



# The Project Gutenberg eBook of Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (2 of 6): England (12 of 12), by Raphael Holinshed

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

Title: Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (2 of 6): England (12 of 12)

Author: Raphael Holinshed

Release date: May 23, 2016 [EBook #52147]

Language: English

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

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

Chronicles of Eng-  
land, Scotland, and  
Ireland, by Raphael  
Holinshed and others;  
II(12)  
RICHARD II.

*Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*; by Raphael Holinshed and others; 1807 edition; Volume II of VI, Part 12 of 12;  
RICHARD II.

## RICHARD THE SECOND,

the second sonne to Edward prince of Wales.

RICHARD, the second of that name, and sonne to prince Edward, called the blacke prince, the sonne of king Edward the third, a child of the age of eleuen yeares, began to reign ouer the realme of England the two and twentieth daie of Iune, in the yeare of the world 5344, of our Lord 1377, after the conquest 310, about the two and thirtieth yeare of the emperour Charles the fourth, and in the fouretéenth yeare of Charles the fift king of France, and about the seuenth yeare of the reigne of Robert the second king of Scotland: he was named Richard of Burdeaux, bicause he was borne at Burdeaux in Gascoigne, whilst his father ruled there. The day before it was vnderstood, that his grandfather king Edward was departed this life, being the one and twentieth of Iune (on which daie neuerthelesse he deceased) the citizens of London hauing certaine knowledge that he could not escape his sicknesse, sent certaine aldermen vnto Kingston, where the prince with his mother the princesse then laie, to declare vnto the said prince their readie good wils, to accept him for their lawfull king and gouernour, immediatlie after it should please God to call to his mercie his grandfather, being now past hope of recouerie of health. Wherefore they besought him, to haue their citie recommended vnto his good grace, and that it would please him to visit the same with his presence, sith they were readie in all sorts to honour and obeie him, and to spend both liues and goods in his cause, if need required.

An. Reg. 1.

1377.

*Fabian.**Thom. Wals.*

The Londoners sent to K. Richard, commending themselues to his fauour before y<sup>e</sup> death of K. Edward.

[712]

Moreouer, they besought him, that it might please his grace to make an end of the discord betwixt the citizens, and the duke of Lancaster, which through the malice of some had béene raised, to the commoditie of none, but to the discommoditie of diuerse. When Iohn Philpot, one of the foresaid aldermen, that had the words in all their names, had ended his oration, he was answered by the prince and his councill, that he would indeuour himselfe in all things to satisfie their requests, and so were they sent home to bring a ioifull answer of their messege to the citie. The morrow after, there were sent to London from the king, the lord Latimer, sir Nicholas Bond, sir Simon Burlie, & sir Richard Adderburie, knights; to bring them sorowfull newes of the assured death of king Edward, who (as we haue said) deceased the day before; but comfortable newes againe, of the great towardlinesse and good meaning of the yoong king, who promised to loue them and their citie, and to come to the same citie, as they had desired him to doo. And further, that he had spoken to the duke of Lancaster in their behalfe, and that the duke had submitted himselfe to him in all things touching the cause; wherevpon the kings pleasure was, that they should likewise submit themselues, and he would doo his indeuor, that an agreement might be had to the honor of the citizens, and profit of the citie.

Iohn Philpot.

The duke of Lancaster & the Lōdoners submit their quarels to the kings order.

The citizens liked not of this forme of procéeding in the dukes matter, bicause the king was yoong, and could not giue order therein, but by substitutes: yet at length with much adoo, they were contented to submit themselues, as the duke had doone before, though not, till that the knights had vndertaken vpon their oth of fidelitie and knighthood, that their submission should not redound to the temporall or bodilie harme of any of them, consenting to the kings will in this point. And so with this caution they tooke their iournie towards Sheene, where they found the new K. with his mother, the duke of Lancaster & his brethren, vncles to the king, and diuerse bishops,

about the bodie of the deceased king. When it was knowen that the Londoners were come, they were called before the king, by whom the matter was so handled, that the duke and they were made fréends. After this, when the king should ride through the citie towards the coronation, the said duke and the lord Percie riding on great horses before him, as by vertue of their offices appointed to make way before, vsed themselues so courtelie, modestlie, and pleasantlie, that where before they two were greatlie suspected of the common people, by reason of their great puissance in the realme, and huge rout of retainers, they ordered the matter so, that neither this day, nor the morrow after, being the day of the kings coronation, they offended any maner of person, but rather by gentle and swéet demeanour they reclaimed the harts of manie, of whome before they were greatlie had in suspicion, and thought euill of.

¶ But now, sith we are entred into the matter of this kings coronation, we haue thought good briefelie to touch some particular point thereof (as in Thomas Walsingham we find it) though nothing so largelie here, as the author himselfe setteth it foorth, bicause the purpose of this worke will not so permit.

[713]

The king, in riding thorough the citie towards Westminster, on the 15 daie of Iulie being wednesdaie, was accompanied with such a The maner & order of the kings coronation. traine of the nobilitie and others, as in such case was requisite. Sir Simon Burlie bare the sword before him, and sir Nicholas Bond lead the kings horsse by the bridle on foot. The noise of trumpets and other instruments was maruellous, so that this seemed a day of ioy and mirth, a day that had béene long looked for, bicause it was hoped, that now the quiet orders and good lawes of the land, which thorough the slouthfulnesse of the aged king deceased, and couetousnesse of those that ruled about him, had béene long banished, should now be renewed and brought againe in vse. The citie was adorned in all sorts most richlie. The water conduits ran with wine for the space of thrée houres together. In the vpper end of Cheape, was a certeine castell made with foure towers, out of the which castell, on two sides of it, there ran foorth wine abundantlie. In the towers were placed foure beautifull virgins, of stature and age like to the king, apparelled in white vestures, in euerie tower one, the which blew in the kings face, at his approching néere to them, leaues of gold; and as he approched also, they threw on him and his horsse florens of gold counterfeit.

When he was come before the castell, they tooke cups of gold, and filling them with wine at the spouts of the castell, presented the same to the king and to his nobles. On the top of the castell, betwixt the foure towers, stood a golden angell, holding a crowne in his hands, which was so contriued, that when the king came, he bowed downe & offered to him the crowne. But to speake of all the pageants and shewes which the citizens had caused to be made, and set foorth in honour of their new king, it were superfluous; euerie one in their quarters striuing to surmount other, and so with great triumphing of citizens, and ioy of the lords and noble men, he was conueied vnto his palace at Westminster, where he rested for that night. The morrow after being thursdaie, and the 16 day of Iulie, he was fetcht to the church with procession of the bishops and monks, and comming before the high altar, where the pauement was couered with rich clothes of tapistrie, he there kneeled downe and made his praiers, whilst two bishops soong the Letanie, which being finished, the king was brought to his seat, the quéere singing an antheme, beginning, *Fermetur manus tua.*

That doone, there was a sermon preached by a bishop touching the dutie of a king, how he ought to behaue himselfe towards the people, and how the people ought to be obedient vnto him. The sermon being ended, the king receiued his oth before the archbishop and nobles: which doone, the archbishop hauing the lord Henrie Percie lord marshall going before him, turned him to euerie quarter of the church, declaring to the people the kings oth, and demanding of them, if they would submit themselues vnto such a prince & gouernor, and obeie his commandements: and when the people with a lowd voice had answered that they would obeie him, the archbishop vsing certeine praiers, blessed the king; which ended, the archbishop came vnto him, and

tearing his garments from the highest part to the lowest, stripped him to his shirt. Then was brought by earles, a certaine couerture of cloth of gold, vnder the which he remained, whilst he was annoited.

The archbishop (as we haue said), hauing stripped him, first annoited his hands, then his head, brest, shoulders, and the ioints of his armes with the sacred oile, saieng certaine praier, and in the meane time did the quére sing the antheme, beginning, Vnxerunt regem Salomonem, &c. And the archbishop added another praier, Deus Dei filius, &c. Which ended, he and the other bishops soong the hymne, Veni creator spiritus, the king knéeling in a long vesture, & the archbishop with his suffraganes about him. When the hymne was ended, he was lift vp by the archbishop, and clad first with the coate of saint Edward, and after with his mantell, a stoale being cast about his necke, the archbishop in the meane time saieng certaine praier appointed for the purpose. After this, the archbishop and bishops deliuered to him the sword, saieng, Accipe gladium, &c.

[714]

When that praier was ended, two earles girded him with the sword, which doone, the archbishop gaue to him bracelets, saieng, Accipe armillas, &c. After this, the archbishop did put vpon him an vppermost vesture, called a pall, saieng, Accipe pallium, &c. In the meane time, whilst the archbishop blessed the kings crowne, he to whose office it apperteined, did put spurs on his hées. After the crowne was blessed, the archbishop set it on his head, saieng, Coronet te Deus, &c. Then did the archbishop deliuer to him a ring, with these words, Accipe annulum, &c. Immediatlie herewith came the lord Furniuall by vertue of his office, offering to him a red gloue, which the archbishop blessed, and putting it on his hand, gaue to him the sceptor, with these words, Accipe sceptrum, &c. Then did the archbishop deliuer to him in his other hand a rod, in the top whereof stood a doue, with these words, Accipe virgam virtutis, &c. After this the archbishop blessed the king, saieng, Benedicat de Deus, &c.

These things doone, the king kissed the bishops and abbats, by whome he was lead afterwards vnto his seat, the bishops beginning to sing (Te Deum) which ended, the archbishop said to him, Sta & retine amodo locum, &c. When these things were finished, they began masse, the bishop of Worcester read the epistle, and the bishop of Elie the gospell. At the offertorie, the king rose from his seat, and was brought to offer. He therefore offered first his sword, and after so much gold as he would, but no lesse than a marke, by reason of the custome; for more he might offer to God and S. Peter, but lesse he could not. After this, he offered bread and wine, with which he and the archbishop did after communicate. This doone, the earle, to whome it apperteined to beare the sword before the king, redéemed the sword which the king had offered with monie, and receiuing the same, bare it afore the king. When masse should be soong, the king was brought againe to the altar, & there knéeling downe, and saieng Confiteor to the archbishop, did communicate, and so was brought backe to his seat. The wardens of the cinque ports by their office, as well in time of the procession, as when he was annoited also at masse time, and as he returned from the church to the palace to dinner, held ouer him a large canopie of blew veluet, fastened vnto foure staués at the foure corners.

In the meane time, sir Iohn Dimmocke that claimed to be the kings champion, had béen at the kings armorie and stable, where he had chosen according to his tenure, the best armour saue one, and the best stéed saue one: albeit, sir Baldwine Freuill claimed the same office, but could not obteine it; so that the said sir Iohn Dimmocke hauing armed himselfe, and being mounted on horssebacke, came to the abbeie gates, with two riding before him, the one carrieng his speare, and the other his shield, staieng there till masse should be ended. But the lord Henrie Percie lord marshall, appointed to make waie before the king with the duke of Lancaster lord Steward, the lord Thomas of Woodstoke lord constable, and the lord marshals brother sir Thomas Percie, being all mounted on great horsse, came to the knight, and told him, that he ought not to come at that time, but when the king was at dinner, and therefore it

should be good for him to vnarme himselfe for a while, and take his ease and rest, till the appointed time were come.

The knight did as the lord marshall willed him, and so after his departure, the king hauing those lords riding afore him, was borne on knights shoulders vnto his palace, and so had to his chamber, where he rested a while, being somewhat faint with trauell, and tooke a small refection. After this, coming into the hall, he created foure new earles, before he sat downe to meat; to wit, his vncler the lord Thomas de Wodstoke earle of Buckingham, to whome he gaue a thousand marks a yeare out of his treasurie, till he prouided him of lands to the like value. The lord Guishard de Engolesme, that had béene his tutor, was created earle of Huntington, to whome he gaue likewise a thousand marks annuitie, till he were prouided of lands of like value. The lord Mowbraie was created earle of Nottingham, and the lord Henrie Percie earle of Northumberland. He made also nine knights the same daie.

To shew what roiall seruice was at this feast, it passeth our vnderstanding to describe: but to conclude, the fare was excéeding sumptuous, and the furniture princelie in all things, that if the same should be rehearsed, the reader would perhaps doubt of the truth therof. ¶ In the midst of the kings palace was a marble pillar raised hollow vpon steps, on the top whereof was a great gilt eagle placed, vnder whose feet in the chapter of the pillar, diuers kinds of wine came gushing foorth at foure seuerall places all the daie long, neither was anie forbidden to receiue the same, were he neuer so poor or abiect. On the morrow after the coronation, there was a generall procession of the archbishop, bishop, and abbats then present, with the lords, and a great multitude of people, to praie for the king and the peace of the kingdome.

[715]

At the going foorth of this procession, the bishop of Rochester preached, exhorting them, that the dissentions and discords which had long continued betwixt the people and their superiours, might be appeased and forgotten, proouing by manie arguments, that the same highlie displeased God. He admonished the lords, not to be so extreme and hard towards the people. On the other part, he exhorted the people in necessarie causes, for the aid of the king and realme, chéerefullie, and without grudging, to put to their helping hands, according to their bounden duties. He further exhorted those in generall that were appointed to be about the king, that they should forsake vice, and studie to liue in cleannesse of life and vertue. For if by their example the king were trained to goodnesse, all should be well; but if he declined through their sufferance from the right waie, the people and kingdome were like to fall in danger to perish. After the sermon and procession were ended, the lords and prelates went to their lodgings.

But now, bicause the Englishmen should haue their ioies mingled with some sorrowes, it chanced that the Frenchmen (which about the same time that the kings grandfather departed this life, were wafting on the seas) within six or seauen daies after his deceasse, burnt the towne of Rie. Wherevpon, immediatlie after the coronation, the earles of Cambridge and Buckingham were sent with a power vnto Douer, and the earle of Salisburie vnto Southampton: but in the meane time, to wit, the one and twentieth of August, the Frenchmen entring the Ile of Wight, burnt diuerse townes in the same. And though they were repelled from the castell, by the valiant manhood of sir Hugh Tirrell capteine thereof, who laid no small number of them on the ground; yet they constreined the men of the Ile to giue them a thousand marks of siluer to saue the residue of their houses and goods, and so they departed from thence, sailing still along the costs, and where they saw aduantage, set on land, burning sundrie towns néere to the shore, as Portesmouth, Dartmouth, and Plimmouth.

They made countenance also to haue set on Southampton, if sir Iohn Arundell, brother to the earle of Arundell had not beene readie there with a number of men of armes and archers, by whome the

*Froissard.*

Rie burnt by y<sup>e</sup> Frenchmen.

*Tho. Wals.*

The Frenchmen spoile the Ile of Wight. Sir Hugh Tirrell.

*Froissard.*

*Tho. Walsi.*

Portsmouth, Dartmouth, & Plimmouth, burnt by the French.

Hastings burnt.

An ouerthrow giuen by the Fréch to the Englishmen.



towne was defended, and the enimies chased to their ships. From thence the Frenchmen departed, and sailing towards Douer, burnt Hastings; but Winchelsie they could not win, being valiantlie defended by the abbat of Battell, and others. After this, they landed one day not far from the abbeie of Lewes, at a place called Rottington, where the prior of Lewes, and two knights, the one named sir Thomas Cheinie, and the other sir Iohn Falleslie, hauing assembled a number of the countrie people, incountred the Frenchmen, but were ouerthrowen; so that there were slaine about an hundred Englishmen; and the prior, with the two knights, and an esquier called Iohn Brokas, were taken prisoners, but yet the Frenchmen lost a great number of their owne men at this conflict, and so with their prisoners retired to their ships and gallies, and after returned into France.

But now touching the dooings about the new K. You shall vnderstand, that by reason of his yoong yeares, as yet he was not able to gouerne himselfe, and therefore Iohn duke of Lancaster, and Edmund earle of Cambridge, with other péeres of the realme, were appointed to haue the administration. He was of good disposition and towardnesse, but his age being readie to incline which way soeuer a man should bend it, those that were appointed to haue the gouernement of his person, did what laie in them now at the first, to keepe him from all maner of light demeanor. But afterwards, when euerie one began to studie more for his owne priuate commoditie, than for the aduancement of the commonwealth, they set open the gates to other, which being readie to corrupt his good nature, by little and little grew familiar with him, and dimming the brightnesse of true honour, with the counterfeit shine of the contrarie, so masked his vnderstanding, that in the end they brought him to tract the steps of lewd demeanor, and so were causers both of his and their owne destruction. This séemeth to be touched by C. Okland, who speaking of the death of the old king and the erection of the new, saith of him according to our annales, as followeth:

Vndecimum puer hic nondum transegerat annum,  
 Cùm iuuenile caput gessit diademate cinctum.  
 Qui postquam princeps iustis adoleuerat annis,  
 Dicere non facile est quantum distaret auitis  
 Moribus atque animo, fuit hic quàm disparemente,  
 Dissimili ingenio claræ matrîque patrîque.

The Frenchmen not ignorant of such mischéefes as were like to grow in England, suffered no time to passe, but tooke occasions of aduantage when they were offered. ¶ Among other enterprises I find, that shortlie after the deceasse of king Edward, the duke of Burgognie wan Arde, and two or three other fortresses in those marches. The Scots this yeare also wan the castell of Berwike by stealth one morning, but shortlie vpon knowledge had, the earles of Northumberland and Notingham, the lords Neuill, Lucie, Graistoke, & Stafford, with other lords, knights, and esquiers, came with their powers in all hast thither, and entring the towne, besieged the castell, and finallie, assaulting them that kept it, wan it of them by force, and slue all those Scottishmen which they found within it, except Alexander Ramsie their capteine. When the Englishmen had thus recouered the castell, they entred into Scotland, in hope to find the Scots, and to fight with them whom they knew to be assembled.

The English host was thrée thousand men of armes, & seuen thousand archers, but they sent forth sir Thomas Musgraue with thrée hundred speares, and thrée hundred archers, to Meuros, to trie if he might vnderstand any thing of the Scots in those parts, with whom the earle Dowglas, hauing with him seuen hundred speares, and two thousand of other called yomen with glaiues and other weapons, incountered by chance and distressed him & his companie. Sir Thomas Musgraue himselfe, and six score other, were taken prisoners, besides those that were slaine, the residue escaped by flight, making the best shift they could for themselues. The lord Neuill, sir Thomas Triuet, sir William Scrope, and diuerse other valiant capteins of England, were sent into

*Polydor.*

The duke of Lancaster & the earle of Cambridge appointed protectors.

*In Angl. præl.*

*Froissard.*

Berwicke castell woone by the Scots.

Berwike castell recouered by the Englishmen.

An ouerthrow giuen by the Scots to the Englishmen.

The siege of Mortaigne raised.

Gascoigne this yeare, which first landed at Burdeaux, on the euen of the Natiuitie of our ladie, where after they had rested them a while, they went and raised the siege, which the Frenchmen had held before Mortaigne in Poictou a long time before.

Gouernour of this siege at the first, was Yuan or Owen of Wales, but he was murdered one morning as he sat alone viewing the castell, and combing his head, by one of his owne counciemen, which vnder colour to serue him, was become with him verie familiar. This Owen or Yuan whether ye will (for all is one) was sonne to a noble man of Wales, whom K. Edward had put to death for some offense by him committed, where this Yuan got him into France, being as then verie yoong, and was brought vp in the French court, and prooued an expert man of warre, so that great lamentation was made for his death by the Frenchmen. But the Englishmen, although they misliked the maner of his death, yet they were not greatlie sorrowfull for the chance, sith they were rid thereby of an extreame enimie.

After that the Englishmen had raised the Frenchmen from the siege of Mortaigne, they returned to Burdeaux, and after recouered A parlement. Thom.  
Wals. sundrie castels and fortresses in the marches of Burdelois, and about Baionne. Also they aided the king of Nauarre, against the king of Castile, and made a road into the confines of Castile. But shortlie after, a peace was concluded betwixt those two kings, so that the lord Charles of Nauarre should marrie the daughter of the king of Castile vpon certeine conditions: and so the Englishmen had their wages trulie paid them to their full contentation, and therevpon returned. About Michaelmasse began a parlement that was summoned at Westminster, which continued till the feast of saint Andrew. In this parlement the foresaid sir Peter de la Mere and other the knights that had beene so earnest against dame Alice Peres in the last parlement holden by king Edward the third, so prosecuted the same cause now in this parlement, that the said dame Alice Peres was banished the realme, and all hir goods moouable and vnmoouable forfeited to the king, bicause contrarie to that she had promised by oth in the said last parlement, she had presumed to come within the court, and to obteine of the king what soeuer was to hir liking.

There were two tenths granted by the clergie to the king in this parlement, and two fiftéenes of the temporalitie, to be paid the same yeare; and two citizens of London, William Walworth, and Iohn Philpot were appointed to haue the kéeping of that monie, to the end it might be imploied to the kings necessarie vses, for the defense of the realme. Sir Hugh Caluerlie being deputie of Calis, comming one morning to Bullongne, burnt certeine ships which laie there in the hauen, to the number of six and twentie, besides two proper barkes, being vessels of no small accompt: and hauing spoiled and burnt the most part of the base towne, he returned to Calis with a great rich bootie of goods and cattell.

Also, where the castell of Marke, in the absence of the capteine sir Robert de Salle, that was gone ouer into England, was lost through negligence of them that were left in charge within it; the same sir Hugh Caluerlie made such spéed in the matter, that he recouered it againe the same daie it was lost, by force of assault, taking the Frenchmen prisoners that were gotten into it, and hanging certeine Picards stipendarie soldiers in the said castell, vnder the said sir Robert de Salle, for that whilest the Englishmen were gone forth, to see the shooting of a match which they had made amongst themselues, a little off from the castell, those Picards being left within, shut the gates against them, and receiued in the Frenchmen, with whome they had practised in treason, kéeping the Englishmen forth, to whom the safe kéeping of that castell was committed.

This yeare was a bull sent from the pope vnto the vniuersitie of Oxenford, to apprehend Iohn Wickliffe, parson of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, within the diocesse of Lincolne. Also, there were other bulles to the same effect, sent vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of London. Likewise to the king were letters directed

Two citizens of London appointed to keepe the subsidie granted by parlement.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie a valiant capteine.

Marke castell recouered by sir Hugh Caluerlie, the same daie it was lost.

from the pope, to require his fauour against the said Wickliffe, so greuouslie was the pope incensed against him, and not without cause, for if his conclusions in doctrine tooke effect, he well perceiued his papistical authoritie would shortlie decaie. As for the popish cleargie, to them not onelie the sect but also the name of Wickliffe was so odious, that in recording his opinions and sectaries, they excéed the bounds of all modestie, aggrauating such reports as they infer concerning him or his with more than hyperbolicall lies: as appeereth by that long and tedious discourse which he wrote, that compiling certeine annales intituled *De euentibus Angliæ*, prefixeth this verse in the front of his volume, in letters of red vermilon, as desiring to haue his name notoriouslie knowne to the world;

Autoris nomen capitales litteræ pandunt:

He (I say) in that copious treatise hauing spoken as maliciouslie & viperouslie as he might both of Wickliffes life, which he concludeth to be lewd; of his opinions, which he auoucheth to be hereticall; and of his faouurers and followers, to whom (at his pleasure) he giueth vnreuerent epithets (all which to prosecute at length, as by him they are in ample sort laid downe, would but detect the mans malignitie, and procure an ouerthrow of credit to be attributed vnto his declarations) he maketh vp his mouth with a tristichon of poeticall imitation, to bring Wickliffe and his adherents into perpetuall obloquie and defamation, saieng as followeth in verse and prose;

Si totum membrana solum, calamus nemus omne,  
Et Thetis encaustum, scriptor & omnis homo,  
Istorum facinus scribere non poterunt.

Maledictus conuentus eorum, quoniam pertinax, propterea Deus destruat eos, in finem euellat, & emigrare faciat de tabernaculis fidelium suorum, & radicem eorum de terra regni; & hoc videant iusti, & lætentur; vt dicere possint; Ecce populus qui se exaltauit super electos doctores Domini, & sperauit in multitudine vanitatis suæ: confundantur & pereant cum doctrina eorum in æternum, &c.

But of Wickliffes life and doctrine to read at large, I remit the reader to the acts and monuments of the church, published by maister Iohn Fox: and now will we returne to matters of state and policie. There went fourth this yeare a verie great nauie of ships to the sea, vnder the guiding of the earle of Buckingham, the duke of Britaine, the lord Latimer, the lord Fitz Walter, sir Robert Knolles, and other valiant capteins, meaning to haue intercepted the Spanish fléet that was gone to Sluse in Flanders, but thorough rage of tempest, and contrarie winds, they were driuen home, although twice they attempted their fortune: but sir Hugh Caluerlie, deputie of Calis, slept not his businesse, dooing still what displeasures he could to the Frenchmen. Shortlie after Christmasse, he spoiled the towne of Estaples the same daie the faire was kept there, to which a great number of merchants of Bullongne were come to make their markets, but the sellers had quicke vtterance, for that that might easilie be caried awaie, the Englishmen laid hands on, and caused the owners to redéeme the residue with great sums of monie, which they vndertooke to paie; or else sir Hugh threatned to haue burnt all that was left, together with the houses.

Yée haue heard, how at the first the duke of Lancaster was one of the chéefe about the yoong king in gouernement of his person and realme, who prudentlie considering, that sith there must néeds be an alteration in the state, & doubting least if any thing chanced otherwise than well, the fault and blame might be chéefelie imputed to him, and thanks (howsoeuer things went) he looked for none, he gaue therefore the slip, obtaining licence of the king to depart, and so got him home to his castell of Killingworth, permitting other to haue the whole swaie: for before his departure from the court, there were with his consent ordeined such as should be attending on the kings person, and haue the rule and ordering of matters pertaining to the state, as

John Wickliffe.

*Hen. de Knighton canon  
abbat. Leicest. in  
annalib. de Rich.  
secundo.*

[718]

The nauie setteth  
foorth, and is beaten  
backe by tempest.

Exploits doone by sir  
Hugh Caluerlie.

The duke of Lancaster  
misliking the manners  
of the court, getteth  
himselue home to y<sup>e</sup>  
castell of Killingworth.

William Courtne, then bishop of London (though shortly after removed to the archbishops see of Canturburie) Edmund Mortimer earle of March, & diuerse other, of whome the people had conceiued a good opinion: but yet bicause the bishop of Salisburie, and the lord Latimer were admitted amongst the residue, the commons murmured greatlie against them.

The earle of Northumberland resigned his office of lord marshall, in whose place succeeded sir Iohn Arundell, brother vnto the earle of Arundell. ¶ The duke of Lancaster, although retired from the court, yet desirous to haue the monie in his hands that was granted the last parlement, at length obtained it, vpon promise to defend the realme from inuasion of all enimies for one yeares space: he therefore prouided a great nauie to go to the sea, hiring nine ships of Baionne, to assist his enterprise herein, the which in making saile hitherwards, incountred with the Spanish fléet, and tooke fouretéene vessels laden with wines and other merchandize. But in the meane time, one Mercer a Scottishman, with certeine saile of Scots, Frenchmen, and Spaniards, came to Scarburgh, and there tooke certeine ships, and led them awaie to the sea, as it were in reuenge of his fathers imprisonment, named Iohn Mercer, who before being caught by certeine ships of the north parts, and deliuered to the earle of Northumberland, was committed to prison within the castell of Scarburgh.

Iohn Philpot that worshipfull citizen of London, lamenting the negligence of them that should haue prouided against such inconueniences, made fourth a fléet at his owne charges, stronglie furnished with men of warre and munition necessarie: the men of warre méeting with the same Mercer, accompanied with his owne ships, and fiftéene other Spaniards that were newlie ioined with him, set vpon them, and so valiantlie behaued themselues, that they tooke the said Mercer with all them that were then in his companie, so recouering againe the ships that were taken from Scarburgh, besides great riches which were found aboard, as well in the fiftéene Spanish ships, as the other that were of the old retinue, belonging to the same Mercer. Iohn Philpot was afterwards blamed of the lords, for presuming thus far, as to set fourth a nauie of men of warre, without the aduise of the kings councell: but he made his answer in such wise vnto the earle of Stafford, and others that laid the fault to his charge, that he was permitted to depart, without further trouble for that matter.

Iohn Philpot Alderman of London setteth fourth a fléet at his own charges, to recouer certeine English ships taken by the Scots.

[719]

Before all such prouision as the duke of Lancaster prepared for his iournie to the sea could be readie, the earles of Salisburie and Arundell sailed ouer into Normandie, where, by such composition as was taken betwixt the king of England and the king of Nauarre, who of new was become enimie to the French king, the towne of Chierburg was deliuered vnto the said earles, who sending knowledge thereof backe into England, there were sent ouer such as should haue in charge the kéeping of that towne; and so the two earles returned. ¶ We find, that the king of Nauarre, hauing beene heere in England with the king and his councell, had agréed with the king for a certeine yearelie rent, to demise vnto him the said fortresse of Chierburg, whereby the Englishmen might haue frée entrie into Normandie, when they would, as well to aid the king of Nauarre in his necessitie, as to worke anie enterprise that should be thought expedient to the aduantage of the king of England as occasion serued. But the obtaining of possession of Chierburg brought not so much ioy to the English nation, as the mishap that happened at the going fourth of the said earles did cause lamentation and heauinesse.

Chierburg deliuered to the Englishmen. Additions to *Adam Merimuth*.

For vpon the first entring into the sea, it fortunéd that sir Philip, and sir Peter Courtenie, discovered a certeine number of ships that were enimies, and vndiscreetlie entered amongst them, there suddenlie came vpon them the Spanish fléet, so that the English ships that were in companie with the said Philip and sir Peter, were not able to make their partie good, in somuch that finallie after that sir Philip had lost diuerse of his men that were there slaine, he got awaie by flight himselfe, though gréeuoslie

The English nauie is ouermatched and ouercome by the Spanish fléet.

wounded, but sir Peter was taken prisoner with a few other knights that were with him; and the most part of all the valiant esquiers of Summersetshire & Deuonshire, being there abroad with him, were slaine and drowned, which was esteemed no small losse to the whole common-wealth.

Thus were the Englishmen occupied in this first yeare of king Richard with troubles of warre, and not onelie against the Frenchmen, but also against the Scots. For euen in the beginning of the same yeare, the Scots burnt Rokesburgh, in reuenge whereof the new earle of Northumberland entered Scotland with ten thousand men, and sore spoiled the lands of the earle of March for the space of thrée daies together; bicause the said earle of March was the chéefe author and procurer of the burning of Rokesburgh, & so for that time th' Englishmen were well reuenged of those enimies. But at an other time, when the Northerne men would néeds make a rode into Scotland, entring by the west borders, they were incountered by the Scots and put to flight, so that manie of them being slaine, the Scots tooke the more courage to inuade the borders, till at length, Edmund Mortimer earle of March came at the daie of truce, and tooke an abstinence of warre betwixt both nations for the time, though the same continued not long.

Anon after Midsummer, the duke of Lancaster with a strong power tooke the sea, and landing in Britaine, besieged the towne of saint Mallo de Lisle, a fortresse of great importance. There went ouer with him the earles of Buckingham, Warwike, Stafford, and diuerse other of the English nobilitie, the which made their approches, and fiercelie assailed the towne, but it was so valiantlie defended, that in the end, the duke with his armie raised from thence, and returned without atchiuing his purpose. ¶ About the same time, there was a notable and hainous murther committed within saint Peters church at Westminster, by occasion of variance betwéene the lord Latimer and sir Rafe Ferrers on the one partie, and two esquiers, the one called Robert Hall and the other Iohn Shakell on the other partie, about a prisoner which was taken at the battell of Nazers in Spaine, called the earle of Deane, who (as some write) was taken by one sir Franke de Hall at the said battell; and bicause he remained in his hands at the death of the said sir Franke, he bequeathed him vnto his sonne the said Robert Hall esquier.

But as other write, the said earle was taken by the said Robert Hall himselfe & Iohn Shakell iointlie, and iudged to be their lawfull prisoner, by the sentence of the prince of Wales, and sir Iohn Chandois that was master to the said esquiers. Wherevpon afterwards the said earle obtained so much fauor, that by leauing his sonne and heire in gage for his ransome, he returned into Spaine, to prouide monie to discharge it; but he was so slow in that matter, after he was at libertie, that he departed this life before he made any paiment, and so his lands fell to his sonne that remained in gage for the monie with the two esquiers. Wherevpon it happened afterwards, that the duke of Lancaster, desirous to haue the yong earle in his hands (in hope through his meanes the better to accomplish his enterprise which he meant to take in hand against the king of Castile, for the right of that kingdome) procured his nephue king Richard to require the said earle of Deane, at the hands of the said esquiers.

But they refused to deliuer him, keeping their prisoner foorth of the waie, so that none wist were he was become: the esquiers therefore were committed to the tower, out of the which they escaped vnto Westminster, and there registred themselues for sanctuarie men. The duke of Lancaster was herewith sore offended, and their enimies the said lord Latimer and sir Rafe Ferrers tooke counsell together, with sir Alane Boxhull and others, how they might be reuenged of this despite. This sir Alane Boxhull was constable of the tower, and therefore it greued him not a little, that the esquiers had broken from him and kept themselues thus at Westminster, vnder protection of that priuileged place. Herevpon it was concluded, that sir Rafe Ferrers, and the said

Rokesburgh burnt by the Scots.

An. Reg. 2.

The duke of Lācaster saileth into Britaine with a great power.

Additions to *Adam Merimuth*.

Hall & Shakerlie hath *Grafton*.

*Polydor*.

[720]

Alane Boxhull, taking with them certeine men in armour, to the number of fiftie persons, should go and fetch them by force from Westminster, vnto the tower againe.

The morrow therefore after saint Laurence daie, being the eleuenth of August, these two knights accompanied with certeine of the kings seruants and other, to the number afore mentioned, came into the church at Westminster, whilst the said esquiers were there hearing of high masse, which was then in celebrating; and first laieng hands vpon Iohn Shakell, vsed the matter so with him, that they drew him foorth of the church, and led him streight to the tower. But when they came to Robert Hall, and fell in reasoning with him, he would not suffer them to come within his reach, and perceiuing they meant to take him by force, he drew out a falcheon or short sword which he had girt to him, and therewith laid so fréelie about him, trauersing twice round about the moonks quier, that till they had beset him on ech side, they could doo him no hurt.

Howbeit, at length when they had got him at that aduantage, one of them cloue his head to the verie braines, and an other thrust him <sup>A cruell murther in Westminster church.</sup> through the bodie behind with a sword, and so they murthered him among them. They slue also one of the moonkes that would haue had them to haue saued the esquiers life. Much adoo was about this matter, for the breaking thus of the sanctuarie, in somuch that the archbishop of Canturburie, and fiue other bishops his suffragans, openlie pronounced all them that were present at this murder accursed, and likewise all such as aided or counselled them to it, cheeflie and namelie sir Alane Boxhull, and sir Rafe Ferrers, capteins and leaders of them. The king, the queene, and the duke of Lancaster were yet excepted by speciall names. The bishop of London a long time after, euerie sundaie, wednesdaie, and fridaie, pronounced this excommunication in the church of S. Paule at London.

[721]

The duke of Lancaster (though excepted in the same) yet in behalfe of his fréends was not a little offended with the bishops dooings, in so much that in a councill holden at Windsore (to the which the bishop of London was called, but would not come, nor yet ceasse the pronouncing of the cursse, albeit the king had requested him by his letters) the duke said openlie, that the bishops froward dealings were not to be borne with, but (saith he) if the king would command me, I would gladlie go to London, and fetch that disobedient prelat, in dispite of those ribaulds (for so he termed them) the Londoners. These words procured the duke much euill will, as well of the Londoners, as of other: for it was commonlie said, that whatsoever had béene doone at Westminster, concerning the murther there committed in the church, was doone by his commandement.

About the feast of S. Luke, a parlement was holden at Glocester, <sup>A parlement at Glocester.</sup> for the displeasure (as was thought) which some of the councill had conceiued against the Londoners, or rather (as some tooke it) for feare of them, least if any thing were doone contrarie to their minds, they should be about to hinder it, if the parlement had beene kept neere them: for manie things (as some iudged) were meant to haue beene put foorth and concluded in this parlement, albeit few in effect came to passe of those matters that were surmised, sauing that it was inacted, that the king should haue a marke of the merchants for euerie sacke of their woolles, for this present yeare; and for euerie pounds worth of wares that was brought in from beyond the seas, and here sold, six pence of the buiers. ¶ Also, certeine priuileges were granted in this parlement to merchant-strangers, that they might buie and sell in grosse, or by retaile within this realme, as in the printed booke of statutes it appeareth.

This yeare came messengers from the new elected pope Urbane, with letters to require kings assistance and aid against such <sup>The pope sendeth to the king for aid.</sup> cardinals as he named schismatikes, that had elected an other pope <sup>Berwike castell woone by the Scots.</sup> whome they named Clement, which cardinals sent likewise their messengers with letters, to beséech the king to aid them with his fauourable

assistance: but through persuasion of the archbishop of Canturburie, Urbans request was granted, and Clements reiected. About the same time, to wit, on thursdaie before the feast of S. Andrew th' apostle, the Scots by stelth entred by night into the castell of Berwike, and slue sir Robert Bointon, a right valiant knight, that was constable thereof, permitting his wife, children, and seruants to depart, with condition, that within three weeks next insuing, they should either paie them thrée thousand marks, or else yeeld their bodies againe to prison.

The morrow after, the same Scots fetched a great bootie of cattell out of the countries next adioining, but immediatlie after the earle of Northumberland being aduertised hereof, hasted thither with foure hundred armed men, and assaulting the castell on ech side, after two houres defense, wan it, slaieng of the defendants about eight and fortie, reseruing onelie one of the whole number alieue, that he might informe the Englishmen thoroughlie of the Scotishmens purposes. At this enterprise was the earle of Northumberlands eldest sonne, spreading there first his banner, and dooing so valiantlie, that he deserued singular commendation; as likewise did sir Alane de Heton, and sir Thomas de Ilderton, with those of the surname of the Herons, euerie of these hauing their quarters assigned to assault. Thus was the castell recouered the ninth daie after the Scots had entered the same, so that they enioied not long that victorious exploit.

Alexander Ramsie was onlie saued as Froissard saith.

Berwike castell recouered by the earle of Northumberland.

And bicause this enterprise was taken in hand against the couenant of the truce, the earle of Northumberland, before he attempted to recouer the castell, sent to the earle of March in Scotland, to vnderstand if he would auow that which his countrimen had doone, touching the winning of that castell, who sent him knowledge againe, that he neither vnderstood of their enterprise, nor would be partaker with them therein: but if it so pleased the earle of Northumberland, he would come himselfe, and helpe to recouer it to the K. of Englands vse, out or those Scotishmens hands, which without publike authoritie had made that exploit. This yeare, sir Robert Rous, capteine of Chierburg, was called home, after he had taken sir Oliuer de Clisson, and atchiued manie other worthie aduentures against the kings enimies. In his place was sent sir Iohn Herleston, to remaine vpon the gard of that castell. Also sir Hugh Caluerlie, deputie of Calis, that had so valiantlie borne himselfe against the Frenchmen, was likewise discharged; and comming home was made admerall, being ioined in commission in that office with sir Thomas Percie.

Sir Robert Rous a valiät capteine.

1379.

[722]

Sir William Montacute earle of Salisburie was sent ouer to Calis, to be the kings lieutenant there, who shortlie after his comming thither fetcht a great bootie of cattell out of the enimies countrie adjoining, so that Calis was furnished with no small number of the same. ¶ Sir Hugh Caluerlie, and sir Thomas Percie, going to sea, tooke seauen ships laden with merchandize, and one ship of warre. ¶ The archbishop of Cassils in Ireland, returning from Rome, brought with him large authoritie of binding and loosing, granted to him by pope Urbane, in fauour of whome at his comming to London, in a sermon which he preached, he declared to the people, how the French king, holding with the antipape Clement, was denounced accursed; and therefore now was the time for Englishmen to make warre in France, hauing such occasion, as greater could not be offered; speciallie, sith it was like that the excommunicated king should haue no courage to make resistance. This is I will not sale the diunitie (for what heauenliness can there be in such damnable doctrine, to set people together by the eares?) of the Romanists; so farre off are they from the studie of peace and concord betwixt man and man, that they set whole monarchies and empires vp to the mid leg in streams of bloud, imitating their great grandfather sathan, who hath béene a makebate and a murtherer from the beginning: renouncing the footsteps of Christ with open mouth, and forswering to follow him either in demeanour or doctrine, and therefore;

Quis nisimentis inops, vt sanctum tale probabit?  
Hæccine mens Christi? Talia nulla docet.

In a parlement holden at Westminster this yeare after Easter, it was ordeined, that the priuileges and immunities of the abbeie of Westminster should remaine whole and inuiolate; but yet there was a prouiso against those that tooke sanctuarie, with purpose to defraud their creditors, that their lands & goods shuld be answerable to the discharging of their debts. In the same parlement was granted to the king a subsidie, to be leuied of the great men of the land. To the end the commons might be spared, the dukes of Lancaster and Britaine paied twentie marks, euerie earle six marks, bishops and abbats with miters as much, and euerie moonke thrée shillings foure pence: also, euerie iustice, shiriffe, knight, esquier, parson, vicar, and chapleine, were charged after a certeine rate, but not any of the commons that were of the laitie.

The sanctuarie at Westminster confirmed by parlement.

A subsidie to be paid by the great men, & the commons go free.

An. Reg. 3.

A notable exploit doone by sir Iohn Harleston.

Ye haue heard how sir Iohn Harleston was sent to Chierburg as capteine of that fortresse, who issuing abroad on a day, with such power as he might take foorth, leauing the fortresse furnished, came to a place, where within a church and in a mill, the Frenchmen had laid vp, as in storehouses, a great quantitie of vittels, for prouision; which church and mill the Englishmen assaulted so valiantlie, that notwithstanding there were within a good number of the enimies, that did their best to defend themselues, yet at length they were taken, and sir Iohn Harleston with his companie, returned with the vittels towards Chierburg, but by the way they were incountred by one sir William de Bourds, whome the French king had appointed to lie in Mountburg with a strong power of men of war, to countergarison Chierburg.

Herevpon insued a sore conflict, and manie an hardie man was beaten to the ground. And although it séemed that the Englishmen were ouermatched in number, yet they stucke to it manfullie. Their capteine sir Iohn Harleston, fighting in the foremost presse, was felled, and laie on the ground at his enimies féet in great hazard of death. The Englishmen neuerthesse continued their fight, till at length sir Geffrie Worslie, with a wing of armed footmen with axes, came to the rescue (for to that end he was left behind, of purpose to come to their aid if néed required) with whose comming the Frenchmen were so hardlie handled, that to conclude, they were broken insunder, beaten downe and wholie vanquished: there were of them slaine aboue six score, and as manie taken prisoners, among which number was their chéefe capteine sir William de Bourdes taken, and brought to Chierburg with the residue, and there put in safe keeping. This exploit was atchiued by the Englishmen, on saint Martins day in winter, in this third yeare of king Richard his reigne.

