appointed for gouernors, the lord Ros, and the lord Talbot, and leauing there a conuenient garrison, returned to the lord regent.

Pontorson rendered to the Englishmen.

After the taking of this towne of Pontorson, there was a league and treatie concluded betwéene the regent and the duke of Britaine; by the articles of which agrément, the townes of Pontorson and saint Iames de Beuron were beaten downe to the ground and rased. When the lord of Raix was departed out of Maine (as ye haue heard) Christopher Hanson, Philip ^[7]Gough, Martin Godfrie, called the Scaler, tooke by stealth the castell of saint Laurence de Mortiers. At the same time, when the capteine and the most part of his companie were gone foorth to heare masse, in a church ouer against the same castell, and kéeping themselues close, till the capteine returned, they tooke him as he was entered within the first gate, & so was this castell stuffed with Englishmen, and capteine thereof was appointed sir William Oldhall.

[7] Or rather Goche.

The same season, sir Iohn Fastolfe, gouernour of the countries of Aniou and Maine, assembled a great puissance of men of warre, and laid siege before the castell of saint Owen Distais, beside the towne of Lauall; and after he had laine there ten daies, the castell was deliuered, they within departing with their liues and armour onelie to them granted, by the tenor of the composition, which they tooke with the same sir Iohn Fastolfe. After the winning of this castell, the Englishmen remooued to the strong castell of Grauile, and after twelue daies, they within offered to yéeld the castell by a daie, if they were not succoured by the Dolphin or his power: the offer was taken and pledges deliuered.

Then sir Iohn Fastolfe returned in post to the regent, aduertising him of

this composition and agrément; wherefore, the said regent raised a great power to fight with the Frenchmen at the daie appointed, and in his companie were the earles of Mortaigne and Warwike, the lord Ros and Talbot, sir Iohn Fastolfe, sir Iohn Aubemond, sir Iohn Ratcliffe, and diuerse other, to the number of twentie thousand men; and so marched forwards, in hope to méet and ioine battell with their aduersaries. But the French power, being not far off from the place, durst not approach. Wherefore, the regent sent to sir Iohn Fastolfe incontinentlie, to receiue the castell; but they within (contrarie to promise and appointment) had newlie vitted & manned the place, and so forsaking the pledges, and their fellowes in armes, refused to render the fortresse; wherefore, the pledges were brought before their sight, and there before the castell openlie put to death.

Hostages executed for promise broken.

After this the lord Talbot was made gouernour of Aniou and Maine, and sir Iohn Fastolfe was assigned to an other place, which lord Talbot, being both of noble birth, and of haultie courage, after his comming into France, obtined so manie glorious victories of his enimies, that his onelie name was & yet is dreadful to the French nation, and much renowned amongst all other people. This lustie and most valiant capteine entered into Maine, where he slue men, destroyed castels, burnt townes, and in conclusion suddenlie tooke the towne of Lauall. The lord Loehac, and diuerse other, withdrew into the castell, in the which they were so streictlie besieged, that in the end they agréed to paie the lord Talbot an hundred thousand crownes, for licence to depart, with all their bag and baggage.

The lord Talbot, a valient capteine.

Then was this castell deliuered to the kéeping of Gilbert Halsall, which after was slaine at the siege of Orleance, in whose place Matthew [8]Gough was made capteine there: who being at the iournie of Senlis, by treason of a miller that kept a mill adioining to the wall, the Frenchmen entered into the towne, and brought it againe into their subiectiion. Now the duke of Bedford hearing that the towne of Montargis, in the territorie of Orleance, was but slenderlie kept, and not thoroughlie furnished, sent the erle of Suffolke, with his brother sir Iohn Poole, and sir Henrie Bisset, hauing in their companie a six thousand men, to assalt that towne; but when they came thither and found the towne both well manned and stronglie fortified, contrarie to their expectation, they surceased from giuing the assault, and onelie laid their siege round about it.

[8] Or rather Goche.

The earle of Warwike was appointed to lie with a great number of men of warre, at S. Mathelines de Archempe, to incounter the Frenchmen, if they would attempt to aid or vittell those within the towne. The situation of this towne was such, that by reason of waters and marishes, the English armie must néeds seuer it selfe into thrée parts, so that the one could not easilie helpe the other, but either by boats or bridges. This siege continued about two moneths, so that in the meane time the Frenchmen had leasure to prouide for the succour thereof; and so it came to passe, that the constable of France Arthur of Britaine, the lord Boisac one of the marshals, Stephan la Hire, Pothon de Saintreiles, the lord Grauille, and diuerse others, to the number of thrée thousand horssemen, were sent forth by the Dolphin.

These priuilie in the night season came on that side, where sir Iohn de la Poole and sir Henrie Bisset laie, whome they found so out of order, and without good watch, that the Frenchmen entered into their lodgings, slue manie in their beds, and spared none, for their resistance was but small. Sir Iohn de la Poole with his horsse saued himselfe, and sir Henrie Bisset escaped by a boat, and eight other with him. The residue fléeing in plumpes, and striuing to passe by a bridge of timber, the which was pestered with preasse of the multitude, brake, and so there were a great number drowned: insomuch that there were slaine by the enimies sword, and drowned in the water, fiftéene hundred men.

A great slaughter by negligence of the watch at Montargis.

The earle of Warwike hearing of this misfortune, departed from saint Mathelines with all spéed, and comming before Montargis, offered battell to the French capteins, which answered, that they had manned and vittelled the towne, and intended to doo no more at that time. The Englishmen héerevpon came softlie backe againe with all their ordinance to the duke of Bedford. Yet had not the French so great cause to vaunt of their successe: for at this verie time, sir Nicholas Burdet, appointed by the duke of Summerset to indamage his enimies in the coasts of Britaine, sent horssemen into euerie part, woorking all the displeasure to the people that might be deuised. The countrie, through which he passed, was wasted, the townes were burnt, the houses spoiled, and great number of prisoners taken, the small villages were destroyed, and the walled townes ransomed, and so without hurt or damage the said sir Nicholas Burdet returned into Normandie.

Sir Nicholas Burdet.

Polydor.

These newes being signified to the constable, and other the French capteins, asswaged their great mirth and triumphant ioy, concerned for the victorie of Montargis, that loth they were to attempt anie further enterprises against the English nation. But the duke of Alanson, who (as ye haue heard) was latelie deliuered out of captiuitie, reuiued againe the dulled spirits of the Dolphin, and somewhat aduanced, in hope of good spéed, the fainting harts of his capteins; so that (some occasion offered) they determined to atchiue a notable feat (as they tooke it) against the Englishmen, which was the recouerie of the city of Mans out of their hands: for so it happened, that diuers of the chéefe rulers in that citie, and namelie diuerse spirituall persons, meaning to reuolt to the Dolphins side, aduertised him by letters of their whole minds, which letters were conueied vnto him by certeine friers.

The Dolphin glad of those newes, appointed the lords de la Breth and Faiet, marshals of France,

accompanied with the lords of Mount Iehan, of Buell, Doruall, Torsie, Beaumanor, the Hire, and his brother Guilliam, with fiue hundred other valiant capteins and souldiers, to the accomplishing of this enterprize; who comming thither at the daie assigned, in the night season approched towards the walles, making a little fire on an hill, in sight of the towne, to signifie their comming, which perceiued by the citizens that néere to the great church were watching for the same, a burning cresset was shewed out of the stéeples, which suddenlie was put out and quenched. What néedeth manie words?

The capteins on horseback came to the gate, the traitors within slue the porters and watchmen, and let in their fréends, whereby the footmen entered first, and the men of armes waited at the barriers, to the intent that if néed required, they might fight it out in open field. Hereby manie Englishmen were slaine, and a great crie and garboile raised through the towne, as in such surprises is woont. The cause of this mischéefe was not knowen to any, but onelie to the conspirators; for the remnant of the citizens being no partakers, imagined, that the Englishmen had made hauocke in the towne, and put all to the sword. The Englishmen on the other side iudged, that the citizens had begun some new rebellion against them, or else had striuen amongst themselues.

Mans lost by treason of the citizens.

The earle of Suffolke, which was gouernour of the towne, hauing perfect knowledge by such as scaped from the wals, how the matter went, withdrew without any tarriance into the castell, which standeth at the gate of saint Vincent, whereof was constable Thomas Gower esquier, whither also fled manie Englishmen; so as for vrging the enemie, prease of the number, and lacke of vittels, they could not haue indured long; wherefore they priuilie sent a messenger to the lord Talbot, which then laie at Alanson, certifieng him in how hard a case they were. The lord Talbot hearing these newes, like a carefull capteine in all hast assembled together about seuen hundred men, & in the euening departed from Alanson, so as in the morning he came to a castell called Guierch, two miles from Mans, and there staid a while, till he had sent out Matthew ^[9]Gough, as an espiall, to vnderstand how the Frenchmen demeaned themselues.

[9] Or rather Goche.

Mathew ^[10]Gough so well sped his businesse, that priuilie in the night he came into the castell, where he learned that the Frenchmen verie negligentlie vsed themselues, without taking héed to their watch, as though they had béene out of all danger: which well vnderstood, he returned againe, and within a mile of the citie met the lord Talbot, and the lord Scales, and opened vnto them all things, according to his credence. The lords then, to make hast in the matter, because the daie approched, with all spéed possible came to the posterne gate, and alighting from their horses, about six of the clocke in the morning, they issued out of the castell, crieng, saint George, Talbot.

[10] Goche.

The Frenchmen being thus suddenlie taken, were sore amazed, in so much that some of them, being not out of their beds, got vp in their shirts, and lept ouer the walles. Other ran naked out of the gates to saue their liues, leauing all their apparell, horsstes, armour, and riches behind them, none was hurt but such as resisted. ¶ Hard shift was made on all hands for safetie of life, and happie was he that could find a place of refuge where to lurke vnspide and vnhurt of the enemie; who in the execution of their vengeance were so peremptorie, that it was a matter of great difficultie or rather impossibilitie to escape their force. To be short, there were slaine and taken, to the number of foure hundred gentlemen, the priuat souldiers were frankelie let go. After this, inquisition was made of the authors of the treason, and there were found & condemned thirtie citizens, twentie priests, and fiftéene friers, who according to their demerits were all hanged.

Mans recouered.

Abr. Fl.

Traitors executed.

The citie of Mans being thus recouered, the lord Talbot returned to Alanson, and shortlie after the earle of Warwike departed into England, to be gouernour of the yoong king, in stéed of Thomas duke of Excester, latelie departed to God, and then was the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie sent into France, to supplie the roome of the said earle of Warwike, who landed at Calis with fiue thousand men, and so came to the duke of Bedford as then lieng in Paris, where they fell in councill together concerning the affaires of France, and namelie the earle of Salisburie began maruellouslie to phantasie the gaining of the citie & countrie of Orleance.

An. Reg. 6.

Duke of Excester deceased.

1428.

This earle was the man at that time, by whose wit, strength, and policie, the English name was much fearefull and terrible to the French nation, which of himselfe might both appoint, command, and doo all things in manner at his pleasure, in whose power (as it appeared after his death) a great part of the conquest consisted: for suerlie, he was a man both painefull, diligent, and readie to withstand all dangerous chances that were at hand, prompt in counsell, and of courage inuincible, so that in no one man, men put more trust; nor any singular person wan the harts so much of all men.

Montacute earle of Salisburie a politike and valiant man.

Herevpon, after this great enterprize had long béene debated in the priuie councill, the earle of Salisburie deuise therein was of them all granted and allowed, so that he being replenished with good hope of victorie, and furnished with artillerie & munition appertaining to so great an

W. P.

enterprise, accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Talbot, and with a valiant armie, to the number of ten thousand men, departed from Paris, and passed through the countrie of Beausse. There he tooke by assault the towne of Genuille, and within fiue daies after had the castell deliuered vnto him, by them that were fled into it for their safegard. He also tooke the towne of Baugencie, suffering euerie man which would become subiect to the king of England, to inioie their lands and goods. The townes of Meun vpon Loire, and Iargeaulx, hearing of these dooings, presented to them the keies of their townes vpon like agrément. [About Maie in this 1428, the towne of Naunts and territories there with a fearefull earthquake were shaken, houses castels and strong buildings in such terrour, as it was thought the end of the world had béene come.]

*Les grandes chroniques
de Bretagne.*

After this, in the moneth of September the earle came before the citie of Orleance, and planted his siege on the one side of the riuer of Loire; but before his comming, the bastard of Orleance, the bishop of the citie, and a great number of Scots, hearing of the earles intent, made diuerse fortifications about the towne, and destroyed the suburbes, in which were twelue parish churches, and foure orders of friers. They cut also downe all the vines, trées, and bushes, within fiue leagues of the citie, so that the Englishmen should haue neither refuge nor succour.

An. Reg. 7.

Orleance besieged.

Bastard of Orleance.

After the siege had continued full thrée wéekes, the bastard of Orleance issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishmen; but they receiued him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his companie compelled to retire and flée backe into the citie. But the Englishmen followed so fast, in killing and taking of their enimies, that they entered with them. ¶ The bulworke of the bridge, with a great tower standing at the end of the same, was taken incontinentlie by the Englishmen, who behaued themselues right valiantlie vnder the conduct of their courageous capteine, as at this assault, so in diuerse skirmishes against the French; partlie to kéepe possession of that which Henrie the fift had by his magnanimitie & puissance atchiued, as also to inlarge the same. But all helped not. For who can hold that which will awaie: In so much that some cities by fraudulent practises, othersome by martiall prowesse were recouered by the French, to the great discouragement of the English and the appalling of their spirits; whose hope was now dashed partlie by their great losses and discomfitures (as after you shall heare) but chéeflie by the death of the late deceased Henrie their victorious king; as Chr. Okland verie trulie and agréeable to the storie noteth:

A bulwarke at Orleance
taken.

Abr. Fl.

Delphinus comitésque eius fera prælia tentant,
Fraude domi capiunt alias, virtute receptæ
Sunt vrbes aliæ quædam sublapsa refertur
Anglûm spes retrò languescere pectora dicas,
Quippe erat Henricus quintus, dux strenuus olim,
Mortuus: hinc damni grauior causa atque doloris.

In this conflict, manie Frenchmen were taken, but more were slaine, and the kéeeping of the tower and bulworke was committed to William Glasdale esquier. By the taking of this bridge the passage was stopped, that neither men nor vittels could go or come by that waie. After this, the earle caused certeine bulworkes to be made round about the towne, casting trenches betwéene the one and the other, laieng ordinance in euerie place where he saw that any batterie might be deuised. When they within saw that they were enuironed with fortresses and ordinance, they laid gun against gun, and fortified towers against bulworkes, and within cast new rampiers, and fortified themselues as stronglie as might be deuised.

The bastard of Orleance and the Hire were appointed to sée the walles and watches kept, and the bishop saw that the inhabitants within the citie were put in good order, and that vittels were not vanelie spent. In the tower that was taken at the bridge end (as before you haue heard) there was an high chamber, hauing a grate full of barres of iron, by the which a man might looke all the length of the bridge into the citie; at which grate manie of the chéefe capteins stood manie times, viewing the citie, and deuising in what place it was best to giue the assault. They within the citie well perceiued this tooting hole, and laid a péece of ordinance directlie against the window.

It so chanced, that the nine and fiftith daie after the siege was laid, the earle of Salisburie, sir Thomas Gargraue, and William Glasdale, with diuerse other went into the said tower, and so into the high chamber, and looked out at the grate, and within a short space, the sonne of the maister-gunner, perceiuing men looking out at the window, tooke his match (as his father had taught him who was gone downe to dinner), and fired the gun; the shot whereof brake, and shiuered the iron barres of the grate, so that one of the same bars strake the earle so violentlie on the head, that it stroke awaie one of his eies, and the side of his chéeke. Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewise striken, and died within two daies.

The earle of Salisburie
slaine.

The earle was conueied to Meun on Loire, where after eight daies he likewise departed this world, whose bodie was conueied into England with all funerall appointment, and buried at Bissam by his progenitors, leauing behind him an onelie daughter named Alice, married to Richard Neuill, sonne to Rafe earle of Westmerland, of whome more shall be said héereafter. The damage that the realme of England received by the losse of this noble man, manifestlie appeared; in that immediatlie after his death, the prosperous good lucke, which had followed the English nation, began to decline, and the glorie of their victories gotten in the parties beyond the sea fell in decaie.

Though all men were sorowfull for his death, yet the duke of Bedford was most stricken with heuainesse, as he that had lost his onelie right hand, and chéefe aid in time of necessitie. But sith that dead men cannot helpe the chances of men that be liuing, he like a prudent gouernour appointed the earle of Suffolke to be his lieutenant and capteine of the siege, and ioined with him the lord Scales, the lord Talbot, sir Iohn Fastolfe, and diuerse other right valiant capteins. These persons caused bastilles to be made round about the cite, and left nothing vnattempted, that might aduance their purpose, which to bring to wished effect there was not anie want, as of no cautelous policie, so of no valiant enterprise, tending to the enimies ouerthrow.

In the Lent season, vittels and artillerie began to waxe scant in the English campe, wherefore the earle of Suffolke appointed sir Iohn Fastolfe, sir Thomas Rampston, and sir Philip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Paris, to the lord regent, to informe him of their lacke, who incontinentlie vpon that information prouided vittels, artillerie, and munitions necessarie, and loded therewith manie chariots, carts, and horsse: and for the sure conueieng of the same, he appointed sir Simon Morhier, prouost of Paris, with the gard of the cite, and diuerse of his owne houshold-seruants to accompanie sir Iohn Fastolfe and his complices, to the armie lieng at the siege of Orleance. They were in all to the number of fiftéene hundred men, of the which there were not past fiue or six hundred Englishmen.

1429.

Enguerant.

These departing in good order of battell out of Paris, came to Genuille in Beausse, and in a morning earlie, in a great frost, they departed from thence toward the siege; and when they came to a towne called Rowraie, in the lands of Beausse, they perceiued their enimies comming towards them, being to the number of nine or ten thousand of Frenchmen and Scots, of whome were capteins Charles of Cleremont, sonne to the duke of Bourbon then being prisoner in England; sir William Steward constable of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of captiuitie, the earle of Perdrake the lord Iohn Vandosme, the Vidame of Chartres, the lord of Toures, the lord of Lohar, the lord of Eglere, the lord of Beauiew, the bastard Tremoile, and manie other valiant capteins.

Wherefore sir Iohn Fastolfe set all his companie in good order of battell, and pitched stakes before euerie archer, to breake the force of the horssemen. At their backes they set all the wagons and carriages, and within them they tied all their horsse. In this maner stood they still, abiding the assault of their enimies. The Frenchmen by reason of their great number, thinking themselues sure of the victorie, egerlie set on the Englishmen, which with great force them receiued, and themselues manfullie defended. At length, after long and cruell fight, the Englishmen droue backe and vanquished the proud Frenchmen, & compelled them to flée. In this conflict were slaine the lord William Steward constable of Scotland, and his brother the lord Dorualle, the lord Chateaubriam, sir Iohn Basgot, and other Frenchmen and Scots, to the number of fiue and twentie hundred, and aboue eleuen hundred taken prisoners, although the French writers affirme the number lesse.

1500 English did slaie and vāquish 10000 French.

After this fortunate victorie, sir Iohn Fastolfe and his companie (hauing lost no one man of anie reputation) with all their cariages, vittels, and prisoners, marched foorth and came to the English campe before Orleance, where they were ioifullie receiued, and highlie commended for their valiancie and worthie prowesse shewed in the battell; the which bicause most part of the cariage was herring and lenton stufte, the Frenchmen called it the battell of herrings. The earle of Suffolke being thus vittelled, continued the siege, and euerie daie almost skirmished with the Frenchmen within, who (at length being in despaire of all succours) offered to treat, and in conclusion, to saue themselues and the cite from captiuitie of their enimies, they deuised to submit the cite, themselues, and all theirs vnder the obeisance of Philip duke of Burgognie, bicause he was extract out of the stocke and bloud roiall of the ancient kings of France, thinking by this means (as they did in déed) to breake or diminish the great amitie betwéene the Englishmen and him.

The battell of herrings.

This offer was signified by them vnto the duke of Burgognie, who with thanks certified them againe, that he would gladlie receiue them, if the lord regent would therewith be contented. Herevpon he dispatched messengers to the duke of Bedford, who though some counselled that it should be verie good and necessarie for him to agréé to that maner of yéelding; yet he and other thought it neither conuenient nor honourable, that a cite so long besieged by the king of England, should be deliuered vnto anie other prince, than to him, or to his regent, for that might be a verie bad president to other townes in anie like case. Herevpon the regent answered the Burgognian ambassadors: that after so long a siege on his part, and obstinat a resistance of theirs, he might not receiue rendring and conditions at their appointment. At this answer the duke hoong the groine, as concerning that our side should enuie his glorie, or not to be so forward in aduancing his honour as he would haue it.

W. P.

In time of this siege at Orleance (French stories saie) the first wéeke of March 1428, vnto Charles the Dolphin, at Chinon as he was in verie great care and studie how to wrestle against the English nation, by one Peter Badricourt capteine of Vacouleur, (made after marshall of France by the Dolphins creation) was caried a yoong wench of an eightéene yéeres old, called Ione Arc, by name of hir father (a sorie shéepheard) Iames of Arc, and Isabell hir mother, brought vp poorelie in their trade of kéeping cattell, borne at Domprin (therefore reported by Bale, Ione Domprin) vpon Meuse in Loraine within the diocesse of Thoule. Of fauour was she

W. P.

Ieha de Tillet.

Les chronic. de Bretagne: Le Rosier calleth him Robert.

counted likesome, of person stronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and stout withall, an vnderstander of counsels though she were not at them, great semblance of chastitie both of bodie and behaiour, the name of Iesus in hir mouth about all hir businesses, humble, obedient, and fasting diuerse daies in the wéeke. A person (as their bookes make hir) raised vp by power diuine, onelie for succour to the French estate then déepelie in distresse, in whome, for planting a credit the rather, first the companie that toward the Dolphin did conduct hir, through places all dangerous, as holden by the English, where she neuer was afore, all the waie and by nightertale safelie did she lead; then at the Dolphins sending by hir assignement, from saint Katharins church of Fierbois in Touraine (where she neuer had béene and knew not) in a secret place there among old iron, appointed she hir sword to be sought out and brought hir, that with fíue floure delices was grauen on both sides, wherewith she fought & did manie slaughters by hir owne hands. On warfar rode she in armour ^[11] cap a pie & mustered as a man, before hir an ensigne all white, wherin was Iesus Christ painted with a floure delice in his hand.

Ione de Arc Pusell de dieu.

In vita Bundvicæ.

Grand Chro. 4.

[11] From head to foot.

Vnto the Dolphin into his gallerie when first she was brought, and he shadowing himselfe behind, setting other gaie lords before him to trie hir cunning from all the companie, with a salutation (that indéed marz all the matter) she pickt him out alone, who therevpon had hir to the end of the gallerie, where she held him an houre in secret and priuate talke, that of his priuie chamber was thought verie long, and therefore would haue broken it off; but he made them a sign to let hir saie on. In which (among other) as likelie it was, she set out vnto him the singular feats (forsooth) giuen her to vnderstand by reuelation diuine, that in vertue of that sword shée should atchiue, which were, how with honor and victorie shée would raise the siege at Orleance, set him in state of the crowne of France, and driue the English out of the countrie, thereby he to inioie the kingdome alone. Héerevpon he hardened at full, appointed hir a sufficient armie with absolute power to lead them, and they obedientlie to doo as she bad them. Then fell she to worke, and first defeated indéed the siege at Orleance, by and by encouraged him to crowne himselfe king of France at Reims, that a little before from the English she had woone. Thus after pursued she manie bold enterprises to our great displeasure a two yeare together, for the time she kept in state vntill she were taken and for heresie and witcherie burned: as in particularities hereafter followeth. But in hir prime time she armed at all points (like a iolie capteine) roade from Poictiers to Blois, and there found men of warre, vittels, and munition, ready to be conueied to Orleance.

This salutation appeareth after héere.

Les grand chronic.

Héere was it knowne that the Englishmen kept not so diligent watch as they had béene accustomed to doo, and therefore this maid (with other French capteins) comming forward in the dead time of the night, and in a great raine and thunder entred into the citie with all their vittels, artillerie, and other necessarie prouisions. The next daie the Englishmen boldlie assaulted the towne, but the Frenchmen defended the walles so, as no great feat worthie of memorie chanced that daie betwixt them, though the Frenchmen were amazed at the valiant attempt of the Englishmen, whervpon the bastard of Orleance gaue knowledge to the duke of Alanson, in what danger the towne stood without his present helpe, who comming within two leagues of the citie, gaue knowledge to them within, that they should be readie the next daie to receiue him.

This accordinglie was accomplished: for the Englishmen willinglie suffered him and his armie also to enter, supposing that it should be for their aduantage to haue so great a multitude to enter the citie, whereby their vittels (whereof they within had great scarcitie) might the sooner be consumed. On the next daie in the morning, the Frenchmen altogither issued out of the towne, woone by assault the bastile of saint Lou, and set it on fire. And after they likewise assaulted the tower at the bridge foot, which was manfullie defended. But the Frenchmen (more in number) at length tooke it, yer the lord Talbot could come to the succours, in the which William Gladesdale the capteine was slaine, with the lord Moolins, and lord Poinings also.

The Frenchmen puffed vp with this good lucke, fetched a compasse about, and in good order of battell marched toward the bastile, which was in the kéeping of the lord Talbot: the which vpon the enimies approach, like a capteine without all feare or dread of that great multitude, issued foorth againt them, and gaue them so sharpe an incounter, that they not able to withstand his puissance, fled (like shéepe before the wolfe) againe into the citie, with great losse of men and small artillerie. Of Englishmen were lost in the two Bastiles, to the number of six hundred persons, or thereabout, though the French writers multiplie this number of hundreds to thousands, as their maner is.

The earle of Suffolke, the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and other capteins assembled together in councell, and after causes shewed to and fro, it was amongst them determined to leaue their fortresses and bastiles, and to assemble in the plaine field, and there to abide all the daie to sée if the Frenchmen would issue foorth to fight with them. This conclusion taken was accordinglie executed: but when the Frenchmen durst not once come foorth to shew their heads, the Englishmen set fire of their lodgings, and departed in good order of Battell from Orleance. The next daie, which was the eight daie of Maie, the earle of Suffolke rode to Iargeaux with foure hundred Englishmen, and the lord Talbot with an other companie returned to Mehun. And after he had fortified that towne, he went to the towne of Lauall, and woone it, together with the castell, sore punishing the townsmen for their cankered obstinacie against them.

The siege of Orleance broken vp.

Thus when the Englishmen had seuered themselues into garrisons, the duke of Alanson, the bastard of Orleance, Ione le Pusell, the lord Gawcourt, and diuerse other capteins of the Frenchmen, came the twelwe daie of Iune, before the towne of Iargeaux, where the earle of Suffolke and his two brethren soiourned, & gaue to the towne so fierce an assault on thrée parts, that Poiton de Sentrailes, perceiuing an other part void of defendants, scaled the wals on that side, and without difficultie tooke the towne, and slue sir Alexander Poole, brother to the erle, and manie other, to the number of two hundred. But the Frenchmen gained not much thereby, for they lost thrée hundred good men and more. Of the Englishmen fortie were taken, with the earle and his other brother named Iohn.

The Frenchmen, as they returned to Orleance, fell at variance for their prisoners, and slue them all, sauing the earle and his brother. Shortlie after, the same French armie came to Mehun, where they tooke the tower at the bridge foot, and put therein a garrison. From thence they remooued to Baugencie, and constreined them that were within the towne to yéeld, vpon condition they might depart with bag and baggage. At the same place there came to the duke of Alanson, the new constable Arthur of Britaine, and with him the lord Dalbret, and other. Also after this the earle of Vandosme came to them, so that by the dailie repaire of such as assembled together to strengthen the French part, they were in all to the number betwéene twentie and thrée and twentie thousand men.

Prisoners slaine by the French as they were taken.

All which being once ioined in one armie, shortlie after fought with the lord Talbot (who had with him not past six thousand men) néere vnto a village in Beausse called Pataie: at which battell the charge was giuen by the French so vpon a sudden, that the Englishmen had not leisure to put themselues in arraie, after they had put vp their stakes before their archers, so that there was no remedie but to fight at aduventure. This battell continued by the space of thrée long houres; for the Englishmen, though they were ouerpressed with multitude of their enimies, yet they neuer fled backe one foot, till their capteine the lord Talbot was sore wounded at the backe, and so taken.

Nichol. Giles.

Fiue thousand saith *Hall.*

Then their hearts began to faint, and they fled, in which flight were slaine about twelue hundred, and fortie taken, of whome the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, the lord Hungerford, & sir Thomas Rampston were chéefe. Diuerse archers, after they had shot all their arrowes, hauing onelie their swords, defended themselues, and with helpe of some of their horsmen came safe to Mehun. This ouerthrow, and speciallie the taking of the lord Talbot, did not so much reioise the Frenchmen; but it did as much abash the Englishmen: so that immediatlie therevpon, the townes of Ienuile, Mehun, Fort, and diuerse other, returned from the English part, and became French. From this battell departed without anie stroke stricken sir Iohn Fastolfe, the same yeare for his valiantnesse elected into the order of the garter. But for doubt of misdealing at this brunt, the duke of Bedford tooke from him the image of saint George, and his garter; though afterward by meanes of fréends, and apparant causes of good excuse, the same were to him againe deliuered against the mind of the lord Talbot.

Great losse on the English side. The lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford taken.

Charles the Dolphin that called himselfe French K. perceiuing fortune to smile thus vpon him, assembled a great power, and determined to conquer the citie of Reimes, that he might be there sacred, crowned, and annointed, according to the custome of his progenitours, that all men might iudge that he was by all lawes and DECREES a iust and lawfull king. In his waie thitherwards he besieged the citie of Auxerre, the citizens whereof compounded with him to yéeld, if they were not rescued within certaine daies. From thence he came before Trois, and after twelue daies siege had that citie deliuered vnto him, by composition, that the capteine sir Philip Hall (with his people and moouables) might depart in safetie. After that Trois was yéelded, the communalitie of Chalon rebelled against sir Iohn Aubemond their capteine, and constreined him to deliuer the towne vpon like composition. In semblable manner did they of Reimes, desiring him to giue safe conduct to all the Englishmen safelie to depart. When Reimes was thus become French, the foresaid Charles the Dolphin in the presence of the dukes of Lorraine and Barré, and of all the noble men of his faction, was sacred there king of France by the name of Charles the seauenth, with all rites and ceremonies thereto belonging. They of Auxerre, when the terme of their appointment was expired, submitted themselues to him; and so likewise did all the cities and townes adioining.

The French king crowned.

The duke of Bedford aduertised of all these dooings, assembled his power about him, and hauing together ten thousand good Englishmen (beside Normans) departed out of Paris in warlike fashion, and passing thorough Brie to Monstreau fault Yonne, sent by his herald Bedford, letters to the French king, signifieng to him; that where he had (contrarie to the finall conclusion accorded betwéene his noble brother K. Henrie the fift, & king Charles the sixt, father to him that was the vsurper) by allurement of a deuclish witch, taken vpon him the name, title, & dignitie of the king of France; and further had by murther, stealing, craft, and deceitfull meanes, violentlie gotten, and wrongfullie kept diuerse cities and townes belonging to the king of England his nephue; for prooue thereof he was come downe from Paris with his armie, into the countrie of Brie, by dint of sword and stroke of battell to prooue his writing and cause true, willing his enimie to choose the place, and in the same he would giue him battell.

Ione taken to be a witch.

The new French king being come from Reimes to Dampmartine, studieng how to compasse them of Paris, was halfe abashed at this message. But yet to set a good countenance on the matter, he

answered the herald, that he would sooner seeke his maister, than his maister should need to pursue him. The duke of Bedford hearing this answer, marched toward the king, and pitched his field in a strong place. The French king, though at the first he meant to haue abidden battell; yet when he vnderstood that the duke was equall to him in number of people, he changed his purpose, and turned with his armie a little out of the waie. The duke of Bedford, perceiuing his faint courage, followed him by the hills and dales, till he came to a town not far from Senlis, where he found the French king and his armie lodged; wherefore he ordered his battels like an expert chéeftaine in martiall science, setting the archers before, and himselfe with the noblemen in the maine battell, and put the Normans on both sides for wings. The French king also ordered his battels with the aduise of his capteins.

Thus these two armies laie two daies and two nights either in sight of other, without anie great dooing, except a few skirmishes, wherein the dukes light horssemen did verie valiantlie. At length in the dead of the night (as priuillie as might be) the French king brake vp his campe, and fled to Braie. The duke of Bedford had much adoo to staie his people in the morning from pursuit of the French armie: but for that he mistrusted the Parisiens, he would not depart farre from that citie, and so returned thither againe. ¶ In this season pope Martin the fift of that name, meaning to subdue the Bohemers that dissented from the church of Rome in matters of religion, appointed Henrie Beaufort Bishop of Winchester & cardinall of saint Eusebie, to be his legat in an armie that should inuade the kingdome of Boheme, and to bring a power of men with him out of England. And because the warre touched religion, he licenced the cardinall to take the tenth part of euerie spirituall dignitie, benefice, and promotion.

The French armie fled in the night.

Boheme.

This matter was opened in the parlement house, and assented to: wherevpon the bishop gathered the monie, and assembled foure thousand men & aboue, not without great grudge of the people, which daillie were with tallages and aids wearied and sore burdened. As this bishop was come to Douer readie to passe the seas ouer into Flanders, the duke of Glocester hauing receiued letters from the duke of Bedford, containing an earnest request to reléeue him with some spée die aid of men of warre, was constreined to write vnto the bishop of Winchester, willing him in time of such need, when all stood vpon losse or gaine, to passe with all his armie toward the duke of Bedford, to assist him against his aduersaries; which thing doone, and to his honour atchiued, he might performe his iournie against the vngratious Bohemers. The cardinall (though not well contented with this countermand) yet least he should run into the note of infamie, if he refused to aid the regent of France in so great a cause, passed ouer with his power, and brought the same vnto his coosine to the citie of Paris.

About the same season, the French king, in hope to be receiued into the townes of Campaigne and Beauuois (by reason of the faouour and good will which the inhabitants bare towards him) was come with an armie towards Campaigne. Whereof the duke of Bedford being aduertised, and hauing now his host augmented with the new supplie, which the cardinall had of late brought vnto him, marched forward with great spée die toward the place where he vnderstood the French king was lodged: and comming to Senlis, he perceiued how his enimies were incamped vpon the mount Pilioll, betwéene Senlis and Campaigne.

Here might either armie behold the other: wherevpon for the auoiding of dangers that might insue, the campes were trenched, and the battels pitched, and the fields ordered as though they should haue tried the matter by battell: but nothing was doone except with skirmishes, in the which the Normans sore vexed the Frenchmen; and therefore receiued great commendations and praises of the lord regent: who vndoubtedlie determined to haue giuen battell to his enimies if they would haue abidden it. But after the armies had thus lien ether in sight of other, for the space of two daies together, the French king not determining to aduenture in an open battell the whole chance of the game, least he might thereby receiue a perpetuall checkemate, in the night season remooued his campe, and fled to Crespie, though his number was double to the English armie. The duke of Bedford, séeing that the French king was thus cowardlie recoiled with all his power and armie, returned againe to Paris, euer suspecting the deceitfull faith of the Parisiens.

An. Reg. 8.

The bishop of Winchester, after that the French king was retreated backe, went into Boheme, and there did somewhat, though shortlie after without anie great praise or gaine he returned into England, more glad of his comming backe than of his aduancing forward. Anon after the pope vnlegated him, and set an other in his place, wherewith he was nothing contented. On the sixt daie of Nouember, being the daie of saint Leonard, king Henrie in the eight yeare of his reigne was at Westminster with all pompe and honour crowned king of this realme of England. In the same yere the French king was receiued into the towne of Campaigne, and shortlie after were the townes of Senlis and Beauuois rendered to him. And the lord Longueall tooke by stelth the castell of Aumarle, and slue all the Englishmen within it.

Boheme.

The pope did vnlegat the cardinall of Winchester.

K. Henries coronation at Westminster.

Also about the same time, the Frenchmen recouered castell Gaillard fourth of the Englishmens hands, where the lord Barbason was found in a dungeon, inclosed within a great grate of iron like to a little chamber, and fourthwith they brake open the grate: but Barbason would not come fourth; because he had giuen his faith and promise to one Kingston that was capteine of that fortresse for the king of England, to be true prisoner, vntill the Frenchmen had sent to the same Kingston (that was

Thom. Wals.

departed vpon such couenants as they were agréed vpon at the deliuerie of that fortresse) willing him to come backe againe vpon safe conduct. Which at their earnest request he did, and withall discharged the lord Barbason of his oth; and so then he came foorth, and remained at his libertie, to the great reioising of the Frenchmen, which iudged that he had béene rather dead than aliuie all that time of his imprisonment.

About the same time also the French king sought by all meanes possible to breake the amitie betwixt the realme of England, and the house of Burgognie. Whereof the duke of Bedford hauing intelligence, thought it stood him vpon the more earnestlie to looke to his charge; and namelie as it were an anchorhold, he determined to prouide that he might defend and safelie kéepe the duchie of Normandie, and therefore appointing the bishop of Terrowen and Elie, named Lewes of Lutzenburgh, chancellor for king Henrie of the realme of France, to remaine at Paris vpon the defense of that citie, with a conuenient number of Englishmen, he departed into Normandie, and comming to Rone, called a parlement there of the thrée estates of the duchie, in the which he declared manie things vnto them, touching the happie life, and great frédome which they might be assured to inioy, so long as they continued vnder the English obeisance: and therefore he exhorted them to abide constant in their allegiance, faith, and promise made and sworne to his noble brother king Henrie the fift.

A parlement at Rone called by the duke of Bedford.

Whilest the duke of Bedford was busie to reteine the Normans in their due obedience, the French king departed from Senlis; and comming to the towne of saint Denis, found it in maner desolate, so that he entered there without resistance, and lodged his armie at Mount Martyr and Amberuilliers, néere vnto the citie of Paris; and from thence sent Iohn duke of Alanson, and his sorceresse Ione la Pusell, with thrée thousand light horssemen to assault the citie, and followed himselfe, in hope to get it, either by force or treatie. But the English capteins euerie one kéeping his ward and place assigned, so manfullie defended themselues, their walles and towers with the assistance of the Parisiens, that they repelled the Frenchmen, and threw downe Ione their great goddesse into the bottome of the towne ditch, where she lay behind the backe of an asse sore hurt in the leg, till the time that she (all filthie with mire and durt) was drawne out by Guischard of Thienbrone, seruant to the duke of Alanson.

The French got saint Denis.

Ione had a hurt in the leg and a fall, drawn all durtie out of the mire.

The French king, perceiuing that he could not preuaile in this enterprise, left the dead bodies behind him, and taking with him the wounded capteins, returned into Berrie. But in the meane waie, the inhabitants of Laignie submitted themselues vnto him. The duke of Bedford being in Normandie, hearing of this sudden attempt, with all hast possible came to Paris, where he gaue manie great thanks, with high commendations vnto the capteins, souldiers and citizens for their assured fidelitie, great hardinesse & manlie dooing. Which his gentle words so encouraged the harts of the Parisiens, that they sware, promised and concluded, to be fréends for euer to the king of England, and his fréends, and enimies alwaies to his foes and aduersaries, making proclamation by this stile: "Fréends to K. Henrie, fréends to the Parisiens; Enimies to England, enimies to Paris." Marie whether this was vttered from their harts, it is hard so to saie, for the sequeale of their acts séemed to proue the contrarie.

Soone after these dooings, came to Paris with a great companie Philip duke of Burgognie, and then vpon long consultation had for the recouerie of their losses, it was agréed that the duke of Bedford should raise an armie, & that the duke of Burgognie should be his deputie, and tarie at Paris for the defense of the citie. The duke of Bedford then without any great resistance recouered againe the towne of saint Denis, with diuerse other fortresses. And after this he sent the bastard of Clarence to laie siege to the castell of Torsie, the which (notwithstanding the great strength therof) after six moneths siege, was rendred vp into his hands. During the siege of this castell, sir Thomas Kiriell knight, with foure hundred Englishmen departed from Gourneie in Normandie, and rode by Beauuois, spoiling and wasting the countrie to the suburbes of Cleremont. Whereof the earle of that towne hauing aduertisement, assembled all the men of warre of the garrisons adioining, and with the same set forward to fight with the Englishmen, whom he found in a streict place néere to Beauuois.

Saint Denis by vs recouered againe.

The earle of Cleremont, perceiuing that he could not hurt them with his men of armes, by reason of the strength, came downe on foot with all his companie, and fiercelie set on the Englishmen: but by the terrible shot of the English archers, the Frenchmen in the end were constrained to flée; and the Englishmen perceiuing the matter, streight leapt on horssebacke and followed the chase. In the which were taken two hundred prisoners, and thrise as manie slaine. The earle escaped by the swiftnesse of his horsse. At the same season the earle of Suffolke besieging the towne of Aumarle (whereof was capteine the lord of Rambures) after foure and twentie great assaults, had the towne and castell simplie to him rendred. Thus by little and little the Englishmen recouered manie townes which before they had lost. Howbeit about the verie same time, the Frenchmen stale the towne of Lauall, by treason wrought by a miller, which kéeping a mill that ioined to the wall, suffered the French to passe through his mill into the towne. Shortlie after also sir Steuen de Vignouilles, surnamed la Hire, tooke by scaling the towne of Louiers in Normandie. The Englishmen in the cold moneth of December besieged the towne of Laignie in the which was the Pusell, and diuerse other good capteins.

La Hire.

Laignie besieged by the Englishmen.

Le Rosier.

[In the moneth of Maie 1430, with a valiant man in feats of armes on the

duke of Burgognions side, one Franquet and his band of thrée hundred souldiers, making all towards the maintenance of the siege, the Pusell Ione and a foure hundred with hir did méet. In great courage and force did she and hir people sundrie times assaile him, but he with his (though much vnder in number) by meanes of his archers in good order set, did so hardilie withstand them, that for the first and second push she rather lost than wan? Wherat this captinesse stricken into a fretting chafe, called out in all hast the garrison of Laignie, and from other the forts thereabout, who thicke and thréefold came downe with might and maine, in armour and number so far excéeding Franquets, that though they had doone hir much hurt in hir horsemen; yet by the verie multitude were they oppressed, most in hir furie put to the sword; & as for to Franquet that worthie capteine himselve, hir rage not appeased, till out of hand she had his head stroken off: contrarie to all manhood (but she was a woman, if she were that) & contrarie to common right & law of armes. The man for his merits was verie much lamented, and she by hir malice then found of what spirit she was.]

W. P.

1430

After this the duke of Bourgognie accompanied with the earles of Arundell, and Suffolke, and the lord Iohn of Lutzenburgh besieged the towne of Campiegne with a great puissance. This towne was well walled, manned and vittelled, so that the besiegers were constrained to cast trenches, and make mines, for otherwise they saw not how to compasse their purpose. In the meane time it happened in the night of the Ascension of our lord, that Poiton de Saintreiles, Ione la Pusell, and fiue or six hundred men of armes issued out by the bridge toward Mondedier, intending to set fire in the tents and lodgings of the lord Bawdo de Noielle.

Campiegne besieged.

¶ In this yeare of our Lord, among diuerse notable men of learning and knowledge, one Richard Fleming, English borne, a doctor of diuinitie professed in Oxford, did flourish: who by the providence of God grew in such faouour with this king Henrie the sixt, & the nobles néere & about him, that he was preferred to the bishops sée of Lincolne. This man founded Lincolne college in Oxford, in which vniuersitie he had béene a profitable student. Diuerse bookes he wrote (as the vniuersitie librarie dooth beare witnesse) whereof these following haue béene séene vnder their names and titles; to wit: A protestation against the Spaniards, the Frenchmen, and the Scots, made in the generall councill holden at Sens: one booke of the Etymologie of England; besides diuerse other treatises, as Gesner reporteth Ex bibliotheca Oxonii, aforesaid.

Abr. Fl. ex Gesnero.

Richard Fleming bishop of Lincolne.

The books that he wrote.

At the verie same time that Campeigne was besieged (as before is said) sir Iohn of Lutzenburgh, with eight other gentlemen, chanced to be néere vnto the lodging of the said lord Bawdo, where they espied the Frenchmen, which began to cut downe tents, ouerthrow paulions, & kill men in their beds: wherevpon they with all spéed assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgognions, and couragiously set on the Frenchmen, and in the end beat them backe into the towne, so that they fled so fast that one letted another, as they would haue entered. In the chase and pursute was the Pusell taken, with diuerse other, besides those that were slaine, which were no small number. Diuerse were hurt also on both parts. Among the Englishmen, sir Iohn Montgomerie had his arme broken, and sir Iohn Steward was shot into the thigh with a quarell.

Ione the Pusell taken.

[As before ye haue heard somewhat of this damsels strange beginning and procéedings, so sith the ending of all such miracle mongers dooth (for the most part) plainelie decipher the vertue and power that they worke, by hir shall ye be aduertised what at last became of hir; cast your opinions as ye haue cause. Of hir louers (the Frenchmen) reporteth one, how in Campeigne thus besieged, Guillanne de Flauié the capteine hauing sold hir aforehand to the lord of Lutzenburgh, vnder colour of hasting hir with a band out of the towne towards their king, for him with spéed to come and leaue the siege there, so gotten hir foorth he shut the gates after hir, when anon by the Burgognians set vpon and ouermacht in the conflict she was taken: marie yet (all things accounted) to no small maruell how it could come so to passe, had she béene of any deuotion or of true beléefe, and no false miscreant, but all holie as she made it. For earlie that morning she gat hir to saint Iameses church, confessed hir, and receiued hir maker (as the booke termes it) and after setting hir selfe to a piller, manie of the townesmen that with a fiue or six score of their children stood about there to see hir, vnto them " (quod she) Good children and my déere fréends, I tell you plaine one hath sold me. I am betraied and shortlie shall be deliuered to death; I beséech you praie to God for me, for I shall neuer haue more power to doo seruice either to the king or to the realme of France againe."

W. P.

Chroniques de Britaigne.

Saith another booke, she was intrapt by a Picard capteine of Soissons, who sold that citie to the duke of Bourgognie, and he then put it ouer into the hands of the lord of Lutzenburgh, so by that meanes the Burgognians approched and besieged Campeigne, for succour whereof as damsell Ione with hir capteins from Laignie was thither come, and dailie to the English gaue manie a hot skirmish, so happened it one daie in an outsallie that she made by a Picard of the lord of Lutzenburghs band, in the fiercest of hir fight she was taken, and by him by and by to his lord presented, who sold hir ouer againe to the English, who for witchcraft and sorcerie burnt hir at Rone. Tillet telleth it thus, that she was caught at Campeigne by one of the earle of Ligneis soldiers, from him had to Beaurevoir castell, where

Le Rosier.

In la vie du Charles septiesme.

Fiue thousand pounds frèch crowns in monie.

An hundred and fiftie crownes rent.

kept a thrée months, she was after for ten thousand pounds in monie and thrée hundred pounds rent (all Turnois) sold into the English hands.

In which for hir pranks so vncouth and suspicious, the lord regent by Peter Chauchon bishop of Beauuois (in whose diocesse she was taken) caused hir life and beléefe, after order of law to be inquired vpon and examined. Wherein found though a virgin, yet first shamefullie reiecting hir sex abominable in acts and apparell to haue counterfeit mankind, and then all damnablie faithlesse, to be a pernicious instrument to hostilitie and bloudshed in diuelish witchcraft and sorcerie, sentence accordingle was pronounced against hir. Howbeit vpon humble confession of hir iniquities with a counterfeit contrition pretending a carefull sorow for the same, execution spared and all mollified into this, that from thencefoorth she should cast off hir vnnaturall wearing of mans abilliments, and kéepe hir to garments of hir owne kind, abiure hir pernicious practises of sorcerie and witcherie, and haue life and leasure in perpetuall prison to bewaile hir misdéeds. Which to performe (according to the maner of abiuration) a solemne oth verie gladlie she tooke.

But herein (God helpe vs) she fullie afore possest of the féend, not able to hold hir in anie towardnesse of grace, falling streight waie into hir former abominations (and yet séeking to éetch out life as long as she might) stake not (though the shift were shamefull) to confesse hir selfe a strumpet, and (vnmarrid as she was) to be with child. For triall, the lord regents lenitie gaue hir nine moneths staie, at the end wherof she found herein as false as wicked in the rest, an eight daies after, vpon a further definitiue sentence declared against hir to be relapse and a renouncer of hir oth and repentance, was she therevpon deliuered ouer to secular power, and so executed by consumption of fire in the old market place at Rone, in the selfe same stéed where now saint Michaels church stands, hir ashes afterward without the towne wals shaken into the wind. Now recounting altogither, hir pastorall bringing vp, rude without any vertuous instruction, hir campestrall conuersation with wicked spirits, whome in hir first salutation to Charles the Dolphin, she vttered to be our Ladie, saint Katharine, and saint Annes, that in this behalfe came and gaue hir commandements from God hir maker, as she kept hir fathers lambs in the fields (where saints in warres among christen men were (be we sure) neuer so parcial patrons or partners to maintenance of horrible slaughters, rapines, and bloudshed) hereto hir murtherous mind in killing of Franquet hir owne prisoner, hir two yeares continuance in hir abominations and deadlie mischiefe without anie hir trauell or motion betwéene the princes for peace, hir relapse at last & falling againe into hir abiured iniquities, by hir virginitie (if it were anie) by hir holie words, hir fasting and praiers what they might be, sith satan (after S. Paule) can change himselfe into an angell of light, the déeplier to deceiue.

Polydo. 23. in H. 6.

Les grand chron.

Les grandes chronic. le 4 liure.

These matters may verie rightfullie denounce vnto all the world hir execrable abominations, and well iustifie the iudgement she had, and the execution she was put to for the same. A thing yet (God wot) verie smallie shadowed, and lesse holpen by the verie trauell of the Dolphin, whose dignitie abroad fouble spotted in this point, that contrarie to the holie degré of a right christen prince (as he called himselfe) for maintenance of his quarels in warre would not reuerence to prophane his sacred estate, as dealing in diuelish practises with misbeléeuers and witches. Which maladie he full sorilie salued (like one that to kill the strong sent of onions would cheaw a cloue of garlike) so a six and twentie yeares after, he pact with pope Calixt the third, by whose mandat directed to his thrée delegats, the bishops of Paris, Reimes, and Constance, at the cathedrall church of Paris, in presence of Ione (the pusels mother) Iohn and Peter hir brethren, the seuen and twentieth daie of Nouember 1455, the validitie and goodnesse of the processe and sentence vpon hir was called in question, and in great solemnitie sit vpon.

Christianissimus rex.

Tillet.

This prelate at his death left a hundred and fiftéene crownes in gold, that vnder colour of warres with the infidels he had fléessed from christen princes.

Piatina.

Wherein the cause was so sincerelie canuassed among them, that afterward, on the eight of Iulie 1456, a quite contrarie sentence was there declared; of effect, that this Ione (forsooth) was a damsell diuine, no fault in the Dolphin for his counsell and witcherie practises with hir; the processe, iudgement, and condemnation against hir all wrong and iniurious. And for iustification and remembrance aswell of hir innocencie in life and death, as also of the sinceritie of their later sentence, a new crosse in that old market to be reared. In this tale of Tillets is she further likened to Debora, Iahell, and Iudith, and vnto Romane Clelia compared by Polydor, that shames not somewhat also to carpe at hir iudgment, and much pitieth hir paine. But what puritie or regard of deuotion or conscience is in these writers trow yée, who make no consideration of hir heinous enormities, or else any difference betwéene one stirred vp by mercie diuine, or naturall loue, and a damnable sorcerer suborned by satan? And thus much of this gentle Ione, and of hir good oratours that haue said so well for hir: now iudge as ye list.]