[723]

But least any ioy should come to the English people in that season, without some mixture of gréefe, one sir I. Clarke a right valiant knight, & fellow in armes with sir Hugh Caluerlie, chanced this yeare to lie in garrison in a castell in Britaine, where was an hauen, & diuerse English ships lieng in the same, whereof the French gallies being aduertised, came thither, to set those ships on fire, appointing one of their gallies first to attempt the feat, and if fortune so would, to traine the Englishmen foorth, till they should fall into the laps of foure other gallies which they laid as it had béene in ambush. Now as the enimies wished so it came to passe, for the Englishmen perceiuing their vessels in danger to be burnt of the enimies, ran euerie man aboard to sane the ships and goods within them; and amongst the rest, sir Iohn Clarke their capteine, meaning to take such part as his men did, got aboard also, and streight falling in pursute of the gallie that withdrew for the purpose aforesaid, the Englishmen were shortlie inclosed with the other gallies before they were aware, not knowing what shift to make to auoid the present danger.

Sir Iohn Clarke a valiant capteine.

A policie.

Sir Iohn Clarke, perceiuing how the case stood, laid about him like a giant, causing his companie still to draw backe againe, whilst he resisting the enimies, did shew such prooffe of his valiancie, that they were much astonished therewith. To be short, he so manfullie behaued himselfe, that the most part of his companie had time to recouer



land; but when he that had thus preserved others should leape forth of the ship to saue himselfe, he was stricken on the thigh with an ax, that downe he fell, and so came into the enimies hands, being not able to recouer that hurt, for his thigh was almost quite cut off from the bodie, so that he died of that and other hurts presentlie, leauing a remembrance behind him of manie worthie acts through his valiancie atchiued, to his high praise and great commendation. The barke of Yorke was also lost the same time, being a proper vessell; and now taken suddenlie, sanke with all that were aboard in hir, both Englishmen, and the enimies also that were entered into hir, thinking to carrie hir awaie.

About the same time the duke of Britaine returning into his countrie, vnder the conduct of sir Thomas Percie and sir Hugh Caluerlie, landed at a hauen not far from saint Malo, the fourth day of August, being receiued with vnspeakable ioy of the Britaines, as well lords as commons, so that the louing harts which they bare towards him, might well appeare, although the loue which he bare to the king of England had caused his subiects, in fauor of France, to keepe him manie yeares forth of his dukedome as a banished prince, but at length, they being ouercome with irkesomnesse of his long absence, with generall consents sent for him home, so that there were but few of the British nobilitie that withdrew their dutifull obedience from him, and those were onelie such as firmelie linked in seruice with the French king, were loth to forgo such roomes and dignities as vnder him they inioied; namelie, the constable of France, sir Berthram de Cleaquin, the lord Clisson, the lord de Rohen, and the lord Rochfort, and certeine others.

The duke of Britaine restored to his dukedome.

The lord de la Vall amongst other, came to him (as we find in Thomas Walsingham) offering him his seruice as well as the residue. At his landing, he was likelie to haue lost all such furniture, as well of vittels, apparell, hangings, bedding, armour, and other things, which either he or his traine had brought with them. For the French gallies espieng their time, immediatlie as he and his companie were set on land, before the ships in which the said furniture was fraught, could enter the hauen, which was somewhat streight and narrow, came vpon them, and had them at such aduantage, that if sir Hugh Caluerlie with his archers had not caused the master of his ship, euen against his will to returne againe to the rescue, the gallies had taken and gone awaie with the other ships; but through the manfull prowes of sir Hugh, the gallies were repelled, & the ships saued: for according to his woonted valiancie he would not returne, till he saw all other in safetie, & then defending himselfe so well as he might, withdrew into the hauen, and landed safelie with the residue.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

[724]

About the same time was an hainous murther committed in London, of a merchant Genowes, whome certeine English merchants vpon spite and enuie, which they bare towards him, caused to be slaine one euening in the stréet before his own gates. The cause that mooued the merchants so to procure his death was, for that he vndertooke to furnish this land, hauing the staple allowed him at Southhampton, of all such wares as came forth of Leuant, so plentifullie as was to be had in any place in all the west parts of christendome. In the summer of this yeare, a greeuous mortalitie afflicted the north parts of this land, so that the countrie became almost desolate. And to the increase of that miserie, the Scots thinking the time to serue their turne, inuaded the borders, and most cruellie harried, robbed, and spoiled the same, not letting passe any part, of most cruell murdering of the people that were left aliue, and not made awaie by that sore contagious sicknesse. The number of cattell was infinite which they droue out of the land with them, not sparing heards of swine which they tooke at this time, where they neuer medled with that kind of cattell before that present.

An hainous murther of a merchant stranger.

Great death in the north countrie.

Great spoile by the Scots in the death time.

Before the Scots made this iournie into England, whilst the mortalitie was most in force, they calling to certeine of the English borderers, asked of them how it came to

passee, that so great a death reigned amongst them. The Englishmen, as good, plaine, and simple meaning men, told them, that trulie they knew not the cause, for Gods iudgements were hid from them in such behalfe. But one thing they knew, that all calamitie, death, and aduersitie that chanced vnto them, came by the speciall grace of God, to the end that being punished for their sinnes, they might learne to repent and amend their wicked liues. The Scots hearing this, when they should enter this land, vnderstanding lewdlie what the Englishmen had told them concerning the disease, and the grace of God, deuised a blessing forsooth to be said euerie morning, of the most ancient person in euerie familie, as; Benedicite, said he: Dominus, said the residue. Then began he againe, saieng; God and saint Mango, saint Romane and saint Andro, shield vs this daie fra Gods grace, and the fewle death that Englishmen dien vpon. Thus the senselesse men misconstruing this word the grace of God, praied for their owne destruction, which if not in this world, yet for their brutish crueltie vsed at that present, against the miserable creatures, whom the hand of God had spared in time of that gréeuous mortalitie, it is to be feared, least in another world it came to them, as the verie words of their praiers imported.

About the same time, Iohn Schakell esquier was set at libertie, the king compounded with him for his prisoner, giuing fiue hundred marks in redie monie, and lands to the value of a hundred marks by yeare. When he should bring foorth his prisoner, and deliuer him to the king, this is to be noted, as a thing verie strange and woonderfull. For when he should appeare, it was knowne to be the verie groome that had serued him in all the time of his trouble, and would neuer vtter himselfe what he was before that time, hauing serued him as an hired seruant all that while in prison, and out of prison, in danger of life, when his other maister was murdered, where, if he would haue vttered himselfe, he might haue beene entertained in such honorable state, as for a prisoner of his degré had beene requisit, so that the faithfull loue and assured constancie in this noble gentleman was highlie commended and praised, and no lesse maruelled at of all men.

About the feast of S. Nicholas, in this third yeare of king Richards reigne, there went to sea an armie of men, that should haue passed ouer into Britaine, to the aid of the duke there, vnder the conduct of sir Iohn Arundell, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Thomas Percie, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Morews, sir Thomas Banester, & manie other knights and esquires, too long to rehearse, a sufficient power vndoubtedlie to haue doone a great enterprise: but they were no sooner on the sea, but suddenlie there arose such an hideous tempest of wind and stormes, that they looked presentlie to be all cast awaie, they were scattered here and there, and driuen they wist not whither. The ship wherein sir Iohn Arundell was aboard, chanced to be cast on the coast of Ireland, and there driuen to forsake his ship, that was readie to be broken in péeces by rage of waues, beating it there against the rocks: he was drowned before he could win to land, in an Ile, neere to the which they had thrust in the ship.

To the like end came sir Thomas Banester, sir Nicholas Trumpington, and sir Thomas Dale, impeaching each others, as they leapt foorth of the ship: also one Musard an esquire, a most séemelie personage and a bold; and an other esquier named Denioke, being almost out of danger, were fetched awaie by the surges of the sea, and so perished, with manie other. Robert Rust a cunning seaman, belonging to Blacknie in Northfolke, & maister of the ship wherein sir Iohn Arundell was imbarcked, was the first that got to land, giuing example to others how to shift for themselues. But when he saw his cheefe capteine, the said sir Iohn Arundell got foorth to the sands, and as one thinking himselfe past all danger, to shake his wet garments about him; the said Rust waieng the dangerous state wherein the said sir Iohn Arundell yet stood, came downe, and raught to him his hand, inforsing himselfe to plucke him to the shore: but whilest he tooke care for an other mans safetie, and neglected his owne, he lost his life, and so they both perished together; for through a mightie billow of the raging seas,

A notable example of a faithful prisoner.

The English nauie scattered by a terrible tempest.

[725]

they were both ouerthrowne, and with returning of the waues backe, drawne into the deepe, so that they could neuer recouer foot-hold againe, but were drowned.

The said Rust was much lamented, bicause he was not onelie knowne to be a skilfull maister, but also counselled the said sir Iohn Arundell in no wise to go to sea, at what time he would needs set forward, forsing the said Rust and the marriners to hoist vp sailes and make awaie. They that scaped to land in that Ile, found nothing there to releue their miseries, but bare ground, so that diuerse starved through cold, wanting fier and other succour: the residue that were lustie and wise withall, ran vp and downe, and sometime wrestling, and otherwise chafing themselues, remained there in great miserie, from the thursdaie till sundaie at noone next insuing. At what time, when the sea was appeased and waxen calme, the Irishmen that dwelled ouer against this Ile on the maine, came and fetched them thence, and reléueed them the best they could, being almost dead, through trauell, hunger, and cold.

The said sir Iohn Arundell lost not onelie his life, but all his furniture and apparell for his bodie, which was verie sumptuous, so that it was thought to surmount the apparell of any king. For he had two and fiftie new sutes of apparell of cloth of gold or tissue, as was reported, all the which, togither with his horsse & geldings, amounting to the value of ten thousand marks, was lost at the sea. And besides this, there were lost at the same time fiue and twentie ships, with men, horsse, and other riches, which attended him in that voiage. Yet sir Thomas Percie, and sir Hugh Caluerlie, with sir William Elmham, and certeine others escaped, but cruellie tormented with vnmercifull tempest: and before sir Thomas Percie could get to land, after the sea was quieted, he was assaulted by a Spaniard, against whome he so defended himselfe, that in the end he tooke the Spanish vessell, and brought hir, with all that he found aboard in hir, vnto the next shore, and sold the same for an hundred pounds, and without long delaie, tooke the sea, & passed ouer to Brest, of which fortresse he was capteine, iointlie with sir Hugh Caluerlie, and therefore doubting least some inconuenience might chance thereto now in both their absence, he made the more hast, not taking rest till he came thither, notwithstanding his passed painefull trauels. Sir Hugh Caluerlie was neuer in his life in more danger of death, than at that time: for all that were in his ship (as Froissard writeth) were drowned, except himselfe & seauen mariners. We find, that there were drowned in one place & other, aboue a thousand Englishmen in that most vnluckie voiage. ¶ Some writers impute this calamitie to light on the said sir Iohn Arundell & his companie, for the lasciuious and filthie rule which they kept before their setting foorth, in places where they laie, till their prouision was readie; who not content with that which they did before they tooke ship, in rauishing men wiues, maids and daughters, they carried them aboard, that they might haue the vse of them whilest they were vpon the sea,

(Sæua libido furens, quid non mortalia cogis  
Pectora? Quídue tuo non est violabile telo?)

and yet when the tempest rose, like cruell and vnmercifull persons they threw them into the sea, either for that they would not be troubled with their lamentable noise and crieng, or for that they thought so long as they had such women aboard with them (whome they had abused so long) God would not cease the rage of the tempest. But it should appeare that this tempest was generall, for where the Spanish and French fléets were abroad at the same time, being assembled together to annoie the coasts of this land, their ships were likewise tossed and turmoiled, so as no small number of them were lost, in so much that the damage which they susteined, was thought far to passe that which hapned to the English nauie.

In this yeare about Christmasse, sir William de Montacute earle of Salisburie, after he had remained twelue moneths space at Calis, the kings lieutenant there was called home, & sir Iohn Deuereux a right valiant knight, and an old man of warre, was sent thither in his place. ¶ Also, sir Iohn Harleston was called home from Chierburg, and

The excesse and sumptuous apparell of sir Iohn Arundell.

There were drowned aboue a thousand men in one place and other, as the additions to *Ad. Merimuth* doo testifie.

Outragious wickednesse iustlie punished.

sir William Windeshore a noble knight was sent thither to be capteine of that fortresse. ¶ After the Epiphanie, was a parlement called at London, which continued till the beginning of the kalendes of March. ¶ Also wheras the yeare before there had beene certeine bishops, earles, barons, and iustices appointed, to haue the gouvernement and rule about the king; now at the request of the lords and commons in this parlement assembled; the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike was chosen to remaine continuallie with the king, as chéefe gouernour, both of his person, and to giue answer to all strangers that should come hither about any businesse whatsoeuer, and further to haue the rule and order of all things, in lieu of those that were chosen thereto before: it was perceiued that they had sought to enrich themselues, & had doone little to the aduancement of the kings honor, or state of the common-wealth, but rather emptied the kings cofers.

Sir Iohn Deuereux made deputie of Calis.  
The earle of Warwike elected protector.

In this parlement also, the lord Richard Scrope gaue ouer the office of chancellor, and Simon Sudburie archbishop of Canturburie tooke it vpon him. ¶ In this parlement was granted a tenth by the cleargie, and a fifteenth by the laitie, with condition that from henceforth, to wit, from the kalends of March, to the feast of S. Michaell which then should be in the yeare 1381, there should be no more parlements, but this condition was not performed, as after appeared. In the octaues of Easter, the lord Valeran earle of saint Paule married the kings halfe sister, the ladie Ione de Courtnie: the solemnization of this marriage was holden at Windsore, with great triumphing. ¶ The princesse that was mother to the bride, was greatlie against the marriage, but the bride hir selfe had such a liking to the earle, that the king was contented that they should match together, and set him free of his ransome which he should haue paid, for that he had béene taken prisoner in the marches of Calis, and further, gaue with his sister by waie of endowment, the towneship and manour of Biefléet.

The archbishop of Canturburie made lord chancellor.  
The kings halfe sister married the earle of saint Paule.

On the seuenth of Iune, a combat was fought afore the kings palace at Westminster, on the pauement there, betwixt one sir Iohn Anneslie knight, and one Thomas Katrington esquier: the occasion of which strange and notable triall rose hereof. The knight accused the esquier of treason, for that where the fortresse of saint Sauieur within the Ile of Constantine in Normandie, belonging some time to sir Iohn Chandois, had béene committed to the said Katrington, as capteine thereof, to keepe it against the enemies, he had for monie sold and deliuered it ouer to the Frenchmen, where he was sufficientlie prouided of men, munition and vittels, to haue defended it against them: and sith the inheritance of that fortresse and landes belonging thereto, had appertained to the said Anneslie in right of his wife, as nearest cousine by affinitie vnto sir Iohn Chandois, if by the false conueiance of the said Katrington, it had not béene made awaie, and alienated into the enemies hands: he offered therefore to trie the quarrell by combat, against the said Katrington, wherypon was the same Katrington apprehended, and put in prison, but shortlie after set at libertie againe.

A combat betwixt sir Iohn Anneslie and Thomas Katrington.

[727]

Whilest the duke of Lancaster, during the time that his father king Edward laie in his last sicknesse, did in all things what liked him, & so at the contemplation of the lord Latimer (as was thought) he released Katrington for the time, so that sir Iohn Anneslie could not come to the effect of his sute in all the meane time, till now. Such as feared to be charged with the like offenses staid the matter, till at length, by the opinion of true and ancient knights it was defined, that for such a forren controuersie that had not risen within the limits of the realme, but touched possession of things on the further side the sea, it was lawfull to haue it tried by battell, if the cause were first notified to the constable and marshall of the realme, and that the combat was accepted by the parties. Herevpon was the day and place appointed, and all things prouided readie, with lists railed and made so substantiallie,

Triall by cōbat in what case lawfull.

as if the same should haue indured for euer. The concourse of people that came to London to see this tried, was thought to exceed that of the kings coronation, so desirous men were to behold a sight so strange and vnaccustomed.

The king, his nobles, and all the people being come together in the morning of the daie appointed, to the place where the lists were set vp, the knight being armed and mounted on a faire courser seemelie trapped, entered first as appellant, staieng till his aduersarie the defendant should come. And shortlie after was the esquier called to defend his cause in this forme: Thomas Katrington defendant, come and appeare to saue the action, for which sir Iohn Anneslie knight and appellant hath publikelie and by writing appealed thée. He being thus called thrise by an herald at armes, at the third call did come armed likewise; and riding on a courser trapped with traps imbrodered with his armes, at his approaching to the lists he alighted from his horsse, lest according to the law of armes the constable should haue challenged the horsse if he had entered within the lists. But his shifting nothing auailed him, for the horsse after his maister was alighted beside him, ran vp & downe by the railes, now thrusting his head ouer, and now both head & breast, so that the earle of Buckingham, bicause he was high constable of England, claimed the horsse afterwards, swearing that he would haue so much of him as had appeared ouer the railes, and so the horsse was adiudged vnto him.

The order of the combat.

The earle of Buckingham claimeth the horsse.

But now to the matter of the combat (for this challenge of the horsse was made after, as soone as the esquier was come within the lists) the indenture was brought forth by the marshall and constable, which had béene made and sealed before them, with consent of the parties, in which were conteined the articles exhibited by the knight against the esquier, and there the same was read before all the assemblie. The esquier (whose conscience was thought not to be cleare, but rather guiltie, and therefore seemed full of troublesome and grudging passions, as an offendor already conuined, thought (as full well he might)

*Multa miser timeo, quia feci multa proteruè)*

went about to make exceptions, that his cause by some means might haue séemed the sounder. But the duke of Lancaster hearing him so staie at the matter, sware, that except according to the conditions of the combat, and the law of armes, he would admit all things in the indentures comprised, that were not made without his owne consent, he should as guiltie of the treason forthwith be had forth to execution. The duke with those words woone great commendation, and auoided no small suspicion that had béene conceiued of him as parciall in the esquiers cause. The esquier hearing this, said, that he durst fight with the knight, not onelie in those points, but in all other in the world whatsoever the same might be: for he trusted more to his strength of bodie, and fauour of his freends, than to the cause which he had taken vpon him to defend. He was in déed a mightie man of stature, where the knight among those that were of a meane stature was one of the least. Freends to the esquier, in whom he had great affiance to be borne out through their assistance, were the lords Latimer and Basset, with others.

[728]

Before they entered battell, they tooke an oth, as well the knight as the esquier, that the cause in which they were to fight, was true, and that they delt with no witchcraft, nor art magike, whereby they might obteine the victorie of their aduersarie, nor had about them any herbe or stone, or other kind of experiment with which magicians vse to triumph ouer their enimies. This oth receiued of either of them, and therewith hauing made their praiers deuoutlie, they began the battell, first with speares, after with swords, and lastlie with daggers. They fought long, till finallie the knight had bereft the esquier of all his weapons, and at length the esquier was manfullie ouerthrowne by the knight. But as the knight would haue fallen vpon the esquier, through sweat that ran downe by his helmet his sight was hindered, so that thinking to fall vpon the esquier, he fell downe sideling himselfe, not comming néere to the esquier, who perceiuing what had happened, although he was almost

The esquire is ouerthrowne.

ouercome with long fighting, made to the knight, and threw himselfe vpon him, so that manie thought the knight should haue beene ouercome: other doubted not but that the knight would recouer his feet againe, and get the victorie of his aduersarie.

The king in the meane time caused it to be proclaimed that they should staie, and that the knight should be raised vp from the ground, and so meant to take vp the matter betwixt them. To be short, such were sent as should take vp the esquier; but comming to the knight, he besought them, that it might please the king to permit them to lie still, for he thanked God he was well, and mistrusted not to obtaine the victorie, if the esquier might be laid vpon him, in manner as he was earst. Finallie, when it would not be so granted, he was contented to be raised vp, and was no sooner set on his féet, but he cheerfullie went to the king, without anie mans helpe, where the esquier could neither stand nor go without the helpe of two men to hold him vp, and therefore was set in his chaire to take his ease, to see if he might recouer his strength.

The knight at his comming before the king, besought him & his nobles, to grant him so much, that he might be eftsoones laid on the ground as before, and the esquier to be laid aloft vpon him: for the knight perceiued that the esquire through excessiue heat, and the weight of his armor, did maruellouslie faint, so as his spirits were in manner taken from him. The king and the nobles perceiuing the knight so couragiously to demand to trie the battell fourth to the vttermost, offering great summes of monie, that so it might be doone, decreed that they should be restored againe to the same plight in which they laie when they were raised vp: but in the meane time the esquire fainting, and falling downe in a swoone, fell out of his chaire, as one that was like to yéeld vp his last breath presentlie among them. Those that stood about him cast wine and water vpon him, séeking so to bring him againe, but all would not serue, till they had plucked off his armor, & his whole apparell, which thing prooued the knight to be vanquisher, and the esquier to be vanquished.

The esquier fainteth.

The knight is iudged the vanquisher.

After a little time the esquier began to come to himselfe, and lifting vp his eies, began to hold vp his head, and to cast a ghostlie looke on euerie one about him: which when it was reported to the knight, he commeth to him armed as he was (for he had put off no péece since the beginning of the fight) and speaking to him, called him traitor, and false periured man, asking of him if he durst trie the battell with him againe: but the esquier hauing neither sense nor spirit whereby to make answer, proclamation was made that the battell was ended, and euerie one might go to his lodging. The esquier immediatlie after he was brought to his lodging, and laid in bed, began to wax raging wood, and so continuing still out of his wits, about nine of the clocke the next day he yéelded vp the ghost. ¶ This combat was fought (as before yée haue heard) the seuenth of Iune to the great reioising of the common people, and discouragement of traitours.

[729]

About the same time or rather somewhat before, the lord Oliuer de Clisson, with a number of ships and gallies of France and Spaine, tooke the sea, and comming on the coast of England, landed in diuerse places of the west cuntry, and also in the south parts, and burning sundrie townes, taking such ships and vessels as they might laie hold vpon, and so continued to indamage the English people that inhabited néere to the sea side, all that summer following. ¶ In the beginning of the fourth yeare of this king, Thomas of Woodstoke

The Frenchmen spoile & burne diuerse townes in the west cuntry.

An. Reg. 4.

Froissard. The earle of Buckingham sent into Britaine to aid the duke against the French king.

earle of Buckingham, vncke to the king, with an armie of seauen or eight thousand men of armes and archers, was sent ouer to Calis, that he might inuade France, and passe through the same to come into Britaine vnto the aid of the duke there. ¶ You haue heard how the French king had seized into his hands the more part of the duchie of Britaine, bicause that the duke had ioined himselfe in league with the king of England: but yet there were diuerse of the good townes, and also manie of the barons and nobles of the cuntry which kept themselues as neuters a long season; but at length,

longing to see the returne of their naturall lord and duke, sent for him into England, requiring him to repaire home, and to see to the quieting of the troubled state of his countrie.

The duke being thus earnestlie desired to returne home, by the aduise of the king of England and his councell, granted to their request that had so instantlie required him, both by letters and sufficient messengers: wherevpon he tooke the sea, and sailing foorth, arriued in Britaine, hauing with him sir Robert Knolles, and a certeine number of Englishmen both armed men and archers (as before yee haue heard.) The king also promised to send him a new supplie verie shortlie, which was not forgotten. But fortune was so contrarie, that sir Iohn Arundell generall of those that were sent, and manie of his companie, were drowned by force of tempest, and the other driuen backe againe into England (as before ye haue heard.) In the meane time, though the duke of Britaine with aid of his subiects, did manfullie defend his townes and countrie against the Frenchmen, yet he was in doubt to be oppressed by the great puissance of the Frenchmen, if aid came not the sooner. Which being signified ouer into England, mooued the king and his councell to appoint the earle of Buckingham to take vpon him this voiage. He landed at Calis three daies before the feast of Marie Magdalene.

There went ouer with him in that armie, the earls of Stafford and Deuonshire, the lord Spenser constable of the host, the lord Fitz Knights made by the earle of Buckingham at his entrie into France. Walter marshall, the lord Basset, the lord Bouchier, the lord Ferrers, the lord Morlie, the lord Darcie, sir William Windsore, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Hugh de la Sente, sir Thomas Percie, sir Thomas Triuet, sir Hugh Tirell, sir William Farrington, sir Iohn and sir Nicholas Daubriticourt, Thomas Camois, Rafe Neuill sonne to the lord Neuill, sir Henrie bastard Ferrers, sir Hugh Broe, sir Geffrie Wourslie, sir William Clinton, sir Iuon Fitz Warren, and diuerse other. After they had rested them at Calis two daies, they remooued the third day out of the towne, and came to Marqueignes, where they remained thrée daies, till all their companie, cariages, and prouisions were come to them out of Calis: from thence they remooued and came before Arde, where the earle of Buckingham made knights these that follow: the earle of Deuonshire, the lord Morlie, the son of the lord Fitz Walter, sir Roger Strange, sir Iohn Ipre, sir Iohn Colle, sir Iames Tirell, sir Thomas Ramston, sir Iohn Neuill, and sir Thomas Ros or Roslie, as some copies haue. These persons were made [730] knights, bicause they went in the vaward, which was sent to win a strong house called Follant, which the owner had fortified against them. But though he defended himselfe manfullie for a time, yet in the end both he and all his companie were taken prisoners.

After this the duke passed by saint Omers, shewing himselfe Knights againe made. (about a mile off) with his host in order of battell aloft vpon a The iournie of the English armie through France. mountaine. Some of the Englishmen rode to the barriers, requiring that some of them within would come foorth and breake staues with them, but they could not be answered. The same day that the Englishmen thus came before S. Omers, the earle of Buckingham made againe new knights, as sir Rafe Neuill, sir Bartholomew Bouchier, sir Thomas Camois, sir Foulke Corbet, sir Thomas Danglure, sir Rafe Petipas, sir Lewes saint Albine, and sir Iohn Paulie or rather Paulet. These Englishmen rode through the countrie, demanding iusts and déeds of armes, but they could not be answered. In déed the townes of the frontiers were well replenished and stuffed with men of war, and still were the Englishmen coasted, but they kept themselues so close together, without breaking their order, that their enimies could find them at none aduantage.

They passed by Tirwine and by Betwine, where they lodged one day. They made but easie iournies, and seemed to require nothing but battell. They passed by Arras, by Miramont, and so to Clerie on the water of Some, and taried there thrée daies, and in other places about in that countrie. The fourth day they dislodged, and drew towards Cambraie, and so to S. Quintines, & after vp towards Reimes. They found little riches, and small store of vittels abroad in the countrie, for the French king had abandoned all

to his men of warre, who either wasted or conueied all things of any value into the fortresses and walled townes. The Englishmen therefore sent to them of Reimes, requiring to haue some vittels sent to the host, for the which they would spare the countrie from wasting: but they of Reimes would not consent herevnto. Whervpon the Englishmen began to light them such candels, as their eies within the citie aked to behold the same a far off.

Moreouer, the Englishmen approched so néere to the walles and diches of the citie, that they brought awaie twentie thousand head of cattell, which the citizens had gotten within the compasse of their diches; and further sent to them within, that if they would not sent bread and wine foorth to vittell the host, in that behalfe they would burne all their corne: for doubt whereof, the citizens sent foorth to the host six charets laden with as much bread and wine as they might carie. Thus was their corne saued from destruction, and the Englishmen by soft and easie iournies drew towards the citie of Trois, in the which was the duke of Burgognie, with the dukes of Burbon and Bar, the earle of Ewe, the lord Coucie, sir Iohn de Vien high admerall of France, and a great number of others of the French nobilitie. They had made a bastide without the towne able to receiue a thousand men of armes, but vpon the Englishmens approach to assault it, they did forsake that strength, and withdrew to the towne. Sir Thomas Triuet was here made a baronet. Also there were certeine new knights made, as sir Peter Berton, sir Iohn and sir Thomas Paulie or Paulet, sir Iohn Stiugulie, sir Thomas Dortingues, sir Iohn Vassecoque, sir Thomas Brasie, sir Iohn Brauin, sir Henrie Vernier, sir Iohn Coleuile, sir William Euerat, sir Nicholas Stiugulie, and sir Hugh Lunit.

The English host perceiuing the Frenchmen to withdrawe into the towne, drew together, and stood in order of battell for the space of two houres, and then returned to their lodgings. The next day they remooued to Maillerois le vicount neere vnto Sens, and there they remained two daies, and after drew into Gastinois, and so into Beause. They were coasted all the waie by a great power of men of war, as many or more in number as they were themselues. But the French king being a politike prince, wiselie considered what losses the realme of France had susteined afore time, by giuing battell to the Englishmen, and therefore was fullie resolued, that in no wise he would giue licence to his people to fight with the earle of Buckingham; but thought better (as he had learned by good experience) to keepe his townes close against his enimies, and so in the end to wearie them, than by giuing battell to put things in hazard, whereas he knew they could not take from him his countries by this kind of warre, though they sore indamaged the same for a time.

There chanced manie small skirmishes amongst those that rode foorth to discouer the countrie, but no notable incounter at all. For the Englishmen in those daies were cats not to be catched without mittens (as Iacob Meir in one place saith) & againe the French men were as warie how they aduentured to come néere them, peradventure for feare, as in the reigne of king Edward the 3, as C. O. noteth, saieng,

Contra aciem magnam tremebundo corde Valesus  
In campum adiunctum & vicina coëgerat arua,  
Non tamen Angligenas aduersum est ausus aperto  
Tendere Marte feris conflagere fortiter armis.

Onelie they sought how to inclose them vp in the countrie, and to famish them, that they might then fight with them at some great aduantage; but still the English host passed forward, holding on their voiage towards Britaine by Vandosme, Pont Volaine, and so ouer the riuier of Sartre. In this meane while the French king Charles the fift was taken with a sore sicknesse, whereof he departed this life the same daie that the English armie passed ouer the riuier of Sartre, which was on the six and twentieth of September, his brethren the dukes of Aniou, Berrie, Burbon, and Burgognie were at Paris with him at the houre of his death, where

The citizens of Reimes saue their corne fields from destroieng by sending vittels to the English host.

Sir Thomas Triuet created a baronet.

Knights created.

Verne or Vernon.

The policie of the French king.

[731]

*In Angl. prælijs sub Edwardo 3.*

The death of Charles the 5 French king.



as a little before they had béene abroad in the countrie with their powers, to defend the cities and townes of importance against the Englishmen, and meant indeed (if they could haue espied their aduantage, and gotten licence thereto of the king) to haue giuen their enimies battell. But now they were otherwise occupied: howbeit they had left their men abroad in the countrie to coast the Englishmen as they had doone before. All the French power was assembled in the citie of Mans, vnder the leading of the duke of Bar, the lord Coucie, and others.

In this meane while that the earle of Buckingham was passing through the realme of France, the French and Spanish gallies did much mischéefe on the coast of England: but about the latter end of Iune, by a fléet of Englishmen of the west countries part of them were forced to retire, and take harbour in an hauen in Ireland called Kingsale, where being assailed of the Englishmen and Irishmen, they were vanquished; so that to the number of foure hundred of them were slaine, and their chéefe capteins taken, as Gonsalue de Verse, and his brother Iohn Martin de Motrigo, Turgo lord of Morants; also lord of Reith, Péers Martin of Vermew, Iohn Modit of Vermew, the seneshall of Wargarie, the seneshall of S. Andrew, Cornelis of S. Sebastiano, Paschale de Biskey, Iohn Martinis, Sopogorge of S. Sebastiano, and diuerse other.

There were taken foure of their barges with a ballenger, and one and twentie English vessels recouered, which they had robbed and taken awaie from their owners. There scaped yet foure of their notable capteins frō the hands of our men, Martin Grantz, Iohn Peris Mantago, Iohn Husce Gitario, and one Garcias of S. Sebastiano, so that the malice of those robbers ceased not. For they with the French gallies, still lieng on the seas, when they espied anie aduantage, would land their people, and doo what mischeefe they could, in taking preies, and burning townes and villages, although now and then they came short to their vessels againe, losing sometimes an hundred, sometimes fourescore that were ouertaken by the Englishmen that came foorth against them. But among other inuasions which they made this summer on the coasts, we find that they burnt the towne of Winchelsie, & put the abbat of Battell to flight with his people, comming to succor that towne and tooke one of his moonks that was there in armor with the abbat. ¶ Some write also, that they burnt Rie, Hastings, and Portsmouth. Finallie, their boldnesse so farre increased, that in August they entring with their gallies into the riuier of Thames, came vp to Grauesend, where they burnt the most part of the towne, and on the other side of the riuier, as well in Essex as Kent, they burnt and spoiled diuerse places, and with their prisoners and booties returned without receiuing anie hurt, bringing with them to France, both rich spoiles and good prisoners.

But to returne to the earle of Buckingham where we left. The English armie drew still towards Britaine, but with so small doubt of their aduersaries, that they laie three or foure daies sometimes still in one place. At their approching to the marches of Britaine, they came to Vitrie, a towne situate at the first entring into that countrie, and from thence went to Chateau Briant, and there rested, whither came to them certeine knights sent from the duke of Britaine, which signified to the erle of Buckingham what the dukes meaning was. Indéed by the death of the French king, the dukes malice was greatlie abated towards the Frenchmen, so that he had not much passed if the Englishmen had béene at home againe. Moreouer, his townes were not determined to receiue the Englishmen, as enimies to the crowne of France: so that he was in a perplexitie how to order his businesse. At length, to shew himselfe a stedfast frénd to the Englishmen, and one that was no changeling, he determined by their support, to force all those to allow the league which he had established with the Englishmen, who had denied to beare armour against the crowne of France. And first, bicause they of Naunts were the ringleaders of that rebellious demeanour, he appointed first to besiege their citie. They

*Tho. Walsi.*

The French and Spanish gallies chased from the coast of England to Kingsale in Ireland and there vanquished.

Diuerse townes on the English coasts destroyed and burnt.

The abbat of Battell in rescuing Winchelsie is put to flight.

Grauesend burnt.

[732]

The English host entrench into Britaine.

Naunts besieged by the Englishmen.

hauing knowledge thereof, sent into France for aid.

The dukes of Aniou, Berrie, Burgognie, and Burbon, brethren to the late king, and vncler to his sonne the yoong king, hauing the The siege at Naunts broken vp. gouernance of the realme vnder him, sent six hundred speares with all spéed to strengthen them of Naunts, which defended the citie in such wise from the puissance of the Englishmen, who enuironed the same with a strong siege, that in the end, bicause the duke came not to them (according to his promise) the siege was raised the morrow after New yeares daie, two moneths and foure daies after the same was first laid. The duke of Britaine would gladlie haue come to the siege of Naunts, in strengthening of the English host, but he could not persuade his lords to aid him in anie such enterprise. And therefore now that the earle of Buckingham had broken vp his siege, he caused him to be lodged in the citie of Vannes, & his men abroad in the countrie, some here, and some there, acquiting himselfe as well towards them as he might.

But suerlie the hearts of the Britains were wonderfullie changed, and in no wise would consent to haue anie warre with the Frenchmen, if anie reasonable peace might be concluded. For manie that hated the father, bare good will and heartie loue towards the sonne, whose yoong yeares and great towardnesse allured the hearts of manie to wish him well. Hervpon was meanes made for a peace, which by the duke of Aniou his consent (who bare the greatest rule in France in that season) a finall accord was made, betwixt the yoong king and the duke of Britaine, so that the duke should come and doo his homage vnto the French king, and sweare to be true and faithfull vnto him: also that he should rid the Englishmen out of his countrie, and helpe them with ships and vessels to transport them home into England.

The earle of Buckingham, when he vnderstood of this peace, was not a little displeased in his mind, considering that the duke of Britaine had delt so vniustlie with him and his nephue the king of England. But the duke still excused him by his subiects, as though if he had not thus agreed, he should haue beene in danger to haue lost his heritage of that countrie. Finallie, the earle after he had ships prouided for his passage, the eleuenth of Aprill departed out of Vannes, and came to the hauen where his ships laie, and so went aboard in like maner as other of his men did from other hauens, and shortlie after (when the wind serued) tooke the sea, and returned into England, sore displeased with the duke of Britaine for his great vntruth and dissimulation (as he tooke it) notwithstanding all excuses to cloake the matter by him alledged.

Whilist the Englishmen were thus occupied in warres against the Frenchmen (as before ye haue heard) the Scots could not rest in quiet, but in reuenge for a ship, which the townesmen of Newcastle and Hull had taken on the sea, knowing them to be pirates, determined to doo what mischéefe they could vnto the English borders: for the losse of that ship griued them, bicause it was esteemed to be verie rich, the goods that were in it being valued at seuen thousand marks. Herevpon the Scots entring by the west borders, inuaded & spoiled the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, and comming into the forrest of Inglewood, they tooke awaie with them such a number of beasts and cattell, that they were reckoned at fourtie thousand heads of one and other. Besides this, they cruellie slue all such as they could laie hands vpon, and burnt vp all the townes, and houses as they passed: and not content herewith, they stale vpon the towne of Penreth, when the faire was kept there, slaieng, taking, and chasing awaie the people, and after gathering together all the goods and riches there found, tooke it awaie with them, whereof there was such plentie as might haue satisfied the couetous desire of a most greedie armie. They returned by Carleil, but hearing that there were gotten into it a great number of men out of the countries adioining, they durst not staie to make any attempt against that towne, but compassed their waie to escape with their

A peace betwixt the French king and the duke of Britaine.

The articles of the peace.

The earle of Buckingham returned into England.

The Scots inuade the English borders and spoile whole countries carrieng awaie great booties.

booties home into their countrie, which they did, although they lost some of their companie as they passed by an ambushment of certeine archers of Westmerland and Cumberland, that were laid for them of purpose. When the earle of Northumberland would haue gone foorth to reuenge those iniuries doone to the countrie by the Scots, he was written to from the king and his councell, to forbear till the daie of truce, at what time it might be knowen what was further to be doone in the matter.

About Michaelmasse the duke of Lancaster, the earles of Warwike, and Stafford, with other lords and men of honor, hauing with them a great power of souldiers and men of warre, went into the north parts, and comming to the borders, they laie there till they had consumed no small summes of monie, and indamaged the countrie as much as if the Scottish armie had inuaded the same. The good they did, was, that after long treatie with the Scottish commissioners, a truce was agreed vpon till Easter following, which being concluded, they returned home without any more adoo. For the space of halfe a score yeares together now last past, the Englishmen euerie yeare had one or two such treaties with the Scots about the incursions and rodes which they yearelie made into the English borders, sore indamaging the inhabitants of those north parts of the realme, notwithstanding any truce or abstinence of warre that might be concluded.

An armie lingering in the north parts greatlie impouerisheth the countrie.  
Additions to *Adam Merimuth*.

Whilest the armie (as ye haue heard) laie idle in the north parts, there were certeine letters found by a poore man about London, who deliuered them vnto the worthie citizen Iohn Philpot, who calling vnto him certeine other worshipfull citizens, opened one of them, in which was contened matter of high treason: and perceiuing by the seale that it belonged vnto sir Rafe Ferrers knight, one of the kings priuie councell, deliuered that letter with foure other letters closed with the same seale, first to the lord chancellor, and after to the king, the which being read and the seale knowne to be the said sir Rafe Ferrers his seale, manie greatlie maruelled that so ancient a knight, and one in whom so great trust was put, should go about any such treasons.

Treason in letters writtē by sir Rafe Ferrers to certeine French lords.

One of the letters was directed to sir Bertram de Cleaquin, an other to the lord de la Riuier the chamberlaine of France, an other to the lord Clisson, and an other to the patrone of the gallies, and to the capteine of the armie of Frenchmen and Spaniards, which at the same time wafting alongst the coasts, did much hurt in diuerse places of the land. Foorthwith the said Philpot and others were sent in post from the king to the duke of Lancaster, that for somuch as the said sir Rafe Ferrers was then in the north parts with him, intreating with the Scots, he should arrest him and put him in safe kéeping, which commandement the duke did accomplish, and committed him to be safelie kept in the castell of Duresme, but shortlie after in the next parlement he was set at libertie, foure barons being bound for his foorth comming, till true that he might more euidentlie declare his innocencie.

[734]

About the feast of S. Martine, was a parlement holden at Northampton to the more trouble of them that came to it, bicause in that season of the yeare they were constreined to come where there was no store of fewell to make them fiers: and beside that, lodgings were verie streict for so great a multitude. But the cause that mooued the councell to appoint this parlement there, was to the end that they might the more fréelie procéed to the triall of Iohn Kirkbie a citizen of London, that had murdered the Genowais (as before ye haue hard) which Kirkbie was condemned at this parlement, and drawne and hanged in the sight of the Londoners that were come thither, which execution if it should haue beene doone at London, the lords doubted least some tumult might haue béene raised by the citizens, who were reckoned in those daies verie rash and presumptuous in their dooings.

A parlement at Northampton.  
Iohn Kirkbie executed for murdering a merchant stranger.

But now to the effect of this parlement. There was a new and strange subsidie or taske granted to be leuied for the kings vse, and towards the charges of this armie that

went ouer into France with the earle of Buckingham; to wit, of euerie préest secular or regular six shillings eight pence, and as much of euerie nunne, and of euerie man & woman married or not married being 16 yeares of age (beggars certenlie knowne onlie excepted) foure pence for euerie one. Great grudging & manie a bitter curse followed about the leuieng of this monie, & much mischéefe rose thereof, as after it appeared. ¶ In this fourth yeare of king Richards reigne, immediatlie after Christmasse, Thomas Brantingham bishop of Exeter and lord treasurer, was discharged of his office of treasurerhip, and sir Robert Hales lord of S. Johns was aduanced in his place, a right noble and manlie knight, but not beloued of the commons.

A gréeuous subsidie.  
Twelue pēce as some  
haue.

1381.

Thom. Wals.

About this time did Iohn Wicliffe chieflie set foorth his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar, denieng the doctrine of transubstantiation, and that it ought not in any wise to be worshipped in such sort as the church of Rome then did teach. ¶ There were ambassadors sent into Germanie, to treat with the emperour for a marriage to be had, betwixt the king of England, and the emperours sister. About the beginning of March they returned, bringing with them the cardinall, intituled of saint Praxed, and the duke of Tarsilia, and other nobles that came from the emperor, to treat with the king & his councill about the same marriage. This cardinall, whether he passed the bounds of his commission and authoritie to him granted by the pope (as some write) or whether he was furnished with such faculties, he was very liberall in bestowing of them abroad on all such as would come with monie. Indulgences, which the pope had vsed onelie to reserue for himselfe to bestow, this man granted the same liberallie, both biennals and triennals. He gaue also letters confessionall, to all those that would paie for them, admitting aswell beneficed men as other, to be the popes chapleins. He made notaries for monie, and denied not altars portatiue to anie that would pay for them.

Wicliffes opinion.  
The cardinall of Praxed.  
Triennals.  
All for monie.

He receiued fortie pounds, besides other gifts, of the moonks of the Cisteaux order, to grant to them a generall licence to eat flesh indifferentlie, as well abroad, as they had béene accustomed to doo at home within their monasteries. To those that were excommunicate he gaue absolution: those that had vowed to go in pilgrimage to Rome, to the holie land, or to saint Iames, he would not first release them, till he had receiued so much monie, according to the true valuation, as they should haue spent in their iornies: and to be bréefe, nothing could be asked, but for monie he was readie to grant it. And when he was requested to shew by what power he did all these things, with great indignation he answered, that he would let them vnderstand at Rome, if they would needs know the authoritie which he had. At length his males were so filled with siluer, that his seruants disdained to make them anie answer, except they brought gold, saieng; "Bring vs gold, for we are full of your siluer." But at his departure he tooke all awaie with him, both gold and siluer in such abundance as was maruellous. This hath beene the practise of the Romanists from time to time, wherevpon grew this common byword (taxing the polling and shauing shifts of that execrable see, gaping gulfe, and insatiable sea)

[735]

*Curia Romana non quærit ouem sine lana.*

But now to returne to other matters concerning the state of the realme. After the returne of the earle of Buckingham, it was ordeined by aduise of the councill, that the duke of Lancaster should eftsoones go as ambassador from king Richard into Scotland, to see if he might renew the truce (which shortlie would haue beene expired) for three yéeres longer. Also whereas there was variance and open war maintained, betwixt Iohn king of Castile, and king Iohn of Portingale, the earle of Cambridge, the lord William de Beauchampe, the lord Botreux, and sir Matthew Gournie, were sent into Portingale with fiue hundred armed men, and fiue hundred archers to aid the king of Portingale against the king of Castile, who was sonne to the bastard Henrie: for the duke of

An armie sent into  
Portingale to aid the  
king there against the  
K. of Castile.

Lancaster reioised greatlie, that he might haue such a frénd as the king of Portingale, to ioine with him in aid against the king of Castile; meaning (as soone as opportunity would serue) to go ouer with an armie to chalenge his right, and pursue his claime to the crowne of Castile and Leon, against the vsurper, in right of his wife quéene Constance, eldest daughter to the late lawfull king Peter, whom Henrie the bastard as before (yéé haue heard) did still persecute, till he had bereft from him both his life and kingdome.

It was meant therefore that if the duke of Lancaster could compasse his purpose, for the which he went at that time into Scotland, to the honour of the king and realme, then should he shortlie after follow his brother of Cambridge with a great power, to trie what chance God would send to him, against his aduersarie the king of Castile. ¶ In the meane time other incidents fell within the realme in the fourth yeare of king Richard, sore to the disquieting of the same, and vtter disappointing for that time of the duke of Lancasters intent. The commons of the realme sore repining, not onelie for the pole grotes that were demanded of them, by reason of the grant made in parlement (as yéé haue heard) but also (as some write) for that they were sore oppressed (as they tooke the matter) by their land-lords, that demanded of them their ancient customes and seruices, set on by some diuelish instinct & persuasion of their owne beastlie intentions, as men not content with the state wherevnto they were called, rose in diuerse parts of this realme, and assembled together in companies, purposing to inforce the prince to make them frée and to release them of all seruitude, whereby they stood as bondmen to their lords and superiours.

The cōmons by reason of the great subsidie and other oppressions rise in diuerse parts of the realme. Villaines.

Where this rebellion of the commons first began, diuerse haue written diuerslie. One author writeth, that (as he learned by one that was not farre from the place at that time) the first beginning should be at Dertford in Kent: for when those pole shillings, or rather (as other haue) pole grotes, were to be collected, no small murmuring, curssing, and repining among the common people rose about the same, and the more indeed, through the lewd demenour of some vndiscreét officers, that were assigned to the gathering thereof, insomuch that one of those officers being appointed to gather vp that monie in Dertford aforesaid, came to the house of one Iohn Tiler, that had both seruants in his house, and a faire yong maid to his daughter. The officer there fore demanding monie for the said Tiler and for his wife, his seruants, and daughter, the wife being at home, and hir husband abroad at worke in the towne, made answer that hir daughter was not of age, and therefore she denied to paie for hir.

The beginning of the rebellion at Derford in Kent.

Now here is to be noted, that this monie was in common speech said to be due for all those that were vndergrowne, bicause that yoong persons as well of the man as of the womankind, comming to the age of fouretéene or fiteene yeares, haue commonlie haire growing foorth about those priuie parts, which for honesties sake nature hath taught vs to couer and keepe secret. The officer therefore not satisfied with the mothers excuse, said he would feele whether hir daughter were of lawfull age or not, and therewith began to misuse the maid, and search further than honestie would haue permitted. The mother streightwaies made an outcrie, so that hir husband being in the towne at worke, and hearing of this adoo at his house, came running home with his lathing staffe in his hand, and began to question with the officer, asking who made him so bold to keepe such a rule in his house: the officer being somewhat presumptuous, and highminded, would foorthwith haue flowne vpon this Tiler; but I. Tiler auoiding the officers blow, raught him such a rap on the pate, that his braines flue out, and so presentlie he died.

[736]

Great noise rose about this matter in the stréets, and the poore folks being glad, euerie man arraied himselfe to support Iohn Tiler, & thus the commons drew together, and went to Maidestone, and from thence to Blackheath, where their number so increased, that they were reckoned to be thirtie thousand. And the said Iohn Tiler

tooke vpon him to be their cheefe capteine, naming himselfe Iacke Straw. ¶ Others write, that one Thomas Baker of Fobbings was the first that procured the people thus to assemble together: and that one of the kings seruants named Iohn Leg, with three of his fellowes, practised to féele yoong maids whether they were vndergrowne (as yée haue hard the officer did at Dertford) which dishonest and vnséemelic kind of dealing did set the people streight in such a rage and vprore, that they cared not what they did to be reuenged of such iniuries.

But Thomas Walsingham affirmeth, that the first sparkes of this rebellion kindled in Essex, where the inhabitants of two townes onelie at the first, that were the authors and first stirrers of all this mischéefe, did send vnto euerie little towne about, that all manner of men, as well those that were aged, as others that were in their lustiest time and youthfull yeares, should come to them with speed, setting all excuses apart, in their best arraie and furniture for warre, threatning to such as came not, that their goods should be spoiled, their houses burnt or cast downe, and they to lose their heads when they were taken. The terror of this threatning caused the ignorant people to flocke to them by heaps, leauing all their businesse, letting plough and cart stand, forsaking wife, children, and houses, so that in a short time there were fiue thousand gotten together of those commons and husbandmen, of which number manie were weapened onelie with stauces, some with rustie swords and billes, and other with smokie bowes, more ruddie than old yuorie, not hauing past two or thrée arrowes, and the same happilie with one feather a peece.

The commōs of Essex begin the commotiō as *Wal.* saith.

The armor of y<sup>e</sup> Essex rebels.

Among a thousand of those kind of persons, yée should not haue séene one well armed: and yet by reason of their multitude, when they were once got together, they thought the whole relme had not beene able to resist them; and supposed that they could with facilitie (in respect of the aduerse part) make the states of the land stoope to them, and by their permission to reteine or compulsion to resigne their roomes of dignitie. But the fond conceited rowt considered not the euent of this insurrection, that the woorst would be their owne; for the old saieng is true, namelie,

*Læditur a stimulo quicunq; fricatur abillo.*

Moreouer, to make their part the stronger, these Essexmen sent ouer into Kent, aduertising the people there of their enterprise, and therefore willed them to make them readie to ioine with them for their obteneing of libertie, and reforming of the euill customs of the realme. Whether the Kentishmen through persuasions of their neighbors of Essex, by occasion of that which had chanced at Dertford (as before yée haue heard) or (as it may be) the same chancing at that selfe time, they being mooued as well by the one as the other, vp they got (as yée haue heard) and gathering their power out of the next quarters adioining by the like policie which had béene practised by the Essexmen, they stirred vp the most part of the countrie to ioine with them, and foorthwith stopping the waie that led to Canturburie, and arresting all such as passed by the same, they caused them to swere that they should be true to king Richard, and to the commons, & neuer to receiue anie king that should be called Iohn. And this was for the enuie which they bare to Iohn of Gant the duke of Lancaster, who in right of his wife Constance, that was daughter to king Peter of Castile, did name himselfe king of Castile.

The oth ministred by the rebels to all passengers.

Also they caused them to sweare that they should be readie to come to them whensoever they sent for them, and induce all their neighbours to take part with them. And further, that they should neuer yéeld to anie tax to be leuied on the realme, except a fiftéenth onelie. Thus it came to passe, that after it was spred abroad what stur these Essex and Kentishmen kept; the commons also in the counties of Sussex, Hertford, Cambridge, Suffolke, and Norffolke, and other shires about, bustled vp and ran together on heapes, so that the number of those vnrulie people maruellouslie increased, in such wise as now they feared no resistance, and

The commons of other shires hearing of the stur in Kent & Essex, rise in like maner.

Lawiers, iustices & iurors brought to blockam feast by the rebels.

therefore began to shew profe of those things which they had before conceiued in their minds, beheading all such men of law, iustices, and iurors, as they might catch, and laie hands vpon, without respect of pitie, or remorse of conscience, alledging that the land could neuer enjoy hir natiue and true libertie, till all those sorts of people were dispatched out of the waie.

This talke liked well the eares of the common vplandish people, and by the lesse conueieng the more, they purposed to burne and destroie all records, euidences, court-rolles, and other minuments, that the remembrance of ancient matters being remooued out of mind, their landlords might not haue whereby to challenge anie right at their hands. Their number still increased: for all such as were in debt or danger of law for their misdemeanors and offenses, came out of all coasts vnto them, so that when the Essexmen, and other of the hither side the Thames, were passed ouer and ioined with the Kentishmen, & those that were assembled on that side the riuer vpon Blackeheath; they were estéemed to be an hundred thousand, hauing diuerse capteins besides the said Iacke Straw, as William Wraw, Wat Tiler, Iacke Shéepheard, Tom Milner, and Hob Carter. Whilest they were lodged on Blackheath, the king sent to them certeine knights, to vnderstand of them the cause of their gathering thus together, to whom answer was made, that they were come together to speake with the king about certeine causes and businesse, & therefore they had the messengers returne, and declare to the king that there was no remedie but he must needs come and speake with them.

The next way to extinguish right.

An huge number of y<sup>e</sup> rebels. *Fabian.* Capteins of the Essex and Kentish rebels.

The rebels send to the K. to come speak with them.

When this tale was told to the king, there were some that thought it best that he should go to them, and know what their meaning was: but Simon de Sudburie the archbishop of Canturburie, that was lord chancellor, and also sir Robert Hales lord of S. Iohns, and as then lord treasurer, spake earnestlie against that aduise, and would not by anie meanes that the king should go to such a sort of barelegged ribalds; but rather they wished that he should take some order to abate the pride of such vile rascals. After the commons vnderstood that the king would not come to them, by reason of the contrarie aduise giuen to him by those two persons, the lord chancellor and the lord treasurer, they were maruellouslie mooued against them, and sware that they would not rest till they had got them, & chopped off their heads, calling them traitors to the king and realme.

Ill counsell.

Neuerthesse there be that write, that the king (to cut off the branches of such mischeefe now in the first budding thereof) to satisfie in part the desire of those rude people, went downe the riuer in his barge to Rethereth, and there néere the shore keeping himselfe still on the water, talked with a great number of them that came downe to the riuer side. But forsomuch as he would not come foorth of his barge to them on land, which they seemed most to desire, they were in a great rage, and so for that they could not haue him amongst them (as they wished) in furious wise they ran to the citie, and at the first approach they spoiled the burrough of Southwarke, brake vp the prisons of the Marshalsea, & the Kings bench, set the prisoners at libertie, & admitted them into their companie.

*Froissard.*

The rebels spoile Southwarke, and set all prisoners at large.

This was on Corpus Christi daie, as the same authors write, that the king should thus talke with them: but their first entring into Southwarke, was on Corpus Christi euen, as Thomas Walsingham saith, passing at their pleasure to and fro the bridge all that night: for although the lord maior, and other of the best citizens would gladlie haue closed the gates against them, yet they durst not doo it, for feare of the commons of the citie, who seemed to fauour the cause of the rebels so apparantlie, that they threatned to kill both the lord maior, & all other that would take vpon them to shut the gates against the commons. The Londoners liked better of the commons, for that they protested the cause of their assembling together, was not but to

The commons of London aiders of the rebels.

All rebels pretend reformation but in déed purpose destruction both of king and countrie.

seeke out the traitors of the realme, and when they had found them foorth, and punished them according to that they had deserued, they ment to be quiet. And to giue the more credit to their saiengs, they suffered none of their companie to rob or spoile, but caused them to paie for that they tooke.

On the morrow being Corpus Christi day, on the which day it is reported that the king should talke with them at Rethereth (as before ye haue heard) after that they saw that they could not haue him to come and talke with them on land, as they wished, and that now they had filled their heads full with the fume of such wines as they dranke in euerie mans cellar that was set open for them, enter who would: they fell in talke with the Londoners of manie lewd deuises, as of the apprehending of traitors, and speciallie concerning such misliking as they had of the duke of Lancaster, whom they hated aboue all other persons. And herevpon agréeing in one mind, after diuerse other of their outragious dooings, they ran the same day to the said dukes house of the Sauoie, to the which in beautie and statelinesse of building, with all maner of princelie furniture, there was not any other in the realme comparable, which in despite of the duke, whom they called traitor, they set on fire, and by all waies and means indeuoured vtterlie to destroie it.

The Sauoie the duke of Lancasters house burnt by the rebels.

The shamefull spoile which they there made was wonderfull, and yet the zeale of iustice, truth, and vpright dealing which they would seeme to shew, was as nice and strange on the other part, speciallie in such kind of misgouerned people: for in that spoiling of the dukes house, all the iewels, plate, and other rich and sumptuous furniture which they there found in great plentie, they would not that any man should fare the better by it of a mite, but threw all into the fire, so to be consumed; and such things as the fire could not altogether destroie, as plate and iewels, they brake and crashed in pièces, throwing the same into the Thames. One of them hauing thurst a faire siluer peece into his bosome, meaning to conueie it awaie, was espied of his fellowes, who tooke him, and cast both him and the peece into the fire; saieng they might not suffer any such thing, sith they professed themselues to be zealous of truth and iustice, and not théeues nor robbers.

Strange dealing of the rebels.

The iustice of the rebels.

There were 32 of them, that being gotten into the celler of the Sauoie, where the dukes wines laie, dranke so much of such swéete wine as they found there, that they were not able to come foorth, but with stones & wood that fell downe as the house burned, they were closed in, so that out they could not get. They laie there showingt & crieng seuen daies together, and were heard of manie, but none came to helpe them, and so finallie they perished. Now after that these wicked people had thus destroyed the duke of Lancasters house, and done what they could deuise to his reproch; they went to the temple, and burnt the men of lawes lodgings, with their bookes, writings, and all that they might lay hand vpon. Also the house of saint Iohns by Smithfield they set on fire, so that it burned for the space of seuen daies together. On Friday a great number of them, estéemed to 20 thousand, went to the manor of Heiburie that belonged vnto the lord of saint Iohns, and setting fire on it, sought vtterlie to destroie the whole buildings about it.

The lawiers lodgings in the temple burnt by the rebels.

They were now diuided into thrée parts, one vnder the leading of Iacke Straw, tooke in hand to ruinate that house, and an other number of them lay on mile end greene, and the third companie kept vpon the tower hill, and would not suffer anie vittels to be conueied into the tower, where the king at that time was lodged, and was put in such feare by those rude people, that he suffered them to enter into the tower, where they sought so narrowlie for the lord chancelor, that finding him in the chappell, they drew him foorth together with the lord treasurer, and on the tower hill without reuerence of their estates and degrees, with great noise and fell cries, they stroke off their heads. There were also beheaded at the same time by those rude people, one of

The lord chancellor and the lord treasurer drawne out of the tower and put to death by the rebels.

Thom. Wals.



the kings seruants that was a sergeant at armes called Iohn Leg, who had vsed himselfe somewhat extremelie in gathering vp of the pole monie, as by one writer it appeareth. Also to make vp the messe, they beheaded a Franciscane Frier, whom they had taken there at the same time, for malice of the duke of Lancaster, bicause he was verie familiar with him. ¶ Some write that this frier was confessor, and other say that he was physician to the king; but whatsoever he was, the commons chopped off his head, to beare the other companie, not sparing for anie respect that might be alledged in any of their behalves.

On the same day also they beheaded manie others, as well Englishmen as Flemings, for no cause in the world, but onelie to satisfie the crueltie of the commons, that then were in their kingdome, for it was a sport to them, when they gat any one amongst them, that was not sworne to them, and séemed to mislike of their dooings, or if they bare but neuer so little hatred to him, streightwaies to plucke of his hood, with such a yelling noise as they tooke vp amongst them, and immediatlíe to come thronging into the stréets, and strike off his head. Neither had they any regard to sacred places; for breaking into the church of the Augustine friers, they drew fourth thirteene Flemings, and beheaded them in the open streets; and out of the parish churches in the citie, they tooke fourth seuentéene, and likewise stroke off their heads, without reuerence either of the church or feare of God.

But they continuing in their mischéefous purpose, shewed their malice speciallie against strangers, so that entring into euerie stréet, lane, and place, where they might find them, they brake vp their houses, murdered them which they found within, and spoiled their goods in most outrageous manner. Likewise they entered into churches (as before ye haue heard) into abbeies, monasteries, and other houses, namelie of men of law, which in semblable sort they ransacked. They also brake vp the prisons of newgate, and of both the counters, destroyed the books, and set prisoners at libertie, and also the sanctuarie-men of saint Martins le grand. And so likewise did they at Westminster, where they brake open the eschequer, and destroyed the ancient bookes and other records there, dooing what they could to suppress law, and by might to beate downe equitie and right, as it is said,

Tunc ius calcatur violentia cum dominatur.

They that entered the tower, vsed themselues most presumptuously, and no lesse vnreuerentlie against the princesse of Wales, mother to the king: for thrusting into hir chamber, they offered to kisse her, and swasht downe vpon hir bed, putting hir into such feare, that she fell into a swoone, and being taken vp and recouered, was had to the water side, and put into a barge, & conueied to the place called the quéenes wardrobe, or the tower riall, where she remained all that day and the night following, as a woman halfe dead, till the king came to recomfort hir. It was strange to consider, in what feare the lords, knights & gentlemen stood of the cruell proceedings of those rude & base people. For where there were six hundred armed men, and as manie archers in the tower at that present, there was not one that durst ganesaie their dooings.

Finallie, when they had eased their stomachs, with the spoiling, burning, and defacing of sundrie places, they became more quiet, and the king by the aduise of such as were then about him, vpon good deliberation of counsell, offered to them pardon, and his peace, with condition that they should cease from burning and ruining of houses, from killing and murdering of men, and depart euerie man to his home without more adoo, and there to tarrie for the kings charters confirmatorie of the same pardon. The Essexmen were content with this offer, as they that were desirous to see their wiues and children, being waxen wearie of continuall trauell and paines which they were constrained to take. The king went fourth vnto Mile end, and there declared vnto the commons that

The raging rebels make a pastime to kill men.

No respect of place with the rebels.

The outrageous dealing of the rebels.

The king offereth the rebels pardon.

Froissard.

they should haue charters made to them of his grant, to make them all free. And further that euerie shire, towne, lordship and libertie should haue banners of his armes deliuered vnto them, for a confirmation of his grant. Herevpon they séemed well appeased, and the king rode to the queenes wardrobe, otherwise called the tower roiall, to visit his mother, and so did comfort hir so well as he could, and taried with hir there all night. [740]

The Essexmen satisfied with the kings promises, immediatlie departed homeward; howbeit they appointed certeine of their companie to remaine still and tarie for the kings charters. The Kentishmen also remained, and were as busie in maner the next day being saturdaye, in all kind of mischievous dealings, as they had béene before, to wit, in murthering of men, ouerthrowing and burning of houses. The king therefore sent vnto them such as declared in what sort their fellowes were gone home well satisfied, & from thencefoorth to liue in quiet, and the same forme of peace he was contented to grant to them, if it liked them to accept the same. Herevpon their chéefe capteine Wat Tiler, a verie craftie fellow, and indued with much wit (if he had well applied it) said, that peace indeed he wished, but yet so, as the conditions might be indited to his purpose.

He was determind to driue off the king and his councell (bicause he was of greater force than they) with cauls and shifts till the next daie, that in the night following he might the more easilie haue compassed his resolution, which was, hauing all the poorer sort of the citie on his side, to haue spoiled the citie, and to set fire in foure corners of it, killing first the king and the lords that were about him: but he that resisteth the proud, and giueth his grace to the humble, would not permit the vngratious deuises of the naughtie and lewd lozzell to take place, but suddenlie disappointed his mischeefous drift. For whereas diuerse formes of charters had béene drawne according to the effect of the agrément with the Essexmen, and none of them might please this lordlie rebell, at length the king sent to him one of his knights called sir Iohn Newton, to request him to come to him, that they might talke of the articles which he stood vpon to haue inserted in the charter, of the which one was to haue had a commission to put to death all lawiers, escheaters, and other which by any office had any thing to doo with the law; for his meaning was that hauing made all those awaie that vnderstood the lawes, all things should then be ordered according to the will and disposition of the common people. It was reported in deed, that he should saie with great pride the day before these things chanced, putting his hands to his lips, that within foure daies all the lawes of England should come foorth of his mouth. The wretches had vtterlie forgotten all law, both diuine and humane; otherwise they would haue béene content to liue vnder law, and to doo vnto others as they would be doone vnto, as the verie law of nature (than which there cannot be a better guide) teacheth,

Quod tibi vis fieri mihi fac, quod non tibi, noli,  
Sic potes in terris viuere iure poli.

When therefore the said sir Iohn Newton called vpon him to come awaie to the king, answered as it were with indignation: "If thou (saith he) hast so much hast to returne to the king, thou maist depart, I will come at my pleasure." When the knight therefore was come from him, he followed indéed, but somewhat slowlie. And when he was come néere to the place in Smithfield where the king then was, with certeine lords and knights, & other companie about him, the said sir Iohn Newton was sent to him againe, to vnderstand what he meant. And bicause the knight came to him on horssebacke, & did not alight from his horsse, Wat Tiler was offended, & said in his furie, "that it became him rather on foot than horssebacke to approach into his presence." The knight not able to abide such presumptuous demeanour in that proud and arrogant person, shaped him this answer: "It is not amisse that I being on horssebacke, should come to thée sitting on horssebacke."

With which words Wat Tiler taking indignation, drew out his dagger, menacing to strike the knight, calling him therewith traitor: the knight disdainig to be misvsed at

the hands of such a ribald, told him that he lied falselie, and with that plucked foorth his dagger. Wat Tiler being among his men, shewed that he would not beare that iniurie, and foorthwith made towards the knight to run vpon him. The king perceiuing the knight in danger, bad him alight from his horsse, and deliuer his dagger to Wat Tiler: but when that would not pacifie his proud and high mind, but that he would néeds flée vpon him, the maior of London William Walworth, and other knights and esquiers that were about the king, told him that it should be a shame for them all, if they permitted the knight in their presence before the eies of their prince so to be murdered: wherfore they gaue counsell to succor him foorthwith, and to apprehend the vile naughtie ribald. The king though he was but a child in yeares, yet taking courage to him, commanded the maior to arrest him. The maior being a man of incomparable boldnesse, foorthwith rode to him and arrested him, in reaching him such a blow on the head, that he sore astonied him therewith: and streightwaies other that were about the king, as Iohn Standish an esquier, and diuers more of the kings seruants drew their swords, and thrust him through in diuerse parts of his bodie, so that he fell presentlie from his horsse downe to the earth, and died there in the place.

William Walworth maior of London a stout couragious man.

The death of Wat Tiler capteine of the rebels.

[741]

When the commons beheld this, they cried out, "Our capteine is traitorouslie slaine; let vs stand together and die with him: let vs shoot and reuenge his death manfullie:" and so bending their bowes, made them readie to shoot. The king shewing both hardinesse and wisdome at that instant, more than his age required, set his spurs to his horsse, and rode to them, saieng: "What is the matter my men, what meane you? Will you shoot at your king? Be not troubled nor offended at the death of a traitor and ribald; I will be your king, capteine and leader, follow me into the fields, and you shall haue all things that you can desire." This did the king, to the end he might appease them, least they should haue set fire on the houses there in Smithfield, and haue attempted some further mischéefe, in reuenge of the displeasure which they tooke for the death of their chéefe leader. They mooued with these the kings words, followed him and the knights that were with him, into the open fields, not yet resolued whether they should set vpon the king and slea him, or else be quiet, and returne home with the kings charter.

The king persuadeth the rebels.

In the meane time, the lord maior of London was returned into the citie, with one man onelie attending vpon him, and cried to the citizens; "Oh yée good and vertuous citizens, come foorth out of hand, and helpe your king readie to be slaine, & helpe me your maior standing in the same perill; or if yée will not helpe me for some faults committed by me against you, yet forsake not your king, but helpe and succour him in this present danger." When the worshipfull citizens and other, that in their loiall hearts loued the king, had heard these words, incontinentlie they put themselues in strong and sure armor, to the number of a thousand men, and gathering themselues together into the streets, tarried but for some lord or knight that might conduct them to the king: and by chance there came vnto them sir Robert Knolles, whom all of them requested that he would be their leader, least comming out of arraie and order, they might the sooner be broken, who willinglie led one part of them, and certeine other knights led other of them, clad in faire bright armour vnto the kings presence. The king with the lords, knights and esquiers, not a little reioised at the comming of those armed men, and streightwaies compassed the commons about, as they had beene a flocke of sheepe that should haue béene closed within some fold, till it pleased the sheepearde to appoint foorth, which should be thrust into pasture, and which taken to go to the shambels.

Vehement words of the maior of London to the citizens crieng for aid against the rebels.

An armie without a capteine.

There was to be seene a maruellous change of the right hand of the lord, to behold how they throwing downe stauies, bils, axes, swords, bowes and arowes, humblie began to sue for pardon, which a little before gloried to haue the life of the king and his seruants

The rebels quite discouraged threw downe their weapons at the comming of the Londoners in aid of the king.

wholie and altogether in their hands, power, and disposition. The poore wretches sought to hide themselues in the corne that grew in the fields, in ditches, hedges and dennes, and wheresoeuer they might get out of the way, so to safe gard their liues. The knights that were with the king would gladlie haue beene dooing with them, and requested licence of him to strike off the heads of some one or two hundred of them, that it might be a witnesse in time to come, that the force of the order of knighthood was able to doo somewhat against the carters and ploughmen: but the king would not suffer them, alledging that manie of them were come thither by compulsion, and not of their owne accord, and therefore it might come to passe that those should die for it, that had nothing offended: but he commanded that there should be proclamation made in London, that the citizens should haue no dealings with them, nor suffer anie of them to come within the citie that night, but to cause them to lie without doores. [742]

¶ In the report of this commotion chronographers doo somewhat varie, as by this present extract out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leceister abbeie, liuing at the time of this tumult may appeare: Abraham Fleming out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie. which Abraham Fleming hath faithfullie and trulie translated out of the annales of the said canon written in parchment in old Latine letters, as followeth. Vpon a saturdaie, these malcontents [to wit, Thomas Baker the first moouer but afterwards the principall leaders, Iacke Straw, Iacke Miler, Iacke Carter, Iacke Trewman, and their trecherous traine] met together in Smithfield, whither also the king repaired in the morning, who although in yeares he was but yoong, yet in wisdom and discretion he was well growne. The ringleader of this tumultuous rowt, whose right name was Wat Tiler, which he had now changed into Iacke Strawe, approched neere the king, in so much that he might in a maner touch him, being the mouth of all the residue, and hauing in his hand a drawne dagger, which he tossed from hand to hand, boy-like plaieng with it, & watching due time therewith, if not to stab, yet suddenlie to smite the king, if he denied their requests. Wherevpon they that were next and about the king were greatlie affeard, least his pretended mischéefe should come to passe.

Now he craued of the king that all warrens, waters, parks and woods should be common, so that as well poore as rich might fréelie in any place wheresoeuer practise fishing in ponds, pooles, riuers, or any waters, and might hunt déere in forrests and parkes, and the hare in the fields, with diuerse other requests, which he would haue granted without contradiction or gainesaieng, and exercise without controlment. Now when the king in the grant hereof by deliberation vsed some delaie, Iacke Straw drew neerer vnto him, and speaking vnto him certeine thretening words, tooke hold of the horsse's bridle whereon the king rode, vpon what presumptuous enterprise I wot not. Which Iohn Walworth a burgesse of London beholding, and fearing present death to hang ouer the kings head, caught a weapon in his hand, and therewith thrust Iacke Straw through the throte, which when another that was by being an esquier, name Rafe Standish did see, with his weapon also ran him through the sides; in so much that he fell flat on his backe to the ground, and beating with his hands to and fro a while, at last he gaue vp his vnhappie ghost.

Then a great clamor and lamentable outcrie was made, and heard a great while together, saieng; Our guide is dead, our capteine is dead. And indéed so he was, being dragged by the hands and féet in a vile and contemptible sort into saint Bartholomewes church hard by. Then did manie of the vnrulie multitude withdraw themselues, and vanishing awaie betooke them to their héeles, being about the number (as it was thought) of ten thousand. Then the king minding to make amends and to requite receiued courtesie, knighted the said Iohn Walworth, & Rafe Standish, with foure burgesses more of the citie, namelie Iohn Philpot, Nicholas Brembre, Iohn Laund, and Nicholas Twifield, girding them about the wast with the girdle of knighthood, which was the maner of their graduating. Then the king hauing ordeined and made the foresaid six knights, commanded that the residue of the cursed crue

should depart and get them into the field, that méeting together in a companie, he might fall vnto a treatie of agreement with them.

The rowt being there assembled, behold a multitude of armed men ran rusling out of the citie, sir Robert Knols being their capteine, who with these his soldiers compassed & hedged in the poore catiues distressed in the field like shéepe that haue lost their shéepheard. Then the king of his accustomed clemencie, being pricked with pitie, would not that the wretches should die, but spared them being a rash and foolish multitude, and commanded them euerie man to get him home to his owne house; howbeit manie of them, at the kings going awaie suffered the danger of death. In this miserable taking were reckoned to the number of twentie thousand. Thus saith Knighton, not as an eie-witnesse, but as taught by heare-saie, whereby he compiled the greatest part of his annales, as he himselfe confesseth, seeming sorrie that he was so constreined, as by part of the octastichon at the foot of the first page, intituled Lamentum compilatoris, appeareth in maner and forme following:

Sum cæcus factus subita caligine tactus,  
Nec opus inceptum iam corrigo forsan ineptum,  
Me metuo dubium pro veris sæpe locutum,  
Plus audita loquor quàm mihi visa sequor, &c.

All the foresaid villanies notwithstanding against the king and the state, tending wholie to the subuersion of law and ciuill gouernement, albeit the wretches deserued no sparke of fauour, but extreame seueritie of iudgement to be executed vpon them; yet (as yee haue heard) besides the great clemencie of the king, exhibited vnto them in remitting their offense, and acquiting them from the rigor of the law, he granted and gaue to them the charter, which they had requested, faire written and sealed, to auoid a greater mischiefe, & commanded it for a time to be deliuered them, knowing that Essex and Kent were not so pacified, but that if they were not the sooner contented, and that partlie after their minds, they would vp againe. The tenor of the charter which was gotten thus by force of the king was as followeth.

## The forme of the kings charter of Manumission.

RICHARDUS Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ: omnibus balliuis & fidelibus suis, ad quos præsentis litteræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quòd de gratia nostra speciali manumisimus vniuersos ligeos & singulos subditos nostros & alios comitatus Hertfordiæ, & ipsos & eorum quemlibet ab omni bondagio exuimus, & quietos facimus per præsentis, ac etiam perdonamus eisdem ligeis ac subditis nostris omnimodas felonias, prodiones, transgressiones, & extortiones, per ipsos vel aliquem eorum qualitercunque factas siue perpetratas, ac etiam vtlagariam & vtlagarias, si qua vel quæ in ipsos, vel aliquem ipsorum fuerit vel fuerint hijs occasionibus promulgata vel promulgatæ, & summam pacem nostram eis & eorum cuilibet inde concedimus. In cuius rei testimonium, has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud London 15 die Iunij. Anno regni nostri quarto.

The like there was granted to them of other countries as well as to these of Hertfordshire in y<sup>e</sup> same forme, the names of the counties changed.

The commons hauing obtained this charter departed home, but ceased not from their riotous demeanour in sundrie parts of the realme, and especiallie at saint Albons, where after the townesmen were returned home, they kept such a coile against the abbat and moonks, to haue certeine ancient charters deliuered them that concerned their liberties, and to haue such new made and deliuered to them as might serue their purpose; that bicause such old charters as they requested were not to be had, the abbat and moonks looked euerie houre when their house should be set on fire and burnt ouer their heads. The prior and certeine other as well moonks as laie men that were seruants to the abbat, fled for feare of the rage of those misgouerned people, knowing that they hated them deadlie, and therefore looked for no courtesie at their hands. They had obtained the kings letters vnto the abbat, commanding him to deliuer vnto them such charters as they had giuen information to be remaining in his hands, so that vnder colour therof, they called for those writings in most importunate wise, threatning sore, if they were not brought to light, vtterlie to destroie the house by setting it on fire.

The townesmen of saint Albons not yet quieted.

But to speake of all the vnrulie parts of those vnrulie people, it were too long a processe: yet at length after they vnderstood how their grand capteine and chiefe ringleader Wat Tiler was slaine, they began somewhat to asswage their presumptuous attempts, the rather for that there came a knight with the kings letter of protection in behalfe of the abbat and his house, and yet they were not so calmed, but that they continued in requiring to haue charters made to them by the abbat, of the like forme and effect to that which the king had made, concerning the infranchising them from bondage, whereby they that obtained such charters tooke themselues to be discharged of all seruices and accustomed labors, so that they meant not to doo any further works, nor yeeld such customes as before time they vsuallie had béene accustomed to doo and yéeld vnto their landlords.

[744]

Neither did the townesmen of S. Albons, and the tenants of other townes and villages thereabout, that belonged to the abbeie of S. Albons, thus outragiously misdemeane themselues, but euerie where else the commons kept such like stur, so that it was rightlie called the hurling time, there were such hurlie burlies kept in euerie place, to the great danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of all good gouernment in this land. For euen the selfe same saturday after Corpus Christi day, in Suffolke there were got together to the number of fiftie thousand men, by the setting on of Iohn Wraw, a naughtie lewd priest, that had béene first among the Essexmen at London, and was sent downe in all post hast from Wat Tiler, to stir the commons in those parts to commit the like mischéefe as he had séene begun about London. These fellowes therefore, after they were assembled together, fell to the destroieng of the manors and houses of men of law, & such lawiers as they caught, they slue, and beheded sir Iohn

The hurling time.

The outragious dealings of the Suffolke rebels.

Sir Iohn Cauendish lord chiefe iustice beheded.

Cauendish lord chiefe iustice of England, and set his head vpon the pillorie in the market place in S. Edmundsburie.

Also sir Iohn of Cambridge the prior of saint Edmundsburie, as he would haue fled from them, was taken not far from Mildenhale, and likewise beheaded, his bodie being left naked in the open field, and no man presuming to burie it, during the space of fiue daies, for feare of the cruell commons. His head was set vpon a pole, and caried before Iohn Wraw and other of those wicked people; the which comming to Burie, and entring the towne in maner of a procession, when they came into the market place where the pillorie stood, as it were in token of the old friendship betwixt the lord chiefe iustice, and the said prior, they made sport with their heads, making them sometime as it were to kisse, other whiles to sound in either others eare. After they had taken their pastime inough herewith, they set both the heads againe aloft vpon the pillorie. After this, they beheaded an other moonke called Dan Iohn de Lakinghuith, whose hed was likewise set by the other two vpon the pillorie. Moreouer, they caused the moonks to come foorth and bring vnto them all such obligations, in which the townesmen stood bound vnto the monasterie for their good abearing; likewise such charters of liberties of the towne of Burie, which king Cnute the founder of the said monasterie, and his successors had granted to the same: which writings, when they had brought foorth, and protested that they knew of no more, the commons would scarselie beleue them, and therefore called the townesmen foorth, and bad them see if that there were all such writings as they thought stood with their aduantage to haue brought to light. The townesmen feigned as though they had beene sorie to see such rule kept against the moonks, where in déed they had set the commons in hand with all these things. To conclude, the commons tooke this order with the moonks, that if the townesmen might not obteine their ancient liberties, by the hauing of those writings, they should declare what the same liberties were, which they were woont to inioy, and the abbat of Burie, Edmund Brumfield, being then in prison at Notingham whom they purposed to deliuer (so that he should celebrat diuine seruice in his monasterie on Midsummer daie next) within fourtie daies after his comming home, should confirme with his seale such charter as was to be deuised and made concerning the same liberties of the said townesmen, and the couent should likewise put therevnto their common seale.

Moreouer, they constreined the moonks to deliuer vnto the townesmen, a crosse and a chalice of fine gold, and other iewels that belonged to the abbeie, being in value about the worth of a thousand pounds in monie, the which was to remaine in the hands of the townesmen, vpon this condition, that if Edmund Brumfield being deliuered out of prison inioied the dignitie of abbat there, and with all put his seale together with the couent seale within the time limited, vnto a writing that should containe the liberties of the towne, that then the same crosse, chalice, and other iewels should be restored vnto the monasterie, or else the same to remaine for euer to the townesmen as forfeited. Such were the dooings of those rebels in and about the towne of Burie: and the like disorders & breach of peace followed by the commotions of the commons in Cambridgeshire, and in the Ile of Elie, resembling the others in slaughters of men, destroieng of houses, and all other sorts of mischéefe.

In like maner in Norffolke there was assembled an huge number of those vnrulie countrie people, which vnder the guiding of a dier of cloth, commonlie called Iohn Littester, that had dwelt in Norwich, attempted and did all such vngratious feats, as they had heard that other did in other parts of the realme, yea and greater also, putting foorth their hands vnto rapine and robberie. And whereas they were wholie conspired together, and bent to commit all kind of mischéefe, yet estéeming their owne authoritie to be small, they purposed to haue brought William Vfford earle of Suffolke into their fellowship, that if afterwards they might happilie be impeached hereafter, for such

The prior of S. Edmundsburie slaine.

This Edmund Brumfield was committed to prison by the K. for his presumptuous intrusion into the abbacie of Burie.

[745]

Iohn Littester capteine of y<sup>e</sup> Norfolke rebels.

The earl of Suffolke escapeth from the rebels.

their naughtie and most wicked dooings, they might haue had some shadow or colour, as it were through him, whie they had delt in such vnruilie sort. But the earle aduertised of their intention, suddenlie rose from supper, and got him awaie by vnknowne waies, still fleeing from the commons, till at length he got to S. Albons, and so from thence to the king.

The commons missing of their purpose for the hauing of him, laid hold vpon all such knights and other gentlemen as came in their waie, and were found at home in their houses, compelling them to be sworne to them, and to ride with them through the countrie, as the lord Scales, William lord Morlie, sir Iohn Brewes, sir Stephan Hales, and sir Robert Salle: which sir Robert continued not long aliue among them, for he could not dissemble as the residue, but began to reprooue openlie their naughtie dooings, for the which he had his braines dasht out by a countrie clown, one that was his bondman, and so he ended his life, who if he might haue come to haue tried his manhood and strength with them in plaine battell, had beene able to haue put a thousand of those villaines in feare, his valiancie and prowess was such. The residue taught by his example that they must either dissemble or die for it, were glad to currie fauour, praising or dispraising all things as they saw the commons affected, and so comming into credit with their chéefteine Iohn Littester, that named himselfe king of the commons, they were preferred to serue him at the table, in taking the assaie of his meats and drinks, and dooing other seruices, with knéeling humblie before him as he sat at meat, as sir Stephan Hales who was appointed his caruer, and others had other offices assigned them.

The Norfolk rebels  
compell the noblemen &  
gentlemen to be sworne  
to them.

Sir Robert Salle slaine  
by one of his own  
villains.

The capteine of the  
Norfolke rebels forceth  
the noblemen and  
gentlemen to serue him  
at the table.

At length, when those commons began to wax wearie of taking paines in euill dooings, they tooke counsell together, and agreed to send two knights, to wit, the lord Morlie, and sir Iohn Brewes, and three of the commons, in whom they put great confidence, vnto the king; to obtaine their charter of manumission and infranchising, and to haue the same charter more large than those that were granted to other countries. They deliuered great summes of monie vnto those whome they sent, to bestow the same for the obtaining of pardon, and such grants as they sued for, which monie they had got by force of the citizens of Norwich, to saue the citie from fire and sacking. These knights as they were on their iournie, at Ichingham not farre distant from Newmarket, not looking for anie such thing, met with sir Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich, a man more fit for the field than the church, & better skilled (as may appéere) in arms than in diuinitie. This bishop had aduertisements at his manor of Burlie néere to Okam in the parties about Stamford, of the sturre which the commons in Norffolke kept, and therevpon resolued streightwaies to see what rule there was holden. He had in his companie at that time, not passing eight lances, and a small number of archers.

A warlike bishop.

[746]

The bishop méeting thus with the knights, examined them streightwaies if there were anie of the traitours there with them. The knights at the first were doubtfull to bewraie their associats: but at last imboldened by the bishops words, declared that two of the chéefe dooers in the rebellion were there present, and the third was gone to provide for their dinner. The bishop streightwaies commanded those two to be made shorter by the head, and the third he himselfe went to seeke, as one of his shéepe that was lost; not to bring him home to the fold, but to the slaughter-house, as he had well deserued (in the bishops opinion) sith he had so mischéefouslie gone astraie, and alienated himselfe from his dutifull allegiance. These persons being executed, and their heads pight on the end of poles, and so set vp at Newmarket, the bishop with the knights tooke their waie with all spéed towards Northwalsham in Norffolke, where the commons were purposed to staie for answer from the king: and as he passed through the countrie, his number increased, for the knights and gentlemen of the countrie,

Spenser bish. of  
Norwich goeth as  
capteine against the  
rebels.



hearing how their bishop had taken his speare in hand, and was come into the field armed, ioined themselues with him.

When therefore the bishop was come into the place where the commons were incamped, he perceiued that they had fortified their campe verie stronglie with ditches, and such other stuffe as they could make shift with, as doores, windowes, boords, & tables, and behind them were all their cariages placed, so that it séemed they meant not to flie. Herewith the bishop being chafed with the presumptuous boldnesse of such a sort of disordered persons, commanded his trumpets to sound to the battell, and with his speare in the rest, he charged them with such violence, that he went ouer the ditch, and laied so about him, that through his manfull dooings, all his companie found meanes to passe the ditch likewise, and so therewith followed a verie sore and terrible fight, both parts dooing their best to vanquish the other. But finallie the commons were ouercome, and driuen to seeke their safegard by flight, which was sore hindered by their cariages that stood behind them, ouer the which they were forced to clime and leape so well as they might. Iohn Littester and other cheefe capteins were taken aliué. The bishop therefore caused the said Littester to be arreigned of high treason, and condemned, and so he was drawne, hanged, and headed according to the iudgement.

The fortieng of the rebels campe.

The bishop is the first man that chargeth the rebels in their campe.

The Norfolke rebels vanquished.

The bishop heard his confession, and by vertue of his office absolued him: and to shew some parcell of sorrowing for the mans mischance, he went with him to the galowes. But it séemed that pitie wrought not with the bishop, to quench the zeale of iustice: for he caused not Littester onelie to be executed, but sought for all other that were the chéefe dooers in that rebellion, causing them to be put vnto death, and so by that meanes quieted the countrie. ¶ To recite what was doone in euerie part of the realme in time of those hellish troubles, it is not possible: but this is to be considered, that the rage of the commons was vniuersallie such, as it might séeme they had generallie conspired together, to doo what mischeefe they could devise. As among sundrie other, what wickednesse was it, to compell teachers of children in grammer schooles to sweare neuer to instruct any in their art? Againe, could they haue a more mischeefous meaning, than to burne and destroie all old and ancient monuments, and to murder and dispatch out of the waie all such as were able to commit to memorie, either any new or old records? For it was dangerous among them to be knowne for one that was lerned, and more dangerous, if any men were found with a penner and inkhorne at his side: for such seldome or neuer escaped from them with life.

An. Reg. 5.