Li. 23 in vita. H. 6.

After the bestowing of this Pusell in sort as yée haue heard, the siege still continued before Campiegne, and the duke of Bedford sent to the duke of Burgognie lieng at the siege, the earle of Huntington, and sir Iohn Robsert (two iollie gentlemen, of no lesse prudence to parle with the enimie, than puissance to incounter them) with a thousand archers (whose actiutie, I warrant you, stood not then vpon the first triall) which dailie skirmished with them within, and made such bastiles & fortresses, that the towne had béene rendred into their hands, but that the duke of Burgognie departed from the siege to go into Brabant, to receiue the possession of that duchie,

by the death of his cousin Philip the duke of that countrie, as then departed this world.

Sir Iohn de Lutzenburgh was left by the duke of Burgognie as generall of the siege before Campiegne, the which he raised within a short space after, contrarie to the minds of the Englishmen, which were verie desirous to haue lien there till the towne had béene rendered, which if the siege had béene continued but eight daies longer, must néeds haue come to passe; by reason that pestilence and famine had almost consumed all the souldiers within the towne, so that it remained in maner without defense. After the breaking vp of this siege, Iohn duke of Norffolke tooke againe the townes of Dampmartine, and the Chasse Mongaie, with diuerse other townes. Also the earle of Stafford tooke the towne of Brin countie Robert, and from thence forraged all the countrie to Sens, and after tooke Quesnoie in Brie, Grand Puis, and Rampellon.

An. Reg. 9.

1431.

During this time, the Frenchmen on the otherside tooke Louiers and Villeneuf. Then also did the towne of Melun rebell, and had such aid of other townes adioining, that the English souldiers were faine to leaue Melun, Morret, and Corbell. Thus did things wauer in doubtfull balance betwixt the two nations English and French. But bicause the English sore mistrusted further danger, it was concluded, that king Henrie in his roiall person with a new armie should come into France, partlie to visit and comfort his owne subiects there, and partlie either by feare or fauour (bicause a child of his age and beautie dooth commonlie procure them loue of elder persons) to moue the Frenchmen to continue their due obeisance towards him.

Wherefore after a great host conuenient for that purpose assembled, and monie for maintenance of the warre readie gathered, and the realme set in an order vnder the gouernement of the duke of Glocester protector (which during the kings absence appeased diuerse riots, and punished the offenders) the king with a great power tooke shipping at Douer on saint Georges euen within night, and landed at Calis on the morrow being saint Georges daie, and sundaie, by seuen of the clocke in the morning. He remained in Calis a good space, and from thence he remoued to Rone, being there receiued with all triumph. He taried in that citie a long time, his nobles dailie consulting on their great businesse & weightie affaires.

King Henrie the sixt in person goeth with an armie into France.

S. Albons.

Ed. Hull.

¶ In this kings time, & somewhat about this yeare, a certeine Breton, whom a good honest widow had receiued into hir house, and conceiued well of him in opinion, was by hir mainteined of hir owne pursse, & (as Polychronicon saith) she found him of almes and for Gods sake. This charitable déed of hers deserued a deuout mind to God ward, and a thankfull hart to hir. But (good soule) how was she recompensed? ^[12]Euen murdered in hir bed by the hands of that villaine whome so bountifullie she succored, and motherlike tendered. Vnto which bloudie fact (which was a preparatiue to a further mischéefe bred in his vnnaturall hart) he added another offense: for when he had dispatched the woman, vsing the riddance of hir to his aduantage, and as he had obtained oportunitie (to his thinking) he conueied all that she had awaie with him for his owne reléefe. Then being persecuted with guiltinesse of conscience, which troubleth offenders with ceaselesse vexations, and forceth them from place to place to séeke corners of euasion and shift, he tooke priuilege of holie church at saint Georges in Southwarke, where laieng hands on the crosse, as a shield of sufficient safegard, he abiured this land, and by that meanes thought himselfe frée from afterclaps.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychron.

A widow without Algate murdered in hir bed by a Breton whome she charitable reléueed.

[12] O fowle ingratitude.

Neuerthesse, God (whose mercifull nature abhorreth the effusion of mans bloud) prepared a punishment for the malefactor, who passing through the suburbs of London, without Algate (the place where he had committed the murther) the women of the same parish and stréet (as it were inraged) came out with stones, staues, kenell doong, and other things, wherewith they so bethwackt him on all parts of his bodie, that they laid him a stretching, and rid him quite of life. In the wreking of this their téene they were so fell and fierce, that the constables with their assistants (which were no small number) dooing what they could by their authoritie and maine strength, were not able to rescue him out of the womens hands; who had sworne in their hearts (as it séemed by the maner of their reuenge which was void of all mercie) to sée the end of such a villaine as most vnnaturallie had slaine a woman, a neighbour, a widow, a pitifull woman, a good neighbour, an honest widow; the wretch himselfe being a fugitiue, a stranger borne, a begger, and he to whome she shewed hir selfe the staffe of his support. O singular ingratitude which nature abhorreth, law dissalloweth, heauen disclaimeth, God detesteth, humanitie condemneeth, and euerie good bodie to the verie death defieth; as the old distichon excellentlie and with good sense noteth;

The murther reuenged by women at the appointment of Gods iustice.

Lex & natura, cœlum, Deus, omnia iura
Damnant ingratum, mœrent ilium quoq; natum.

But to returne to the affaires of king Henrie, who in the moneth of Nouember remooued from Rone to Pontoise, and so to saint Denis, to the intent to make his entrie into Paris, and there to be sacred king of France. There were in his companie of his owne nation, his vncler the cardinall of Winchester, the cardinall and archbishop of Yorke, the dukes of Bedford, Yorke, and Norffolke, the earles of Warwike, Salisburie, Oxenford, Huntington, Ormond, Mortaigne, and Suffolke. Of

Gascoigns, there were the earles of Longuille and Marche, besides manie other noble men of England, Guien, and Normandie. And the chéeffe of the French nation were the dukes of Burgognie, and Lewes of Lutzenburgh, cardinall and chancellor of France for king Henrie: the bishops of Beauuois and Noion, both péeres of France, beside the bishop of Paris, and diuerse other bishops; the earle of Vaudemount, and other noble men, whose names were superfluous to rehearse. And he had in a gard about his person thrée thousand price archers, some on horssebacke, and part on foot.

To speake with what honour he was receiued into the cite of Paris, what pageants were prepared, and how richlie the gates, stréets, and bridges on euerie side were hanged with costlie clothes of arras & tapestry, it would be too long a processe, and therefore I doo héere passe it ouer with silence. On the seauentéenth daie of December, he was crowned king of France, in our ladie church of Paris, by the cardinall of Winchester, the bishop of Paris not being contented that the cardinall should doo such an high ceremonie in his church and iurisdiction. After all the ceremonies were finished, the king returned toward the palace, hauing one crowne on his head, and another borne before him; and one scepter in his hand, and the second borne before him. As touching other the roiall seruices and princelie appointments, they are verie diligentlie & at large set out in the French chronicle of that time. This coronation of the king, Anglorum prælia as manie other good and memorable matters, so this also he hath noted, saieng thereof in comelie breuitie and truth, as after followeth:

King Henrie the sixt
crowned in Paris.

Le Rosier historiad.

Aeternæ famæ paulo post rege sepulto,
Parisijs, diadema vias & compita circum
Junior Henricus portat lepidissimus infans.

This high and ioious feast passed not without some spot of displeasure among the English nobilitie: for the cardinall of Winchester, which at this time would haue no man be equall with him, commanded the duke of Bedford to leaue off the name of regent, during the time that the king was in France, affirming the chéeffe ruler being in presence, the authoritie of the substitute to be cléerlie derogate, according to the common saieng; In the presence of the higher power, the smaller giueth place. The duke of Bedford tooke such a secret displeasure with this dooing, that he neuer after faouered the cardinall, but stood against him in all things that he would haue forward. This was the root (as some haue thought) of that diuision amongst the English nobilitie, where through their glorie within the realme of France began first to decline.

The next daie after the solemne feast of the kings coronation, were kept triumphant iusts and torneis, in the which the earle of Arundell, and the bastard of S. Paule, by the iudgement of the ladies woone the price. The king kept open hall the space of fiue daies to all commers, and after (bicause the aire of Paris séemed contrarie to his pure complexion) by the aduise of his councill, he remooued to Rone, where he kept his Christmasse. But before his departure from Paris, the noble men as well of France and Normandie did to him homage, and the common people sware to him fealtie. In this meane time, sir Francis called the Aragoignois, a noble capteine of the English part in Normandie, tooke by force and policie the towne of Montargis, with a great preie of treasure and prisoners, and put therein a garrison, leauing it well furnished with vittels and munition.

Montargis recouered by
the English.

About the same time, the earle of Arundell, being truelie informed that the lord Bousac, marshall of France, was come to Beauuois, intending to doo some feat in Normandie, assembled the number of thrée and twentie hundred men, and comming néere to the said towne of Beauuois, sent a great number of light horssemen to run before the towne, to traîne out the Frenchmen within; the which issuing out and following the English horssemen vnto their stale, were so inclosed and fought with, that in maner all the number of them, saue a few which fled backe into the towne with the marshall, were slaine or taken. Amongst other of the chéefest prisoners, that valiant capteine Pouton de Santrails was one, who without delaie was exchanged for the lord Talbot, before taken prisoner at the battell of Pataie. There was also taken one called the shéepheard, a simple man, and a sillie soule; but yet of such reputation for his supposed holinesse amongst the Frenchmen, that if he touched the wall of any of their aduersaries townes, they beléeued verelie it would incontinentlie fall downe.

The lord Talbot
ransomed by exchange.

The holie shéepheard.

This chance succéeded not fortunatlie alone vnto the English nation, for Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike had a great skirmish before the towne of Gournie, where he discomfited and repelled his enimies: and beside those that were slaine, he tooke fortie horssemen, all being gentlemen of name and armes. Like chance happened to the fréends of king Charles, towards the marches of Loraine, where Reigner duke of Bar besieged the towne of Vaudemont pertaining to the earle thereof named Anthonie, coosine to the same duke Reigner. This earle, before the dukes approaching, left a conuenient crue within the towne to defend it, and with all spéed rode to the dukes of Bedford and Burgognie, being then at the foresaid great triumph at Paris, where he purchased such fauour at their hands, bicause he had euer taken their parts, that not onelie sir Iohn Fastolfe was appointed to go with him, hauing in his companie six hundred archers, but also the duke of Burgognies marshall named sir Anthonie Toulongon, accompanied with fiftéene hundred other men of warre.

Vaudemont besieged.

When the duke of Bar heard that his enimies were thus comming towards him, like a hardie capteine he raised his siege, and met face to face with the earle and his companie, betwéene

whome was a cruell and mortall battell. The horssemen of the French side endured long, but in conclusion the English archers so galled their horssees, and so wounded the men, that the Barrois, Almaines, and other of duke Reigners side were compelled to flée. In the chase was taken the duke of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the lord of Roquedemaque, sir Euerard of Salseburgh, the vicont Darcie, and two hundred other, beside thrée thousand which were slaine.

In this luckie time also, no lesse occasion of victorie was offered to the Englishmen in an other part, if they could haue vsed it with such circumspect warinesse as had béene expedient. For Robert lord Willoughbie, and Matthew ^[13]Gough, a valiant Welshman, with fiftéene hundred Englishmen, laid siege to a towne in Aniou called saint Seuerine. Whereof Charles the French king being aduertised, sent with all spéed the lord Ambrose de Lore, with manie noble men to the succours of them within the towne, wherof the same lord Ambrose was capteine: and therefore made the more hast to reléeue his deputie, and the other being streictlie besieged, but yet staid at the towne of Beaumont, till his whole power might come to him.

Saint Seuerine
besieged.

[13] or rather Goche.

The Englishmen aduertised of this intent of the capteine, came vpon him in the night, and found the Frenchmens watch so out of order, that a thousand men were entered into the campe before they were espied; by reason whereof the Englishmen found small resistance. But when the daie began to appeare, and that the sunne had set fourth his bright beames abroad, that all things might be séene, the Englishmen giuen wholie to spoile, followed not their enimies in chase, but being contented with their preie and game, began to retreit toward the siege againe, which the lord Willoughbie still mainteined with a part of the armie.

But sée the chance. The Frenchmen which were cōming after, hearing by the noise of the people that some fraie was at hand, put spurres to their horssees, and set on the Englishmen pestered with bag and baggage of the spoile and preie which they had gotten in the French campe. The other of the Frenchmen which before had fled, returned againe, and aided their fellowes; so that the Englishmen being taken out of order, were compelled to flée, of whome Matthew ^[14]Gough and diuerse other were taken prisoners. And yet of the other part manie were slaine, and a great number taken: amongst whom was the lord de Lore, who (for all that the Frenchmen could doo) was kept, and not deliuered. The lord Willoughbie hearing of this mishap, raised his siege, and departed verie sore displeasid in his mind, but could not remedie it.

[14] Goche.

About this season, Nicholas the cardinall of the holie crosse was sent into France, as a legat from Eugenie the fourth as then bishop of Rome, to treat a peace betwéene the Englishmen and Frenchmen. But when after great instance and labour made betwéene the parties, he saw their obstinate and froward minds, nothing inclined to anie agréement, he wan so much at their hands by earnest sute, that a truce was granted to indure for six yeares to come: but as the same was hardlie granted, so was it of the Frenchmen soone and lightlie broken. For the bastard of Orleance newlie made earle of Dunois, tooke by treson the towne of Chartres from the Englishmen, affirming by the law of armes, that stealing or buieng a towne, without inuasion or assault, was no breach of league, amitie, or truce. In which towne he slue the bishop, bicause he was a Burgognian. Hereby did new malice increase, and mortall warre began eftsoones to be put in vse.

A legat from Rome sent
to treat a peace betwixt
the English and the
French.

A truce for six yeares.

Chartres taken by
treason
notwithstanding the
truce.

The two errors.

Whilist these things were dooing in France, the cardinall of Winchester was come backe againe into England, to appease certeine commotions and sturres attempted by sundrie persons vnder colour of religion: but after that William Mandeuille, and Iohn Sharpe the chéefe authors thereof were apprehended and executed by the gouernour and the kings iustices, the residue yéelded and confessed their offenses, whereof two articles were these (as some write) that priests should haue no possessions, and that all things by order of charitie among christian people should be in common. Other thought their opinions were not such errors, but that their enimies spread abroad such rumors of them, to make them more odious to the people.

After that, a parlement was called by the duke of Glocester, in the which monie was assigned to be leuied, and men appointed, which should passe ouer into France to the aid of the duke of Bedford, for the maintenance of the warres: bicause it was suspected the truce would not long continue. During this parlement, Iames the king of Scots sent ambassadors to conclude a peace with the duke of Glocester, who (bicause the king was absent) referred the matter to the thrée estates. After long consultation, not without great arguments, a peace was concluded. When the parlement was ended, the cardinall well furnished with men & monie, departed out of England, and came to Rone to the king, to whome also resorted the duke of Bedford from Paris, to consult of things not vnlikelie to follow.

A parlement called by
the duke of Glocester
the king being in
France.

A peace concluded with
the Scots.

Herevpon a great councell was kept in the castell of Rone, and manie doubts mooued, and few weightie things out of hand concluded. At length, after great disputation, with manie arguments ended, the dukes of Bedford and Yorke, and Edmund late earle of Mortaigne, and now (by the death of Iohn duke of Summerset, leauing behind him a sole daughter and heire, married to the earle, and called Margaret after the countesse of Richmond) attained to the name and title of duke of Summerset, approoued the reason of those, that held it expedient to haue an armie in a

redinesse for defense, least the Frenchmen suddenlie should attempt anie enterprise to the danger of the Englishmen, and losse of those townes and countries that were vnder them.

When all things were agréed, king Henrie came to Calis, from thence to Douer; and so by easie iournies the one and twentieth daie of Februarie to London, where he was triumphantlie receiued, and richlie presented, as in the chronicles of Robert Fabian it maie at large appeare. After that the king was departed into England, the duke of Bedford regent of France, and captein of Calis, taried behind in the marches of Picardie, where he was informed certeine souldiers of Calis grudging at the restraint of woolles, began to murmur against the king and his councill, to some danger of the towne. The duke vpon due examination had caused diuerse to be put to death, and manie banished that towne and marches for euer.

1432

King Henrie returneth out of France into England.

In the meane time, the ladie Anne duchesse of Bedford departed this life at Paris, by whose death the fast knot of faithful friendship betwixt the duke of Bedford and his brother in law the duke of Burgognie began somewhat to slacken. Shortlie after, to wit, about the beginning of the next yeare 1433, the said duke of Bedford being thus a widower, through the persuason of the lord Lewes of Lutzenburgh bishop of Terwine and Elie, and chancellor of France for king Henrie, agréed to marrie the ladie Iaquet, daughter to Peter earle of saint Paule, and néece to the said bishop, and to the lord Iohn of Lutzenburgh.

The duchesse of Bedford sister to the duke of Burgognie deceased.

The duke of Bedford marieth with the earle of saint Paules daughter.

The mariage was solemnized at Terwine with great triumph. Which ended, the duke with his new spouse (being about the age of seauentéene yeares) came vnto Calis, and so into England, from whence in the moneth of August next he returned to Paris. The duke of Burgognie, though nothing pleased with this new aliance contracted by the duke of Bedford, with the house of Lutzenburgh, but yet not able to doo anie thing to let it; bicause of the mariage consummate yer he could find any power or knowledge to hinder it. Whilest these things were a dooing, in some places the French souldiers of the Dolphins, lacking wages (as the time serued) tooke both Englishmen and Burgognians, ransoming and spoiling them at their pleasure. Herewith the regent much mooued, prepared for warre after six moneths the truce had béene taken: and so the warre againe was renewed.

The Frenchmen anon as open truce-breakers, raised a crue, and suddenlie tooke the towne of saint Valerie in Normandie, néere to the mouth of the riuer of Some. An other armie, vnder the leading of sir Ambrose de Lore, wasted and destroyed all the countrie about Caen. The duke of Bedford on his part sent the earle of Arundell, the earle of Warwikes sonne, the lord Lisle Adam marshall of France for king Henrie, and twelue hundred men of warre with ordinance and munition to besiege the town of Laignie vpon the riuer of Marne. The earle with shot of canon brake the arch of the bridge, and got from the Frenchmen their bulworke, and set it on fire. Diuerse assaults were attempted, but the towne was well defended: for there were within it an eight hundred men of armes, besides other meane souldiers.

The Frenchmen breake the peace and take the towne of Saint Valerie.

Laignie besieged.

The duke of Bedford herewith gathered an armie of six thousand men, whereof were capteins; Robert lord Willoughbie, sir Andrew Ogard chamberlaine to the duke, sir Iohn Saluaine bailiffe of Rone, sir Iohn Montgomerie bailiffe of Caux, sir Philip Hall bailiffe of Vernouill, sir Richard Ratcliffe deputie of Calis, sir Rafe Neuill, sir Rafe Standish, sir Iohn Hanford, sir Richard Euthin, sir Richard Harington bailiffe of Eureux, sir William Fulthorpe, sir Thomas Griffin of Ireland, David Hall, Thomas Stranguish, Leonard Ormstone esquiers, and Thomas Gerard. All gentlemen of courage, and as forward to giue the French the foile, as the French for their liues to giue them the discomfiture. But vnto which side the victorie should befall, vncerteine it was before the triall of both their chances had determined the doubt by the euent of the conflict.

The duke of Bedford furnished with this armie and companie of worthie capteins came to the siege before Laignie, where he made a bridge of boats, and brought his ordinance so néere the towne, that to all people it séemed not long able to resist. But the earle of Dunois, otherwise called the bastard of Orleance, with diuerse hardie capteins, as valiantlie defended as the Englishmen assaulted. At length the French king, perceiuing this towne to be the thrée cornerd keie betwéene the territories Burgognion, English, and French, and the losse thereof should turne him to irreuocable damage, sent the lord of Rieux, Poiton, the Hire, the lord Gawcourt, and six thousand men, with great plentie of vittels, to the intent either to raise the siege, or else to vittell the towne.

The Frenchmen made a brag, as though they would haue assailed the Englishmen in their campe, but when they perceiued the courage of the lord regent, and the desire he had to fight, they framed themselues so in order of battell, as though they could doo all things, and yet in effect did nothing: but that whilest part of them mainteined a skirmish, a sort of rude & rusticall persons were appointed to conueie into the towne thirtie oxen, and other small vittels. But this swéet gaine was déerelie paied for, if the losse with the gaine be pondered in equall balance: for hauing regard to their 30 leane oxen, in the skirmish were slaine the lord Saintreiles brother to that valiant capteine Poiton de Saintreiles, also capteine Iohn brother to the lord Gawcourt, and fiftie other noble and valiant personages.

The Frenchmen thus politiklie hauing doone their feat, in the beginning of August, remooued their armie vnto Fort vnder Yer, where, by a bridge of

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tuns they passed into the Ile of France. The duke of Bedford (like a wise prince) not minding to leaue the more in ieopardie for hope of the lesse, nor the accident for the substance, raised his siege, and returned to Paris, nothing more minding than to trie his quarrell with dint of sword against the enimies, if they would thereto agrée. And herevpon sent Bedford his herald to the lord Gawcourt and other capteins of the French armie, offering them battell and a pitched field within a conuenient time, and where they would appoint. The French capteins answered the English herald, that there was time to gaine, and time to lose: and for choise of times they would vse their owne discretions.

Shortlie after, Piers Audebeufe constable of the castell of Rone, corrupted with monie, suffered the marshall of France, with two hundred other, as persons disguised to enter the place by stealth: but they were soone espied, and driuen to the dungeon, where they were constrained to yéeld themselues prisoners: of the which some were hanged, some headed, and some ransomed, at the pleasure of the regent. This pageant thus plaied, the lord regent sent the earle of sainte Paule, and Robert lord Willoughbie, with a competent number of men to besiege the town of S. Valerie, which the Frenchmen a little before had taken. This siege continued the space of thrée wéeks; at the end whereof the Frenchmen within yéelded the towne, and departed with their horsse and harness onelie to them saued.

1433

The castell of Rone like to be taken by treason of the capteine.

The earle put there in garrison fresh and valiant souldiers, and appointed capteine there, sir Iohn Aubemond. ¶ In the same towne (whether by infection of aire, or by corrupt vittels, which the townesmen did eat) a great pestilence shortlie after happened, which consumed within a small time two parts of the people. The earle of saint Paule, and the lord Willoughbie returning backe to the regent, were ioifullie receiued, and within a while after, the earle departed from Paris to laie siege to the castell of Mouchas. But being incamped néere the towne of Blangie, he by a sudden maladie departed this life, the last of August, leauing his seigniories to Lewes de Lutzenburg his sonne and heire. Bicause this dead earle was father in law to the regent, solemne obsequies were kept for him both in Paris and in London.

The lord of saint Paule deceased.

In the meane season, the Frenchmen entering into high Burgognie, burnt, tooke, and destroyed diuerse townes; wherevpon the Burgognians assembled a great armie, both to reuenge their quarrels, and to recouer their townes taken from them. To whome as to his fréends the duke of Bedford sent the lord Willoughbie, and sir Thomas Kiriell, with a conuenient number of souldiers, which entering into the lands of Laonnois, were incountered with a great power of their enimies. But after long fight, the Frenchmen were ouerthrowne, and of them left dead in the field an hundred and sixtie horssemen, beside prisoners, which after vpon vrgent cause were all killed.

An. Reg. 12.

Prisoners killed.

Whilest these things happened thus in France, Iohn lord Talbot gathered together a crue of chosen men of warre in England, to the number of eight hundred, and sailed into Normandie, and passed by Rone to Paris. In his waie he tooke the strong castell of Ioiing betwéene Beauuois and Gisours, and caused all the Frenchmen within to be taken and hanged, and after raced and defaced the castell. After he had rested himselfe a while at Paris, and taken aduise with the councill there, what waie it should be best for him to take, without prolonging time; he with the lord de Lisle Adam and others, departed from thence, hauing in their retinues sixtéene hundred men of warre. And comming to the castell of Beaumont vpon Oise, whereof was capteine sir Amadour de Vignois brother to the Hire, they found it abandoned by them that had it in kéeping, who were withdrawne to the towne of Creill.

1434.

The lord Talbot saileth into France.

Thither therefore the lord Talbot followed, who slaieng in a skirmish the said Amadour, he wan at length the said towne of Creill, and after the townes of Pont S. Marence, Neufuile in Esmoie, la Rouge maison, Crespie in Valois, & Cleremont in Beauuois, and after with great riches and good prisoners returned to Paris. Neither had the lord Talbot such good and prosperous successe alone but the earle of Arundell also at the verie same season tooke the castell of Bomeline, & raced it to the ground, after he got by force the castell of Dorle, & from thence came to S. Selerine, where the lord Ambrose de Lore, being capteine, issued out and fought with the Englishmen so egerlie, that he droue them backe an arrow shoot by fine force: but the earle so encouraged his men, that they gaue a fresh onset vpon the Frenchmen, and followed it so fiercelie, that they slue a great number of them, and droue the residue into the towne.

The lord Talbot.

Earle of Arundell.

After this victorie, he besieged Louiers, whereof was capteine the Hire, and his brother, who rendered the towne without assault. Then the earle assembling together a great armie, returned againe to S. Selerine, & inuironed the towne with a strong siege. When he had lien there almost thrée moneths, euerie daie attempting or dooing somewhat, he finallie gaue so fierce an assault, that by force he entered the towne, and slue Iohn Almaigne, and Guilliam saint Albine, the chéefe capteins, and eight hundred other men of warre. The children of le seigneur de Lore were taken prisoners. The earle put new men of warre into the towne, and made capteine there sir Iohn Cornewall. After this, he before the strong towne of Sillie pitched his campe. The inhabitants terrified at the losse of saint Selerine, deliuered him pledges, vpon condition, that if they were not rescued within thirtie daies next,

Louiers besieged.

Saint Selerine won by assault.

then they (their liues saued) should render the towne into his possession: which offer was receiued.

The French king, being aduertised hereof by a post, appointed (as some saie) Arthur earle of Richmont (or as other write, Iohn duke of Alanson) with a great companie of men of warre to go to the rescue of this towne. But whether it was the earle or duke, certeine it is at his approaching to the siege, he incamped himselfe by a brooke side, ouer the which a man might haue striden, & perceiuing how stronglie the English were incamped against him, he thought it not for his profit to giue battell; & so in the night season raised & went his waie without further attempt. When they within the towne knew that their succours failed, they rendered themselues to the mercie of the earle of Arundell, who gentlie receiued them, and leauing a garrison in the towne, departed to Mans, and in his waie tooke the castels of Mellaie and saint Laurence. About this time the lord Willoughbie & sir Thomas Kiriell, returning with great victorie out of Burgognie, passing by the towne of Louiers, latelie reduced to the English obeisance, furnished it both with men and munition.

Among so manie good chances, some euill are accustomed to happen, or else the gainers would not know themselues. And so at this time it happened, that a great number of the common and rusticall people in Normandie dwelling by the sea coast, either prouoked by the French king, or desirous of alteration and change (which thing the commons much couet and desire) made an insurrection, put on harnesse, and by force expelled certeine English garrisons out of their holds, publishing and proclaiming openlie, that their onelie purpose and intent was to expell and banish the whole English nation out of their countries and coasts. Wherefore it maie be likelie, that the blacke Morian will sooner become white, than the people bred in France will heartilie loue an English borne. For it standeth not with their eniuious nature to alter their malicious maners; as the old prouerbe saith truelie of them:

An insurrection in Normandie.

Celtica natura semper sequitur sua iura.

These rebels thus frantikelie assembled, with all spéed marched toward Caen, to the intent there both to increase their number, and also to consult what waie they should follow in their new begun enterprise. But the dukes of Yorke and Summerset, then lieng in Normandie, hauing perfect knowledge hereof, immediatlie sent fourth the earle of Arundell, and the lord Willoughbie with six thousand archers, and thirtéene hundred light horssemen, to staie and kéepe them from making anie further progresse. The earle of Arundell appointed the lord Willoughbie, with two thousand archers, and certeine horssemen to go afore him, and lie in a stale within some couert place. Which doone, the earle followed; & so kéeping in the multitude at the backe, droue them before him as deare into a buckestale: and when the miserable wretches came néere to the stale, the earle made a token, whereat a gun shot off for a signe. Therewith the lord Willoughbie set on them before, and the earle behind, shooting so fiercelie, that the poore caitiues, wounded and galled with the shot of arrowes, threw awaie their harnesse, and cried out instantlie for mercie.

The earle of Arundell moued with compassion, caused his souldiers to staie from further slaughter, and apprehending those that were knowen to be stirrers and leaders of the rest, let the other returne home without further damage: but yet, yer the souldiers could be brought backe vnder their standards, there were aboue a thousand of the rebels slaine. And this commotion thus appeased, vpon inquirie of the principall offenders, such as were found guiltie were put to terrible executions; as they had well deserued. During which rebellion, Peter Rokeford and his companie gat by treason the towne of Diepe and diuerse other holds thereto adioiming. After the earle of Arundell had obtained so good successe in his enterprises (as partlie ye haue heard) he attempted another, which was the last worke and finall labour of his liuing daies. For the duke of Bedford, being informed that his aduersaries had gotten the towne of Rue, and therein put a garrison, which sore vexed the countries of Ponthieu, Arthois, and Bolennois, sent word to the earle that he without delai should besiege the said towne.

The earle obeieing his commandement assembled his people, and came to Gourneie, where he heard tell how there was a castell néere to Beauuois called Gerberoie, the which being fallen in decaie, Charles the French king had appointed sir Stephan de Vignois, commonlie called the Hire, to repare and newlie to fortifie, bicause it stood commodiouslie to serue as a countergarrison against the English townes and fortresses on those frontiers. The earle aduertised hereof, and perceiuing that this new building would be greatlie preiudicial to the Englishmen, determind first to dispossesse his enimies of that place, supposing to find small resistance: but he was deceiued. For there was the said Hire, and thrée thousand men of warre with him. The erle comming thither, incamped himselfe with fiue hundred horssemen in a little close not farre from the castell.

The Frenchmen, perceiuing that the earle and his horssees were wearie, and that his archers were not yet come, determind to set vpon him before the comming of his footmen, the which they knew to be little more than a mile behind. Wherefore for a policie, they set fourth fiftie horssemen, as though there had béene no mo within the castell. The earle perceiuing this, sent fourth sir Randolfe Standish to incounter them, hauing with him an hundred horssees. The Frenchmen fought couragiously awhile, and suddenlie came out all the remnant, and slue sir Randolfe Standish and all his companie, and boldlie set on the earle and his band, which manfullie resisted the Frenchmen, till at length the Hire caused thrée culuerings to be shot off amongst the Englishmen, wherof one strake the earle on the ancle, and so brake his leg, that for paine he fell from his horsse.

Then the Frenchmen entered amongst the Englishmen, tooke the earle lieng on the ground, with sir Richard Wooduile, and six score more, and there were slaine almost two hundred. The residue saued themselues as well as they might. The earle was caried to Beauuois, where of his hurt he shortlie died, & was buried in the frier Minors. He was a man of singular vertue, constancie, and grauitie, whose death in so troublous a season did sore appall the harts of the English people. Thus oftentimes varied the chance of doubtfull warre, so that one time the Englishmen got by assault, and yéelded diuerse strong townes, castels, and piles: and at another season the French people, sometime by bargaine, sometime by assault, obtained the same againe, or other in their stéed.

The earle of Arundell deceased.

About the moneth of Iune in this twelfth yeare, Iohn duke of Bourbon and Auuergne, taken prisoner at the battell of Agincourt eightéene yéeres past (as before ye haue heard) now paieng his ransome, which was eightéene thousand pounds sterling, was taken with a most sore and grieuous feuer, the which made an end of his life in the citie of London, on the same daie that was appointed for his departure towards France, whose corpse was interred in the graie friers of the same citie. ¶ This yeare also about the latter end of Maie, was a méeting appointed to be had at saint Omers betwixt the dukes of Bedford and Burgognie, for the qualifieng of certeine displeasures and grudges betwixt them kindled and mainteined by some flattering taletellers, who raising matters of reproch touching their honors, bred such grudges, that all loue betwixt them ceased, all affinitie reiected, and all old fréendship forgotten; such enuie insueth where enimitie once hath princes harts possessed.

The duke of Bourbon dieth at London.

W. P.

These two dukes come into the towne of saint Omers, the duke of Bedford being then regent of France, sonne, brother, and vnclé to kings, thought that the duke of Burgognie should haue come and visited him in his lodging. The duke of Burgognie on the other part, being lord and souereigne of the towne, iudged it as much vnméet for him to go to the regent where he was lodged. Howbeit by intreatie of fréends, to méet in a place indifferent betwéene both their lodgings was appointed; which offer not accepted, both parties departed discontent, and neuer after saw nor communed together. Thus by the proud disdaine and enuious discord of these two high stomached princes, Bedford not minding to haue anie péere, and Burgognie not willing to abide anie superior, shortlie after England much lost, and Burgognie greatlie gained not, as by the sequeale may appeare.

The bastard of Orleance, called the earle of Dunois, the lord Rochford marshall of France, with other, in the beginning of this thirtéenth yeare, tooke the towne of S. Denis by treason, skirmished with them of Paris, and leauing behind them a great garrison, tooke the towne of Howdone, and Pont saint Marence by composition. And at the same time was the towne of Pont Meulan taken by the sudden scaling of two fishermen, who entered vp at a common priuie standing in the wall. Thus warre continuallie lasted betwixt these two mightie nations, English and French, within the realme of France (than which therefore no countrie thought more miserable.) And though the poore people and inhabitants of the good townes and villages, sustained most losse in their substance, yet the men of warre oftentimes paied déerest for the bargaine, being daily slaine, wounded, and taken prisoners; for warre seldome beareth anie other fruit.

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A towne surprised by entrance of a common priuie.

The fruits of warre.

[It may serue verie well here to recount, how somewhat before these daies, Martin the fift, in the fiftéenth yeare of his popedome, An. 1431, agréeing vpon a generall councell to be holden at Basill the same yeare, did anon after deceasse: whom Eugenie the fourth succéeding, and liking right well of the time and place, by his authority signified and sent with Iulian Cesarine his legat, did confirme the choise. Wherevpon as the councell the ninetéenth of Iulie the same 1431 was there begun, and his holinesse soone after aduertised how malapertlie his ghostlie children had imbusied themselues in checking at their holie fathers faults, and about reformation of his church at Rome; his sublimitie therat highlie offended (for great cause it had) commanded his legat by and by to dissolue that synod, and in his name to appoint a new at Ferrar, and so come his waie: vnder colour forsooth how that place was méetest for the prelats of the Gréeke church, who had to confer with the Latine councell about points of religion, wherein they long had remained at square.

W. P.

1434.

Onophrius Panuinius.

But these Basilien clerks, there still fastlie conteneing themselues, so smallie regarded this summons of Eugenie (who then with his prelats, as the time was run on, vpon prorogation from Ferrar kept an other councell at Florence 1439) as by a confident countermand cited Eugenie and all his cardinals to come to them at their solemne set councell at Basill. Which his supremassie (for so best became it, notwithstanding sundrie citations) vtterlie contemning to doo, they soone after like verie impious imps, first for contumacie accursed his holie fatherhood, then depriued him of his papasie, and out of hand chose another in his office, one Amedius late duke of Sauoie, who afore that time hauing giuen vp his possessions & dignitie vnto his children, became an heremite in a monasterie of his own building by mount Geuenna in Sauoie nigh the lake Lemane, where he by title of Decanus militum Iesu Christi, and ten more of nobilitie with him, had settled themselues to liue.

The vertuous minded man thus chosen pope by spirituall counsell inueigled, left the holie life (such as it was) that he had profest, tooke the papasie vpon him the same 1439, and called Felix the fift, which

An. 3. Nichol.

promotion yet he not long inioied. For after, by his successour Nicholas the fifts ambition, that had suborned emperour Frederike to be a worker in the matter, this sillie Amedius was coosined of his popes golden crowne for a cardinals felt hat. Then (good man) at last could he find, whether were néerer to christen profession, the life of a vertuous prince ruling in iustice, of a solitarie heremite vértuouslie occupied, of an imperious pope that may know no péere, or of a licentious cardinall to liue as he list. This poore prince had experience of all, and then knew the best: when well might he lament him, but too late repent him.

And in the fift yeare of this Basilien councill that had a continuance of eleuen yeare (whereof an eight were run yer Felix was chosen, in which Eugenie remaining pope still, though of curst hart he neuer came at them) motion was made among Sigismund the emperour and other christen kings (who for appeasing this schisme betwéene the pope and his prelats, were all present by person or proxie) that sith such horror of bloudshed betwéene the two nations continuallie so lamentable raged in France, some mediation might be made for accord: whereof one thing séemed to minister occasion of the more hope, bicause the duke of Burgognie was willing (so that it were not of his owne sute) to returne and reconcile himselfe with the French king his mortall enemie and ancient aduersarie.]

1435

Héerevpon by authoritie of this generall councill, two graue prelats, the one Nicholas Albergat a Carthusian frier, intituled a préest cardinall of the holie crosse; the other Hugh Lusignan a Cyprian, Gréeke, bishop cardinall of Prenest in Italie, came to the towne of Arras in Arthois, whither were sent from the king of England, Henrie Beauford cardinall of Winchester, Henrie archbishop of Yorke, William de la Poole earle of Suffolke, and Iohn Holland earle of Huntington, with diuerse other knights and esquiers. And for the French king were there present Charles duke of Bourbon, Lewes erle of Vandosme, Arthur of Britaine constable of France, the archbishop of Reimes, and sir Philip Harecourt. The duke of Burgognie was there in proper person, accompanied with the duke of Guelders, and the earles of Estampes, Lignie, S. Paule, Vaudemont, Neures, and Daniell sonne to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a gallant companie.

A solemne tretie of peace at Arras.

Vpon the daie of the first session, the cardinall of S. Crosse declared to the thrée parties the innumerable mischéefes, that had followed to the whole state of the christian common-wealth by their continual dissention and dailie discord, exhorting them for the honour of God, & for the loue which they ought to beare towards the aduancement of his faith and true religion, to conforme themselues to reason, and to laie aside all rancor, malice and displeasure; so that in concluding a godlie peace, they might receiue profit and quietnesse héere in this world, and of God an euerlasting reward in heauen. After this admonition, and diuerse daies of communication, euerie partie brought in their demands, which were most contrarie, and farre from anie likelihood of comming to a good conclusion.

The Englishmen would that king Charles should haue nothing but what it pleased the king of England, and that not as dutie, but as a benefit by him of his méere liberalitie giuen and distributed. The Frenchmen on the other part would that K. Charles should haue the kingdome franklie and fréelie, and that the king of England should leaue the name, armes, and title of the king of France, and to be content with the dukedomes of Aquitaine and Normandie, and to forsake Paris, and all the townes which they possessed in France, betwéene the riuers of Some and Loire, being no parcell of the duchie of Normandie. To be bréeffe, the demands of all parts were betwéene them so farre out of square, as hope of concord there was none at all.

The cardinals séeing them so farre in sunder, minded not to dispute their titles, but offered them reasonable conditions of truce and peace for a season, which notwithstanding, either of frowardnesse, or of disdaine on both parts, were openlie refused. Insomuch that the Englishmen in great displeasure, departed to Calis, and so into England. ¶ One writer affirmeth, that they being warned of a secret conspiracie moued against them, suddenlie departed from Arras, and so returned into their countrie. But what cause soeuer hindered their accord and vnitie (sith this and that may be surmized) certeine it is, that the onelie and principal cause was, for that the God of peace and loue was not among them, without whom no discord is quenched, no knot of concord fastened, no bond of peace confirmed, no distracted minds reconciled, no true fréendship mainteined: for had he béene among them, their dissenting and waiward willes had sounded the swéet harmonie of amiable peace, which of all things that God hath bestowed vpon man is the verie best, and more to be set by than manie triumphs, as the poet excellentlie well saith:

Abr. Fl.

--- pax optima rerum
Quas homini nouisse datum: pax vna triumphis
Innumeris potior, pax custodire salutem
Et ciues æquare potens.

Sil. Ital. lib. 11.

Now whiles this treatie of peace was in hand, the lord Talbot, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Scales, with the lord Lisle Adam, and fiue thousand men of warre, besieged the towne of saint Denis with a strong band. The earle of Dunois hearing hereof, accompanied with the lord Lohac, and the lord Bueill, with a great companie of horssemen hasted thitherwards to raise the siege, and by the waie incountred with sir Thomas Kiriell, and Matthew ^[15]Gough, riding also toward saint Denis, béetwéene whom was a great conflict. But suddenlie came to the aid of the Frenchmen the garrison of Pont Meulan, which caused the Englishmen to returne without anie great harme or damage: sauing that Matthew ^[16]Gough by foundering of his horsse was taken, and carried to Pont Meulan.

[15] Or rather Goche.

[16] Or Goche.

In the meane time was the towne of saint Denis rendered to the Englishmen, the which raced the walles and fortifications, sauving the walles of the abbeie, and of the tower called Venin. Shortlie after the towne of Pontois, where sir Iohn Ruppelleie was capteine, rebelled; and by force the Englishmen were expelled, the inhabitants yéelding themselues to the French king. This towne was small, but the losse was great, bicause it was the keie that opened the passage betwixt the cities of Paris and Rone. But now to returne to the communication at Arras, which after the departure of the English commissioners held betwixt the Frenchmen and Burgognians, till at length a peace was concluded, accorded, and sworne betwixt king Charles and duke Philip of Burgognie, vpon certeine conditions, as in the French histories more plainlie appeareth.

S. Denis taken by the Englishmen.

A peace betwéen Charles of France and the duke of Burgognie.

And after, the duke of Burgognie, to set a veile before the king of Englands eies, sent Thoison Dore his chéefe herald to king Henrie with letters, excusing the matter by way of information, that he was constrained to enter in this league with K. Charles, by the dailie outcries, complaints, and lamentations of his people; alledging against him, that he was the onlie cause of the long continuance of the wars, to the vtter impouerishing of his owne people, and the whole nation of France. Therefore sith he could not otherwise doo, but partlie to content his owne people, and chéefelie to satisfie the request of the whole generall councell, was in manner compelled for his part to growe vnto a peace and amitie with king Charles.

He likewise wished that king Henrie, vpon reasonable and honorable conditions of agrément offered, should in no wise refuse the same: whereby the long continued warre at length might ceasse and take end, to the pleasure of almightie God, which is the author of peace and vnitie: & hereto he promised him his aid and furtherance, with manie gaie words, which I passe ouer. The superscription of this letter was thus [To the high and mightie prince, Henrie by the grace of God king of England, his welbeloued cousine.] Neither naming him king of France, nor his souereigne lord, according as (euer before that time) he was accustomed to doo. This letter was much maruelled at of the councell, after they had throughlie considered all the contents thereof, & they could not but be much disquieted, so far forth that diuerse of them offended so much with the vntruth of the duke, that they could not temper their passions, but openlie called him traitor.

But when the rumor of the dukes reuolting was published amongst the people, they left words, and fell to bestowing of stripes: for being pricked with these euill tidings, they ran in great outrage vpon all the Flemings, Hollanders, and Burgognions, which then inhabited within the citie of London, and the suburbes of the same, and slue and hurt a great number of them before they, by the kings proclamation, could be staid from such iniurious dooing: for the king nothing more minded than to saue innocent blood, and to defend them that had not offended. The officer at armes was willed to tell his maister, that it stood not with his honor to be enimie to the English nation; and that his dutie had béene to kéepe his ancient truth and allegiance, rather than to be occasion of new warre. And what a new reconciled enimie was in respect of an old tried fréend, he might shortlie find. [When the messenger with this answer was dispatched, and vpon consultation found, a matter standing both with good policie in forceing the proud subiect to know his obedience, and also with great equitie to twitch a quareller with such pinsars as wherewith afore he had nipt an other, so was it anon brought about, that sundrie of his good townes and cities rebelled against him, whereby (lesse to his liking than to his deseruing) he was verie well made to bite of a chokepeare of his own grafting.]

Spoil vpon the Burgognian people in London.

W. P.

This yeare the fourtéeth daie of September died Iohn duke of Bedford, regent of France, a man both politike in peace, and hardie in warre, and yet no more hardie than mercifull when he had the victorie, whose bodie was with all funerall solemnitie buried in the cathedrall church of our ladie in Rone, on the north side of the high altar, vnder a sumptuous and costlie monument. Which toome when king Lewes the eleauenth, by certeine vndiscreet persons was counselled to deface, affirming that it was a great dishonour both to the king and to the realme, to see the enimie of his father and theirs to haue so solemne and rich a memorial: he answered saieng, "What honour shall it be to vs, or to you, to breake this monument, and to pull out of the ground the dead bones of him, whome in his life neither my father nor your progenitors, with all their power, puissance, and fréends were once able to to make flée one foot backward; but by his strength, wit, and policie, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the realme of France, and out of this noble and famous duchie of Normandie? Wherefore I saie, first, God haue his soule, and let his bodie now lie in rest, which when he was aliuie, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all. And as for the toome, I assure you, it is not so decent nor conuenient, as his honour and acts deserued, although it were much richer, and more beautifull."

An. Reg. 14.

The death of the duke of Bedford regent of Frāce.

A worthy saieng of a wise prince.

The frost was so extreame this yeare, beginning about the fiue and twentieth daie of Nouember, and continuing till the tenth of Februarie, that the ships with merchandize arriuing at the Thames mouth, could not come vp the riuer: so their lading there faine to be discharged, was brought to the citie by land. After the death of that noble prince the duke of Bedford, the bright sunne in France toward Englishmen, began to be cloudie, and

Great Frost.

The duke of Yorke made regent of France.

dailie to darken, the Frenchmen began not onelie to withdrawe their obedience by oth to the king of England, but also tooke sword in hand & openlie rebelled. Howbeit all these mishaps could not anie thing abash the valiant courages of the English people: for they hauing no mistrust in God and good fortune, set vp a new saile, began the warre afresh, and appointed for regent in France, Richard duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard earle of Cambridge.

Although the duke of Yorke was worthie (both for birth and courage) of this honor and preferment, yet so disdeined of Edmund duke of Summerset being cousine to the king, that by all means possible he sought his hindrance, as one glad of his losse, and sorie of his well dooing: by reason whereof, yer the duke of Yorke could get his dispatch, Paris and diuerse other of the chéefest places in France were gotten by the French king. The duke of Yorke perceiuing his euill will, openlie dissembled that which he inwardlie minded, either of them working things to the others displeasure, till through malice & diuision betwéene them, at length by mortall warre they were both consumed, with almost all their whole liues and ofspring.

The Normans of the countrie of Caux, being heartened by the death of the duke of Bedford, began a new rebellion, slue diuerse Englishmen, robbed manie townes that were vnder the English obeisance, and tooke the towne of Harflue by assault, and diuerse other townes. But the lord regent being aduertised, sent foorth the lord Scales, sir Thomas Kiriell, and the lord Hoo, which so afflicted those rebels of Caux, that they slue aboue fiue thousand persons, and burnt all the townes and villages in the countrie, not being walled: so that in that part was neither habitation nor tillage, for all the people fled into Britaine, and all the beasts of the countrie were brought to Caudebecke, where a good shéepe was sold for an English penie, and a cow for twelue pence. Dailie was skirmishing and fighting in euerie part, in so much that the lord Scales at the Rie beside Rone, discomfited the Hire, and fiftéene hundred valiant Frenchmen; of the which, aboue thrée hundred were taken prisoners, beside the gaine of seauen faire coursers.

Amongst other of the prisoners, were sir Richard Reginald de Fountaines, sir Alain Gerond, Alain Monsaie, and Geffrie Grame, capteine of the Scots. But yet this victorie and others the like, staid not the Frenchmen from working treason dailie, insomuch that diuers townes turned to the part of K. Charles, and some were taken by practise, as Diepe, Bois, Vincennes, and others. ¶ So that here partlie was accomplished the prophesie of Henrie the fift, giuen out in the ninth year of his reigne when he laie at siege before Meaux, that Henrie of Windsore should loose all that Henrie of Monmouth had gotten (for so they are named according to the place of their natiuitie) and this prediction was complet and full by that time the yeares of his regiment were expired.

Abr. Fl.

Sée before pag. 129.

But héere is one chéefe point to be noted, that either the disdeine amongst the chéef péeres of the realme of England (as yé haue heard) or the negligence of the kings councell (which did not foresée dangers to come) was the losse of the whole dominion of France, betwéene the riuers of Seine and Marne, and in especiall, of the noble citie of Paris. For where before, there were sent ouer thousands for defense of the holds and fortresses, now were sent hundreds, yea and scores, some rascals, and some not able to draw a bowe, or carrie a bill: for the lord Willoughbie, and the bishop of Terwine, which had the gouernance of the great citie of Paris, had in their companie not two thousand Englishmen.

1436

Which weakenesse king Charles well perceiued, and therefore by authentic appointed the constable, Arthur of Britaine, the earle of Dunois, the lords de la Roch, and Lisle Adam, with other valiant capteins and men of warre, as well Burgognions as French, to go before Paris, trusting by fauour of certeine citizens, with whome he had intelligence, shortlie to be lord of the citie, without great losse or battell. So these capteins came before the citie of Paris. But perceiuing that all things succéded not according to their expectation, they returned to Mont Martyr, and the next daie suddenlie set on the towne of saint Denis, and constrained the Englishmen that kept it, to flée into the abbeie, and into the tower Venin. In this conflict two hundred Englishmen were slaine, the residue vpon reasonable composition rendered vp the place, and departed to Paris.

Thomas lord Beaumont, who of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, issued foorth with six hundred souldiers, intending to view the dooings and number of the French armie; but suddenlie compassed about, within a small space was discomfited and taken, with him fourescore prisoners, beside two hundred slaine in the field, the remnant chased to the verie gates of the citie. The Parisiens, and especiallie the maister of the halles, and some of the vniuersitie, and Michaell Lallier, and manie notable burgesses of the citie (who euer with an English countenance couered a French hart) perceiuing the weakenesse of the Englishmen, and force of the French; signified to the French capteins their toward minds willing them with all diligence to come & receiue so rich a preie without anie difficultie, readie to be giuen and deliuered into their hands.

The constable delaieng no time, came with his power, lodged by the charter house: and the lord Lisle Adam, approching to the walles, shewed to the citizens a charter, sealed with the great seale of king Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offenses, and granted to them all their old liberties, and ancient priuileges, so that they would hereafter be to him true and obedient: which thing to them declared, they ran about the towne, crieng; S. Denis, liue king Charles. The Englishmen perceiuing this, determined to kéepe the gate S. Denis, but they were deceiued: for the cheines were drawne in euerie stréet, and women and children cast downe stones and scalding water on the Englishmens heads, and the citizens in armour fought with them and chased them from stréet to stréet, and from lane to lane, and slue and hurt diuerse and

The treson of the Parisiens.

manie of them.

The bishop of Terwine, chancellor there for king Henrie, the lord Willoughbie, and sir Simon Morhier, tooke great paine to appease the people: but when they saw that all auailed not, they withdrew into the bastile of saint Anthonie, which fortresse they had well vittelled, and furnished with men and munitions. Whilest this rumor was in the towne, the earle of Dunois and others scaled the walles, and some passed the riuer by botes, and opened gate of saint Iames, by the which the constable with his banner displaied, entered, at whose entrie the Parisiens made great ioy. The bishop and the lord Willoughbie, with their small companie, defended their fortresse ten daies, looking for aid: but when they saw that no comfort appeared, they yéelded their fortresse, so that they and theirs, with certeine baggage, might peaceablie returne to Rone. Thus was the cite of Paris brought into the possession of Charles the French king, through the vntrue demeanour of the citzens, who contrarie to their oths, and promised allegiance, like false and inconstant people, so reuolted from the English.

Paris yéelded to the French king.

After this glorious gaine, the Frenchmen besieged the towne of Craill vpon Oise, wherof sir William Chamberlaine was capteine, the which with fiue hundred Englishmen issued out of the towne, and after long fight, discomfited his enimies, & slue two hundred, and tooke a great number prisoners: the remnant not liking the market departed to Campaigne, and other townes adioining. During which season, twelue burgesses of the towne of Gisours sold it for monie vnto Poiton de Xantrailes. But he had not the castell deliuered, & therefore with all his power he besieged the same; whereof the lord Talbot being aduertised, sent for the lord Scales, and they both with eightéene hundred men rescued the castell, tooke the towne, and discomfited their enimies, and slue of them foure hundred persons.

Now according to the old saieng (when the stéed is stolen shut the stable doore) the duke of Yorke appointed at the last parlement to be regent of France (after that Paris, Saint Denis, Saint Germans in Laie, and diuerse other townes in France were taken and betraied for lacke of conuenient succours) was sent ouer into Normandie with eight thousand men, and in his companie, the earles of Salisburie, and Suffolke, and the lord Fawconbridge, and diuerse other valiant capteins. When he was landed, the earle of Salisburie besieged the castell of Chambois which shortlie was to him rendered. Then the duke remoued to Rone, where he set good orders, and did great iustice to the countrie; wherefore the Normans in their chronicles highlie extoll him for that point. Howbeit they saie, that he gat by long siege the towne and abbeie of Fecampe, and did none other notable act, during the time of his rule and gouernment.

The duke sêt into France too late.

In this fourtéenth yeare, the duke of Burgognie determined by the aduise of his councell, to attempt the winning of Calis. The prouision was woonderous great which was made for the atchiuing of this enterprise: whereof sir Iohn Ratcliffe, deputie of the towne of Calis, hauing perfect intelligence, aduertised king Henrie, and his councell, who incontinentlie sent thither the earle of Mortaigne, sonne to the duke of Summerset, and the lord Camois, with fiftéene hundred men, and great foison of vittels, that issued out of Calis, and came before Grauelin, where they were incountered with a great number of Flemings, who were shortlie discomfited, foure hundred of them slaine, and six score taken prisoners. Within two daies after, the Englishmen draue by fine force the lords of Warren and Bado to the barriers of Ard, and discomfited their whole companie, to the number of fiftéene hundred, slue seauen valiant capteins, and tooke manie gentlemen prisoners.

The duke of Burgognie prepareth an armie against Calis.

The duke of Burgognie, remaining still in his former purpose, assembled together, of Flemings, Picards, Hollanders, and Heneweirs, a great armie, to the number of fortie thousand, so well armed, so well vittelled, so well furnished with ordinance, and garnished in all things, that they thought and blazed amongst themselues, that the Calisians would leaue their towne desolate, and flée for their safegard, hearing onelie of the dukes approach: but they reckoned without their host; and so paid a déerer shot than they looked for. Now when this mightie armie was past the water of Grauelin, the duke intending to begin his feats, assaulted the little poore castell of Oie, which hauing in it but fiftie souldiers, whereof twelue sold their liues déerelie; the remnant (compelled by necessitie) yéelded themselues to the dukes mercie. Which to please the Gantois (being of number most puissant in all the armie) liberallie gaué to them, both the castell and prisoners, who (rude and cruell people) not onelie raced the castell but also hanged nine and twentie of the captiues, and had so doone with the residue, if the duke, offended at their crueltie, had not willed a staie.

The Duke of Burgognie with fortie thousand mē.

After this feat doone, the Picards besieged the castell of Marke, and gaué thrée assaults to it. The Englishmen within, being in number two hundred and six, vnder the gouernement of their capteine sir Iohn Gedding, valiantlie defended the place; vntill at length, despairing of succours, they yéelded themselues (their liues and lims sauéd.) The castell of Marke being thus deliuered, was raced to the ground. Then the duke, accompanied with the duke of Cleues, the earle of Estampes, the lords of Dantoing, Croie, Crisquie, Humiers, and manie other barons and knights, with his great armie, came before Calis, & placed his siege about the same most to his aduantage: he gaué thrée assaults, and gained nothing by them, but constrained to kéepe them further off. At the first assault, the Hire which was come to sée the duke of Burgognie, was sore wounded and hurt. A cooling card it was also vnto them, still to sée ships arriued in the hauen out of England, openlie before their faces, laden with vittels, munition and men.

Calis besieged by the Duke of Burgognie.

The duke on a daie riding about to view the situation of the towne, to the intent to take his most aduantage (either by assault or otherwise) was quickelie espied, and with the shot of a canon, a trumpetter, which rode next before him, and thrée horssees in his companie were slaine out of hand. The lord of Croie, and a conuenient number with him, was appointed to besiege the castell of Guisnes, where he got little profit, and did lesse harme. Moreouer, for the better aduancing of his enterprise, the duke minded to stop vp the hauen; so that no succours should enter there. Herevpon, he caused foure great hulkes to be fraught with great square stones, cemented and ioined together with lead, to the intent they should lie still like a mount, and not seuer in sunder.

The dukes enterprise to bar the hauen.

These ships, with the residue of the dukes nauie, were conueied into the mouth of Calis hauen, and at a full sea, by craft and policie, were soonke downe to the ground. But whether God would not that the hauen should be destroyed, either the conueiers of the hulkes knew not the verie chanell; these foure great ships, at the low water, laie openlie vpon the sands, without hurting the rode or chanell. Which when the souldiers perceiued, they issued out of the towne, brake the ships, and caried both the stones and timber into the towne. An other deuise the duke had, which was the building of a strong bastile vpon a little mountaine, which he furnished with foure hundred men, and much artillerie, that did impeach the Englishmen from issuing forth of the towne, to their great displeasure.

Whilest these things were adooing, there came to the duke an herald called Penbroke, belonging to duke of Glocester, who declared to the duke of Burgognie, that the protector of England his maister (if God would send him wind & weather) would giue him battell, either there, or in anie other place within his owne countrie, where he would appoint, and that with spéed, if God vouchsafed him wind and weather. The duke answered the herald; "Sir, saie to your maister, that his challenge is both honorable and reasonable: howbeit, he shall not néed to take the paines to séeke me in mine owne countrie, for (God willing) he shall find me héere, till I haue my will of the towne, readie to abide him and all the power he can bring." After the herald had receiued this answer, he was highlie chéered, and had a cup and an hundred guildens to him giuen in reward, and so he returned to Calis.

After whose departure, the duke called a councell in the chéefe pauilion of the Gantois, about this message of the English herald, where it was determined with great courage, that they would abide the battell, if the duke of Glocester came to offer it. Whilest this great matter was in consultation, the Calisians, not well content with the bastile which the duke had newlie builded, issued out of the towne in great number, part on horssebacke and part on foot. The footmen ran to assault the bastile, and the horssemen went betwéene the armie & the assailants, to stop the aid and succours that might come. Vpon the sounding of the alarme, the duke himselve in person was comming on foot, to reléue his men: but being kept backe a space by the English horssemen, in that delaie of time, the bastile was woone by fine force, and eight score persons of those that kept it slaine, beside the residue which were taken prisoners, and led to Calis with all the ordinance and artillerie, to the high displeasure of the duke and his prudent councell. The next daie after, there sprang a rumor in the armie (no man could tell how) that the duke of Glocester with a great puissance was alreadie imbarcked, and would arriue at the next tide. The same night the duke fled awaie, and sent in all hast to the lord of Croie, to raise his siege before Guisnes, which tidings were to him verie ioious, for he neither got nor sauéd. So these two capteins departed, leauing behind them, both ordinance, vittels, & great riches. ¶ The French writers (to saue the honor of the duke of Burgognie) saie, that there was a certeine discord and commotion amongst the Flemings and Duch nation, affirming, that the great lords and the Picards (whome the Frenchmen greatlie extoll) would betraie and sell the Flemings and their fréends, and that for the same cause in a great furie they cried; Home, home: and would not tarrie for anie request that the duke could make, and so by their misgouernance, the duke was enforced to raise his siege, and to depart. The Flemish authors affirme the contrarie, saing, that they were readie to abide the comming of the duke of Glocester: but the duke of Burgognie fearing to be intrapped betwéene the English armie without, and the garrison within the towne of Calis, fled awaie in the night, giuing to them no warning thereof before, so that for lacke of time, and conuenient space to lade and carrie their stuffe, and being commanded vpon the sudden to dislodge with all spéed, they left behind them their vittels, tents, and other things, to their great losse and detriment.

The dukes bastile woone.

The duke of Burgognie breaketh vp the siege before Calis, and fléeth, the 26 of Iulie.

Howsoeuer the matter was, the truth is, that he fled the six and twentieth daie of Iulie, in the night. And the next daie in the morning, the duke of Glocester landed in Calis hauen, & streight went into the campe, where his enimies the night before were lodged, and there he found manie faire péeces of ordinance, and speciallie one called Digeon: so named, after the chéefe towne of Burgognie; beside pauilions, wine, béere, meale, and innumerable vittels. The duke of Glocester, séeing his enimies reculed, hauing in his companie fiue and twentie thousand men, entered into Flanders, burning houses, killing such as made resistance, destroieng the countrie on euerie part, setting fire in the townes of Poperinch, Bailleull, and others. Also, they wasted the suburbes of diuerse closed townes, and after passed by Newcastle, Rimesture, and Valon chapell: and then entering into Artois, they came to Arques and Blandesques, setting fire in euerie part where they came. Thus they passed by saint Omers, and finallie by Arde returned to Guisnes: and so to Calis at the six wéeks end, with great booties of cattell and riches.

A gun called Digeon.

The duke of Glocester spoileth Flanders.

In all this their iournie, they had but small store of bread, which caused much faintnesse and diuerse diseases in the armie, whereof a greater number died than did of the enimies sword: and yet the Flemings write, that they of Bruges distressed to the number of two thousand Englishmen in this iournie. Howbeit, the French writers affirme, that the Englishmen lost more of their companie in the marches about Ard, than they did in all other places where they had béene before, hauing passed through the parties of Flanders, without incounter, or any damage doone to them by the enimies. After that, the duke of Glocester returned into England, where he was aduertised, that James king of Scots had besieged the castell of Rockesburgh with thirtie thousand men: but the capteine thereof, sir Rafe Greie defended it so manfullie, for the space of twentie daies, that king James being then aduertised, that the earle of Northumberland was comming to fight with him, fled with no lesse losse than dishonor, and inough of both.

Barlund.

Enguerant.

The king of Scots fled from his siege at Rockesburgh.

Shortlie after that the duke of Burgognie had béene before Calis, at the desire of princes, a truce for a time was moued to be had betwéene the king of England & the said duke. For which cause were sent to Grauelin for the king of England, Henrie Beauford cardinall of Winchester, Iohn lord Mowbraie duke of Northfolke, Humfrie earle of Stafford, and diuerse other well learned & honorable personages. And for the duke of Burgognie, there appeared the duchesse his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lord of Croie, and diuerse other. At this treatie, a truce was taken for a small time, and for a lesse obserued, which was concluded betwéene the king of England, and the duchesse of Burgognie (interlacing the duke and his name.)

An. Reg. 15.

A truce taken betwéene the king of England and the duchesse of Burgognie.

Some thinke, that the king of England would neuer enter in league with him, bicause he had broken his promise, oth, and writing sealed to him, and to his father. Other imagined this to be doone of a cautell, to cast a mist before the French kings eies, to the intent he should beléeue that this feat was wrought by the duchesse, without assent or knowledge of the duke or his councell; and so he was not bound to accomplish anie act or thing doone in his wiues treatie. Thus may you sée, that princes sometime with such vaine glosses and scornefull expositions will hide their dooings, and cloke their purposes; to the intent they would not either be espied, or else that they may plucke their heads out of the collar at their pleasure. But (as the common opinion goeth) he which is a promise-breaker escapeth not alwaies with impunitie. For it is well séene by dailie and vsuall euent both in princes and priuat persons, that for violating their faith, and breaking of promise, manie discommodities arise, and inconueniences not a few doo follow. To the due kéeping whereof the heathen bare such a religious conscience, that a prophane man in respect of others, preferreth it before sacrifice, the sentence is of great excellencie out of a pagans mouth:

Hall.

Non boue mactato cœlestia numina gaudent,
Sed quæ præstanda est & sine teste fide.

About this season, quéene Katharine mother to the king of England departed out of this life, and was buried by hir husband in the abbeie of Westminster. This woman, after the death of king Henrie the fift hir husband, being yoong and lustie, following more hir owne wanton appetite than fréendlie counsell, and regarding more priuate affection than princelike honour, tooke to husband priuillie a galant gentleman and a right beautifull person, indued with manie goodlie gifts both of bodie & mind, called Owen Teuther, a man descended of the noble linage and ancient line of Cadwallader last king of the Britains. By this Owen she brought foorth thrée goodlie sonnes, Edmund, Iasper, and another that was a monke in Westminster and liued a small time: also a daughter which in hir youth departed out of this transitorie life.

1437.

Katharine mother to king Henrie married Owen Teuther.

King Henrie, after the death of his mother, bicause, they were his brethren of one wombe, created Edmund earle of Richmund, and Iasper earle of Penbroke: which Edmund of Margaret daughter and sole heire to Iohn duke of Summerset begat Henrie, who after was king of this realme, called Henrie the seuenth, of whome ye shall heare more in place conuenient. This Owen, after the death of the quéene his wife, was apprehended and committed to ward, bicause that (contrarie to the statute made in the sixt yeare of this king) he presumptuouslie had married the quéene, without the kings especiall assent, out of which prison he escaped, and let out other with him, but was againe apprehended, and after escaped againe. ¶ Polychronicon saith that he was a squier of low birth and like degré, the same author also reporteth that he was commanded to Newgate by the duke of Glocester then lord protector of the realme: out of which prison he brake by the helpe of a préest that was his chapline. Neuerthelesse he was apprehended afterwards by the lord Beaumont, & brought againe to Newgate, whence (when he had remained there a while) he was deliuered and set at libertie.

Ab. Fl.

The duchesse of Bedford also, sister to Lewes erle of S. Paule, more for affection than increase of honour, without councell of hir fréends, married a lustie yoong knight, called sir Richard Wooduile, to the great displeasure of hir vncler the bishop of Terwine, and the earle hir brother. This sir Richard was made baron of Riuers, and after earle, and had by this ladie manie noble sonnes, and faire daughters, of the which one was the ladie Elizabeth, after quéene of England, by reason she was married vnto Edward the fourth. ¶ Whilst this marriage was a celebrating, Iane late quéene of England, and

Quéene Elizabeth.

before duchesse of Britaine, daughter to the king of Nauarre, and wife to king Henrie the fourth, died at the manor of Hauering, and was buried by hir husband at Canturburie. ¶ About the same time, deceased also the countesse of Warwike, and Henrie archbishop of Yorke.

In this yeare also, the duke of Summerset, accompanied with the lords of Fauconbridge, Talbot, sir Francis Surien, the Arrogonnois, Matthew [17]Gough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Harington, Walter Limbrike, Iohn Gedding, William Watton, esquiers, and Thomas Hilton bailiffe of Rone, with a great companie of the English partie, besieged the towne of Harflue (latelie before gotten by the Frenchmen) both by water and land: the capteine within the towne was one sir Iohn d'Estouteuille, hauing his brother Robert with him, and a six hundred good fighting men. The assailants cast trenches and so fortified themselues in their campe and lodgings, that when the earles of Ew and Dunois, the valiant bastard of Bourbon, the lord Gawcourt, and other famous capteins, with a foure thousand men, sent to the rescue of them within, came before the towne, they could not succour their fréends, nor annoie their enimies by any meanes they could deuise; & so for feare to lose honour, they returned backe againe, with much trauell and little profit.

Harflue besieged and
woon by the
Englishmen.

[17] Or rather Goche.

The capteins within the towne perceiuing they could not be aided, did shortlie after render the towne to the duke of Summerset; who after committed it to the kéeping of Thomas Paulet, William Limbrike, Christopher Barber, and George saint George, which manie yeares (till the diuision began in England) manfullie and valiantlie defended both the towne and the hauen. But afterward, when this duke of Summerset was regent and gouernour of Normandie, he not onlie lost this towne of Harflue, but also the citie of Rone, and the whole duchie of Normandie, whereas now (being but a deputie) he got it to his high praise and glorie. In this yeare was Iames king of Scots murthered by certeine traitors of his own subiects [euen in his bedchamber by night, which king (saith Polychr.) had béene prisoner in England fiftéene yeares, the murtherers of whom being afterwards taken, were terriblie executed.]

The duke of
Summersets
infortunatnes.

Iames king of Scots
murthered.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychr.

The lord Talbot besieged Tankeruile, and after foure moneths had it simplie to him rendered. This towne was no great gaine to the Englishmen, for in the meane season, the French king in his owne person besieged the strong towne of Monstreau fault Yonne; whereof Thomas Gerard being capteine, more for desire of reward, than for feare of enimies, sold the towne to the French king, and had of him great gifts and interteinement, as afterwards was openlie known. This towne had béene rescued of the French king fought withall, if one chance had not happened. For the duke of Yorke about that time was discharged of his office, and the earle of Warwike preferred to the same, so that the duke of Yorke, lieng as then at Rone, would haue gladlie rescued the towne, if his authoritie had not surceased; and the earle of Warwike could not come in time, for the wind was contrarie to him.

The earle of Warwike
made regent of France.

This present yeare was a parlement holden at Westminster, in the which manie good and profitable acts for the preservation of concord at home, and defense against the enimies abroad, were ordeined and deuised. ¶ Arthur of Britaine constable of France, and Iohn duke of Alanson, were sent by the French king into Normandie, with a great armie, to besiege the towne of Auranches, standing vpon the knob of an hill: where after they had laien a certeine space without gaine, the lord Talbot with a valiant companie of men came thither, and offered the enimies battell. Which when they at all hands refused, the lord Talbot perceiuing their faint harts, raised his field, and in the open sight of them all, entered into the towne, and the next daie issued out; and finding the Frenchmen riding abroad to destroie the plaine countrie, he compassed them about, and slue manie of them, and tooke diuerse prisoners. Although the Frenchmen got neither honor nor profit by this iournie, yet they enterprised a greater matter, as the winning of Rone; in so much that Pouton de Santreils, and the Hire, with manie other notable capteins, hauing promise of certeine burgesses of that citie to haue entrie made them, secretlie in the night came forward to a towne called Rise or Riz, not past foure leagues from Rone, and there lodged.

The lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and sir Thomas Kiriell hearing of their approach, set out of Rone at midnight, & with great paine came to Rise so couertlie in the morning, that the French suddenlie surprised and set vpon, like men all amazed ran awaie and fled. In the chase were taken the lord of Fontains, sir Aleine Geron, sir Lewes de Balle, and thréescore knights, and esquiers, beside others; and there were slaine two hundred and more. The Hire escaped verie narrowlie, by swiftnesse of his horsse, though not vnwounded. The Englishmen returned to the towne of Rise, and found there great number of horsse & other baggages, which they ioiously brought with them to Rone.

On the sixt daie of Nouember this present yeare, the earle of Warwike, as regent of France, passed the sea, after he had béene seuen times shipped and vnshipped, and landed at Homflue with a thousand fresh souldiers, and came to Rone, and then the duke of Yorke returned into England. Betwéene the change of these two capteins, the duke of Burgognie (which sore enuied the glorie of the Englishmen) besieged the towne of Crotoy, with ten thousand men and more, hauing with him great plentie of guns and goodlie ordinance. The earle of Warwike aduertised hereof, sent the lord Fauconbridge, sir Thomas Kiriell, sir Iohn Montgomerie, Thomas

An. Reg. 16.

The earle of Warwike
regent came into
France.

Croitoy besieged by the
duke of Burgognie.

Limbrike, Thomas Chandois, Daid Hall, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, and an host of fiue thousand men, which passed the riuer of Some, beside the towne of saint Valerie, wading in the water vp to the chin, so glad were they to rescue their felowes.

When the duke of Burgognie was informed of the approaching of the lord Talbot, he with all his power (sauing foure hundred, which were left in a bastile by him there newlie builded) fled to Abuile, the bastile was soone gained by the Englishmen, and those within either slaine or taken. After this, the lord Talbot sent to the duke of Burgognie, signifieng that except he would come fourth, and bide by a battell, he would vtterlie wast his countrie of Picardie. According wherevnto (the duke of Burgognie shrinking) he burnt townes, spoiled and slue manie people in Picardie. But for all those his doings, the duke of Burgognie appeared not, but got him from Abuile to Amiens, so that the lord Talbot abode twentie daies full in Picardie and Arthois, destroieng all afore him, and after returned vntouched. In the meane season, sir Thomas Kiriell had gotten all the dukes cariages and ordinance, and left as much vittell in the towne of Croitoy, as would serue six hundred men a whole yeare, and conueied the residue to the earle of Warwike, who highlie praised them for their hardie dooings.

Croitoy rescued.

After this, Henrie earle of Mortaigne, sonne to Edmund duke of Summerset, ariued at Chierburgh with foure hundred archers, & thrée hundred speares, and passed through Normandie, till he came into the countie of Maine, where he besieged a castell called saint Anian, in the which were thrée hundred Scots, besides Frenchmen. This castell he tooke by assault, slue the Scots, and hanged the Frenchmen, bicause they were once sworne English. After this he got also another castell, two miles from saint Iulians, called Alegerche, which was shortlie after recouered; and the lord of Camewis, which came to the rescue of the same, in the meane waie was intrapped and taken. Thus flowed the victorie, sometime on the one partie, and sometime on the other. For about the same time the townes of Meaux in Brie, and saint Susan were sold and deliuered to the French part, by the vntruth of the burgesses and inhabitants of the same towns, about the latter end of this sixtéenth yeare.

1438

This yeare (by reason of great tempests) raging winds, and raine, there rose such scarsitie, that wheat was sold at thrée shillings foure pence the bushell, wine at twelue pence the gallon, baisalt at fourtéene pence the bushell, and malt at thirtéene shillings foure pence the quarter, and all other graines at excessiue prices aboue the old rate. ¶ Wherevpon Steuen Browne (saith Polychronicon) at the same season maior of London, tendering the state of the citie in this want of breadcorne, sent into Pruse certeine ships, which returned loden with plentie of rie: wherwith he did much good to the people in that hard time speciallie to them of the citie, where the want of corne was not so extreame as in some other places of the land, where the poore distressed people that were hungerbitten, made them bred of ferne roots, and vsed other hardshifts, till God prouided remedie for their penurie by good successe of husbandrie.

An. Reg. 17.

Dearth of vittels.

1439

Abr. Fl. ex Polychr.

Bread made of ferne roots.

In the moneth of Iune, the earle of Huntington (as Steward of Guien) with two thousand archers, and foure hundred speares was sent into Gascoigne, as a supplie to the countrie and cōmons of the same: for the king of England and his councill were informed, that the earle of Dunois laie in the frontiers of Tholouse secretlie, by rewards and faire promises practising to procure diuerse townes in Guien to become French. Wherefore this earle (like a politike warrior) altered not onelie the capteins in euerie towne and citie, but also removed the magistrates, and changed the officers from towne to towne, and roome to roome; so that by this meanes, the earle of Dunois at that time lost both trauell and cost.

A feat of a politike capteine & wise councillor.

In the same moneth also, sir Richard Wooduile, sir William Chamberleine, sir William Peito, and sir William Storie, with a thousand men, were sent to stufte the townes in Normandie, which at that time had therof great néed: for the English capteins had small confidence in the Normans, and not too much in some of their own nation. For that harlot briberie, with hir fellow couetousnesse, ran so fast abroad with French crownes, that hard was it to remaine vncorrupted. In this yeare, the Dolphin of France alied with Iohn duke of Alanson and Iohn duke of Burgognie, rebelled against his father king Charles: but in the end, by wise persuasions, and wittie handling of the matter, the knot of that seditious faction was dissolued, and the king with his sonne, and the other confederates openlie and apparantlie pacified. The Englishmen taking aduantage of this domesticall diuision in France, raised an armie, and recouered againe diuerse townes, which had béene surprised from them before, and prepared also to haue recouered the citie of Paris, till they hard of the agrément betwixt the father and the sonne, and then they left off that enterprise.

Two shrewd persuaders.

In Nouember of this yeare, there was such a great frost, and after that so déepe a snow, that all the ground was couered therwith, and all the diches frozen. Which wether put the Englishmen in hope to recouer againe the towne of Ponthoise, by the French king gotten before, by corrupting with monie diuerse burgesses of the towne. Hervpon the Englishmen clothed all in white, with Iohn lord Clifford their capteine, came in the night to the diches, passed them without danger by reason of the frost, scaled the walles, slue the watch, and tooke the towne, with manie profitable prisoners. ¶ After the regaining of this towne, the lord

An. Reg. 18.

Ponthoise recouered by the English.

Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike died in the castell of Rone, from whence conueied into England, he was with solemne ceremonies buried at his college of Warwike, in a verie faire and sumptuous sepulchre.

About the beginning of Lent, the duke of Summerset, and the lord Talbot, with other capteins and men of warre to the number of two thousand, which they had assembled in the marches of Normandie towards Rone, marching forward towards Picardie, passed ouer the riuer of Seine; and through the towne of Monteruell, came before the fortresse of Folleuile, which the duke besieged, whilst the lord Talbot entered further into the countrie. After that the duke had mounted his great artillerie, and began to batter the hold, the capteine within chanced to be slaine with a shot of the same artillerie, & shortlie after, the batterie being still continued, the rest of the men of warre that serued vnder him yéelded the place, in which the duke left a competent garrison of souldiers, which afterwards sore indamaged the countrie.

An. Reg. 19.

Enguerant.

This doone, the duke followed the lord Talbot, who was already entered a good waie within the countrie of Santhois, and now ioining their powers together, they came to a fortresse called Lihons in Santhois, which was also rendered vnto them, after they had burnt the church; which the countrie people kept against them, and would not yéeld it, till they were fired out, burnt, and slaine; to the number of thrée hundred. After the fortresse was deliuered into their hands by composition, the duke with his power laie there about ten daies, sending diuerse troops of his men of warre abroad into the countrie, which spoiled the same, tooke the fortresse of Herbonneres, and the lord thereof within it, who for his ransome, and to haue his subiects and house saued from spoile and fire, compounded with his takers for a thousand saluz of gold, which he paid to them. Finallie, after the duke of Summerset, and the lord Talbot with their power, had laine in Lihons about ten daies, they departed from thence, and returned into Normandie, without anie impeachment.

After the death of the earle of Warwike, the duke of Yorke was againe made regent of France, which accompanied with the earle of Oxenford, the lord Bouchier called earle of Ewe, sir Iames of Ormond, the lord Clinton, sir Richard Wooduile, & diuerse other noble men, sailed into Normandie. Before whose ariual, the French king sore gréeued with the taking of the towne of Ponthoise, assembled a great armie, and besieged the said towne himselfe in person, inuironing it with bastiles, trenches, and ditches, beating the walles and bulworks with shot of great ordinance, and giuing therevnto diuerse great and fierce assaults. But Iohn lord Clifford, like a valiant capteine, defended the towne so manfullie, that the Frenchmen rather lost than woone.

1441

The duke of Yorke againe made regent of France.

Ponthoise besieged by the French king, but valiantlie defended.

The duke of Yorke at his landing receiued true aduertisement of this siege, wherevpon he sent for the lord Talbot, and a great number of soldiers, and so came néere to the towne of Ponthoise, and there incamped himselfe; who therewith sent word to the French king, that thither he was come to giue him battell, if he would come out of his strength and bastiles. But the French king by aduise of his counsell, determined not to venture his person with men of so base degré, but meant to kéepe his ground, bidding the lord regent to enter at his perill, and in the meane season did what he could to stop the passage of the riuer of Oise, so that no vittels should be brought to the English armie by that waie, in hope so to cause them to recule backe.

The duke of Yorke, perceiuing that the French king minded not to fight, purposed to passe ouer the riuer of Oise, and so to fight with him in his lodging. Whervpon he remooued his campe, and appointed the lord Talbot and other, to make a countenance, as they would passe the riuer by force at the port of Beaumont: and appointed an other companie in boates of timber and leather, and bridges made of cords and ropes (whereof he had great plentie caried with him in chariots) to passe ouer beneath the abbie. Whilst the lord Talbot made a crie, as though he would assault the gate, certeine Englishmen passed the water in botes, and drew a bridge of cords ouer, so that a great number of them were got to the other side, yer the Frenchmen were aduised what had happened. When they saw the chance, they ran like mad men, to haue stopped the passage, but it was too late: for the most part of the Englishmen were got ouer, in so much that they chased their enimies backe, and slue sir Guilliam de Chastell, nephue to the lord Taneguie du Chastell, and diuerse others.

A policie for a bridge.

The Frenchmen séeing their euill hap irrecouerable, returned to the French king, and told him what had chanced: wherevpon he doubting to be assailed to his disadvantage, thought not good longer to tarrie, but with all spéed remoouing his ordinance into the bastile of saint Martin, which he had newlie made, dislodged in the night from Maubuisson, and went to Poissie, leauing the lord de Cotignie admerall of France, with thrée thousand men to kéepe the bastile. If he had taried still at Maubuisson, the lord Talbot which had passed the riuer of Oise in two small leather botes, had either taken or slaine him the same night. The Englishmen the next daie in good order of battell came before the towne of Ponthoise, thinking there to haue found the French king, but he was gone: and in his lodging they found great riches, and much stuffe which he could not haue space for to carrie awaie for feare of the sudden inuasion.

Enguerant de Monstrellet.

Edw. Hall.

Then the duke with his power entred into the towne, and sent for new vittels, and repaired the towers and bulworks about the towne, & diuerse times assaulted the bastile of the Frenchmen, of the which he made no great accompt, because they were not of power either to assault or stop the

vittels or succors from the towne. After this, the duke intending once againe to offer the French king battell, left behind him at Ponthoise for capteine there, sir Geruais Clifton, sir Nicholas Burdet, Henrie Chandos, and a thousand soldiers, and therewith remoouing with his whole armie, came before Poissie, where he set himselfe and his men in good order of battell readie to fight. There issued out some of the French gentlemen to skirmish with the Englishmen, but to their losse: for diuerse of them were slaine, and foure valiant horssemen taken prisoners. The duke perceiuing the faint hearts of the Frenchmen, and that they durst not incounter in field with the English power, dislodged from Poissie, and came to Maunt, and soone after to Rone.

When the regent and the lord Talbot were returned againe into Normandie, the French king considering how much it should redound to his dishonour to let rest the towne of Ponthoise in his enimies hands, sith he had béene at such charges and trauell about the winning thereof, he eftsoones assembled all his puissance. And returning suddenlie vnto Ponthoise, he first by assault got the church, and after the whole towne, tooke the capteine, and diuerse other Englishmen, and slue to the number of foure hundred, which sold their liues dearelie: for one French writer affirmeth, that the French king lost there thrée thousand men; and the whole garrison of the Englishmen was but onelie a thousand. Among other that were slaine here of the defendants, was sir Nicholas Burdet knight, chéefe butler of Normandie. After this hot tempest, the weather began somewhat to wax more calme: for king Henrie and king Charles agréed to send ambassadors to comen of some good conclusion of peace: so that king Henrie sent the cardinall of Winchester, with diuerse other noble personages of his counsell to Calis, with whome was also sent Charles duke of Orleance yet prisoner in England, to the intent that he might be both author of the peace, and also procurer of his owne deliuerance.

An. Reg. 20.

Ponthoise gotten by the French.

Enguerant.

Sir Nicholas Burdet slaine.

The French king sent the archbishop of Reimes, and the earle of Dunois: and the duke of Burgognie sent the lord de Creuecueur, and diuerse other. All these met at Calis, where the duke of Orleance courteously receiued the earle of Dunois (his bastard brother) thanking him greatlie for his paines taken in gouerning his lands & countrie, during the time of his captiuitie and absence. Diuerse communications were had, as well for the deliuerance of the duke as for a finall peace; but nothing was concluded, sauing that an other méeting was appointed, so that in the meane season the demands of either partie might be declared to their souereigne lords and maisters: and herevpon the commissioners brake vp their assemblie, and returned into their countries. The Englishmen (as the French writers record) required not onelie to possesse peaceablie the two duches of Aquitane and Normandie, discharged of all resort, superioritie, and souereigntie against the realme of France, the kings and gouernours of the same; but also to be restored to all the townes, cities, and places, which they within thirtie yéeres next before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of France. Which request the Frenchmen thought verie vnreasonable, and so both parties, minding rather to gaine or saue than to loose, departed for that time, as yée haue heard.

After this méeting thus proroged, Philip duke of Burgognie, partlie mooued in conscience to make amends to Charles duke of Orleance (as yet prisoner in England for the death of duke Lewes his father), whome duke Iohn, father to this duke Philip cruellie murthered in the citie of Paris; and partlie intending the aduancement of his néece, the ladie Marie, daughter to Adolfe duke of Cleue (by the which aliance, he trusted, that all old rancor should ceasse), contriued waies to haue the said duke of Orleance set at libertie, vpon promise by him made to take the said ladie Marie vnto wife. This duke had béene prisoner in England euer since the battell was fought at Agincourt, vpon the daie of Crispine and Crispinian, in the yeare 1415, and was set now at libertie in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeare 1440, paieng for his ransome foure hundred thousand crownes, though other saie but thrée hundred thousand.

The cause whie he was detained so long in captiuitie, was to pleasure thereby the duke of Burgognie: for so long as the duke of Burgognie continued faithfull to the king of England, it was not thought necessarie to suffer the duke of Orleance to be ransomed, least vpon his deliuerance he would not ceasse to séeke meanes to be reuenged vpon the duke of Burgognie, for the old grudge and displeasure betwixt their two families, and therefore such ransome was demanded for him as he was neuer able to pay. But after the duke of Burgognie had broken his promise, and was turned to the French part, the counsell of the king of England deuised how to deliuer the duke of Orleance, that thereby they might displeasure the duke of Burgognie. Which thing the duke of Burgognie perceiuing, doubted what might follow if he were deliuered without his knowledge, and therefore to his great cost practised his deliuerance, paid his ransome, and ioined with him amitie and aliance by mariage of his néece.

This duke being now deliuered, and speaking better English than French, after his arriuell in France, repaired to the duke of Burgognie, and according to his promise and conuention, married the ladie Marie of Cleue, in the towne of saint Omers, on whome he begat a sonne, which after was French king, and called Lewes the twelfe. [Festered sores that rankle inward, as they may perchance be palliat by sleight of surgerie; so sildome come they to sound cure, but often doo burst out againe to greater paine and perill of patient than euer afore: and so befell it betwéene these two noble houses of Orleance and Burgognie, who for all this mariage and plausible peace (that continued a twentie yeares) fell out yet after at square vnattionablie:] their children and cousins, to the great vnquietting of much part of christendome, speciallie in the

The duke of Orleance deliuered.

Lewes the twelfe.

W. P.

times of king Francis the first, and his sonne Henrie the second, heires of the house of Orleance. For Iohn earle of Angolesme, vncke to this duke Charles, begat Charles, father to the said king Francis: which earle Iohn had béene as pledge in England for the debt of Lewes duke of Orleance, from the last yeare of king Henrie the fourth; till that now his nephue being deliuered, made shift for monie, and ransomed him also, and at length restored him to his countrie.

In the beginning of this twentieth yeare, Richard duke of Yorke, regent of France, and gouernour of Normandie, determined to inuade the territories of his enimies both by sundrie armies, and in seuerall places, and therevpon without delaie of time he sent the lord of Willoughbie with a great crue of soldiers to destroe the countrie of Amiens, and Iohn lord Talbot was appointed to besiege the towne of Diepe; and the regent himselfe accompanied with Edmund duke of Summerset, set forward into the duchie of Aniou. The lord Willoughbie, according to his commission, entred into the countrie of his enimies in such wise vpon the sudden, that a great number of people were taken yer they could withdraw into anie place of safegard.

The Frenchmen in the garrisons adioining, astonied with the clamour and crie of the poore people, issued out in good order, and manfullie fought with the Englishmen. But in the end, the Frenchmen séeing their fellowes in the forefront slaine downe, and kild without mercie, turned their backes, and fled: the Englishmen followed, and slue manie in the chase; and such as escaped the sword, were robbed by the earle of saint Paule, who was comming to aid the Englishmen. In this conflict were slaine aboute six hundred men of armes, and a great number taken. The dukes of Yorke and Summerset likewise entered into Aniou and Maine, and there destroyed townes, and spoiled the people, and with great preies and prisoners repaired againe into Normandie, whither also the lord Willoughbie withdrew, after his valiant enterprise atchiued (as before yée haue heard) with rich spoiles and good prisoners.

Earle of saint Paule
fréend to the English.

The duke of Summerset vpon further valiance, entered into the marches of Britaine, and tooke by fierce assault a towne named la Gerche, appertaining to the duke Alanson, spoiling and burning the same. This doone, he went to Ponzaic, where he soiorned two moneths, sending fourth dailie his men of war to destroe the countries of Aniou, Traonnois, and Chatragonnois. The French king sent the marshall Loiach with foure thousand men to resist the inuasions of the duke of Summerset, which marshall intended to haue set on the duke in his lodgings in the dead time of the night: but that (as by a wise and hardie capteine) well foreséene, he marched forward, and met the Frenchmen halfe the waie, and after long fight, discomfited them, slue an hundred of the marshals men, and tooke thrée score and two prisoners, wherof the chéefe were the lord Dausignie, sir Lewes de Buell, all the other (almost) were knights and esquiers.

This should be as
Enguerant noteth two
yeares after this
present yere 19, to wit,
An. 1440.

After this incounter, the duke tooke the towne of Beaumont le vicount, and manned all the fortresses on the frontiers of his enimies, and with rich booties and prisoners returned againe to the duke of Yorke. In this meane time the lord Talbot, besieging the towne of Diepe, inuironed it with déepe trenches; building also vpon the mount Paulet a strong and noisome bastile. But at length perceiuing the towne to be stronglie defended, and that he lacked such furniture of men, vittels and ordinance as was necessarie for the winning of it, he deliuered the custodie of the bastile, with the gouernance of the siege to his bastard sonne, a valiant yong gentleman, and departed to Rone for aid, monie, and munition. The French king aduertised hereof, sent his sonne the Dolphin of Vienne with the earle of Dunois, and fiftéene thousand men to raise the siege from Diepe.

Thrée thousand hath
Nicholas Giles.

Thrée daies they assailed the bastile, in the which six hundred Englishmen were inclosed, and at length bicause powder and weapon failed them within, the Frenchmen wan it, and tooke the bastard Talbot prisoner, with sir William Peitow, and sir Iohn Repleie, which shortlie after were redéemed. The other English souldiers séeing the bastile woone by the Frenchmen, stood all a daie in good order of battell, and in the night following, politikelie saued themselues and returned to Rone, without losse or damage. In the assaulting of the bastile, the Frenchmen saie, they slue two hundred Englishmen; and denie not but that they lost fiue hundred of their owne men, beside those that were hurt. Whilest these things were a dooing, Philip duke of Burgognie made sharpe warre against the earle of saint Paule, in taking from him his townes and castels, that made him to renounce his allegiance swoorne and promised to the king of England, and returned to the French part.

The earle of saint Paule
reuolteth to the French.

The English capteins in Guien besieged the strong towne of Tartas, belonging to the lord Dalbreth their old and ancient enimie. The towne perceiuing that it was not able to resist the force of the Englishmen anie long time, tooke appointment, that the towne should remaine neuter. For assurance therof, they deliuered Cadet the sonne of the lord de la Breth in pledge, vpon this condition; that if the said lord de la Breth would not assent to the agréement, then he should signifie his refusall to the English capteins within thrée moneths next insuing, and he to haue his pledge, and they to doo their best. The French king, at the request of the lords of Guien, caused the lord de la Breth to signifie his disagreement vnto the earle of Huntington, as then lieutenant to the king of England in the duchie of Aquitaine. And therewith to gratifie the lords of Guien, he assembled an armie of thréescore thousand men, & came to Tholouse, and so to Tartas, to whome the chéefteins of the towne, séeing no succours comming from the king of England, rendred the towne: and Cadet de la Breth, which was left there as a pledge, was also

1441.

Tartas besieged.

deliuered.

The French king, after the yéelding of Tartas, remooued to saint Seuerine, which towne he tooke by force, slue thrée hundred persons, and tooke sir Thomas Rampston prisoner. After this, he came to the citie of Arques, tooke a bulworke by force, and had the towne yéelded to him by composition. The capteine, which was the lord of Montferrant, departed with all the English crue to Burdeaux, where he found the earle of Longuile, the Capdau de Beufe, and sir Thomas Rampston, which was a little before deliuered. After this, the fortresses of the Rioll and Mermandie were also yéelded to the French king: who notwithstanding at length was constrained for lacke of vittels (which were cut off by the Englishmen that laie abroad in diuerse fortresses for the purpose) to breake vp his armie, & to retire into France. And then after his departure, the Englishmen recouered againe the citie of Arques, & the other townes by the French king gained, and tooke prisoner his lieutenant called Reginald Guilliam the Burgognion, and manie other gentlemen, and all the meane souldiers were either slaine or hanged.

The change in warre.

While the French king was in Guien, the lord Talbot tooke the towne of Couchet, and after marched toward Galliardon, which was besieged by the bastard of Orleance, otherwise called the earle of Dunois: which earle hearing of the lord Talbots approach, raised his siege, and saued himselfe. The Frenchmen a little before this season, had taken the towne of Eureux by treason of a fisher. Sir Francis the Arragonois hearing of that chance, apparelled six strong fellowes, like men of the countrie, with sacks and baskets, as carriers of corne and vittels, and sent them to the castell of Cornill, in the which diuerse Englishmen were kept as prisoners, and he with an ambush of Englishmen laie in a vallie nigh to the fortresse.

The lord Talbot.

The earle of Dunois.

An excellent finesse in warre.

The six counterfet husbandmen entered the castell vnsuspected, and streight came to the chamber of the capteine, & laieng hands on him, gave knowledge to them that laie in ambush to come to their aid. The which suddenlie made foorth, and entered the castell, slue and tooke all the Frenchmen, and set the Englishmen at libertie: which thing doone, they set fire in the castell, and departed to Rone with their bootie and prisoners. This exploit they had not atchiued peradventure by force (as happilie they mistrusted) and therefore by subtiltie and deceit sought to accomplish it, which meanes to vse in warre is tollerable, so the same warre be lawfull; though both fraud & bloudshed otherwise be forbidden euen by the instinct of nature to be put in practise and vse; and that dooth the poet insinuat in a proper sententious verse, saieing:

Fraus absit, vacuas cædis habete manus.

Ouid. 1. de art.

But now to speake somewhat of the dooings in England in the meane time. Whilest the men of war were thus occupied in martiall feates, and dailie skirmishes, within the realme of France: ye shall vnderstand, that after the cardinall of Winchester, and the duke of Glocester, were (as it séemed) reconciled either to other, yet the cardinall, and the archbishop of Yorke ceased not to doo manie things without the consent of the king or of the duke, being (during the minoritie of the king) gouernor and protector of the realme, whereas the duke (as good cause he had) greatlie offended, therevpon in writing declared to the king, wherein the cardinall and the archbishop had offended both his maiestie, and the lawes of the realme. This complaint of the duke of Glocester was conteined in foure and twentie articles, which chieflie rested, in that the cardinall had from time to time, through his ambitious desire to surmount all others in high degrés of honor and dignitie, sought to inrich himselfe, to the great and notorious hinderance of the king, as in defrauding him not onelie of his treasure, but also in dooing and practising things greatlie prejudiciall to his affaires in France, and namelie by setting at libertie the king of Scots, vpon so easie conditions, as the kings maiestie greatlie lost thereby as in particularities thus followeth.

A new breach betwéene the duke of Glocester, and the bishop of Winchester.

A complaint made to king Henrie the sixth, by the duke of Gloucester, vpon the cardinall of Winchester.

1 THESE be in part, the points and articles, which I Humfrie duke of Gloucester, for my truth & acquitall, said late, I would giue in writing (my right redoubted lord) vnto your highnesse, aduertising your excellencie, of such things in part, as haue béene doone in your tender age, in derogation of your noble estate, and hurt of both your realmes, and yet be doone and vsed dailie.

*Ex Ed. Hall. 143, 144,
145, 146.*

2 First, the cardinall then being bishop of Winchester, tooke vpon him the state of cardinall, which was naied and denaied him, by the king of most noble memorie, my lord your father (whome God assoile) saiang that he had as léefe set his crowne beside him, as sée him weare a cardinals hat, he being a cardinall. For he knew full well, the pride and ambition that was in his person, then being but a bishop, should haue so greatlie extolled him into more intollerable pride, when that he were a cardinall: and also he thought it against his frédome, of the chéefe church of this realme, which, that he worshipped, as dylie as euer did prince, that blessed be his soule. And howbeit, that my said lord your father (whome God assoile) would haue agréed him to haue had certeine clearks of this land cardinals, and to haue no bishoprikes in England; yet his intent was neuer to doo so great derogation to the church of Canturburie, to make them that were his suffragans, to sit aboute their ordinarie and metropolitan. But the cause was that in generall, and in all matters which might concerne the weale of him, and of his realme, he should haue proctors of his nation, as other kings Christen had, in the court of Rome, and not to abide in this land, nor to be in anie part of his counsels, as béene all the spirituall and temporall, at parlements and other great counsels, when you list to call them. And therefore, though it please you to doo him that workshop, to set him in your priuie councill after your pleasure: yet in your parlement, where euerie lord both spirituall and temporall, hath his place, he ought to occupie but his place as a bishop.

3 Item, the said bishop, now being cardinall, was assoiled of his bishoprike of Winchester, wherevpon he sued vnto our holie father, to haue a bull declaratorie, notwithstanding he was assumpt to the state of cardinall, that the sée was not void, where in déed it stood void by a certeine time, yet the said bull were granted; and so he was exempt from his ordinarie, by the taking on him the state of Cardinall, and the church bishoprike of Winchester, so standing void, he tooke againe of the pope (you not learned thereof ne knowing whereby he was fallen into the case of prouision) so that all his good was lawfullie & cléerlie forfeited to you my right doubted lord, with more; as the statute declareth plainelie for your aduantage.

4 Item, it is not vnknown to you (doubted lord) how thorough your lands it is noised, that the said cardinall and the archbishop of Yorke had and haue the gouernance of you, and all your land, the which none of your true liege men ought to vsurpe nor take vpon them. And haue also estranged me your sole vncler, my cousine of Yorke, my coosine of Huntington, and manie other lords of your kin, to haue anie knowledge of anie great matter, that might touch your high estate, or either of your realmes. And of lords spirituall, of right, the archbishop of Canturburie should be your chéefe councillor, the which is also estranged and set aside. And so be manie other right sad lords, and well aduised, as well spirituall as temporall, to the great hurt of you my right doubted lord, and of your realmes, like as the experience and workes shewen cléerlie and euidentlie, more harme it is.

5 Item, in the tender age of you, my right doubted lord, for the necessitie of an armie, the said cardinall lent you foure thousand pounds vpon certeine iewels, prised at two and twentie thousand markes, with a letter of sale, that and they were not quited at a certeine daie, you should léese them. The said cardinall séeing your monie readie to haue quited your iewels, caused your treasurer of England, at that daie being, to paie the same monie, in part of an other armie, in defrauding you my right doubted lord of your said iewels, kéeping them yet all awaie to his owne vse, to your right great losse, and his singular profit and auaile.

6 Item, the said cardinall, then being bishop of Winchester, and chancellour of England, deliuered the king of Scots, vpon certeine appointments (as maie be shewed) presumptuouslie, and of his owne authoritie, contrarie to the act of parlement. I haue heard notable men of law say, that they neuer heard the like thing doone among them: which was too great a defamation to your highnesse, and also to wed his néece to the said king, whom that my lord of notable memorie, your father, whome God assoile, would neuer haue so deliuered. And there as he should haue paid for his costs fortie thousand pounds, the said cardinall, chancellour of England, caused you to pardon him thereof ten thousand marks, whereof the greater summe he paid you, right a little, what, I report me to your highnesse.

7 Item, where the said cardinall lent you, my redoubted lord, great and notable summes, he hath had and his assignes, the rule and profit of the port of Hampton, where the customers béene his seruants, where (by likelihood and as it is to be supposed) standing the chéefe merchant of the wools of your land, that you be greatlie defrauded, and vnder that rule, what wools and other merchandizes haue béene shipped, and maie be from time to time, hard is to estéeme, to the great hurt and preiudice of you my right doubted lord, and of all your people.

8 Item, howbeit that the said cardinall hath diuerse times lent you great summes of monie, since the time of your reigne, yet his loane hath béene so deferred and delaied, that for the most part, the conuenable season of the imploieng of the good lent was passed. So that litle fruit or none came thereof, as by experience both your realmes haue sufficientlie in knowledge.

9 Item, where there was iewels and plate prised at eleuen thousand pounds in weight, of the said cardinall, forfeited to you my right redoubted lord, he gat him a restorement thereof for a loane of a little parcell of the same: and so defrauded you wholie of them, to your great hurt, and his auaille, the which good might greatlie haue eased your highnesse, in sparing as much of the poore commons.

10 Item, the cardinall being feoft of my said lord your father (whome God assoile) against his intent, gaue Elizabeth Beauchampe, thrée hundred markes liuelihood, where that his will was, that and she were wedded within a yeare, then to haue it, or else not, where in déed it was two or thrée years after, to your great hurt, and diminishing of your inheritance.

11 Item, notwithstanding that the said cardinall hath no maner of authoritie nor interest in the crowne, nor none maie haue by anie possibilitie; yet he presumeth and taketh vpon him in partie, your estate roiall, in calling before him, into great abusion of all your land, and derogation of your highnesse, which hath not béene séene nor vsed in no daies heretofore, in greater estate than he is, without your expresse ordinance and commandement.

12 Item, the said cardinall, nothing considering the necessitie of you my right doubted lord, hath sued a pardon of dismes, that he should paie for the church of Winchester, for terme of his life, giuing thereby occasion to all other lords spirituall, to draw their good will for anie necessitie, to grant anie disme: and so to laie all the charge vpon the temporalitie, and the poore people.

13 Item, by the gouernance and labour of the said cardinall, and archbishop of Yorke, there hath béene lost and dispended much notable and great good, by diuerse ambassadors sent out of this realme. First to Arras, for a feigned colourable peace, whereas by likelnesse it was thought and supposed, that it should neuer turne to the effectuall auaille of you my right doubted lord, nor to your said realmes: but vnder colour thereof, was made the peace of your aduersarie, and the duke of Burgognie. For else your partie aduerse, & the said duke, might not well haue found meanes nor waies to haue communed together, nor to haue concluded with other their confederations and conspirations made and wrought there, then, at that time, against your highnesse, whereby you might haue (right doubted lord) the greater partie of your obeisance, as well in your realme of France, as in your duchie of Normandie, and much other thing gone greatlie, as through the said colourable treatie, & otherwise, since the death of my brother of Bedford (whome God assoile.)