But to returne to saie somewhat more concerning the end of their rebellious enterprises, you must vnderstand, how after that Wat Tiler was slaine at London in the presence of the king (as before ye haue heard) the hope and confidence of the rebels greatlie decayed: and yet neuertheless, the king and his councill being not well assured, granted to the commons (as ye haue heard) charters of manumission and infranchisement from all bondage, and so sent them awaie home to their countries: and forthwith herevpon he assembled an armie of the Londoners, and of all others in the countries abroad that bare him good will, appointing none to come, but such as were armed and had horsse, for he would haue no footmen with him. Thus it came to passe, that within thrée daies he had about him fourtie thousand horssemen, as was estéemed; so that in England had not béene heard of the like armie assembled together at one time. And herewith was the king aduertised, that the Kentishmen began eftsoones to stir, wherewith the king and the whole armie were so grieuously offended, that they meant streight to haue set vpon that countrie, and to haue wholie destroyed that rebellious generation. But thorough intercession made by the lords and gentlemen of that countrie, the king pacified his mood, and so resolued to procéed against them by order of law and iustice, causing iudges to sit and to make inquisition

The capteine once slaine the soldiers faint.

An armie of fortie thousand horssemen.

The Kentishmen eftsoones rebell.

of the malefactors, and especiallie of such as were authors of the mischēefes.

And about the same time did the maior of London sit in iudgement, Jack Straw and his adherents executed. as well vpon the offenders that were citizens, as of other that were of Kent, Essex, Southsex, Norffolke, Suffolke, and other counties, being found within the liberties of the citie; and such as were found culpable, he caused them to lose their heads, as Iacke Straw, Iohn Kirkbie, Alane Tredera, and Iohn Sterling, that gloried of himselfe, for that he was the man that had slaine the archbishop. This fellow (as it is written by some authors) streight waies after he had doone that wicked deed, fell out of his wits, and comming home into Essex where he dwelt, tied a naked sword about his necke, that hoong downe before on his brest, and likewise a dagger naked, that hanged downe behind on his backe, and so went vp and downe the lanes & stréets about home, crieng out, and protesting, that with those weapons he had dispatched the archbishop; and after he had remained a while at home, he came to London againe, for that he shuld receiue (as he said) the reward there of the act which he had committed: and so indéed, when he came thither, and boldlie confessed that he was the man that had beheaded the archbishop, he lost his head in steed of a recompense: and diuerse other both of Essex and Kent, that had laid violent hands vpon the archbishop came to the like end at London, where they did the deed, being bewraied by their owne confessions.

Here is to be remembred, that the king, after the citie of London was deliuered from the danger of the rebels (as before ye haue The maior and fiue aldermen knighted. heard) in respect of the great manhood, and assured loialtie which The armes of London augmented by additiō of the dagger. had appeared in the maior, and other of the aldermen, for some part of recompense of their faithfull assistance in that dangerous season, made the said maior William Walworth knight, with fiue other aldermen his brethren, to wit, Nicholas Bramble, Iohn Philpot, Nicholas Twiford, Robert Laundre, and Robert Gaiton, also Iohn Standish, that (as ye haue heard) holpe to slaie Wat Tiler. Moreouer, the king granted, that there should be a dagger added to the armes of the citie of London, in the right quarter of the shield, for an augmentation of the same armes, and for a remembrance of this maior his valiant act, as dooth appeare vnto this daie; for till that time, the citie bare onelie the crosse, without the dagger.

Although the kings authoritie thus began to shew it selfe, to the The cōmons of Essex rebell afresh. terror of rebels; yet the commons of Essex eftsoones assembled The rebels of Essex are scattered & slaine. themselues together, not far from Hatfield Peuerell, and sent to the king to know of him if his pleasure was, that they should inioy their promised liberties: and further, that they might be as frée as their lords, and not to come to any court, except it were to the great léet, twice in the yeare. When the king heard such presumptuous requests, he was in a great chafe, & dispatched the messengers awaie, with a sore threatning answer, saieng that bondmen they were, and bondmen they should be, and that in more vile manner than before, to the terrible example of all other that should attempt any the like disorders: and foorthwith, the earle of Buckingham, and the lord Thomas Percie, brother to the earle of Northumberland, were sent with an armie to repressse those rebels, whome they found fortified within woods, hedges and ditches verie stronglie, but with small adoo they were put to flight, & about fiue hundred of them slaine; the residue saued themselues as well as they might, by succour of the woods. There were eight hundred horssees also taken, which those rebels had there with them, to draw and carrie their baggage.

Those of the rebels that escaped, were not yet so tamed by that ouerthrow, but that assembling themselues together in a rowt, they made towards Colchester: and comming thither, would haue persuaded the townesmen to haue ioined with them in a new rebellion. But when they could not bring their purpose to passe they marched towards Sudburie. The lord Fitz Walter, and sir Iohn Harleston, vnderstanding which waie they tooke, followed them with a companie of armed men, and suddenlie setting vpon them as they were making their proclamations, slue of them so manie as it liked

them, and the other they saued, and suffered to depart, or else committed them to prison. After this, the king came to Hauering at the bowre, and from thence to Chelmissford, where he appointed sir Robert Trisilian to sit in iudgement of the offenders and rebels of that countrie, wherevpon an inquest being chosen, a great number were indited, arreigned, & found giltie, so that vpon some one gallowes there were nine or ten hanged together.

In euerie countrie were like inquiries made, and the chéeffe offenders apprehended and put to death in euerie lordship through the realme, where anie of them were detected, by ten, twelue, twentie, thirtie, yea and in some places by fortie at once; so that the whole number grew to fiteene hundred and aboue. At the first, when the kings iustices began to sit in Essex, Kent, and at London, by reason of the multitude that were to be executed, they onelie chopped off their heads, but afterwards when that kind of death seemed too close and secret for so open offenses, they proceeded according to the accustomed law of the realme, by condemning them to be drawne and hanged, and according thervnto they were executed. In the meane time, the king by the aduise of his councell, directed his letters reuocatorie into euerie countie there, to be proclaimed in euerie citie, borrow, towne, and place, as well within the liberties as without; by the which letters he reuoked, made void and frustrate his former letters of infranchising the bondmen of his realme, and commanded that such as had the same letters, should without delaie bring them in, and restore them to him and his councell to be cancelled, as they would answer vpon their faith and allegiance which they owght to him, and vpon paine of forfeiting all that they had. The date of which letters reuocatorie was at Chelmesford, the second daie of Iulie, in the fift yeare of his reigne.

When the king had quieted the countie of Essex, and punished such as were the chéeffe sturrers of that wicked commotion in those parts, he went to saint Albons, to see iustice doone vpon such as had demeaned themselues most presumptuously against the kings peace in that towne, namelie against the abbat and his house, who sought to defend themselues vnder a colour of fréendship, that they trusted to find in some persons about the king. But that trust deceiued them, and procured the more displeasure against them, for that they would not sue for fauour at the abbats hands in time, by submitting themselues vnto his will and pleasure. To be breefe, the king came thither with a great number of armed men and archers, and caused his iustice sir Robert Trisilian to sit in iudgement vpon the malefactors, that were brought thither from Hertford gaile.

Thither was brought also to the king from Couentrie, Iohn Ball preest, whom the citizens of Couentrie had taken, and now here at saint Albons they presented him to the kings presence, wherevpon he was arreigned and condemned, to be drawne, hanged, and headed for such notable treasons as he was there conuicted of. He receiued iudgement vpon the saturday the first daie that the said sir Robert Trisilian sat in iudgement, but he was not executed till the mondaie following. This man had beene a preacher the space of twentie yeares, and bicause his doctrine was not according to the religion then by the bishops mainteined, he was first prohibited to preach in anie church or chappell; and when he ceased not for all that, but set fourth his doctrine in the streets & fields where he might haue audience, at length he was committed to prison, out of the which he prophesied that he should be deliuered with the force of twentie thousand men, and euen so it came to passe in time of the rebellion of the commons.

When all the prisons were broken vp, and the prisoners set at libertie, he being therefore so deliuered, followed them, & at Blackeheath when the greatest multitude was there got together (as some write) he made a sermon, taking this saieng or common prouerbe for his theame, wherevpon to intreat,

*Fabian.* The rebels executed in euerie lordship.

The king calleth in his letters of infranchising granted to the bondmen.

The king remooueth to S. Albons.

Iohn Ball.

Iohn Ball his prophesie.

When Adam delu'd, and Eue span,  
Who was then a gentleman?

and so continuing his sermon, went about to prooue by the words of that prouerbe, that from the beginning, all men by nature were created alike, and that bondage or seruitude came in by iniust oppression of naughtie men. For if God would haue had anie bondmen from the beginning, he would haue appointed who should be bond & who free. And therefore he exhorted them to consider, that now the time was come appointed to them by God, in which they might (if they would) cast off the yoke of bondage, & recouer libertie. He counselled them therefore to remember themselues, and to take good hearts vnto them, that after the manner of a good husband that tilleth his ground, and riddeth out thereof such euill wéeds as choke and destroie the good corne, they might destroie first the great lords of the realme, and after the iudges and lawiers, questmoongers, and all other whom they vndertooke to be against the commons, for so might they procure peace and suertie to themselues in time to come, if dispatching out of the waie the great men, there should be an equalitie in libertie, no difference in degrés of nobilitie, but a like dignitie and equall authoritie in all things brought in among them.

When he had preached and set foorth such kind of doctrine, and other the like fond and foolish toies vnto the people, they extolled him to the starres, affirming that he ought to be archbishop and lord chancellor, where he that then enioied that roome, meaning sir Simon de Sudburie that then was aliue, was a traitor to the king and realme, and worthie to lose his head, wheresoeuer he might be apprehended. Manie other things are reported by writers of this Iohn Ball, as the letter, which vnder a kind of darke riddle he wrote to the capteine of the Essex rebels, the copie whereof was found in one of their purses that was executed at London.

The tenor of the said seditious preests letter.

IOHN Scheepe S. Marie preest of Yorke, and now of Colchester, greeteth well Iohn namelesse, and Iohn the Miller, and Iohn Carter, & biddeth them that they beware of guile in Bourrough, & stand together in Gods name, & biddeth Piers ploughman go to his worke, and chastise well Hob the robber, & take with you Iohn Trewman and all his fellowes, and no mo. Iohn the Miller Y ground small, small small, the kings sonne of heauen shall paie for all. Beware or yee be wo, know your freend from your fo, haue inough and saie ho, and doo well and better, flee sinne and seeke peace, and hold you therein, and so biddeth Iohn Trewman and all his fellowes.

This letter he confessed himselfe to haue written, as Thomas John Ball executed at S. Albons. Walsingham affirmeth, with manie other things which he had doone and committed, to the disquieting of the realme, for the which he was drawne, hanged, and beheaded at saint Albons, the fiftéenth of Iulie, being monday, in this fifth yeare of king Richards reigne. On the same daie, the kings iustice sir Robert Trisilian sat vpon the rebels of saint Albons, and other of the countrie of Hertford, afore whome, by such policie as he vsed, there were a great number indicted, and diuerse being arreigned, were found guiltie, as William Grindecob, William Cadindon, Iohn Barbor, and certeine others, which were hanged and drawne, to the number of fiteene persons in all; diuerse chéefe men of the towne were committed to prison, as Richard Wallingford, Iohn Garleeke, William Berewill, Thomas Putor and others of the countrie about. There were committed to prison to the number of fourscore persons, the which neuerthelesse, by the kings pardon, were released and dismissed.

[750]

The hatred which the townesmen had conceiued against the abbat and conuent of S. Albons, was suerlie great, and manie deuises they had to haue saued those that were executed. And where as well the townesmen, as other of the abbats and conuents tenants, both of Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, had gotten of the abbat and conuent letters of discharge, from dooing anie bound seruice, the king directed his letters vnto certeine commissioners, as to Iohn Ludowicke, Iohn Westwicombe, Iohn Kenting, Richard Perers, Walter Saunford, Richard Gifford, Thomas Eidon, and William Eccleshall, commanding them to cause proclamation to be made in all such townes and places as were thought necessarie, through the whole countries of Buckingham and Hertford, that all and euerie person and persons that ought and had beene accustomed to doo or yeeld anie manner of seruices, customes, or duties, whether they were bondmen or free, vnto the said abbat and couent of S. Albons, should doo and yéeld the same seruices, customes, and duties, in such like forme & manner, as they had beene vsed to doo, before the time of the late troubles, & not to chalenge or claime any libertie or priuilege which they inioied not before the same troubles, vpon their faith & allegiance in which they stood bound to him, and vpon paine to forfeit all that they might forfeit: and in case anie were found to doo contrarie thervnto, the same commissioners had authoritie, and were commanded to arrest and imprison them, till for their further punishment, order might be taken and agreed vpon in that behalfe accordinglie.

The king calleth in by proclamation all such letters of manumission, as the abbat of saint Albons had granted to his bondmen.

On saint Margarets daie, the king being readie to take his iournie to Berkhamstéed, in the great court of the abbeie of S. Albons had all the commons of the countie of Hertford before him, that had summons there to appeare, all that were betwixt fiftéene and thréescore yéeres of age, where they tooke an oth together from thencefoorth, to be faithfull subiects vnto him, and neuer to rise or make anie commotion, to the disturbance of his peace; and rather to die, than to consent vnto anie rebellious persons, whome they should to the vttermost of their powers do their best, to apprehend and deliuer them to the kings prison, that they might be fourth comming. After they had receiued this oth, they were

The commōs of Hertfordshire sworne to the king.

licenced to depart, and the king rode to Berkhamsteed, where he remained for a time, and went to Esthamstéed to recreate himselfe with hunting, where he was informed, that those which were hanged at S. Albons, were taken from the gallowes, and remooued a good waie from the same: with which presumption he was so stirred, that he sent foorthwith his letters to the bailiffes of the towne of S. Albons, commanding them vpon the sight of the same, to cause cheines to be made, and to bring the said bodies backe vnto the gallowes, and to hang them in those chaines vpon the same gallowes, there to remaine, so long as one peece might sticke to another, according to the forme of the iudgement giuen. The test of this writ thus directed to the bailiffes of saint Albons, was at Esthamstéed the third of August, in the fift yeare of this kings reigne, and in the yeare of our lord a thousand three hundred foure score and one.

The townesmen of S. Albons durst not disobeie the kings commandement, and so hanged vp againe in chaines the dead bodies of their neighbors, greatlie to their shame and reproch, when they could get none other for anie wages to come néere the stinking carcasses, but that they were constreined themselues to take in hand so vile an office. And such was the end of the tumults at S. Albons, where as well as in other places, the vnrulie commons had plaid their parts. To conclude and make an end of these diuelish troubles, to the end it may appeare, in what danger as well the K. as the whole state of the realme stood, by the mischéefous attempts of the vnrulie people, I haue thought good to declare the confession of Iacke Straw one of their chéefe capteins (and next in reputation amongst them vnto Wat Tiler) when he came to be executed in London, according to iudiciall sentence passed against him.

[751]

¶ "At the same time (said he) that we were assembled vpon Blackeheath, and had sent to the king to come vnto vs, our purpose was to haue slaine all such knights, esquiers, and gentlemen, as should haue giuen their attendance thither vpon him: and as for the king, we would haue kept him amongst vs, to the end that the people might more boldlie haue repaired to vs, sith they should haue thought, that whatsoever we did, the same had béene doone by his authoritie. Finally, when we had gotten power inough, that we needed not to feare anie force that might be made against vs, we would haue slaine all such noble men, as might either haue giuen counsell, or made anie resistance against vs, speciallie the knights of the Rhodes; and lastlie we would haue killed the king and all men of possessions, with bishops, moonks, chanons, and parsons of churches, onelie friers Mendicants we would haue spared, that might haue sufficed for ministration of the sacraments. And when we had made a riddance of all those, we would haue deuised lawes, according to the which the subiects of this realme should haue liued, for we would haue created kings, as Wat Tiler in Kent, and other in other countries. But bicause this our purpose was disappointed by the archbishop of Canturburie, that would not permit the king to come to vs, we sought by all meanes to dispatch him out of the waie, as at length we did. Morouer, the same euening that Wat Tiler was killed, we were determind, hauing the greatest part of the commons of the citie bent to ioine with vs, to haue set fire in foure corners of the citie, and so to haue diuided amongst vs the spoile of the cheefest riches that might haue beene found at our pleasure. And this (said he) was our purpose, as God may helpe me now at my last end."

The confession of Iacke Straw at the time of his death.

Thus you may see, after what sort they were conspired to the destruction of the realme, and to haue aduanced and inriched themselues; not considering or foreséeing the euill successe of their tumultuous broile, and that it would tend but little to their profit in the end, by a common spoile to amend their state, and to become mightie and rich with goods euill gotten, which though for a time (if lucke had serued them to haue possessed) they had enioied, yet could they not long prosper nor bring good vnto the possessors: for

*Non habet euentus sordida præda bonos.*

And lest this one mans confession might séeme insufficient, diuerse other of them confessed the same, or much what the like in effect, when they saw no remedie but

present death before their eyes. To declare the occasion whie such mischeefes happened thus in the realme, we leaue to the iudgement of those that may coniecture a truth thereof, by conferring the manners of that age & behaiour of all states then, sith they that wrote in those daies, may happilie in that behalfe misse the trueth, in construing things according to their affections. But truelie it is to be thought, that the faults, as well in one degré as an other, speciallie the sinnes of the whole nation, procured such vengeance to rise, whereby they might be warned of their euill dooings, and séeke to reforme the same in time conuenient. But as it commeth still to passe, when the danger is once ouershot, repentance likewise is put ouer, and is no more regarded, till an other scourge commeth eftsoones to put men in remembrance of their duetie; so in like manner (as séemeth) it chanced in this kings daies, as by that which followeth may more plainelie appeare.

The cause of the late tumults.

A truce with Scotland. Tho. Walsi. Froissard.

It this meane time that these troubles were at the hottest in England, the duke of Lancaster being in Scotland, so behaued himselfe (in the treatie which he had in hand with the Scots) dissembling the matter so, as if he had not vnderstood of any trouble in England at all, that finallie before the Scots had knowledge thereof, a truce was concluded to indure for two yeares, or (as other haue) for three yeares. When he had made an end there, and that all things were agréed vpon and passed, for the confirmation of that accord, he returned to Berwike, but at his comming thither, the capteine sir Matthew Redman would not suffer him to enter the towne, bicause of a commandement giuen to him from the earle of Northumberland, lord warden of the marches: wherefore the duke was glad to returne into Scotland againe, obtaining licence of the Scots to remaine amongst them, till the realme of England was reduced to better quiet. Hervpon, the commons in England that fauored him not, tooke occasion to report the worst of him that might be deuised, calling him now in time of their rebellious commotions, a traitor to the realme, declaring that he had ioined himselfe to the Scots, and meant to take part with them against his owne natiue countrie.

The capteine of Berwike will not suffer the duke of Lancaster to enter into the towne.

[752]

The king indéed had sent commandement, during the time of the rebellious troubles, vnto the earle of Northumberland, that he should haue good regard to the safe keeping of all the townes & castels vnder his rule, & not to suffer any person to enter the same, hauing forgotten to except the duke of Lancaster being then in Scotland: whervpon the duke tooke no small displeasure with the earle of Northumberland, as after he well shewed at his comming home. But before he returned foorth of Scotland, he wrote to the king to vnderstand his plesure, in what sort he should returne, humbling himselfe in such wise, as he made offer to come with one knight, one esquier, and a groome, if it should please the king so to appoint him; or if it so were that by his presence it was thought the realme was like to fall in any trouble, he was readie to depart into exile, neuer to returne into his countrie againe, if so be that through his absence the king and realme might inioy peace and quietnesse.

The king hearing such offers, wrote to him, that his pleasure was to haue him to returne home, with all his whole traine; and if the same were not thought sufficient to gard him, he should take of euerie towne by the which he passed, a certeine number of men to attend him vnto the next towne for his safegard, and so it was doone, the king sending him commission to that effect, and thus comming to the court, he was of the king right honorablie receiued. Within few daies after his comming, he exhibited a grievous complaint against the earle of Northumberland, for abusing him in diuerse sorts, in time of the late troubles, so as his honour was greatlie thereby touched, for which the earle was sent for, and commanded to come vnto Berkhamstéed, where all the lords in maner of the land were assembled in councell.

The duke of Lancaster chargeth the earle of Northumberland with sundrie crimes.

Here, after the duke had laid diuerse things to the earles charge, for his

disobedience, vnfaithfulnesse, and ingratitude; the earle after the manner of his countrie, not able to forbear, breake out into reprochfull words against the duke, although he was commanded by the king to cease, where the duke kept silence in humble maner, at the first word, when the K. commanded him to hold his peace, so that by reason of the earles disobedience in that behalfe, he was arrested. But yet the earls of Warwike and Suffolke vndertaking for his appearance at the next parlement, he was suffered to depart, and so the councill brake vp. About the feast of All saints the parlement began, to the which the duke of Lancaster came bringing with him an excéeding number of armed men, and likewise the earle of Northumberland with no lesse companie came likewise to London, & was lodged within the citie, hauing great friendship shewed towards him of the citizens, who promised to assist him at all times, when necessitie required, so that his part séemed to be ouerstrong for the duke, if they should haue come to anie trial of their forces at that time.

The duke of Lancaster & the earle of Northumberland come to the parlement with great troops of armed men.

The Londoners, fréends to the earle of Northumberland.

The Duke laie with his people in the suburbs, and euerie daie when they went to the parlement house at Westminster, both parts went thither in armour, to the great terror of those that were wise and graue personages, fearing some mischiefe to fall foorth of that vnaccustomed manner of their going armed to the parlement house, contrarie to the ancient vsage of the realme. At length, to quiet the parties and to auoid such inconueniences, as might haue growen of their dissention, the king tooke the matter into his hands, and so they were made fréends, to the end that some good might be doone in that parlement, for reformation of things touching the state of the realme, for which cause it was especiallie called: but now after it had continued a long time, and few things at all concluded, newes came that the ladie Anne sister to the emperour Wenslaus, & affianced wife to the king of England, was come to Calis, wherypon the parliament was proroged till after Christmas, that in the meane time the marriage might be solemnized, which was appointed after the Epiphanie: and foorthwith great preparation was made to receiue the bride, that she might be conueied with all honor vnto the kings presence.

The lords sit in armour in the parlement house.

The K. maketh an agrémēt between the duke of Lancaster & the earle of Northumberland.

[753]

Such as should receiue hir at Douer repaired thither, where at hir landing, a maruellous and right strange woonder happened; for she was no sooner out of hir ship, and got to land in safetie with all hir companie, but that foorthwith the water was so troubled and shaken, as the like thing had not to any mans remembrance euer béene heard of: so that the ship in which the appointed queene came ouer, was terriblie rent in péeces, and the residue so beaten one against an other, that they were scattered here and there after a woonderful manner. Before hir comming to the citie of London, she was met on Blackheath by the maior and citizens of London in most honorable wise, and so with great triumph conueied to Westminster, where (at the time appointed) all the nobilitie of the realme being assembled, she was ioined in marriage to the king, and crowned quéene by the archbishop of Canturburie, with all the glorie and honor that might be deuised. There were also holden for the more honour of the said marriage, solemne iustes for certeine daies together, in which, as well the Englishmen as the new quéenes countriemen shewed prooffe of their manhood and valiancie, whereby praise & commendation of knightlie prowesse was atchiued, not without damage of both the parties.

The emperours sister affianced to K. Richard, is receiued at Douer.

A watershake.

1382.

The kings marriage with the emperors sister.

After that the solemnitie of the marriage was finished, the parlement eftsoones began, in the which many things were inacted, for the behoofe of the commonwealth. And amongst other things it was ordeined, that all maner manumissions, obligations, releasses, and other bonds made by compulsion, dures, and menace, in time of this last tumult and riot against the lawes of the land, and good faith, should be vtterlie void and adnihilated. And further, that if the kings faithful liege people did perceiue any



gathering of the cōmons in suspected wise, to the number of six or seuen, holding conuenticles together, they should not staie for the kings writ in that behalfe for their warrant, but foorthwith it should be lawfull for them to apprehend such people, assembling together, and to laie them in prison, till they might answer their dooings. These and manie other things were established in this parlement, of the which, the most part were set foorth in the printed booke of statutes, where ye may read the same more at large.

In time of this parlement William Vfford the earle of Suffolke, The sudden death of the earle of Suffolke. being chosen by the knights of the shires, to pronounce in behalfe of the commonwealth, certeine matters concerning the same: the verie daie and houre in which he should haue serued that turne, as he went vp the staires, towards the vpper house, he suddenlie fell downe and died in the hands of his seruants, busie about to take him vp, whereas he felt no gréeffe of sicknesse when he came into Westminster, being then and before merrie and pleasant inough, to all mens sights. Of his sudden death, manie were greatlie abashed, for that in his life time, he had shewed himselfe courteous and amiable to all men. ¶ The parlement shortlie therevpon tooke end, after that the merchants had granted to the king for a subsidie certeine customes of their wooles, which they bought and sold, called a maletot, to endure for foure yeares. ¶ The lord Richard Scroope was made lord chancellor, & the lord Hugh Segraue lord treasurer.

About the same time, the lord Edmund Mortimer earle of March, The earle of March his good seruice whilest he was depute in Ireland. the kings lieutenant in Ireland, departed this life, after he had brought in manner all that land to peace and quiet, by his noble and prudent gouernement. In this season, Wicliffe set forth diuerse articles and conclusions of his doctrine, Wicliffes doctrine. which the new archbishop of Canturburie, William Courtneie, John Wraie. latelie remooued from the sée of London, vnto the higher dignitie, did what he could by all shifts to suppress, and to force such as were the setters foorth and maintainers thereof, to recant, and vtterlie to renounce. What he brought to passe, in the booke of acts and monuments set foorth by maister I. Fox, ye may find at large. The tuesday next after the feast of saint Iohn Port latine, an other parlement began, in which at the earnest sute and request of the knights of the shires, Iohn Wraie priest that was the chiefe doer among the commons in Suffolke, at Burie, and Mildenhall, was adiudged to be drawen, and hanged, although manie beleued, that his life should haue béene redeemed for some great portion of monie.

A lewd fellow that tooke vpon him to be skilfull in physicke and astronomie, A coleprophet serued aright. caused it to be published thorough the citie of London, that vpon the Ascension euen, there would rise such a pestilent planet, that all those which came abroad foorth of their chambers, before they had said fiue times the Lords praier, then commonlie called the Pater noster, and did not eate somewhat that morning, before their going foorth, should be taken with sicknesse, & suddenlie die thereof. Many fooles beléued him, and obserued his order; but the next day, when his presumptuous lieng could be no longer faced out, he was set on horssebacke, with his face towards the taile, which he was compelled to hold in his hand in stéed of a bridle, and so was led about the citie, with two iorden pots about his necke, and a whetstone, in token that he had well deserued it, for the notable lie which he had made.

About the same time, certeine English ships of Rie, and other places, went to the sea, and meeting pirats, fought with them, and ouercame them, taking seuen ships, with thrée hundred men in them. One of those ships had béene taken from the Englishmen afore time, and was called the falcon, belonging to the lord William Latimer. They were all richlie laden with wine, wax, and other good merchandize. This yeare the maior of London Iohn de Northampton, Ships of Rie win a good price. otherwise called Iohn de Comberton, Iohn de Northampton maior of London, a strict punisher of adulterie in his time. did punish such as were taken in adulterie, verie extremelie: for first he put them in the prison, called the tunne, that then stood in Cornehill, and after caused the women

[754]

to haue their haire cut, as théeues in those daies were serued that were appeachers of others, and so were they led about the stréets with trumpets & pipes going before them. Neither were the men spared more than the women, being put to manie open shames and reproches. But bicause the punishment of such offenses was thought rather to apperteine vnto the spirituall iurisdiction, than to the temporall, the bishop of London, and other of the cleargie, tooke it in verie euill part: but the maior being a stout man, would not forbear, but vsed his authoritie héerein to the vttermost.

About the same time also, when the archbishop of Canturburie sate in iudgement vpon a processe that was framed against one Iohn Aston, a maister of art, that was an earnest follower of Wicliffes doctrine, the Londoners brake open the doores, where the archbishop with his diuines sate, and caused them to giue ouer, so that they durst procéed no further in that matter. The same yéere were the fishmoongers of London sore disquieted by the foresaid maior, who sought to infringe their liberties, granting licence to forreners to come and sell all manner of fish, as fréelie and more fréelie than any of the companie of fishmongers: for they might not buie it at the forreners hands to sell it againe by any meanes, and so that companie which before had beene accompted one of the chiefest in the citie, was now so brought downe, as it séemed to be one of the meanest, being compelled to confesse, that their occupation was no craft, nor worthie so to be accompted amongst other the crafts of the citie.

In this yeare, the one and twentieth of Maie being wednesdaie, a great earthquake chanced about one of the clocke in the after noone; it was so vehement, and namelie in Kent, that the churches were shaken therewith in such wise, that some of them were ouerthrowen to the ground. On the saturdaie after, being the foure and twentieth day of Maie, earelie in the morning, chanced an other earthquake, or (as some write) a watershake, being of so vehement & violent a motion, that it made the ships in the hauens to beat one against the other, by reason whereof they were sore brused by such knocking together, to the great woonder of the people, who being amazed at such strange tokens, stood a long time after in more awe of Gods wrath and displeasure than before, for these so strange and dreadfull woonders thus shewed amongst them: howbeit when these terrors were forgotten, they followed their former dissolutenes, from the which for a time they were withdrawne through feare of Gods heuie hand hanging ouer their heads; but afterward like swine they wallowed afresh in their puddels of pollusions, & as dogs licked vp their filthie vomit of corruption and naughtinesse, for

*Sordida natura semper sequitur sua iura.*

About this season, the lord Richard Scroope lord chancellor was deposed from that roome, and the king receiuing the great seale at his hands, kept it a certeine time, and sealed therewith such grants and writings as it pleased him: at length, it was deliuered to Robert Braibrooke bishop of London, who was made lord chancellor. The cause why the lord Scroope was remooued from that dignitie, was this. When the king vpon certeine respects had granted certeine gentlemen the lands and possessions that belonged to the late earle of March, and other that were deceased (which he, during the time of their heires minorities, ought to inioy by the lawes of the realme) the said lord chancellor refused to seale such grants, alledging that the king being greatlie in debt, which he was to discharge, stood in need of such profits himselfe, and therefore (as he said) he tooke not them for faithfull seruants, nor dutifull subiects to his grace, that respecting their owne priuat commoditie more than his or the realmes, did sue for such grants at his hands, aduising them to hold themselues contented with such other things, as it had pleased or might please the king to bestow vpon them: for suerlie he would not consent, that they should inioy such gifts as those were. They that were thus reiected, made their complaint in such sort to the king, that he taking displeasure with the said lord Scroope, deposed him from his

The Londoners fauorers of Wicliffes doctrine.

The fishmoongers sore troubled by the maior.

A great earthquake.

Churches ouerthrowne by the earthquake.

A waterquake.

[755]

An. Reg. 6.

The bishop of Londō made lord chancellor in the lord Scroope his roome.

office, to the great offense both of the nobles and commons, by whose consent he was preferred vnto that dignitie.

About Michaelmasse this yeare, certeine naughtie disposed persons in Norffolke, not warned by the successe of the late rebellion, went about a new commotion, intending to murther the bishop of Norwich, and all the nobles and gentlemen of that countrie. And to bring their wicked purpose the better to passe, they determined to haue assembled together at S. Faithes faire, and to haue compelled all those that should haue béene present at the same faire, to haue taken part with them, or else to haue lost their liues: and this being doone, they would haue taken S. Benets abbeie at Holme, which they would haue kept for a fortresse, to haue withdrawne into vpon anie force that had beene against them. But yer they could bring their purpose to passe, one of the conspiracie bewraiang the matter, they were taken, & lost their heads at Norwich, for their malicious deuises.

A new rebellion intended in Norffolke is bewraied by one of the conspiracie before it burst out.

About the same time a parlement was called, to the which certeine commissioners from the countrie of Flanders came, to treat of certeine agréements betwixt the king and realme, and the states of their countrie: but bicause those that came ouer at this time, seemed not sufficient to conclude such treatie as then was in hand, they were sent backe to fetch other more sufficient, as from euerie towne in Flanders some such as might haue full authoritie to go through, and confirme the agréements then in hand. In this parlement, the maior of London, with a great part of the commoners of the citie, vpon suggestion by them made against the fishmongers, for vsing great deceit in vttering of their fishes, obtained to haue it inacted, that from thencefoorth, none of that companie, nor anie of the vinteners, butchers, grossers, or other that sold anie prouision of vittels, should be admitted maior of the citie; and so by this shift they sought to cut off all meanes from the fishmongers to recouer againe their old former degré. And bicause it was knowne well inough of what authoritie sir Iohn Philpot knight was within the citie, and that he fauoured those whome the lord maior the said Iohn de Northampton fauoured not, he was put off from the bench, and might not sit with them that were of the secret councell in the cities affaires, whereas neuerthelesse he had trauelled more for the preseruacion of the cities liberties than all the residue. Sir Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich, receiued buls a little before this present from pope Urbane, to signe all such with the crosse, that would take vpon them to go ouer the seas with him, to warre against those that held with the antipape Clement, that tooke himselfe for pope, and to such as would receiue the crosse in that quarrell, such like beneficiall pardons were granted by pope Urbane, as were accustomed granted vnto such as went to fight against the Infidels, Turkes, and Saracens, to wit free remission of sinnes, and manie other graces. The bishop of Norwich that had the disposing of the benefits granted by those buls, to all such as either would go themselues in person, or else giue anie thing toward the furtherance of that voiage, & maintenance of them that went in the same, shewed those buls in open parlement, & caused copies to be written forth, & sent into euerie quarter, that his authoritie & power legantine might be notified to all men, for the better bringing to passe of that he had in charge. And truelie it should appeare, there wanted no diligence in the man to accomplish the popes purpose: and on the other part yée must note, that the priuileges which he had from the pope, were passing large, so that as the matter was handled, there were diuerse lords, knights, esquires, and other men of warre in good numbers, that offered themselues to go in that voiage, and to follow the standards of the church with the bishop, and no small summes of monie were leuied and gathered amongst the people, for the furnishing foorth of that armie, as after yée shall heare.

The cōmissioners of Flanders reiected for want of sufficient authoritie.

An act against the fishmongers within the citie of London.

Remission of sins granted to as manie as would fight against Clement the antipape.

[756]

In this meane time the earle of Cambridge returned home from Portingale, whither (as yee haue heard) he was sent the last yeare, and promise made, that the duke of

Lancaster should haue followed him; but by reason of the late rebellion, and also for other considerations, as the warres in Flanders betwixt the erle and them of Gaunt, it was not thought conuenient that anie men of warre should go foorth of the realme: and so the king of Portingale not able of himselfe to go through with his enterprise against the king of Spaine, after some small exploits atchiued by the Englishmen, and other of the earle of Cambridge his companie, as the winning of certeine fortresses belonging to the king of Castile, and that the two kings had laine in field, the one against the other by the space of fifteene daies without battell, the matter was taken vp, and a peace concluded betwixt them, sore against the mind of the earle of Cambridge, who did what in him laie, to haue brought them to a set field: but when there was no remedie, he bare it so patientlie as he might, and returned home with his people, sore offended (though he said little) against the king of Portingale, for that he dealt otherwise in this matter than was looked for. He had affianced his sonne, which he had by the daughter of Peter, sometime king of Castile, vnto the king of Portingales daughter, now in the time of his being there: but although he was earnestlie requested of the said king, he would not leaue his sonne behind him, but brought him backe with him againe into England (together with his mother) doubting the slipperie faith of those people.

The earle of Cambridge returneth out of Portingale.

The earle of Cambridge his son affianced to the king of Portingals daughter.

In the Lent season of this sixt yeare of king Richards reigne, an other parlement was called at London, in the which there was hard hold about the buls sent to the bishop of Norwich from pope Urbane, concerning his iournie that he should take in hand against the Clementines (as we may call them, for that they held with pope Clement) whome the Vrbanists (that is, such as held with pope Urbane) tooke for schismatikes. Diuerse there were, that thought it not good that such summes of monie shuld be leuied of the kings subiects, and the same together with an armie of men to be committed vnto the guiding of a prelat vnskillfull in warlike affaires. Other there were that would needs haue him to go, that the enimies of the church (as they tooke them) might be subdued.

1383.

Clementines.

Vrbanists.

And although the more part of the lords of the vpper house, and likewise the knights and burgesses of the lower house were earnestlie bent against this iournie; yet at length those that were of the contrarie mind, preuailed; & so it was decreed, that it should forward, and that the said bishop of Norwich should haue the fiftéenth granted to the king in the last parlement, to paie the wages of such men of warre as should go ouer with him; for soldiers without monie passed not much of par dons, nonot in those daies, except at the verie point of death, if they were not assured how to be answered of their wages, or of some other consideration wherby they might gaine. ¶ The tenth that was granted afore by the bishops at Oxford, was now in this same parlement appointed to remaine to the king for the kéeping of the seas, whilst the bishop should be foorth of the realme in following those wars.

[757]

These things being thus appointed, the bishop sent foorth his letters firmed with his seale into euerie prouince and countrie of this land, giuing to all parsons, vicars, and curats, through this realme, power and authoritie to heare the confessions of their parishioners, and to grant vnto those that would bestow any parcell of their goods, which God had lent them towards the aduancing of the iournie to be made by the crossed souldiers against pope Urbans enimies, the absolution and remission of all their sinnes by the popes authoritie, according to the forme of the bull before mentioned. The people vnderstanding of so great and gracious a benefit (as they tooke it) thus offered to the English nation, at home in their owne houses, were desirous to be partakers thereof, and those that were warlike men, prepared themselues to go foorth in that iournie with all spéed possible. The residue that were not fit to be warriors, according to that they were exhorted by their confessors, bestowed liberallie of their goods to the furtherance of those that went: and so, few there were within the whole kingdome, but that either they went, or

The crossed souldiers.

gave somewhat to the advancing fourth of the bishop of Norwich his voyage.

This bishop chose diverse to be associated with him, as captains that were expert in warlike enterprises. The first and principally was sir Hugh Calverlie an old man of warre, and one that in all places had borne himselfe both valiantlie and politikelie; next unto him was sir William Farington, who stoutlie spake in the bishops cause, when the matter came in question in the parlement house, touching his going over with his croisie. Besides these, there went diverse noble men and knights of high renowne, as the lord Henrie Beaumont, sir William Elmham, and sir Thomas Triuet, sir Iohn Ferrers, sir Hugh Spenser the bishops nephue by his brother, sir Matthew Redman capitaine of Berwike, sir Nicholas Tarenson or Traicton, sir William Farington, and manie other of the English nation: & of Gascogne there went le sire de Chasteauneuf, and his brother sir Iohn de Chasteauneuf, Raimund de Marsen, Guillonet de Paux, Gariot Vighier, Iohn de Cachitan, and diverse other. Sir Iohn Beauchampe was appointed marshall of the field, but because he was at that present in the marches of the realme towards Scotland, he was not readie to passe over when the bishop did. The duke of Lancaster liked not well of the bishops iournie, for that he saw how his voyage that he meant to make into Spaine was hereby for the time disappointed, and he could haue béene better contented (as appeareth by writers) to haue had the monie imploied vpon the warres against the king of Castile that was a Clementine, than to haue it bestowed vpon this voyage, which the bishop was to take in hand against the French king, and other in these néerer parts. Herevpon there were not manie of the nobilitie that offered to go with the bishop.

The captains that went with the bishop of Norwich against the antipape.

*Froissard.*

But to saie somewhat of other things that were concluded in this last parlement, we find, that the fishmongers, which through meanes of the late lord maior Iohn of Northampton and his complices were put from their ancient customes and liberties, which they inioied aforetime within the citie, were now restored to the same againe, sauing that they might not kéepe courts among themselues, as in times past they vsed, but that after the maner of other crafts and companies, all transgressions, offenses, and breaches of lawes and customes by them committed, should be heard, tried, and reformed in the maiors court. ¶ All this winter the matter touching the gathering of monie towards the croisie, was earnestlie applied, so that there was leuied what of the disme, and by the deuotion of the people for obtaining of the pardon, so much as drew to the summe of fiue and twentie thousand franks.

The statute against fishmongers repealed, they are restored to their liberties.

When the bishop therefore had set things in good forwardnesse for his iournie, he drew towards the sea side, and was so desirous to passe over, and to inuade his aduersaries, that although the king sent to him an expresse commandement by letters to returne to the court, that he might conferre with him before he tooke the seas; yet excusing himselfe, that the time would not then permit him to staie longer, he passed over to Calis, where he landed the 23 of Aprill, in this sixt yeare of king Richards reigne. The armie to attend him in this iournie, rose to the number of two thousand horssemen, and fifteene thousand footmen (as some write) though other speake of a far lesser number. But it should seeme that they went not over all at one time, but by parts, as some before the bishop, some with him, and some after him.

The bishop of Norwich setteth forward with his armie.

*Polydor.*

*Froissard.*

500 speares, & 115 other.

[758]

Now when he and the captains before named, were come over to Calis, they tooke counsell together into what place they should make their first inuasion; and because their commission was to make warre onelie against those that held with pope Clement, the more part were of this mind, that it should be most expedient for them to enter into France, and to make warre against the Frenchmen, whom all men knew to be chiefe maintainers of the said Clement. But the bishop of Norwich was of this opinion, that they could not doo better

The bishop of Norwich inuadeth Flanders.

*Ia. Meir.* Dunkirke woon & sacked by the Englishmen.

The earle of Flāders sendeth to the bishop of Norwich to know the cause of his inuasion of Flanders.

than to inuade the countrie of Flanders, bicause that a litle before, earle Lewes hauing intelligence that king Richard had made a confederacie with them of Gaunt, had on the other part expelled all Englishmen out of his dominions and countries, so that the merchants which had their goods at Bruges, and other places in Flanders, susteined great losses. Howbeit there were that replied against the bishops purpose herein, as sir Hugh Caluerlie and others; yet at length they yeelded thereto, and so by his commandement they went streight to Grauelin, the 21 day of Maie, and immediatlie wan it by assault. Wherevpon Bruckburge was yeelded vnto them, the liues and goods of them within saued. Then went they to Dunkirke, & without any great resistance entred the towne, and wan there excéeding much by the spoile, for it was full of riches, which the Englishmen pilfered at their pleasure. The earle of Flanders lieng at Lisle was aduertised how the Englishmen were thus entered his countrie, wherevpon he sent ambassadors vnto the English host, to vnderstand why they made him warre that was a right Vrbanist.

The bishop of Norwich for answer, declared to them that were sent, that he tooke the countrie to apperteine to the French king, as he that had of late conquered it, whom all the whole world knew to be a Clementine, or at the least he was assured that the countrie thereabouts was of the inheritance of the ladie of Bar, which likewise was a Clementine: and therefore, except the people of that countrie would come and ioine with him to go against such as were knowne to be enimies to pope Urbane, he would suerlie séeke to destroie them. And whereas the earls ambassadors required safe conduct to go into England by Calis, to vnderstand the kings pleasure in this mater, the bishop would grant them none at all; wherefore they went backe againe to the earle their maister with that answer.