14 Item, now of late was sent an other ambassador to Calis, by the labour and counsell of the said cardinall, and archbishop of Yorke, the cause why of the beginning, is to me your sole vnkle, and other lords of your kin and counsell vnknownen, to your great charge, and against the publike good of your realme; as it openlie appeareth. The which good if it be imploied for the defense of your lands, the merchandizes of the same might haue had other course, and your said lands not to haue stand in so great mischéeffe as they doo.

15 Item, after that, to your great charge, and hurt of both your realmes, the said cardinall & archbishop of Yorke went to your said towne of Calis, and diuerse lords of your kin, and of your counsell in their fellowship, and there, as there was naturall warre betwéene the duke of Orleance, and the duke of Burgognie, for murther of their fathers, a capitall enimitie like to haue indured for euer: the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke licenced and suffered the said duke of Orleance, to intreat and common apart with the counsell of your said aduersaries, as well as with the duchies of Burgognie: by which meane the peace and aliance was made betwéene the two dukes, to the greatest fortieng of your said capitall aduersaries that could be thought, and consequentlie (my déere redoubted lord) to your greatest charge, and hurt to both your realmes. Vnder colour of which treatie, your said aduersaries in meane time wan your citie of Meaux, and the countrie thereabout, and manie diuerse roades made into your duchie of Normandie, to the great noisance and destruction of your people, as it sheweth openlie.

16 Item, the said archbishop of Yorke, sent with other into this your realme from the said cardinall, after communication had with your aduerse partie, at your said towne of Calis, made at his comming into your notable presence at Windesor, all the suasions and colour, all motions in the most apparant wise that he could, to induce your highnesse to your agrément, to the desires of your capitall aduersaries, as I saw there in your noble presence of his writing, at which time (as I vnderstood) it was his singular opinion, that is to saie: that you should leaue your right, your title, and your honour of your crowne, and nomination of you king of France, during certeine yeares, & that you should vtterlie absteine you and be content onelie in writing, with Rex Angliæ, &c. to the great note of infamie that euer fell to you or anie of your noble progenitours, since the taking of them first, the said title and right of your realme and crowne of France. To which matter in your presence there, after that it had liked your said highnesse, to aske mine aduise therevpon, with other of your blood and counsell; I answerd and said, that I would neuer agréed me thereto to die therefore, and of the same disposition I am yet, and will be while I liue in conseruation of your honour, and of your oth made vnto your said crowne, in time of your coronation there.

17 Item, the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke, haue so laboured vnto your highnesse, that you should intend to a new daie of conuention, in March or Aprill next comming, where it is noised to be more against your worship than with it. And where it was euident to all the world, that the rupture and breaking of the said peace, should haue fallen heretofore, of your aduerse partie; because of the great vntruths. Now by that meanes it is like peradventure to be laid vnto the verie great slander of you my doubted lord, like to come to none other purpose nor effect, than other conuentions haue doone afore time: and so by subtilties and counsell of your said enimies, your land (they in hope and trust of the said treatie, not mightilie nor puissantlie

purueied for) shall be like vnder the colour of the same treatie to be burnt vp and destroyed, lost, and vtterlie turned from your obeisance.

18 Item it is said, that the deliuerance of the said duke of Orleance, is vtterlie appointed by the mediation, counsell, and stirring of the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke; and for that cause diuerse persons béene come from your aduersaries, into this your realme, and the said duke also brought to your citie of London, where as my lord your father (whom God assoile) peising so greatlie the inconueniences; and harme that might fall, onlie by his deliuerance, concluded, ordeined, and determined in his last will, vtterlie in his wisdom, his conquest in his realme of France. And yet then it is to be doone, by as great deliberation, solemnitie and suertie, as may be deuised or thought. And séeing now the disposition of your realme of France, the puissance and might of your enimies, and what aid they haue gotten against you there, aswell vnder the colour of the said treatie, as otherwise; what may or ought to be thought or said, for that laboring the said duke (all things considered) by such particular persons, the lords of your bloud not called therevnto, I report me vnto your noble grace and excellencie, and vnto the said wise true men of this your realme.

19 Item, where that euerie true councillor, speciallie vnto anie king or prince, ought of truth and of dutie, to counsell, promote, increase, prefer, and aduance the weale and prosperitie of his lord: the said cardinall, being of your counsell (my right doubted lord) hath late purchased of your highnesse, certeine great lands and liuelod: as the castell and lordship of Chirke in Wales, and other lands in this your realme; vnto which I was called suddenlie, and so in eschewing the breaking and losse of your armies then againe, séeing none other remedie, gaue therevnto mine assent, thinking that who that euer laboured, moued or stirred the matter first vnto your lordship, counselled you neither for your worship nor profit.

20 More, the said cardinall hath you bound apart, to make him a sure estate of all the said lands, by Easter next comming, as could be deuised by anie learned counsell; or else that suertie not made, the said cardinall to haue and enioy to him, and his heirs for euermore, the lands of the duchie of Lancaster, in Norffolke, to the value of seuen or eight hundred marks by yeare. Which thing séemeth right strange and vnséene, and vnhard waies of anie liege man, to séeke vpon his souereigne lord, both in his inheritance and in his iewels and goods. For it is thought, but if right and extreme necessitie caused it, there should, nor ought no such things to be doone: from which necessitie God (for his mercie) euer preserue your noble person. Wherefore my redoubted lord, séeing that ye should be so counselled, or stirred to leaue your crowne and inheritance in England; and also by fraud and subtil meanes, as is afore rehearsed, so to lose your iewels: in my truth and in mine acquittall (as me séemeth) I may not nor ought not counsell so great an hurt to you and to all your land.

21 Item, it is not vnknown to you my right doubted lord, how oftentimes I haue offered my seruice, to and for the defense of your realme of France, and duchie of Normandie, where I haue béene put there-from by the labour of the said cardinall, in preferring other after his singular affection. Which hath caused a great part of the said duchie of Normandie, aswell as of your realme of France to be lost, as it is well known. And what good (my right doubted lord) was lost on that armie that last sent thither, which the earle of Mortaigne, your counsell of France, hath well & cléerelie declared to your highnesse here before?

22 Item, my right doubted lord, it is not vnknown, that it had not béene possible to the said cardinall, to haue come to his great riches, but by such meanes, for of his church it might not rise, and inheritance he had none. Wherefore my right doubted lord, sith there is great good behouefull at this time, for the weale and safegard of your realmes, the pouertie, necessitie, & indigence of your liege people; in highnesse vnderstand, like it vnto your noble grace, to consider the said lucre of the said cardinall, and the great deceipts that you be receiued in by the labour of him & of the archbishop, aswell in this your realme as in your realme of France and duchie of Normandie, where neither office, liuelod, nor capteine may be had, without too great good giuen vnto him, wherby a great part of all the losse that is lost, they haue béene the causers of; for who that would giue most, his was the price, not considering the merits, seruice, nor sufficiency of persons. Furthermore, it is greatlie to be considered, how, when the said cardinall had forfeited all his goods, bicause of prouision, as the statute therevpon more plainelie declareth; by hauing the rule of you my right doubted lord, purchased himselfe in great defraudation of your highnesse, a charter of pardon, the which good and it had be well gouerned, might manie yeares haue sustained your warres, without anie tallage of your poore people.

23 Item, my redoubted lord, whereas I write much thing for the weale of you and of your realms, peradventure some will saie and vnderstand, that I would or haue written by waie of accusation of all your counsell, which God knoweth, I doo not: for your highnesse may well sée, that I name them that be causers of the said inordinate rule. Wherefore, considering that the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke béene they, that pretend the gouernance of you, and of your realms and lordships: please it vnto your highnesse, of your right wisenesse to estrange them of your counsell, to that intent, that men may be at their frédome, to say what they thinke of truth.

24 For truth, I dare speake of my truth, the poore dare not doo so. And if the cardinall and the archbishop of Yorke, may afterward declare themselues, of that is, and shalbe said of them; you my right doubted lord may then restore them againe to your counsell, at your noble pleasure.

When the king had heard the accusations thus laid by the duke of Glocester against the cardinall,

he committed the examination thereof to his councell, whereof the more part were spirituall persons; so that what for feare, and what for fauor, the matter was winked at, and nothing said to it: onelie faire countenance was made to the duke, as though no malice had béene conceiued against him. But venem will breake out, & inward grudge will soone appeare, which was this yeare to all men apparant: for diuers secret attempts were aduanced forward this season against this noble man Humfreie duke of Gloucester a far off, which in conclusion came so néere, that they béereft him both of life and land; as shall hereafter more plainelie appéere.

For first this yeare, dame Eleanor Cobham, wife to the said duke, was accused of treason; for that she by sorcerie and enchantment intended to destroe the king, to the intent to aduance hir husband vnto the crowne. Vpon this, she was examined in saint Stephans chappell before the bishop of Canturburie, and there by examination conuict, and iudged to doo open penance in thrée open places within the citie of London. [Polychronicon saith she was inioined to go through Cheapside with a taper in hir hand] and after that adiudged to perpetuall imprisonment in the Ile of Man, vnder the kéeping of sir Iohn Stanlie knight. At the same season were arrested, arreigned, and adiudged giltie, as aiders to the duchesse, Thomas Southwell priest, and canon of S. Stephans at Westminster, Iohn Hun priest, Roger Bolingbrooke a cunning necromancer (as it was said) and Margerie Iordeine, surnamed the witch of Eie.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychron.

Alias Iohn Hum.

The matter laid against them, was, for that they (at the request of the said duchesse) had deuised an image of wax representing the king, which by their sorcerie by little and little consumed, intending thereby in conclusion to waste and destroe the kings person. Margerie Iordeine was burnt in Smithfield, and Roger Bolingbrooke was drawne to Tiborne, and hanged and quartered; taking vpon his death that there was neuer anie such thing by them imagined. Iohn Hun had his pardon, and Southwell died in the Tower the night before his execution: [for (saith Polychr.) he did prophesie of himselfe, that he should die in his bed, and not by iustice.] The duke of Gloucester bare all these things patientlie, and said little. Edward sonne to the duke of Yorke was borne this yeare the nine and twentieth of Aprill at Rone, his father being the kings lieutenant in Normandie. ¶ In this yeare was a great fraie in Fléetstréet in the night time, betwéene gentlemen of courts and inhabitants of London; insomuch that much bloud was spilt, diuerse slaine outright, and some mortallie wounded; besides great harme otherwise doone and suffered.

Abr. Fl.

King Edward the fourth borne.

Abr. Fl.

A great fraie by night.

¶ Vpon the daie of the translation of saint Edward, or the twelfth of October, vpon which daie the maior and his brethren for the yeare following, and daie when the commoners of the citie, after their ancient custome had chosen two aldermen, such as before had béene shiriffes of London and of Middlesex, namelie Robert Clopton draper, and Rafe Holland tailor, and them presented by name vnto the maior and his brethren, then sitting in the vtter chamber where the maiors courts be kept, to the intent that the said maior and his brethren might choose one of the said two, such as they thought most necessarie and worshipfull for the roome; the said maior and his brethren choosing Robert Clopton, brought him after downe vpon his right hand towards the hall. Whereof when certeine tailors there present were aware, and saw that Rafe Holland was not chosen, anon they cried; Nay, nay: not this, but Rafe Holland. Wherewith the old maior being astonished, stood still vpon the staire, and commanded them to kéepe silence, and so held on his waie to the east end of the hall, where he sat him downe, and his brethren about him. In the meane time, the said tailors continued their crie, and incensed others of base trades of the citie (as simple persons) to take their part, and to crie as fast as they, not proffering to cease their misrule for all that the maior could saie, no nor yet when the maiors sergeant at armes had cried O-yes. Herevpon the maior, to appease the rumor, sent downe the shiriffes, and commanded them to take the offenders, and send them to the goale; which precept was fulfilled, & about twelue or sixtéene of the principall committed to Newgate, where some of them abode a long time imprisoned; and others that were fined set at libertie. This is reported by Polychronicon, but in somewhat a differing maner.

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian. 438.

Tailors malepertnesse at the election of an alderman.

The councell of England forgat not the late enterprise of the French king, atchiued in the duchie of Guien, and therefore doubting some other the like attempt, they sent thither sir William Wooduile with eight hundred men, to strengthen the frontiers, and further, set foorth a proclamation, that all men which would transport anie corne, chéese, or other vittels thither, should paie no maner of custome of tallage: which licence caused the countrie of Aquitaine to be well furnished of all things necessarie. About this season Iohn the valiant lord Talbot for his approued prowesse and wisdome, aswell in England as in France, both in peace & warre so well tried, was created earle of Shrewesburie, and with a companie of thrée thousand men sent againe into Normandie, for the better defense of the same.

1442

An. Reg. 21.

Iohn lord Talbot created earle of Shrewesburie.

[18] This yéere died Lodowike or Lewes Lischburne, bishop of Elie, being the fiue and twentieth that inioied that place, who came to the same after this maner. After the death of Philip Morgan bishop of that sée, the moonks of Elie chose for their pastor Robert fitz Hugh bishop of London; but he dieng at saint Osées before his confirmation, neuer possessed the honour thereof. Wherevpon the king directed his letters to the couent of Elie, to make election of Thomas Rudburne (bishop of S. Dauids in

1443

Wales) for their bishop. But they contrarie therevnto (taking it now for a custome, hauing so often vsed it before, as did well appeare) made choise of Thomas Bouchier (borne of a noble house, sonne to the countesse of Stafford, chancellor of Oxenford, and bishop of Worcester) to succéed Philip Morgan. Which Bouchier, the king (offended with the moonkes for the little regard had to his request) vtterlie refused, and would not admit him vnto that place. Wherevpon there were buls procured from Eugenius the fourth (then bishop of Rome) which were sent into England to conlirme the Election of the said Bouchier.

[18] *Fr. Thin.*

But he wiselie fearing to fall into the dangerous statute of Premunire, durst not receiue or execute the tenor of the popes commandement. By reason whereof least the sée might otherwise remaine void, (if spéedie remedie were not prouided) the king did in commendam bestow the bishoprike of Elie vpon this Lodowike Lischburne archbishop of Rone, by office, Card. 4. Coronat. Cancellar. Franciæ & Normanniæ, and kinsman to the said king. Which doone, Eugenius (when he saw no other remedie) did reuoke his buls made before to Thomas Bouchier, in the yeare of Christ 1437. This Lodowike remaining bishop six yeares and so manie moneths, died in the yeare as before, the eightéenth of September, at his manor of Hatfield, whose bowels were buried in the said church: his hart was caried to Rone, and there honourable intoomed, and his bodie was committed to the earth, in the church of Elie, betwéene two marble pillors next to the altar of the reliques.

In this yeare died in Guien the countesse of Comings, to whome the French king and also the earle of Arminacke pretended to be heire, in so much that the earle entred into all the lands of the said ladie. And bicause he knew the French king would not take the matter well, to haue a Rouland for an Oliuer; he sent solemne ambassadours to the king of England, offering him his daughter in mariage, with promise to be bound (beside great summes of monie, which he would giue with hir) to deliuer into the king of Englands hands, all such castels and townes, as he or his ancestors detened from him within anie part of the duchie of Aquitaine, either by conquest of his progenitors, or by gift and deliuerie of anie French king: and further to aid the same king with monie for the recouerie of other cities within the same duchie, from the French king; or from anie other person that against king Henrie vniustlie kept, and wrongfullie withholden them.

This offer séemed so profitable and also honorable to king Henrie and the realme, that the ambassadours were well heard, honorablie receiued, and with rewards sent home into their countrie. After whome were sent for the conclusion of the marriage into Guien, sir Edward Hull, sir Robert Ros, and Iohn Gralton deane of S. Seuerines, the which (as all the chronographers agréed) both concluded the mariage, and by proxie affied the yoong ladie. The French king not a little offended herewith, sent his eldest sonne Lewes the Dolphin of Vienne into Rouergue with a puissant armie, which tooke the earle and his yoongest sonne, with both his daughters, and by force obtined the countries of Arminacke, Louuergne, Rouergue, and Moulessonois, beside the cities Seuerac & Cadeac, chasing the bastard of Arminacke out of his countries, and so by reason hereof, the concluded mariage was deferred, and that so long that it neuer tooke effect; as hereafter it may appeare.

The earle of Arminacks daughter affied vnto king Henrie.

The erle with his ladie, his sonne and two daughters taken.

¶ In this yeare was an act made by authoritie of the common councill of London, that vpon the sundaie no maner of thing within the franchises and liberties of the said citie should be bought or sold; neither vittels nor other thing. It was also enacted by the same common councill with full consent, and ratified by the authoritie of the law-makers, that no artificer or handicrafts man should bring his wares, commodities, or worke, vnto anie person or persons to be worne or occupied on that dale: bicause it was iudged a foule prophanation thereof. And peoples minds giuen to couetousnesse, make no exception of times or places in a case of aduantage and gaine. In consideration whereof, and for the suppressing of this abuse, this law was ordeined and made: the force whereof did principallie extend to tailors and shoemakers (who as on that daie bring home their garments and shoos to the parties for whome they are made) and likewise to all other occupations and trades. But this ordinance (saith mine author) was too good for so bad an age, and therefore died within a short time after the magistrate had giuen it life.

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian 441.

A law against buieng and selling on the sundaie.

¶ On Candlemasse éeue this yéere by lightning in a tempest that fell with claps of thunder at afternoone, Paules stéeple was set on fier in the midst of the speare or shaft in the verie timber worke; which was quenched by the painfulnessse of diuerse persons, and specialie by the diligent labour of a préest of Bow in Cheape. Howbeit the same was thought vnpossible to be quenched, but that the grace of God was chéefe worker in the same. This stéeple hath diuerse times béene ouerthrowne and defaced, partlie by winds, and partlie by lightning, as may be obserued in the reading of this volume: yea when the same hath béene repared by the choisest workemen, and of the substantiallest stuffe, and all meanes (that stood with the déepe deuise of man) vsed to make it so sure that it might continue, as a monument of perpetuitie for posteritie to woonder at and admire. But to returne to the historie.

Abrv. Fl. ex. Fabian, 441, & Polychr.

Paules stéeple burnt.

Whilest England was vnquieted (as you haue heard) and France by spoile, slaughter, and burning sore defaced (a mischéefe in all places much lamented) therefore to agréed the two puissant kings, all the princes of christendome trauelled so effectuouslie by their oratours and

An. Reg. 22.

ambassadors, that a diet was appointed to be kept at the cite of Tours in Touraine; where for the king of England appeared William de la Poole earle of Suffolke, doctor Adam Molins kéeper of the kings priuie seale, also sir Robert Ros, and diuers other. And for the French king were appointed Charles duke of Orleanse, Lewes de Bourbon earle of Vandosme, great maister of the French kings houshold, Piers de Bresse steward of Poictou, and Bertram Beauuan lord of Presignie.

The diet at Tours for a peace to be had betwéene England and France.

There were also sent thither ambassadors from the empire, from Spaine, from Denmarke, & from Hungarie; to be mediatours betwixt the two princes. The assemblie was great, but the cost was much greater, insomuch that euerie part for the honour of their prince and praise of their countrie, set foorth themselues, as well in fare as apparell, to the vttermost. Manie méetings were had, and manie things mooued for a finall peace: but in conclusion, by reason of manie doubts which rose on both parties, no full concord could be agréed vpon; but in hope to come to a peace, a certeine truce, as well by sea as by land, was concluded by the commissioners for eightéene moneths, which afterward againe was prolonged to the yeare of our Lord 1449.

A truce for 18 moneths.

In treating of this truce, the earle of Suffolke aduenturing somewhat vpon his commission, without the assent of his associats, imagined, that the next waie to come to a perfect peace, was to contriue a mariage betwéene the French kings kinsewoman, the ladie Margaret daughter to Reiner duke of Aniou, and his souereigne lord king Henrie. This Reiner duke of Aniou named himselfe king of Sicill, Naples, and Ierusalem, hauing onlie the name and stile of those realmes; without anie penie, profit, or foot of possession. This mariage was made strange to the earle at the first, and one thing séemed to be a great hinderance to it; which was, bicause the king of England occupied a great part of the duchie of Aniou, and the whole countie of Maine, apperteining (as was alledged) to king Reiner.

1444

The earle of Suffolke (I cannot saie either corrupted with bribes, or too much affectioned to this vnprofitable mariage), condescended, that the duchie of Aniou and the countie of Maine should be deliuered to the king, the brides father demanding for hir mariage neither penie nor farthing: as who would saie, that this new affinitie passed all riches, and excelled both gold and pretious stones. And to the intent that of this truce might issue a finall concord, a daie of enteruiew was appointed betwéene the two kings in a place conuenient betwéene Chartres and Rone. When these things were concluded, the earle of Suffolke with his companie returned into England, where he forgat not to declare what an honourable truce he had taken, out of the which there was a great hope that a finall peace might grow the sooner for that honorable mariage, which he had concluded, omitting nothing that might extoll and set foorth the personage of the ladie, or the nobilitie of hir kinred.

But although this mariage pleased the king and diuerse of his councill, yet Humfrie duke of Glocester protector of the realme was much against it, alledging that it should be both contrarie to the lawes of God, and dishonorable to the prince, if he should breake that promise and contract of mariage, made by ambassadors sufficientlie thereto instructed, with the daughter of the earle of Arminacke, vpon conditions both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable. But the dukes words could not be heard, for the earles doings were onelie liked and allowed. So that for performance of the conclusions, the French king sent the earle of Vandosme, great maister of his house, and the archbishop of Reimes first péere of France, and diuerse other into England, where they were honorablie receiued; and after that the instruments were once sealed and deliuered on both parts, the said ambassadors returned againe into their countries with great gifts and rewards.

The protector disliked this second motion of the kings mariage.

When these things were doone, the king both for honour of his realme, and to assure to himselfe mo fréends, created Iohn Holland earle of Huntington duke of Excester as his father was: Humfrie earle of Stafford was made duke of Buckingham: and Henrie earle of Warwike was elected to the title of duke of Warwike, to whome the king also gaue the castell of Bristowe, with the Ile of Iernesenie, and Garneseie. Also the earle of Suffolke was made marquesse of Suffolke, which marquesse with his wife and manie honorable personages of men and women richlie adorned both with apparell & iewels, hauing with them manie costlie chariots and gorgeous horslitters, sailed into France for the conueiance of the nominated quéene into the realme of England. For king Reiner hir father, for all his long stile had too short a pursse to send his daughter honorablie to the king hir spouse.

Creations of estates.

This noble companie came to the cite of Tours in Touraine, where they were honorablie receiued both of the French king and of the king of Sicill. The marquesse of Suffolke as procurator to king Henrie, espoused the said ladie in the church of saint Martins. At the which mariage were present the father and mother of the bride; the French king himselfe, which was vnclie to the husband; and the French quéene also, which was aunt to the wife. There were also the dukes of Orleanse, of Calabre, of Alanson, and of Britaine, seauen earls, twelue barons, twentie bishops, beside knights and gentlemen. When the feast, triumph, bankets and iusts were ended, the ladie was deliuered to the marquesse, who in great estate conueied hir through Normandie vnto Diepe, and so transported hir into England, where she landed at Portesmouth in the moneth of Aprill. This ladie excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour, as in wit and policie, and was of stomach and courage more like to a man than a woman.

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1445.

Shortlie after hir arriual, she was conueied to the towne of Southwike in Hamshire, where she with all nuptiall ceremonies was coupled in

Margaret daughter to

matrimonie to king Henrie the sixt of that name. ¶ On the eighteenth of Maie she came to London, all the lords of England in most sumptuous sort méeting and receiuing hir vpon the waie, and speciallie the duke of Glocester with such honour as stood with the dignitie of his person. Now when she came to Blackheath, the maior, aldermen, and men of occupations, in blew gownes imbrodered with some deuise, expressing their art and trades whereby to be knowne, did all shew themselues, with congratulation of hir comming; from whence they attended hir to London, where with goodlie pageants and sundrie gallant historicall shewes in diuerse places erected, she was verie magnificallie welcomed. The maner and order of which pompe in sundrie places exhibited to the high honour of the king, quéene, & states is verie amplie set foorth by Fabian, pag. 423, 424, 425, 426, 427. Vpon the thirtieth of Maie next following, she was crowned quéene of this realme of England at Westminster, with all the solemnitie thereto appertaining.

Reiner K. of Sicill & Ierusalem married to Henrie the sixt.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychron.

This mariage séemed to manie both infortunate and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that for manie causes. First, the king had not one penie with hir; and for the fetching of hir, the marquesse of Suffolke demanded a whole fiftéenth in open parlement. And also there was deliuered for hir the duchie of Aniou, the citie of Mans, and the whole countie of Maine, which countries were the verie staies and backestands to the duchie of Normandie. And furthermore, the earle of Arminacke tooke such displeasure with the king of England for this mariage, that he became vtter enimie to the crowne of England, and was the chéefe cause that the Englishmen were expelled out of the whole duchie of Aquitaine.

An ominous mariage.

But most of all it should séeme, that God was displeased with this mariage: for after the confirmation thereof, the kings fréends fell from him, both in England and in France, the lords of his realme fell at diuision, and the commons rebelled in such sort, that finallie after manie fields foughten, and manie thousands of men slaine, the king at length was deposed, and his sonne killed, and this quéene sent home againe, with as much miserie and sorrow as she was receiued with pompe and triumph: such is the instabilitie of worldlie felicitie, and so wauering is false flattering fortune. Which mutation and change of the better for the worse could not but nettle and sting hir with pensiuenesse, yea and anie other person whatsoever, that hauing béene in good estate, falleth into the contrarie: whereto the saieng of the poet giueth credit, in these few words following;

Quem res plus nimio delectauere secundæ,
Mutatæ quatiunt.

Ouid. 2. de art.

This yeare, after the deceasse of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, succéded Iohn Stafford in that sée, being translated from Bath and Wels. He was the thréescore and one archbishop, as Polydor noteth. During the time of the truce, Richard duke of Yorke and diuerse other capteins repaired into England, both to visit their wiues, children, and fréends, and also to consult what should be doone, if the truce ended. For the which cause a parlement was called, in the which it was especiallie concluded, that by good foresight Normandie might be so furnished for defense before the end of the truce, that the French king should take no aduantage through want of timelie prouision: for it was knowne, that if a peace were not concluded, the French king did prepare to imploie his whole puissance to make open warre. Héerevpon monie was granted, an armie leuiéd, and the duke of Summerset appointed to be regent of Normandie, and the duke of Yorke thereof discharged.

An. Reg. 24.

1446

The duke of Summerset made regent of Normâdie, and the Duke of Yorke discharged.

I haue séene in a register booke belonging sometime to the abbeie of saint Albons that the duke of Yorke was established regent of France, after the deceasse of the duke of Bedford, to continue in that office for the tearme of fiue yeares; which being expired, he returned home, and was ioifullie receiued of the king with thanks for his good seruice, as he had full well deserued in time of that his gouernement: and further, that now when a new regent was to be chosen and sent ouer, to abide vpon safegard of the countries beyond the seas as yet subiect to the English dominion, the said duke of Yorke was eftsoones (as a man most méet to supplie that roome) appointed to go ouer againe, as regent of France with all his former allowances.

The duke of Yorke appointed to the charge againe.

But the duke of Summerset still maligning the duke of Yorkes aduancement, as he had sought to hinder his dispatch at the first when he was sent ouer to be regent, as before yée haue heard: he likewise now wrought so, that the king reuoked his grant made to the duke of Yorke for enioieng of that office the terme of other fiue yéeres, and with helpe of William marquesse of Suffolke obtained that grant for himselfe. Which malicious deling the duke of Yorke might so euill beare, that in the end the heate of displeasure burst out into such a flame, as consumed at length not onelie both those two noble personages, but also manie thousands of others, though in diuers times and seasons, as in places hereafter (as occasion serueth) it shall more euidentlie appeare. But now to returne to the parlement.

The appointmēt disappointed, and pointed to the marquesse of Suffolke.

The marques of Suffolke, supposing all men had as well liked his dooings (during the time of his legation in France) as himselfe, the second daie of Iune in the first session of this parlement in the higher house openlie, eloquentlie, and boldlie declared his paine, trauell, and diligence

The marques of Suffolks request.

sustained in his said legation, as well for the taking and concluding an abstinence of warre, as in the making of the marriage; remembring them also that the said truce expired the first of Aprill next, except a finall peace, or a further truce were concluded in the meane season: and therefore he aduised them to prouide and foresée things necessarie for the warre (as though no concord should succéed) least happilie the Frenchmen perceiuing them vnprouided, would take their aduantage, and agréee neither to peace nor amitie; saieng vnto them further, that sith he had admonished the king and them according to his dutie, if anie thing happened otherwise than well, he was thereof innocent and guiltlesse and had acquitted himselfe like a true and louing subiect, and a faithfull counsellour, praieng the lords to haue it in remembrance.

Likewise on the morow after, he descended into the common house, accompanied with certeine lords, and there declared the same matter to the knights, citizens, and burgesses, praieng the commons for his discharge, that as well all his dooings and procéedings in the kings affaires beyond the sea, as also his aduertisement and counsell opened to the lords and commons now together assembled, might be by the king and them inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement. Wherevpon the next daie after, the speaker William Burghleie, and the companie of the lower house, repaired vnto the kings presence, sitting amongst the lords of the vpper house, & there humblie required that the request of the marquesse might be granted. And so likewise the lords made the like petition knéeling on their knées, insomuch that the king condescended to their desires: and so the labours, demeanours, diligences, and declarations of the said marquesse, together with the desires not onelie of the lords, but also of the commons, as well for the honour of him and his posteritie, as for his acquitall and discharge, were inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement.

By the quéenes meanes shortlie after also was the said marquesse aduanced so in authoritie, that he ruled the king at his pleasure, and to his high preferment obtained the wardships both of the bodie and lands of the countesse of Warwike, and of the ladie Margaret sole heire to Iohn duke of Summerset, which ladie was afterward moother to king Henrie the seauenth: and besides that, caused the king to create Iohn de Fois, sonne vnto Gaston de Fois, earle of Longuile, and the Capdau de Beufe earle of Kendall, which Iohn had married his néece, and by his procurement the king elected to the order of the garter the said Gaston, and Iohn his sonne, giuing to the sonne towards the maintenance of his degré, lands and castels, amounting to the summe of one thousand pounds, which lands, name, and stile the issue and line of the said earle of Kendall at this daie haue and inioy.

The marques of Suffolke, chéefest in faour and authoritie with the king and quéene.

These things being thus in dooing, the French king, séeing that the towne of Mans was not deliuered according to the appointment taken by force of the marriage, raised an armie for to recouer the same. Whereof the king of England being aduertised (least the breach of the truce should come by him) caused the towne to be deliuered without anie force. This yeare was a great commotion in Norwich against the prior of the place. At length the citizens opened the gates to the duke of Norffolke, who came thither to appease the matter, though at the first they would not suffer him to enter. The chéefe offenders were (according to their demerits) gréeuously punished and executed, and the maior was discharged of his office, and sir Iohn Clifton was made gouernour there, vntil the king had restored the citizens to their ancient liberties. This commotion was begun for certeine new exactions which the prior claimed and tooke of the citizens, contrarie to their ancient frédome. But herein a wrong taken for getting of right was worthilie corrected.

A commotion in Norwich.

The liberties of Norwich seized into the kings hands.

Indirect meanes to reforme wrongs.

¶ In the foure and twentieth yeare of this kings reigne, the prior of Kilmaine appeached the earle of Ormond of treason. For triall whereof the place of combat was assigned in Smithfield, & the barriers for the same there readie pitcht. Howbeit, in the meane time a doctor of diuinitie, named maister Gilbert Worthington, parson of saint Andrews in Holborne, and other honest men, made such sute with diligent labour and paines-taking to the kings counsell, that when the daie of combat approched, the quarell was taken into the kings hands, and there ended. ¶ In the same yeare also, a certeine armourer was appeached of treason by a seruant of his owne. For prooffe whereof a daie was giuen them to fight in Smithfield, insomuch that in conflict the said armourer was ouercome and slaine; but yet by misgouerning of himselfe. For on the morow, when he should come to the field fresh and fasting, his neighbours came to him, and gaue him wine and strong drinke in such excessiue sort, that he was therewith distempered, and réeled as he went, and so was slaine without guilt. As for the false seruant, he liued not long vnpunished; for being conuict of felonie in court of assise, he was iudged to be hanged, and so was, at Tiburne.

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian. 343.

Polychron.

Combats in cases of appeales touching treason.

Drunkennese the ouerthrow of right and manhood.

Whilest the warres betwéene the two nations of England & France ceassed (by occasion of the truce) the minds of men were not so quiet, but that such as were bent to malicious reuenge, sought to compasse their prepensed purpose, not against forren foes and enemies of their countrie, but against their owne councitizens, and those that had deserued verie well of the common-wealth: and this speciallie for ouermuch mildnesse in the king, who by his authoritie might haue ruled both parts, and ordered all differences betwixt them, but that in déed he was thought too soft for gouernor of a kingdome. The quéene

An. Reg. 25.

The description of the quéene.

contrariwise, a ladie of great wit, and no lesse courage, desirous of honour, and furnished with the gifts of reason, policie, and wisdome; but yet sometime (according to hir kind) when she had béene fullie bent on a matter, suddenlie like a weather cocke, mutable and turning.

This ladie disdainig that hir husband should be ruled rather than rule, could not abide that the duke of Gloucester should doo all things concerning the order of weightie affaires, least it might be said, that she had neither wit nor stomach, which would permit and suffer hir husband, being of most perfect age, like a yoong pupill to be gouerned by the direction of an other man. Although this toy entered first into hir braine thorough hir owne imagination, yet was she pricked forward to the matter both by such of hir husbands counsell, as of long time had borne malice to the duke for his plainesse vsed in declaring their vntruth (as partlie ye haue heard) and also by counsell from king Reiner hir father, aduising that she and the king should take vpon them the rule of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, as wards and mastered orphanes.

What néedeth manie words? The quéene persuaded by these meanes, first of all excluded the duke of Gloucester from all rule and gouernance, not prohibiting such as she knew to be his mortall foes to inuent and imagine causes and grées against him and his, insomuch that by hir procurement, diuerse noblemen conspired against him. Of the which diuerse writers affirme the marquesse of Suffolke, and the duke of Buckingham to be the chéefe, not vnprocured by the cardinall of Winchester, and the archbishop of Yorke. Diuerse articles were laid against him in open councell, and in especiallie one; That he had caused men adiudged to die, to be put to other execution, than the law of the land assigned. Suerlie the duke verie well learned in the law ciuill, detesting malefactors, and punishing offenses in seueritie of iustice, gat him hatred of such as feared condigne reward for their wicked dooings. And although the duke sufficientlie answered to all things against him objected: yet because his death was determined, his wisdome and innocencie nothing auailed.

The quéene taketh vpon hir the gouernement, and dischargeth the duke of Gloucester.

The faint quarell piked to the duke of Gloucester.

But to auoid danger of tumult that might be raised, if a prince so well beloued of the people should be openlie executed; his enimies determined to worke their feats in his destruction, yer he should haue anie warning. For effecting whereof, a parlement was summoned to be kept at Berrie, whither resorted all the péeres of the realme, and amongst them the duke of Gloucester; which on the second daie of the session was by the lord Beaumont, then high constable of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and others arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and all his seruants sequestred from him, and thirtie two of the chéefe of his retinue were sent to diuerse prisons, to the great admiration of the people. The duke the night after he was thus committed to prison, being the foure and twentith of Februarie, was found dead in his bed, and his bodie shewed to the lords and commons, as though he had died a palsie, or of an imposteme.

1447.

A parlement at saint Edmundesburie.

The duke of Gloucester suddenlie murthered.

But all indifferent persons (as saith Hall) might well vnderstand that he died of some violent death. Some iudged him to be strangled, some affirme that an hot spit was put in at his fundament, other write that he was smouldered betwéene two featherbeds, and some haue affirmed that he died of verie gréeffe, for that he might not come openlie to his answer. His dead corpse was conueied to saint Albons, and there buried. After his death, none of his seruants suffered: although fieu of them, to wit, sir Roger Chamberline knight, Middleton, Herbert, Arteise esquiers, and Richard Nedham gentleman, were arreigned, condemned, and drawen to Tiborne, where they were hanged, let downe quicke, and stripped to haue béene bowelled and quartered: but the marques of Suffolke comming at that instant brought their pardons, shewed the same openlie, and so their liues were sauéd.

Edw. Hall.

A pardon at a pinch.

Some thinke that the name and title of Gloucester hath béene vnluckie to diuerse, which for their honours haue béene erected by creation of princes to that stile and dignitie, as Hugh Spenser, Thomas of Woodstoke, sonne to king Edward the third, and this duke Humfreie: which threé persons by miserable death finished their daies; and after them king Richard the third also, duke of Gloucester in ciuill warre slaine. So that this name duke of Gloucester is taken for an vnhappy stile, as the prouerbe speaketh of Seians horsse, whose rider was euer vnhorssed, & whose possessor was euer brought to miserie. But suerlie, by the pitifull death of this noble duke and politike gouernour, the publike wealth of the realme came to great decaie, as by sequele here may more at large appeare.

Dukes of Gloucester vnfortunate.

[Oft times it hapneth that a man in quenching of smoke, burneth his fingers in the fire:] so the quéene in casting how to kéepe hir husband in honor, and hir selfe in authoritie, in making awaie of this noble man, brought that to passe, which she had most cause to haue feared, which was the deposing of hir husband, & the decaie of the house of Lancaster, which of likelihood had not chanced if this duke had liued: for then durst not the duke of Yorke haue attempted to set forth his title to the crowne, as he afterwards did, to the great trouble of the realme, and destruction of king Henrie, and of manie other noble men beside. This is the opinion of men, but Gods iudgements are vnsearchable, against whose decree and ordinance preuaileth no humane counsell.

W. P.

But to conclude of this noble duke: he was an vpriight and politike gouernour, bending all his indeuours to the aduancement of the common-wealth, verie louing to the poore commons, and so beloued of them againe; learned, wise, full of courtesie; void of pride and ambition (a vertue rare

in personages of such high estate) but where it is most commendable. But sith the praise of this noble man deserueth a large discourse, and méet for such as haue cunning how to handle the same (sith the ornaments of his mind were both rare & admirable, the feats of chiuallrie by him commensed and atchiued valiant and fortunate, his grauitie in counsell, and soundnesse of policie profound and singular, all which with a traine of other excellent properties linked together, require a man of manifold gifts to aduance them according to their dignitie) I refer the readers vnto maister Foxes booke of Acts and Monuments. Onelie this I ad, that in respect of his noble indowments, and his demeanor full of decencie, which he daily vsed, it séemeth he might well haue giuen this pretty poesie,

Virtute duce non sanguine nitor.

In this six and twentieth yeare of the reigne of this king, but in the first of the rule of the quéene, I find nothing doone worthie of rehersall within the realme of England; but that the marquesse of Suffolke, by great fauour of the king, & more desire of the quéene, was erected to the title and dignitie of duke of Suffolke, which he a short time inioied. For Richard duke of Yorke being greatlie alied by his wife to the chiefe péeres and potentates of the realme, beside his own progenie, perceiuing the king to be no ruler, but the whole burthen of the realme to rest in direction of the quéene, & the duke of Suffolke, began secretlie to allure his friends of the nobilitie; and priuilie declared vnto them his title and right to the crowne, and likewise did he to certeine wise gouernours of diuerse cities and townes. Which attempt was so politikelie handled, and so secretlie kept, that prouision to his purpose was readie, before his purpose was openlie published; and his friends opened themselues, yer the contrarie part could them espie: for in conclusion all shortlie in mischiefe burst out, as ye may hereafter heare.

An. Reg. 26.

Marquesse of Suffolke made duke.

The duke of Yorke tempering about his title to the crowne.

During these dooings, Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, and called the rich cardinal, departed out of this world, & buried at Westminster. He was son to Iohn Duke of Lancaster, descended of an honorable linage, but borne in hast, more noble in blood than notable in learning, hautie in stomach, and high of countenance, rich aboue measure, but not verie liberall, disdainefull to his kin, and dreadfull to his louers, preferring monie before friendship, manie things beginning and few performing, sauing in malice and mischiefe; his insatiable couetousnesse and hope of long life made him both to forget God, his prince, and himselfe. Of the getting of his goods both by power legantine, and spirituall briberie, I will not speake; but the kéeping of them, which he chiefelie gathered for ambitious purpose, was both great losse to his naturall prince and natiue countrie: for his hidden riches might haue well holpen the king, and his secret treasure might haue relieued the communtie, when monie was scant and charges great.

1448

The death of the bishop of Winchester & his discriptiō.

[Of this catholike clerke such were the déeds, that with king and ech estate else (saith Polydor) the lighter was the losse, bicause as for his hat he was a prelate proud inough, so for a bishop was there a better soone set in his roome. One William Patin, son and heire to Richard his father, and eldest brother to Iohn that deceased deane of Chichester, and to Richard that liued and died at Baslo in Derbeshire. This William was a person by parentage borne a gentleman, for vertue and learning first consecrate bishop of Winchester, then anon after for wisdom and integritie chosen lord chancellor of England: wherein his prudence made eminent, in warilie wielding the weight of that office at those daies, which were so dangerous for all estates to liue in.

W. P.

Lib. 23.

His vertuous disposition was right apparent, and it were but by this the godlie erection of that worthie worke, Magdalene colledge in Oxford, a plot right aptlie chosen out for studie at first, with strength and workemanship soone after builded according, in proportion beautifull outward, and for vse verie commodious within, sorted into a faire mansion for the president, seuerall and méet for a man to that office of worship and grauitie, and also into other roomes for the fellowes, officers, and yoonger students. Not without a vertuous remembrance of the verie tenderlings, who might appeare to be toward and teachable; whereof part to be trained vp in the diuine science of musike iustlie reported in a distichon, that

Gaudiasi superûm res sit mortalibus vlla,
Integra quæ referat; musica sola refert:

the vse of it commendable serving by swéet harmonie to praise God in church, and for delectable recreation to a gentlemanlie mind any where else: and part of these yoong ones to be taught the grammar in a faire schoole well appointed therefore, out of which as out of a nursserie of it owne, for supplement certeine to kéepe full the number, these budlings as néed from time to time to be dulie deriued and drawen.

Now somewhat in casting vpon this deuout mans deuise and compasse; to consider the companie of students there, that in seuerall sciences and sundrie professions are not a few; then their assigned studies and exercises in them, their steps in rising & reward for diligence, from the lowest logician to the highest degrés of doctrine in schooles, their officers in house, their orders for gouernance in maners, in safegard of health and helpe in sicknesse: and that chiefest is, the reuenues certeine for prouision and maintenance of all, it may be a question not easie to answer: whether at first in this founders meditation vpon such a worke were a mind more magnifike, or a

more amplitude of abilitie after in so absolute a forme to performe it, or else a profounder wisdom for perpetuities into so perfect an order in all points to have fixt it.

It was a fashion at those daies, long also afore, & since, from a learned spirituall man to take awaie the fathers surname (were it neuer so worshipfull or ancient) and giue him for it the name of the towne he was borne in: and so was Richard Notingham a learned frier minorite in king Edward the seconds daies called of Notingham where he was borne; John Olneie a learned monke in those daies also, named of an Iland wherein he was borne nie Gloucester; of Barton in Lincolnshire one William Barton in Richard the seconds reigne, for that time a famous doctor and chancellor of Oxford; Water Disse, of Disse in Suffolke a learned Carmelite frier, confessor to the duke and duchesse of Lancaster in king Henrie the fourths reigne; Richard Hampoole of a towne in Yorkshire, a zelous doctor, and after a vertuous heremit in king Henrie the sixts daies.

Bale.

And after this sort manie hundreds more that had their names so altered; as euen in like maner vnto this reuerend prelat in the prime of his towardnesse was changed his fathers surname Paten to Wainfléet of the towne where he was borne in Lincolnshire: a matter right proueeable aswell by the records of the house there extant, as by a faire déed remaining among other his proper euidences, in the hands of the worshipful maister Thomas Fanshaw esquier, the quéenes maiesties remembrancer in the eschequer at Westminster. And as the names of Germin, German, Germi, are but for one name though diuerslie wrested, and all to remember Germanie, the countrie their ancestors came from; and also as Iute, Iud, and Chute, are all but for the race of Iudes, one of the threé first Germane nations that came in with Horsus and Hengist; and Caltrap, Caltrop and Calthorp was all but for Caldthorp (that signifieth a cold towne) howeuer it be otherwise wried: euen so Paten, Patin, Patten or Patent, is but a mention of the old Saxon name, that trulie at first was Patan; of Pate, the sole of the foot, and thereof Patan to signifie flat footed, as among the Latines they were called Plautus or Plancus: so Cicero of a chiche or tare; Nasones, Labiones and Labieni, well nosed and lipt; & manie more after that sort in manie toongs else so deriued.

Williã Wainfléet bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, founder of Magdeline college in Oxford.

An. Dom. 448.

Malmesburie.

That right manie students skilful in the profoundest sciences and learned toongs, manie venerable clerks, who in most weightie causes with singular wisdom, successe and faith, haue serued their prince and countrie this college hath brought foorth: hereto that manie toward wits it still to haue, hath had the good hap (which happilie yet to it dooth reteine) may here with modestie a litle be touched, neither to comparison that were contentious folie, nor yet to seeke glorie that cannot be but vaine, but onlie in storie to mind, how vnto purposes vértuouslie deuised and wiselie pursued, Gods goodnesse alwaies giveth chéeuing and thrift according.]

¶ In this seuen and twentieth yeare of king Henries reigne, as witnesseth the English chronicles, a knight of France called sir Lewes de Bueill challenged an esquier of England, named Rafe Chalons, to triall of certeine feats of warre. Herevpon (as was thought conuenient) a day was appointed them to make prooffe thereof; the place also was assigned of their méeting, to wit, at a towne in France called Maunt or Maunce, where the French king at the same time was personallie present. But fortune (saith mine auther) was to Chalons so fauourable, and leaned so much to his side, that he ran the French knight through with the point of his fatall speare.

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian. 447.

A combat vpon triall of manhood between a French and an Englishman.

Hunc illi finem lingua superba dedit.

The English esquier séeing the infortunate euent of this triall to fall to the shame of the challenger, was so far from reioising at his ouerthrow, that he was touched with christian compassion, and moored for his enimie, for whome also he kept an obsequie as if he had béene his own naturall brother, and descended of the same parents. For which merciful motions of mind inwardlie working, and outwardlie appearing, he was of the king greatlie commended. But doubtfull it is, whether the other, if he had suruiued, and got the vpper hand, would haue had the like reuerend care of the Englishmans dead bodie, as to haue vouchsafed it a solemne interment.

The compassion of the Englishman to his enimie.

As the affaires in France now were neither well looked to, nor the gouernours there well aduised, an English capteine called sir Francis Suriennes, surnamed the Aragonois, of the countrie where he was borne, a man for his wit and actiuitie admitted into the order of the garter, tooke by scaling suddenlie in the night of the euen of our ladie day in Lent, a towne on the frontiers of Normandie, belonging to the duke of Britaine called Fougiers, spoiling the same, and killing the inhabitants. The duke of Britaine, being hereof aduertised, sent word by the bishop of Reimes to the French king, beséeching him of his aid and counsell in the matter.

An. Reg. 27.

Sir Francis Suriennes.

Fougiers.

The French king forthwith sent his caruer Iohn Hauart, and Iohn Cosinet one of the maisters of his requests to the king of England: and to the duke of Summerset he dispatched Peter de Fonteins the maister of his horsse. To which messengers answer was made aswell by the king as the duke, that the fact was doone without their knowledge. And for the truce to be kept, and not onelie restitution, but also amends to be made to the duke of Britaine, a daie of diet was appointed to be kept at Louiers, where the commissioners on both parts being assembled, the

Frenchmen demanded amends, with no small recompense. The Englishmen answered, that without offense, nothing by justice ought to be satisfied; affirming the dooing of sir Francis Sureinnes to be onelie his act, without consent either of the king of England, or of the duke of Summerset his lieutenant and regent.

But whiles with long delaie they talked of this matter at Louuiers, certeine French men by aduertisement of a wagoner of Louuiers, vnderstanding that the towne of Pont de Larch was but slenderlie manned; the wagoner laded his wagon and passed forward, hauing in his companie two strong varlets clad like carpentars, with great axes on their shoulders. And hereto le seigneur de Bresse with a chosen companie of men of armes, lodged himselfe in ambushment néere to the gate of S. Andrew, and capteine Floquet, accompanied with sir James de Cleremont, and another great companie priuillie lurked vnder a wood toward Louuiers. When all things were appointed for the purpose, earlie in a morning about the beginning of October, the wagoner came to the gate, and called the porter by name, praieng him to open the gate, that he might passe to Rone, and returne againe the same night.

Pôt de Larch taken by the Frêchmen by a subtill sleight.

The porter (which well knew the voice of his customer) tooke little héed to the other two companions, and so opened the one gate, and sent another fellow of his to open the formost gate. When the chariot was on the draw-bridge betwéene both the gates, the chariot-maister gaued the porter monie, and for the nonce let one péeece fall on the ground: and while the porter stooped to take it vp, the wagoner with his dagger stroke him in at his throat, so that he cried for no helpe, and the two great lubbers slue the other porters, and with their axes cut the axeltrée of the wagon, so that the draw-bridge could not be shortlie drawn vp. This doone they made a signe to capteine Floquet, which with all spéed entered the towne, slue and tooke all the Englishmen: and amongst other, the lord Fauconbridge capteine of the said towne was taken prisoner. The losse of this place was of no small importance, being the verie keie and passage ouer the riuier of Seine, from France into Normandie, being distant from Rone onelie foure leagues.

When request was made to haue it restored againe to the Englishmen, answer was made, that if they restored vnto the duke of Britaine, the towne of Fougiers, with condigne amends for the damages doone there, the towne of Pont Larch should then be againe deliuered, or else not. And shortlie after, in hope of like successe the French king assembled an armie, and diuiding the same in thrée parts, got by surrender (after sundrie assaults, and losse of diuerse of his men) the townes of Louuiers, & Gerborie, whereof William Harper was capteine. Also the towne, castell, and great tower of Verneueill in Perch were rendered into the French kings hands, after twentie daies of respit granted, to sée if rescues would haue come. The French writers affirme the towne to be taken by assault.

Thus was the warre renewed before the terme of truce fullie expired, & the English capteins brought to their wits end, what with appeasing dalie rumors within the townes; and what with studie how to recouer castels lost and taken: for while they studied how to kéepe and defend one place, foure or fiue other turned to the French part. The chiefe cause of which reuolting was, for that it was blowen abroad thorough France, how the realme of England, after the death of the duke of Glocester by the seuerall factions of princes was diuided in two parts; and that William de la Poole latelie created duke of Suffolke, and diuerse other, which were the occasion of the said duke of Glocesters death, vexed and oppressed the poore people, so that mens minds were not intentiue to outward affaires: but all their studie giuen to kéepe off wrongs offered at home.

The warres renewed befor the end of the truce.

The king little regarding the matter, & the quéene led by euill counsell, rather furthered such mischiefes as dailie began to grow by ciuill discord, than sought to reforme them: so that the Normans and Gascoignes vnderstanding in what state things stood here, turned to the French part, as hereafter it may appeare. About the same time also, began a new rebellion in Ireland; but Richard duke of Yorke being thither to appease the same, so asswaged the furie of the wild and sauage people there, that he wan him such fauour amongst them, as could neuer be separated from him and his linage, which in the sequele of this historie may more plainelie appeare.