The Englishmen after the taking and spoiling of Dunkirke, returned to Grauelin and Bruckburge, which places they fortified, and then leauing garrisons in them, they went to Mardike, and tooke it, for it was not closed. In the meane time, the countriemen of west Flanders rose in armour, and came, to Dunkirke, meaning to resist the Englishmen: whereof when the bishop was certified, with all speed he marched thither, and comming to the place where the Flemings, to the number of more than twelue thousand were ranged without the towne, he sent an herald vnto them to know the truth, of whether pope they held; but the rude people, not vnderstanding what appertained to the law of armes, ran vpon the herald at his approching to them, and slue him before he could begin to tell his tale.

The Englishmen herewith inflamed, determined either to reuenge the death of their herald, or to die for it, and therewith ordered their battels readie to fight, and being not aboue five thousand fighting men in all, the bishop placed himselfe amongst the horssemen, and set the footmen in a battell marshalled wedgewise, broad behind and sharpe before, hauing with them a banner wherein the crosse was beaten. The archers were ranged on either side: the standard of the church went before, the field gules, and two keies siluer, signifieng that they were souldiors of pope Urbane. Moreouer, the bishop had his penon there siluer and azure quarterlie, a freat gold on the azure, a bend gules on the siluer; and bicause he was yoongest of the Spensers, he bare a border gules for a difference. At the approching of the battels together the trumpets blew vp, and the archers began to shoot against the battell of the Flemings, the which valiantlie defended themselues, & fought egerlie a long time, but at length they were so galled with arrowes which the archers shot at them a flanke, that they were not able to indure, but were compelled to giue backe.

They were diuided into two battels, a vaward, and a rereaward. When the vaward began to shrink, the rereaward also brake order, and fled, but the Englishmen pursued them so fast, that they could not escape, but were ouertaken and slaine in great numbers. Some saie, there died of them in the battell and chase fiue thousand, some

The herald of armes sent to y<sup>e</sup> Flemings by the bishop of Norwich is slaine.

Thom. Wals. The order of the bishop of Norwich his battell against the Flemings.

six thousand; and others write, that there were nine thousand of them slaine: and Thomas Walsingham affirmeth twelue thousand. Manie of them fled into the towne of Dunkirke for succour, but the Englishmen pursued them so egerlie, that they entered the towne with them, and slue them downe in the streets. The Flemings in diuerse places gathered themselues together againe as they fled, and shewed countenance of defense, but still they were driuen out of order, and brought to confusion. The préests and religious men that were with the bishop fought most egerlie, some one of them slaieng sixtéene of the enimies.

The Flemings discomfited by y<sup>e</sup> Englishmen.  
*Iac. Meir.*  
*Froissard.*  
*Tho. Walsi.* Préests and religious men hardy soldiers.

There died of Englishmen at this battell about foure hundred. The Flemings had no horssemen amongst them, nor anie number of gentlemen, for they stood in such dread of English bowes, that they durst not come to anie battell with them, but kéeping themselues out of danger, set the commons of the countrie in hand to trie what they against the Englishmen were able to doo without them. This battell was fought vpon a mondaie being the fifteenth of Maie. The countrie was put in a woonderfull feare by this ouerthrow, so that the townes and fortresses were in great doubt, and some yeilded themselues to the Englishmen, as Berghen and others; some were woone by force, as the castell of Drinchan, and the towne of S. Venant. To be short, the Englishmen became maisters of all the countrie alongst the sea side, euen from Grauelin to Sluis, and got such riches by pillage and spoile, as they could not wish for greater. They preuailed so much, that they wan in maner all the close towns within the bailiffeweekes of Cassell, of Popering, Messines, and Furneis, with the townes of Newport, Blankberke, and diuerse other.

*Iacob. Meir.*  
The Englishmē subdue diuerse towns in Flanders, and spoile the countrie.

Also entring into the woods Nepse and Rutholt, they found a great bootie of sheepe and beasts, and tooke a great sort of prisoners of the countrie people, which were fled into those woods for feare of the enemies: but the Englishmen, plaieng the part of good bloudhounds, found them out, & sent all their booties and preie vnto Grauelin and Bruckburge. On the eight daie of Iune they came before the towne of Ypres, and laid siege thereto, whereat they continued the space of nine wéekes. Thither came to their aid twentie thousand Gauntiners vnder the leading of Francis Akreman, Peter Wood, and Peter Winter: so that they within Ypres were streictlie besieged, but there were within it in garrison diuerse valiant knights & capteins, which defended the towne right manfullie: it was fensed with a mightie rampire, and a thicke hedge, trimlie plashed and woond with thornes, as the manner of fortifieng townes was in ancient time amongst them in that countrie (as Strabo witnesseth.)

The towne of Ypres besieged.  
The maner of fortifieng townes in old time.

During the time that the siege laie before Ypres, the Englishmen swarmed abroad in the countrie, for when it was once knowne what good successe the first companie that went ouer had found, there came dailie forth of England great numbers to be partakers of the gaine. Sir Iohn Philpot that faouered the bishops iournie, prouided them of vessels for their passage, till the bishop vnderstanding that the more part of those that came thus ouer were vnarmed, and brought nothing with them from home, but onelie swords, bowes and arrowes, did write vnto the said sir Iohn Philpot, that he should suffer none to passe the seas, but such as were men able and likelie to doo seruice: where a great number of those that were come to him, were fit for nothing but to consume vittels, much like the popish shauelings and the Romish rascalitie, of whome the like is spoken thus:

Nos numerus sumus & fruges consumere nati.

The multitude of Englishmen and Gauntiners at this siege was great, so that diuerse skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and such as were appointed by the earle to lie in garrisons against them: but still the victorie abode on the English side. Also there was an English préest, one sir Iohn Boring that went to Gaunt with fiue hundred English archers, by

Hope of gaine encourageth the soldier.

*Ia. Meir.*

An. Reg. 7.

whose aid Arnold Hans one of the capteins of Gaunt ouercame his enimies in battell, which were laid in a castell neere to the hauen of Allost, and stopped that no vittels might safelie come out of Holland or Zeland to be conueied to Gaunt. The earle of Flanders was not well contented in his mind, that the Englishmen were thus entred into his countrie, and therefore earnestlie laboured to the duke of Burgognie (that had married his daughter, and should be heire of all his dominions and seigniories after his deceasse) to find some remedie in the matter.

The duke, whome the matter touched so néere, did so much with his nephew the French king, that eftsoones he raised his whole puissance, and came downe into Flanders, so that the Englishmen perceiuing themselues not of power to incounter with this huge and mightie armie, were constreined after a great assault, which they gaue the eight of August, to raise their siege from Ypres the mondaie after, being S. Laurence daie, and to withdraw into Bruckburge, Berghen, Dixmew, Newport, Cassell, Dunkirke, Grauelin, and other places which they had woon. But at Newport the townesmen set vp the earles banner, and assailing those that were come into the towne, slue diuerse of them. The Englishmen being sore offended therewith, came running thither with certeine Gauntiners, and made great slaughter of them that had so murdered their fellowes. The towne was sacked, and all the goods aswell church iewels as other were sent awaie, partlie by sea into England, and partlie by waggons vnto Berge. After this, they set fire in more than thirtie places of the towne, so that there remained nothing vnburnt. The Englishmen & Gauntiners that were withdrawne into Berge, got together all the waggons in the countrie about, placing the same vpon the diches and rampiers, to fortifie the same against their enemies.

Some write, that after the breaking of the siege at Ypres, the bishop of Norwich would gladlie haue persuaded the lords and knights that were there with him, to haue entred into Picardie, and there to haue offered the French king battell, before his whole puissance had beene assembled: but sir Thomas Triuet and sir William Elmham with other, would in no wise consent therevnto, so that the bishop taking with him sir Hugh Caluerlie, that did neuer forsake him, bad the other farewell; and first making a road into Picardie, he after withdrew into Grauelin, whiles the other went to Bruckburge. But by Froissard, and other writers it appeareth, that sir Hugh was certeinlie at Berge, with other that were retired thither, in purpose to defend it against the French king, who still followed them, and recouered diuerse places out of their hands by force, as Mont Cassell, the castell of Crincham, and other. Also at his comming to Berghen, the said sir Hugh Caluerlie, and other that were within it, perceiuing that they were not able to defend it against such a puissance as the French king had there with him, being greater than euer sir Hugh Caluerlie that ancient capteine wold haue thought that France had béene able to haue set forth, departed, and left the towne to be spoiled of the Britons, and other French souldiers, which executed there all kinds of crueltie. The more part of the Englishmen went to Bruckburge, but sir Hugh Caluerlie went to Grauelin, and so to Calis, as one sore displeased in his mind, for that his counsell could not be regarded in all this voiage, which if it had béene followed, would haue brought it to a better issue than now it was, as was supposed.

The French king following the tract of good fortune, that guided his sterne, marched forth to Bruckburge, so that the vaward of his armie came before that towne on Holie rood daie in September, vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders, the duke of Britaine, the lord Oliuer de Clisson high constable of France, and the lord Valeran earle of S. Paule, the which demeaned themselues in such sort, that although the Englishmen within valiantlie defended the Frenchmens assault; yet the third daie after the Frenchmens comming thither, the Englishmen by composition that they might depart with bag and bagage, yeelded vp the towne, which on the ninetenth

*The siege at Ypres broken vp.*

*Newport sacked and burnt by the Englishmen and Gauntiners.*

*Thom. Wals. A courageous & warlike bishop.*

*The French king with his huge armie driueth the Englishmen out of Flanders. Bruckburge yeelded to the French.*

*The duke of Britaine a friend to the Englishmen.*



of September being saturdaye, as that yeare came about, was abandoned to the French souldiers, to rife and spoile at their pleasure, in the which feat the Britons bare the bell awaie, dooing more mischeefe vnto the poore inhabitants, than with toong can be recited. The duke of Britaine holpe greatlie to make the composition, that the Englishmen might depart in safetie: for the which dooing he was in great hatred and obloquie of the souldiers, who affirmed that he was not onelie a friend to the Englishmen, but an enimie to his countrie, and a traitour to the common-wealth.

The Englishmen comming to Grauelin, set it on fire, and departed streight to Calis, leauing the countrie of Flanders to the Frenchmen, and so returned into England, where they were not greatlie commended for their seruice, but were put so farre in blame, that sir Thomas Triuet, & sir William Elmham were committed to prison within the tower of London, as men suspected of euill dealing in the deliuerie of Bruckburge and Grauelin to the Frenchmens hands: for immediatlie after that they had left Grauelin, the Frenchmen came thither, and fortified it for a countergarison to Calis. ¶ There be that write how the French king offered to giue the bishop of Norwich fiftéene thousand marks to race the towne of Grauelin, and so to leaue it vnto him, the bishop hauing libertie with all his people and goods to depart in safetie. The bishop required to haue libertie for certeine daies, to make herevnto a full and deliberate answer; which was granted, and in the meane time he sent into England to aduertise the king in what state he stood, and how the French king laie before him with a mightie armie: and therefore if he meant euer to trie battell with the Frenchmen, now was the time.

Grauelin fortified by the Frenchmen for a countergarison to Calis. Thom. Wals.

In the same summer, the king with the queene went abroad in progresse, visiting in their waie the rich abbeis of the realme, as Burie, Thetford, Norwich, & other; going about a great part of the realme. And when these newes came to him from the bishop of Norwich, he was at Dauentrie in Northamptonshire, and being the same time at supper, he put the table from him, and rising with all hast, got him to horsbacke, and rode in post that night, changing horsse diuerse times, with such spéed that he came to S. Albons about midnight, and making no staie there longer than he had borrowed the abbats gelding, hasted foorth till he came to Westminster: so that it appeared he would neuer haue rested till he had passed the sea, and giuen battell to the Frenchmen. But after his comming to Westminster, wearied with that hastie iournie, he got him to bed, and liked so well of ease, that he thought good to send a lieutenant in his stead to passe the seas, to deliuer the bishop from danger of his enemies.

The king & quéene in progresse.

A great head soone cooled.

Herevpon was the duke of Lancaster sent for, that he might with such power as was readie to passe the seas, go ouer with the same, and giue battell to the French king: but he protracted time, till the respit granted to the bishop to make answer was expired, and so the bishop when he saw no succour come foorth of England, raced the towne as the couenant was: but monie he would not or did not receiue, bicause he thought in so dooing he should offend the councell. At his comming backe into England, he found the duke of Lancaster at the sea side with a great power of men readie to haue come ouer: although some thought that he deferred time of purpose, for that he misliked of the bishops whole enterprise; and now bicause it had thus quailed, he blamed the bishop for his euill gouvernement therein: but sir Hugh Caluerlie he retained with him a time, dooing him all honour, by reason of the old approoued valiancie, that had béene euer found in him. And this was the end of the bishop of Norwich his iournie.

The bishop of Norwich returned into England out of Flanders.

The Scots in the meane while sate not still, but made roades into England, tooke and burnt the castell of Warke. Moreouer, whilest the siege laie before Ypres, the Frenchmen armed certeine vessels, and sent them to the sea, namelie fiue balengers, as well to intercept such as should passe betwéene England and Flanders, as also to stop such as were appointed to go ouer into Gascoine, that were soldiers also of the croisie, appointed

Warke castell burnt by the Scots.

Diuerse French ships taken by the Englishmen.

thither vnder the leading of the lord Britrigale de la Bret, and certeine others. When they of Portesmouth vnderstood that these fiue ships were abroad, they made foorth to the sea, and meeting with their aduersaries, fought with them a sore & cruell battell, and in the end slue all the enemies, nine excepted, and tooke all their vessels. An other fleet of Englishmen tooke eight French ships, which had aboard 1500 tuns of good wines, that comforted the Englishmen greatlie.

About the feast of All saints was a parlement holden at London, in which was granted to the king one moitie of a fifteenth by the laitie, and shortlie after a moitie of a tenth by the cleargie. Moreouer, the king tooke into his hands the temporalties that belonged to the bishop of Norwich, bicause he obeied not the kings commandement when he was sent for at the time when he tooke the seas to passe into Flanders. The knights also that had not shewed such obedience to the bishop as was requisit in that iornie, were committed to prison; but shortlie after they were set at libertie vpon suerties that vndertooke for them. ¶ It was also decreéd in this parlement, that the erle of Buckingham the kings vnclé should go to the borders against Scotland, with a thousand lances, and two thousand archers, to repress the presumptuous attempts of the Scots, who aduertised thereof, sent ambassadors to treat of peace; but they were dispatched home againe, without obtaining that which they came to sue for.

At the motion and instance of the duke of Britaine, immediatlie vpon the returne of the English armie out of Flanders, there was a méeting of certeine commissioners in the marches of Calis, at a place called Lelleghen, for the treatie of a peace to be concluded betwixt the two realmes of England and France. There appeared for king Richard, the duke of Lancaster, and his brother the erle of Buckingham, sir Iohn Holland brother to the king, sir Thomas Percie, and a bishop. For the French king, thither came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie, the bishop of Laon, and the chancellor of France. There were also the duke of Britaine, and the earle of Flanders. Also there came a bishop with other commissioners from the king of Spaine; for the Frenchmen would doo nothing, except the king of Spaine might be also comprised in the treatie and conclusion. They were thrée wéekes in commoning of an agreement: but when nothing else could be brought to passe, they concluded a truce to indure till the feast of S. Michaell, which should be in the yeare 1384.

The earle of Flanders was iudged most in blame, for that no peace could be accorded, bicause he would not that the Gauntiners should be comprised therin, but the Englishmen would not agree either to truce or peace, except regard might be had of the Gauntiners, as their fréends and alies. The kings of Spaine and Scotland were comprised in this truce as confederats to the Frenchmen, which should haue signified the same into Scotland, but did not, till great harme followed through negligence vsed in that matter, as after yée shall perceiue. ¶ The same yeare in the night of the feast of the Purification of our ladie, great lightenings and thunders chanced, which put manie in no small feare, so huge and hideous was that tempest. Shortlie after, there rose no small adoo in the citie of London about the election of their maior: for such as faouored the late maior Iohn de Northampton, otherwise called Iohn de Comberton, stood against sir Nicholas Brambre knight that was chosen to succéed the said Iohn de Northampton, insomuch that a shoemaker who was one of the same Iohn de Northamptons partakers, presumed through a number of voices that were readie to faour him, to take vpon him as maior: but through the counsell of sir Robert Knolles knight, he was suddenlie apprehended, drawne, and beheaded, as a rebell and troubler of the kings peace.

In the lent season, the duke of Lancaster with his brother the earle of Buckingham went towards the borders, hauing with him a mightie power of knights, esquiers, and archers, and after he had remained a certeine time vpon the borders, about Easter he

A parlement at London.  
The temporalties of the bishoprike of Norwich seized into the kings hands for the bishops disobedience.

A treatie of peace between England and France.  
A truce taken betweene England and France.

*Tho. Walsin.*  
Great contention about the election of the maior of London.  
Sir Robert Knolles.

entered Scotland, and comming within thrée miles of Edenburgh, he staid there three daies, in which meane time the Scots conueied all their goods out of the towne ouer the water of Firth: so that when the armie came thither, they found nothing but bare walles, which gréeued the soldiers not a little. The Scots would not come foorth to giue anie battell to the Englishmen, but got them into woods and mounteines, or else passed ouer the riuier of Firth, suffering the Englishmen to fight with the vehement cold wether that then sore annoied those parts, in so much that on Easter daie at night, through snow that fell, and such extreame cold and boisterous stormes, as sore afflicted the armie, being incamped within the compasse of a marish ground for their more suertie: there died aboue fiue hundred horssees, to let passe the losse of men that perished at the same time, of whom we make no mention. To conclude, after the duke and his brother the earle had remained a time thus in Scotland, and burned certeine townes, they returned into England.

The duke of Lancaster inuadeth Scotland with an armie.

Edenburgh left desolate.

Great death of horssees and men in the English host, by reason of extreme cold.

About the same time, to wit, in the quindene of Easter, a parlement of the nobles was holden at Salisburie, during the which an Irish frier of the order of the Carmelits, being a bachelor in diuinitie, exhibited to the king a bill against the duke of Lancaster, charging him with heinous treasons: as that he meant vpon a sudden to destroie the king, and to vsurpe the crowne, shewing the time, the place, and circumstances of the whole contriued matter. The king being yoong both in yeares and discretion, when he had heard the friers information, called two of his chapleins vnto him, one sir Nicholas Slake, and an other, and asked their aduise what they thought good to be doone in such a weightie cause. Now as they were busie in talke about the same, the duke of Lancaster came into the kings chamber after his woonted manner, not vnderstanding anie thing of the matter whereof they were in talke. The king with a sterne countenance beheld the duke, not dooing him the honor that he was accustomed. The duke suspecting that the king had somewhat in his head that touched his person, withdrew. In the meane time those two that were thus in counsell with the king, fearing happilie the dukes power, or else vpon good will they bare towards him, persuaded the king that in anie wise he should call him, to see and heare what was laid to his charge.

A parlement at Salisburie.

An Irish frier appeacheth the duke of Lancaster of treason.

The duke, after he had read the bill of his accusation, made such answer, and so excused himselfe in declaring his innocencie, that the king gaue credit to his words, and receiued his excuse. Herewith the duke besought the king, that the frier might be kept in safe gard, till the time came that he might purge himselfe of that he had charged him with; and that the lord Iohn Holland the kings halfe brother might haue the custodie of him, till the day appointed that the duke should come to his full triall. The night before which day, the said lord Holland, and sir Henrie Greene knight, came to this frier, and putting a cord about his necke, tied the other end about his priue members, & after hanging him vp from the ground, laid a stone vpon his bellie, with the weight whereof, and peise of his bodie withall, he was strangled and tormented, so as his verie backe bone burst in sunder therewith, besides the straining of his priue members: thus with thrée kind of tormentings he ended his wretched life. On the morow after, they caused his dead corps to be drawne about the towne, to the end it might appeare he had suffered worthilie for his great falshood & treason. Which extreame punishment and exquisite kind of execution, had it not béene meritoriouslie inflicted vpon so impudent an offender, had deserued perpetuall record of vnaccustomed crueltie, with this vehement exclamation,

O fera barbaries æuo non nota priori,  
Sed nec apud sæuos inuenienda Scythas.

But now to the parlement. At length, when the K. had obtained of the laitie a grant of an halfe fiftéenth the same parlement was dissolued. In the summer following the borderers of England and Scotland made rodes ech into others countries, to the great disquieting of both the

A rode into Scotland. One mischief asketh another.

realmes. Among other rodes that the Englishmen made, shortlie after Easter (as Froissard saith) the earles of Northumberland and Nottingham, raising an armie of 2000 speares, and six thousand archers, entered Scotland by Rockesburgh, burnt the countrie euen to Edenburgh, and so returned without damage. In the meane time came messengers from the French king, to aduertise the Scots of the conclusion of the truce. But the Scots prouoked with this last inuasion made by the Englishmen into their countrie, would not heare of any truce, till they had in part reuenged their displeasure vpon the Englishmen: and so with certeine men of armes of France, that latelie before were come thither, not yet vnderstanding of any truce, they roded into Northumberland, doing what mischiefe they might: so that for the summer season of this yeare, either part sought to indamage other (as Walsingham saith) though Froissard writeth, that through the earnest trauell of the messengers that came to intimate the abstinence of war taken, the parties now that their stomachs were well eased with the interchange of indamaging either others confins, agréed to be quiet, and so the truce was proclamed in both realmes, and accordinglie obserued.

About the beginning of August in the eighth yéere of this kings reigne, the duke of Lancaster went ouer againe into France, to treat of peace; but after he had remained there a long time, & spent no small store of treasure, he returned with a truce, to indure onelie till the first of Maie then next insuing. While the duke of Lancaster was fourth of the relme, Iohn de Northampton, that had borne such rule in the citie of London, whilst he was maior, and also after (as partlie ye haue heard) was accused by a chapleine (that he had in his house) of seditious sturs, which he went about, so that being arreigned thereof, he was in the end condemned to perpetuall prison, and the same not to be within the space of one hundred miles at the least of the citie of London. All his goods were confiscated, and so he was sent to the castell of Tintagill in Cornewall, and the kings officers seized vpon his goods & cattels. ¶ About the feast of saint Martine, a parlement was called at London, in which, monie was demanded of the cleargie and temporaltie, towards the maintenance of the kings wars.

An. Reg. 8.

The duke of Lācaster sent into France to treat of a peace.

Iohn de Northampton late maior of London cōdemned to perpetuall prison and all his goods confiscated.

During this parlement also, a combat was fought within lists betwixt an English esquier, named Iohn Walsh, and an esquier of Nauarre that accused the said Walsh of treason, though not iustlie, but mooued through displeasure, conceiued of an iniurie doone to him by the same Walsh, whilst he was vnder capteine or vicedeutie (as we may call him) of Chierburgh, in abusing the Nauarrois wife. Wherevpon when the Nauarrois was vanquished and confessed the truth, he was adiudged by the king to be drawne vnto the place of execution and hanged, notwithstanding that the queene and diuerse other made sute for him. ¶ Henrie Knighton maketh report hereof in somewhat a differing maner: but the issue of his tale falleth out to be like to the other. On a wednesdaie (saith he) at S. Andrews tide, Iohn Wallise of Grimsbie fought in lists with Martilet of Nauarre esquier, at Westminster, in presence of K. Richard & of Iohn the good duke of Lancaster: in so much that the said Iohn Wallise slue his aduersarie, whervpon at the kings cōmandement being made knight, he was inriched with manie gifts, as well of the kings and the dukes bestowing, as also of other great men and peeres of the realme. As for Martilet, after he was slaine, he was presentlie drawne, hanged, and headed.

A combat.

The appellan being vanquished, is adiudged to be hanged.

Abraham Fleming out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

Furthermore before the said parlement was dissolued, newes came fourth of the north parts, that the Scots had woone the castell of Berwike: for which the earle of Northumberland, that was capteine thereof, was put in high blame, for that he had not committed the kéeping thereof to more circumspect persons. The duke of Lancaster, who bare no good will to the said earle, was well appaid that he had so good matter to charge his aduersarie withall, so that through his meanes the earle of Northumberland was sore

Berwike castell woone by the Scots.

Berwike castel recovered by the earle of Northumberland.

accused, and had much ado to escape the danger of being reputed a traitor. Wherevpon great occasion of malice and displeasure grew betwixt those two noble personages, as after it well appeared. But howsoever the matter was handled, the earle was licenced by the king to go into his countrie, and seeke to recouer possession of the castell thus latelie lost. Wherevpon raising an armie, & besieging the Scots that were within the castell, he so constreined them, that for the summe of 2000 marks they surrendred the fortresse into his hands, their liues and goods saued: and so the earle of Northumberland recouered the castell out of the Scottishmens hands, being taught to commit it to more warie keepers than the other before.

The king being incensed against the duke of Lancaster, meant that he should haue béene arrested and arreigned of certeine points of treason before sir Robert Trissillian cheefe iustice (as Thomas Walsingham saith) and peradventure there might be some such report, that such was the kings meaning: but yet how this may stand, considering he was to be tried by his peeres, in case that any the like matter had beene pretended, I see not. But how soeuer it was, he being warned thereof by some of the councell, got him to his castell of Pomfret, which he fortified, and banded himselfe so with his fréends, that it appeared he would defend his cause with force of armes, rather than to come to his triall by order of law afore such a iudge: and by reason hereof, it was greatlie doubted, least some ciuill warre would haue broken forth. But through the earnest labour of the kings mother, that (notwithstanding hir indisposition of bodie to trauell, by reason of hir corpulencie) riding to and fro betwixt them, made an agrément betwixt the king hir sonne, and the duke, to hir great comfort and contentation of mind, and no lesse suertie of quietnesse to the whole realme.

About the same time the French king had a great fléet of ships in Flanders, so that it was doubted least he meant some inuasion into England. Wherevpon there was sent to the sea the lord of S. Iohns, and sir Thomas Percie with a strong nauie, but they did no good, suffering the French fléet diuerse times to passe by them, and not once offering to set vpon them. But the ships of Portesmouth & Dertemouth, bestirred themselues better: for entering into the riuer of Saine, they drowned foure of their enimies ships, and tooke other foure, with a barke of the lord Clissons, one of the fairest that was to be found either in France or England. In these vessels the Englishmen had a rich preie of wines, and other merchandizes. ¶ The king vpon some occasion tooke great displeasure against William Courtnie archbishop of Canturburie, so storming against him, as few durst speake anie thing in his excuse. The lord chancellor Michaell de la Poole seeming to fauour his cause, was likelie to haue run in high displeasure. Sir Thomas Triuet, and sir Iohn Deuereux intreating for him, were sore rebuked at his hands. Yet at length, after that the archbishop was withdrawne, and had kept him close for a time, he was thorough mediation of some fréends reconciled to the kings fauour.

About the same time the French king sent into Scotland the admerall of France, with a thousand men of armes, knights, and esquiers, besides crossebowes and other to ioine with the Scots, and to make warres in England. The Scots encouraged with this new aid, sent to them out of France, leuied a power, & so together with the Frenchmen, entered into the English confines, and began to rob & spoile, and further tooke certeine castels and houses of defense. The king of England aduertised hereof, assembled an huge power of men of warre, and first sent before him the duke of Lancaster with part of the armie, and afterward followed himselfe, with all conuenient spéed that might be. At his comming into the parts about Yorke, he was informed that the Scots and Frenchmen were withdrawne vpon

1385.

The duke of Lancaster getteth him to his castell of Pomfret, and fortieth it.

The princesse of Wales maketh an atonement betwéene the king and the duke of Lancaster.

The ships of Portsmouth & Dartmouth did better seruice than the kings great nauie.

*Iac. Meir.  
Froissard.*

The French king aideth Scots against Englishmen.

The Scots inuade the frontiers of England.

An. Reg. 9.

The K. goeth with an armie against the Scots. Variance betwéene sir Iohn Hollands seruats and the lord Richard Stafford.

the duke Lancasters approach towards them, but the king thought to kéepe on his iournie. Whilest he was lodged in those parts, a great mischance happened, by reason of variance that fell betwixt certeine persons of the retinue of sir Iohn Holland brother vnto the earle of Kent and halfe brother to the king, and other of the retinue of the lord Richard Stafford sonne to the earle of Stafford. [766]

The cause of their falling out was about a knight of Boheme, called sir Miles, that was come to see the queene. This knight kept The lord Richard Stafford slaine by sir Iohn Holland. companie most an end with the lord Richard Stafford: and chancing to be at words with two of sir Iohn Hollands seruants, there came two archers perteing to the lord Stafford, which blamed them, that were so about to misuse the stranger in words, as they tooke it: the strife hereby grew to that point in the end, that one of the archers shot at one of sir Iohn Hollands seruants, and slue him. This mishap being reported to sir Iohn Holland, set him in such a furie (by reason of the loue which he had to his seruant) that immediatlie he rushed foorth of his lodging, to reuenge his death, and through misfortune méeting with the lord Stafford, slue him, and doubting in what sort his déed might be taken, fled straight vnto Beuerlie, and there tooke sanctuarie. The earle of Stafford tooke this misadventure right heaulie, as reason was: yet bicause he would not trouble the host, nor disappoint the iournie which they had in hand, vpon the kings promise that he would doo vpright iustice in the matter, as should be thought meet and conuenient, he bare his gréeffe so patientlie as he might, so that he wan himselfe much praise for his wisdom therein shewed.

The king aduancing forwards with his armie, came to the borders, Hect. Boetius. and entring into Scotland, passed thorough Mers and Louthian, Edenburgh burnt by king Richard. wasting and spoiling all the townes, houses and villages in his waie. The abbeies of Melros, Driburgh, and Newbottell were burnt, and those moonks and other people that were found in the same were slaine. At his comming to Edenburgh, he found all the people fled out of the towne, but the houses and buildings he consumed with fire, together with the church of saint Giles. At the humble sute of his vncler the duke of Lancaster, Holie rood house was preserued from hurt, for that the same duke in time of the rebellion of the commons here in England, was lodged in that house, and found much gentlenesse and fréendship in the abbat and conuent; so that he could doo no lesse than requite them with kindnesse, at whose hands he found kindnesse; for we are bound in conscience to tender them by whome we haue béene benefited (vnlesse we will be counted vnciuill, according to the old adage)

Arbor honoretur cuius nos vmbratuetur.

Thus when the king had reuenged the displeasure afore receiued at the Scots and Frenchmens hands, (and remained in Edenburgh The French admerall persuadeth the Scots to fight with the English host. fiue daies) he returned without proffer of battell, or anie notable Cumberland sore spoiled by the Scots. incounter. The admerall of France was earnestlie in hand with the Scottish lords to persuade them to haue giuen battell to the English armie, till he and diuerse other knights of France were brought to the top of a mounteine, from whence they might behold all the English armie, as the same passed vnderneath them by a passage that laie by the foot of that mounteine: for after that they had viewed the puissance of the Englishmen, and (as neere as they could) numbered them, they had no such eger minds to fight with them as before, for they esteemed them to be six thousand men of armes, and threescore thousand archers, and other men of warre; where the Scots and Frenchmen were not past a thousand speares, and thirtie thousand of all other sorts, and the most part of those but euill armed. Therefore they determind vpon an other point, which was to inuade England in an other quarter, whilest the Englishmen burnt vp their countrie, and so they set forward towards the west borders, and passing ouer the mounteins that diuide Northumberland from Scotland, they entered into Cumberland, dooing much hurt in the lands that belonged to the lord Mowbraie, to the earles of Notingham, and Stafford, to the baron of Graistocke, and to the Musgraues.

Lastlie, they came to Carleill, and boldlie assalted the citie: but sir Lewes Clifford, and sir Thomas Musgraue, Danie Holgraue, and diuerse other worthie capteins being within it, so defended the walles and gates, that their enimies got small aduantage: and finallie hearing that the English armie was returning homewards, the Scots and Frenchmen drew backe into Scotland, doubting to be inclosed by the Englishmen, as they had béene in deed, if the duke of Lancaster and his brethren (vncles to the king) might haue béene beleueed, who counselled the king to pursue the enimies, and stop the passages through which they must needs passe in their comming backe. But the earle of Oxenford being most in fauour and credit with the king in those daies, as one that ruled all things at his pleasure, did aduise him to the contrarie, by putting him in beléefe (as was said) that his vncles went about to bring him in danger to be lost and surprised of his enimies, wherevpon he tooke the next way home, and so brake vp his iournie.

Carleill assalted by the Scots.

Good counsell neglected.

[767]

When the Scots and Frenchmen were returned into Scotland, the Scottish king hauing conceiued a iust displeasure towards the French admerall, for that by his meanes the realme of Scotland had susteined such damage in that season, caused him and his Frenchmen to be despoiled of the most part of their goods, and sent them so awaie out of his countrie, that the Scots might receiue some comfort by those warres. In this yeare was the battell of Algeberota in Portingale, where king Iohn of Portingale discomfited a great host of Spaniards and Frenchmen by the helpe and policie of certeine Englishmen which he had there with him, vnder the leading of two esquiers Norberie and Hartell. There were slaine diuers earls & great lords of Spaniards, but for that our writers do not rightlie note the Spanish names, but write them corruptlie as strangers vse to doo, we here omit them. The king of Portingale (after this victorie obtained against his enimies) sent six gallies vnto the king of England to aid him against his aduersaries, the which were well receiued and highlie made of by the Londoners and other, so that the Portingales had no cause to repent of their comming hither.

*Polydor.*

A noble reuenge.

There were 600 Englishmē who with their bowes did great seruice as by one author it appeareth.

The king of Portingale sendeth six gallies to K. Richards aid.

The French king this yeare besieged and wan the towne of Dam, after he had béene at great charges about it. Whilest his nauie returned from Scluis, where the same had laien at anchor a long time, the ships by tempest were scattered & wether-driuen, so that in the feast daie of the exaltation of the crosse, two of their gallies, a great ship, a barge, and seuen balengers were cast on shore about Calis, & the Calisians tooke fiue hundred Frenchmen and Normans that escaped to land. An other day 72 French ships as they were comming from Scluis, to passe by Calis, were met with by them of Calis, who behaued themselues so manfullie, that they tooke 18 of those French ships, and a great barke, in which thrée score armed men were slaine before it could be taken. Within three daies after this, the Calisians met 45 other French ships, and after six houres fight obtained the victorie, taking thrée of the most principall vessels, whereof one being a hulke of Eastland was hired by the Normans, to gard the residue. The other two that were taken were of such mold, that they could not enter into the hauen at Calis, and therefore were sent to Sandwich, the one of them being a new ship, which the lord Clisson had bought at Scluis, paieng for hir 3000 franks. ¶ Henrie Knighton saith it was prised or valued at 20000 florens, it was so tall, big, and large a vessell; and therefore of great capacitie.

A good victorie of them of Calis against the French fleet.

*Abr. Fl.* out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie.

On saint Denise daie the soldiors of Calis and other English fortresses thereabouts, made a secret iournie into France, and got a bootie of foure thousand shéepe, and three hundred head of great cattell, which they droue towards their holds; and as the lord de Rambures gouernour of Bullongne would haue recouered the preie, he was vnhorsed with the rencounter of an English speare, and being relieued by his companie, and mounted againe, withdrew himselfe, not attempting to trie any further

masteries, and so the Englishmen safelie passed forth with their bootie of cattell, and aboue a hundred good prisoners which they had taken at this rode. In this 9 yeare about the feast of S. Martine, the king called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which amongst other things there concluded, he created two dukes, a marques, and fiue earles. First Edmund Langlie earle of Cambridge the kings vncler was created duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodstoke his other vncler earle of Buckingham was created duke of Glocester, Robert Véere earle of Oxford was made marques of Deuelin, Henrie of Bollingbrooke sonne and heire to Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancaster was created earle of Derby: Edward Plantagenet sonne and heire to the Duke of Yorke was made earle of Rutland, Michaell lord de la Poole chancellor of England was created earle of Suffolke, & sir Thomas Moubraie earle of Notingham was made earle marshall.

The Calisians & others make a rode into France & win great booties.

*Fabian.*

Creation of dukes and earles at the parlement.

Henrie of Bollingbrooke earle of Derby afterwards king.

[768]

Also by authoritie of this parlement, Roger lord Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of Edmund Mortimer earle of March and of the ladie Philip eldest daughter and heire vnto Lionell duke of Clarence, third sonne to king Edward the third, was established heire apparant to the crowne of this realme, and shortlie after so proclaimed. The which earle of March, anon after the end of the same parlement, sailed into Ireland to his lordship of Vlster, whereof he was owner by right of his said mother: but whilest he remained there to pacifie the rebellions of the wild Irish, a great number of them together assembled, came vpon him and slue him, together with the most part of his companie. This Roger earle of March had issue Edmund, Roger, Anne, Ales, & Eleanor, which Eleanor was made a nunne. The two sonnes died without issue, and Anne the eldest of the daughters was married to Richard earle of Cambridge, sonne vnto Edmund of Langlie before remembred: the which Richard had issue by the said Anne, a son called Richard, that was after duke of Yorke, and father to king Edward the fourth; also a daughter named Isabell, afterwards married to the lord Bourcher. This Richard earle of Cambridge was put to death by Henrie the fift, as after ye shall heare.

The lord Mortimer erle of March proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne.

The earle of March slaine by the wild Irish.

The issue of the foresaid earle of March.

Moreouer, in this yeare Henrie of Bollingbrooke earle of Derby married the daughter and heire of Humfrie Bohun earle of Hereford, in whose right he was after made duke of Hereford, and by hir he had issue Henrie that after him was king of this realme, the ladie Blanch duches of Bar, and the ladie Philip married to the king of Denmarke: also Thomas duke of Clarence, Iohn duke of Bedford, and Humfrie duke of Glocester. ¶ The Gauntiners still mainteined warre against the earle of Flanders during his life, and after his deceasse against Philip duke of Burgogne, by such aid and comfort as they had from time to time of the king of England, till finallie this yeare about the eighteenth daie of December, a peace was concluded betwixt the said duke and the towne of Gaunt: and sir Iohn Bourchier that had laine a long season there, as capteine vnder the K. of England, and Peter de Bois one of the chéefe capteins of the Gauntiners (before the concluding of this peace) was safelie conducted to Calis by vertue of the duke of Burgogne his safe conduct, and so they came ouer into England, and the king gaue vnto Peter de Bois a pension of an hundred marks sterling, yearelie to be paid to him out of the staples of the woollles in London.

*Froissard.*

This yeare king Richard holding his Christmase at Eltham, thither came to him Leo king of Armenia, whose countrie and realme being in danger to be conquered of the Turks, he was come into those west parts of christendome for aid and succour at the hands of the christian princes here. The king honorablie receiued him, and after he had taken counsell touching his request, he gaue him great summes of monie and other rich gifts, with a stipend (as some write) of a thousand pounds yearely to be paid to him during his life. After he had remained here two moneths space, he tooke leaue of the king and

The king of Armenia cometh into England for aid against the Turks.

*Thom. Wals.*



departed. The chieftest point of his errand was, to haue procured a peace betwixt the two kings of England and France, but destinie would not permit so good a purpose to take effect: for the hatred which either nation bare to other, would not suffer their loftie minds to yeeld in any one point, further than seemed good in their owne opinions.

In this ninth yeare of king Richard (though by other writers it should séeme to be rather in the yeare following) the duke of Lancaster with a great power of men of warre went into Spaine, and lead with him thither his wife the ladie Constance, & a daughter which he had by hir named Katharine, and two other daughters which he had by his former wife. He had béene about the preparing of an armie, and all furniture necessarie for this iournie two or thrée yéeres before, and therefore hauing now seauen gallies and eightéene ships sent to him out of Portingale (which arriued at Bristow) he caused all such vessels as he had prouided to resort likewise thither, where making his generall assemblie, when all his men of warre were come together, he bestowed them aboard, with all their horsse and purueiances, and causing sailes to be hoisted vp, set forward on his long wished iournie. This was in the moneth of Maie, when the seas were calme, the aire swéet, and the winds pleasant and agréeeable to his purpose. He appointed for admerall of his whole fléet sir Thomas Percie; and sir Iohn Holland that was after created earle of Huntington and had married one of his daughters was ordeined constable of the hoast; and sir Thomas Moreaux hauing married his bastard daughter was one of his marshals.

*Thom. Wals. Froissard. Ia. Meir.*

1386.

The duke of Lancaster goeth into Spaine with an armie.

[769]

There were that attended him in this iournie manie other lords and knights of honor, as the lord Lucie, the lord Talbot, the lord Basset, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Poinings, the lord Bradston, the lord of Pōmiers a Gascoigne, the lord Yonne fitz Warren, Henrie lord Beaumont, William lord Beauchampe, sir Richard Burlie that was another of the marshals of the armie, sir Hugh Spenser, sir William Windsore, sir Iohn Daubreticourt, sir Hugh Hastings, sir William Farrington, sir Thomas Tresham, sir Mauburin de Liniers, sir Thomas Worcester, sir Iohn Sowtrie, sir Robert Clinton, sir Philip Tirrell, sir Lewes Rochester, Huguelin Caluerlie, Daud Holgraue, Thomas Alerie, Hobequin Beaucester, and diuerse other: they were in all to the number of fifteene hundred men of armes, whereof a thousand at the least were knights and esquiers, besides foure thousand archers, and other men of warre, so perfectlie appointed and arraied, as could be thought méet and conuenient. Of this chosen companie attendant vpon the duke of Lancaster, & of this his voiage into Spaine, the said C. Okland speaketh no lesse trulie & according to the report of our annales, than honorable:

*In Angl. prælij.*

Ocyus instructa pro bello classe futuro,  
Milite stipatus generoso trajcit æquor  
Fluctisonum, cum vxore pia natísq; duabus, &c.

¶ Henrie Knighton reporteth of this voiage as followeth, in somewhat a differing sort from this already laid downe. On Easter daie (saith he) Iohn the duke of Lancaster with his wife came to the king, to take their leaue; to the which duke the king gaue a crowne of gold, and the quéene likewise gaue another crowne of gold to the duchesse. Besides this, the king commanded his people that they should call him king of Spaine, and doo him honour in all things. He had with him a power of 20000 chosen men; of which number noted in the marshals bill or scrool, 2000 were men of armes, and 8000 were archers.

*Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.*

As they passed by Britaine, they landed at Brest, the capteine whereof, at that time named sir Iohn Rooche, finding himselfe greatlie annoied by the Frenchmen that were lodged in two bastides erected before the castell, declared to the duke in what state he stood. Wherevpon he caused the said bastides to be assailed, which was doone by the lord Fitz Walter, and others, who bare themselues so manfullie, that the bastides were woone, broken downe, and a great preie with prisoners obtained, although not without losse of diuerse valiant personages. Thus were they within Brest castell deliuered of

their vnfreendlie neighbours by the duke of Lancaster and his people. Who hauing doone their feat tooke the seas, and sailed foorth till they came on the coasts of Gallis, where on S. Laurence eeuen, they arriued in the hauen of Groigne, otherwise called Coron, and there they vnshipped all their prouisions, determining to inuade the countrie on that side. ¶ Héere, bicause it is not vnprofitable to know the absolute truth of things doone, by the collection of writers, I haue translated the beseiging of Brest, as the same is set downe by Henrie Knighton in his annales, in a larger and more ample sort, with a fuller certificat of circumstances than hath hitherto béene declared. At the same time (saith he) the duke of Britaine had laid siege both by sea and land, to a certeine towne in Britaine, in old time subiect to the king of England, which was called Brest, with a great multitude of Frenchmen and Britains. Now on the twelfth of the kalends of Iulie, he began to build a fort before the said towne of Brest, of a woonderful bignesse, the walles thereof being ten foot thicke, and seauen towres about it. A thousand workmen did worke daie by daie vpon it, and to defend the said workemen (that they might not be hindered in their businesse by the citizens) ten thousand fighting men were appointed. So that this fort was begun and ended in ninetéene daies space, and called the Doouehouse, bicause a doouehouse stood in the same place before. Furthermore he stored this fort with all necessaries, as vittels, armour, guns, and other engins, and he placed therein as capteine of the warriors the lord Iohn Maletret with a hundred and fiftie armed men, and as manie other soldiars, the whole number being thrée hundred.

The good duke of Lancaster hauing knowledge hereof, directed his fléet or nauie towards the hauen of Brest, where when he had arriued, they all fled from the siege, both by sea and land, those onlie, which were in the fort, remaining behind. Now the prior of S. Iames in Calis desired the good duke that he might giue the first assault against the fort; who taking the repulse with his retinue, he ceased and gaue ouer. In like sort did manie more giue the assault to the same for the space of two daies and more: in somuch that some digging vnder the wals, and vndermining the foundations of one towre, the same fell downe vpon sir Robert Swinarton a valiant knight of Staffordshire, and manie more, among whome was Iohn de Bolton a couragious gentleman and an esquier by degree of Yorkeshire. As for those that were vpon the towre, they also came tumbling downe, and were presentlie slaine.

In the meane time the lord Maletret gardian of the fort, sent word to the duke of Lancaster, that he would yeeld and surrender the hold into his hands vpon condition, that he and all his might freelie depart with such armour, goods, chatels and victuals as they had reposed and laid vp in store for their necessarie prouision: wherevnto the good duke (as he was alwaies good) verie gentlie agréed; vpon condition also, that before their departure, they should rinate the said fort, and laie it eeuen with the ground; and should likewise allow and paie him towards his costs and charges defraied in the siege of the same, twentie thousand scutes of gold. Then might you see the people flocking from all parts of the countrie, some with beires, some with cabbins, some with carts, and some with crutches to fetch awaie the dead and the wounded: in so much that there was not one, either slaine outright, or deadlie maimed, for whome his freends did not mone and lament. Yea, the lord Maletret himselfe was so mangled and hurt, that he could not go on his legs, but as he leaned on mens shoulders, and was borne vp on either side. It was reported, that manie dead bodies were hidden in heaps of salt, to the end that the Englishmen should not glorie and triumph in the multitude of the slaine, of whome [in sight] the number amounted to aboue 150. Thus farre goeth Henrie Knighton, whose report giueth no small light to the matter vnder hand. After the duke had remained a moneth at Groigne, he went to Compostella, and there soiourned for a season, during the which, his constable sir Iohn Holland woone diuerse townes and fortresses which

*Thom. Wals.*

The duke of Lancaster landeth at Brest and winneth two bastides from the Frenchmen.

An. Reg. 10.

The duke of Lancaster landeth at Groigne. *Froissard.* Le Groigne Corone.

*Abr. Fl.* out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie.

[770]

Philip the duke of Lancasters daughter married to the king of Portingale.

the enemies kept: diuerse yeelded to the duke with better will, for that the duchesse his wife was there with him, whom they knew to be right inheritour to the realme. ¶ At Mouson a towne on the confines betwixt Spaine and Portingale, the king of Portingale and the duke of Lancaster met, where they communed and tooke counsell together for the more spéedie proceeding in their enterprise against their aduersaries of Castile. Also there was a mariage concluded betwixt the said king of Portingale, and the ladie Philip daughter to the said duke, which marriage shortlie after was wholie consummated, the said ladie being first married by procuration at Compostella, and after sent into Portingale right honorablie accompanied.

The duke continued at Compostella all the winter season, till towards March, and then (according to appointment taken betwixt him, and the king of Portingale, at their being together at Mouson, for their iournie to be made into Castile) the said king assembled an armie of a thousand men of armes, and ten thousand other souldiers, with the which entring the confines of Castile, he first tooke the towne of Feroule, and after ioining with the duke, who had in the meane while by his marshall taken the townes of Ruelles, Ville Lopes, Pounceuoides, Dighos, Baionne in la Maroll, Ribadan, Maures, Basanses, and Orens, with others in the countrie of Gallis, they marched foorth with their whole powers both together, and passing ouer the riuer of Dure, entered into the countrie de Campo.

¶ Here the English writers make mention of a battell, which the constable of Castile should giue to the duke, and that the victorie remained on the dukes side, and the Spaniards chased out of the field. But Froissard (who liued in those daies, and learned that which he wrote of those that were with the duke in his iournie) maketh no remembrance of any such thing, but that contrarilie the king of Castile folowing the aduise of such Frenchmen as were sent into Spaine to aid him, caused all the riches of the countrie to be brought into the walled townes and fortresses, which he stuffed with men of warre, to defend them from the Englishmen and Portingales; and further to cut off their vitels, and to kéepe them from hauing forage abroad in the countrie, vnlesse such as were sent were garded with the greater troops for their suertie and defense.

Thus bestowing the most part of all such men of warre, both Frenchmen and Spaniards, as he could make in places most conuenient for that purpose, he fullie determined not to giue battell till his enimies had wearied themselues in keeping of the fields, and that a new power was come to his aid out of France, which he dailie looked for. By which means it came to passe, that the Englishmen not vsed to such hot aire as they found in those parts in that season of the yeare (for it was about Midsummer) fell dailie into manie perillous diseases, whereof no small number died; and other became so faint, that they were not able to helpe themselues, that to consider the miserie in which they were, it would haue rued the harts of their verie foes. Herevpon was the duke constreined to fall to a communication for a peace, which in the end was accorded, though not at this instant.

Howbeit a truce was granted, in such wise as it might be at the Englishmens choise to returne into their countrie, either by sea or by land, thorough France. Such as passed through Spaine to France, had safe conducts sealed and signed by the king of Spaine; but scarce the halfe of those that came out of England with the duke, returned thither againe, they died so fast, aswell after the breaking vp of their campe, as before. Amongst other, there died before the breaking vp of the campe, one of the greatest barons of all the companie, named the lord Fitz Walter; and afterwards within the towne of Ville Arpent, there died (as Froissard saith) three great barons of England, and men of great possessions: sir Richard Burlie a knight of the garter, who had béene as it were high marshall of the armie, the lord Poinings, and sir Henrie Percie cousine

The king of Portingale & the duke of Lancaster ioining their armies together inuade Castile.

[771]

Variance amongst writers.

Great death in the English host in Spaine by reason of the great heat of that countrie.

Froissard. The lord Fitz Walter. I thinke that none of these threé were barons but onlie the lord Poinings.

germane to the earle of Northumberland.

In the towne of Noie deceased sir Mauburin de Liniers a Poictouin, and in the towne of Ruelles died the lord Talbot, and so here and there (saith Froissard) there died in all all twelue great lords, foure score knights, two hundred esquiers, and of the meaner sort of souldiers aboue fiue hundred. After that the armie was broken vp, the duke of Lancaster and the duchesse his wife went into Portingale, and there remained a season, and then taking the sea, sailed to Baionne in the marshes of Gascoigne, where he rested a long time after. ¶ In this meane while, there was communication and offers made for a marriage to be had betwixt the duke of Berrie, vnclē to the French king; and the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaster, and of the duchesse his wife the ladie Constance.

The duke of Lancaster returneth out of Portingale into Gascoigne.

When the king of Spaine vnderstood of that treatie, he began to doubt, least if that marriage tooke place, it might turne to his disadvantage; and therefore to be at quietnesse with the duke of Lancaster, whose puissance he doubted, and whose wisdome he perfectlie vnderstood, by politike meanes and earnest sute, at length concluded a peace with him on this wise. That his eldest son Henrie should haue in mariage the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaster, begot on his wife the duchesse Constance, and be intituled prince of Austurgus. In consideration of which marriage to be had, and all claimes to ceasse, which the duke in right of his wife might challenge or pretend; it was agreed, that the said duke should receiue yearelie the summe of ten thousand marks, to be paid to him, or to his assignes in the citie of Baionne in Gascoigne, during the terme of the liues of the said duke and duchesse; and further to haue in hand the summe of two hundreth thousand nobles. ¶ Henrie Knighton in his relation of this composition betwéene these persons of great estate, dooth say, that it was told him by one of the good duke of Lancasters owne houshold, and attendant vpon him in this voiage into Spaine, that the Spanish king did send seuen and fortie mules loden with coffers full of gold for the second paiement wherevpon they were agréed. As touching the first paiement (saith Knighton) I asked no question of the partie. So that (besides the annuitie, which mine author reporteth to be 16000 thousand marks, during the parties liues iointlie, and 12000 marks, if it fortunēd that the dukes daughter should suruiue and outliue hir husband) it should séeme there were other large allowances, which if they were (as it is likelie) after this rate, it was a right roiall munificence. And to this report of Knighton dooth Ch. Okland make a kind of allusion, who speking of the conditions of peace betweene the duke of Lancaster, and the king of Spaine, saith:

A marriage concluded betwéene the prince of Spaine, and the duke of Lancasters daughters. *Fabian.*

*Abr. Fl.* out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

*In Angl. prælijs sub Rich. 2.*

[772]

Causæ diffidens extemplò Hispanus, agebat  
De pace, acceptis & conditionibus, offert  
Argenti ac auri plaustrorum protinùs octo  
Iustum onus, argentique decem soluenda quotannis  
Millia nummorum, &c.

The aforesaid agreement and marriage was not concluded, till about the thirteenth yeare of king Richards reigne, so that in the meane while manie incidents chanced in England and in other regions, which in their time and places shall be touched, as to purpose serueth.

And first it is not to be forgotten, that the Frenchmen neuer shewed more vanitie than they did this yeare, since the linage of the Capetes began first to rule in France. All the ships that they could prouide from the confines of Spaine, vnto the mouth of the Rhene, all alongst the coast, they assembled at Sluis and thereabouts, and made so great preparation for the warre, that the like had not béene heard of (meaning, as they boasted, and made their vants) to passe ouer into England, and to deuoure the whole countrie, in dooing sacrifice to the soules of their elders with the bloud of the English people. Howbeit these words were wind, & to them accorded the prouerbe,

*Jacob. Meir. Froissard.*

A mightie great nauie of French ships at Sluis purposing to inuade Englad.

Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

There were numbred in the moneth of September about Sluis, Dam, and Blankberke 1287 ships, besides those which were rigged in Britaine by the constable, who had caused an inclosure of a field to be made of timber, like railes or barriers, that when they were landed in England, they might therewith inclose their field, and so lodge more at suertie, and when they remooued, it was so made with ioints, that they might take it vp in péeces and easilie conueie it with them.

This inclosure or wall of wood was twentie foot in height, and contened in length or in compasse, when it was set vp, three thousand pases, and at the end of euerie twelue pases stood a turret able to receiue ten men, that was higher than the rest of the wall by ten foot at the least. There were appointed to haue passed ouer in those ships twentie thousand men of armes, twentie thousand crosbowes, and twentie thousand other men of warre. To haue séene the great apparell, furniture and prouision, the shipping, trussing, bearing, and carrieng to and fro of things needfull for this iournie, a man might haue maruelled; for suerlie the like hath sildome beene remembred. All that was doone there on that side of the sea by the Frenchmen, was notified into England, so that the Frenchmen were not more occupied to prepare themselues to inuade England, than the Englishmen were to make themselues readie to defend their countrie from all danger of enimies; so that euerie hauen towne, especiallie alongst the west south, and east coasts, were kept and warded with notable numbers of armed men and archers.

¶ Notwithstanding the great confidence which the French king reposed in the fortification which he had imbarcked, thinking thereby to haue wrought great woonders, to the discomfiture of the English: yet (contrarie to his expectation) it so fortunéd, that about Michaelmas, the lord William Beauchampe capteine of Calis tooke two ships; whereof one was loden with a péece of the said inclosure or wall of wood, and in the same ship was the maister carpenter of the inclosure, being an Englishman borne, but banished his countrie before that time for some offense. He also tooke another ship, wherein were engins, guns, gunpowder & other instruments of war. Not long after this, two more ships were taken likewise, whose burthen was parcels of the foresaid frame or inclosure: so that three ships were met withall and seized vpon, each of them loden with one kind of stuffe. Whereof king Richard hearing, he caused the said inclosure to be reared and set vp about Winchelsie towne. In the meane while, namelie in September, the foresaid armie came into Flanders, and arriued at the hauen of Sluis, intending to make their progresse into England: but by prolonging of the time there, they were driuen to great distresse and want of vittels: for it was reported that a loafe of bread, sold in England for a penie, was sold there for eighteene pence, and a hens eg for a penie: so that in the end of Nouember they returned to France, missing their purpose as much as if they had neuer ment it.

There were readie within the realme at that season, in one part and other 100000 archers, and ten thousand men of armes, besides those that were gone into Spaine with the duke of Lancaster. All this preparation lasted for the more part of the summer, euen till the beginning of winter: and still the French king that was come downe into Flanders, staid for the comming of his vnclé the duke of Berrie: who at length in the moneth of Nouember came to Sluis, hauing protracted time, of purpose, that he might by the excuse of winter, cause this iornie to be put off till another season. Wherein he shewed more wit than all the councillors which the French king had about him: for if he had not politikelie shifted off the matter, the king had landed here in England, to the great danger of his person and losse of his people. And yet if we shall beléeue writers that liued in those daies, by reason of the brute that was spred through the realme, of that huge preparation which the French king made to inuade this land, no small feare entered into the harts of manie, namelie of the Londoners, who (as if the enimies had beene alredie landed)

The description of the inclosure.

*Thom. Wal.*

*Tho. Walsi.* The

prouision of y<sup>e</sup>

Englishmen to resist y<sup>e</sup>

great power of

Frenchmen.

[773]

*Abr. Fl.* out of *Henrie*

*Knighton* canon of

Leicester abbeie.

The Londoners  
speciallie afraid of the  
Frèch forces.

bestirred them, in making what prouision they might for their defense, though it séemed by their manner of dooings, they stood in doubt least the whole realme had not béene able to make sufficient resistance.

In déed diuerse were the more afraid, for that they percieued how the barons and great lords agreed not in manie points among themselues, and so being not of one mind, the wiser sort doubted least through their disagreeeing in that troublesome time, some danger might grow to the state of the whole realme. Notwithstanding, no small number of others wished nothing more, than that the French king in going forward with his purpose, might haue come ouer, not doubting but that he should haue found such a welcome, as would haue beene little to his ease. About the feast of saint Michaell, a parlement was called and holden at London, and withall great numbers of men of armes & archers were appointed to come and lie about London, that they might be readie to march foorthwith against the enimies whensoever it chanced them to land. Thus all the townes and villages twentie miles in compasse round about London, were full of men of armes and archers, lieing as it had beene in campe; and wanting both vittels and monie, they were driuen to spoile and to take by violence what they might get. At length, after they had laine thus to small purpose a long season, they were licenced to depart home, with commandement to be readie to returne againe vpon the first summons. Manie of them were constreined through necessitie, to sell their horsse, and armour, and some to spoile and to rob as they went homewards, not sparing what they might laie their hands vpon. Although the men of warre were dismissed home, the parlement yet continued, and the lords still remained at London, hearkening still for the French kings comming.

The lord Robert Véer earle of Oxenford, whome the king in the last parlement had made marquesse of Dubline, was now in this parlement created duke of Ireland: the other lords sore enuieng so high preferment in a man that so little deserued, as they tooke it. For by reason of the kings great affection which he bare not onelie to this noble man, but also to the lord Michael de la Poole, whom he had latelie created earle of Suffolke, and after aduanced him to the office of lord chancellor (as before ye haue heard) not onelie the lords, but also the commons sore grudged at such their high preferment, in somuch that in this present parlement, the knights & burgesses in the lower house, exhibited a bill against the lord chancellor, of diuerse crimes which they laid to his charge, and so vsed the matter, with the helpe of the lords, that in the end in some respect they had their willes against him, contrarie to the kings mind, as after may appeare.

And where the king had demanded a reliefe of monie towards the maintenance of his estate, and charges of the warres, it was answered, that he néeded not any tallage of his subiects, sith he might furnish himselfe with such a summe at the hands of the said earle, that was iustlie indebted vnto him therein, as they were able well to prooue. But the king was nothing herewith contented, conceiuing no small displeasure, aswell against them of the lower house, as against the lords in the vpper, for fauouring them in the lower, in matters that went so sore against his mind. Herevpon (as was said, whether trulie or otherwise, the lord knoweth) by a conspiracie begun betwixt the king & such as were most in fauour with him, it was deuised, that the duke of Glocester (as principall) and such other lords as faored the knights and burgesses in their sute, against the earle of Suffolke, and were otherwise against the king in his demand of monie, should be willed to a supper in London, there to be murdered.

But the duke comming by some meanes to vnderstand of this wicked practise, had no desire to take part of that supper, where such sharpe sauce was prouided, and withall gaue warning to the residue, that they likewise should not come there, but to content themselues with their owne suppers at their lodgings. It was said, that sir Nicholas Brember, who had béene maior the yeare before, had promised his assistance in the execution of this horrible fact: but thorough

Dissention among the noblemen.

*Froissard.*

*Tho. Walsin A*  
parlement at London.

[774]

Robert Véer marquesse  
of Dubline created duke  
of Ireland.

Richard Exton iustlie  
cōmended.

the commendable constancie of Richard Exton that was maior this yeare being mooued by the king for his furtherance therein, and denieng flatlie to consent to the death of such innocent persons, that heinous practise was omitted. This matter being brought to light, the hatred and malice which men bare to such councellers of the king greatlie increased, and the duke of Glocester and such as withstood the king, dailie grew more and more into the peoples fauour.

Howbeit at length, through the earnest sute of some of the great lords, there was granted to the king halfe a tenth and halfe a fiftéenth, which should not be spent at the pleasure of the prince, but by the order and appointment of the said lords, & so at length the earle of Arundell was appointed to receiue it, to furnish him with a nauie to the seas. But before this paiment might be granted, there was much adoo, & hard hold: for where the said earle of Suffolke then lord chancellor, at first had demanded of the commons in the kings name, foure fiftéens (for with lesse (said he) the king could not mainteine his estate and the warres which he had in hand) the whole bodie of the parlement made answer thereto, that without the king were present (for he was then at Eltham) they could make therein no answer at all: and herewith they tooke occasion at length to say further, that except the said earle of Suffolke were remooued from the office of chancellorship, they would meddle no further with any act in this parlement, were it neuer of so small importance.

A subsidie granted and appointed to be spent according to y<sup>e</sup> discretion of the nobilitie.

[775]

The king being aduertised hereof, sent againe to the commons, that they should send vnto Eltham (where he laie) fortie of the wisest and best learned of the common house, the which in the name of the whole house should declare vnto him their minds. And then the house was in no small feare, by reason of a brute that was raised, how the king sought meanes to intrap and destroie them that followed not his purpose. Herevpon aswell the lords of the vpper house as the commons of the lower assembled together, and agréed with one consent, that the duke of Glocester, and Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie, should in the name of the whole parlement be sent to the king vnto Eltham: which was doone, and the king was well contented that they should come. When they came before his presence, with humble reuerence they declared their message, which consisted in these points: That the lords and commons assembled at that present in parlement, besought him of his lawfull fauour, that they might liue in peace and tranquillitie vnder him.

Dissention betwéene the king and the parlement house.

The duke of Glocester and the bishop of Elie sent to y<sup>e</sup> K. at Eltham frō the whole bodie of the parlement.

Their requests to the king.

They further declared, that one old statute and laudable custome was approued, which no man could denie, that the king once in the yeare might lawfullie summon his high court of parlement, and call the lords and commons therevnto, as to the highest court of his realme, in which court all right and equitie ought to shine as the sunne being at the highest, whereof poore and rich may take refreshing; where also reformation ought to be had of all oppressions, wrongs, extortions, & enormities within the realme; and there the king ought to take counsell with the wise men of his realme, for the maintenance of his estate, and conseruation of the same. And if it might be knowen that any persons within the realme or without, intended the contrarie; there must also be deuised how such euill weeds may be destroyed. There must also be studied and foreséene, that if any charge doo come vpon the king and realme, how it may be honorablie borne and discharged.

And oftener if néed require.

The causes & conditions of a parlement.

Further, they declared that till that present, his subiects (as was thought) had louinglie demeaned themselues towards him, in aiding him with their substance to the best of their powers, & that their desire was to vnderstand how those goods were spent. And further they said, they had one thing to declare vnto him, how that by an old ordinance it was enacted, that if the king should absent himselfe fourtie daies, not being sicke, and

Absence of the king from the parlement for the space of 40 daies.

The kings answer.

refuse to come to the parlement, without regard to the charges of his people, and their great paines, they then may lawfullie returne home to their houses: and therefore sith he had béene absent a long time, and yet refused to come among them, it was greatlie to their discomfourt. To this the king (as we find) made this answer: "Well, we do perceiue that our people and commons go about to rise against vs: wherefore we thinke we cannot doo better than to aske aid of our cousine the French king, and rather submit vs vnto him than to our owne subiects."

The lords answered, that it should not be good for him so to doo, but a waie rather to bring him into extreame danger, sith it was plaine inough, that the French king was his ancient enemie and greatest aduersarie, who if he might once set foot in the realme of England, he would rather despoile and dispossesse the king of his kingdome, than put his helping hand to relieue him. He might (they said) call to remembrance, how his noble progenitour king Edward the third, his grandfather, and prince Edward his father had trauelled in heat and cold, with great anguish and troubles incessantlie, to make a conquest of France, that rightfullie apperteined vnto them, and now to him, in which wars he might likewise remember how manie lords, noble men, and good commons of both realmes had lost their liues, and what charges both the realmes likewise bare in mainteining those warres: and now (the more pitie) greater burthens were laid vpon the necks of the English subiects for the supportation of his charges, by reason whereof, they were so low brought (said they) that they haue not to paie their rents, and so by such meanes was his power decaied, his lords brought behind hand, and all his people sore impouerished. And as that king cannot be poore that hath rich people, so cannot he be rich that hath poore commons. And as he tooke hurt by such inconueniences chancing through euill councillours that were about him, so the lords and noblemen susteined no lesse hurt each one after his estate and calling. And if remedie were not in time prouided through his helping hand, the realme must needs fall in ruine, and the default should be imputed to him and to those his euill councillours.

Wealth of the people is the glorie of the prince and suertie of his reigne.

1776]

By these and the like persuasions the king was induced to come to the parlement, and according to his appointment he came indeed. Soone after his comming was Iohn Fortham bishop of Durham discharged of his office of lord treasurer, and in his place was appointed one Iohn Gilbert bishop of Hereford, that was a frier of the order of preachers, a man more eloquent than faithfull, as some reported of him. Also the earle of Suffolke was discharged of his office of lord chancellor, and Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie placed in his roome, by whole consent of parlement. The same earle of Suffolke was charged with manie & verie great enormous crimes, frauds, falshoods, and tresons, which he had practised, to the great preiudice of the king and realme, and therevpon was committed to ward in the castell of Windsore. Notwithstanding they adiudged him not to death (as some write) nor disgraded him of the honor of knighthood, but condemned him to paie a fine of twentie thousand marks, and also to forfeit one thousand pounds of yéerelie rents which he had purchased.

Change of officers by the parlement.

The earle of Suffolke gréueouslie charged by the parlement house for sundrie offenses.

But other write, that notwithstanding the king was sore offended for the accusations brought against the said earle of Suffolke and others, whome he loued, and was loth to heare anie euill of: yet he was constreined at length, after he had shifted off the matter by sundrie deuises, to appoint certeine persons with full power and authoritie to heare, and in iudgment to determine those matters. The duke of Glocester therfore, and the earle of Arundell were appointed as iudges; which (whilest the king as yet was absent, who got him foorth of the waie of purpose, bicause he would not be present at the condemnation of those whome he most entierlie loued and faouered) went earnestlie in hand with their businesse, and so at length (as Walsingham saith) the earle of Suffolke was conuicted, & found giltie of sundrie crimes, trespasses, and naughtie parts: for which it was thought that he deserued to lose his life & goods, but yet he was suffered



(as the same Walsingham saith) to go abroad vnder suertie, certeine great men being bound for him in great sums of monie. But what order soeuer was taken for the punishment of him, sure it is he was displaced from his office of chancellorship, as before yée haue heard.

Furthermore, the lords, and other estates in this parlement, considering that through couetousnesse of the new deposed officers, the kings treasure had béene imbezeled, lewdlie wasted, & prodigallie spent, nothing to his profit: there were in this parlement thirteene lords chosen, to haue ouersight vnder the king of the whole gouernment of the realme, as by their commission in the statutes of the tenth yeare of this king it dooth in the booke of statutes at large appeare. Of those thirteene there were thrée of the new officers named, as the bishop of Elie lord chancellor, the bishop of Hereford lord treasurer, and Nicholas abbat of Waltham lord keeper of the priuie seale: the other ten were these, William archbishop of Canturburie, Alexander archbishop of Yorke, Edmund Langlie duke of Yorke, Thomas duke of Glocester, William bishop of Winchester, Thomas bishop of Excester, Richard earle of Arundell, Richard lord Scroope, and Iohn lord Debereux. But this participation of the gouernement fell out to be inconuenient, as by processe of the storie shall appeare, euen to those vnto whome it was allotted: so that no small a doo happened among them and their partakers: according to the old prouerbe, which saith;

Væ sibi quando canes veniunt os rodere plures.

Moreouer, at the kings instance and earnest sute it was granted, that Robert de Veer late marquesse of Dubline, and now newlie created duke of Ireland, should haue and receiue to his owne vse thirtie thousand marks, that the Frenchmen were to giue for the heires of the lord Charles de Blois, that remained here in England, which Charles in times past chalenged as his righfull inheritance the dutchie of Britaine, against the earle of Montfort. This grant was made to the duke of Ireland, with condition, that being furnished with this monie, he should passe ouer into Ireland, before the next Easter, there to recouer such lands as the king had giuen to him. For aswell the lords as the commons were so desirous to haue him gone, that they wished the realme rather to spare so much treasure, than to haue his presence about the king, to allure him to follie. The same time the king of Armenia sued for a safe conduct to come againe ouer into this land, to speake with the king as it had been about the moouing of some peace betwixt the two realms of England and France; but sith his meaning was suspected to be to no good end, but to benefit himselfe by receiuing of some great gifts at the kings bountifull hands, his sute was not granted.

The king of Armenia sueth for a safe conduct to come into England which is denied him.

[777]

In this meane time also, whilst the French king with such a companie of dukes, earls and other lords, as had not béene heard of, still continued in Flanders, staieng as well for a conuenient wind, as for the comming of the duke of Berrie; it chanced that certeine English ships, as they wafted the seas, met with two of the French ships, that were sailing towards Sluis, and fighting with them, tooke them, and brought them both to Sandwich. There was found aboard the same ships, a maister gunner, that sometime had serued the Englishmen at Calis, when sir Hugh Caluerlie was lieutenant there; also diuerse great guns and engins to beat downe wals were found and taken in the same ships, with a great quantitie of powder that was more worth than all the rest.

Two of the Frêch kings ships taken with a great price in them. Guns were inuented little more than six yeares before this time, to wit, An. 1380.

About the same time, or rather somewhat before, the Englishmen also tooke certeine hulks and six cariks of the Genowais, laden with great riches: but bicause they were merchants, they found such fauor at the kings hands through means of Michaell de la Poole then lord chancellor (whome they had made their fréend) that they had their vessels and all their goods restored, and streightwaies they passed with the same vnto Sluis, where the enimies laie, to make

Restitution of merchants goods taken.

sale of their wares there. Wherevpon much murmuring rose among the kings subiects, taking it in euill part, that they should be suffered so to go their waies to releue the enimies of the realme, with such goods as were once brought into the Englishmens possession, and speciallie the lord chancellor was verie euill thought of, for shewing so much fauour vnto those strangers.

The French king still remaining in Flanders, tarieng for the comming of the duke of Berrie, and also for a conuenient wind, at length on the euen of All saints, the wind came about very fauourable for the Frenchmens purpose: wherevpon they weied anchors, and lanced from the hauen of Sluis, but they were not past twentie miles forward on their way, when the wind suddenlie turned contrarie to their course againe, and brought them backe with such violence, that diuerse of them as they should enter the hauen, were broken and brused, and so by this occasion, and the counsell of the duke of Berrie together, the French king brake vp his iournie for that yeare, and returned into France. ¶ Ye haue heard what was doone by the states assembled in parlement against the earle of Suffolke, whom the most part of the realme so greatlie hated, but yet neuertheless, the king had such an affection towards him, that immediatlie after the parlement was dissolued, he vndid all that had béene enacted against him, receiuing him into more familiaritie than before, and caused him to continue with the duke of Ireland, and Alexander Neuell archbishop of Yorke, which two lords trauelled most earnestlie to mooue the king against the other lords, and to disannull all that had béene doone in the last parlement.

The French fléet setting forward towards England is driuen backe by contrarie winds.

The kings inordinate affection towards the duke of Ireland and the earle of Suffolke.

There increased therefore in the king an inward hatred, which he conceiued against the lords, these men putting into his eare, that he was like no king but rather resembled the shadow of one; saieng, it would come to passe that he should be able to doo nothing of himselfe, if the lords might inioy the authoritie which they had taken vpon them. The king gaue credit to these tales, and therefore had the lords in great gelousie, notwithstanding they were thought to be his most true and faithfull subiects, and the other craftie, deceitfull, and vntrustie; but such an affection had the king to them, that no informations, nor accusations, though neuer so manifestlie prooued, could bring them out of his fauour, in so much as at the feast of Christmasse next following, he caused the earle of Suffolke to sit with him at his owne table, in robes accustomed appointed for kings to weare, and not for meaner estates, which was much noted, and no little increased the enuie against him.

1387.

About the beginning of March in this tenth yeere, Richard earle of Arundell, being appointed lord admerall, & Thomas Mowbraie earle of Notingham, the earle of Deuonshire, and the bishop of Norwich (as Froissard saith) went to the sea with a warlike power of men of armes and archers, so well trimmed and appointed as was possible. For the lord admerall vnderstanding that the duke of Glocester, and manie other noblemen would see the muster of his men, vsed all diligence, and spared for no costs, to haue the most choicest and pikedst fellowes that might be gotten, not following the euill example of others in times past, which receiued tag and rag to fill vp their numbers, whom they hired for small wages, and reserued the residue to their purses. And when to the aduancement of the realms commoditie they should haue incountered the enimies, they shifted off all occasions thereto, and onelie prolonged time, without atchiuing any enterprise auailable, to the end they might receiue the whole wages, and keepe themselues from danger, which they should hardlie haue auoided, when they had not about them such able men as were like to match the enimies: but the earle of Arundell contrarilie got the ablest men he might, not sparing his owne purse, to the end that by their seruice he might atchiue some worthie enterprise, to redound vnto the commoditie of his countrie.

The earle of Arundell goeth to the sea with 500 men of armes and a thousand archers as Froissard noteth.

A great abuse in choise souldiers.

[778]

After the duke of Glocester had beheld so faire and chosen a power of men of warre, they were streightwaies appointed to get them on shipbrood, & so being imbarcked, the

whole nauie passed foorth to the Thams mouth, where they staid to watch for the fléet of Flanders, that was readie to come from Rochell with wines. At length, vpon a sundaie, being the euen of the Annuntiation of our ladie, the Flemish fleet was discouered a good way off, by one that was mounted into one of the tops of a ship of the earle of Arundell greatlie reioising at those newes, foorthwith with his whole fléet made to the sea. When the Flemings approched neere to our nauie, they made saile, as if they would set vpon the same; and our men of purpose made countenance as if they would haue retired, as mistrusting themselues to be able to match their aduersaries, who coueting rather a safe passage than battell, passed by: but the Englishmen hauing once got the wind fit for their purpose, suddenlie set vpon the Flemish ships, and fought with them right fiercelie: at length, after a sore conflict which indured foure houres, the victorie fell to the Englishmen.

A good policie.  
A great victorie of the English nauie against the Flemish fléet, *Ia. Meir. Tho. Walsi.*

There were taken fourescore ships, with diuerse capteins and men of armes, namelie their chiefe admerall, named Iohn Buicke, a perfect good seaman, and one that had aforetime doone much hurt to the English nation. Diuerse of their ships were bouged, and some escaped from the battell. But the earle of Arundell pursued them so egerlie for the space of two daies together, that at length he tooke them, and brought them backe to his nauie, so that what in the battell and in the chase, there were taken of great and small, to the number of an hundred vessels, all fraught with wines, so that there was found aboard the same nine thousand tuns, or rather (as other saie) ninetéene thousand, which together with the vessels were streight sent vnto Orwell hauen, and to other hauens abroad in the realme, beside that which fell to the kings share, as due to him by his prerogatiue. Part of the Flemish fléet escaping (as before ye haue heard) was pursued vnto the hauen of Sluis and Blankerke.

*Ia. Meir. Thom. Wals.*

The citizens of Middleburgh came to the earle, and requested him that they might buie those wines of him, and paie for the same after the rate of an hundred shillings the tunne, alledging how they were the kings fréends, and stood in néed of wines: but the earle of Arundell, thinking it more reason that those which had borne the charges of his iournie, to wit, the commons of the realme of England should haue the commoditie thereof than any other, he denied their sute. But yet to shew them some pleasure as his fréends, he gaue them twentie tuns to make merrie with. As for that which fell to the earles share, he vsed such bountifulnesse in bestowing it among his fréends, that he left not to himselfe so much as one tunne. He wan therefore no small praise, that forbearing his owne commoditie, which he might haue reaped in selling those wines to strangers, he had more regard to the profit of the commons, whereby they might vnderstand, that that which they had laid foorth towards the setting forward of his iournie, was not altogether lost nor cast awaie. By this meanes (besides the commendation which he drew to himselfe) he also wan the harts & good will of the people, whose freendship is purchased by gifts and good déeds, sith they make profit the metrod of amitie, & bound in beneuolence with receiued benefits, as the poet saith,

The liberalitie of the earle of Arundell.

1779

Vulgus amicitias vtilitate probat.

All the countrie of Flanders neere to the sea coasts, was in great feare: for the Englishmen landed, and euerie day went abroad into the countrie, burning diuerse townes and villages, as Mude, Osiburge, Houckam, Monachacedam, & others. And at length, after they had taken their pleasure in the countrie, for the space of ten daies together, they hoisted vp sailes, and returned with all their preie and booties, which being sold, and vttered abroad in the realme, made wine so plentifulle here in England, that it was sold for thirtéene shillings foure pence the tun, and twentie shillings the best and choisest. The earle of Arundell not satisfied with his happie atchiued enterprise, but minding to

Diuers rodes made into Flanders by the Englishmen, & great spoile doone.

Wine sold for thirtéene shillings foure pence the tun.

The earle of Arundell saileth into Britaine with a great power.

doo more service to the benefit of his countrie, gathered his ships together, and hiring new souldiers to supplie the roomes of them that were hurt, maimed, or slaine, turned his sailes towards the castell of Brest, which seemed to be a keie to the lesse Britaine, and being (as yee haue heard) in the Englishmens possession, the Frenchmen were about to raise vp and build farre greater and stronger bastillions, than those were that the duke of Lancaster had taken and destroyed, as he sailed forward on his iournie toward Spaine.

One of these two new bastiles the earle of Arundell woone by force from them that kept it: and bicause it séemed necessarie to be kept for a defense to the castell, if it were in the Englishmens hands, he committed it to the custodie of certeine Englishmen. The other being not yet finished, but begun in sumptuous wise to be builded, he set on fire and burned. This doone, furnishing the garison with sufficient vittels and munition to serue them for one whole yeare, he returned home into England, with great praise and commendation of the commons for his dooings. But the duke of Ireland the earle of Suffolke, sir Simon de Burlie, and sir Richard Sturrie, that still continued about the king, séemed rather to enuie the earle of Arundels good name, than otherwise to commend him and others to the king, that had béene foorth in that iournie, in so much that when the earle of Nottingham, otherwise called earle Marshall, that had béene euer the kings plaifellow, and of equall age to him, came now to the court, hoping to be right welcome, and to receiue great thanks at the kings hands, he had no good countenance shewed vnto him, neither of the king, nor of the duke of Ireland, who disdainig once to talke with him, séemed to enuie the worthie prowesse in other, which he knew defectiue and wanting in himselfe.

Shortlie after, by the counsell of those lords and knights that remained about the king, the lord Henrie Percie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, was sent to the seas, to beate backe the attempts of the enimies, but he was slenderlie appointed to atchiue anie great enterprise. This was doone of some enuious purpose, bicause he had got a name amongst the common people, to be a verie hardie and valiant gentleman, as well among Englishmen, as Scots. But he either ignorant, or not much waieng of that which they craftilie had imagined against him, boldlie and valiantlie executed the businesse inioined him, and hauing remained abroad, during the whole time of his appointed service, returned safelie home.

¶ About the same time, a frier Carmelite, named Walter Disse, that had béene confessor to the duke of Lancaster, obtained in fauour of the same duke, at pope Urbans hands, certeine faculties, to be distributed to such as would praie & paie for them. Among other of those faculties, one was, to make all those whom he thought good, the popes chapleines, according to forme of law, and the custome vsed in the court of Rome.

Now bicause such as obtained this fauour, inioied great liberties, manie were glad to bestow largelie, to be so preferred, the frier being redie to admit those that offered most. Among other, one Peter Pateshull, a frier of the Augustines order, was made by him the popes chapleine, a man not vnlearned, and one that fauoured Wicliffes doctrine, and therevpon forsaking his priuate profession, gaued himselfe to a publike trade of life, which might séeme to him more holie, commendable, and sure. Herevpon, he tooke vpon him to preach against his owne order, namelie in a sermon which he made in saint Christophers church in London. He inueied so earnestlie against the abuses and heinous crimes which the friers, sometimes his brethren, vsed to put in practise, that it was an horror to heare. There were present an hundred at the least of Wicliffes opinion at his sermon. Now in the meane while that he so laid foorth what he knew against his late brethren, some persons there were that ran to the Augustine friers, and declared the whole matter; wherevpon a dozen of the hardest and lustiest fellowes among them came to the church, where this Pateshull was

Enuie y<sup>e</sup> follower of vertue & prowesse.

The lord Percie sent to the seas.

[780]

Frier Pateshull forsaking his profession, preacheth openlie against his owne order. Wickleuists.

preaching, and hearing what was said, they began to be sore moued, insomuch that one of them more zealous in his religion than the other, stepped foorth, and gainesaid those things which the preacher proponed.

When the Wicleuists perceiued this, they set vpon him that so disquieted the congregation, and laieng hands on him, threw him downe, trode him vnder their féet, and lent him manie a good buffet: and chasing all the other friers awaie, they were fullie bent to haue killed them, and set their house on fier, crieng out with lowd voices; "Let vs destroie these murtherers, let vs burne these Sodomits, and hang vp such traitors of the king and realme." And running thus with such a furious noise and outrage, they purposed verelie to haue set fire on the friers lodgings, but that through the humble praier of frier Thomas Ashborne, and one that was his fellow, being reputed for two good men, and doctors of diuinitie, they were staid. The comming also of one of the shirifes of London holpe much to appease them, so that by his persuasion, they returned home to their houses. But Peter Pateshull, being mainteened among them, was counselled, sith he was interrupted in his sermon, to set downe in writing all such matters as he was about to intreat of, & what he knew further. He therefore deuised a libell, in which he accused diuerse of his brethren, of murthering sundrie of their fellowes.

A libell by frier Pateshull against his brethren.

And for more prooffe to be giuen to his saiengs, he told the names of them that were made awaie, and the names also of the murtherers, and shewed where those that were murthered were buried. He affirmed further, that the said friers his brethren of late, were Sodomits and traitors, both to the king and realme, and manie other things he declared (too too bad) in that his writing or libell which he fastned vpon the church doore of S. Paule in London, that the more confusion might thereby redound vnto his late brethren, the friers aforesaid. In the beginning of the same libell he protested, that he was got foorth of the diuels dungeon, and through the grace of God escaped from amongst wicked and filthie persons; by reason whereof, and for that he was an auoucher of the veritie, he said, he was sure to suffer great aduersities at the friers hands, if they might laie hold on him. But he thanked pope Urbane, for that through his grant he had obtained such libertie, that by help of his fréends, he might lawfullie withdrawe himselfe from the hands of his enimies.

There were diuerse men of good worship that mainteined this Pateshull, and caused a transcript of this libell to be written foorth, affirming all to be true that was therein mentioned. Amongst other that thus fauoured this cause, were diuerse knights, as sir William Neuill, Sir Lewes Clifford, sir Iohn Clanbowe, sir Richard Sturrie, and sir Thomas Latimer, and the chéefest of all was one sir Iohn Montacute, who caused all the images to be taken downe and set aside in corners, which Iohn Aubreie, and his successour sir Alane Buxhull, or any their ancestors had set vp in their chappell of Cheneleie. ¶ About the same time, the duke of Ireland sought to be diuorsed from his lawfull wife, a trim yoong ladie, daughter to the ladie Isabell, that was one of king Edward the third his daughters; and tooke to wife one Lancegrone a Bohemer one of the quéenes maids; by reason whereof, great occasion of slander and reproch grew, and diuerse lords, speciallie the duke of Glocester, that was vnclie to the ladie that was forsaken, tooke great displeasure herewith. But sith the king allowed of all the duke of Irelands dooings, the duke of Glocester dissembled such iniuries doone to his neece for the time, till opportunitie might serue to reuenge the same.

The faouurers of frier Pateshull.

[781]

The duke of Ireland vnderstood all these things, and therefore was the more circumspect for his owne safetie, and studied how by some meanes he might dispatch the duke of Glocester out of the waie, as the man whom he most feared; least his life should be his destruction, by one meanes or other. Easter was now past, the time (as ye haue heard) appointed before the which the duke of Ireland should haue transported ouer into Ireland, & yet was he not set forward. But least

Dissention betwixt the king & the nobles.

1388.

An. Reg. 11.

somewhat might be thought in the matter, and for feare of some stir to be raised by the lords of the realme, that wished him gone, according to the order prescribed at the last parlement, the king as it were to bring him to the water side, went with him into Wales, where being out of the waie, they might devise how to dispatch the duke of Glocester, the earles of Arundell, Warwike, Derby, and Notingham, with others of that faction. There were with the king, beside the duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice, and diuers other, which doubtfull of their owne safegards did what they could (as writers report) to mooue the king forward to the destruction of those noblemen. After the king had remained in those parties a good while, he returned, and brought the duke of Ireland backe with him againe so that it seemed his voiage into Ireland was now quite forgotten.

About the same time, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice of England came to Couentrie, and indicted there two thousand persons. The king and the quéene came to Grobie, and thither came by his commandement the iustices of the realme. There were also with him at the same time, Alexander archb. of Yorke, Robert Veere duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian, & his fellowes; of whom it was demanded, if by the lawes of the realme the king might reuoke the ordinances made in the last parlement, to the which he had giuen his consent in manner by constraint; and they made answer that he might. Then were the iustices commanded to come vnto Notingham, where the king appointed to meet them, and thither he came according to his appointment, and held a solemne counsell in the castell of Notingham, the morrow after S. Bartholomews day.