A rebellion in Ireland.

The Frenchmen, hauing perfect vnderstanding of the vnreadinesse of the realme of England, displaid their banners, and set fourth their armies, and in short space got (by yéelding) Constance, Gisors, castell Galliard, Ponteau de Mere, saint Lo, Festampe, Newcastell, Tonque, Mauleon, Argenton, Lisieux, and diuerse other townes and places within the countrie of Normandie. Likewise in Guien was the towne of Maulisson rendered to the earle of Fois. These townes were not yéelded voluntarilie by the English souldiers: but they were compelled thereto by the inhabitants of the townes, which hauing intelligence of the féeble estate of the realme of England, rose against the capteins, opened the gates to the enimies, or constreined them to render vpon composition. By which inforcement was the rich citie of Rone deliuered: for suerlie the duke of Summerset and the earle of Shrewesburie had well kept that citie, if they had béene no more vexed with the citizens, than they were with their enimies.

The English loose all in France.

Rone yéelded to the Frenchmen.

For after that the French king had giuen summons to the citie, the inhabitants streightwaies did not onelie deuise which waie they might betraie the citie, but also put on armor, and rebelled openlie against their capteins: who perceiuing the vntruth of them, and their owne danger, retired into the castell or palace, where (for a certeine space) with

Harflue besieged.

Sir Thomas Curson.

arrows & handguns they sore molested the vntrue citizens. But at length, vnderstanding the great puissance of the French king at hand, and despairing of all aid and succour, they yéelded vpon condition; that with all their goods and armour they should safelie depart to Caen, and that certeine townes should be deliuered by a day. And till the same townes were rendred, the earle of Shrewesburie and the lord Butler, sonne to the earle of Ormond, were left behind as pledges, which were sent to the castell of Eureux, bicause they sore feared the malice of the citizens of Rone.

The Frenchmen, following the successe in hand, came to Harflue, and fiercelie assaulted the walles: but by the high prowesse and vndanted valiancie of the capteine, sir Thomas Curson, they were to their great losse manfullie by him repelled, and beaten. The Frenchmen learning wit by this great perill, left their scaling, and deuised dailie how to batter the walles, & make the breaches reasonable for them to enter. This siege long continued to the great losse of both parties. When sir Thomas Curson saw no likelihood of gaine, but great appéerance of present losse, he fell at composition with the enimies, and so departed with all his goods. After which towne rendered, the fortresse of Hunflue was vpon like composition yéelded. And beside these townes surrendred in Normandie, the duke of Britaine recouered againe Fougiers, saint Iames de Beuuron, and diuerse other.

Harflue yéelded to the French.

An. Reg. 28.

In the meane season the king of England sent into Normandie (with a new supplie of a thousand fiue hundred men) a right valiant capteine called sir Thomas Kiriell, who ioining himselfe with other English capteins recouered the townes of Lisieux and Valongnes, and hauing with him power sufficient (as he tooke it) to kéepe the fields, he departed the twelue of Aprill from Valongnes, meaning to passe towards Baieux, and after to Caen. But the eighteenth daie of the same moneth, he was incountred at a place called Formignie betwixt Carenten and Baieux, by the earle of Cleremont, & other Frenchmen with Scots. At the first onset, the Englishmen receiued their enimies with such manhood, that the Frenchmen were driuen backe, and the Englishmen tooke from them two culuerings.

1450

Sir Thomas Kiriell with a new band into France.

But yet in the end, by the comming of the constable of France, Arthur de Britaine earle of Richmond, who brought two hundred or twelue score men of armes, and an eight hundred archers or demilances, the Englishmen were discomfited, put to flight, and slaine to the number of thrée thousand, seauen hundred, thrée score and thirtéene as Enguerant noteth, beside prisoners, of whome there were diuerse personages of accompt, as the said sir Thomas Kiriell himselfe, sir Henrie Norberie, sir Thomas Drew, sir Thomas Kirklie, Christopher Auberton, Arpell, Helice, Alengour, Iennequin, Vacquier, Gobart, Caleuille, and sundrie other. Sir Robert Véer, and sir Matthew ^[19]Gough that valiant Welshman, and manie other escaped so well as they might, some to Baieux, some to Caen, and other to other places as best they could.

The Englishmen ouerthrowne at Formigne.

[19] Or rather Goche.

After this ouerthrow obtained, the French king assembled an armie roiall, and comming before Caen, besieged it on all sides: and after making his approches, fiercelie assaulted the walles. But the duke of Summerset, and the other capteins within the towne, manfullie withstood their enimies, shewing both force and great policie in defending and beating backe the assailants. The French king, perceiuing he could not preuaile that waie, sent for all his great ordinance to Paris, which being brought, he dailie shot at the wals, and did some hurt: but to the castell which stood on a rocke, and in it a dungeon vnable to be beaten downe, he did no harme at all.

Caen besieged and yéelded to the French.

Though the duke of Summerset was the kings lieutenant, yet sir Dauid Hall, as capteine of this towne for his maister the duke of Yorke owner therof, tooke vpon him the chéefe charge. Sir Robert Véer was capteine of the castell, and sir Henrie Radford capteine of the dungeon. Dailie the shot was great, but more terrible than hurtfull: sauing on a daie a stone shot into the towne, fell betwéene the duchesse of Summerset, and hir children, which being amazed with this chance, besought hir husband knéeling on hir knées, to haue mercie and compassion of his small infants, and that they might be deliuered out of the towne in safegard. Which intretie made with teares and submission, what eare could but listen to, what heart but yerne at; vnlesse both eare and heart were made of flint or marble, or hewen out of a hard rocke, and so void of all passions, of all remorse, of all affections belonging to humanitie?

The duke pitifull, mooued with the sorrow of his wife, and loue of his children, rendered the towne against the mind of sir Dauid Hall, whose counsell and faithfull diligence (in acquiring himselfe to answer the trust committed to him by his maister) if others had followed; the French had susteined more trauell and losse, yer they should haue so easilie attained their purpose. The conditions of the surrender were, that the duke of Summerset and his might depart in safegard with all their goods and substance. Sir Dauid Hall with diuerse of his trustie fréends departed to Chierburgh, and from thence sailed into Ireland to the duke of Yorke, making relation to him of all these dooings, which thing kindled so great a rancor in the dukes heart and stomach, that he neuer left persecuting the duke of Summerset, vntill he had brought him to his fatall end & confusion. Such is the nature of rancor and malice, of wrath and anger, which furthereth the hands euen of weaklings, on them to wreake their téene, with whome they are offended and pricked to reuengment, as the poet saith:

The irreconcilable hate betwéene the two dukes.

After the obtaining of Caen, the earle of Cleremont besieged the cite of Lisieux, whereof was capteine Matthew ^[20]Gough with thrée hundred Englishmen, who in the end deliuered that towne, vpon condition, that he and his people might depart to Chierburgh. Then was Falais besieged, whereof were capteins for the earle of Shrewesburie (that was the owner) Andrew Trollop, and Thomas Cotton esquiers, who being in despaire of all succors, agréed to deliuer it vpon two conditions. The one was, that the earle their maister, which remained in pledge for the performance of certeine appointments, concluded at the deliuerie of Rone (as ye haue hard) should be set at libertie. The other, that if they were not rescued within twelue daies, that then they and theirs should depart with armor, and all their goods moouable, whither it pleased them.

[20] Goche.

At the daie appointed, the towne was rendered, and so likewise was the towne of Dampfront vpon the semblable agréement. Now rested onelie English the towne of Chierburgh, whereof was capteine one Thomas Conuille, which suerlie as long as vittels and munition serued, defended the towne right manfullie: but without hope of repaire, consumed, and he els destitute of all comfort and aid, vpon a reasonable composition, yéelded the towne, and went to Calis, where the duke of Summerset and manie other Englishmen then soiorned. Thus was Normandie lost cléerelie out of the Englishmens hands, after it had continued in their possession the space of thirtie yeares by the conquest of Henrie the fift.

All Normandie lost.

In this duchie were an hundred strong townes and fortresses, able to be kept and holden, beside them which were destroyed by the warres; and in the same is one archbishoprike, and six bishopriks. Some saie that the Englishmen were not of puissance either to man the townes, as they should haue béene; or to inhabit the countrie, which was the cause they could not kéepe it. Other saie, that the duke of Summerset for his owne peculiar lucre, kept not halfe the number of souldiours for which he was appointed and allowed, but put the wages in his purse. But the chéefe and onelie cause vndoubtedlie, was the diuision within the realme, euerie great man desiring rather to be reuenged on his foe at home, than on the common enimie abroad, as by that which followeth you may plainelie perceiue.

The state of it.

The causes of the losse.

The mortall mischéefe of malice and diuision in a realme.

[For whilest the French thus triumphed in Normandie, thrée cruell enimies among manie (as by ciuill warre and sedition insuing appeared) sore vrged the vtter ruine of this realme at home. One was presumption in gouernance, by some that were most vnméet to rule, as the quéene with hir priuie counsellors and minions; then the deadlie malice and pride, with insatiable couetise in the states both spirituall and temporall: and lastlie the generall grudge of the people, for the vniuersall smart that through misgouernment euerie where they suffered; who thus forweried with the peise of burthens too heaue for them anie longer to beare.

An. Reg. 29.

W. P.

Héerewith perceiuing how (through want of prouident wisdome in the gouernour) all things went to wracke, as well within the realme as without; they began to make exclamation against the duke of Suffolke, charging him to be the onelie cause of the deliuerie of Aniou, and Maine, the chéefe procuror of the duke of Glocesters death, the verie occasion of losse of Normandie, the swallower vp of the kings treasure, the remoouer of good and vertuous counsellours from about the prince, and the aduancer of vicious persons, and of such as by their dooings shewed themselues apparant aduersaries to the common-wealth.

The commôs exclave against the duke of Suffolke.

The quéene hereat doubting not onelie the dukes destruction, but also hir owne confusion, caused the parlement before begun at the Blackfriars, to be adiourned to Leicester, thinking there, by force and rigor of law, to suppress and subdue all the malice and euill will conceiued against the duke & hir. At which place few of the nobilitie would appeare: wherefore it was againe adiourned to Westminster, where was a full appearance. In the which session the commons of the nether house put vp to the king and the lords manie articles of treason, misprision, and euill demeanor, against the duke of Suffolke: the effect whereof with his answers héere insueth.

The parlemēt adiourned frō London to Leicester, and from thence to Westminster.

Edw. Hall.

Articles proponed by the commons against the duke of Suffolke.

1 First they alleged that he had traitorouslie excited, prouoked, and councelled Iohn earle of Dunois bastard of Orleance, Bertram lord Presignie, William Cosinet, enimies to the king, and fréends and ambassadours to Charles, calling himselfe French king, to enter into this realme; and to leaue warre against the king and his people, to the intent to destroie the king and his fréends, and to make Iohn his sonne king of this realme, marieng him to Margaret, sole heire to Iohn duke of Summerset, pretending and declaring hir to be next heire inheritable to the crowne, for lacke of issue, of the kings bodie lawfullie begotten.

2 Item, the said duke, being of the kings priuie and néere counsell, allured by great rewards and faire promises, made by the said earle of Dunois, caused the king to deliuer and set at libertie, Charles duke of Orleance, enimie to the king, and the kings noble father: which deliuerance was prohibited by expresse words, in the last will of the kings most victorious father.

3 Item, that before the departing of the said duke of Orleance, the aforementioned duke of Suffolke traitorouslie fast cleauing to Charles called the French king, counselled, prouoked, and intised the said duke of Orleance, to mooue the same king to make warre against England, both in France and Normandie. According to which procurement & counsell, the said French king hath recouered the whole realme of France, and all the duchie of Normandie, and taken prisoners the earle of Shrewesburie, the lord Fauconbridge, and manie other valiant capteins. ¶ These thrée articles aforname he denied, either for fact or thought.]

4 Further it was alleged, that he being ambassadour to the king of England, to Charles calling himselfe the French king, promised to Reiner king of Sicill, and to Charles d'Angiers his brother, enimies to the king, the release of Aniou, with the deliuerance of the countie of Maine, and the city of Maunt or Mans, without the knowledge of the other ambassadours with him accompanied. Which promise, after his returne, he caused to be performed, to the kings disinheritance and loss irrecoverable, and to the strength of his enimies, and féeblishment of the duchie of Normandie. ¶ To this article he answered, that his commission was to conclude, and doo all things according to his discretion, for the obtaining of a peace: & bicause without deliuerie of those countries, he perceiued that the truce could not be obtained, he agréed to the release and deliuerance of them.

5 Also they had great cause to iudge by the sequele, that the said duke being in France in the kings seruice, and one of the priuiest of his counsell there, traitorouslie declared and opened to the capteins and conductors of warre, apperteining to the kings enimies, the kings counsell, purueiance of his armies, furniture of his townes, & all other ordinances, whereby the kings enimies (instructed aforehand by his traitorous information) haue gotten townes and fortresses, and the king by that meanes depriued of his inheritance.

6 Item, the said duke declared to the earle of Dunois, to the lord Presignie, and William Cosinet ambassadours for the French king lieng in London, the priuities of the kings counsell, both for the prouision of further warre, and also for the defense of the duchie of Normandie: by the disclosing whereof, the Frenchmen knowing the king secrets, defeated the kings appointments, and they obtained their purpose.

7 Item, that the said duke, at such time as the king sent ambassadours to the French king, for the intreating of peace, traitorouslie before their comming to the French court, certified king Charles of their commission, authoritie, and instructions: by reason whereof, neither peace nor amitie succéded, and the kings inheritance lost, and by his enimies possessed.

8 Item, the said duke said openlie in the Star-chamber before the lords of the counsell, that he had as high a place in the counsell-house of the French king, as he had there: and was as well trusted there as here, and could remooue from the French king the priuiest man of his counsell, if he would.

9 Item, when armies haue béene prepared, and souldiers readie waged to passe ouer the sea, to deale with the kings enimies: the said duke, corrupted by rewards of the French king, hath restrained & staid the said armies to passe any further.

10 Item, the said duke being ambassadour for the king, comprised not in the league (as the kings alies) neither the king of Aragon, neither the duke of Britaine: but suffered them to be comprised on the contrarie part. By reason whereof, the old amitie of the k. of Aragon is estranged from this realme, and the duke of Britaine became enimie to the same: Giles his brother, the kings sure fréend, cast in strong prison, and there lie to end his dais.

All these obiections he vtterlie denied, or faintlie auoided: but none fullie excused. Diuerse other crimes were laid to his charge, as enriching himselfe with the kings goods and lands, gathering together and making a monopolie of offices, fées, wards, and farmes, by reason whereof, the kings estate was greatlie diminished and decaied, and he and his kin highlie exalted & enriched: with manie other points, which bicause they be not notable nor of great force or strength, I omit and ouerpasse.

The quéene, which intierlie loued the duke, doubting some commotion and trouble to arise, if he were let go vnpunished, caused him for a colour to be committed to the Tower: where he remained not past a moneth, but

The duke of Suffolke
cōmitted to the Tower.

was againe deliuered and restored to the kings fauour, as much as euer he was before. This dooing so much displeased the people, that if politike prouision had not béene, great mischéefe had immediatlie insued. For the commons in sundrie places of the realme assembled together in great companies, and chose to them a capteine, whom they called Blewbeard: but yer they had attempted anie enterprise, their leaders were apprehended; & so the matter pacified without anie hurt committed.

Blewbeard capteine of the rebels.

After this outrage thus asswaged, the parlement was adiourned to Leicester, whither came the king and quéene in great estate, and with them the duke of Suffolke as chéefe councillor. The commons of the lower house, not forgetting their old grudge, besought the king, that such persons as assented to the release of Aniou, and deliuerance of Maine, might be dylie punished. And to be priuie to that fact, they accused as principall, the duke of Suffolke, with Iohn bishop of Salisburie, and sir Iames Fines, lord Saie, and diuerse others. When the king perceiued that there was no remedie to appease the peoples furie by anie colourable waies, shortlie to pacifie so long an hatred, he first sequestred the lord Saie being treasurer of England, and other the dukes adherents from their offices and roomes, and after banished the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred tode and common noiance of the whole realme, for tearme of fiue yeares, meaning by this exile to appease the malice of the people for the time, and after (when the matter should be forgotten) to reuoke him home againe.

But Gods iustice would not that so vngratious a person should so escape: for when he shipped in Suffolke, intending to transport himselfe ouer into France, he was incountered with a ship of warre, appertaining to the duke of Excester, constable of the Tower of London, called the Nicholas of the Tower. The capteine of that barke with small fight entered into the dukes ship, and perceiuing his person present, brought him to Douer road, and there on the one side of a cocke bote caused his head to be striken off, and left his bodie with the head lieng there on the sands. Which corps being there found by a chapleine of his, was conueied to Wingfield college in Suffolke, and there buried. This end had William de la Poole duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Gods prouidence; for that he had procured the death of that good duke of Glocester, as before is partlie touched.

The wretched death of the duke of Suffolke.

Soone after an other disquiet befell here. Those that faouored the duke of Yorke, and wished the crowne vpon his head, for that (as they iudged) he had more right thereto than he that ware it, procured a commotion in Kent on this manner. A certeine yong man of a goodlie stature and right pregnant of wit, was intised to take vpon him the name of Iohn Mortimer coosine to the duke of Yorke (although his name was Iohn Cade, or (of some) Iohn Mend-all) [an Irishman as Polychronicon saith] and not for a small policie, thinking by that surname, that those which faouored the house of the earle of March would be assistant to him. And so in déed it came to passe (as in such cases there is no bréeder of a broile but he shall find adherents enow, no lesse forward to further his pernicious enterprise by their foolehardines, than himselfe was in the plot of his deuse) though in fine (as it is the vnluckie lot of such tumults) their attempts were withstood, and their offense dylie rewarded, as in processe of the storie shall more at large appeare; according to the wisemans sentence:

Iacke Cades rebellion in Kent.

Sæpe in magistrum scelera redeunt sua.

This capteine assembling a great companie of tall personages, assured them, that the enterprise which he tooke in hand, was both honourable to God and the king, and profitable to the whole realme. For if either by force or policie they might get the king and quéene into their hands, he would cause them to be honourable vsed, and take such order for the punishing and reforming of the misdemeanours of their bad councillours, that neither fiftéens should hereafter be demanded, nor once anie impositions or taxes be spoken of. The Kentish people mooued at these persuasions & other faire promises of reformation, in good order of battell (though not in great number) came with their capteine vnto the plaine of Blackeheath, betwéene Eltham and Gréenewich, and there kept the field more than a month, pilling the countrie about; to whome the citie of London at that time was verie fauourable. ¶ And the said capteine (as I find recorded saith Iohn Stow) sent for such citizens of London as it pleased him to command to repaire vnto him, vnder letters of safe conduct, as followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 653.

**The safegard and signe manuell of the capteine of Kent,
sent to Thomas Cocke draper of London, by the capteine of
the great assemble in Kent.**

By this our writing insealed, we grant & will permit trulie, that Thomas Cocke of London draper, shall come in good suertie and in safegard to our presence, without anie hurt of his person, and so auoid from vs againe at his pleasure, with all other persons assigned at his denomination with him comming in likewise.

The commandement by the capteine of Kent, sent vnto Thomas Cocke aboue said.

For your instruction, first ye shall charge all Lumbards and strangers, being merchants, Genowais, Venetians, Florentines, and others, this daie to draw them together, and to ordeine for vs the capteine, twelue harnesses complet of the best fashion, foure & twentie brigandins, twelue battel axes, twelue glaues, six horses with sadle and bridle completlie harnesssed, and a thousand markes of readie monie. And if this our demand be not obserued & doone, we shall haue the heads of as manie as we can get of them.

And to the intent the cause of this glorious capteins comming thither, might be shadowed vnder a cloke of good meaning (though his intent nothing so) he sent vnto the king an humble supplication, affirming that his comming was not against his grace, but against such of his councillours, as were louers of themselues, and oppressors of the poore commonaltie; flatterers of the king, and enimies to his honor; suckers of his purse, and robbers of his subjects; parcial to their fréends, and extreame to their enimies: thorough bribes corrupted, and for indifferencie dooing nothing. ¶ Here, bicause a full report of this insurrection maie passe to the knowledge of the readers; it is necessarie to set downe the articles of the commons complaints touching the premisses, whereof a copie was sent to the parlement then holden at Westminster, with their bill of requests concerning abuses to be reformed.

*Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 654,
655, 656, 657, &c.*

The complaint of the commons of Kent, and causes of their assemblie on the Blackheath

1 Inprimis, it is openlie noised that Kent should be destroyed with a roiall power, & made a wild Forrest, for the death of the duke of Suffolke, of which the commons of Kent thereof were neuer giltie.

2 Item, the king is stirred to liue onelie on his commons, and other men to haue the reuenues of the crowne, the which hath caused pouertie in his excellencie, and great payments of the people, now late to the king granted in his parlement.

3 Item, that the lords of his roiall blood béene put from his dailie presence, and other meane persons of lower nature exalted and made chéefe of his priuie councill, the which stoppeth matters of wrongs done in the realme from his excellent audience, and maie not be redressed as law will; but if bribes and gifts be messengers to the hands of the said councill.

4 Item, the people of this realme be not paid of debts owing for stuffe and purueiance taken to the vse of the kings houshold, in vndooing of the said people, and the poore commons of the realme.

5 Item, the kings meniall seruants of houshold, and other persons, asken dailie goods and lands, of impeached or indicted of treason, the which the king granteth anon, yer they so indangered be conuicted. The which causeth the receiuers thereof to inforce labours and meanes applied to the death of such people, so appeached or indicted, by subtill meanes, for couetise of the said grants: and the people so impeached or indicted, though it be vntrue, maie not be committed to the law for their deliuerance, but held still in prison, to their vttermost vndooing & destruction, for couetise of goods.

6 Item, though diuerse of the poore people and commons of the realme, haue neuer so great right, truth, and perfect title to their land: yet by vntrue claime of infeoffement made vnto diuerse states, gentles, and the kings meniall seruants in maintenances against the right, the true owners dare not hold, claime, nor pursue their right.

7 Item, it is noised by common voices, that the kings lands in France béene aliened and put awaie from the crowne, and his lords and people there destroyed with vntrue meanes of treason; of which it is desired, inquiries thorough all the realme to be made how and by whome; & if such traitors maie be found giltie, them to haue execution of law without anie pardon, in example of others.

8 Item, collectors of the fiftéenth penie in Kent be greatlie vexed and hurt, in paieng great summes of monie in the exchequer, to sue out a writ called Quorum nomina, for the allowance of the barons of the ports, which now is desired, that hereafter in the lieu of the collectors, the barons aforesaid maie sue it out for their ease at their owne costs.

9 Item, the shiriffes and vndershiriffes let to farme their offices and bailiwickes, taking great suertie therefore, the which causeth extortions doone by them and by their bailiffes to the people.

10 Item, simple and poore people that vse not hunting, be greatlie oppressed by indictements feined & doone by the said shiriffes, vndershiriffes, bailiffes, and other of their assent, to cause their increase for paieng of their said farme.

11 Item, they returne in names of inquests in writing into diuerse courts of the king not summoned nor warned, where through the people dailie léese great summes of monie, well nigh to the vttermost of their vndooing: and make leuie of ameracements called the gréene wax, more in summes of monie than can be found due of record in the kings books.

12 Item, the ministers of the court of Douer in Kent vex and arrest diuerse people thorough all the shire out of Castle ward, passing their bounds and libertie vsed of old time, by diuerse subtill and vntrue meanes and actions falselie feined, taking great fées at their lust in great hurt of the people on all the shire of Kent.

13 Item, the people of the said shire of Kent, maie not haue their frée election in the choosing of knights of the shire: but letters béene sent from diuerse estates to the great rulers of all the countrie, the which imbraceth their tenants and other people by force to choose other persons than the cōmons will is.

14 Item, whereas knights of the shire should choose the king collectors indifferentlie without any bribe taking, they haue sent now late to diuerse persons, notifieng them to be collectors: wherevpon gifts and bribes be taken, & so the collectors office is bought and sold extortionouslie at the knights lust.

15 Item, the people be sore vexed in costs and labour, called to the sessions of peace in the said shire, appearing from the furthest and vttermost part of the west vnto the east; the which causeth to some men fiue daies iournie: wherevpon they desire the said appearance to be diuided into two parts; the which one part, to appeare in one place; an other part, in an other place; in reléuing of the gréeuances and intollerable labours & vexations of the said people.

The requests by the capteine of the great assemblie in Kent.

Inprimis, desireth the capteine of the commons, the welfare of our souereigne lord the king, and all his true lords spirituall and temporall, desiring of our said souereigne lord, and of all the true lords of his counsell, he to take in all his demaines, that he maie reigne like a king roiall, according as he is borne our true and christian king annointed: and whoso will saie the contrarie, we all will liue and die in the quarell as his true liege men.

Item, desireth the said capteine, that he will auoid all the false progenie and affinitie of the duke of Suffolke, the which béene openlie knowne, and they to be punished after the custome and law of this land, and to take about his noble person the true lords of his roiall blood of this his realme, that is to saie, the high and mightie prince the duke of Yorke, late exiled from our said souereigne lords presence (by the motion and stirring of the traitorous and false disposed the duke of Suffolke and his affinitie) and the mightie princes & dukes of Excester, Buckingham, and Norffolke, and all the earles and barons of this land: and then shall he be the richest king christian.

Item, desireth the said capteine and commons punishment vnto the false traitors, the which contriued and imagined the death of the high, mightfull and excellent prince the duke of Glocester, the which is too much to rehearse; the which duke was proclaimed as traitor. Vpon the which quarell, we purpose all to liue and die vpon that it is false.

Item, the duke of Excester, our holie father the cardinall, the noble prince the duke of Warwike, and also the realme of France, the duchie of Normandie, Gascoigne, and Guion, Aniou, and Maine, were deliuered and lost by the meanes of the said traitors: and our true lords, knights, and esquiers, and manie a good yeoman lost and sold yer they went, the which is great pitie to heare, of the great and gréuous losse to our souereigne lord and his realme.

Item, desireth the said capteine and commons, that all extortions vsed dailie among the common people, might be laid downe, that is to saie, the gréene wax; the which is falselie vsed, to the perpetuall destruction of the kings true commons of Kent. Also the kings Bench, the which is too gréefefull to the shire of Kent, without prouision of our souereigne lord and his true counsell. And also in taking of wheat and other graines, béefe, mutton, & all other vittels, the which is importable to the said commons, without the bréefe prouision of our said souereigne lord and his true counsell, they maie no longer beare it. And also vnto the statute of labourers, and the great extortioners, the which is to saie the false traitors, Sleg. Cromer, Isle, and Robert Est.

These billes when the counsell had well perused, they did not onelie disalow and condemne them and the authors, as proud and presumptuous; but also persuaded the king rather to suppress those rebels by force, than by faire promises. Wherevpon the king remoued from Westminster vnto Gréenewich, from whence he would haue sent certaine lords with a power to haue distressed the Kentishmen, but the men said to their lords they would not fight against them that laboured to amend the common-weale: wherefore the lords were driuen to leaue their purpose. And bicause the Kentishmen cried out against the lord Saie the kings chamberline, he was by the king committed to the Tower of London. Then went the king againe to London, & within two dais after went against the Kentishmen with fiftéene thousand men well prepared for the war: but the said Kentishmen fled the night before his comming into the wood countrie néere vnto Senocke. Wherevpon the king returned againe to London.

King Henrie went against the Kentishmen with a great power.

The quéene (that bare rule) being of his retrait aduertised, sent sir Humfreie Stafford knight, and William his brother, with manie other gentlemen, to follow the Kentishmen, thinking that they had fled: but they were deceiued, for at the first skirmish both the Staffords were slaine, & all their companie discomfited. The kings armie by this time comen to Blackheath, hearing of this discomfiture, began to murmur amongst themselues: some wishing the duke of Yorke at home to aid the capteine his cousine: some vndutifullie coueting the ouerthrow of the king and his counsell: other openlie crieng out on the quéene and hir complices.

The Staffords slaine at Senocke by Iacke Cade.

This rumor published abroad, caused the king and certaine of his counsell (for the appeasing thereof) to commit the lord Saie treasurer of England to the Tower of London; and if other (against whome like displeasure was borne) had béene present, they had béene likewise committed. Iacke Cade vpon victorie against the Staffords apparelled himselfe in sir Humfries brigandine set full of guilt nailles, and so in some glorie returned againe toward London; diuerse idle and vagarant persons out of Sussex, Surreie and other places, still increasing his number. Thus this glorious capteine, garded with a multitude of rusticall people, came againe to the plaine of Blackheath, & there stronglie incamped himselfe: to whome were sent from the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, and Humfrie duke of Buckingham, to common with him of his gréefes and requests.

These lords found him sober in talke, wise in reasoning, arrogant in hart, and stiffe in opinion; as who that by no means would grant to dissolue his armie, except the king in person would come to him, and assent to the things he would require. The K. vpon the presumptuous answers & requests of this villanous rebell, begining asmuch to doubt his owne meniall seruants, as his

vnknown subiects (which spared not to speake, that the capteins cause was profitable for the common-wealth) departed in all hast to the castell of Killingworth in Warwikeshire, leauing onlie behind him the lord Scales to kéepe the Tower of London. The Kentish capteine being aduertised of the kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibiting to all his retinue, murder, rape, and robbery; by which colour of well meaning, he the more allured to him the harts of the common people.

After that, he entered into London, cut the ropes of the draw bridge, & strooke his sword on London stone; saieing, Now is Mortimer lord of this citie. And after a glosing declaration made to the maior touching the cause of his thither comming he departed againe into Southwarke, and vpon the third daie of Iulie he caused sir Iames Fines, lord Saie, and treasurer of England, to be brought to the Guildhall, and there to be arreigned: who being before the kings iustices put to answer, desired to be tried by his péeres, for the longer delaie of his life. The capteine perceiuing his dilatorie plée, by force tooke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Cheape, and there (before his confession ended) caused his head to be striken off, and pitched it vpon an high pole, which was openlie borne before him thorough the stréets.

The lord Saie beheaded at the stádard in Cheap.

And not content herewith, he went to Mile end, and there apprehended sir Iames Cromer then shirriffe of Kent, and sonne in law to the said lord Saie, causing him likewise (without confession or excuse heard) to be beheaded, and his head to be fixed on a pole: and with these two heads this bloudie wretch entred into the citie againe, and as it were in a spite caused them in euerie stréet to kisse together, to the great detestation of all the beholders. After this succéded open rapine, and manifest robbery in diuerse houses within the citie, and speciallie in the house of Philip Malpas alderman of London, and diuerse other; ouer and beside ransoming and fining of diuers notable merchants, for the suertie of their liues and goods; as Robert Horne alderman, which paid fiue hundred marks. He also put to execution in Southwarke diuerse persons, some for breaking his ordinance, and other being of his old acquaintance, lest they should bewraie his base linage, disparaging him for his vsurped surname of Mortimer.

The maior and other the magistrates of London, perceiuing themselues neither to be sure of goods, nor of life well warranted, determined to repell and kéepe out of their citie such a mischieuous caitife and his wicked companie. And to be the better able so to doo, they made the lord Scales, and that renowned capteine Matthew ^[21]Gough priuie both of their intent and enterprise, beséeching them of their helpe and furtherance therein. The lord Scales promised them his aid, with shooting off the artillerie in the Tower; and Matthew Gough was by him appointed to assist the maior and Londoners in all that he might, and so he and other capteins, appointed for defense of the citie, tooke vpon them in the night to kéepe the bridge, and would not suffer the Kentishmen once to approach. The rebels, who neuer soundlie slept for feare of sudden assaults, hearing that the bridge was thus kept, ran with great hast to open that passage, where betwéene both parties was a fierce and cruell fight.

[21] Or rather Goche.

Matthew ^[22]Gough, perceiuing the rebels to stand to their tackling more manfullie than he thought they would haue doone, aduised his companie not to aduance anie further toward Southwarke, till the daie appeared; that they might see where the place of ieopardie rested, and so to prouide for the same: but this little auailed. For the rebels with their multitude draue backe the citizens from the stoops at the bridge foot to the draw bridge, & began to set fire in diuerse houses. Great ruth it was to behold the miserable state, wherein some desiring to eschew the fire died vpon their enemies weapon; women with children in their armes leapt for feare into the riuer, other in a deadlie care how to saue themselues, betwéene fire, water, and sword, were in their houses choked and smothered. Yet the capteins not sparing, fought on the bridge all the night valiantlie: but in conclusion, the rebels gat the draw bridge, and drowned manie, and slue Iohn Sutton alderman, and Robert Heisand, a hardie citizen, with manie other, beside Matthew ^[23]Gough, a man of great wit and much experience in feats of chiuallrie, the which in continuall warres had spent his time in seruice of the king and his father.

The skirmish betwéene the citizens and the rebels vpon London bridge.

[22] Or rather Goche.

[23] Matthew Goche famous for his acts abroad now slaine on Lōdō bridge.

This sore conflict indured in doubtfull wise on the bridge, till nine of the clocke in the morning: for sometime, the Londoners were beaten backe to saint Magnus corner: and suddenlie againe, the rebels were repelled to the stoops in Southwarke, so that both parts being faint and wearie, agréed to leaue off from fighting till the next daie; vpon condition, that neither Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor Kentishmen into London. Vpon this abstinence, this rakehell capteine for making him more friends, brake vp the gales of the kings Bench and Marshalsie, and so were manie mates set at libertie verie méet for his matters in hand.

A staie by assent.

The archbishop of Canturburie being chancellor of England, and as then for his suertie lieng within the Tower, called to him the bishop of Winchester, who for some safegard laie then at Haliwell. These two prelats, séeing the furie of the Kentish people, by their late repulse, to be somewhat asswaged, passed by the riuer of Thames from the Tower into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kings great seale, a generall pardon vnto all the offenders, and caused the same to be openlie published. The poore people were so glad of this pardon, and so readie to

Proclamatīō of pardon dispersed the rebels.

receiue it, that without bidding farewell to their capteine, they withdrew themselues the same night euerie man towards his home.

¶ But Iacke Cade despairing of succours, and fearing the reward of his lewd dealings, put all his pillage and goods that he had robbed, into a barge, and sent it to Rochester by water, and himselfe went by land, and would haue entred into the castle of Quinborow with a few men that were left about him; but he was there let of his purpose: wherefore he disguised in strange attire, priuilie fled into the wood countrie beside Lewes in Sussex, hoping so to scape. The capteine & his people being thus departed, not long after proclamations were made in diuerse places of Kent, Sussex, and Southerie, that whosoeuer could take the foresaid capteine aliue or dead, should haue a thousand markes for his trauell. A copie of which proclamation, touching the apprehension of the said Cade and his complices, hereafter followeth.

*Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag.
661, 662 in Quart.*

A copie of the said writ and proclamation by the king, for the taking of the said Cade and his felowship.

Henricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, vniuersis & singulis custodibus, &c. For so much as one Iohn Cade borne in Ireland, which calleth himselfe Iohn Mortimer & in some writing calleth himselfe capteine of Kent, the which Iohn Cade the last yeare tofore his dwelling in Sussex with a knight, called sir Thomas Dagle, slue there a woman with child, and for that cause tooke the gréeth of the church, and after for that cause forswore the kings land: the which Iohn Cade also after this, was sworne to the French part, and dwelled with them; which hath now of late time (to the intent to inrich himselfe by robbing and despoiling of the kings liegemen, as it is now openlie knowne, to bring himselfe to great and high estate) falslie and vntruelie deceiued manie of the kings people, and vnder colour of holie and good intents made them to assemble with him against the kings regalitie & his lawes, & nought setting by the kings grace and pardons, granted not onelie to him but to all the kings subiects, the which by his deceit haue assembled with him, the which he with great reuerence receiued on mondaie last passed, and so did all that were assembled with him. Notwithstanding all this, he laboureth now of new to assemble the kings people againe, and to that intent beareth them on hand, that the kings letters of pardon granted to him and them, be not auailable, nor of none effect, without authoritie of parlement: whereas the contrarie is true, as it is openlie knowne by that, that the king granteth from time to time his charters of pardon to such as him list, of all manner of crimes and offenses both generall and speciall.

The king therefore willeth and commandeth, that none of his subiects giue faith nor credence to the said false informations of the said false traitor nor accompanie with him in anie wise, nor comfort nor susteine him nor his with vittels, nor with anie other things: but will, whosoeuer of the kings subiects may take him, shall take him; and that who so euer taketh him, and bringeth him quicke or dead to the king or to his counsell, shall haue a thousand markes for his labour trulie paid him, without faile or delaie by the prouision of the kings counsell. And who so euer taketh anie of those that from this daie foorth accompanie with him, shall haue fiue marks for his reward, trulie to be paid in maner and forme aboue said. And ouer this commanding all constables, ministers, and officers of the said shire, that none of them (on paine of death) take vpon them to execute anie commandement by word or writing sent or made vnto them by the said Cade, calling himselfe Mortimer and capteine, be it to reare any people, or to any other intent: but to arest and make so be arested such, as take vpon them to bring anie such commandement by writing or by word. Et hoc nullatenus omittatis. Teste me ipso apud Westm. 10 die Iulij, anno regni 28.

After which proclamation thus published, a gentleman of Kent named Alexander Eden awaited so his time, that he tooke the said Cade in a garden in Sussex: so that there he was slaine at Hothfield, and brought to London in a cart, where he was quartered; his head set on London bridge, and his quarters sent to diuerse places to be set vp in the shire of Kent. After this, the king himselfe came into Kent, and there set in iudgment vpon the offenders: and if he had not mingled his iustice with mercie, more than fiue hundred by rigor of law had béene iustlie put to execution. Yet he punishing onelie the stubborne heads, & disordered ringleaders, pardoned the ignorant and simple persons, to the great reioising of all his subiects. ¶ But saith another, the king sent his commissioners into Kent, and caused inquire to be made of this riot in Canturburie, where for the same eight men were iudged and executed, and in other townes of Kent and Sussex was doone the like execution.

Capteine of Kent taken & beheaded.

Abr. Fl. ex I. St. 663, 664.

This yeare the commons also in diuerse parts of England, as in Sussex, Salisburie, Wiltshire, and other places, did much harme to manie persons, among the which, on the nine and twentieth of Iune, William Ascoth bishop of Salisburie (after he had said masse at Edington) was by his owne tenants drawne from the altar, in his albe with his stole about his necke to the top of an hill, and there by them shamefullie murthered, and after spoiled to the naked skin: they renting his bloudie shirt, tooke euerie man a péece, and made boast of their wickednesse. The daie before, his chariot was robbed, to the value of ten thousand markes. Soldiours made a fraie against the maior of London the same daie he tooke his charge at Westminster, at night comming from saint Thomas of Acres, after he had béene at Paules.

The bishop of Salisburie murthered.

A fray in Lōdon against the maior.

The French king vnderstanding all the ciuill discord and rebellious sturs in England, made therof his foundation, hoping to get into his hands and possession the duchie of Aquitaine: and therevpon sent the earles of Pontheieure and Perigort to laie siege to the towne of Bergerat, situate vpon the riuier of Dourdon, of which towne was capteine Iohn Gedding, who vpon reasonable conditions rendred the towne. But yet the lord Camois, sir George Seimor, and sir Iohn Arundell, with diuers other valiant capteins hauing gouernance of the cuntry, manned townes, gathered people, and recomforted the fainting harts of the Gascoignes in all that they could, and withall sent letters ouer into England, certifieng to the kings maiestie, that without spéedie aid and readie succours, the whole cuntry was like to be conquered and woone out of the Englishmens possession.

Manie letters were sent, and manie faire answers were brought; but reléeve neither appeared, nor one man of warre was thither shipped: by reason whereof the Frenchmen pursuing the victorie, got the fortresses of Iansacke, and S. Foie, with diuerse other pièces of importance thereabouts. Also, about the same time, the lord Doruall, third sonne to the lord de la Breth, with a great number of men, as well on horssebacke as on foot, departed from Basas, to conquer and destroie the Ile of Medoc. Wherevpon the maior of Burdeaux issuing out, and incounting with his enimies, was vanquished, losing six hundred Englishmen and Gascoignes: albeit the Frenchmen gained not this victorie with cléere hands, for there were slaine of them to the number of eight hundred persons.

After this, the bastard of Orleance, with his brother Iohn earle of Angolesme, which had béene long prisoner in England, and manie other valiant capteins, besieged the castell of Montguion, which to them was rendered. Afterwards, they besieged the towne of Blaie, standing on the riuer of Garonne, the which in conclusion by verie force was conquered and woone. The bastard of Kendall, capteine of the castell, séeing the towne lost, vpon certeine reasonable conditions deliuered his fortresse to the bastard of Orleance, the French kings lieutenant. After this, the townes of Burgh and Liborne, after fiue wéekes siege, were likewise yéelded to the Frenchmen. Then was the citie of Acques besieged by the erle of Fois, and the vicount de Lawtrec his brother, and other noble men. So likewise was the strong towne of Rion by the earle of Arminacke, extreame enimie to the realme of England, for breach of the mariage concluded betwéene king Henrie and his daughter. The earle of Ponthieuure laid siege to Chatillon in Perigort, and the earle of Dunois inuironned with great puissance the towne of Fronsacke.

1451

The earle of Arminack
an open enimie.

The Englishmen perceiuing in what state they stood within the towne, couenanted with the said earle, that if the towne were not succoured, and the Frenchmen fought with before the feast of the natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist next insuing; that then the towne of Fronsacke should be yéelded to them, which was the strongest fortresse in all that countrie, and the verie keie of Guien. Héereof were pledges deliuered, and writings made & sealed. Which agrément once blowne through the countrie, the citie of Burdeaux, and all other townes (except Baion) made the like agrément. So did all the noble men and gentlemen which were subiects and vassels to the crowne of England. Euerie daie was looking for aid, but none came.

And whie? Euen bicause the diuelish diuision that reigned in England, so incombred the heads of the noble men there, that the honor of the realme was cléerelie forgotten, so that (to conclude) the daie appointed came, but succour looked for came not. By reason whereof, all the townes of Aquitaine (except Baion) deliuered their keies, and became vassals to the French nation; yet the citizens of Burdeaux, in hope of rescue, required a longer daie of battell, which was granted. But at the daie appointed, when no reléeve came, they rendred themselues and the citie to their aduersaries, their liues and goods saued, with licence and safe conduct to all persons which would depart and saile into England. Then finallie was the citie of Baion besieged, and with mines and batterie constreined to yéeld it selfe into the Frenchmens hands.

Through dissention at
home, all lost abroad.

Beside the agréments taken and made with the townes, diuerse noble men made seuerall compositions, as Gaston de Fois, & Capdaw de Buef, whome king Henrie the fift made earle of Longeuile, and knight of the garter; whose ancestors were euer true to England. Which agréed, that he and his sonne Iohn de Fois, whome king Henrie the sixth made earle of Kendale, and also knight of the garter, should enioy all their lands in Aquitaine, giuen to them by the kings of England, or by the dukes of Aquitaine. And sith their intent was still to serue the king of England, they agréed to deliuer into the custodie of the earle of Fois, the sonne and heire of the said earle of Kendale, being of the age of thrée yeares; to the intent that if he at his full age denied to become subiect to the French king, or before that time deceased; that then (after the death of his father and grandfather) all the said lands should wholie remaine to the next heire of their bloud, either male or female, being vnder the obeisance of the French king or his heires.

Manie other noble men, whose hearts were good English, made like compositions, and some came into England, and others went to Calis, and bare great offices there: as the lord Duras, which was marshall of that towne; and monsieur Vaclere, which was deputie there vnder the earle of Warwike. Thus were the Englishmen cléerelie displaced and lost the possession of all the countries, townes, castels, and places within the realme of France; so that onelie Calis, Hammes and Guines, with the marches thereof remained in their hands, of all those their dominions and seigniories which they sometime held in the parties beyond the seas. Whereby England suffered a portile but not a totall eclipse of hir glorie, in continuall loosing & nothing gaining of the enimie. ¶ Which recouerie was of great facilitie to the French, for that where they came, they found litle or no resistance, but rather a voluntarie submission & yéelding as it were with holding vp of hands, yer they came to hanidstroks. So that in such victories and conquests consisted small renowme, sith without slaughter & bloudshed hardie enterprises are not atchiued. Notable therefore speaketh Anglorum prælia of these bloudlesse and sweatlesse victories, saieng:

All lost in France.

*Abr. Fl. ex Anglorum
prætijs sub Henr. 6.*

Delphinus totos (nullo prohibente) per agros
Francorum transit, prius expugnata receptans
Oppida: perfacile est populum domuisse volentem,
Tendentemq; manus vltro; nec clarior ornat
Gloria vincentem fuso sine sanguine regna.

[This yeare the king made a generall progresse and came to the citie of Excester, on mondaie the sixtéenth of Iulie at after noone, being the feast daie of saint Kenelme; and was receiued from place to place verie honorable through the whole countrie. Before he came to this citie, he was met by all the cleargie in their degrées, some thrée miles, some two miles, and some at the citie, all in their copes, censing all the waies as they went. As soone as he came to this citie, he was first conducted to the cathedral church in all most honourable order. When he had doone his oblations, he was conueied and lodged in the bishops house. During his abode here, there was a sessions kept before the duke of Summerset, and certeine men condemned to die for treason, and had iudgement to be executed to death.

An. Reg. 30.

John Hooker, alias Vowell.

The king receiued into Excester.

The bishop and his clergie vnderstanding hereof, with open mouth complained vnto the king, that he caused a sessions to be kept within his sanctuarie, contrarie to the priuilege of his church: and that all their doings (being doone against law) were of no effect. And notwithstanding the king and his councill had discoursed vnto them the iust and orderlie procéding, the heinousnesse of the offenders, and the necessitie of their punishment: yet all could not auaille, for holie church nor the sanctuarie might be prophaned (as they said) with the deciding of temporall matters. Wherevpon the king in the end yéelding to their exclames, released a couple of arrant traitors, and reuersed all his former lawfull procédings, and so vpon the wednesdaie he departed and returned towards London.]

The bishop & his cleargie against the K. and the duke of Summerset, &c. in defense of their ecclesiasticall priuilege.

The duke of Yorke pretending (as yée haue heard) a right to the crowne, as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, came this yeare out of Ireland vnto London, in the parlement time, there to consult with his speciall fréends: as Iohn duke of Northfolke, Richard earle of Salisburie, and the lord Richard his sonne, which after was earle of Warwike; Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, and Edward Brooke lord Cobham. After long deliberation and aduise taken, it was thought expedient, to kéepe their chéefe purpose secret; and that the duke should raise an armie of men, vnder a pretext to remouue diuerse councillors about the king, and to reuenge the manifest iniuries doone to the common-wealth by the same rulers. Of the which as principall, the duke of Summerset was namelie accused, both for that he was greatlie hated of the commons for the losse of Normandie: and for that it was well knowne, that he would be altogether against the duke of Yorke in his challenge to be made (when time serued) to the crowne; insomuch that his goods by the commons were foulie despoiled and borne awaie from the Blacke friers. After which riot, on the next morrow proclamation was made through the citie, that no man should spoile or rob, on paine of death. But on the same daie at the standard in Cheape was a man beheaded for dooing contrarie to the proclamation.

The duke of Yorke maketh claime to the crowne.

Iohn Stow.

Therefore when the duke of Yorke had thus, by aduise of his speciall fréends, framed the foundation of his long intended enterprise, he assembled a great hoast, to the number of ten thousand able men, in the marches of Wales; publishing openlie, that the cause of this his gathering of people, was for the publike wealth of the realme. The king much astonied at the matter, by aduise of his councill raised a great power, and marched forward toward the duke. But he being thereof aduertised, turned out of that way, which by espials he vnderstood that the king held, and made streight toward London: and hauing knowledge that he might not be suffered to passe through the citie, he crossed ouer the Thames at Kingston bridge, and so kept on towards Kent, where he knew that he had both fréends & well-willers, and there on Burnt heath, a mile from Dertford, and twelue miles from London, he imbatelled, and incamped himselfe verie stronglie, inuironing his field with artillerie and trenches. The king hereof aduertised, brought his armie with all diligence vnto Blackeheath, and there pight his tents.

Whethamsted.

The duke of Yorke raiseth a power, for recouerie of his right to the crowne.

Whilest both these armies laie thus imbattelled, the king sent the bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Bouchier, bishop of Elie, Richard Wooduile, lord Riuers, & Richard Andrew, the kéeper of his priuie seale, to the duke: both to know the cause of so great a commotion, and also to make a concord; if the requests of the duke and his companie séemed consonant to reason. The duke hearing the message of the bishops, answered; that his comming was neither to damnifie the king in honour, nor in person, neither yet anie good man: but his intent was, to remouue from him certeine euill disposed persons of his councill, bloud-succours of the nobilitie, pollers of the cleargie, and oppressours of the poore people.

Whethamsted.

The dukes answer to the kings message.

Amongst these, he chéeflie named Edmund duke of Summerset, whome if the king would commit to ward, to answer such articles as against him in open parlement should be both proponed and proued, he promised not onelie to dissolue his armie; but also offered himselfe (like an obedient subiect) to come to the kings presence, and to doo him true and faithfull seruice, according to his loiall and bounden dutie. ¶ But a further vnderstanding of the dukes meaning by this his forceable entering of the realme (as himselfe pretended) maie appeare by certeine letters by him written to the king, and also the kings answers vnto the same: both which I thinke good here to set downe, as I find them recorded.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 666, 667, in Quart.

Richard duke of Yorke his letter to king Henrie.

Please it your highnesse to conceiue, that since my departing out of this your realme, by your commandement, and being in your seruice in your land of Ireland, I haue béene informed, that diuerse language hath béene said of me to your most excellent estate, which should sound to my dishonour and reproch, and charge of my person: howbeit, that I haue béene, and euer will be, your true liegeman and seruant. And if there be anie man that will or dare saie the contrarie, or charge me otherwise; I beséech your rightwisenesse to call him before your high presence, and I will declare me for my discharge as a true knight ought to doo. And if I doo not, as I doubt not but I shall, I beséech you to punish me as the poorest man of your land. And if he be found vntrue in his suggestion and information, I beséech you of your highnesse that he be punished after his desert, in example of all other.

Please it your excellencie to know, that as well before my departing out of this your realme, for to go into your land of Ireland, in your full noble seruice, as since, certeine persons haue lien in wait for to hearken vpon me, as sir Iohn Talbot knight at the castell of Holt; sir Thomas Standleie knight in Cheshire; Pulford at Chester; Elton at Worcester; Brooke at Glocester; and Richard, groome of your chamber at Beaumaris: which had in charge (as I am informed) to take me and put me into your castell of Conwaie, and to strike off the head of sir William Oldhall knight, and to haue put in prison sir William Deuereux knight, & sir Edmund Malso knight, withouten inlarging, vntill the time that your highnesse had appointed their deliuerance.

Item, at such time as I was purposed for to haue arriued at your hauen of Beaumaris, for to haue come to your noble presence to declare me your true man and subiect, as my dutie is, my landing was stopped and forebarred by Henrie Norice, Thomas Norice, William Buckleie, William Grust, and Bartholomew Bould, your officers in Northwales, that I should not land there, nor haue vittels nor refreshing for me and my fellowship, as I haue written to your excellencie here before. So farre forth that Henrie Norice, deputie to the chamberlaine of Northwales, said vnto me, that he had in commandement that I should in no wise haue landing, refreshing, nor lodging, for men nor horsse, nor other thing that might turne to my worship or ease: putting the blame vpon William Saie vsher of your chamber, saieing and affirming that I am against your intent, and as a traitor, as I am informed. And moreouer, certeine letters were made and deliuered vnto Chester, Shrewesburie, and to other places for to let mine entrie into the same.