In this counsell were the aforesaid archbishop of Yorke, the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian iustice, Robert Bramble iustice, and sundrie other, all which iustices were commanded to set their hands vnto the question vnder written, that by meanes thereof, those persons that were about the king thought they might haue good occasion to put the duke of Glocester, and other lords that were his complices vnto death, which in the last parlement were ordeined to haue the gouernance of the realme, and all such as were consenting to the same. Diuerse of the iustices refused to subscribe, but yet they were constreined to doo as the rest did, among the which was Iohn Belknap, who vtterlie refused, till the duke of Ireland, and the earle of Suffolke compelled him thereto; for if he had persisted in the refusall, he had not escaped their hands, and yet when he had set to his seale, he burst out into these words; "Now (said he) here lacketh nothing but a rope, that I might receiue a reward worthie for my desert, and I know, if I had not doone this, I might not haue escaped your hands, so that for your pleasures and the kings I haue doone it, and deserued thereby death at the hands of the lords." Which indéed shortlie followed, for in the next parlement he was condemned and executed. All this remained in record.

*Grafton.*

Certeine questions in law demanded of the iustices.

A councell holden at Notingham.

Iustice Belknap cōpelled to subscribe.

Iustice Belknaps words.

An act of councell touching this matter, in manner as followeth.

MEMORANDUM that on the fiue and twentieth day of August, in the 11 yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, at the castell of Nottingham aforesaid, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice of England, Robert Belknap lord chiefe iustice of the cōmon plees, Iohn Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, & William Borough, knights and associats of the said Robert Belknap, and Iohn Lockton one of the kings sergeants at the law, being pesonalie required in presence of the lords and other witnesses vnder written by our said souereigne lord the king, in that faith and allegiance in which to him they were bounden, that they should trulie answer to certeine questions vnderwritten, and vpon the same by their discretions, to saie the law. Additions to Polychron.

1 First, it was asked of them, whether the new statute, ordinance, and commission made in the last parlement held at Westminster, be hurtfull to the kings prerogatiue. Wherevnto all of one mind answered, that they were hurtfull, and speciallie bicause they be against the kings will. Questions in law demaded of the iustices.

2 Item, it was inquired of them, how they ought to be punished, that procured the said statute, ordinance, and commission to be made. Wherevnto with one assent they answered, that they deserued death, except the king of his grace would pardon them.

3 Item, it was inquired, how they ought to be punished, which moued the king to consent to the making of the said statute, ordinance, and commission. Wherevnto they answered, that vnlesse the king would giue them his pardon, they ought to lose their liues.

4 Item, it was inquired of them what punishment they deserued, that compelled the king to the making of that statute, ordinance and commission. Wherevnto they gaue answer, that they ought to suffer as traitors.

5 Item, it was demanded of them how they ought to be punished that interrupted the king so, that he might not exercise those things that appertained to his regalitie and prerogatiue. Wherevnto answer was made, that they ought to be punished as traitors.

6 Item, it was inquired of them, whether that after the affaires of the realme, and the cause of the calling together of the states of the parlement, were once by the kings commandement declared and opened, and other articles on the kings behalfe limited, vpon which the lords and commons of the realme ought to intreat and proceed; if the lords neuertheles would proceed vpon other articles, and not meddle with those articles which the king had limited, till time the king had answered the articles proponed by them, notwithstanding the king iniointed them to the contrarie: whether in this case the king might rule the parlement, and cause them to proceed vpon the articles by him limited, before they proceeded any further? To which question it was answered, that the king should haue in this part the rule, for order of all such articles to be prosecuted, vntill the end of the parlement. And if any presumed to go contrarie to this rule, he was to be punished as a traitor.

7 Item, it was asked, whether the king when soeuer it pleased him might not dissolue the parlement, and command the lords and commons to depart from thence or not? Wherevnto it was answered that he might. [783]

8 Item, it was inquired, that for somuch as it was in the king to remooue such iustices and officers as offend, and to punish them for their offenses; whether the lords commons might, without the kings will, impeach the same officers and iustices, vpon their offenses in parlement or not? To this answer was made, that they might not, and he that attempted contrarie, was to suffer as a traitor.

9 Item, it was inquired, how he is to be punished, that mooued in the parlement, that the statute wherin Edward, the sonne of king Edward, great grandfather to the king that now is, was indicted in parlement, might be sent for; by inspection of which statute, the said new statute or ordinance and commission were conceiued, and deuised in the parlement?

To which question, with one accord, as in all the residue they answered, that as well he that so summoned, as the other, which by force of the same motion, brought the said statute into the parlement house, be as publike offenders and traitors to be punished.

10 Item, it was inquired of them, whether the iudgment giuen in the parlement against Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, were erroneous and reuocable, or not?

To which question likewise with one assent they said, that if the same iudgment

were now to be giuen, the iustices and sergeant aforesaid would not giue the same: because it seemed to them, that the said iudgment is reuocable and erroneous in euerie part.

In wittnesse of the premisses, the iustices & sergeant aforesaid to these presents haue set their seals, these being witnesses; Alexander archbishop of Yorke, Robert archbishop of Dubline, Iohn bishop of Durham, Thomas bishop of Chester, Iohn bishop of Bangor, Robert duke of Ireland, Michaell erle of Suffolke, Iohn Ripon clearke, and Iohn Blake.

Now beside these iustices and sergeant, there were called at that present vnto Nottingham, all other iustices of the realme, and the shiriffes. Also, diuerse of the citie of London, which the king knew would incline to his will, the rather; for that some of them, hauing aforetime confessed treason against the king by them imagined, and obteneing pardon for the same, were readie at his commandement, to recompense such fauour, in the accomplishment of whatsoever they knew might stand with his pleasure. Herevpon, they being impanelled to inquire of certeine treasons that were supposed to be committed by the lords, which in the last parlement had so caused things to passe, contrarie to the kings pleasure, indicted the same lords of manie crimes informed against them. ¶ The Londoners indeed were euill reported of in those daies, by some writers, for their vnstabilnesse, one while holding on the kings part, and with such as were chéefe in counsell about him; and an other while on the lords side that were of a contrarie faction: according as the streame of their affections draue them, and as they were carried awaie perforce by the floud of their variable willes, whereby they were diuided into differing passions, as they were assaulted by sundrie and vncerteine desires: which is the nature of the people, as the poet noteth, saieing:

Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

But now, as concerning the cause whie the shiriffes were called hither, it was chéeflie to vnderstand what power of men they might assure the king of, to serue him against the lords and barons, whome he tooke to be his enimies: and further, that where he meant to call a parlement verie shortlie, they should so vse the matter, that no knight might be chosen, but such as the king and his counsell should name. But answer was made herevnto by the shiriffes, that the lords were so highlie beloued of the commons, that it laie not in their powers to assemble any great forces against the lords; and as for choosing the knights of the shires, they said that the commons would vndoubtedlie vse their ancient liberties, and priuileges, in choosing such as they thought meetest. But yet, after that the indictments were found, according to the desire of the king and his counsellors, and that those which had béene called about this matter, were licenced to depart home; the king and the duke of Ireland sent messengers into euerie part of the realme, to reteine men of warre to assist them in the quarell against the lords, if néed were. Manie made answer, that sith they knew the lords to be faithfull and loiall to the king, euen from the bottome of their hearts, and were readie to studie, to devise, and to doo all things that might tend to his honor, and wealth of the realme; they might not by anie meanes beare armour against them. But a great number of other, that tooke it that they were reteined for a good and necessarie purpose, promised to be readie, whensoever it should please the king to send for them.

The lords being in this meane while aduertised of these dooings, were striken with great heauinesse, for that not knowing themselues (as they tooke it) giltie of anie offense, the king should thus seeke their destruction. Herewith the duke of Gloucester, meaning to mitigate the kings displeasure, receiued a solemne oth before the bishop of London, and diuerse other lords, protesting by the same oth, that he neuer imagined, nor went about any thing, to the kings hinderance, but to his power had alwaies doone what he might to aduance the kings honor, prosperous state and good liking, except onelie that he had giuen no

*Thom. Wals.*

The lords indicted of diuerse offenses.

Why the shiriffes of all shires were sent for to the court.

Soldiers reteined on all sides by the king against the lords.

[784]

The duke of Gloucesters protestation vpon his oth.



good countenance to the duke of Ireland, whom the king so much loued. And suerlie for that the said duke had dishonored his kinswoman, and the kings also, he was firmelie determined to reuenge that iniurie vpon him; and herewith he besought the bishop of London to declare what his words were vnto the king.

The bishop comming to the king, made report of the duke of Glocesters protestation, confirmed with his oth, in such wise, as the king began somewhat to be persuaded that it was true. But when the earle of Suffolke perceiued that, fearing least the reconciliation of the king and the duke his vnclé should turne to his vndooing, he began to speake against the duke, till the bishop bad him hold his peace; and told him, that it nothing became him to speake at all. And when the earle asked why so; "Bicause (said the bishop) thou wast in the last parlement condemned for an euill person, and one not worthie to liue, but onelie it pleaseth the king to shew thée fauour." The king offended with the bishops presumptuous words, commanded him to depart & get him home to his church, who forthwith departed, and declared to the duke of Glocester what he had heard and séene. Herevpon, the great misliking that had beene afore time betwixt the king and the lords, was now more vehementlie increased, the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, the archbishop of Yorke, the lord chiefe iustice Robert Trisilian, and others, still procuring, stirring, and confirming the kings heauie displeasure against the lords.

The duke of Glocester considering to what conclusion these things tended, came secretlie to conference with the earles of Arundell, Warwike, and Derby, who were in like danger, if they prouided not more spédilie for their safetie, wherevpon he discovered to them the perill wherein they all stood in common, so that when they weied what was the most expedient meane to safe gard their liues, they gathered their power together, determining to talke with the king with their armour vpon their backes, for their more suertie, as well concerning his pretense to bring them to their deaths, as for the fauour which he bare to those whom they reputed to be traitors, both to him, and to the whole state of the realme, whereby the same could not auoid spéedie ruine, if remedie were not the sooner prouided. The king on the other part tooke aduise, how he might apprehend these lords (whom he tooke to be plaine traitors) ech one apart, before they might gather their strengths about them; and first, he sent the earle of Northumberland and others, vnto the castell of Reigate, to take the earle of Arundell, who laie there at that present. But howsoeuer it fortunéd, the earle of Northumberland came backe, and failed to accomplish that which he had in commandement.

After this, a great number were sent by night, to haue laid hands on him, and to haue brought him to the kings presence; or in case he resisted, to haue slaine him, if by any meanes they might: but he being warned by a messenger, that came to him from the duke of Glocester, conueied himselfe awaie, and with such bands as he had got together, rode all that night, so that in the morning hauing passed thirtie miles, not without great trauell, and all speed possible, he was in the morning aduanced to Haringie parke, where he found the duke of Glocester, and the earle of Warwike, with a great power of men about them. ¶ At the same time the king was about to set forward towards Canturburie, there to performe some vow of pilgrimage, which he had vndertaken to make vnto the shrine of Thomas Becket. But a brute was raised, and a slander (belike) contriued, to bring him in further hatred of his subiects, that he meant to steale ouer into France, vnto the French king, hauing promised to deliuer vp into his hands the towne of Calis, with the castell of Guines, and all the fortresses which his predecessors had possessed in those parties, either by right from their ancestors, or by warlike conquest.

Howbeit this his iournie to Canturburie was suddenlie staid, vpon knowledge had of the gathering together of the lords in Haringie parke, wherewith the king being sore amazed, called together such as he trusted, to

Stout words of the bishop of London.

The lords confer how to preuēt the perils pretended against them. The earle of Northumberland sent to apprehend the earle of Arundell.

The earle of Arundell ioineth with the other lords.

[785]

Councell taken how to deale against the lords.

vnderstand what their opinion was of the matter; and vnderstanding that the purposed intention of the lords, for which they were so assembled, was to this end (as they pretended) to bring him vnto a better trade of life, and more profitable order of gouernement, he was streight striken with no small feare, demanding of them their aduise, what was best for him to doo in such troublesome state of things. Some were of this mind, that it should be best to séeke to appease the lords with faire promises, assuring them, that they should haue their desires. Other thought it better to assemble the kings friends, and ioining them with the Londoners, to go fourth and trie the hazard of battell with the lords. Among them that were of this mind, the archbishop of Yorke was the chiefest. But other that were thought to vnderstand more of the world than he did, iudged it not wisdom so to doo, considering that if the king lost the field, then should great harme and dishonor follow; and if the victorie fell to his side, yet could he gaine naught, but lose a great number of his subiects.

This was in Nouember, at what time the king, vpon his returning from Canturburie, meant to haue holden a parlement; but through The lords send messengers to the king. those stirs, neither his iournie to Canturburie, nor the parlement went forward: yet he caused order to be giuen, that no citizen of London should sell to the duke of Glocester, the earle of Arundell, or any other of the lords, any armour, bowes, arrowes, or other munition, or matter that might tend to the furniture of warre, vpon a great paine. But notwithstanding, the lords went forward with their businesse; and before they approched the citie of London, they sent to the king the archbishop of Canturburie, the lord Iohn Louell, the lord Cobham, and the lord Iohn Deuereux, requiring to haue deliuered vnto them such as were about him, that were traitors and seducers both of him and the realme, that sought nothing else, but to trouble both poore and rich, and to sow discord and variance betwixt the king and his nobles. And further, they declared that their comming was for the honor and wealth both of the king and realme.

But the king being ruled altogether by the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, and two or three other, was fullie persuaded that A rash answer of the maior of London. the lords intended to bring him vnder their gouernement, and The Londoners refuse to fight against the lords. therefore he was counselled to make the French king his sure friend in all vrgent necessities. And to be assured of him, it was reported, that those councillours aduised him to render vp into the French kings hands the towne of Calis, and all that he had else in possession, on the further side of the sea. Howsoever this matter went, truth it is, that the king sent for the maior of London, requiring to know of him how manie able men they thought the citie could make. The maior answered, that he thought verely the citizens might make in time of need, fiftie thousand men, within an houres respite. Well said the king, then I beseech you go and prooue what will be done. But when the maior began to attempt the matter, he was answered generallie, that they would neuer fight against the kings freends, and defenders of the realme (as indeed they tooke the lords to be) but against the enimies of the king and realme they would alwaies be readie to fight, and shew what resistance they were able. This answer the maior reported to the king.

At the same time there was about the king the lord Rafe Basset, who said thus to the king flatlie and plainelie: "Sir, I haue béene, and euer will be your true liege man, and my bodie and goods shall The earle of Northumberland and the lord Bassets words to the king in the behalfe of the lords. euer be at your graces commandement, in all iustice and trueth. But neuertheless, hereof I assure you, that if my hap be to come into the field, I will without faile alwaies follow the true part; and it is not I that will aduenture to haue my head broken for the duke of Irelands pleasure." Likewise, the earle of Northumberland, being at that time in the court, spake these words to the king; "Sir, there is no doubt but these lords, who now be in the field, alwaies haue beene your true and faithfull subiects, and yet are, not intending to attempt anie thing against your state, wealth, & honor. Neuertheless, they féele themselues sore molested and disquieted,

by the wicked deuises of certeine persons about you, that seeke to oppresse them. And verilie without faile, all your realme is sore greeued therewith, both great and small, as well lords as commons; and I seee not the contrarie, but they mind to aduenture their liues with the lords that are thus in armes, speciallie in this case, which they reckon to be yours and your realmes. And sir, now yee be in the cheefe place of your realme, and in the place of your coronation, order your selfe now therefore wiselie and like a king. Send to them to come before your presence in some publike place, where they may declare vnto you the intent and purpose of their comming, accompanied with so great a number of people into these parts, and I beleuee it verelie, they will shew such reasons that you will hold them excused."

The archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord chancellor bishop of Elie, and other of the bishops also there present, affirmed the earles aduise to be good. And the king considering wiselie the case as it stood, began to be appeased, and accorded to follow their aduise, desiring the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Elie, to aduertise them of his plesure, which was, that he willed them to come to him to Westminster, on sundaie then next following; and so they repairing to the lords, made report to them of the kings mind and purpose. But the duke of Glocester, and the other lords, were so fullie bent in their opinion, that they swore all whole together, that they would neuer giue ouer their enterprise, so long as they had a penie to spend, in maintenance of their cause: and if it chanced anie of them to depart this life, the ouerliuers should persist therein, vntill the time that they had brought their purpose to some good effect.

And bicause they doubted least the king might stirre the citie of London against them, they determind first to aduertise the maior and the citie, how their comming was onlie to reforme certeine great enormities, which they set downe in writing, & sent it to the maior and citizens, beseeching them of their fauour and counsell therin. This doone, they determind yet to keepe their daie on the sundaie following, to appeare before the kings presence: but this was not got of them, till that the lord chancellor, with diuerse other noblemen of good credit, had vndertaken vpon their oths for the kings behalfe, that no fraud nor deceit, no perill nor euill pretense should be put in practise against the lords, wherby they might come to losse either of life, limme, or goods, or otherwise, through the kings means; but that if he should go about anie such things, the said lord chancellor and other the mediators should forwarne the lords therof.

When therefore the lords were readie, according to couenant, to come vnto Westminster, they were secretlie aduertised, that there was an ambush laid in a place called the Mewes, and so they staid, and came not at the appointed houre. Wherevpon, when the king demanded, how it fortun'd that the lords kept not promise, the bishop of Elie lord Chancellor made him this answer; "Bicause" saith he, "there is an ambush of a thousand armed men or more laid in such a place (and named it) contrarie to couenant, and therefore they neither come nor hold you for faithfull of your word." The king hearing this, was astonied, and said with an oth, that he knew of no such thing, & withall sent to the shiriffes of London, commanding them to go to the Mewes, and (vpon search made) if they found anie force of men there assembled, to take and kill all such as they could laie hands vpon. But sir Thomas Triuet, and sir Nitholas Brambre, knight, that had in deed assembled such a number of men, when they vnderstood what order the king had giuen therein, they sent their men backe to London.

The lords, after this, receiuing a safe conduct from the king, and perceiuing all to be safe and cleare, came vnto Westminster with a strong power of men about them. The king, when he heard they were come, apparelled himselfe in his kinglie robes, and with his scepter in hand came into the great hall at Westminster. The lords as soone as they had sight of him, made to him their humble obeisance, & went forth

The lords take an oth together, to prosecute their purposed enterprise.

The lords seeke the fauour of the Londoners.  
*Thom. Wals.*

An ambush at Mewes.

17871

The lords come before the kings presence in Westminster hall.

The lord chancelor speaketh for the king to the lords.

till they came to the nether steps, going vp to the kings seat of state, where they made their second obeisance; & then the king gaue them countenance to come néerer to him, & they so did, kneeling downe before him, & foorthwith he rose from his place, and louinglie welcomming them, tooke each of them by the hand, and that doone sate him downe againe. Herewith the bishop of Elie lord chancellor, as mouth to the king, declared vnto these lords in effect as followeth. "My lords (said he) our souereigne lord the king, hearing that you were assembled in Haringie parke, in other maner than was conuenient, would not foorthwith run vpon you with force to destroie you, as he might easilie haue doone, if he had not wished your safetie; for no man doubteth, but if his pleasure had béene to gather an armie, he might haue had more people than you could haue got to haue taken part with you against him, and so happilie much bloud might haue béene spilt, which thing certeinlie our souereigne lord the king vtterlie abhorreth: and therefore vsing patience and mildnesse, he hath rather chosen to talke with you in peaceable wise, that he may vnderstand the cause whie yée haue assembled so great a number of people together."

The lords for answer héerevnto said, that "they assembled their forces together, for the profit both of the king and realme, and speciallie to take awaie from him such traitors as remained continuallie about him; to wit, Robert de Veer duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill archbishop of Yorke, Michaell de la Poole erle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian that false iustice, and sir Nicholas Brambre, that disloiall knight of London: for so they tearmed them all. And to prooue their accusations true, they threw downe their gloues, protesting by their oths to prosecute it by battell." "Naie (saith the king) not so, but in the next parlement, which we doo appoint before hand to begin the morrow after the Purification of our ladie, both they and you appearing, shall receiue (according to law) all that which reason shall appoint. And now to you my lords I speake, by what meane or by what reason durst you so presumptuouslie take vpon you within this my land to rise thus against me? Did you thinke to feare me with such your presumptuous boldnesse? Haue I not armed men sufficient to haue beaten you downe, compassed about like a sort of deere in a toil? If I would: trulie in this behalfe I make no more account of you, than of the vilest skullions in my kitchen."

When he had said these words, with much more, he lift vp the duke of Glocester that all this while knéeled afore him, and commanded the residue to rise also. After this he led them courteously to his chamber, where they sate and dranke together.

And finallie it was concluded, that they should all méet together againe at the next parlement, and ech one to receiue according to iustice: and in the meane time the king tooke aswell the duke of Glocester, as the duke of Ireland into his protection, so that neither part in the meane time should hurt the other, nor presume to make any gathering of people vntill the time prefixed: and so this councill brake vp, and the lords departed. These things yet were doone in absence of the forenamed persons whom the lords accused, for they durst not appeare in presence of the lords; for if they had béene espied, they had smarted for it, as was thought, without any respect that would haue béene had of the kings presence. And now, for somuch as it should be well knowne through all the citie, that these lords had nothing offended him with their comming, the king caused a proclamation to be made, the tenour whereof was as followeth.

The answer of the lords & their gréeses.

The king reprooueth the lords dooings.

The king taketh both parties into his protection.  
*Grafton.*

## A proclamation clearing the lords of treason.

RICHARD by the grace of God, &c. We will that it be knowne to all our liege people throughout our realme of England, that whereas Thomas duke of Glocester, Richard earle of Arundell, & Thomas earle of Warwike, haue beene defamed of treason by certeine of our counsellors; we as it apperteineth diligentlie searching the ground & cause of this defamation, find no such thing in them, nor any suspicion thereof: wherfore we declare the same defamation to be false, and vntrue, and doo receiue the same duke and earles into our speciall protection. And bicause these accusers shall be notoriouslie knowne, their names are Alexander archbishop of Yorke, sir Robert Veere duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice, and sir Nicholas Brambre of London knight, who in like case shall remaine till the next parlement and there shall stand to their answers. But in the meane time we likewise take them into our protection, streictlie charging and commanding, that no maner of person charge any of the forenamed, either priuillie or apertlie, in word or deed, to hurt them, or or cause any hurt to be doone to them, but all quarels & demands against them to be remitted, vntill the next parlement prefixed.

Now to haue all things in more perfect readinesse and remembrance when the estates should be assembled, certeine of the lords were appointed to sit in the meane time, to deuise how they might procéed orderlie in redresse of such matters, as séemed to require some spéedie reformation: neither did they thinke it good to depart in sunder, for feare to be intrapped through the malicious practise of their aduersaries. Which doubt of theirs seemed afterwards to stand them in stéed of great wisdome. For immediatlie after, their said aduersaries came to the king, and declared how they were dailie in danger of their liues, by reason of the malice which the lords had conceiued against them onelie for the kings sake, and not for any matter of their owne. And whereas the king had promised that they should appeare at the next parlement, which was at hand, they told him plainelie that they neither durst nor would put their bodies in such manifest danger. The king considering hereof, withdrew himselfe from the companie of the lords that were assigned to sit at London, to deliberate of matters that were to be talked of and ordered in the parlement; and so that councill was deferred and laid aside: and the kings counsellors that stood in danger of their liues through the malice of the lords confederated with the duke of Glocester, got them from the court, and withdrew some into this place and some into that.

Among other the earle of Suffolke fled ouer vnto Calis in secret wise, by the helpe of a knight called sir William Hoo, who holpe to conueie him thither. He had changed his apparell, and shauen his beard, and so disguised, counterfeited himself to be a poulter, and to sell certeine foule which he had gotten, by which means he was not knowne, till at length comming to the gates of the castell (wherof his brother sir Edmund de la Poole was capteine) he discouered to him (scarselie knowing who he was, by reason he was so disguised) the whole occasion of his repairing thither, requiring him to keepe his counsell, and that he might remaine with him in priuie maner for a time, till he might heare more how things went in England, from whence he was thus fled, to auoid the bloudie hands of his enimies, that sought his life. His brother doubting what might be laid to his charge if he shuld conceale this matter from the lord William Beauchampe lord deputie of the towne, streightwaies aduertised him thereof, who tooke order that the earle should forthwith be sent backe againe into England to the king, who receiued him with small thanks to them that brought him ouer, so that (as some write) his brother being one, was committed to prison for disclosing him. But yet bicause it should not séeme that he imprisoned him for that cause, he was shortlie after set at libertie, and returned againe to his charge at Calis. The earle was also permitted to go whither he would, although the king had vndertaken to present him and others at the next parlement to

The earle of Suffolke  
fleeth ouer to Calis.  
*Grafton.*

answer their offenses, as the same might be laid to their charge.

¶ But here it may be doubted by the vncertentie of writers, whether the earle of Suffolke thus fled ouer to Calis, before the iournie at Ratcote bridge, or after. But whether it chanced either after or before, it is certeine that since the time that the lords had forced the king to promise to exhibit him and others at the next parlement to abide their trials, he durst not openlie remaine in the court, but taking leaue of the king departed from him. Whervpon the king being out of quiet for the absence of him and other his best beloued councellors, whom he so much esteemed, and namelie of the duke of Ireland, and the said earle of Suffolke, he appointed one Thomas Molineux constable of the castell of Chester, a man of high valiancie, and great power in the parties of Cheshire and Lancashire to raise an armie of men, with the assistance of the shiriffe of Cheshire, to whom his commission of authoritie in that behalfe, vnder the great seale was directed, to the end that they might conueie the duke of Ireland in all safetie vnto the kings presence.

A commission to the shiriffe of Cheshire to safe conduct the duke of Ireland to the kings presence.

The shiriffe hauing receiued this commission, together with the foresaid Thomas Molineux raised a power, and such as refused to serue, in respect of such good will as they bare to the lords, he committed to prison, commanding the gailors to kéepe them streict in irons with bread and water till his returne. Moreouer, the king sent to sir Rafe Vernon, & sir Richard Ratcliffe, willing them to assist the other. And so thus they set forward with the number of fiue thousand men. When the lords vnderstood that the duke of Ireland was marching towards London, with such a power of men, meaning to ioine with the Londoners, and so to make as it had beene an inuincible armie, they bestirred themselues, and fell in hand to arme their men, and to exhort one another, that now they should not be negligent in their owne defense, but make hast for the dispatching of those that craftilie had gone about to conspire their deaths. And so these lords, to wit, the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Derby, Arundell, Warwike, and Notingham, assembled their powers out of all quarters, to incounter with the duke of Ireland; and when they had got their companies together, they forelaid all the waies by which he was thought to come.

The lords séeke to stop the passage of the duke of Ireland.

But the duke of Ireland hauing with him Molineux, Vernon, and Ratcliffe, rode forward in statelie and glorious araie, with an armie (as ye haue heard) of fiue thousand men, supposing that none durst come foorth to withstand him. Neuerthelesse when he came to Ratcote bridge, not past foure miles from Cheping Norton (which bridge if he could haue passed, he had béene out of the danger of all enimies) he suddenlie espied where the armie of the lords laie, not far distant from him, readie in the midst of a vallie to abide his comming. Some of the earle of Derbies companie had broken the bridge, & so stopped his passage. He therefore perceiuing his enimies intention, staid, and caused the kings banner to be spred, and began to set a good countenance of the matter, and to exhort his people to shew themselues valiant; and herewith caused the trumpets to sound. But when it appeared that as some were readie to fight in his quarell, so there were other that quite forsooke him, and said flatlie they would not fight against so manie noble men, in so vniust a cause: he being thereof aduertised, began to wax faint-harted, and to prepare himselfe to escape by flight; and declaring no lesse openlie vnto them, said: "Before we come to ioine, I will séeke to withdraw my selfe out of the waie, and saue my selfe if I can; for me they onlie seeke, against you they haue no quarell, so that I being shifted awaie, you shall easilie be preserued." Herewith one of the knights said to him; "You haue brought vs out of our countrie, you haue procured vs to giue you our promise, you haue caused vs to take this iournie in hand: here therefore are we readie to fight & win the victorie with you, if our hap be such; or if fortune will not so fauour us, we are readie to spend our liues with you." "No" said he, "ye shall not so doo," and forthwith striking his

The duke of Ireland his souldiers reuolt frō him.

The duke of Ireland flieth frō his armie.

*Virg. Aeneid. 9.*

horsse with spurs, he fled from them for feare which had set wings on héesles, as one saith:

—pedibus timor addidit alas.

Herevpon manie that were with him, cursing this his demeanour, <sup>Thomas Molineux</sup> prepared to yeeld themselues to the lords. But Thomas Molineux <sup>slaine.</sup> determined to fight it out, sith the lords were not yet all come together to that place, but onelie the earle of Derby and certeine others. Neuerthelesse, after he had fought a while, and perceiued it would not auaille him to tarie longer, as one despairing of the victorie, betooke him likewise to flight, as the duke of Ireland had led him the waie: and plunging into the riuier, which was at hand, it chanced that sir Thomas Mortimer being present amongst other at the same place, willed him to come out of the water vnto him; for if he would not, he threatened to shoot him through with arrowes in the riuier where he stood. "If I come (said Molineux) will ye saue my life?" "I will make thée no such promise (said sir Thomas Mortimer) but notwithstanding, either come vp, or thou shalt presentlie die for it." "Well then (said Molineux) if there be no other remedie, suffer me to come vp, and let me trie with hand-blowes, either with you or some other, and so die like a man." But as he came vp, the knight caught him by the helmet, plucked it off his head, & streightwaies drawing foorth his dagger, stroke him into the braines, and so dispatched him. This was the end of sir Thomas Molineux, which through his bold and rash aduenture, in a most dangerous and desperat case, he pulled vpon himselfe; and might as well haue auoided as incurred, if the same prouident care of safetie had taken him in the head that mooued the duke of Ireland to take flight for his indemnitie: wherein he séemed to remember that there is no safe attempting of any perilous enterprise without dread of danger: for he that can tell when a thing is to be feared, can tell in like sort when it is to be vndertaken; as the wiseman verie sententiouslie saith:

Animus vereri qui scit, scit tutò aggredi.

In the meane time, the duke of Ireland (as ye haue heard) séeking <sup>The duke of Ireland</sup> to escape by flight, came to the riuers side; but finding the bridge <sup>flieth into Holland.</sup> broken, he galoped till he found an other bridge, where he found a number of archers readie to stop his passage. When he saw that he was thus inclosed with his enimies on the one side, and the riuier of Thames on the other, he thought to put all in aduenture; and casting awaie his gantlets, and sword (to be the more nimble) gaue his horsse the spurres, and lept into the riuier; but missing the foord, and not able to land with his horsse on the further side, he forsooke him, and swimming ouer so well as he might, got to the banke, and so escaped. It was now night, and therefore his enimies hauing no knowledge of the countrie, followed him not; but his horsse, helmet, curasses, gantlets, and sword being found, it was thought verelie that he had béene drowned. The next newes heard of him, was that he had passed the seas, and was got into Holland, where he had no great freendlie welcome, by reason that Albert duke of Bauiere, who was lord of that countrie, bare such good will to his coosins of England, the dukes of Lancaster, Yorke, and Glocester, that he commanded this duke of Ireland to depart foorth of his countrie, as immediatlie therevpon he did, from thence resorting to the bishoprike of Vtreict, and after into other countries, till finallie he ended the course of his life, as after in place conuenient shall appeare.

But now to returne to the armies where we left them. After the duke was fled, and Thomas Molineux slaine (as before ye haue <sup>Letters found in the duke</sup> heard) the armie of the lords set vpon the people that were come <sup>of Irelands trunks.</sup> with the duke of Ireland (as hath béene said) foorth of Chesshire, Lancashire, and Wales; and taking them as enimies, spoiled them of their horsse, armor, bowes and arrowes. The knights and esquiers had their armor and horsse againe to them restored, and were reteined with the lords to serue them: but the commons without either armor or weapon were sent home, and had no other harme done vnto them. The duke of Irelands cariage being taken, letters were found in his trunkes or males, which

the king had written to him, exhorting him with all speed to repaire vnto London, with what power he might make, and there he should find him readie to liue and die with him. Such was the conclusion of this battell, which happened néere vnto Burford, fast by Bablake, to the great reioising of manie through the realme, for that the enimies thereof (as they tooke the matter) were thus ouerthrowne. But yet the escaping awaie of the duke of Ireland did somewhat mitigate their ioy, for what was become of him it was vncerteine. After this the duke of Glocester, and the other lords went to Oxford, being sorie that their fortune was not to haue taken the duke of Ireland.

At the same time, or rather before, the archbishop of Yorke, and the lord chiefe iustice sir Robert Trisilian, fearing the indignation of the lords, withdrew out of the waie, and durst not be séene. But now the lords, who after the iournie at Radcote bridge, were come (as ye haue heard) to Oxford; we find that the same time a brute was raised (whether of truth or not, we haue neither to affirme nor denie) how there was a messenger taken being sent from the French king with letters, in which was contained a licence of safe conduct, for the king of England, the duke of Ireland, and others, to come to Bullongne, with a certaine number limited, where they should find the French king come downe thither readie to receiue them, to the end that for a certaine summe of monie, which the French king should giue to the king of England, the towne of Calis, and all the fortresses in those parts, which were in the Englishmens hands, should be deliuered to the Frenchmen; and further that the king of England should doo his homage to the French king, for the lands which he held in Gascoigne, and so to haue acknowledged himselfe his liege man. The lords (as was reported) hauing got these letters, and taken counsell together how to procéed in their businesse, to bring the same to good end, remoued from Oxford, and on Christmas euen they came to S. Albons, and there staid that daie and the next.

On saint Stephens daie they tooke their waie to London with an armie of fortie thousand men, as some write; & comming into the fields besides Clerkenwell, mustered their men, being diuided in thrée seuerall battels verie well appointed with armor and weapon, that it was a beautifull sight to behold them. The king kept his Christmas, not at Westminster, but in the Tower; not douting but there to be defended what chance soeuer should happen. The lords mistrusting the Londoners, lodged them with their people in the suburbs. They sent yet two knights, and two esquiers, vnto the Maior and Aldermen men of the citie, to vnderstand whether they were minded to take part with them, or with the duke of Ireland, and his adherents, traitors (as they tearmed them) both to the king and the realme. The Londoners were now in no small feare and perplexitie, not knowing well what waie was best for them to take, weieng diuers perils; as first the kings displeasure, if they opened their gates vnto the lords; and if they shut them foorth, they feared the indignation and wrath of the commons that were come thither with the lords, and were readie to breake downe their wals and gates, if they were neuer so little prouoked. Besides this, they stode most in doubt, least if the wealthiest citizens should not giue their consent to receiue the lords into the citie, the meaner sort, and such as wished rather to see some hurlie burlie than to continue in peace, would seeke by force to set open the gates, and make waie for the lords and their people to enter, that they might make hauocke, and spoile whatsoever might be found of value in the rich mens houses.

These doubts with all the circumstances being well weied and considered, the Maior Nicholas Exton, and certaine of the chiefe men in the citie, went foorth to the lords, and offered them to lodge in the citie at their pleasure, with all things necessarie as they should deuise. The Maior caused also wine, ale, bread, and chéese, to be distributed among the armie, so as ech one had part, which

*Tho. Walsi.*

A brute raised that king Richard meant to yeeld vp Calis into the French kings hands.

The lords come to London with a great armie.

K. Richard kéepeth his Christmas in the Tower of London.

The lords send to the Maior and citizens of London to vnderstand their meaning.

The Londoners in great perplexitie which part to take.

The Londoners incline to the lords.

The lords enter into London.

The kings words touching the lords procéedings.



courtesie turned greatlie afterwards to the commoditie of the citie. The lords vpon search made, perceiuing that there was no guile meant by laieng of men in ambushes within the citie to intrappe them, or otherwise, but that all was sure inough and cleare without anie such euill meaning, they entred the citie and there abode quietlie. Then went the archbishop of Canturburie and others betwixt the king and the lords to make peace betwixt them. But the king at the first seemed little to estéeme the matter, saieng to the archbishop; Well let them lie here with their great multitude of people hardlie till they haue spent all they haue, and then I trust they will returne poore inough and néedie, and then I doubt not but I shall talke with them, and vse the matter so as iustice maie require.

The lords being informed hereof, were maruelouslie mooued, and sware that they would not depart till they had spoken with him face to face, and fourthwith they sent part of their companies to watch the Thames, for feare the king should scape their hands, and then laugh them to scorne. When the king then perceiued himselfe to be inclosed on ech side, he talked eftsoones with the archbishop and his associats that were messengers betwixt him and the lords, willing them to declare to the lords that he would be contented to treat with them in reasonable order; wherevpon they required that he should on the morow next insuing come vnto Westminster, where he should vnderstand their demands. When the king heard that, he refused to come vnto Westminster, but willed that they should come to him there in the Tower. The lords sent him word againe, that the Tower was a place to be suspected, for that they might there be surprised by some guilefull practise deuised to intrap them. The king herevnto made answer, that they might send some two hundred men, or so manie as they should thinke good, to make a through search, whether they néeded to feare anie such thing; and this accordinglie was doone: they hauing the keies of the gates and of all the strong chambers, turrets, and places within the Tower sent vnto them.

On the fridaie, the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Derby, and Nottingham, came to the king, where he was set in a pauillion richlie arraied; and after their humble salutations done, and some talke had betwixt them, they went at the kings request with him into his chamber, where they recited vnto him the conspiracie of their aduersaries, through which they had béen indicted. They also shewed forth the letters which he had sent to the duke of Ireland, to leaue an armie vnto their destruction. Likewise the letters, which the French king had written to him, contening a safe conduct for him to come into France, there to confirme things to the diminishing of his honor, to the decaie of his power, & losse of his fame. ¶ During the time of this communication also, the earle of Derby desired the king to behold the people that were assembled in sight before the Tower, for the preseruatiou of him and his realme: which he did, and maruelling to see such a goodlie armie and strength, as he declared to them no lesse, the duke of Gloucester said vnto him; Sir this is not the tenth part of your willing subjects that haue risen to destroe those false traitors, that haue misled you with their wicked and naughtie counsell.

The king being brought to his wits end, aswell with those things which the lords had charged him with, as otherwise with the sight of that great multitude of people, seemed greatlie amazed. Wherevpon the lords, vnder condition that the next daie he should come to Westminster to heare more of their minds, and to conclude further for the behoofe of the common-wealth of the realme, began to take leaue of him, meaning so to depart: but the king desired them to tarrie all night with him and the quéene. The duke thinking to make all sure, made excuse that he durst not be absent from all those folks, which they had brought with them, for feare that some disorder might arise, either in the armie, or in the citie; yet at the kings instance, the earles of Nottingham and Derby taried there all night. The king before his going to bed, was quite turned concerning

The lords refuse to come into y<sup>e</sup> Tower but after search made they come thither to the kings presence.

*R. Grafton.*  
*Thom. Wals.*

The lords open their gréeses to the king.

*R. Grafton.*  
*Tho. Walsing.*

The incōstancie of the king.

his determination and promise made to go the next daie to Westminster, through such whispering tales as was put into his eares, by some that were about him, telling him that it stood neither with his safetie, nor honour, so lightlie to agree to depart from the tower, vnto such place as the lords had thus appointed him, to serue more for their purpose than for suertie of his person.

When the lords therefore vnderstood that he would not keepe promise with them, they were greatlie offended, insomuch as they sent him flat word, that if he would not come (according to promise) they would suerlie choose another king, that would and ought to obeie the faithfull counsell of his lords. The king with this message being touched to quicke, to satisfie their minds, and to auoid further perill, remooued the next morning vnto Westminster, where the lords comming before his presence, after a little other talke, they declared vnto him, that aswell in respect of his owne honour, as the commoditie & wealth of his kingdome, it was behouefull, that such traitors, and most wicked & slanderous persons, as were nothing profitable, but hurtfull to him and his louing subiects, should be remooued out of his court; and that other that both could and would serue him more honorablie and faithfullie were placed in their roomes. The king, although sore against his mind, when he saw how the lords were bent, and that he wanted power to withstand their pleasures, condescended to doo what they would haue him.

So when he had granted thereto, they iudged that Alexander Neuell archbishop of Yorke, Iohn Fourdham bishop of Durham lord tresuror, Thomas Rushoke, a frier of the order of the preachers, bishop of Chichester, and confessor to the king, were worthie to be auoided the court. But the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Chichester would abide no reckonings, but got them out of the waie, and fled, it was not knowne whither. The lords did expell out of the court the lord Zouch of Haringworth, the lord Burnell, the lord Beaumont, Albrey de Véer, Baldwin de Bereford, Richard Aderburie, Iohn Worth, Thomas Clifford, and Iohn Louell knights. These were dismissed out of the court, and remooued from the king, but not discharged, for they were constreined to put in suerties to appeare at the next parlement. There were also certeine ladies expelled the court, as those that were thought to doo much harme about the K. to wit, the ladie Poinings, wife to Iohn Worth of Mowen, and the ladie Moulinge, with others, which also found suerties to answer at the next parlement, to all such things as might be obiected against them. Moreouer there were arrested and committed to seuerall prisons, sir Simon Burlie, William Elmham, Iohn Beauchampe of Holt steward of the kings house, sir Iohn Salisburie, sir Thomas Triuet, sir Iames Barneis, sir Nicholas Dagworth, and sir Nicholas Brambre knights. Also Richard Clifford, Iohn Lincolne, Richard Mitford the kings chapleins, and Nicholas Sclake deane of the kings chappell, whose word might doo much in the court. There was also apprehended Iohn Blake an apprentise of the law: all which persons were kept in streict ward till the next parlement, in which they were appointed to stand vnto their triall and answers.

Shortlie after, to wit, the morrow after the Purification of our ladie, the parlement began, the which was named the parlement that wrought woonders. The king would gladlie haue proroged the time of this parlement, if by anie meanes he might. The lords came to the same parlement, with a sufficient armie for their owne safeties. On the first day of this parlement, were arrested as they sat in their places, all the iustices (except sir William Skipworth) as sir Roger Fulthrop, sir Robert Belknap, sir Iohn Carie, sir Iohn Holt, sir William Brooke, and Iohn Alocton the kings sergeant at law, all which were sent to the tower, and there kept in seuerall places. The cause whie they were thus apprehended, was for that, where in the last parlement, diuerse lords were made gouernours of the realme, both by the assent of the same parlement, and also by the aduise and counsell of all the iustices then being, and indentures tripartite thereof made, of the which one

The K. is cōpelled to condescend to the lords request.

[793]

Certeine persons put out of the court.

Certeine ladies expelled the court.

The parlemēt that wrought woonders.

*R. Grafton.*

*Thom. Walsin.*

*R. Grafton.*

The iustices arrested & sent to the tower.

Why the iustices were apprehended.

part remained with the king, an other with the lords so chosen to gouerne the realme, and the third part with the iustices: and yet notwithstanding, the said iustices at a councell holden at Notingham (as yee haue heard before) did go contrarie to that agreement. Wherevpon it was now determined, that they should make answer to their dooings.

Moreouer, in the beginning of this parlement, were openlie called Robert Véer duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill archbishop of Yorke, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, sir Robert Trisilian lord cheefe iustice of England, to answer Thomas of Woodstoke duke of Glocester, Richard earle of Arundell, Henrie earle of Derby, and Thomas earle of Notingham, vpon certeine articles of high treason, which these lords did charge them with. And forsomuch as none of these appeared, it was ordeined by the whole assent of the parlement, that they should be banished for euer, and their lands and goods moouable and vnmoouable to be forfeit and seized into the kings hands, their lands intailed onelie excepted. Shortlie after was the lord chéefe iustice, Robert Trisilian found in an apothecaries house at Westminster, lurking there, to vnderstand by spies dailie what was doone in the parlement: he was descried by one of his owne men, and so taken and brought to the duke of Glocester, who caused him forthwith the same daie to be had to the tower, and from thence drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged.