Item, aboue all wrongs and iniuries aboue said doone vnto me of malice, without anie cause, I being in your land of Ireland, in your honourable seruice, certeine commissions were made and directed vnto diuerse persons; which for the execution of the same, sat in certeine places, and the iuries impanelled and charged. Vnto the which iuries certeine persons laboured instantlie to haue me indicted of treason, to the intent for to haue vndoone me and mine issue, and corrupted my bloud, as it is openlie published. Beséeching your maiestie roiall, of your righteousnesse, to doo examine these matters, and therevpon to doo such iustice in his behalfe as the cause requireth: for mine intent is fullie to pursue to your highnesse for the conclusion these matters.

The answer of king Henrie to the duke of Yorke.

Coosine, we haue séene the bill that ye tooke vs late, and also vnderstand the good humble obedience that ye in your selfe shew vnto us, as well in word as in déed: wherefore our intent is, the more hastilie to ease you of such things as were in your said bill. Howbeit, that at our more leasure we might answer you to your said bill, yet we let you wit, that for the causes aforesaid, we will declare you now our intent in these matters: sith it is that a long time among the people hath béene vpon you many strange language, and in especiall anon after your disordinate and vnlawful slaieng of the bishop of Chester, diuerse and manie of the vntrue shipmen and other said (in their maner) words against our estate, making manace to our owne person by your saiengs, that ye should be fetched with manie thousands, and ye should take vpon you that, which ye neither ought, nor as we doubt not, ye will not attempt: so farre fourth that it was said to our person by diuerse, & especiallie we remember of one Wasnes, which had like words to vs.

And also there were diuerse of such false people, that went on and had like language in diuerse of our townes of our land, which by our subiects were taken and dylie executed. Wherefore we sent to diuerse of our courts and places, to hearken and to take héed if anie such maner comming were; and if there had béene, for to resist it: but comming into our land our true subiect as ye did, our intent was not that ye, nor lesse of estate of our subiects, nor none of your seruants, should not haue béene letted nor warned, but in goodlie wise receiued; howbeit that peradventure your sudden comming, without certeine warning, caused our seruants to doo as they did, considering the causes aboue said. And as to the indictement that ye spoke of, we thinke verilie, and hold for certeine, that there was none such. And if ye may trulie prooue that anie person was thereabouts, the matter shall be demeaned as the case shall require: so that he shall know it is to our great displeasure. Vpon this, for the easing of your heart in all such matters, we declare, repute, and admit you as our true and faithful subiect, and as our faithfull coosine.

Richard duke of Yorke to king Henrie againe.

Please it your highnesse tenderlie to consider, that great murmur and grudging is vniuersallie in this your realme, in that iustice is not dylie ministred to such as trespasse and offend against your lawes, and in especiall of them that be indicted of treason, and other being openlie noised of the same; whereby great incoueniencies haue fallen, and great is like to fall hereafter in your said realme, which God defend: but if by your highnesse prouision conuenable be made for due reformation and punishment in this behalfe. Wherefore I your humble subiect and true liegeman, Richard duke of Yorke, willing as effectuallie as I can, and desiring the suertie and prosperitie of your most roiall person, and the welfare of this your noble realme, counsell and aduertise your excellencie, for to ordeine and prouide, that true iustice be had, against all such that so be indicted, or openlie named: wherein I offer my selfe, and will put my indeuour for to execute your commandement in the premises, for the punishing of such offenders, and redresse of the said misrules, to my might and power. And for the hastie execution hereof, like it your highnesse, to adresse these letters of priuie seale and writs to your officers and ministers, to doo, take, and arrest, all such persons so noised and indicted, of what estate, degreé, or condition soeuer they be, and them to commit to the Tower of London, and to other of your prisons, there to abide without baile or maineprise, vntill the time they be vtterlie tried, and determined after the course of your lawes.

The answer of king Henrie to the duke of Yorke.

Coosine, as touching your bill last put vp to vs, we vnderstand well that ye (of good heart) counsell and aduertise vs to the setting vp of iustice, and to the spéedie punishing of some persons indicted or noised, offering your seruice to be readie at commandement in the same, sith it is that for manie causes moouing vs to haue determined in our soule, to stablish a sad, and a substantiall councill, giuing them more ample authoritie and power than euer we did before this, in the which we haue appointed you to be one. But sith it is not accustomed, sure, nor expedient, to take a conclusion & conduct by aduise or counsell of one person by himselfe for the conseruation, it is obserued that the greatest and the best, the rich and the poore, in libertie, vertue, and effect of your voices be equall. We haue therefore determined within our selfe to send for our chancellour of England, and for other lords of our councill, yea and all other, together within short time ripelie to common of these and other our great matters. In which communication, such conclusion (by the grace of God) shall be taken, as shall sound to his pleasure, the weale of vs and our land, as well in these matters as in anie other.

After all this adoo, it was so agréed vpon by aduise, for the auoiding of bloudshed, and paciengieng of the duke and his people, that the duke of Summerset was committed to ward, as some say; or else commanded to kéepe himselfe priuie in his owne house for a time. But it should séeme by that which some haue written, that the duke of Yorke was deceiued of the hope which he had, to be aided of the Kentishmen; insomuch that when he saw himselfe ouermatched by the king in number of people, who had got together thrice as manie men as the duke had there with him, the duke was the more easie to be dealt with. And so comming to the king, and submitting himselfe by mediation of certeine of the nobilitie, he obtained pardon of that his former presumptuous enterprise. And within a few daies after his comming to London with the king, he openlie in the church of S. Paule (the king being present) receiued a solemne oth, that from thenceforth, he should no more commit any such offence, nor attempt anie thing, either against the king, or any other of his liege people, contrarie to the order of law and iustice.

Whethamsted.

The duke of Yorke
reconciliation to the
king.

Howsoever the matter went, truth it is, that the duke of Yorke, the first of March, dissolued his armie, brake vp his campe, & came to the king's tent, where contrarie to his expectation, & against promise made by the king (as other write) he found the duke of Summerset going at large and set at libertie, whome the duke of Yorke boldlie accused of treason, briberie, oppression, and manie other crimes. The duke of Summerset not onelie made answer to the dukes obiections, but also accused him of high treason, affirming, that he with his fautors and complices had consulted together, how to come by the scepter and regall crowne of this realme. By meanes of which words the king remooued streight to London, and the duke of Yorke (as prisoner) rode before him, and so was kept a while.

The duke of Yorke
accuseth the duke of
Sūmerset.

A mutuall charge
betwéene the two
dukes, Yorke and
Summerset of his
treason.

The king assembled together a great councill at Westminster to heare the accusations of the two dukes, the one obiecting to the other manie heinous and gréuous crimes. But the duke of Summerset, which now conceiued in his mind the thing that shortlie followed, incessantlie exhorted the councill, that the duke of Yorke, by compulsion or otherwise, might be driuen to confesse his offence, that so being attainted of treason, he might suffer execution, and his children to be taken as aduersaries to their natiue countrie; to the intent that by the extinction of him and his sequeale, all ciuill warre and inward diuision might cease and be repressed: beséeching almightie God, that so great an enimie to the king and his bloud, might neuer escape punishment, nor continue long in life.

The duke of Summerset set foorth this matter the more vehementlie, bicause he knew perfectlie, that the duke of Yorke dailie imagined with himselfe, how to get the crowne, and to depose and destroie both the king and him. But destinie cannot by anie mans deuise be letted, and manie things (to appearance) declared the duke of Yorkes innocencie in this case. First, his frée and voluntarie comming to the king, without constreint, when he was partlie of puissance able to haue incountred with the kings whole power. Secondlie, his humble submission, and reasonable requests, as well on his owne behalfe, as for the poore commons: which might argue that he sought for no souereigntie.

Destinie cannot be
auoided.

Whilest the councill treated of sauing or dispatching of this duke of Yorke, a rumor sprang through London, that Edward earle of March, sonne and heire apparent to the saide duke, with a great armie of Marchmen, was comming toward London: which tidings sore appalled the quéene and the whole councill. Beside this, the verie same daie came ambassadours from the chéefe citizens and magistrats of the cite of Burdeaux: whereof the chéefe were, the earle of Kendale, and the lord de Lesparre; which signified to the councill, that if they would send an armie into Gascoigne, the people of the countrie would reuolt from the French part, and eftsoones become English. These two things sore troubled the heads of the councill, which, least inward sedition might hinder outward conquests, set the duke of Yorke at libertie, and permitted him to go to his castell of Wigmore, in the marches of Wales, by whose

1452

Occasion that set the
duke of Yorke frée.

absence the duke of Summerset rose in such high fauour, both with the king and quéene, that his word onelie ruled, and his voice alone was heard.

¶ Neuerthelesse the said duke of Yorke had first made his submission, and tooke his oth to be true, faithfull, and obedient subiect to king Henrie the sixt king of England, in saint Pauls church at London, there being present the king, and most of his nobilitie, that is to saie, the dukes of Buckingham, Northampton, and Summerset: the earls of Warwike, Arundell, Salisburie, Shropshire, Deonshire, Wiltshire, Northumberland, Stafford and Dorset, vicounts of Beaumont and Welles: barons, Fitz Warren, Sainmound, Cobham, Dowglas, and others: bishops, the cardinall, archbishop of Yorke and Canturburie, Winchester, Elie, and London, in these words following.

*Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag.
671, 672, in Quart.*

The tenor of the duke of Yorke submission to king Henrie, vnder his oth.

I Richard duke of Yorke confesse and beknow, that I am & ought to be humble subiect and liegeman to you my souereigne lord king Henrie the sixt, and owe therefore to beare you faith and truth, as to my souereigne liege lord, and shall doo all daies vnto my liues end; and shall not at anie time will or assent, that any thing attempted or doone against your most noble person: but where so euer I shall haue knowledge of anie such thing imagined or purposed, I shall with all spéed and diligence possible to me, make that your highnesse shall haue knowledge thereof: and ouer that, doo all that shall be possible to me, to the withstanding and let thereof, to the vttermost of my life. I shall not anie thing take vpon against your roiall estate or obeisance that is due thereto, nor suffer anie other man to doo, as farre foorth as it shall be in my power to let it: and also shall come at your commandement when so euer I shall be called by the same, in humble and obeisant wise: but if I be letted by anie sicknesse or impotence of my person, or by such other cause as shall be thought by you my souereigne lord reasonable. I shall neuer hereafter take vpon me to gather anie rout, nor to make anie assemblie of your people, without your commandement or licence, or in my lawfull defense. In interpretation or declaration of the which my lawful defence, I shall report me at all times to your highnesse, and if the case require, to my péeres; nor any thing attempt against anie of your subjects, of what estate, degré, or condition that they be. But when so euer I find my selfe wronged and agréued, I shall sue humblie for remedie to your highnesse: and procéed after the course of your lawes, and in none otherwise: sauing in mine owne lawfull defense in maner aboue said, and otherwise haue to your highnesse as an humble and true subiect ought to haue him to his souereigne lord.

All these things aboue said I promise you trulie to obserue and kéepe, by the holie euangelists contened in the booke that I laie my hand herevpon, and by the holie crosse I here touch, and by the blessed sacrament of our Lords bodie, that I shall now with his mercie receiue. And ouer I agréé me and will, that if I anie time hereafter, as by the grace of our Lord God I neuer shall, anie thing attempt by waie of feat or otherwise against your roiall maiestie, and obeisance that I owe therto, or anie thing take vpon me otherwise than is aboue expressed, I from that time foorth be vnabled, held, and taken as an vntrue and openlie forsworne man, and vnable to all maner of worship, estate, and degré, be it such as I now occupie, or anie other that might in anie wise grow vnto me hereafter. And this I haue here promised and sworne, procéedeth of mine owne desire and frée voluntée, and by no constraining or coaction. In witnesse of all the which things aboue written, I Richard duke of Yorke (aboue named) subscribe with mine owne hand and seale.

The councill not forgetting the offer of the Gascoignes, and that they might now haue the citie of Burdeaux, with the countrie round about, by request of the inhabitants, appointed the valiant capteine Iohn lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, to go thither with an armie: who arriuing in the Isle of Madre, passed foorth with his power, being scant thrée thousand men, and tooke the strong towne of Fronsacke, and diuerse other townes & fortresses. The inhabitants of Burdeaux, hearing of the earles arriual, sent to him messengers in the darke night, requiring him with all spéed to come and receiue the citie. The earle lost not one houre, but hasted foorth, & came before that citie, yer the Frenchmen within vnderstood anie thing of the citizens purpose. When they were aduertised that there was a gate set open for the Englishmen to enter, they thought to haue escaped secretlie by a posterne: but they were pursued, slaine, and taken by the lord de Lespar, and other of the English armie.

An Reg. 31.

1453.

After the regaining of Burdeaux, there arriued at Blaie the bastard of Summerset, sir Iohn Talbot, lord Lisle by his wife, sonne to the said erle of Shrewesburie, the lord Molins, the lord Harington, the lord Camois, sir Iohn Howard, sir Iohn Montgomerie, sir Iohn Vernon, with two and twentie hundred men, with vittels and munitions. When the earle was thus (according to his intent) of all things furnished, first he fortified Burdeaux with Englishmen, and store of vittels; and after that he rode into the countrie abroad, where he obtained cities, and got townes without stroke or dint of sword, for the people alreadie wearied of the French seruitude, and longing sore to return to the English libertie, séemed to desire nothing more than to haue the earle to receiue them into the English obeisance. Amongst other townes, the towne and castell of Chastillon in Perigort was to him deliuered, the which he fortified with men and ordinance verie stronglie.

The French people
soone wearie of the
French gouernment.

In the meane time, the French king, being aduertised of all these dooings, raised an armie to resist this inuasion made by the erle of Shrewesburie. And first he appointed his capteins to besiege the towne of Chastillon, to the rescue whereof the earle hasted forward, hauing in his companie eight hundred horssemen, vnder the leading of his sonne the lord Lisle, the lord Molins, the lord Camois, sir Edward Hull, sir Iohn Howard, and sir Iohn Vernon. He appointed also fiue thousand footmen, vnder the conduct of the earle of Kendall, and the lord de Lespar, to follow him with all spéed. In his waie, he tooke by fine force a tower which the Frenchmen had taken, and slue all that he found within it. And after by the waie, he met fiue hundred Frenchmen going a foraging, of whome he slue the more part, and chased the other to the campe.

The Frenchmen that laie at the siege, perceiuing by those good runners away that the earle

approched, left the siege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with ordinance. The earle aduertised how the siege was remoued, hasted forward towards his enimies, doubting most, least they would haue béene quite fled and gone before his comming. But they fearing the displeasure of the French king (who was not far off) if they should haue fled, abode the earles comming, and so receiued him: who though he first with manfull courage, and sore fighting wan the entrie of their campe; yet at length they compassed him about, and shooting him through the thigh with an handgun, slue his horsse, and finally killed him lieng on the ground, whome they durst neuer looke in the face, while he stood on his féet.

The valiant earle of Shrewesburie and his son manfullie slaine.

It was said, that after he perceiued there was no remedie, but present losse of the battell, he counselled his sonne the lord Lisle, to saue himselfe by flight, sith the same could not redound to anie great reproch in him, this being the first iournie in which he had béene present. Manie words he vsed to persuade him to haue saued his life: but nature so wrought in the son, that neither desire of life, nor feare of death, could either cause him to shrink, or conueie himselfe out of the danger, and so there manfullie ended his life with his said father. There died also the earles bastard sonne Henrie Talbot, and sir Edward Hull elect to the order of the garter, and thirtie other men of name and right valiant personages of the English nation. The lord Molins was taken prisoner with thréescore others. The residue of the English people fled to Burdeaux and other places, of whome in the flight were slaine aboue a thousand persons.

Thus at this battell of Chatillon, fought the thirtéenth daie of Iulie in this yeare, ended his life Iohn lord Talbot, and of his progenie the first earle of Shrewesburie: after that he with much fame and most victorie, had valiantlie made warre, and serued his prince and countrie by the space of foure and twentie yeares, in the parties beyond the seas, whose corps was left on ground, and after was found by his fréends, and conueied to Whitchurch in Shropshire where it was interred. After this discomfiture diuerse lords fled to Burdeaux, but the earle of Candall, the lords of Montferrant, of Rosaine, & of Dangladas entered into the castell of Chatillon, which by the space of ten daies they defended: but in the end despairing of all succours, they rendred the fortresse, and came safe to Burdeaux.

After this, the townes of saint Million, Liborne, and all other, which the erle of Shrewesburie had conquered, rendred themselues to the Frenchmen, Burdeaux onelie excepted. Which citie, being the last refuge of the English people, the French king in person besieged with all his puissance; and in conclusion constreined both the garrisons and inhabitants to yéeld, so that the Englishmen & Gascoignes might safelie depart into England or into Calis, with all their substance; and that the lords de Lesparre, Duras, and thirtie others, should neuer (vpon paine of death) be found within anie of the French kings dominions, which lord de Lesparre being after taken in Gascoigne disguised, was made shorter by the head. When this composition was agréed and sealed, the Englishmen were shortlie transported ouer into England, in the moneth of October this present yeare.

Burdeaux yielded againe to the French.

Thus was the duchie of Aquitaine, which had continued in the English possession, from the yeare of our Lord 1155, vnto this present yeare, which is néere hand thrée hundred yeares, by the mariage of Elenor daughter and heire to William duke of Aquitaine, wife to king Henrie the second, finallie reduced and brought againe to the French obedience and seruitude. Within that onlie duchie be foure archbishops, foure and twentie bishops, fiftéene earledomes, two hundred and two baronies, and aboue a thousand capteinships and baliffewikes: whereby ye may consider, what a losse this was to the realme of England. On the thirtéenth daie of October this yeare, was the quéene deliuered at Westminster of a faire sonne, who was christened, and named Edward.

Aquitaine lost.

The dignitie and state of that dukedome.

The quéene deliuered of hir son prince Edward.

His mother susteined not a little slander and obloquie of the common people, who had an opinion that the king was not able to get a child; and therefore sticked not to saie, that this was not his sonne, with manie slanderous words, greatlie sounding to the quéenes dishonour; much part perchance vntrulie. After the birth of this child, he highlie aduanced his brethren on his mothers side; for Edmund he made earle of Richmond, which was father to king Henrie the seuenth, and Iasper he created erle of Penbroke, which died without issue. ¶ This yeare, Iohn Stafford archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, and Iohn Kempe archbishop of Yorke was remoued from that sée, to succéed in place of the said Stafford, being the thrée score and second archbishop there, & Iohn Booth bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield was translated to Yorke, being the one and fiftith archbishop of that church.

¶ On Bartholomew daie at the wrestling néere vnto Clerkenwell, a gentleman belonging to the prior of saint Iohns, made a rumor or tumult, for the which (by the commandement of the maior) he was arested by Richard Allie one of the shiriffes, and deliuered to Paris a sergeant. But such resistance was made by parts taking, that the shiriffe was faine to craue helpe of the maior, who with his brethren the aldermen arose from the game, and strengthened the shiriffes. And for the rescue of the said gentleman, one named Calis, came out of saint Iohns with a great strength of archers, to resist the maior, in the which fraie a yeoman of saint Iohns was slaine, and manie other sore hurt. The maior himselfe escaped hardlie, for his cap was smitten from his head with an arrow: but the maior with his citzens put the other to flight, sent

Abr. Fl. ex I. St. pag. 673.

The maior, shiriffes and aldermen, resisted and abused in a fraie néere Clerkenwell.

the principall of them to Newgate, and then tooke his place againe till the games were ended: by which time the citizens had gathered themselues in great number, and fetched him home, neuer maior so stronglie nor so honorablie.

[24] This yeare was Thomas Bourchier bishop of Elie (sonne to the countesse of Stafford, and brother to Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex) remooued to the sée of Canterburie; who in the yeare after the word became flesh and appeared in humane shape 1443, first obtained the sée of Elie (although once before he was by the king put backe from thence after his election of the couent therevnto, and confirmation of the pope) being translated from Worcester to the said sée of Elie, the twelfth daie of March in the said yeare 1443. This man (after that he had remained at Elie ten yeares, thrée and twentie wéeke, and fiue daies) was (as is before said) in this yeare 1454 remooued to Canturburie by Nicholas the fift then bishop of Rome. After this he was made chancellor, which office he obtained the seauenth of March, in the yeare 1455, being the thrée and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the sixts reigne. Lastlie he was aduanced to the dignitie of cardinall by pope Paule the second, in the yeare of our Lord 1465, of whome is made a more liberall discourse in a [24] tretise of the liues of the chancellors of England: a place of no small authoritie and reputation.

Fr. Thin.

An. Reg. 32.

1454

[24] In a tretise hereafter following.

After the warres foulie ended in forren parties, ciuill dissention began againe at home, diuided speciallie into two factions. As K. Henrie descended of the house of Lancaster possessed the crowne from his grandfather king Henrie the fourth (first author of that title) so Richard duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, third sonne to king Edward the third, inforced. By reason whereof, the nobles as well as the common people were into parts diuided, to the vtter destruction of manie a man, and to the great ruine and decaie of this region: for while the one partie sought to destroie the other, all care of the common-wealth was set aside, and iustice and equitie clearelie exiled.

The duke of Yorke (aboue all things) first sought means how to stir vp the malice of the people against the duke of Summerset, imagining that he being made awaie, his purpose should the sooner take effect. He also practised to bring the king into the hatred of the people, as that he should not be a man apt to the gouernment of a realme, wanting both wit and stomach sufficient to supplie such a roome. Manie of the high estates, not liking the world, and disalowing the doings both of the king and his counsell, were faine inough of some alteration. Which thing the duke well vnderstanding, chiefelie sought the fauour of the two Neuils, both named Richard, one earle of Salisburie, the other earle of Warwike, the first being the father, and the second the sonne.

The duke of Yorke séeks the destruciō of the duke of Sommerset.

He banded himselfe with the Neuils.

This earle of Salisburie was second son to Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, whose daughter the duke of Yorke had married, and the said Richard was espoused to ladie Alice, the onelie child and sole heire of Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie, slaine at the siege of Orleance (as before is declared) of which woman he begat Richard, Iohn, and George: Richard the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the sister and heire of the entire bloud of lord Henrie Beauchamp earle and after duke of Warwike, in whose right and title he was created and named earle of Warwike. [Full fraught was this nobleman with good qualities right excellent and manie, all which a certeine naturall grace did vnto all estates so farfoorth recommend, that with high and low he was in singular fauour and good liking so as (vnsought for) it séemed, in authoritie among them, he grew able to command all alone.

The issue of Richard earle Salisburie.

W. P.

When the duke of Yorke had fastened his chaine betwéene these two strong pillers, he with his fréends wrought so effectuouslie, and handled his businesse so politikelie, that the duke of Summerset was arested in the quéenes great chamber, and sent to the Tower of London, where he kept his Christmase without great solemnitie. Against whom, soone after in open parlement were laid diuerse and heinous articles of high treason, as well for the losse of Normandie, as for the late mischance which happened in Guien. The king at that time was sicke at Clarendon, and conueied to London, by reason whereof no finall determination procéded in this weightie cause; but all was put in suspense, till the next assemblie of the high court of parlement. Some doo write, that whilst the king was sicke, the duke of Yorke bare all the rule, and gouerned as regent or vicerioie, by authoritie committed to him by the lords of the realme, then assembled in counsell; he to sée to the preseruacion and good gouernement of the common-wealth, during the kings sicknesse, which was so gréeuous (as it was said) that he laie senselesse, and was not able for a time either to go or stand.

An. Reg. 33.

The duke of Summerset arrested.

1455

The king sicke.

Whethamsted.

The duke of Yorke hauing aforehand obtained an absolution of the pope, in discharge of his oth before taken, did now discouer his stomach against the duke of Summerset. But when the king was amended againe, and resumed to him his former gouernement, either of his owne mind, or by the quéenes procurement, the duke of Summerset was set at libertie; by which doing, great enuie and displeasure grew. That notwithstanding, the quéene (which then bare the chiefe rule) caused the duke of Summerset to be preferred to the capteineship of Calis, wherwith not onlie the commons, but also manie of the nobilitie were

The duke of Summerset set at libertie.

Made deputie of Calis.

greatlie gréeued and offended, saieng, that he had lost Normandie, and so would he doo Calis.

The duke of Yorke and his adherents, perceiuing that neither exhortation nor charging him with his crimes preuailed against the duke of Summerset, they meant to mend the matter by open war: & soone after he being in the marches of Wales, accompanied with his speciall friends, the earles of Salisburie, and Warwike, the lord Cobham, and others, assembled a power, and in warlike maner marched toward London. The king informed hereof, assembled likewise a great host, and meaning to méet with the duke, rather in the north parts than about London, where it was thought he had too manie friends, he accompanied with the dukes of Summerset and Buckingham, the earles of Penbroke, Stafford, Northumberland, Deuonshire, Dorset, and Wilshire, the lords Clifford, Sudlie, Berneis, Roos, and others, being in all aboue two thousand men of warre, departed from Westminster the twentieth, or (as some haue) the one and twentieth of Maie, and laie the first night at Wadford.

The duke of Yorke assembled an armie.

Whethamsted.

The king with two thousand.

Of whose dooings the duke of Yorke by espials hauing still aduertisement, with all his power, being not past thrée thousand men (as some write) coasted the countrie, and came to saint Albons the third daie next insuing. The king there had pight his standard in a place called Goselow, otherwise Sandiford, in saint Peters stréet: the lord Clifford kept the barriers of the towne, to stop, that the duke being assembled in Keie field, should not enter the towne. ¶ The duke of Yorke (saith one moderne chronographer) knowing the strength made against him, abiding in the field aforesaid, from seuen of the clocke in the morning vntill it was almost ten of the clocke without anie stroke smitten on either part, by the aduise of his councell sent vnto the king vnder these words following.

The duke with thrée thousand.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 675, 676, 677, in Quart.

Words in writing by the duke of Yorke to the king.

Please it vnto your excellent grace, Richard duke of Yorke, to take him as your true liege man and humble subiect; and to consider and tender at the reuerence of God, and in the waie of charitie, the true intent of my comming, and to be good and gracious souereigne vnto me, & all other your true liege men, which, that with all their power and might will be readie to liue and die with you in your right, and to doo all things as shall like your maiestie roiall to command vs, if it be to the worship of the crowne of England, and the welfare of this your noble realme. Moreouer, gracious lord, please it vnto your maiestie roiall, of your great goodnesse and rightwisenesse, to incline your will to heare & féele the rightwise part of vs your true subiects and liege men. First, praieng and beséeching to your souereigne, Christ Iesus, of his high and mightie power, to giue you vertue of prudence, and that through the praier of the glorious martyr S. Albon giue you verie knowledge of our truths, and to know the intent of our assembling at this time: for God that is in heauen knoweth, our intent is rightfull and true. And therefore we praie vnto that mightie Lord in these words: Domine sis clypeus defensionis nostræ. Wherefore gracious lord, please it your maiestie roiall, to deliuer such as we will accuse, and they to haue like as they haue deserued: and this doone, you to be honorablie worshipped as most rightfull king and our true gouernour. And if we should now at this time be promised, as afore this time (is not vnknown) haue béene promises broken which haue béene full faithfullie promised, and therevpon great othes sworne, we will not now ceasse for no such promises, nor oth, till we haue them which haue deserued death, or else we to die therefore.

The answer by the king to the duke of Yorke.

I King Henrie charge and command, that no manner of person, of what degré, estate or what condition soeuer he be, abide not; but that they auoid the field, and not be so hardie to make resistance against me in my owne realme. For I shall know what traitour dare be so bold to raise anie people in mine owne land, wherethrough I am in great disease and heuines. By the faith I owe vnto S. Edward, and vnto the crowne of England, I shall destroie them euerie mothers sonne, and eke they to be hanged, drawne, and quartered, that may be taken afterward of them, in example to make all such traitors to beware for to make anie rising of people within mine owne land, and so traitorouslie to abide their king and gouernour. And for a conclusion, rather than they shall haue anie lord, that here is with me at this time, I shall this day for their sake in this quarell my selfe liue and die.

The words of the duke of Yorke to all gentlemen and other assembled with him.

Sirs, the king our souereigne lord will not be reformed at our beséeching ne praier, nor will not in no wise vnderstand the intent wherfore we be here assembled and gathered at this time, but onelie is in full purpose to destroie vs all. And therevpon a great oth hath made, that is none other waie, but that he with all his power will pursue vs; and if we be taken, to giue vs a shamefull death, léesing our liuelod and goods, and also our heires shamed for euer. Therefore sirs, now sith it will none otherwise be, but that we shall vtterlie die; better it is for vs to die in the field, than cowardlie to be put to an vtter rebuke and shamefull death, for the right of England standeth in vs. Considering also in what perill it standeth at this time, and for to redresse the mischéefe thereof, let euerie man helpe to his power this daie, and in that quarell to quite vs like men, to the crowne of England; praieng and beséeching vnto that Lord, the which is eternall, that reigneth in the glorious kingdome celestially, to kéepe and saue vs this daie in our right, and through the gifts of his holie grace we may be made strong to withstand the great, abhominable, and horrible malice of them that purpose to destroie vs and the realme of England, and put vs to a shamefull death. Praie we therefore to the Lord to be our comfort and our defendour, saieing these words, Domine sis clypeus defensionis nostræ.]

But another historie-writer saith, that the king, when first he heard of the duke of Yorks approach, sent to him messengers, the duke of Buckingham, and others to vnderstand what he meant by his comming thus in maner of warre. The duke of Buckingham to his message was answered by the duke of Yorke and his complices, that they were all of them the kings faithfull liege subiects, and intended no harme to him at all: but the cause of our comming (saie they) is not in meaning anie hurt to his person. But let that wicked and naughtie man the duke of Summerset be deliuered vnto vs, who hath lost Normandie, and taken no regard to the preseruacion of Gascoigne; and furthermore, hath brought the realme vnto this miserable estate; that where it was the floure of nations, and the princesse of prouinces [now is it haled into desolation & spoile, not so dreadfull by malice of forren enimie, that indéed vtterlie (as yée know) séeketh our ruine, as by the intollerable outrages of him that so long ago & euen still appeares to haue sworne the confusio[n] of our king and realme.] If it therefore please the king to deliuer that bad man into our hands, we are readie without trouble or breach of peace, to returne into our countrie. But if the king be not minded so to do, because he cannot misse him; let him vnderstand, that we will rather die in the field, than suffer such a mischéefe vnredressed.

Whethamsted.

The duke of Buckingham sent to the duke of Yorke.

The duke of Summerset burdened with all things that had happened amisse.

W. P.

The king aduertised of this answer, more wilfull than tollerable, appointed him rather to trie battell, than deliuer the duke of Summerset to his enimies. Whereof they ascerteined made no longer staie, but streightwaie sounded the trumpet to battell: or rather (as Hall saith) while king Henrie sent foorth his ambassadours to treat of peace at the one end of the towne, the earle of Warwike with his Marchmen entred at the other end, and fiercelie setting on the kings fore-ward, within a small time discomfited the same. The place where they first brake into the towne, was about the middle of saint Peters stréet. The fight for a time was right sharpe and cruell, for the duke of Summerset, with the other lords, comming to the succours of their companions that were put to the worse, did what they could to beat backe the enimies: but the duke of Yorke sent euer fresh men to succour the wearie, and to supplie the places of them that were hurt, whereby the kings armie was finallie brought low, and all the chéeftains of the field slaine and beaten downe.

The first battell of saint Albons.

Whethamsted.

Edw. Hall.

For there died vnder the signe of the castell, Edmund duke of Summerset, who (as hath béene reported) was warned long before to auoid all castels: and beside him laie Henrie the second of that name earle of Northumberland, Humfrie earle of Stafford sonne to the duke of Buckingham, Iohn lord Clifford, sir Barthram Antwisell knight, a Norman borne (who forsaking his natiue countrie to continue in his loiall obedience to king Henrie, came ouer to dwell here in England when Normandie was lost) William Zouch, Iohn Boutreux, Rafe Bapthorp, with his sonne William Corwin, William Cotton, Gilbert Faldinger, Reginald Griffon, Iohn Dawes, Elice Wood, Iohn Eith, Rafe Woodward, Gilbert Sharlock, and Rafe Willoughbie esquiers, with manie other, in all to the number of eight thousand, as Edward Hall saith in his chronicle: if there escaped not a fault in the impression, as 8000 for 800, sith hundreds in verie déed would better agréed with the number of the kings whole power, which he brought with him to that battell, being not manie aboue two thousand, as by writers appeareth.

The duke of Summerset slaine.

Thomas lord Clifford, saith *Whethamsted.*

Humfrie duke of Buckingham, being wounded, and Iames Butler earle of Ormond and Wilshire, and Thomas Thorp lord chéeffe baron of the eschequer, séeing fortune thus against them, left the king alone, and with a number fled awaie. Those that thus fled, made the best shift they could to get awaie through gardens and backesides, through shrubs, hedges and woods, séeking places where to hide themselues, vntill that dangerous tempest of the battell were ouerblowne. Diuerse of the kings house also that could better skill to plaie the courtiers than warriors, fled with the

The kings part vanquished.

first; and those of the east parts of the realme were likewise noted of too much lacke of courage, for their speedie withdrawing themselves, and leauing the king in danger of his aduersaries: who perceiuing his men thus fled from him, withdrew into a poore mans house to saue himselfe from the shot of arrowes, that flue about him as thicke as snow.

¶ This doone, saith one historien, the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike, and Salisburie, came vnto the king where he was, and besought him on their knées of grace and forgiuenesse for that they had doone in his presence, and besought him of his highnesse to take them to grace, and as his true liege men. The king desiring them to cease their people, that there should be no more hurt doone, and to obeie his commandement, did cause to be proclaimed in the kings name, that all manner of people should cease off their malice, and not to smite one stroke more, and so ceased the battell. And vpon the day next after, the king and the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike & Salisburie, came all to London; and were lodged in the bishops palace of London, where they kept their Whitsuntide with great ioy and solemnitie, concluding there to hold a parlement, the same to begin on the ninth daie of Iulie next following.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 678, 679, in Quart.

Another historien saith, that the duke of Yorke, aduertised of the place into the which the king was withdrawne for the safetie of himselfe, and taking him into his power, comforted him in the best wise he could; assuring him, that now that the common enimie of the realme was dispatched, to wit, the duke of Summerset, he had cause rather to reioise, than to be sorie, sith his destruction was the kings preseruatiō. And for himselfe and all his adherents he vndertooke, that they were and would remaine, during life, his most faithfull liege people, readie in all points to serue him, as his trustie and obedient subiects. After he had vsed such words, as wherewith best to comfort him, he brought the king foorth of that simple house with all due reuerence shewed toward him first to the shrine, and after to his chamber.

Whilist the duke of Yorke was about thus to comfort the king, the soldiers that had the victorie now in their hands, applied the spoile, namelie, the Northerne men, stripping not onelie those that had borne armor against them, but also the townsmen and other, with whom they might méet. So that it was thought, if the king had taken vp his lodging at his first comming thither, within the abbeie, as he did not (but in the midst of the towne, to prouide the better to resist his enimies) the abbeie had béene spoiled also. This was the end of the first battell at saint Albons, which was fought vpon the thursdaie next before the feast of Penthecost, being the thrée and twentieth day of Maie, in this thrée and thirtieth yeare of the kings reigne. The bodies of the noble men were buried in the monasterie in our ladies chappell, and the meane people in other places. This Edmund duke of Summerset left behind him thrée sonnes, Henrie, Edmund and Iohn, which to the extremitie of death tooke part with the line of king Henrie.

Battell of S. Albons on thursday the 23 of Maie.

An. Reg. 33.

Four of thē to wit, the duke of Sūmerset, the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, were buried in our ladie chappell.

[There was this yeare a great fight & fraie vpon Clift heath, distant about two miles from Excester, betwéene Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, against William lord Bonuile of Shut, and sundrie men of both parts were slaine. But yet the lord Bonuile preuailed & had the victorie, who foorthwith came to this citie, and the gates before being shut, were opened and he receiued; which thing so gréued the earle, that he continuallie sought thencefoorth to be reuenged. But not long after in the quarell betwéen king Henrie the sixt, and king Edward the fourth, he ended his daies, and was beheaded at Yorke, and was the last of that line.]

Iohn Hooker alias Vowell.

Whethamsted.

The duke of Yorke, hauing gotten the victorie, remembred well, that he had published abroad how the onelie cause of this warre was, for the aduancement of the common-wealth, and therefore vsing all courtesie, would not touch the kings person after anie violent sort; but with all honour and due reuerence conueied him to London and so to Westminster. To which place was summoned a parlement, which began the ninth daie of Iulie, in the which session, the late duke of Glocester was openlie declared a true subiect, both to the king and to the realme. Beside this, it was enacted, that no person should either iudge or report anie point of vntruth of the duke of Yorke, the earles of Salisburie and Warwike, or of anie knight, esquier, archer, or other, for comming in warlike araie against the king, at saint Albons; considering their enterprise was onelie to sée the kings person in safegard.

A parlement.

But all the blame was put vpon the duke of Summerset, Thomas Thorp, baron of the eschequer, and William Iosep esquier, the kings collaterall companion; bicause that they, vpon malicious purpose, kept a certeine letter from the kings knowledge, and would in no wise suffer it to be deliuered vnto him, notwithstanding the same made to the aduancement of some good peace, had it béene throughlie and aduisedlie read, weied & considered. In which letter they declared, that as faithfull and humble subiects, they required onelie, that it would please the king (whose honor, health, suertie, and preseruatiō, they chéefelie wished) not to giue credence to their aduersaries malicious suggestions, till their comming to his presence, vnto the which they humbly besought him that they might be admitted as his faithfull liege people, to shew the intent and purpose of their commings; which was to none other end, than to declare their fidelitie and allegiance towards his most roiall person, intending to put themselves with as

Whethamsted.

Collaterall.

A letter kept from the king of purpose.

much diligence and trauell in all things that might aduance his honour, health, and safegard, as any subiect he had liuing.

The kéeping backe of this letter from the kings sight and knowledge, did minister matter sufficient vnto the parlement, to colour and iustifie for well doone all transgressions committed in the late battell and chase at saint Albons. In this parlement also, the duke of Yorke was made protector of the realme, and the earle of Salisburie was appointed to be lord chancellour, and had the great seale to him deliuered, and the earle of Warwike was elected to the office of the capteineship of Calis, and the territories of the same; and thus the rule of the realme rested in the orders of the duke and chancellour, and all warlike affaires remained, principallie in the earle of Warwike. And so amongst them it was agréed, that king Henrie should reigne still in name and dignitie, but neither in déed nor in autoritie; not minding to destroie him, least they might suddenlie prouoke the furie of the common people against them, bicause that of the simple sort of people he was for his holinesse of life, and abundant clemencie, much fauoured and highlie estéemed.

The duke of Yorkes comming against the king iustified.

The duke of Yorke made protector of the realme.

The king to reigne in name but not in autoritie.

In this parlement also it was enacted, that the king should resume, take into his hands againe, haue and reteine into his possession, all honours, castels, lordships, townes, villages, manours, lands, tenements, wasts, forests, chases, rents, reuersions, fées, farmes, seruices, issues, profits, counties, aduousons of priories, churches, hospitals, and frée chapels, and all other reuenues with their appurtenances, the which had passed from him since the first daie of his reigne vnto that present; either by his letters patents, or autoritie of parlement, and manie other meanes, whether by grant, confirmation, or release from him made in féé simple, or féé taile, for tearme of life or yeares, to anie maner of person and persons in England, Wales, Scotland, or the marches; in Ireland, or in the townes of Calis, & Guisnes, & the marches there. And likewise all grants made of such things as are aboue mentioned, being parcell of the duchie of Lancaster; and further all grants of offices, roomes, fées, wages, or commodities, not accustomed to belong to anie office or charge before the said first daie of the kings reigne, were likewise reuoked.

Whethamsted.

An act for the K. to reuoke certeine grants.

Diuerse other things were also conteined within this reuocation and generall resumption; with certeine exceptions yet and prouisoes had, as were thought conuenient, and as by the same act it dooth appeare.

Shifting of officers.

Moreouer, now that the duke of Yorke and his adherents had wrested the whole rule & gouvernement into their hands; all such persons as the king either loued, or the quéene fauoured, were put beside the priuie councill; and such put in their places, as were knowne to fauour the house of Yorke. Also the officers were changed thoroughout the realme, at the will and disposition of the protector, chancellour, and capteine of Calis; so that they constituted as it were a triumuirat, ruling all things at discretion of these thrée. And yet in all their rule I find not that anie mention is made of their deferring of iustice, or of anie polling or briberie: as was openlie proued by such as gouerned before their time. Onelie they were noted of diuerse spirituall persons, and namelie of the abbat of Westminster and his moonks, for a great offense: bicause they tooke out of the sanctuarie at Westminster, Iohn Holland duke of Excester, all against the order taken in the last parlement, and sent him to the castell of Pomfret.

But now the lord Henrie Beauford, newlie duke of Summerset by the death of duke Edmund his father, slaine at the battell of saint Albons (as aboue is rehearsed) and Humfrie duke of Buckingham (who then & there lost his sonne and heire) and other of estate taking the part of king Henrie, whose case they did much bewaile & doubt, as perceiuing whereto the courtesie of the duke of Yorke did draw: they therefore thinking it necessarie to purueie for a remedie yer the mischéefe happened, consulted with the quéene. By whose aduise was a great councill called at Gréenewich, where the duke of Yorke was discharged of his protectorship, & the earle of Salisburie depriued also of his office. ¶ This sudden change amongst the nobilitie caused alterations, and seditious attempts in the commonaltie, and in especiall within London: whereof this was one. A yoong merchant, which before time had béene in diuerse cities of Italie, and there forbidden by the magistrats (as the law and maner is) to weare anie weapon, now challenged an Italian in Cheapside for wearing a dagger, telling him it was against his owne countrie lawes: wherto bicause the Italian answered somewhat disdainefullie, the merchant not onelie tooke by force from him his dagger, but also with the same brake his pate.

Henrie duke of Summerset.

The duke of Yorke discharged of his office.

1456

This Italian in great hast complained to the maior, so that at the next court holden at the Guildhall, the merchant was sent for, and vpon charge of his offense, he was commanded to ward. Wherevpon diuerse other light persons within the citie, assembled together in great plumps, by force constreined the maior to deliuer the prisoner out of Newgate: and not so satisfied, like mad men ran to the seuerall houses of diuerse Venetians, Lucases, and Florentins, and them spoiled, robbed, and rifled without reason or measure. The maior, perceiuing this enormous dooing, assembled a number of substantiall and graue citizens; who (not without bloudshed and maiming of sundrie) appeased the rage, and caused the misruled people to depart to their houses. The beginner of this vprore got him to Westminster, and there

An vprore in the citie of London.

A foule disorder.

registred himselfe for a sanctuarie man.

The quéene, which now againe ruled all, being aduertised of this vnlawfull misdemeamour, sent the dukes of Excester and Buckingham, with other noble men to London, with a commission oier and terminer, for the inquirie and punishment of so seditious an offense. But when the maior, the two dukes, and the two chéefe iustices were set in the Guildhall vpon their commission, intelligence was giuen, that a number of light persons were approching in armor to rescue the prisoners apprehended for the late robberie and riot, as they were caried to their arraignment. The two dukes and the other commissioners quickelie thense departed, and left their inquirie for that daie, though in déed in no such danger as they doubted: for certeine discrét and sage citizens so handled the matter, that no misorder followed of that furie.

The maior on the next daie called a common councell, whereof the number was an hundred fourescore and od, who ordeined that all wardens of mysteries should assemble their companies in their halles, where exhortation should be to the obseruation of peace; and if they spied any man either readie to stirre a rumor, or make to the deliuerance of such as were in prison, their names should be secretlie written, and so deliuered to the maior: which policie well appeased this outrage. Wherevpon after the commissioners sat in Guildhall, where manie of the robbers were attainted & put to execution, beside diuerse great fines set on the heads of diuerse merchants, & paid, for winking at the matter. ¶ This yeare Iohn Kempe archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, & Thomas Burstlier bishop of Elie remooued to his place, being the thréescore and third archbishop of that sée.

A common councell called.

¶ In the moneth of Nouember, in the Ile of Portland not farre from the towne of Weimouth, was séene a cocke comming out of the sea, hauing a great crest vpon his head, and a great red beard, and legs of halfe a yard long: he stood on the water & crowed foure times, and euerie time turned him about, and beckened with his head, toward the north, the south, and the west, and was of colour like a fesant, & when he had crowed thrée times, he vanished awaie. And shortlie after were taken at Erith within twelue miles of London, foure great and woonderfull fishes whereof one was called Mors marina, the second a sword fish, the other two were whales.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 681.

1457.

Fabian.

The French nation, hearing of the ciuall dissention within the realme here, and for an old grudge séeking our annoie, two nauies appointed they to inuade the townes standing vpon the riuage of the sea. The capteins of the one fléet was William lord Pomiers, and of the other sir Peter Bressie, a great ruler in Normandie. These two capteins, taking their course out of the mouth of Saine, seuered themselues the one westward; and the other eastward, which was sir Peter Bressie, who sailing amongst the coasts of Sussex and Kent, durst not yet take land, but staid in the Downes: and there hauing by espiall perfect notice that Sandwich was neither peopled nor fortified (because that a little before, the rulers of the towne were from thense departed, for to auoid the plague, which sore there afflicted and slue the people) he entered the hauen, spoiled the towne, and after such poore stuffe as he there found rifled and taken, he fearing an assemblie of the countrie, shortlie gat him awaie.

An. Reg. 35.

Sandwich spoiled by the French.

The lord Pomiers likewise tooke his course westward, & by night burning certeine houses in Fulnaie with a little pillage retired into Britaine. The Scots also (busie like flies where no flap to fraie them) entered into Northumberland (king Iames the second being there in person) & burned certeine poore houses, and litte cottages: but in the verie midst of their great enterprise, they hearing of the duke of Yorke marching toward them with a great host, with much paine and no gaine in all hast returned to their countrie. But now to passe ouer outward inuasions, & to intreat of the dailie disorder amongst the nobles at home. So was it, that a great conflict fell betwéene the lord Egremont, & the sonnes of the erle of Salisburie; in which manie persons were slaine, & a great number hurt. The lord Egremont, séeking to get awaie but could not, by force was taken & brought before the councell: where the king and the quéene, to shew themselues indifferent, adiudged him to paie to the earle of Salisburie a great summe of monie; and for his heinous offense against the lawes, was committed to Newgate in London, out of which he escaped, to the great trouble of the shiriffes.

Fulnaie.

The Scots inuade England.

The lord Egremont committed to Newgate.

He made an escape.

The quéene nothing more séeking than the ouerthrow of the duke of Yorke and his friends, and perceiuing she could attempt nothing against him néere to London, because the duke was in more estimation there, than either the king hir husband, or hir selfe; therefore she caused the king to make a progresse into Warwikeshire for his health and recreation. And so in semblance of hawking and hunting came to Couentrée, where diuerse waies were studied to fulfill the quéenes desire: for the accomplishing whereof, the duke of Yorke, the earles of Salisburie, and Warwike (whose destructions was chieflie sought) were sent for to Couentrée by the kings letters, vnder his priuie seale, to which place the said lords without suspicion of danger obedientlie resorted.

A practise to haue intrapped the duke of Yorke.

But being admonished by secret friends, what was intended against them, they by flight auoided that danger, where otherwise their liues had béene lost without all remedie. And so without bidding anie farewell, they departed from the court; the duke vnto Wigmoore in the marches of Wales, the earle of Salisburie to his castell of Middleham in the north, and the earle of Warwike

sailed to Calis. The bodies of which thrée noble personages though thus separated, yet their hearts knit in one, and still went messengers & letters betwixt them, to communicat their deuises, and giue signification of their minds and purposes.

In this yéere Reginald Peacocke bishop of Chichester, abiured at Paules crosse, all his bookes burnt, and he himselfe commanded to kéepe his owne house during his naturall life: because that he (verie well learned, and better stomached) began to mooue questions, not priuilie but openlie, in the vniuersities, concerning the annates, Peter pence, and other iurisdictions & authorities, which the pope vsurped; and not onelie put fourth such questions, but declared his mind and opinion in the same. Some saie he held that spirituall persons by Gods law ought to haue no temporall possessions, nor that personall tithes by Gods law were due [nor that christian men were to beléeue in the catholike church, nor in the communion of saints, but to beléeue that a catholike church and a communion of saints there is] and that he held how the vniuersall church might erre in matters of faith; and that it is not of necessitie to beléeue all that which is ordeined by generall counceles, nor all that which they call the vniuersall church ought to be allowed and holden of all christian people.

An. Reg. 36.

1458

The bishop abiured for moouing against the popes extortion.

W. P.

Moreouer, that it was méet to euerie man to vnderstand the scriptures in the true and plaine sense, & none bound to glosses of anie other sense, vpon anie necessitie of saluation. ¶ But because I find a larger report héereof elsewhere, and as more methodicall, so also (as it séemeth) in such forme as it was Res gesta, a déed doone, it shall not be amisse to insert the same. This bishop was a secular doctor of diuinitie, that had labored manie yéeres to translate the holie scripture into English, & was accused to haue passed the bounds of diuinitie and christian beléeve in certeine articles, of the which he was conuict before the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops and clearks, and after vtterlie abiured, reuoked, and renounced those articles openlie at Paules crosse in his mother toong on the fourth day of December, as followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag.
682, 683, 684, 685,
686, in Quart.

The forme of his abiuration.

In the name of the trinitie, father, sonne, and holie-ghost, I Reinold Peacocke bishop of Chichester vnworthie, of mine owne power and will without anie maner coaction or dread, confesse and knowledge that I here, before this time, presuming of my naturall wit, and preferring my iudgement and naturall reason before the new and the old testament, and the authoritie & determination of our mother holie church, haue held, written and taught otherwise than the holie Romane and vniuersall church teacheth, preacheth, or obserueth. And one is against the true catholike and apostles faith, I haue written, taught, and published manie & diuerse perilous doctrines, books, works, and writings, conteining heresies and errors, contrarie to the faith catholike, and determination of holie church: and speciallie these heresies and errours following, that is to saie in particular.

In primis, quòd non est de necessitate fidei credere, quòd dominus noster Iesus Christus post mortem descendit ad inferos.

Item, quòd non est de necessitate salutis credere in sanctorum communionem.

Item, quòd ecclesia vniuersalis potest errare in hijs quæ sunt fidei.

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

Wherefore I miserable sinner, which here before long time haue walked in darkenesse, and now by the mercie and infinit goodnesse of God reduced into the right waie, and light of truth, and considering my selfe gréuouslie haue sinned and wickedlie haue informed and infected the people of God, returne and come againe to the vnitie of our mother holie church, and all heresies and errors written and contened in my said books, works and writings, here solemnelie and openlie reuoke & renounce. Which heresies and errors, and all other spices of heresies I haue before this time before the most reuerend father in God, and my good lord of Canturburie, in diuerse and lawfull forme iudiciallie abiured, submitting my selfe, being then and also now at this time verie contrite and penitent sinner, to the correction of the church and of my said lord of Canturburie.

And ouer this, exhorting & requiring in the name & vertue of almightie God, in the saluation of your soules and mind, that no man hereafter giue faith and credence to my said pernicious doctrines, heresies and errors; neither my said books kéepe, hold, or read in anie wise; but that they all such books, works and writings suspect of heresies, deliuer in all goodlie hast vnto my said lord of Canturburie, or to his commissioners and deputies, in eschewing of manie inconueniences and great perils of soules, the which else might be cause of the contrarie. And ouer this declaration of my conuersion and repentance, I here openlie assent, that my said books, works, and writings, for declaration and cause about rehearsed, be deputed vnto the fire, and openlie burnt in example and terror of all other, &c.

After this, he was depriued of his bishoprike, hauing a certaine pension assigned vnto him for to liue on in an abbeie, and soone after died. His books were intituled: 1 Of christian religion, and a booke pertaining therevnto. 2 Of matrimonie. 3 Iust expressing of holie scripture, diuided into thrée parts. 4 The donet of christian religion. 5 The follower of the donet. 6 The booke of faith. 7 The booke filling the foure tables. 8 The booke of worshipping. 9 The prouoker of christian men. 10 The booke of councill.

In the moneth of Januarie died the earle of Deuonshire in the abbeie of Abindon, poisoned (as men said) being there at that time with quéene Margaret, to appease the malice betwéene the yoong lords, whose fathers wée slaine at saint Albons, and they that held with the duke of Yorke. The thirtéenth of Aprill there was a great fraie in Fléetstréet, betwéene men of court and the inhabitants of the same stréet, in which fraie the quéenes atturnie was slaine. For this fact the king committed the principall gouernours of Furniuals, Cliffords, and Barnards In to prison in the castell of Hertford; and William Tailor alderman of that ward, with manie other were sent to Windsor castell the seuenth of Maie. On thursdaie in Whitsunwéeke, the duke of Summerset with Anthonie Riuers and other foure kept iustes before the quéene in the Tower of London against thrée esquiers of the quéenes. And in like maner at Gréenewich the sundaie following.

The quéenes atturnie slain.

Iusting in the Tower of London.

King Henrie and his councill, perceiuing the duke of Yorke laie still and stirred not, returned to London, and there called a great councill, openlie declaring how the French and Scots (imboldened by the ciuill discord within this realme) attempted to annoie the same, as of late they had shewed apparant tokens, and likelie not ceasse vpon occasions to doo further displeasures, till a perfect concord were concluded betwéene him and his fréends, and those of the contrarie part and confederacie. And to the intent that he would be the chéefe author of peace, he promised of his dignitie so to interteine the duke of Yorke and his fréends, that all old grudges should be not onelie inwardlie forgotten, but also outwardlie forgien, which should be cause of perpetuall loue and assured amitie.

This deuise was of all men iudged for the best. Wherevpon diuerse graue persons were sent to the duke of Yorke, and all other the great estates of

The péeres of the

the realme, who since the battell of saint Albons neuer met nor communed together, commanding them for great causes to repaire to the kings court without delaie. At his commandement came to London Richard duke of Yorke, with foure hundred men, and was lodged at Bainards castell being his owne house; and after him came the earle of Salisburie with fiue hundred men, and was likewise lodged at his owne house called the Herbour. Then came the dukes of Excester and Summerset with eight hundred men, and were lodged without Temple barre; and the earle of Northumberland, the lord Egremond, and the lord Clifford came with fiftéene hundred men, and lodged without the citie. The earle of Warwike also came from Calis with six hundred men in red iackets, imbrodered with white ragged staués behind and before, and was lodged at the graie friers.

realme called to a treatie.

Thus were all those of the one part lodged within the citie, and those of the other without, in Holborne towards Westminster, and in other places of the suburbs, all vpon wise consideration: for that the Yorke faction and the Lancastrians could not well haue béene mingled without danger of discord. After that these lords were thus come vnto London, the king and the quéene shortlie followed, comming thither the seuentéenth daie of March, and lodged in the bishops palace. Bicause no riotous attempt or bickering should be begun betwéene anie of the parties or their retinues, the maior and aldermen of the citie kept great watch, as well by daie as by night, riding about the citie by Holborne, and Fléetstréet, with fiue thousand men well armed and arraied, to sée good order and peace on all sides kept.

The prouidence of the citie for safegard of peace.

The lords which lodged within the citie held a dailie councell at blacke friers; the other part sojourning without the walles, assembled likewise in the chapter house at Westminster. At length by the diligent trauell and good exhortation of the archbishop of Canturburie, and other prelats; both parties were persuaded to come to communication, and so did. Where, after long debating of grieuances on both sides, they promising to forget all old rancors, and to be fréends each to other, & both obedient to the king, were accorded by award, wherof writings were sealed, signed, and deliuered to effect as followeth.

The lords are brought to agrée.

The award made at Westminster on the threé and twentieth of March, Anno regni regis 36.

First, that at the costs, charges, and expenses of the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike, and Salisburie, fourtie & fiue pounds of yearelie rent should be assured by waie of a mortisement for euer, vnto the monasterie of S. Albons, for suffrages and obits to be kept, and almes to be imploied for the soules of Edmund late duke of Summerset, Henrie late erle of Northumberland, and Thomas late lord Clifford late slaine in the battell of saint Albons, and buried in the abbeie church, and also for the soules of all other slaine in the same battell. The said duke of Summerset, the earle of Northumberland, and lord Clifford, by vertue of the same award, were declared for true and faithfull liegemen to the king, and so to be holden and reputed in the daie of their deaths, aswell as the said duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike and Salisburie.

The clergie were sure in those daies to loose nothing by these contentions howsoever the world went.

Moreouer it was décréd, that the duke of Yorke should giue to Elenor duchesse of Summerset, and to Henrie duke of Summerset hir sonne, the summe of fiue thousand markes of good assignements of debts, which the king owght him for his wages, due during the time of his seruice in Ireland, to be diuided as the king should thinke conuenient, betwixt the brethren & sisters of the said duke of Summerset. Also that the earle of Warwike should giue vnto the lord Clifford, the summe of a thousand markes, in good and sufficient assignements of debts, which the king owght him, to be distributed betwixt the said lord Clifford his brethren and sisters.

Also where Thomas Persie knight, lord Egremont, and Richard Persie his brother, sonnes of the ladie Elenor countesse of Northumberland, had béen in a sessions holden within the countie of Yorke before Richard

The lord Egremont.

Bingham, and Rafe Pole the kings iustices and other commissioners, condemned vnto the earle of Salisburie in the summe of eight thousand markes; and to the same earle, and to his wife Alice in the summe of fiue thousand marks; and to Thomas Neuill knight, son to the said earle of Salisburie, in the summe of a thousand marks; and to the said Thomas and Mawd his wife, in the summe of two thousand marks; and to Iohn Neuill knight, sonne to the said earle of Salisburie, in the summe of eight hundred marks: for transgressions and trespasses there found to be doone by the said lord Egremont, and Richard his brother, vnto the said earle of Salisburie, Alice, Thomas Neuill, Mawd and Iohn Neuill, as by the record appéered.

It was ordeined, that the said earle and his sonnes should release all the said summes of monie, and the executions thereof, and likewise release vnto Rafe Verneie, and Iohn Steward late shirriffes of London, vnto whose custodie the said lord Egremont had béene for the same condemnations committed and from them escaped, all actions which they or anie of them might haue against the said Verneie and Steward for the same escape. Yet it was décréd by this award, that the said lord Egremont should be bound by recognisance in the chancerie, to kéepe the peace toward the said erle and his wife, children, seruants, and tenants.

They were shirriffes, an. 1456.

Also were diuerse knights, esquiers, and other seruants and tenants to the said earle of Northumberland, and to the said lord Egremont, were by their seuerall obligations bound, by occasion of the said debates, vnto the said duke of Yorke, earle of Salisburie, or anie of their children, to stand to their order and gouernement; it was ordeined that the same obligations should be deliuered to them that so stood bound, before the feast of saint Peter ad vincula next insuing at the cite of Yorke; or else that the parties so bound, should haue sufficient acquitances in discharge of the same obligations.

It was further awarded, that all variances, discords, debates, controuersies, appeales, and actions personals, that were or had béene betwixt any of the said persons, or any of their seruants, or tenants, should be for euer determined & ended, sauing to euerie one his title, action and right, which he had by any euidence of arrerages of rents or seruices, accounts, detinues, or debts due by reason of anie lawfull contract or déed, had and made for anie reasonable considerations, other than the variance before said.

And for the more assurance of both parties, it was ordeined that either should release to other all maner of actions, that were méere personals and appeales, which anie of them might haue against the other, by reason of the variances and discords before mentioned.

Also it was décréd, that if anie action, sute or quarell chanced betwixt anie of the seruants or tenants of anie of the parties, for matter or title supposed to be had, occasioned or mooued before this time; that from thenceforth, none of the said parties should mainteine, support, or aid any of them that will so sue and mooue strife and debate: but should rather so deale, as the matter may be brought to peace and quietnesse.

It was further awarded, that if anie man complained, pretended, or surmised, that this award was not kept, but in some point broken by anie of the parties, for the which breach he would haue a Scire facias, or some other action prosecuted in the kings name vpon anie recognisance made to the king for the performance of this award: yet should not the same Scire facias or action be prosecuted, till the kings councill might be throughlie certified of the matter by the complainant, and vpon consideration sée iust cause whie the same Scire facias, or action ought to be had and prosecuted in the kings name.

And if anie variance rose betwixt the councill of both the parties in making of the recognisances, releases, acquitances, or other writings; the same variance should be determined by the two

lords chéefe iustices, that should be fullie instructed of the kings intention in this behalfe.

And besides this, it was notified and declared by the same award, that the parties being seuerallie bound in the Chancerie in great sums to obeie and performe this award, ordinance & iudgement made by the king; it was the kings will and pleasure, that the same recognisances should stand in force, and no parcels of the summes therein contened to be pardoned in anie wise, without the agrément and consent of the partie, for whose assurance the same recognisance was taken.

And if anie of the said summes, or anie parcell thereof should be recouered by action or execution taken and prosecuted in the kings name, vpon anie of the said recognisances; the partie to whose hinderance the award was broken, should haue the one halfe of the monie so recouered; and the other moitie should be assigned to the treasurer of the kings house. ¶ This ordinance, award and agrément, was giuen vp vnder the kings great seale, at the kings palace of Westminster, the foure and twentieth daie of March in the six and thirtieth yeare of his reigne.

For the open publishing of this ioifull agrément, there was (vpon our ladie daie in March) a solemne procession celebrated within the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, at the which the king was present in habit roiall, with his crowne on his head. Before him went hand in hand the duke of Summerset, the earle of Salisburie, the duke of Excester, and the earle of Warwike; and so one of the one faction, and another of the other: and behind the king the duke of Yorke, and the quéene with great familiaritie in appéerance leading hand in hand. [But what shall be said? As goodlie apples corrupted at core, (how faire coated so euer they séeme) can neuer be made to become sound againe: nor rotten walles new plastered without, can euer the more staie their mouldering inward, till the putrified matter fret through the crust laie all in the mire: so fared it on all parts in this dissembled and counterfet concord.] For after this apparant peace (but inward discord) diuerse of the nobles smallie regarding their honors, forgot their oth, and brake their promise boldlie.

A solemne procession at Paules.

1459

An. Reg. 37.

W. P.

Not long after this, of pretended purpose (as it was thought) a fraie was made vpon a yeoman of the earle of Warwiks, by one of the kings seruants, in the which the assailant was sore hurt, but the earles man fled. Héerevpon the kings meniall seruants, séeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, assembled together and watched the earle, when he returned from the councill chamber toward his barge, and suddenlie set on him, the yeomen with swords, the blacke gard with spits and fierforks. After long fight, and manie of the earls men maimed and hurt, by helpe of his fréends he gat a wherrie, and so escaped to London. The quéene aduertised héerof, incontinentlie commanded that he should be apprehended and committed to the tower, where (if he had béene taken) he had shortlie ended his daies.

The earle of Warwike assaulted.

The quéenes purpose.

By this vnhappie fraie, there arose anon after such trouble and terrible warre, that the whole realme was thereby disquieted. For after this displeasure doone to the earle, and the quéenes good mind towards him by his secret fréends reuealed; he with all diligence tooke his iournie to Warwike, and after into Yorkeshire, where he found the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Salisburie, declaring vnto them the assault made vpon him by the kings seruants, and the pretended euill purpose of the quéene. After which complaint made, he fearing to be dispossessed of his roome at Calis, with great spéed imbarcked himselfe and sailed thither. He was not onelie deputie or lieutenant of Calis, but also high admerall of the seas, which office was to him confirmed for the space of fiew yeares. Wherevpon, whether before his arriuall now at Calis, or shortlie after, I cannot say; but this yeare about the middest of summer, the said earle, hauing with him a fouretéene well appointed ships, sailed abroad to scowre the seas, and by chance met with fiew great ships, whereof thrée were caraks of Genoa, and the other two were of Spaine, bigger in heighth and length than the caraks.

Whethamsted.

The earle of Warwike lord admerall.

The earle, though he was scarce able to deale against them, yet he valiantlie incountred them. There was a verie sore and long continued battell fought betwixt them, for it lasted almost the space of two daies. Yet in the end the victorie fell to the English, so that two of those ships being forced to saue themselues by flight, the other thrée were taken, which the earle brought vnto Calis, with all the merchandize aboard the same; the value whereof in wine, oile, wax, iron, cloth of gold, and other riches, was estéemed to the summe of ten thousand pounds & aboue. By reason whereof, that was sold now for twelue pence, which would not haue béene bought before for two shillings. There were taken a great number of prisoners, beside a thousand of the enimies slaine in fight. Of the earles part there were fiftie slaine. The earles fame héereby increased not a little, and manie a blessing he had for this péce of seruice.

A rich prise.

¶ The noble science of Printing was about this time found in Germanie at Magunce by one Iohn Cuthemburgus a knight: one Conradus an Almaine brought it into Rome: William Caxton of London mercer brought it into England about the yeare 1471: and first practised the same in the abbie of saint Peter at Westminster; after which time it was likewise practised in the abbies of S. Augustine at Canturburie, saint Albons, and other

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 686, 687.

Printing first inuented.

monasteries of England. In a little towne in Bedfordshire there fell a bloudie raine, whereof the red drops appéered in shéets, the which a woman had hanged out for to drie.

It rained blood.

But now to the former purpose. After that the earle was gone ouer to Calis, the duke of Yorke and the earle of Salisburie, falling in consultation together, it was at length agréed betwixt them, with aduise of their fréends, that the said earle of Salisburie with a warlike companie should march toward the king; and signifie to him by waie of complaint, both the manifest iniurie doone to his sonne, and also the vncourteous breach of the sworne amitie and late agrément. In which sute if he preuailed, he should not then let passe the occasion giuen for reuenge of displeasures to him doone, both by the quéene and hir sinister councillors. After conclusion of this deuise, the earle of Salisburie remooued from Middleham castell, accompanied with foure or fiue thousand men, and tooke his waie through Lancashire, to passe that waie towards London.

An. Reg. 38.

The earle of Salisburie gathereth a power.

Thrée thousand saith *Whethamsted*.

In the meane season, the quéene, assisted and ruled by the dukes of Summerset and Buckingham, hauing a vigilant eie to all hir businesse, imagined that the earle of Warwike had kindled this fier, to the intent to set the crowne on the duke of Yorks head. Wherefore she appointed Iames Twichet lord Audelie (bicause his power laie in those parties by the which the earle of Salisburie must passe) to raise an hoast of men with all spéed, and to giue battell to the same earle, if he saw cause and place conuenient. She had deuised a cognisance of the white swan, which she willed all such (as she knew to beare fauor vnto hir sonne) to weare, for a signification of their good minds and hartie loue towards him: which cognisance she had giuen to manie gentlemen of Chesshire, and other countries thereabout.

The lord Audelie.

Ex vetusto codice.

The quéene hir selfe laie the same time at Ecclesale in Staffordshire, but the K. remained at Colleshill in Warwikeshire, whither the earle of Salisburie meant to come, in pretense to haue communed with him for a reformation of matters depending in controuersie betwixt himselfe, the duke of Yorke, and others. But the quéene construing that they ment no good, neither to hir nor hir husband, requested the lord Audelie to apprehend him, if by anie means he might. The lord Audelie (according to his commission) assembled aboue ten thousand men of Chesshire and Salopshire, and knowing by his espials which waie the earle kept, approached néere to him vpon a faire plaine called Bloreheath, within a mile of a towne called Draiton in Shropshire. The earle, perceiuing in what ieopardie he stood, determined to abide the aduenture with fame and honour, rather than to flie with shame and reproach; and so incamped himselfe all the night on the side of a little brooke, not verie brode, but somewhat déepe.

Whethamsted.

Bloreheath.

In the morning earlie, being the daie of saint Tecele, he caused his souldiers to shoot their flights towards the lord Audelies companie, which laie on the other side of the said water, and then he and all his people made a signe of retreat. The lord Audelie, supposing his aduersaries had fled in déed, caused his trumpets quicklie to blow vp, and setting foorth his voward, spéedilie passed the water. The earle of Salisburie, which knew the sleights of warlike policie, suddenlie returned, and set vpon the lord Audelie and his chéefe capteins, yer the residue of his armie could passe the water. The fight was sore and dreadful. The earle desiring the sauing of his life, and his aduersaries coueting his destruction, fought sore for the obtaining of their purpose: but in conclusion, the earles armie, as men not looking for other succours nor meane to escape, but by their owne manhood, so egerlie assaulted their foes, that they slue the lord Audelie and all his capteins, and discomfited all the remnant of his people.

The 23 of September.

Policie oft times passeth force.

The lord Audelie slaine.

In this battell were slaine foure and twentie hundred persons, but the greatest losse fell vpon the Chesshire men, bicause one halfe of the shire was on the one part, and the other halfe on the other: of which number were sir Thomas Dutton, sir Iohn Doune and sir Hugh Venables, sir Richard Molineux, sir William Trowtbecke, sir Iohn Legh of the Both, and sir Iohn Egerton, knights; Iohn Done, and Iohn Dutton esquiers. But the earles two sonnes, the one called sir Iohn Neuill, and the other sir Thomas Neuill, were sore wounded, the which soberlie iorniang into the north countrie, were apprehended by the quéenes fréends, and together with sir Thomas Harington that was likewise taken, were conueied to Chester; but their kéeper deliuered them shortlie after, or else had the Marchmen destroyed the goales. Such fauour bare the commons of Wales to the duke of Yorks band, that they could not suffer anie wrong to be offered, or euill word to be spoken against him or his fréends.

The number slaine in the battell of Bloreheath.

The earle of Salisburies sonne apprehended.

After this battell at Bloreheath, the said duke of Yorke, perceiuing the destruction of him and his fréends was intended, and that his deuises were already disclosed to the king and the quéene, he thought now no longer to linger his businesse, but with all diligence to set forward the same. And therefore sending for his chéefe fréend the earle of Salisburie, after long conference of their weightie affaires, they determined to raise an armie, and by fine force either to win their purpose, or end their liues in the same. Héerevpon were men foorthwith assembled, fréends sent for, and a puissant armie gathered, both of Northerne and Welshmen, who in good order came into the marches of Wales adioining to Shropshire, determining there to abide their enimies, or to

The duke of Yorke assembleth an armie.

méet them; if occasion serued.

There came to him from Calis the earle of Warwike bringing with him from that towne a great number of expert men in martiall feates, whereof two were capteins knowne for men of great experience and approoued policie, as they had well declared the same in the warres of Normandie and Guien, the one called Andrew Trollop, and the other Iohn Blunt. The king, hauing aduertisement of the dukes dooings, sent fourth commissioners to leuie a power in all parts of the realme, where he thought to haue any faithfull fréends or faouurers: by reason whereof a great number of men of warre was assembled. Manie for the loue they bare to the king resorted to his side, but more for feare of the quéenes displesure, whose frowning countenance was their vndooing, and hir indignation their death.

Andrew Trollop.

Iohn Blunt.

The king raiseth an armie.

To be bréefe, the king accompanied with the dukes of Summerset and Excester, and other of the line of Lancaster, determined either by force or by policie to bring the duke of Yorke to confusion; and therevpon marching forward they came vnto Worcester, where as well to refresh his people, as to take further aduise what was best to be doone, he staid for a time. And at length it was determined, that the K. should first send vnto the aduersaries, a messenger of good account, as the bishop of Salisburie Richard Beauchampe, to offer vnto them a cléere and fréee generall pardon of all trespasses, offenses, and transgressions whatsoever; if they would giue ouer their enterprise, and become true and obedient subjectts.

Whethamsted.

The bishop of Salisburie sent to the duke of Yorke and others.

When the bishop was come vnto them, and had declared his message, they first withdrew themselues apart, and fell together in councell: and after they gaue answer by the mouth of the erle of Warwike, which consisted in thrée points. First, that as concerning the pardon, they durst not trust vnto it, considering they had diuerse pardons before, and the same confirmed by parlement, and yet nothing auailable to their assurance. Secondlie, that notwithstanding such pardons, those that were about the king, were presumptuous and vnrulie, that they cared not at all to breake the kings commandements, nor were any thing abashed to be noted for the breach thereof.

Their answer touching the pardon offered.

Thirdlie, although by law of the land, and right of the statute, euerie lord by vertue of the kings writ, being called to the parlement, ought safelie to come, safelie there to remaine, and safelie to depart and returne home: this notwithstanding, the said earle of Warwike himselfe, at a certeine councill holden at Westminster, by vertue of the kings writ of priuie seale, being there in person, & labouring to his knowledge to giue good aduise and councill for the profit of the commonwealth, was yet in danger of death, if the Lord about had not the better prouided for his escape, more than anie humane power or force of the kings pardon. "For the which cause (quoth he) sith the kings pardon maie be likened in these daies to a buckler of glasse, or to a staffe of réed, in which is no trust, we dare not commit our selues vnto the defense of anie such pardons." But if anie other waie might be deuised for their suerties, wherevnto they might safelie trust (he said) they were readie to come to his grace, and to sue for his fauour.

The king receiuing such answer in these words, or other to the like effect, was nothing contented therewith, and so commanded his standards eftsoones to aduance. But yet before he came néere to the place where they were incamped, the said lords wrote to him a letter in their owne excuse, protesting they meant no harme in the world against his person, as by their demeanors and procéedings it might well appeare, who had euer fled & withdrawne themselues from place to place, from towne to towne, from village to village, and from countie to countie. Which might serue for an euident token, that they sought for nothing but onelie their owne safegards & quietnesse of the realme, with so much fauour, as in good and safe suertie they might come to his presence, to declare certeine things which in their opinions might turne to the wealth of the realme: and further to make answer to all things that had béene obiected against them. And now (said they) we are here remaining in the vttermost parts of the land (that is) in the marches towards Wales, not farre from Ludlow, not vpon anie presumptuous meaning, but rather in all humble lowlinesse of mind and bodie to abide his graces comming: which they besought of God might be in some peaceable maner and fauourable in their behalves.

A letter from the lords to the king.

The king hauing receiued this letter, and coniecturing that some bitter meaning laie vnder so swéet a spéech, cōmanded his armie againe to march fourth; and comming within halfe a mile of the aduersaries campe, pitched downe his field, and fourthwith caused proclamation to be made, that who so euer of his aduersaries would giue ouer his lewd begun enterprise, and repaire to his presence to sue for mercie, he would pardon him of all offenses. This proclamation, comming to the vnderstanding of them in the duke of Yorks hoast, caused a great number that were there with him against the king, to get awaie & come to the kings side. Moreouer, there rose among the residue great murmuring: so as they séemed verie like to grow to a gréeuous mutinie.

A proclamation.

Amongst other of those that came to the kings campe, Andrew Trollop was chéefe, who with the other Calisians, which had long serued the king, and liued a long time by his wages, perceiuing now that they should fight against their souereigne lord himselfe (whose true subject they estéemed before that time the earle of Warwike euer to haue béene, and in no wise his enimie) in the dead of the night before the daie of the battell secretlie departed from the dukes campe, and submitted themselues to the king, admonishing him of all

Andrew Trollop forsaketh the lords.

Whethamsted.

things deuised against him. Wherof part was, that the duke of Yorke by his expert capteins appointed vpon a waie how to set vpon his enimies, & easilie to discomfitt them; so as on the next morning he meant to haue assailed the king and his people, yer they could haue béene readie or warie of his comming.

But now by the going awaie thus of his capteins and people, that purpose was disappointed. And Andrew Trollop thus departed, he was now as much discomfited, as before by trust in him he was encouraged: for all his counsell and purpose by Andrew disclosed, he thought it better for him & his to depart in suertie, than to abide the imminent danger. Whervpon he with his younger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland, secretlie fled into Wales, and so passed into Ireland, where he was with all ioy and honour gladlie receiued, all the Irish offering to liue and die with him; as if they had béene his liege subiects, and he their lord and prince naturallie borne.

The estimation of Andrew Trollop.

The duke of Yorke and his complices flée.

The earle of March sonne and heire apparant to the said duke, accompanied with the earles of Salisburie and Warwike, and sir Iohn Wenlocke, got awaie the same night, and came into Deuonshire: where, by the meanes of Iohn Dinham esquier (which after was high treasurer of England, in the daies of king Henrie the seauenth) they bought a ship which cost a hundred and ten marks at Exmouth, and sailed into Gerneseie, after came to Calis, where being let in at the posterne, they were ioifullie welcomed of their fréends, namelie of sir William Neuill lord Fauconbridge, that was the earle of Warwikes vncler, and brother to the earle of Salisburie, who had the towne and castell in kéeping. All these being assembled cast their heads together, and euerie one seuerallie had his deuise for the perfecting of their purpose, whereto there wanted in them neither will nor hardinesse.

But now to returne to the king. When in the morning he was aduertised that the duke of Yorke and his partakers were fled and gone, he caused all his horssemen to follow them; although in vaine: for they were got farre enough out of danger (as before ye haue heard.) The king pardoned all the poore souldiers, sauing certeine ringleaders; of the which some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this he remoued to Ludlow, and there brake vp his host, and spoiling the towne and castell, he sent the duchesse of Yorke with hir two yoong sonnes to be kept in ward with the duchesse of Buckingham hir sister. This doone, he proclaimed these lords, traitors to him, enimies to their countrie, and rebels to the crowne, confiscating their lands, goods, and offices: and committed the gouernance of the north parts to the earle of Northumberland, and to the lord Clifford, as to his trustie and most faithfull fréends, & of his towne of Calis he made capteine Henrie the new duke of Summerset.

The lords proclaimed traitors.

The duke of Summerset made capteine of Calis.

This duke reioising much in his new office, chose fourth diuerse valiant and hardie souldiers, and with great pompe shortlie after tooke the seas, and sailed towards Calis. But when he thought to haue entred the hauen, the artillerie shot so hotlie, both out of the towne, and from Risebanke, that he suffering there a sore repulse, was faine to land at Whitsandbaie; and sent word to the capteins of the towne to receiue him as the kings lieutenant, shewing to them his letters patents. But neither he nor his writing was once regarded: and so of necessitie he resorted to the castell of Guisnes, dailie skirmishing with the garrison of Calis, more to his losse than gaine. Diuerse of the mariners of those ships that went ouer with him, after his arriuall, owing more good will to the earle of Warwike than to this yoong duke, conueied their ships into the hauen of Calis, and in them diuerse of the earle of Warwikes enimies, as Iamin Findill, Iohn Felow, and diuerse others, the which being presented vnto the earle of Warwike, he caused their heads fourth with to be striken off.

Hastie heading.

Shortlie after, Richard lord Riuers, and sir Anthonie Wooduile his valiant sonne that was after lord Scales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike persons, were appointed to passe over to Guisnes, to aid the duke of Summerset against his aduersaries, which laie in Calis. But as they soiourned at Sandwich abiding for wind and weather to transport them ouer, the earles of March and Warwike had knowledge thereof, and sent Iohn Dinham with a small number of men (but a multitude of valiant hearts) vnto the towne of Sandwich, which suddenlie entered the same, and tooke the lord Riuers and his sonne also in their beds, robbing houses, and spoiling ships. And beside this, they tooke the principall ships of the kings nauie, and had them awaie with them to Calis [one excepted called Grace de Dieu which might not be had awaie because she was broken in the bottome] and there presented them to the earle of March, of whome he was ioifullie receiued. For though in the fight he was sore hurt & maimed in the leg, so as he halted euer after, yet he bare himselfe so worthilie in that enterprise, that his praise was great amongst all men.

Iohn Dinham.

The lord Riuers taken.

Iohn Stow.

¶ Sir Baldwine Fulford vndertooke on paine of loosing his head, that he would destroie the earle of Warwike: but when he had spent the king a thousand marks in monie, he returned againe. After this good fortune thus chanced to the lords, diuerse of the best ships taken in the hauen of Sandwich, were well vittelled and manned, and with them the earle of Warwike sailed into Ireland, to common with the duke of Yorke of their great affaires and businesse. The weather and wind were so fauourable to the earles purpose, that within lesse than thirtie daies he passed and

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 692.

1460

Sir Baldwine Fulford

repassed from Calis to Dublin, and backe againe.

his enterprise.

The duke of Excester, being chéefe admerall of the sea, laie in the west countrie, and durst not once meddle with the earle of Warwikes nauie, as he came by; by reason of the mistrust which he had in the capteins and mariners of his owne nauie: who by their murmuring well shewed that they wished the earle of Warwikes good successe. ¶ But here is to be remembred, that after the great discomfiture of the lords (as before you haue heard) and proclamation made against them as traitors, the duke of Yorke and the earles of Salisburie and Warwike had conference; and therevpon concluded with one assent, to write a letter excusatorie (supposing thereby to salue vp the sore) in all their names to the king: and so did, as followeth:

*Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag.
688, 689, 690, 691.*

A copie of the said letter excusatorie written by the said duke and earles.

Most Christian king, right high and mightie prince, and our most dread souereigne lord, after as humble recommendations to your high excellencie as will suffice. Our true intent to the prosperitie and augmentation of your high estate, and to the common-weale of this realme, hath béene shewed vnto your highnesse in such writing as we make thereof. And ouer that, an indenture signed by our hands in the church cathedrall of Worcester, comprehending the proofof the truth and dutie that (God knoweth) we beare to your said estate, and to the preheminance and prerogatiue thereof, we sent vnto your good grace by the prior of the said church, and diuerse other doctors, and among other, by maister William Linwood doctor of diuinitie, which ministred vnto vs seuerallie the blessed sacrament of the bodie of Iesus, wherevpon we and euerie of vs deposed for our said truth and dutie, according to the tenor of the said indenture.

And since that time we haue certified at large in writing and by mouth, by Garter king of armes, not onelie to your said highnesse, but also to the good and worthie lords being about your most noble presence, the largenesse of our said truth and dutie, and our intent and disposition, to search all the motions that might serue conuenientlie to the affirmation thereof, and to our perfect suerties from such inconuenient and vnreuerent ieopardies as we haue béene put in diuerse times here before. Whereof we haue cause to make, and ought to make such exclamation and complaint, not without reason, as is not vnknownen to all the said worthie lords, and to all this land; and will offer vs to your high presence, to the same intent, if we might so doo, with our said suertie, which onelie causeth vs to kéepe such fellowship as we doo in our léeful manner.

And hereto we haue forborne, and auoided all things that might serue to the effusion of christian bloud, of the dread that we haue of God, and of your roiall maiestie: and haue also eschued to approach your said most noble presence, for the humble obeisance and reuerence wherein we haue, and (during our life) will haue the same. And yet neuerthelesse we heare, that we be proclaimed and defamed in our name vnrightlie, vnlawfullie, and (sauing your high reuerence) vntrulie, and otherwise (as God knoweth) than we haue giuen cause; knowing certeinelie, that the blessed and noble intent of your said good grace, and righteousnesse thereof is, to take repute; and accept your true and lawfull subiects; and that it accordeth neither with your said intent, nor with your will or pleasure, that we should be otherwise taken or reputed. And ouer that, our lordships and tenants béene of high violence robbed and spoiled, against your peace and lawes, and all righteousnesse.

We therefore, as we suffice, beséech your said good grace, to take, repute, and receiue therevnto our said truth and intent, which to God is knowne, as we shew it by the said tenor of the same indenture. And not applie your said blessednesse, ne the great righteousnesse and equitie wherewith God hath euer indued your high nobilitie, to the importune impatience and violence of such persons, as intend of extreame malice to procéed (vnder the shadow of your high might and presence) to our destruction, for such inordinate couetise (whereof God is not pleased) as they haue to our lands, offices, and goods, not letting or sparing therefore, to put such things in all lamentable and too sorowfull ieopardie, as might in all wise take effect, by the mysterie of Gods will and power.

Not hauing regard to the effusion of christian bloud, ne anie tendernesse to the noble bloud of this land, such as serue to the tuition and defence thereof, ne not waieng the losse of your true liege men of your said realme, that God defend, which knoweth our intent, and that we haue auoided there-from as farre as we may with our suerties; not of anie dread that we haue of the said persons, but onelie of the dread of God and of your said highnesse, and will not vse our said defense vntill the time that we be prouoked of necessitie, whereof we call heauen and earth vnto witnesse and record, and therein beséech God to be our iudge, and to deliuer vs according to our said intent, and our said truth & dutie to your said highnesse, and to the said common-weale.

Most christian king, right high and mightie prince, and most dread souereigne lord we beséech our blessed Lord to preserue your honour and estate in ioy and felicitie. Written at Ludlow the tenth daie of October: R. Yorke, R. Warwike, R. Salisburie.

During this time the king called a parlement in the cite of Couentrie, which began the twentieth of September, in the which were attainted of high treason, Richard duke of Yorke, Edward erle of March his sonne and heire, Richard earle of Warwike, Edmund earle of Rutland, Richard earle of Salisburie, Iohn lord Clifford, lord Clinton, sir Thomas Harington, sir Iohn Wenlock, Thomas Neuill & Iohn Neuill sons of the earle of Salisburie, Iames Pickering, Iohn Coniers, Thomas Par, William Oldhall, and Henrie Ratford knights; Iohn Bowser, Thomas Cooke, Iohn Claie, Richard Giton, Robert Browne, Edward Bowser, Thomas Vaughan, Iohn Roger, Richard Greie, Walter Deuoreux, Walter Hopton, Roger Kinderton, Will. Bowes, Foulke Stafford, the lord Powis, and Alice countesse of Salisburie, their goods and possessions escheted, and their heires disherited vnto the ninth degré, their tenants spoiled of their goods, maimed and slaine; the towne of Ludlow, belonging to the duke of Yorke, was robbed to the bare wals, & the dutches of Yorke spoiled of hir goods.

A parlement at Couentrie.

Duke of Yorke and others attainted.

Ludlow spoiled.

But (saith another) when the king should come to giue his consent vnto the acts passed in the same parlement, and that the clerke of the parlement had read that statute of the attaindor of those lords; such was the kings modestie and great zeale vnto mercie, that he caused a prouiso to be put in, and added vnto the same statute, that it might be lawfull vnto him at all times fullie without authoritie of anie other parlement, to pardon the same noble men, and restore them againe to their former estats, degrées, and dignities in all things, so they would come in vnto him, and in the spirit of humblenesse beséech him of grace and fauour. ¶ Wherin the king gaue euident testimonie, that he was indued with those qualities of mind which the poet ascribed vnto Cesar (namelie slow to punish, & sad when he was constreined to be seuer: sith the one commended his lenitie, the other sauoured of tyrannie) in this distichon of like termination:

Est piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox,
Cuíq; dolet quoties cogitur esse ferox.

Herewith also order was taken for the defense of the hauens & landing places alongst the sea coasts. Sir Simon Montford, with a great crew of men, was appointed to kéepe the downes, and the fiue ports; and all men passing into Flanders were vpon paine of death prohibited to passe by Calis, least the lords there should borrow of them anie prest monie, as they did latelie before of the merchants of the staple the summe of eightéene thousand pounds. The lords were not ignorant of all the kings prouisions made against them, but were ascertained dailie what was doone euen in the kings priuie chamber: wherefore first they sent a companie to Sandwich vnder the gouernance of the lord Fauconbridge, who tooke the towne, & sir Simon or Osbert Montford within it, and sent him with all his mates to Calis, where incontinentlie he with twelue of his chiefe fellowes lost their heads on the sand before Risebanke.

¶ The earles at Calis sent to the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the commons of England at large certaine articles in writing, beginning thus: Worshipfull sirs, we the duke of Yorke, the earles of March, Warwike, and Salisburie, sued and offered to haue come to the king our souereigne lords most noble presence, to haue declared there afore him for our dutie to God and to his highnesse, and to the prosperitie and welfare of his noble estate, and to the common-weale of all his land as true liege men, the matters following.

Whethamsted.

The kings inclination to mercie.

Abr. Fl.

Ouid. de Ponto. lib. 1.

Osbert Môtford esquier saith *Whethamsted*, who should also haue gone ouer to Guines with fiue hundred souldiers to the aid of the duke of Summerset.

The lord Faucōbridge was chiefe of this enterprise saith *Whethamsted*.

Thirtéene beheaded at once.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 695, 698, 694, 695, 696, 697, in Quart.

Articles sent from the duke of Yorke, and the earles, to the archbishop of Canturburie and the commons.

In primis, the great oppression, extortion, robberie, murther, and other violences doone to Gods church, and to his ministers thereof, against Gods and mans law.

2 Item, the pouertie and miserie that to our great heauinesse our souereigne lord standeth in, not hauing anie liuelod of the crowne of England whereof he may kéepe his honorable houshold, which causeth the spoiling of his said liege men by the takers of his said houshold, which liuelod is in their hands that haue béene destroyers of his said estate, and of the said common-weale.

3 Item, how his lawes be parciallie and vnrightfullie guided, and that by them that should most loue and tender his said lawes, the said oppression and extortion is most faoured and supported; and generallie, that all righteousnesse and iustice is exiled out of the said land, and that no man dreadeth to offend against the said lawes.

4 Item, that it will please his said good grace to liue vpon his owne liuelod, wherevpon his noble progenitors haue in daies heretofore liued as honorablie and as worthilie as anie christian princes, and not to suffer the destroyers of the said land, and of his true subiects, to liue therevpon, and therefore to lacke the sustenances that should be belonging to his said estate, and find his said houshold vpon his poore commons, without paiement, which neither accordeth with Gods nor mans law.

5 Item, how oft the said commons haue béene greatlie and maruellouslie charged with taxes and tallages to their great impouerishing, whereof little good hath either growne to the king or to the said land, and of the most substance thereof the king hath left to his part not halfe so much; and other lords and persons, enimies to the said common-weale, haue to their owne vse, suffering all the old possessions that the king had in France and Normandie, Aniou and Maine, Gascoine, and Guien, woone and gotten by his father of most noble memorie, and other his noble progenitors, to be shamefullie lost or sold.

6 Item, how they can not cease therewith, but now begin a new charge of imposition and tallages vpon the said people, which neuer afore was séene; that is to saie, euerie towneship to find men for the kings gard, taking example therein of our enimies and aduersaries of France. Which imposition & tallage, if it be continued to heire, heires, and successors, will be the heaviest charge and worst example that euer grew in England; and the foresaid subiects, and the said heires and successors in such bondage, as their ancestors were neuer charged with.

7 Item, where the king hath now no more liuelod out of his realme of England, but onelie the land of Ireland, and the towne of Calis, and that no king christened hath such a land and a towne without his realme; diuerse lords haue caused his highnesse to write letters vnder his priuie seale, vnto his Irish enimies, which neuer king of England did heretofore, wherby they may haue comfort to enter into the conquest of the said land, which letters the same Irish enimies sent vnto me the said duke of Yorke, and maruelled greatlie that anie such letters should be to them sent, speaking therin great shame and villanie of the said realme.

8 Item, in like wise the king by excitation and labour of the same lords, wrote other letters to his enimies and aduersaries in other lands, that in no wise they should shew anie fauour or good will to the towne of Calis, whereby they had comfort enough to procéed to the winning thereof. Considered also, that it is ordeined by the labour of the said lords, that no where vittels nor other thing of refreshing or defense should come out of England, to the succour or reliefe of the said towne, to the intent that they would haue it lost, as it may openlie appeare.

9 Item, it is déemed and ought greatlie to be déemed, that after the same lords would put the same rule of England, if they might haue their purpose and intent, into the hands and gouernance of the said enimies.

10 Item, how continuallie since the pitious, shamefull, and sorrowfull murther to all England, of that noble, worthie, and christian prince Humfreie duke of Glocester the kings true vncler, at Burie, it hath béene laboured, studied and conspired, to haue destroyed and murdered the said duke of Yorke, and the issue that it pleased God to send me of the roiall bloud, and also of vs the said earles of Warwike and Salisburie, for none other cause but for the true hart that (God knoweth) we euer haue borne, and beare to the profit of the kings estate, to the common-weale of the same realme, and defense thereof.

11 Item, how the earles of Shrewesburie and Wilshire, and the lord Beaumont, our mortall and extreme enimies now, and of long time past, hauing the guiding about the most noble person of our said souereigne lord, whose highnesse they haue restrained & kept from the libertie & frédome that belongeth to his said estate, & the supporters & faouers of all the premisses, would not suffer the kings said good grace to receiue and accept vs, as he would haue doone, if he might haue had his owne will, into his said presence, dreading the charge that would haue béene laid vpon them, of the miserie, destruction, and wretchednesse of the said realme, whereof they be causes, and not the king, which is himselfe as noble, as vertuous, as righteous and blessed of disposition, as anie prince earthlie.

12 Item, the earles of Wilshire and Shrewesburie, and the lord Beaumont, not satisfied nor content with the kings possessions and his goods, stirred and excited his said highnesse to hold his parlement at Couentrie, where an act is made by their prouocation and labour, against vs the said duke of Yorke, my sonnes March and Rutland, and the earles of Warwike and Salisburie, and the sonnes of the said earle of Salisburie, and manie other knights and esquiers of diuerse

matters false and untrue imagined, as they will answer afore almighty God in the daie of doome; the which the said earles of Shrewesburie & Wilshire, and the lord Beaumont prouoked to be made, to the intent of our destruction and of our issue; and that they might haue our liuelod and goods, as they haue openlie robbed and despoiled all our places and our tenements, and manie other true men, and now procéed to hanging and drawing of men by tyrannie, and will therin shew the largenesse of their violence and malice as vengeable as they can, if no remedie be prouided at the kings highnes, whose blessednes is neither assenting nor knowing thereof.

We therefore, séeing all the said michiefes, hearing also that the French king maketh in his land great assemblie of his people, which is greatlie to be dread for manie causes, purpose yet againe with Gods grace to offer vs to come againe to the said presence of our said souereigne lord to open and declare vnto him there, the mischiefes aboue declared; and in the name of the land to sue, in as reuerent and lowlie wise as we can, to his said good grace, to haue pittie and compassion vpon his said true subiects, and not to suffer the same mischiefs to reigne vpon them. Requiring you in Gods behalfe, and praieng you in our owne, therein to assist vs, dooing alwaie the dutie of liege men in our persons to our souereigne lord, to his estate, prerogatiue, and preheminance, and to the suertie of his most noble person, wherevnto we haue euer béene and will be as true as anie of his subiects aliue, whereof we call God, our ladie saint Marie, and all the saints in heauen to witnesse.

In the meane time, the earle of Wilshire treasurer of England, the lord Scales & the lord Hungerford went to Newberie, which belonged to the duke of Yorke, and there made inquisition of all them that in anie wise had fauoured the said duke; whereof some were found guiltie, and were drawn, hanged, and quartered, and all the inhabitants of the towne were spoiled of their goods. From thence the earle of Wilshire went to Southampton; where, vnder colour to take the earle of Warwike, he armed fiue great caracks of Iene with souldiers, taking vittels of the kings price without paiement, and put a great part of his treasure into the said caracks, and after sailed about in the sea, and at last stale into Dutchland, sending backe againe his souldiers into England. Then were the kings priuie seales directed to all bishops, abbats, priors, and other states, to lend the king monie, therewith to wage souldiers to kéepe the sea coasts.

The earle of Wilshire and other spoiled Newberie.

The earle of Wilshire stale ouer the seas.

Priuie seales for monie.

After the kings nauie was gained, and his capteins (as before yée haue heard) on the sea taken; the lords lieng at Calis, being aduertised from the lord Fauconbridge (who after the taking of Montford laie still in Kent) that the people of that countrie and other parts were altogither bent in their fauour [and no lesse addicted to doo them seruice both with bodie and goods, than the Irishmen séemed to be at their receiuing of the said duke of Yorke, and his yoonger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland, whom they so highlie honoured, that they offered to liue and die in their quarell] they conceiued therevpon so great hope in their fréends within the realme, that they determined to passe the sea, and therewith entring their ships with fiftéene hundred men landed all at Sandwich.

Abr. Flem.

[But it is to be read in a late writer, that the commons of Kent dreading the like vengeance towards them, as fell vpon them of Newburie, sent priuillie messengers to Calis to the foresaid erles, beséeching them in all hast possible to come to their succour. Wherevpon the said earles sent ouer into Kent the lord Fauconbridge, to know if their déeds would accord with their words: so that anon the people of Kent and the other shires adioining, resorted to the said lord Fauconbridge in great number. Wherefore when the earles knew the willing harts of those people, they prepared to come into this land. Against whose comming, a long ballet was fixed vpon the gates of Canturburie, made in fauour of the duke of Yorke and the said earles, beginning thus: In the daie of fast and spirituall affliction, the celestiall influence of bodie transitorie, &c.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 697.

The men of Kent sent to Calis for the earles.

Now as they passed through Kent, there came to them the lord Cobham, Iohn Gilford, William Pech, Robert Horne, and manie other gentlemen; so that before they approached to London, their number was estéemed aboue fourtie thousand fighting men for the fame of their landing being once knowen, gentlemen and yeomen resorted to them out of all the south parts of the relme. Vpon which rumor, Thomas lord Scales, a man in great fauour with the king & quéene, accompanied with the earle of Kendall a Gascoigne, and the lord Louell, resorted to London with a great companie of armed men, declaring to the maior, that their reparaie onelie was to defend and kéepe the citie from spoile of such traitors as the king was credible informed were thither comming. To whom the maior answered, that he néeded no fellow helper, either to defend or gouerne the citie to him committed in charge. With which answer the lord Scales and his associats nothing contented, entred into the Tower, dailie deuising waies how to grieue the citizens, whom he perceiued to fauour rather the duke of Yorks part than the kings.

Whethamsted.

1460

But shortlie after the earles of March and Warwike, and other of their affinitie, came to London, and were of the maior and citizens ioiouslie receiued, to whome resorted Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Lincolne, Salisburie, Elie, and Excester, with manie other prelat and religious persons: amongst whome also was the popes legat to treat of peace, if

Couentrie the quéenes secret harbour.

néed so required. Vpon good deliberation and aduise had and taken amongst these lords how to go forward with their weightie enterprise, the earles of March and Warwike, William lord Fauconbridge, Henrie lord Bouchier, called earle of Eu, with a great number of men which came out of Kent, Essex, Surrie, and Sussex, to the number (as some writers affirme) of fiue and twentie thousand persons, departed from London toward the king lieng at Couentrie, then called the quéenes secret harbour, leauing behind them to kéepe the Londoners in their promised fréendship, the earle of Salisburie, the lord Cobham, and sir Iohn Wenlocke, which tooke such order, and watched the gates and entries on ech side so diligentlie, that no succours might come to the lord Scales lodging in the tower; who tooke therewith such displeasure, that he shot out his great ordinance against them within the citie, and they likewise shot at him againe, to the hurt and no pleasure of both parts.

The king hauing knowledge of all these dooings, assembled a great armie, and accompanied with the duke of Summerset (latelie come from Guisnes) and the duke of Buckingham, and diuerse other great lords that tooke his part, came to Northampton; where the quéene perceiuing hir puissance to be able to match in fight with the aduersaries, tooke vpon hir to encourage hir fréends and well-willers: for the king studied of nothing but of peace, quietnesse, and solitarie life. When the whole hoast of the kings part was assembled, the same issued forth of the towne, and passing ouer the riuier of Tine, lodged in the new field betwéene Harsington and Sandifford, stronglie fensing themselues about with high banks, and déepe trenches. On the other part, the lords being herewith aduanced verie néere the place where the kings people laie without Northampton; the bishops that were there with them, by the aduise and consent of the said lords, sent vnto the king the bishop of Salisburie, to vnderstand his mind, and to mooue him vnto some treatie of peace, and to admit the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other bishops there present, to be mediatours in the matter, that some good accord might be concluded betwixt the parties, so as an vniuersall peace might be restored in all parts through the whole realme.

The quéene the better
capteine.

Wethamsted.

The bishop of Salisburie dooing this message not so circumspectlie as had béene conuenient, returned without bringing anie towardlie answer; but rather words of high despite and vtter defiance. For the lords that were about the king, trusting in their warlike engines and strength of place, in which they were incamped, though otherwise inferior in number of men, purposed to abide the brunt of battell; and so led with the spirit of rashnesse, sent none other answer backe againe by the bishop, but contumelious words sounding greatlie to the reproch of their aduersaries; who being sore offended therewith determined to séeke reuenge with dint of sword. The earle of March as then being in the floure of his lustie and most couragious youth, lieng betwéene Toucetor and Northampton, determined to set on the kings armie without longer delaie: and therevpon in the night season remoued his campe toward Northampton, and in marching forward set his men in order of battell: whereof the vant-ward was led by the earle of Warwike, which either by strength or stealth wan a streict which the lord Beaumont kept, going toward the kings campe; and herewith entring freshlie with his people, began the battell about seauen of the clocke the ninth daie of Iulie. After him followed the earle of March with the banner of his father. ¶ Others write, that the earle of March led the fore-ward, the erle of Warwike the middleward, and the lord Fauconbridge the rere-ward.

The battell of
Northamptō.

Wethamsted.

Moreouer, that Edmund lord Greie of Ruthen who was on the kings side, failed in the trust committed to him: for where the enimies could not (without great danger) enter vpon the kings campe, by reason of a mightie trench and rampire pight full of piles and sharpe stakes, wherewith the campe was compassed about: the said lord Graie came with his men, and with helping hands pulled the enimies vp, and receiued them into the field where the battell was begun with great force & violence. For being now entred the field, they set vpon the kings people so fiercelie, that it séemed they ment either to obtaine the victorie, or to die for it, euen all the whole number of them. The fight continued right fierse and cruell, with vncerteine victorie, till the houre of nine: at which time the kings armie was discomfited, and of the same slaine and drowned in the riuier, few lesse than ten thousand; and the king himselfe left comfortlesse alone was taken by the aduersaries, as a man in great miserie.

The L. Graie of Ruthen.

Edw. Hall.

The kings part
discomfited.

The K. taken.

At this battell fought at Northampton, were slaine Humfreie duke of Buckingham, Iohn Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, a valiant person, and not degenerating from his noble parents, Thomas lord Egremont, Iohn viscont Beaumont, and sir William Lucie, which made great hast to come to part of the fight, and at his first approach was striken in the head with an ax. Besides these that were slaine, manie were taken prisoners, bicause they left their horsses, alighting to fight on foot. The duke of Summerset, and other, which narrowlie escaped, fled with the quéene and prince into the bishoprike of Durham. The earles, hauing got the victorie in this bloudie battell, conueied the king to London, and lodged him in the bishops palace. After whose comming to the citie, the Tower was deliuered to the erle of March, vpon a certeine composition; but the lord Scales suspecting the sequele of the deliuerie thereof, tooke a wherrie priuillie, intending to haue fled to the quéene; but he was espied by diuerse watermen belonging to the earle of Warwike (which waited for his fourth comming on the Thames) and suddenlie taken, was shortlie slaine with manie darts & daggers, and his bodie left naked and all bloudie at the gate of the clinke, and after was buried in the church adioining.

The Tower deliuered to
the earle of March.

The lord Scales slaine.

Then were diuerse persons apprehended, and indited of treason, wherof some were pardoned, and some executed. Thomas Thorpe second baron of the eschequer, was committed to the Tower, where he remained long after, for that he was knowne to be great fréend to the house of Lancaster. ¶ When quéene Margaret heard that the K. was taken, she with hir sonne, and eight persons fled to the castell of Hardlagh in Wales, and was robbed by the waie in Lancashire of all hir goods, to the value of ten thousand markes: from thence she went into Scotland. Thus you see what fruits the trée of ciuill discord dooth bring foorth; that euill trée, which whilest some haue taken paine to plant, and some to proine and nourish, for others confusion (to whome they haue giuen a taste of those apples which it bare, far more bitter than coloquintida) themselues haue béene forced to take such share as befell them by lot. For as it is not possible that a common fier, whose heat & flame is vniuersallie spred, should spare any particular place (for so should it not be generall) no more is it likelie that in ciuill commotions, rebellions, insurrections, and partakings in conflicts and pitched féelds (speciallie vnder ringleaders of great countenance and personage, such as be the péeres and states of kingdoms) anie one should, though perhaps his life, yet (a thousand to one) not saue his blood vnspilt, nor his goods vnspoiled.] During this trouble, a parlement was summoned to begin at Westminster, in the moneth of October next following.

Thomas Thorpe.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 700.

An. Reg. 39.

In the meane time the duke of Yorke, aduertised of all these things, sailed from Dubline towards England, and landed at the red bank néere to the citie of Chester, with no small companie: and from Chester by long iournies he came to the citie of London, which he entred the fridaie before the feast of S. Edward, the Confessor, with a sword borne naked before him, with trumpets also sounding, and accompanied with a great traine of men of armes, and other of his fréends and seruants. At his comming to Westminster he entred the palace, and passing foorth directlie through the great hall, staid not till he came to the chamber, where the king and lords vsed to sit in the parlement time, commonlie called the vpper house, or chamber of the péeres, and being there entred, stept vp vnto the throne roiall, and there laieng his hand vpon the cloth of estate, séemed as if he meant to take possession of that which was his right (for he held his hand so vpon that cloth a good pretie while) and after withdrawing his hand, turned his face towards the people, beholding their preassing together, and marking what countenance they made.

Whethamsted.

The duke of Yorke commeth foorth of Ireland.

Whethamsted.

A strange demeanor of the duke of Yorke.

Whilest he thus stood and beheld the people, supposing they reioiced to see his presence, the archbishop of Canturburie (Thomas Bourcher) came to him, & after due salutations, asked him if he would come and see the king. With which demand he séeming to take disdain, answered bréefelie, and in few words thus: I remember not that I know anie within this realme, but that it beséemeth him rather to come and see my person, than I to go and see his. The archbishop hearing his answer, went backe to the king, and declared what answer he had receiued of the dukes owne mouth. After the archbishop was departed to the king that laie in the quéenes lodging, the duke also departed, and went to the most principall lodging that the king had within all his palace, breaking vp the lockes and doores, and so lodged himselfe therein, more like to a king than a duke, continuing in the same lodging for a time to the great indignation of manie, that could not in aniewise like of such presumptuous attempts made by the duke, to thrust himselfe in possession of the crowne, and to depose king Henrie, who had reigned ouer them so long a time.

His bold spéech.

Maister Edward Hall in his chronicle maketh mention of an oration, which the duke of Yorke vttered, sitting in the regall seat there in the chamber of the péeres, either at this his first comming in amongst them, or else at some one time after, the which we haue thought good also to set downe: though Iohn Whethamsted the abbat of saint Albons, who liued in those daies, and by all likelihood was there present at the parlement, maketh no further recitall of anie words, which the duke should vtter at that time in that his booke of records, where he intreateth of this matter. But for the oration (as maister Hall hath written thereof) we find as followeth. ¶ During the time (saith he) of this parlement, the duke of Yorke with a bold countenance entered into the chamber of the péeres, and sat downe in the throne roiall, vnder the cloth of estate (which is the kings peculiar seat) and in the presence of the nobilitie, as well spirituall as temporall (after a pause made) he began to declare his title to the crowne, in this forme and order as insueth.

Edw. Hall. in Hen. 6. fol. clxxvij, &c.

The duke of Yorks oration made to the lords of the parlement.

My singular good lords, maruell not that I approch vnto this throne: for I sit here as in the place to me by verie iustice lawfullie belonging; & here I rest, as to whom this chaire of right apperteineth, not as he which requireth of you fauour, parcialitie, or bearing, but equall right, friendlie indifferencie, and true administration of iustice. For I béeing the partie gréeued, and complainant, can not minister to my selfe the medicine that should helpe me (as expert léeches & cunning surgians maie) except you be to me both faithfull aiders & also true councillors. Nor yet this noble realme and our naturall cuntry shall neuer be vnbuckled from hir dailie feuer, except I (as the principall physician, and you as the true and trustie apothecaries) consult together in making of the potion, and trie out the cleane and pure stuffe from the corrupt and putrified drugs.

For vndoubtedlie, the root and bottome of this long festured canker is not yet extirpate, nor the féeble foundation of this fallible building is not yet espied, which hath béene and is the dailie destruction of the nobilitie, and the continuall confusion of the poore communtie of this realme and kingdome. For all you know (or should know) that the high and mightie prince king Richard the second, was the true and vndoubted heire to the valiant conqueror and renowned prince king Edward the third, as sonne & heire to the hardie knight and couragious capteine Edward prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine and Cornewall, eldest sonne to the said king Edward the third: which king was not onelie in déed, but also of all men reputed and taken for the true and infallible heire to the wise and politike prince king Henrie the third, as sonne and heire to king Edward the second, sonne and heire to king Edward the first, the very heire and first begotten sonne of the said noble and vertuous prince king Henrie the third.

Which king Richard of that name the second, was lawfullie & iustlie possessed of the crowne and diadem of this realme and region, till Henrie of Derby duke of Lancaster and Hereford, sonne to Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster, the fourth begotten sonne to the said king Edward the third, and younger brother to my noble ancestor Lionell duke of Clarence, the third begotten sonne of the said king Edward, by force and violence, contrarie both to the dutie of his allegiance, and also to his homage to him both doone and sworne, raised warre and battell at the castle of Flint in Northwales, against the said king Richard, and him apprehended, and imprisoned within the Tower of London: during whose life and captiuitie, he wrongfullie vsurped and intruded vpon the roiall power, and high estate of this realme and region, taking vpon him the name, stile, and authoritie of king and gouernour of the same.

And not therewith satisfied, and contented, compassed and accomplished the death and destruction of his naturall prince, and most worthie souereigne lord, not as a common homicide and butcherlie murtherer, but as a regicide, and destroyer of his king. After whose pitious death, and execrable murther, the right and title of the crowne, and superioritie of this realme was lawfullie reuerted & returned to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire to ladie Philip the onelie child of the aboue rehearsed Lionell duke of Clarence, vnto which Rogers daughter called Anne, my most déerest and welbeloued moother, I am the verie true and lineall heire, which descent all you can not iustlie gainesay, nor yet trulie denie. Then remember this, if the title be mine, why am I put from it? If I be true heire to the crowne (as I am in déed) why is my right withholden? If my claime be good, why haue I not iustice? For suerlie, learned men of great science and knowledge say and affirme, that lineall descent, nor vsurped possession can nothing preuaile, if continuall claime be lawfullie made, or openlie published.

For the auoiding of which scruple and ambiguitie: Edmund earle of March my most welbeloued vnclie, in the time of the first vsurper, in déed but not by right called king Henrie the fourth, by his coosines the earle of Northumberland, & the lord Persie, he being then in captiuitie with Owen Glendouer the rebell in Wales, made his title & righteous claime to the destruction of both the noble persons. Likewise my most déerest lord and father, so farre set fourth that right and title, that he lost his life & worldlie ioy at the towne of Southampton, more by power than indifferent iustice. Since whose death, I comming to my full age, haue neuer desisted to pursue my title, and require my right, which by meanes of sinister counsell and vniust detention, I can neither obtaine nor recouer. So that of fine force I am compelled to vse power in stéed of praier, and force in stéed of request; not (as I said before) for my priuat emolument and peculiar profit: but to restore peace, loue, and quietnesse to this our naturall region, which euer since the first vngodlie vsurpation of the aforementioned Henrie, vntrulie called king Henrie the fourth, hath béene cléerelie banished, and out of the same vniustlie exiled.

What murthers and manslaughters haue béene perpetrated and committed within this cuntry, since the beginning of that vngratious vsurpation? What number of noble men haue béene slaine, destroyed, & executed since that unfortunate daie? It is too lamentable and manifest. For although Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derby tooke vpon him the scepter and the crowne, and wrongfullie bare the name and stile of a king; and was not much tickled with mine vnclie the earle of March, at that time being within age: yet was he neuer in suertie of himselfe, nor had or inioied any profit & quietnesse either in mind or in bodie. "For suerlie, a corrupt conscience neuer féeleth rest, but looketh when the sword of vengeage will descend and strike." His sonne also called king Henrie the fift, obtained notable victories, and immortal praises for his noble acts doone in the realme of France: yet God (for the offense of his vntrue parent) suddenlie touched him, vnbodieng his soule in the flower of his youth, and in the glorie of his conquest.

And although he had a faire sonne and a young heire apparant: yet was this orphan such a one

(as preachers say) that God threatned to send for a punishment to his vnrule and vngratious people, saieng by his prophet Esaie; "I shall giue you children to be your princes, and infants without wisdom shall haue the gouernance of you." The prophet lied not, if you note all things in an order: for after this Henrie the fift (whose fame no man can iustlie reprove or deface) succeeded his sonne, whom all we haue called our naturall prince, and obeyed as his heire. In whose time and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligentlie to consider, with what great torments and afflictions God hath whipped & scourged this miserable Ile: yea with such and so manie scourges and plagues, as no nation (the Ægyptians onelie excepted) were euer tormented or afflicted withall. I will not speake of rebellious murthers and oppressions, which of late haue béene doone and exercised héere among vs. But I will declare & manifest to you, how the crowne and glorie of this realme is by the negligence of this sillie man, and his vnwise counsell minished, defaced, and also dishonoured.

Is not Normandie, which his father gat, regained & conquered againe, by the insolencie of him & his couetous counsell? Is not the whole duchie of Aquitaine, by two hundred and od yeares peaceable possessed by the kings of this realme, in one yeare and a little more, gotten out of our hands & seigniorie? What should I speake of Aniou & Maine, or the losse of the Ile of France, with the rich cite of Paris. Alas it is too apparant. Neither will I molest you with the recitall of all the particulars thereof. But now in the midst of this affliction, and to make an end of the same: God of his ineffable goodnesse, looking on this countrie with his eies of pitie & mercie, hath sent me in the truth, to restore againe this decaid kingdome to his ancient fame and old renowme whereof héere in open parlement, according to my iust & true title, I haue and doo take possession of this roiall throne: not putting diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine aid, and assistance of you the péeres of this realme, I shall beautifie & mainteine the same to the glorie of him, honour of my bloud, and to the publike wealth as well of you all héere present, as of all the poore commons and subiects of this kingdome and regiment.

When the duke had made an end of his oration, the lords sat still as men striken into a certeine amazednesse, neither whispering nor speaking foorth a word, as though their mouthes had béene sowed vp. The duke not verie well content with their silence, aduised them to consider throughlie, and ponder the whole effect of his words and saiengs: and so neither fullie displeased, nor yet altogether content, departed to his lodging in the kings palace. While he was declaring thus his title in the higher house among the péeres, there happened a strange chance in the verie same instant amongst the commons in the nether house. A crowne which did hang in the middle of the same, to garnish a branch to set lights vpon, without touch of man, or blast of wind, suddenlie fell downe. About the same time also fell downe the crowne which stood on the top of Douer castell. Which chances where construed to be signes, that the crowne of the realme should some waie haue a fall.

Prodigious tokens.

The lords forgot not the dukes demand, and to take some direction therein, diuerse of them as spirituall and temporall, with manie graue and sage persons of the commonaltie dailie assembled at the Blackefriers, and other places, to treat of this matter, being of so great importance. During which time the duke of Yorke, although he and the king were both lodged in the palace of Westminster; yet would he not for anie praier or requests once visit the king, till some conclusion were taken in this matter: saieng, that he was subiect to no man, but only to God, vnder whose mercie none here superiour but he. ¶ The king of Scots, partlie encouraged thorough the ciuill discord here in England, and partlie for the displeasure which he had conceiued for the death of Edmund duke of Summerset his moothers brother, this yeare besieged the castell of Roxburgh: and by the breaking of a bombard, as the same was shot off against the castell, he chanced to be slaine. Yet the Scots left not off their enterprise, assaulting the castell till they gat it, and then defended it a long time after, till Richard duke of Gloucester wan it againe, and rased it.

The castell of Roxburgh besieged.

The king of Scots thorough misfortune slaine.

After long debating of the matter and deliberate consultation amongst the péeres, prelates, and commons, vpon the vigill of all saints, it was descended: for so much as king Henrie had béene taken as king by the space of thirtie and eight yeares and more, that he should inioy the name and title of king, and haue possession of the realme during his naturall life. And if he either died, or resigned, or forfeited the same, by breaking or going against anie point of this concord, then the said crowne & authoritie roiall should immediatlie be deuoluted and come to the duke of Yorke, if he then liued; or else to the next heire of his linage. And that the duke of Yorke from thense foorth should be protector and regent of the land. ¶ This was the determination of the parlement to & fro, tending to peace betwéene the king & the duke (which was ratified accordinglie) as by the articles insuing dooth appeare.

The determination of the parlement cōcerning the intailing of crowne.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 700, 701, &c. in Quart.

The articles betwixt king Henrie and the duke of Yorke.

Blessed be Iesu, in whose hands and bountie resteth and is the peace and vntie betwixt princes, and the weale of euerie realme: by whose direction (I know) agréed it is, appointed, and accorded as followeth, betwixt the most high and most mightie prince king Henrie the sixt, king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke on the other partie: vpon certeine matters of variance mooued betwixt them, and especiallie vpon the claime and title vnto the crownes of England and of France, and roiall power, estate and dignitie apperteining to the same, and lordship of Ireland, opened, shewed, and declared by the said duke, before all the lords spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement.

First, where the said Richard duke of Yorke hath declared and opened (as his aboue said) title & claime in maner as followeth.

That the right noble and woorthie prince, Henrie king of England the third had issue, and lawfullie got Edward the first begotten sonne, borne at Westminster, the fiftéenth kalends of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1239, & Edmund his second sonne which was borne on S. Marcells daie, the yere 1245, the which Edward, after the death of king Henrie his father, intituled & called king Edward the first, had issue, Edward his first begotten sonne, called (after the deceasse of his father) king Edward the second, the which had issue, Edward the third; which Edward the third had issue, Edward prince of Wales; William of Hatfield his second sonne; Lionell the third, duke of Clarence; Iohn of Gant, fourth duke of Lancaster; Edmund of Langlie fift, duke of Yorke; Thomas of Woodstoke sixt, duke of Glocester; and William of Windsor seauenth.

The said Edward prince of Wales, which died in the life time of his father, had issue Richard, which succéded Edward the third his grandsire; Richard died without issue; William of Hatfield the second sonne of Edward the third, died without issue; Lionell the third sonne of Edward the third, duke of Clarence, had issue Philip his daughter and heire, which was coupled in matrimonie vnto Edmund Mortimer earle of March, and had issue Roger Mortimer earle of March hir sonne and heire; which Roger had issue of Edmund erle of March, Roger Mortimer, Anne, Elianor; which Edmund, Roger, and Elianor died without issue.

And the said Anne coupled in matrimonie to Richard earle of Cambridge, the sonne of Edmund of Langleie, the fift sonne of Henrie the third, and had issue Richard Plantagenet, commonlie called duke of Yorke; Iohn of Gant, the fourth sonne of Edward and the yoonger brother of the said Lionell, had issue Henrie earle of Derby, who incontinentlie after that king Richard resigned the crownes of the realmes and lordship of Ireland, vnrighteouslie entered vpon the same, then being alieue Edmund Mortimer earle of March, sonne to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of the said Philip, daughter and heire of the said Lionell, the third sonne of the said king Edward the third, to the which Edmund the right and title of the said crownes and lordship by law and custome belonged. To the which Richard duke of Yorke, as sonne to Anne daughter to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of the said Philip, daughter and heire of the said Lionell, the third sonne of king Edward the third, the right, title, dignitie roiall, and estate of the crownes of the realmes of England and France, and the lordship of Ireland pertaineth and belongeth afore anie issue of the said Iohn of Gant, the fourth sonne of the same king Edward.

The said title notwithstanding, and without preiudice of the said Richard duke of Yorke, tenderlie desiring the wealth, rest, and prosperitie of this land, and to set apart all that might be trouble to the same, and considering the possession of the said king Henrie the sixt, and that he hath for his time béene named, taken, and reputed for king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, is contented, agréed, and consenteth, that he be had, reputed, and taken for king of England and France, with the roiall estate, dignitie, and preheminance belonging therevnto, and lord of Ireland during his naturall life. And for that time, the said duke, without hurt or preiudice of his said right, and title, shall take, worship, and honour him for his souereigne lord.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall promit and bind him by his solemne oth, in maner and forme as followeth.

In the name of God Amen: I Richard duke of Yorke, promise and swear by the faith and truth that I owe to almightie God, that I shall neuer consent, procure, or stirre, directlie or indirectlie, in priuie or apert, neither (as much as in me is) shall suffer to be doone, consented, procured, or stirred, anie thing that may sound to the abridgement of the naturall life of king Henrie the sixt, or to the hurt or diminishing of his reigne or dignitie roiall, by violence, or anie other waie, against his frédome or libertie: but if any person or persons would doo or presume anie thing to the contrarie, I shall with all my might and power withstand it, and make it to be withstood, as far as my power will stretch therevnto, so helpe me God and his holie euangelists.

The oth of Richard duke of Yorke.

Item, Edward earle of March, and Edmund earle of Rutland, sonnes of the said duke of Yorke, shall make like oth.

Item, it is accorded, appointed, and agréed that the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall be called and reputed from hencefoorth, verie and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall estate, dignitie and lordship aboue said; and after the deceasse of the said king Henrie, or when he will laie from him the said crownes, estate, dignitie, and lordship, the said duke and his heires shall immediatlie succéed to the said crownes, roiall estate, dignitie and lordship.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall haue by authoritie of this present parlement, castels,

manors, lands, and tenements, with the wards, marriages, relieves, services, fines, amercements, offices, advowsons, fees, and other appurtenances to them belonging, what soever they be, to the yearlie value of ten thousand marks, over all charges and reprises; whereof five thousand marks shall be to his owne state, three thousand five hundred marks to Edward his first begotten sonne earle of March for his estate, and one thousand pounds to Edmund earle of Rutland his second sonne for his yearlie sustentation, in such consideration and such intent as shall be declared by the lords of the kings councill.

Item, if anie person or persons imagine or compass the death of the said duke, and thereof probable be attained of open deed doone by folkes of other condition, that it be deemed & adiudged high treason.

Item, for the more establishing of the said accord, it is appointed and consented, that the lords spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement, shall make oths, to accept, take, worship, and repute the said Richard duke of Yorke and his heires, as aboue is rehearsed, and keepe, obserue, and strengthen (in as much as apperteineth vnto them) all the things abouesaid, and resist to their power, all them that would presume the contrarie, according to their estates and degrés.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, earles of March, and Rutland, shall permit and make other to helpe, aid, and defend the said lords, and euerie of them against all those that will quarell, or anie thing attempt against the said lords, or anie of them, by occasion of agréement or consenting to the said accord, or assistance giuing to the duke and earles, or anie of them.

Item, it is agréed and appointed, that this accord, and euerie article thereof, be opened and notified by the kings letters patents, or otherwise, at such times and places, and in maner as it shall be thought expedient to the said Richard duke of Yorke, with the aduise of the lords of the kings councill. The king vnderstandeth certeinlie the said title of the said Richard duke of Yorke, iust, lawfull, and sufficient, by the aduise and assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons in this parlement assembled; and by authoritie of the same parlement declareth, approoueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, and accepteth the said title, iust, good, lawfull, and true, and therevnto giueth his assent and agréement of his free will and libertie.

And ouer that, by the said aduise and authoritie declareth, intituleth, calleth, establisheth, affirmeth, & reputeth the said Richard duke of Yorke, verie true and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall estate, and dignitie of the realmes of England and of France, and of the lordship of Ireland aforesaid; and that according to the worship and reuerence that thereto belongeth, he be taken, accepted and reputed, in worship & reuerence, by all the states of the said realme of England, and of all his subiects thereof; sauing and ordeining by the same authoritie, the king to haue the said crownes, realme, roiall estate, dignitie, and preheminance of the same, and the said lordship of Ireland during his life naturall.

And furthermore, by the same aduise and authoritie willeth, consenteth and agréeth, that after his deceasse, or when it shall please his highnesse to laie from him the said crownes, estate, dignitie, and lordship, the said Richard duke of Yorke and his heires shall immediatlie succed him in the said crownes, roiall estate, dignitie, and worship, and them then haue and inioie; anie act of parlement, statute, or ordinance, or other thing to the contrarie made, or interruption, or discontinuance of possession notwithstanding.

And moreouer, by the said aduise and authoritie, establisheth, granteth, confirmeth, approoueth, ratifieth, and accepteth the said accord, and all things therein contained, and therevnto freele and absolutelie assenteth, agréeth; and by the same aduise and authoritie ordeineth and establisheth, that if anie person or persons imagine or compass the death of the said duke, & probable be attained of open deed doone by folks of that condition, that it be deemed and adiudged high treason.

And furthermore ordeineth and establisheth by the said aduise and authoritie, that all statutes, ordinances, and acts of parlement, made in the time of the said king Henrie the fourth, by the which he and the heires of his bodie, comming of Henrie late king of England the fift, the sonne and heire of the said king Henrie the fourth, and the heires of king Henrie the fift, were or be inheritable to the said crownes and realmes, or to the heritage of the same, be annulled, repealed, damned, cancelled, void, and of none effect.

And ouer this, the king by the said aduise, assent and authoritie, ordeineth and establisheth, that all other acts and statutes made afore this time by act of parlement, not repealed or annulled by like authoritie, or otherwise void, be in such force, effect, and vertue, as they were afore the making of these ordinances; and that no letters patents, roialx of record, nor acts iudiciall, made or doone afore this time not repealed, reuersed, ne otherwise void by law, be preiudiced or hurt by this present act.

This agréement put in articles, was ingrossed, sealed, and sworne vnto by the two parties, and also enacted in the parlement. For ioy whereof the king, hauing in his companie the duke of Yorke, rood to the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, and there on the day of all saints with the crowne on his head went solemnelie in procession, and was lodged a good space after in the bishops palace, néer to the said church. And vpon the saturday next insuing, Richard duke of Yorke was by sound of trumpet

The duke of Yorke
proclaimed heire
apparat & protectour
of the realme.

The parlemēt at

solemnelie proclamed heire apparant to the crowne of England, and protectour of the realme. After this, the parlement kept at Couentrie the last yeare, was declared to be a diuelish counsell, and onelie had for destruction of the nobilitie, and was indéed no lawfull parlement: bicause they which were returned, were neuer elected according to the due order of the law, but secretlie named by them which desired rather the destruction than the aduancement of the common-wealth. When these agréments were enacted, the king dissolved his parlement, which was the last parlement that euer he ended.

Couentrie made frustrat.

The duke of Yorke, well knowing that the quéene would spurne against all this, caused both hir and hir sonne to be sent for by the king. But she as woont rather to rule, than to be ruled, and thereto counselled by the dukes of Excester and Summerset not onelie denied to come, but also assembled a great armie, intending to take the king by fine force out of the lords hands. The protector in London hauing knowledge of all these dooings, assigned the duke of Norffolke, and erle of Warwike his trustie fréends to be about the king, while he with the earles of Salisburie and Rutland and a conuenient number departed out of London the second daie of December northward, and appointed the earle of March his eldest sonne to follow him with all his power. The duke came to his castell of Sandall beside Wakefield on Christmasse éeuen, & there began to make muster of his tenants and fréends. The quéene thereof ascertained, determined to cope with him yer his succour were come.

Now she, hauing in hir companie the prince hir sonne, the dukes of Excester and Summerset, the earle of Deuonshire, the lord Clifford, the lord Ros, and in effect all the lords of the north parts, with eightéene thousand men, or (as some write) two and twentie thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield, and bad base to the duke, euen before his castell gates. He hauing with him not fullie fiue thousand persons, contrarie to the minds of his faithfull counsellors, would néeds issue foorth to fight with his enimies. The duke of Summerset and the quéenes part, casting vpon their most aduantage, appointed the lord Clifford to lie in one stale, and the earle of Wilshire in another, and the duke with other to kéepe the manie battell. The duke of Yorke with his people descended downe the hill in good order and arraie, and was suffered to passe on towards the maine battell.

But when he was in the plaine field betwéene his castell and the towne of Wakefield, he was inuironed on euerie side, like fish in a net, so that though he fought manfullie, yet was he within halfe an houre slaine and dead, and his whole armie discomfited: with him died of his trustie fréends, his two bastard vncles, sir Iohn and sir Hugh Mortimers, sir Dauie Hall, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Neuill, William and Thomas Apparre, both brethren; and two thousand and eight hundred others, whereof manie were yoong gentlemen, and heires of great parentage in the south parts, whose kin reuenged their deaths within foure moneths next, as after shall appeare.

The battell Wakefield.

The duke of Yorke slaine.

Onelie seauen hundred southerne men saith *Whethamsted*.

In this conflict was wounded and taken prisoner, Richard earle of Salisburie, sir Richard Limbricke, Rafe Stanleie, Iohn Harow, capteine Hanson, and diuerse others. The lord Clifford, perceiuing where the earle of Rutland was conueied out of the field (by one of his fathers chapleins, and scholemaister to the same earle) and ouertaking him, stabbed him to the heart with a dagger as he knéeled afore him. This earle was but a child at that time of twelue yeares of age, whome neither his tender yeares, nor dolorous countenance, with holding vp both his hands for mercie (for his speach was gone for feare) could mooue the cruell heart of the lord Clifford to take pitie vpon him, so that he was noted of great infamie for that his vnmercifull murther vpon that yoong gentleman.

The cruell murther of the yoong earle of Rutland.

But the same lord Clifford not satisfied herewith, came to the place where the dead corpse of the duke of Yorke laie, caused his head to be striken off, and set on it a crowne of paper, fixed it to a pole and presented it on the quéene, not lieng farre from the field, in great despite, at which great reioising was shewed: but they laughed then that shortlie after lamented, and were glad then of other mens deaths that knew not their owne to be so néere at hand. ¶ Some write that the duke was taken aliue, and in derision caused to stand vpon a molehill, on whose head they put a garland in stéed of a crowne, which they had fashioned and made of sedges or bulrushes; and hauing so crowned him with that garland, they knéeled downe afore him (as the Iewes did vnto Christ) in scorne, saieing to him; "Haile king without rule, haile king without heritage, haile duke and prince without people or possessions." And at length hauing thus scorned him with these and diuerse other the like despitefull words, they stroke off his head, which (as yée haue heard) they presented to the quéene.

Whethamsted.

Manie déemed that this miserable end chanced to the duke of Yorke, as a due punishment for breaking his oth of allegiance vnto his souereigne lord king Henrie: but others held him discharged thereof, bicause he obtained a dispensation from the pope, by such suggestion as his procurators made vnto him, whereby the same oth was adjudged void, as that which was receiued vnaduisedly, to the preiudice of himselve, and disheriting of all his posteritie. After this victorie by the quéene, the earle of Salisburie and all the prisoners were sent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, whose heads (together with the duke of Yorkes head) were conueied to Yorke, and there set on poles ouer the gate of the citie, in despite of them and their linage.

A purchase of Gods curse with the popes blessing.

The prisoners beheaded.

1461.

The earle of March, now after the death of his father, verie duke of Yorke, lieng at Glocester, was woonderfullie amazed, when the sorrowfull newes of these mishaps came vnto him: but after comfort giuen to him by his faithfull louers and assured alies, he remooued to Shrewesburie, declaring to the inhabitants of that towne, and to them of the other townes in those parties the murther of his father, the ieopardie of himselfe, and the present ruine of the common-wealth.

The earle of March now duke of Yorke.

The people on the marches of Wales, for the fauour which they bare to the Mortimers linage, more gladlie offered him their aid and assistance than he could desire the same; so that he had incontinentlie a puissant armie, to the number of thrée and twentie thousand, readie to go against the quéene, and the murtherers of his father. But when he was setting forward, newes was brought to him, that Iasper earle of Penbroke halfe brother to king Henrie, and Iames Butler earle of Ormund and Wilshire, had assembled a great number of Welsh and Irish people to take him: he herewith quickned, retired backe and met with his enimies in a faire plaine, néere to Mortimers crosse, not far from Hereford east, on Candlemasse daie in the morning. At which time the sunne (as some write) appeared to the earle of March like thrée sunnes, and suddenlie ioined altogither in one. Vpon which sight he tooke such courage, that he fiercelie setting on his enimies, put them to flight: and for this cause men imagined, that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnesse for his badge or cognisance. Of his enimies were left dead on the ground thrée thousand and eight hundred.

The earle of Penbroke.

The battell of Mortimers crosse.

The cognisance of bright sunne.

The earles of Penbroke and Wilshire fled, but sir Owen Teuther father to the said earle of Penbroke (which Owen had married king Henries mother, as yée haue heard before) with Dauid Floyd, Morgan ap Reuther, and diuerse other were taken, and beheaded at Hereford. The quéene neuer the lesse encouraged by hir late victorie, with a multitude of northerne people, marched toward London, intending to vndoo all that had béene ordeined in the last parlement. These northerne people, after they were once passed ouer the riuier of Trent, spoiled and wasted the countrie afore them, in maner as if they had béene in the land of forren enimies. At length, they approched to saint Albons, hearing that the duke of Northfolke, and the earle of Warwike, with other whome the duke of Yorke had left to gouerne the king in his absence, had (by the kings assent) assembled a great hoast, and were incamped néere to that towne.

Owen Teuther and other taken and beheaded.

Whethamsted.

Those northerne lords and other that were with the quéene, made forward, and entring into S. Albons, meant to passe through the towne, and so to coape with their enimies; but finding a sort of archers ranged néere to the great crosse in the market place, to defend their passage, they were receiued with such a storme of arrowes, which came flieng about their eares as thicke as haile, that they were quicklie repelled backe, and with losse driuen to retire in hast vnto the west end of the towne; where by a lane that leadeth northwards vp to saint Peters stréet, they made their entrie, and had there also a sharpe iuncounter against certeine bands of the kings people. But after great slaughter on both parts, they got through, and vpon the heath that lieth at the north end of the towne, called Barnard heath, they had a farre greater conflict with foure or fiue thousand of the kings armie, that séemed as they had béene auant courrers.

The northern men enter into S. Albons.

They passe through it.

These gaue the onset so fiercelie at the beginning, that the victorie rested doubtfull a certeine time, so that if the easterne and southerne men had continued as they began, the field had béene theirs; but after they had stood to it a pretie while, and perceiued none of their fellowes from the great armie to come and assist them, they began to faint, and turning their backes, fled amaine ouer hedge and ditch, through thicke and thin, woods and bushes, séeking so to escape the hands of their cruell enimies that followed them with eger minds, to make slaughter vpon them, namelie, the northern prickers, now in the chase pursued most hotlie, and bare downe manie, and more had doone, if the night comming vpon, had not staid them.

The second battell at S. Albons.

The kings part fléeth.

When the daie was closed, those that were about the king (in number a twentie thousand) hearing how euill their fellowes had sped, began vtterlie to despair of the victorie, and so fell without anie long tarriance to running awaie. By reason whereof, the nobles that were about the king, perceiuing how the game went, and withall saw no comfort in the king, but rather a good will and affection towards the contrarie part, they withdrew also, leauing the king accompanied with the lord Bonneuille, & sir Thomas Kiriell of Kent; which vpon assurance of the kings promise, tarried still with him, and fled not. But their trust deceived them, for at the quéenes departing from saint Albons, they were both beheaded; though contrarie to the mind and promise of hir husband. Sir Thomas Thorp, baron of the eschequer, was also beheaded the same daie, at Highgate, by the commons of Kent.

Such was the successe of this second battell fought at S. Albons, vpon Shrouetuesdaie, the seuentéenth of Februarie, in which were slaine thrée and twentie hundred men, of whom no noble man is remembred, saue sir Iohn Graie, which the same daie was made knight, with twelue other, at the village of Colneie. Now after that the noble men and other were fled, and the king left in maner alone without anie power of men to gard his person, he was counselled by an esquier called Thomas Hoo, a man well languaged, and well

1916, as *John Stow* noteth.

Sir Iohn Graie slaine.

séene in the lawes, to send some conuenient messenger to the northerne lords, aduertising them, that he would now gladlie come vnto them (whome he knew to be his verie fréends, and had assembled themselues together for his seruice) to the end he might remaine with them, as before he had remained vnder the gouernement of the southerne lords.

According to the aduise and counsell of this esquier, the king thought it good to send vnto them, and withall appointed the same esquier to beare the message, who first went and declared the same vnto the earle of Northumberland, and returning backe to the king, brought certeine lords with him, who conueied the king first vnto the lord Cliffords tent, that stood next to the place where the kings people had incamped. This done, they went and brought the quéene and hir sonne prince Edward vnto his presence, whome he ioifullie receiued, imbracing and kissing them in most louing wise, and yéelding hartie thanks to almightie God, whome it had pleased thus to strengthen the forces of the northerne men, to restore his déerlie beloued and onelie sonne againe into his possession. Thus was the quéene fortunate in hir two battels, but vnfortunate was the king in all his enterprises: for where his person was present, the victorie still fled from him to the contrarie part. The quéene caused the king to dub hir sonne prince Edward knight, with thirtie other persons, which the day before fought on hir side against his part.

Thomas Hoo esquier sent to the northerne lords.

Edw. Hall.

Prince Edward made knight.

This doone, they went to abbeie, where, of the abbat and moonks they were receiued with hymnes and songs, and so brought to the high altar, and after to the shrine, and so to the chamber in which the king was woont to lodge. The abbat made sute that order might be taken to restreine the northerne men from spoiling the towne: and proclamation indéed was made to that effect, but it auailed not: for they mainteined, that the spoile of things was granted them by couenant, after they were once passed ouer the riuier of Trent: and so not regarding anie proclamation or other commandement, they spared nothing that they could laie hands vpon, if the same were méet for them to carie awaie. The quéene, hauing thus got the victorie, sent to the maior of London, commanding him without delaie to send certeine carts, laden with Lenton vittels, for the refreshing of hir and hir armie. The maior incontinentlie caused carts to be laden, and would haue sent them forward; but the commons of the citie would not suffer them to passe, but staid them at Criplegate, notwithstanding the maior did what he could by gentle persuasions to quiet them.

The northern men spoile the towne of saint Albons.

The quéene sendeth to the maior of London for vittels.

Vittels sent by the maior and staid by the commons.

During which controuersie, diuerse of the northerne horssemen, came and robbed in the suburbs of the citie, and would haue entred at Criplegate; but they were repelled by the commoners, and thrée of them slaine. Wherevpon, the maior sent the recorder to Barnet to the kings counsell there, to excuse the matter; and the duches of Bedford, the ladie Scales, with diuerse fathers of the spiritualltie, went to the quéene, to asswage hir displeasure conceiued against the citie. The quéene at this humble request, by aduise of hir councill, appointed certeine lords and knights, with foure hundred tall persons, to ride to the citie, and there to view and sée the demeanor and disposition of the people: and diuerse aldermen were appointed to méet them at Barnet, and to conueie them to London. But what man purposeth, God disposeth. All these deuises were shortlie altered to another forme, bicause true report came not onelie to the quéene, but also to the citie; that the earle of March, hauing vanquished the earles of Penbroke and Wilshire, had met with the earle of Warwike (after this last battell at saint Albons) at Chipping Norton by Cotsold; and that they with both their powers were coming toward London. The quéene hauing little trust in Essex, and lesse in Kent, but least of all in London, with hir husband and sonne, departed from saint Albons, into the north countrie, where the foundation of hir aid and refuge onelie rested.

The quéene returneth northward.

The duches of Yorke, séeing hir husband and sonne slaine, and not knowing what should succéed of hir eldest sonnes chance, sent hir two yonger sonnes, George and Richard, ouer the sea, to the citie of Utrecht in Almaine, where they were of Philip duke of Burgognie well receiued; and so remained there, till their brother Edward had got the crowne and gouernement of the realme. The earles of March and Warwike, hauing perfect knowlege that the king & quéene, with their adherents, were departed from S. Albons, rode straight to London, entring there with a great number of men of warre, the first wéeke of Lent. Whose cōming thither was no sooner knowne, but that the people resorted out of Kent, Essex, and other the counties adioining, in great numbers, to sée, aid, and comfort this lustie prince and flower of chiuallrie, in whome the hope of their ioy and trust of their quietnesse onelie consisted.

The great hope of the people conceiued of the erle of March.

This prudent yoong prince, minding to take time when time serued, called a great councill, both of the lords spirituall and temporall, and to them repeated the title and right that he had to the crowne, rehearsing also the articles concluded betwéene king Henrie and his father, by their writings signed and sealed, and also confirmed by act of parlement; the breaches whereof he neither forgat, nor left vndeclared. After the lords had considered of this matter, they determined by authoritie of the said councill, that because king Henrie had doone contrarie to the ordinances in the last parlement concluded, and was insufficient of himselfe to rule the realme, he was therefore to be deprived of all kinglie estate: and incontinentlie was Edward earle of March, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke, by the lords in the said councill assembled, named, elected, and

The earle of March elected king.

admitted for king and gouernour of the realme.

On which daie, the people of the earles part, being in their muster in S. Iohns field, and a great number of the substantiall citizens there assembled, to behold their order; the lord Fauconbridge, who tooke the musters, wiselie anon declared to the people the offenses and breaches of the late agrément, committed by king Henrie the sixt; and demanded of the people, whether they would haue him to rule and reigne anie longer ouer them? To whome they with whole voice answered; Naie, naie. Then he asked them, if they would serue, loue, honour, and obeie the erle of March, as their onlie king and souereigne lord: To which question they answered; Yea, yea: crieng (king Edward) with manie great shouts & clapping of hands in assent and gladnesse of the same.

The lord Fauconbridge.

The lords were shortlie aduertised of the louing consent which the commons frankelie and fréelie had giuen. Whervpon incontientlie, they all with a conuenient number of the most substantiall commons repaired to the erle at Bainards castell, making iust and true report of their election and admission, and the louing assent of the commons. The earle, after long pausing, first thanked God of his great grace and benefit towards him shewed; then the lords and commons for their fauour and fidelitie: notwithstanding, like a wise prince, he alleged his insufficiencie for so great a roome and weightie burthen, as lacke of knowledge, want of experience, and diuerse other qualities to a gouernour appertaining. But yet in conclusion, being persuaded by the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Excester, and other lords then present, he agréed to their petition, and tooke vpon him the charge of the kingdome, as forfeited to him by breach of the couenants established in parlement:

The earle of March taketh vpon him as king.

¶ Thus farre touching the tragicall state of this land vnder the rent regiment of king Henrie, who (besides the bare title of roialtie and naked name of king) had little appertaining to the port of a prince. For whereas the dignitie of pryncedome standeth in souereigntie; there were of his nobles that imbecilled his prerogatiue by sundrie practises, speciallie by maine force; as séeking either to suppress, or to exile, or to obscure, or to make him awaie: otherwise what should be the meaning of all those foughten fields from time to time, most miserablie falling out both to prince, péere, and people? As at saint Albons, at Bloreheath, at Northampton, at Banberie, at Barnet, & at Wakefield; to the effusion of much bloud, and pulling on of manie a plage, which otherwise might haue béene auoided. All which battels, together with those that were tried betwéene Edward the fourth, after his inthronization; and Henrie the sixt after his extermination (as at Exham, Doncaster, and Teukesburie) are remembred by Anglorum prælia in good order of pithie poetrie, as followeth:

Abr. Flem.

Nobilitata inter plures hæc sunt loca cæde,
Albani fanum, Blorum, borealis & Ampton,
Banbrecum campis, Barnettum collibus hærens,
[25] Experrectorum pagus, fanúm; secundò
Albani, propior Scoticis confinibus Exam,
Contiguóq; istis habitantes rure coloni,
Mœrentes hodie, quoties proscindit arator
Arua propinqua locis dentale reuellerè terra
Semisepulta virûm sulcis Cerealibus ossa:
Mœsta execrantur planctu ciuile duellum,
Quo perièrè hominum plus centum millia cæsa,
Nobile Todcastrum clades accepta cœgit
Millibus enectis ter denis nomen habere.
Vltima postremæ locus est Teuxburia pugnæ,
Oppidulis his accedens certissima testis,
Bello intestino fluuios fluxisse cruoris

[25] *Wakefield.*

But now before we procéed anie further, sith the reigne of king Henrie maie séeme here to take end, we will specifie some such learned men as liued in his time. Iohn Leland, surnamed the elder (in respect of the other Iohn Leland, that painefull antiquarie of our time) wrote diuerse treatises, for the instruction of grammarians; Iohn Hainton, a Carmelit or white frier (as they called them) of Lincolne; Robert Colman, a Franciscane frier of Norwich, and chancellor of the vniuersitie of Oxenford; William White a priest of Kent, professing the doctrine of Wickliffe, and forsaking the order of the Romane church, married a wife, but continued his office of preaching, till at length, in the yeare 1428, he was apprehended, and by William bishop of Norwich, and the doctors of the friers mendicants, charged with thirtie articles, which he maintained, contrarie to the doctrine of the Romane church, and in September the same yeare suffered death by fire.

Alexander Carpentar, a learned man, set foorth a booke called Destructorium vitiorum, wherein he inueieth against the prelats of the church of that time, for their crueltie vsed, in persecuting the poore and godlie christians; Richard Kendall, an excellent grammarian; Iohn Bate, warden of the white friers in Yorke, but borne in the borders of Wales, an excellent philosopher, and a diuine, he was also séene in the Gréeke toong, a thing rare in those daies; Peter Basset, esquier of the priuie chamber to king Henrie the fift, whose life he wrote; Iohn Pole a priest, that wrote the life of saint Walburgh, daughter to one Richard, a noble man of this realme of England, which Walburgh (as he affirmeth) builded our ladie church in Antwerpe; Thomas Ismaelit, a monke of Sion; Walter Hilton, a Chartreaux monke also of Shiene, either of those wrote certeine

Peter Basset wrote king Henrie the fift his life.

treatises full of superstition, as Iohn Bale noteth.

Thomas Walden so called of the towne where he was borne, but his fathers surname was Netter, a white frier of London, and the threé and twentieth prouinciall gouernour of his order, a man vndoubtedlie learned, and thoroughlie furnished with cunning of the schooles, but a sore enimie to them that professed the doctrine of Wickliffe, writing sundrie great volumes and treatises against them, he died at Rone in Normandie, the second of Nouember, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and thirtie; Richard Ullerston, borne in Lancashire, wrote diuerse treatises of diuinitie; Peter Clearke, a student in Oxenford, and a defendor of Wickliffes doctrine, wherevpon when he feared persecution here in England, he fled into Boheme, but yet at length he was apprehended by the imperialists, and died for it, as some write, but in what order, is not expressed.

Fabian and Caxton.

Robert Hounslow, a religious man of an house in Hounslow beside London, whereof he tooke his surname; Thomas Walsingham, borne in Norffolke, in a towne there of the same name, but professed a monke in the abbeie of saint Albons, a diligent historiographer; Iohn Tilneie, a white frier of Yermouth, but a student in Cambridge, and prooued an excellent diuine; Richard Fleming, a doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, of whome more at large before, pag. 169. Iohn Low borne in Worcestershire, an Augustine frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and prouinciall in England of his order, and by king Henrie the sixt, made first bishop of saint Asaph, and after remooued from thense to Rochester; Thomas Ringsted the yoonger, not the same that was bishop, but a doctor of the law, and vicar of Mildenhall in Suffolke, a notable preacher, and wrote diuerse treatises.

Iohn Felton, a doctor of diuinitie of Magdalen college in Oxenford; Nicholas Botlesham, a Carmelit frier borne in Cambridgeshire, and student first in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and after in Paris, where he procéded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Rudburne, a monke of Winchester, and an historiographer; Iohn Holbrooke, borne in Surrie, a great philosopher, and well séene in the mathematiks; Peter Paine, an earnest professor of Wickliffes doctrine, and fearing persecution here in England, fled into Boheme, where he remained in great estimation for his great learning & no lesse wisdom; Nicholas Upton, a ciuilian, wrote of heraldrie, of colours in armorie, and of the dutie of chualrie; William Beckeleie, a Carmelit frier of Sandwich, & warden of the house there, a diuine, and professed degré of schoole in Cambridge; Iohn Torpe, a Carmelit frier of Norwich.

Iohn Capgraué borne in Kent, an Augustine frier, procéded doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, was admitted prouinciall of his order, and prooued (without controuersie) the best learned of anie of that order of friers here in England, as Iohn Bale affirmeth, he wrote manie notable volumes, and finallie departed this life at Lin in Norffolke, the twelfth of August, in the yere 1464, which was in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth; Humfrie duke of Glocester, earle of Penbroke, and lord chamberlaine of England, also protector of the realme, during the minoritie of his nephue king Henrie the sixt, was both a great faouurer of learned men, and also verie well learned himselfe, namelie in astrologie, whereof (beside other things) he wrote a speciall treatise intituled, Tabula directionum.

Iohn Wethamsted, otherwise called Frumentarius, was abbat of saint Albons, and highlie in faour with the good duke of Glocester last remembred, he wrote diuerse treatises, and among others, a booke as it were of the records of things, chancing whilest he was abbat, which booke I haue séene, and partlie in some parcell of this kings time haue also followed; Roger Onleie, borne in the west cuntry (as Bale thinketh) was accused of treason, for practising with the ladie Eleanor Cobham, by sorcerie to make the king awaie, and was thereof condemned, and died for it, though he were innocent thereof, as some haue thought, he wrote a treatise intituled, Contra vulgi superstitiones, also another De sua innocentia; Nicholas Cantlow, a Welshman borne, descended of an ancient familie in Southwales, as by Bale it should appeare, he became a frier Carmelit in Bristow; Henrie Wichingham, a Carmelit frier of Norwich, a notable diuine, a great preacher, and wrote also sundrie treatises of diuinitie.

Iohn Lidgate, a monke of Burie, an excellent poet, and chiefe in his time in that facultie, of all other that practised the same within this land, he trauelled thorough France and Italie to learne the languages and sciences, how greatlie he profited in atteining to knowlege, the workes which he wrote doo sufficientlie testifie; Nicholas Hostresham, an excellent physician; Iohn Blackeneie, a religious man, of the order of the Trinitie intituled, De redemptione captiuorum, and prior of an house of the same order, at Ingham in Norffolke, he was surnamed Blackeneie, of the towne where he was borne; Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath, wrote against the law Salique, by which law the Frenchmen would seclude the princes of this realme from their title vnto the crowne of France; Iohn Baringham, a Carmelite frier of Gippeswich in Suffolke; Dauid Bois, borne in Wales, and a frier Carmelit, professed in Glocester, a doctor of diuinitie.

Iohn Brome, an Augustine frier; Michaell Trigurie, a Cornishman borne, whome for his excellencie and learning, king Henrie the fift appointed to be gouernour of that schoole or vniuersitie, which he instituted in the citie of Caen in Normandie, after he had brought it vnder his subiection; Iohn Amundisham, a moonke of saint Albons; Oswald Anglicus, a moonke of the Chartreux order; Iohn Keningale, a Carmelit frier of Norwich; Peter De sancta fide, a Carmelit also of Norwich; Reginald Pecocke, bishop of Chichester, of whome ye haue heard before, he was borne in Wales, and student in Oriall college in Oxenford, where he procéded doctor of diuinitie, he wrote manie treatises touching the christian religion; Iohn surnamed Burie of the towne where he was borne, an Augustine frier in the towne of Clare in Suffolke.

Robert Fleming, a man perfect in the Gréeke and Latine toong [among whose works some haue béene séene vnder these titles: namelie, Lucubrationum Tiburtinarm lib. 1. a dictionarie in

Gréeke and Latine, and a worke in verse of sundrie kinds, this man was of most fame in the yeare of our Lord 1470, which was in the tenth yeare of Edward the fourth, though he were not obscure also in the daies of this Henrie the sixt;] Thomas Gascoigne, borne at Hunfléete in Yorkeshire, of that worshipfull familie of the Gascoignes there, a doctor of diuinitie, and chancellor of the vniuersitie of Oxenford; William Stapilhart, borne in Kent, but by profession a white frier in London; Robert Fimingham borne in Norffolke a Franciscan frier in Norwich; Nicholas Montacute, an historiographer; Iohn Chandler, chancellor of Welles; William Botoner, descended of a good house, a knight by degré, and borne in Bristow, verie studious in antiquities, and other sciences.

Iohn Stow, a monke of Norwich, but student in Oxenford, where he procéded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Langleie, a monke of Hulme; Nicholas Bungeie, borne in a towne of Norffolke of that name, wrote an historie, called Adunationes chronicorum; Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, base sonne to Iohn duke of Lancaster, of whome before we haue made sufficient mention, made cardinall by pope Martine the fourth, in the yeare 1426; Adam Homlington, a Carmelit frier; William Coppinger, maister of the vniuersitie of Oxenford; Thomas Stacie, an expert mathematician, and no lesse skilfull in astronomie; Iohn Talaugerne, a moonke of Worcester; William Sutton, an astrologian; Robert Balsacke, wrote a booke intituled De re militari, that is to saie, of warre or chiuallrie, so that (as is thought) he was both a good souldier, and a painefull student of good letters.

Thomas Dando, a Carmelit frier of Marleburgh, he wrote the life of Alphred king of west Saxons; William Graie, borne of the noble house of the Graies of Codnor, he went to atteine to some excellencie of learning in Italie, where he heard that noble clearke Guarinus Veronensis read in Ferrara, he was preferred to the bishoprike of Elie, in the yéere 1454, by pope Nicholas the fift, when Thomas Bouchier was translated from thense to Canturburie; Iohn Kempe, archbishop of Yorke, and after remoued from thense to Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) he was made cardinall of S. Albin, by pope Eugenie the fourth; Adam Molins (as Bale calleth him) kéeper of the kings priuie seale, excellentlie learned, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt king Henrie, and the duke of Yorke, in which he lost his head.

Thomas Chillenden, a doctor both of the law ciuill and canon, became at length a moonke in Canturburie; Robert Bale, surnamed the elder, excellentlie learned in the lawes of the realme, recorder of London, gathered as it were a chronicle of the customes, lawes, foundations, changes, restoring magistrats, offices, orders, and publike assemblies of the citie of London, with other matters, touching the perfect description of the same citie; he wrote other works also touching the state of the same citie, and the acts of king Edward the third; he departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1461, euen about the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, vnto whome we will now againe returne.

Thus farre the tragicall historie of Henrie the sixt depriued of his roialtie.

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"

Page [271](#) Sidenote references the obviously incorrect year 1916.

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

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