The duke of Ireland & his associats attainted of treson by this parlement.

Trisilian chéefe iustice descried by his owne man is executed at Tiburne.

[794]

On the morrow after, sir Nicholas Brambre, that sometime had beene maior of London, was brought forth to iudgement and condemned, although he had manie fréends that made sute to saue his life. This man had doone manie oppressions within the citie of London (as was reported.) In his maioraltie, he caused great & monstrous stocks to be made to imprison men therein, and also a common axe to strike off the heads of them which should resist his will and pleasure, for he was so highlie in the kings fauour, that he might doo what he would. And the report went, that he had caused eight thousand or more to be indicted, which before had taken part with the lords, intending to haue put them all to death, if God had not shortened his daies. Manie other euill faouored reports went abroad of him, as that he meant to haue changed the name of London, and to haue named it little Troie, of which citie baptised with that new name, he purposed to be intituled duke. But these were forged rumors deuised and spred abroad in those daies, as manie other were, partlie by the vaine imagination of the people, and partlie of purpose, to bring those whome the king faouored further out of the peoples liking. But now touching sir Nicholas Brambre: in the end being thus called to answer his transgressions, he was found giltie, and had iudgement, neither to be hanged, nor drawne, but to be beheaded with his owne axe which before he had deuised: seruing him heerein as Phalaris the tyrant sometime serued Perillus, the inuentor of that exquisite torment of the brasen bull, wherein the offender being put (and the counterfet beast by force of fier made glowing hot) hauing his toong first cut out, through extremitie of paine made a bellowing alwaies as he cried, as if it had béene the verie noise of a naturall bull. Of which strange torment Perillus himselve first tasted, suffering death by an engine of his owne deuising, which he thought should haue purchased him a good liuing, whereof the poet saith:

Sir Nicholas Brambre executed with an axe of his owne deuise.

*Ouid. li. I. de art.*

Vt Phalaris tauro violentus membra Perilli  
Torruit, infelix imbuit autor opus.

After this, sir Iohn Salisburie, & sir Iames Berneis, both knights and lustie yoong men, were by iudgement of parlement drawne and hanged. Then folowed Iohn Beauchampe of the Holt, lord Steward of the kings house, that had serued king Edward the third, and his sonne Lionell duke of Clarence: who likewise by decrée of this parlement was drawne and hanged. Also Iohn Blake esquier, who in an infortunate houre stood against the lords in the councell at Notingham, was now drawne and hanged, and so was one Thomas Vske. Last of all (or as some hold, first of all) was sir

Diuerse that stood against the lords executed.

The duke of Glocester a seuere man.

Sir Simon Burlie.

Simon Burlie beheaded, although the earle of Derby did what he could to saue his life, by reason whereof, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle, and the duke of Glocester: for the duke being a sore and a right seuere man, might not by any meanes be remooued from his opinion and purpose, if he once resolued vpon any matter. Some spite he bare (as was thought) towards the said sir Simon Burlie, both as well for the faithfull fréndship, which was growne betwixt the duke of Ireland, and the said sir Simon, as also for that he looked to haue had such offices and roomes which sir Simon inioied, by the kings gracious fauour and grants thereof to him made, as the Wardenship of the cinque ports, and constablership of the castell of Douer and the office of high chamberleine.

¶ But now, bicause of all these which were condemned and executed at this parlement, in our common chronicles there is least <sup>† *Abr. Fl.* out of *Henrie Knighton* fol. 191.</sup> written; and in Froissard, and diuerse private pamphlets I haue read most of this sir Simon, I haue thought good to set downe some part of his life, so largelie as this volume may well beare, although a great deale more briefe than where I found it. This sir Simon was the son of sir Iohn Burlie knight of the garter, and brought vp in his youth vnder his kinsman doctor Walter Burlie, who (as in the latter end of king Edward the third you haue heard) was one of the chiefe that had charge in the bringing vp of the Blacke prince, eldest sonne to the said king Edward. By this occasion he grew into such fauour with the prince, that afterwards the said prince committed vnto him the gouernance of his sonne Richard of Burdeaux, who as he was of a gentle and courteous nature, began then to conceiue so great loue and liking towards him, that when he came to the crowne and was king, he aduanced him highlie to great honours and promotions, in somuch that at one time & other he was made knight of the garter, constable of Douer, lord Warden of the cinque ports, lord chamberleine,† earle of Huntington, and also one of the priuie councill to the king. [795]

Neither was there any thing doone concerning the affaires apperteining vnto the state without his counsell, appointment, and direction, wherein he so much fauoured and leaned to the partie of the duke of Ireland, that he was sore enuied, and greatlie hated of diuerse of the rest of the nobilitie, speciallie of the kings vnckle the duke of Glocester, who vpon malice that he bare to the man, not so much for his owne demeanour, as for his alies, and peraduenture for desire of his roomes, more than of his life, caused him to be accused of diuerse offenses against the crowne, realme, and church; namelie, for that he had (as they surmized against him) spoiled and wasted the kings treasure, and withholden the paie of the souldiers and men of warre, wherevpon he was arrested, called to account, & hauing no clerke allowed him to make vp the same, was found in arrerages 250000 franks. And although for one part thereof he demanded allowance of monie, which he had defraied and laid out in Almaine, and in Boheme, about the kings marriage, and for the residue desired daies of paiment, yet he could obtaine neither. Further, he was accused that the duke of Ireland and he had gathered great summes of monie, conueied the same to Douer, and from thence sent it in the night by sea into Germanie.

Lastlie, the archbishop (forsooth) and the moonks of Canturburie <sup>*Froissard.*</sup> charged him that he sought the means to remooue the shrine of the <sup>*Thoms. Wals.*</sup> archbishop Thomas, otherwise called Thomas Becket, from Canturburie vnto Douer, vnder a colour of feare, least the Frenchmen being assembled in Flanders to inuade England, should land in Kent and take Canturburie, and spoile it, where indeed (as they surmized against him) he meant to send it ouer the seas vnto the king of Boheme. Herevpon he was first committed to the tower, and before the king or his other friends could procure his deliuerance, he was without law or iustice, before any of the residue (as some hold) brought forth and beheaded on the tower hill, by commandement of the duke of Glocester, and other of his faction, quite contrarie to the kings will or knowledge, in somuch that when he vnderstood it, he spake manie sore words against the duke, affirming that he was a wicked man, and

worthie to be kept shorter, sith vnder a colour of dooing iustice, he went about to destroie euerie good and honest man. The king was also offended with the duke of Yorke, for his brothers presumptuous doings, though the said duke of Yorke being verelie a man of a gentle nature, wished that the state of the common-wealth might haue béene redressed without losse of any mans life, or other cruell dealing: but the duke of Glocester, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, the lesse that they passed for the kings threatening speach, so much more were they readie to punish all those whom they tooke to be their enimies. In deed the said sir Simon Burlie was thought to beare himselfe more loftie, by reason of the kings fauour, than was requisite, which procured him enuie of them, that could not abide others to be in any condition their equals in authoritie.

It should appeare by Froissard, that he was first of all, in the beginning of these stirs betwixt the king and the lords, committed to the tower, and notwithstanding all the shift that either the king, or the duke of Ireland, or anie other of his fréends could make for him, by the duke of Glocesters commandement he was cruellie beheaded, so greatlie to the offense of the king, and those that were his trustie councillors, that therevpon the king caused the duke of Ireland the sooner to assemble an armie against the said duke and his complices, therby to restraine their presumptuous proceedings. But whether he was thus at the first or last executed, to please the king the better, now at this parlement, amongst others that were condemned in the same: his lands were giuen to the king, a great part whereof he afterwards disposed to diuerse men as he thought expedient. But yet in the parlement holden in the one and twentieth yeare of this kings reigne, the act of atteindor of the said sir Simon was repealed: and at an other parlement holden in the second yeare of king Henrie the fourth, all his lands which then remained vngranted and vnsold, were restored to sir Iohn Burlie knight, sonne and heire of sir Roger Burlie, brother to the said Simon, of whom lineallie is descended Thomas Eins esquier, now secretarie to the queenes maiesties councill in the north parts. And thus far touching sir Simon Burlie, of whom manie reports went of his disloiall dealings towards the state, as partlie ye haue heard, but how trulie the lord knoweth. Among other slanderous tales that were spred abroad of him, one was that he consented to the deliuering of Douer castell by the kings appointment to the Frenchmen for monie. But as this was a thing not like to be true, so (no doubt) manie things that the persons aforesaid, which were executed, had béene charged with, at the least by common report among the people, were nothing true at all; although happilie the substance of those things, for which they died, might be true in some respect.

Sir William Elmham that was charged also for withdrawing of the soldiers wages, discharged himselfe therof, and of all other things that might be laid to his charge. As touching the iustices, they were all condemned to death by the parlement, but such meanes was made for them vnto the queene, that she obtained pardon for their liues. But they forfeited their lands and goods, and were appointed to remaine in perpetuall exile, with a certeine portion of monie to them assigned for their dailie sustentation: the names of which iustices so condemned to exile were these, Robert Belknap, Iohn Holt, Iohn Craie, Roger Fulthorpe, William Burgh, and Iohn Lokton. Finallie, in this parlement was an oth required and obtained of the king, that he should stand vnto and abide such rule and order as the lords should take: and this oth was not required onelie of the king, but also of all the inhabitants of the realme. ¶ In these troubles was the realme of England in these daies, and the king brought into that case, that he ruled not, but was ruled by his vncles, and other to them associat.

In the latter end of this eleuenth yeare was the earle of Arundell sent to the sea with a great nauie of ships and men of warre. There went with him in this iournie, of noble men, the earles of Notingham & Deuonshire, sir Thomas Percie, the lord Clifford, the lord Camois,

[796]

*Grafton.*

The iustices condemned to perpetuall exile.

The king taketh an oth to performe the lords orders.

The earle of Arundell sent to the sea with a great nauie, in aid of the duke of Britaine.

Peraduētūre Maluere, it may be Mongomerie.

sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Morieux, sir Iohn Daubreticourt, sir William Shellie, sir Iohn Warwike or Berwike, sir Stephan de Liberie, sir Robert Sere, sir Peter Montberie, sir Lewes Clanbow, sir Thomas Coque or Cooke, sir William Paulie or Paulet, & diuerse others. There were a thousand men of armes, and three thousand archers. The purpose for which they were sent, was to haue aided the duke of Britaine (if he would haue receiued them) being then eftsoones run into the French kings displeasure, for the imprisoning of the lord Clisson constable of France.

But after that (contrarie to expectation) the duke of Britaine was come to an agrément with the French king, the earle of Arundell drew with his nauie alongst the coasts of Poictou, and Xaintonge, till at length he arriued in the hauen that goeth vp to Rochell, and landed with his men at Marrant, foure leagues from Rochell, and began to pilfer, spoile, and fetch booties abroad in the countrie. The Frenchmen within Rochell issued foorth to skirmish with the Englishmen, but they were easilie put to flight, and folowed euen to the barriers of the gates of Rochell. ¶ Perot le Bernois a capteine of Gascoigne, that made warre for the king of England in Limosin, and lay in the fortresse of Galuset, came foorth the same time, and made a roade into Berrie with foure hundred spears. The earle of Arundell, after he had laine at Marrant fiftéene daies, returned to his ships, and finallie came backe into England, and Perot le Bernois likewise returned to his fortresse. ¶ About the same time was a truce taken betwixt the parties English and French on the marches of Aquitaine, to begin the first daie of August, and to indure till the first of Maie next insuing.

An. Reg. 12.

The earle of Arundell returneth out of France.

[797]

¶ In this yeare 1388, in Lent, the Scots entred into the westerne borders, & what with killing as also with burning they did much mischief. Moreouer they shewed extreme crueltie against young children and sucklings, against women bigge with child and in trauell, against weake and weerish men and crooked with age, in the countrie of Gildisland, within the lordship of the lord Dacres, gathering them together into houses, and shutting them vp, and locking the doores, they burned without mercie or pitie to the number (as it was said) of two hundred and aboue.

*Abr. Fl.* out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

O Scottish crueltie and more than barbarous bloodthirstinesse.

This yeare in August, the Scots inuaded the countrie of Northumberland, and at Otterburne ouerthrew a power of Englishmen, which the earle of Northumberland and his sonnes had leauied against them. In this battell the earle Dowglas chiefe of that armie of Scots was slaine, and the lord Henrie Percie, and his brother sir Ralfe, sonnes to the said earle of Northumberland, were taken prisoners, as in the Scottish chronicles ye may read more at large. After the

An ouerthrow giuen to the Englishmen by the Scots at Otterburne.

*Fabian. Caxton.* A parlement at Cambridge.

Sir Thomas Triuet slaine with the fall of his horse.

feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, a parlement was holden at Cambridge, in the which diuerse statutes were ordeined; as For the limiting of seruants wages; For punishment of vagarant persons; For the inhibiting of certeine persons to weare weapons; For the debarring of vnlawfull games; For maintenance of shooting in the long bow; For remouing of the staple of woolles from Middleburgh vnto Calis; For labourers not to be receiued, but where they are inhabiting, except with licence vnder seale of the hundred where they dwell. There was also an act made, that none should go foorth of the realme, to purchase anie benefice with cure or without cure, except by licence obtained of the king; and if they did contrarie herevnto, they were to be excluded out of the kings protection. There was granted to the king in this parlement, a tenth to be leuied of the clergie, and a fiftéenth of the laitie. Moreouer, during the time of this parlement, as sir Thomas Triuet was riding towards Barnewell with the king, where the king lodged, by forcing his horsse too much with the spurs, the horsse fell with him so rudelie to the ground, that his entrails within him were so burst and perished, that he died the next daie after. Manie reioised at this mans death, as well for that men iudged him to be excéeding haultie and proud; as also for that he was suspected not to haue dealt iustlie with the bishop of Norwich, in the iournie which the bishop had

made into Flanders: but specialle men had an ill opinion of him, for that he stood with the king against the lords, counselling him in the yeare last past to dispatch them out of the way. ¶ Sir Iohn Holland, the kings brother on the mothers side, that was latelie returned out of Spaine, where he had beene with the duke of Lancaster, was now made earle of Huntington.

¶ In Iulie, whiles the king was at Shéene, there swarmed together in his court great multitudes of flies and gnats, insomuch that in maner of skirmishing they incountered ech other; and making great slaughters on both sides, were in the end swept awaie from the place where they lay dead, with brushes and béesoms by heaps. This was deemed an vnluckie prognosticat of some mischiefe like to fall vpon the necke of the land.

Also in this twelfth yeare, were commissioners appointed to méet at Balingham, betwixt Calis and Bullongne, to treat a truce to be had betwixt the realmes of England, France and Scotland. Walter Skirlow bishop of Durham that had béene latelie before remoued from Bath vnto Durham, from whence Iohn Fordham had béene translated vnto Elie, was sent as head commissioner for the king of England, and with him were ioined sir Iohn Cranbow, and sir Nicholas Dagworth, knights, and Richard Rowhale clearke, a doctor of law. By Froissard it appeareth that the earle of Salisburie was one, & sir Thomas Beauchampe lord deputie of Calis appointed likewise as an assistant with them. The bishop of Baieux, the lord Valeran earle of S. Poule, sir Guillam de Melin, sir Nicholas Bracque, and sir Iohn le Mercier came thither for the French king. And for the king of Scots there appeared the bishop of Aberdeine, sir Iames and sir David Lindsey, and sir Walter Sankler, knights. After long treatie, and much a doo, at length a truce was concluded to begin at Midsummer next, and to last threé years after.

¶ In this yeare of Grace 1389, in the Lent time, there sprang a pitifull strife in Oxford, the variance in the yeare before being not fullie allaied, but both sides alwaies prouoking ech other. For the Welsh scholers being euermore quareulous, and hauing the southerlie scholers taking their parts, rose against the scholers of the north, so that to and fro manie a deadlie mischiefe happened betwéene them.

In the end, this strife did so increase, that there was a daie of skirmish appointed and agreed vpon by both sides to be tried in the field. But by the meanes of Thomas of Woodstoke duke of Glocester all this sturre was appeased, and manie of the Welsh scholers banished from the vniuersitie. ¶ On the thursdaie before Easter (being mawndaie thursdaie) the lord Beaumont gardian of Carleill in the west marches entred Scotland fortie leagues, & spoiling Fowike, made wast at his pleasure, and brought awaie with him manie Scots prisoners & captiues. ¶ About this time a truce of threé years was taken betwéene king Richard, the kings of France, Scotland, Spaine, Portingale, and of Nauarre. This truce began on the first daie of August in the néerer parts of the realme both by sea and land; and on the fiftéenth of August in the further parts, because knowledge could not be giuen thereof without some long time.

Whilest the commissioners were occupied in the marches betwixt Calis and Bullongne about this truce, the Scots entring into Northumberland, did much mischiefe, leading awaie manie prisoners, men and women, besides other great booties and preies which they got abroad in the countrie. The lord Thomas Mowbraie earle of Notingham was sent with fiue hundred spears to reuenge those attempts of the enimies: but for that his power was small in comparison to theirs, he preuailed litle or nothing against them. Sir Iohn Clanbow, and sir Richard Rouale clerke, tooke the French kings oth; and the earle of saint Paule that had married the ladie Maud Courtneie with other noblemen, came into England, and receiued the kings oth here for the confirming of this last mentioned truce. The Scots

1389.

*Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Lecester abbeie.*

Battell and slaughter betwéene flies.

Commissioners sent to treat a truce betwéene England, France, and Scotland.

*Frossaird.*

[798]

*Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Lecester abbeie.*

Scholers of Oxford together by the eares.

Truce of 3 years betwéene six kings.

The Scots in the time of treatie spoile the countrie of Northumberland.

The Scots hauing provided an armie to inuade England are hardly persuaded to accept the truce.

might not without much ado be persuaded to accept this truce, being readie the same time with an armie to enter into England, but yet through the diligence of such Frenchmen as went thither for that purpose, at length they agreed.

This yeare the king by counsell of some that were about him, called the nobles and great men of the realme together, and as they were set in the councell chamber staieng till he came: at length he entring into the same chamber, and taking his place to sit among them, demanded of them, of what age he was now? Whereto answer was made, that he was full twentie yeares old. Then (said he) I am of yeares sufficient to gouerne mine owne house and familie, and also my kingdome: for it séemeth against reason that the state of the meanest person within my kingdome should be better than mine. Euerie heire that is once come to the age of twentie years, is permitted, if his father be not liuing, to order his businesse himselve: then that thing which is permitted to euerie other person of meane degré by law, why is the same denied vnto me? These words vttered he with the courage of a prince, not without the instigation and setting on of such as were about him, whose drift was by discountenancing others to procure preferment to themselues, abusing the kings tender years and gréene wit, with ill counsell for their aduantage: where as it had béene more méete to haue giuen him those precepts which Claudianus hath in his tract of the institution of a prince; and among others this:

Non tibi quid liceat, sed quid fecisse decebit  
Occurrat, mentémq; domet respectus honesti.

When the barons had hard the words of the king, being therewith astonied, they made answer, that there should be no right abridged from him, but that he might take vpon him the gouernment as of reason was due. Well said he, yée know that I haue beene a long time ruled by tutors, so as it hath not béene lawfull to me to doo anie thing, were it of neuer so small importance, without their consents. Now therefore I will, that they meddle no further with matters pertaining to my gouernment, & after the maner of an heire come to lawfull age, I will call to my councell such as pleaseth me, and I will deale in mine owne businesse my selfe. And therefore I will first that the chancellor resigne to me his seale. When the archbishop of Yorke (who in the yeare last past had béene remooued from Elie vnto Yorke, and Alexander Neuill displaced) had deliuered vnto him the seale, the king receiuing it of him, put it in his bosome, and suddenlie rising, departed foorth of the chamber, & after a little while returning, sat downe againe, and deliuered the seale to the bishop of Winchester, William Wickham, and so made him chancellor, although sore against the same bishops will. He made also manie other new officers, remoouing the old, and vsed in all things his owne discretion and authoritie. The duke of Glocester, the earle of Warwike, & other honorable and worthie men, were discharged and put from the councell, and others placed in their roomes, such as pleased the king to appoint. At the same time he made fiue new iustices.

¶ Of this assuming the regiment to himselve, as diuerse diuerslie report: so Henrie Knighton a man liuing in those daies, and committing to writing the occurrents of that tumultuous time, saith as followeth. In the moneth of Maie, the king held a councell at Westminster, and in the feast of the Inuention of the crosse, comming personallie to the councell house he remooued all the great officers (contrarie to expectation and thinking) from their offices, and at his pleasure placed in their roomes whome he list. He remooued the archbishop of Yorke lord chancellor, and put in his place the bishop of Winchester: he remooued the bishop of Hereford lord treasurer, and put another in his place: he remooued the clearke of the priuie seale, and all other: so likewise did he the iustices of either bench. But least the affaires of the realme should in the meane while be hindered, he commanded the iustices of law to follow and prosecute things requisite as they were woont, till such time as he was better aduised touching the prouiding of

The kings question to his lords and others in the councell chamber.

*Claudian.*

The king taking vpō him the gouernment of all things displaceth diuerse officers & setteth others in their roomes.

Wickham bishop of Winchester made L. chancellor.

[799]

*Abr. Fl.* out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.



other iustices. The erle of Arundell likewise, vnto whome the gouernment of the parlement was committed, and the admeraltie of the sea, was remooued; and the earle of Huntington put in his roome. In like sort dealt the king with the residue of his officers, saieng that he ought not to be inferior in degree & of lesse account than an other ordinarie heire whatsoever within the realme of England; sith the law and custome of the realme of England auerreth, that euerie heire being in the gardianship of anie lord, when he is growne to be one and twentie yeares of age, ought presentlie to inioy the inheritance left him by his father, and is lawfullie to possesse his patrimonie, and freelie to dispose and order his owne goods and chattels to his liking. But now it is come to passe, that I thus manie yeares haue liued vnder your counsell and gouernement; and now first to God, secondlie to you, I giue manifold thanks, that you haue gouerned and supported me, mine inheritance, and my realme of England, as well within as without, & speciallie against our enimies round about vs, all renoume of honour and praise to vs and our kingdome alwaies safelie reserued. But now God hath so dealt for vs, that we are of full age, so that we are two and twentie yeares old at this present: and we require that we may fréelie and at libertie from this time forward rule and gouerne both our selues and our inheritance; and we will haue our kingdome in our owne hands, and officers and seruitors of our owne appointing at our pleasure; secondlie, as shall seeme to vs more auailable, by Gods grace, to elect, choose, and preferre vnto offices such as we doo well like of, and at our pleasure to remooue such as be presentlie resiant, and in their roomes to substitute and set others wheresoeuer and whomsoeuer we list. The king hauing thus spoken, there was not one that went about to breake him of his will, but they all glorified God, who had prouided them such a king as was likelie to prooue discret and wise.

[800]

In this season, the followers of Wickliffes doctrine maruellouslie increased, speciallie in the diocesse of Sarum, where they had manie that tooke vpon them as ministers, both to preach the word, and to dispense the sacraments. This they did in secret: but they were discovered by one that had beene of their fellowship, who declared to the bishop of Salisburie at his manor of Sonning, all the whole circumstances thereof, as he knew. There were of them that preached in those daies earnestlie against pilgrimages, calling such images as the people had in most veneration, as that at Walsingham, and the rood of the north doore at Paules in London, rotten stocks, and worme eaten blocks, through which the vnskillfull people being mocked and deceiued, were compelled most manifestlie to commit idolatrie. The bishops (saith Thomas Walsingham) hearing, beholding, and knowing these things with much more, to be true, did little or nothing to redresse the same, saue onlie the bishop of Norwich who stirred coles, swearing and staring, that if anie of that sect presumed to preach anie peruerse doctrine within his diocesse, he would cause them either to hop headlesse, or to frie a fagot for it: he was therefore not a little praised and extolled by the moonks and other religious men (as should appeare) for that his zeale.

An. Reg. 13.

Wickleuists increase.

In Nouember, the duke of Lancaster came foorth of Gascoigne into England, after he had remained first in Spaine, and after in Gascoigne, thrée yeares together. Of his successe in Spaine is spoken before, & likewise of the agrément betwixt the king of Castile, & the said duke, which was not in all points confirmed, till a little before his returne now into England. About the same time the king had called a councell of his nobilitie at Reading, to the which the duke of Lancaster made the more hast to come, bicause he knew that the king would shew no good countenance to some of the noblemen; and therefore he doubted least malicious offenses might arise betwixt them, which to appease he meant the best he could, and his trauell came to good effect: for he did so much, that as well the king as the lords departed from the councell as freends, the lords taking their leaues of him in louing maner, and he courteouslie bidding them farewell: and so each of them resorted vnto

The duke of Lancaster returneth into Englād foorth of Gascoigne.

A councell holden at Reding where y<sup>e</sup> duke of Lancaster reconcileth the king and the lords.

their homes well pleased for that present. ¶ The king held his Christmasse this yéere at Woodstoke, and the duke of Lancaster laie at his castell of Hertford.

At the same time the lord Iohn de Hastings earle of Penbroke, as he was practising to learne to iust, through mishap was striken about the priuie parts, by a knight called sir Iohn S. Iohn, that ran against him, so as his inner parts being perished, death presentlie followed. The losse of this earle was greatlie bemoned by men of all degrees, for he was liberall, gentle, humble, and courteous to each one, aboue all the other yong lords in the land of his time. Of this earles ancestors this is reported for a thing strange and maruellous, that from the daies of Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, that was one amongst other that sat in iudgement of Thomas earle of Lancaster, there was not anie earle of Penbroke succéeding the same Aimer de Valence, vnto the daies of this yong earle by misfortune thus slaine, that euer saw his father, nor yet anie of their fathers might reioise in the sight of anie of their sonnes, being still called hence, before the time came for them so to doo.

1390.

The earle of Penbroke as he was learning to iust is wounded to death.

¶ Now héere, bicause this Iohn Hastings, being the last of that surname and armes of the whole blood, which of that line inioied anie title of honor, I thinke it not vnfit for this place (since other occasion will not be giuen therefore) to talke of the Hastings somewhat higher than this man: though not from the shell to perpetuate the memorie of them, the which I haue now doone, least otherwise by ingrate obliuion it might neuer hereafter come to light. In which I will not begin from the first honourable Hastings, whose bloud by manie descents continued, is thought by most ancient monuments, which I haue séene and read, to haue béene a baron before the conquest in this land, and to haue borne the same cote in the field, which this now slaine earle of Penbroke did: whereof hereafter in my descriptions and lines of the earles of Penbroke I will make more ample discourse in a new booke (if God giue good successe therein) onelie at this time making some small repetition from that Henrie Hastings, from whome the Hastings (in respect of the mariage of Alda daughter to Dauie earle of Huntington, brother to William king of Scots) did descend: who (amongst others) in the reigne of Edward the first, made title to the kingdome of Scotland. The originall of which name in this treatise I will neither flatteringlie defend, nor obstinatlie reiect, to haue growne from Hastings the Dane, who in the reigne of Alured (long before the conquest, about the yeare of our redemption 890) came with Rollo into England, and for a certeine space infested this nation, departing aside to France. And now to the purpose.

Francis Thin, out of diuerse ancient monuments belonging to the Hastings and others.

[801]

Henrie lord Hastings (who bare for his armes gold a manche gules) married Alda (or Ada) the fourth daughter of Daud earle of Huntington, she being one of the heires to Iohn Scot earle of Chester, & of Huntington (which died without issue) son of the said Daud, and brother to the said Ada. To this Henrie and Ada did Henrie the third king of England, in the two & twentith of his reigne (in place of the portion of hir brothers lands, which should haue descended to hir as parcell of the earledome of Chester, for that the king would not haue the said earledome diuided amongst distaues) giue in exchange certeine lands mentioned in this déed following.

The grant of Henrie the third, to Henrie Hastings and Ada his wife, for the exchange of lands for hir part of the earledome.

OMNIBUS, ad quos, &c; salutem. Sciatis quòd concessimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, Henrico de Hastings, & Adæ vxori eius, <sup>Strattondale.</sup> pro rationabili parte sua, quæ prædictam Adam contingit, de hæreditate Iohannis quondam comitis Cestriæ fratris ipsius Adæ in Cestershire, faciedo eis rationabile excambium, ad valentiam prædictæ partis ipsam Adam contingentis de prædicto com. Cestershire. Et ad maiorem securitatem cōcessimus eidem Henrico & Adæ manerium nostrum de Bremesgraue cum pertinentibus in comitatu Wigornia, manerium nostrum de Bolisoure cum castris & pertinentibus in com. Derby, manerium nostrum de Mountesfeld cum Soka cū pertinentibus in comitatu Notingham, manerium de Worsfeld cum pertinentibus in com. Salop. manerium de Stratton cum pertinentibus in eodem com. manerium de Wiggutton cum pertinentibus in com. Stafford, & maneriū de Woluerhamton cū pert. in eodē com. in tenentiam. Tenendum eisdem Henrico & Adæ & hæredibus ipsius Adæ, quo vsq; prædicta pars ipsam Adam contingens & de prædicta hæreditate extenta fuerit, & rationabile excambium in prædictis terris vel alias eis assignauerimus. In cuius, &c. Teste rege apud Ditton 11. Innij, anno regni nostri 22.

The which manours the said Henrie and Ada did hold during the life of the said Ada, in peaceable and quiet possession. After hir death the said Henrie goeth into Gascoigne, where he remained steward vntill the comming of Henrie the third, at what time the said Henrie surrendered his office, but the king importunate with him still to reteine the same, he flatlie denied it, and would no longer remaine there, suddenlie returning into England without licence or knowledge of the king, for which contempt the king greeuouslie incensed, in reuenge and for satisfaction of the same, made the same lands to be extended by Thomas Paslew and others, who by the kings processe extended part thereof to a treble value, after which extent returned into the chancerie, the king seized the manour of Bremesgraue, Bolesoure, Strattondale in Norton, & left in his hands the manours of Lierton, Oswaldbecke, Cundoner, Wourfeld, and Wiggutton, whereof the said Henrie died seized. Two yeares before which grant of the lands before said to this Henrie, to wit, in the twentieth yeare of Henrie the third, the said Henrie Hastings made his petition to serue in the pantrée (as he was bound by tenure) at the coronation of euerie prince, the record whereof in the ancient written booke of the earls of Huntington, is in these words following. |802|

The record by which Henrie Hastings executed the office of the panteller.

VICESIMO Henr. tertij quo coronata fuit regina Elionara filia Hugonis comitis Prouinciæ apud Westm. factæ sunt contentiones magnæ de seruitijs ministrabilibus, & de iuribus pertinentibus ad eorum ministeria, sed respectuatur, iuribus singulis saluis, vt tumultus requiesceret vsq; ad quindena Paschæ sequetis, &c. Et Henricus de Hastings, cuius officium seruiendi de mappis à veteri vendicauit officiũ illud, & habuit. Nam quamuis Thurstanus vendicauit officium illud, asserens suum esse debere à veteri, tamen rex repulsat, & admisit Henricum de Hastings, ea die assignans eisdem diem de contentione finienda ad prædictum terminum. Extractas verò post prandium mappas tanquam suas ad officium pertinentes recepit.

This Henrie had by Ada his wife, his sonne & heire Henrie Hastings, from whome Buchanan dooth saie that Henrie Hastings now earle of Penbroke is descended, whereof I will not now heere dispute.

Henrie Hastings knight, sonne of Henrie, after the death of his father, finding himselfe greeued that the inheritance, which should haue descended vnto him from his mother, was so withholden from him for the offense of his father, contrarie to law and iustice, and without iudgement, but by the kings power, pursued a bill against the king, therby to haue remedie and restitution, for the supposed false returne of the extent which was made against his father; and vpon the same bill, this Henrie Hastings obtained a new writ to make a fresh extent directed to maister Thomas of Wimundham, Robert de la Laie, Robert de Solham, Hugh Peeche, & Thomas de Braie, to vnderstand if the remnant of the lands to him descended, beside that by the king extended, would counteruaile the value of such lands as he should haue by descent from and of the earle and earledome of Chester, which matter neuer being ended in his time, was afterward prosecuted of the Hastings from parlement to parlement, vntil the thirtie fourth yeare of Edward the first, as more plainelie shall after appeare. Of this Henrie, Hollingshed intreateth much in the reigne of Henrie the third: this man (being he that in the time of Edward the first, made title to the crowne of Scotland) married Ione one of the daughters of William Cantulpe lord of Aburgauenie, in the right of Eua, one of the daughters and heires of William Bewsa or Brewcusa, for I find both written, of which Ione this Henrie had issue Iohn Hastings his sonne and heire, Edmund which married Isabell, & had great possessions in Wales: Ada first married to Robert de Champane: Lora married to sir Thomas the sonne of sir Iohn de Latimer, and Ione which was a nun at Nottingham.

Iohn Hastings knight, sonne of the last Henrie, was borne at Asleghe, in the yéere of our Lord 1262, and in the six & fortith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third. This man after his fathers death did (in the yeare of our Lord 1274, and the second yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, being the kings ward) demand the execution of his office of the pantrie, at the coronation of queene Elianor wife to Edward the first, but could not execute the same by reason of his nonage, and also for that he was in ward to the said king. After, when he was growne to full yeares, there arose in the yeare of our Lord 1305, and in the thirtie third yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, great contention betweene Antonie Beake bishop of Durham, this Iohn Hastings, Iohn Balioll, and Robert Bruse, for the manors of Penrith, Castlesoure, Salgkill regis, Lange Worthbie, Carlaton, and of Werkine Tinehale, whereof Henrie king of Scots (kinsman of the said Robert Bruse, Iohn Balioll, and Iohn Hastings, whose heire they were) died seized in his demesne of fee. In which sutes after manie delaies made, and manie summons against the said bishop, the plée went without daie, bicause the bishop must go to Rome. But after his returne the sute being reuiued and continued, it went once more without daie, bicause the king seized the same into his hands, and held it all the time of his reigne. These things thus doone, and Edward the first departed, this Iohn Hastings as yet not hastie to renew his sute of the land, but rather to execute his right

of the pantrie, did in the first yeare of Edward the second, demand the executing of that office, at the coronation of the said Edward the second and Isabell his wife at Westminster, which he obtained, and laid the clothes and napkins in the great hall by him and other his knights, one the tables whereat the king, the quéene, and other great states should dine, which (according as I haue seene noted) was in this sort.

The order and number of clothes laied at the kings table, and how Iohn Hastings had them for his fee.

AD altam sedem ipsius regis tres mappas, & super alias mensas in eadem aula 28 mappas, vnde quælibet pecia continebat 4, & in parua aula coram regina, & alibi in ilia parua aula 14, quarū quælibet pecia continebat 3. Et dum fuerūt ad comestum, mappas per se & suos custodiebat, & post comestum illas trahebat, & deferre faciebat seruientes ad seruiendum, & istas cum suis loquelis habebat sine voluntate vel cum voluntate, & eas detinebat per totum festum coronationis, licet petitæ erant deliberatione, primò à senescallo regis, postea ab ipso rege, per quod idem rex præcepit domino Willielmo Martin, & alijs senescallis suis, quòd plenam & celerem iusticiam ei facerent, & deliberationem de mappis prædictis si fuerit faciendum. Qui inde postea nihil facere voluerunt, aut non curauerunt toto festo coronationis prædictæ, nec postea in congregationibus. Per quod postea dominus Iohannes de Hastings fecit petitiones suas domino regi, & concilio suo, quòd feudum suum mapparum prædictarum ei deliberaretur, pro vt ei de iure fuerit deliberandum. Et quòd fecit seruitium suum debito modo, prout antecessor suus fecit longo tempore Henrici regis, quando habuit feudum suum, tempore quādo desponsauit Elionaram filiam comitis Prouinciæ, tanquam pertinens ad manerium suum de Asheley in comitatu North. pro vt patet in Memorandum ipsius regis in camero suo de scaccario diuersis locis in istis verbis.

\* Williame de Hastings tient demye fee de chiualer in Asheley du roy a fayre le seruire per seriante deestree panetre le roye, which is found in the fourth leafe of Chester beginning, Le counte Roger le Bigot, in the title of eschetes of seriantie in the countie of Northfolke. Touching which it is thus further found in the same place. \* Henrie de Hastings tient en Asheley du roye per sergiante de la panetre, fo. Syesme. \* Henrie de Hastings tient vn seriante de la panetre le roy en Ashelty, & vaute per an. C. sol. fol. 9. \* Williame de Hastings tient vn fee de chiualer en Asheley seriante deestree despenser en le despens. le roy. fo. 4. \* Henrie de Hastings tient vn terr en la ville de Asheley per le seruire deestree le despenser.

Which petitions and all other petitions for his part of his land in the kings hands, by the censure made in the time of Henrie the 3, the said Iohn Hastings lord of Aburgauennie did pursue from parlement to parlement, vntill the parlement holden at Yorke after Michaelmas, where supplication was made to the king, by him and others, that he might remaine with the king in Gascoigne, as his steward or marshall: which if he would performe, all his forsaid petitions and all other petitions which were reasonable, should be granted vnto him. By occasion whereof he granted vnto the kings and the nobles request: so that the king would find him pledges due therefore, and that he might obtaine iustice in his inheritances, and those his lawfull sutes, which had beene hitherto denied vnto him, which thing the king faithfullie promised in euerie respect to be performed towards him: wherevpon he sailed into Gascoigne, in the yeare of Christ 1302, being the 31 of Edward the first, the wednesdaie after the feast of S. Lucie. But for this faire shew, it séemeth he sped neuer the better: for which cause not being restored in the 34 yeare of Edward the first, he pursued his sute afresh, and had from the king at Yorke this definitiue sentence, deliuered by the mouth of Walter Langhton, then the kings treasurer (as I find by such notes as I haue séene) that he should séeke the records of the chancerie, and bring them to the next parlement, which the said Iohn did. At what time he brought forth the former grant of Henrie the third, of the said lands giuen in recompense of his part of the earledome of Chester. After which yet it was agréed by the king and his councill for diuerse considerations (and mostlie (as I suppose) because he had refused to serue in Gascoigne, and onelie went as it were inforced) notwithstanding all that the said Iohn could alledge, that he should take nothing for his petition, but further to be in the kings mercie for his false claime: the whole processe whereof I haue seene in an ancient written monument of French. All which (as I gather) was done in the life of Edward the first (notwithstanding that I haue a little vnorderlie before treated of the executing of his office of the pantrie at the coronation of Edward the second, sonne to Edward the

first) as may be confirmed by Piers Longtoft in these verses:

Et pour peril escheuer toutz apres promist  
Ke Iean de Hastin cheualiere lit  
Emerie de la Bret barone ne pas petit  
Alant in Gascoigne touz sans contredit  
Pour la terme attendue del trevis auant dit.

This Iohn married two wiues both called Isabell, whereof the first was Isabell de Valence one of the daughters and heirs of William Valence earle of Penbroke & lord of Aburgauennie, but how the said Wil. Valence came to the honor of Aburgauennie, since William Cantelupe before named was once lord thereof, and much about that time, I can not yet certeinlie learne. But yet I following good authoritie haue set downe this Valence to be lord of Aburgauennie, & that he gaue the same to one Iohn Hastings, which must néeds be this man, marieng his daughter. The other wife of this Iohn Hastings, was Isabell the daughter of Hugh Spenser earle of Winchester. By his first wife he had six children, to wit, Iohn Hastings his heire, William Hastings that married Elianor the daughter of sir William Martin, which died without heires; Henrie Hastings that was a clerke, and Elizabeth Hastings married to Roger Greie lord of Ruthine sonne of sir Iohn Greie, of whom is descended Henrie earle of Kent now liuing. Ione married to Edmund Mortimer, by whom she had no issue, being after married to William de Huntingfield, by whome she had Roger de Huntingfield; and Margaret Hastings married to William the sonne of William Martin lord of Kemmies. By Isabell Spenser his second wife, he had thrée children, to wit, Hugh Hastings lord of Folliot, of whome shall be more intreated, when we come to the last Iohn Hastings erle of Penbroke slaine at tilt, as before. Thomas Hastings, and Pelagia de Huntington. His first wife Isabell Valence died 1305, being the 31 of Edward the first, and was buried at the frier minors in Couentrie. His second wife ouerliuing hir husband, was after married to sir Rafe Monthermer, for which mariage the said Rafe was fined by Edward the second at a thousand marks, as appeareth in the rols of the chancerie of 13 of Edward the second: she died the 9 of Edward the third, & was buried in the frier minors of Salisburie. This Iohn Hastings departed this life 1313, the sixt yeare of the reigne of Edward the second.

Iohn Hastings lord Hastings and Aburgauennie, was borne in the fiftéenth yeare of Edward the first, in the yeare of Christ 1287. For at the death of his father, which happened (as before) in the sixt yeare of Edward the second, he was found to be of the age of six & twentie years, which if it be added to the yeare of our Lord 1287, make vp the full number of 1313, in which his father died. This man in the eight yeare of Edward the second at the parlement holden at London in the Carmelite friers, being about the yeare from the birth of Christ 1314, renewing the sute to the king (after the death of Antonie Beke bishop of Durham, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1310) for the lands, whereof his father had the said bishop in sute, and which were after seized into the kings hands, as before appeareth, in the life of his father. It was then found vpon search, that sir Iohn Ballioll (who was partie to the said sute before) had the realme of Scotland by award: by reason of certeine lands that he gaue to sir Antonie de Beke the bishop of Durham: for which cause it séemed king Edward the first seized the same lands into his hands as forfeit to him, in that they were after the maner of a bribe giuen to the said bishop, to support the sute of the said Iohn Balioll for the obtaining of the crowne of Scotland. And for that cause this Iohn Hastings was counselled by such as willed him well, that he should surceasse his sute, and so he did. This Iohn Hastings married Iulian the daughter of Thomas lord Leiburne the sonne of William lord Leiburne, and had by hir Laurence de Hastings: after which this Iohn Hastings died in the eightéenth yeare of Edward the second, and in the yeare of our Lord 1325. His wife Iulian liued manie yeers after, and surrendred hir life in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1366.

Laurence Hastings lord Hastings and Aburgauennie, was also afterward earle of Penbroke, he was borne about the thirtéenth yeare of Edward the second, being also about the yeare of our redemption 1320: which is proued by this, that the said

Laurence was five yeares old at the death of his father, which (as before is said) happened in the yeare 1325, and in the eighteenth of Edward the second, at what time he was seized as the kings ward, and committed to the gouvernement of tutors, appointed him by the said Edward the second. This Laurence Hastings for the nobilitie of his race, the actiutie of him selfe, the largenesse of his possessions, and his familiaritie with the king, was created earle of Penbroke, about the one and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third. He married Anne or Agnes the third daughter of sir Roger Mortimer the first earle of March, by whom he had issue Iohn Hastings.

Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke lord Hastings Aburgauennie and Weifford in Ireland, the sonne of Laurence Hastings the first earle of Penbroke of that name, did in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of our Lord 1369, infeoffe diuerse persons of the manor of Lidgate in Suffolke, of which towne was Iohn Lidgate the monke of Berie and famous poet of England surnamed. After which in the fortie six yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1371, when the Frenchmen besieged Rochell, he was sent with an armie of men to the rescue of the same. But being set vpon by the Spanish nauie in the hauen of Rochell, they slue and tooke manie of the English, burnt their nauie, and caried the earle with sundrie other prisoners into Spaine; where this earle a long time remained prisoner. Which misfortune was iustlie supposed to haue fallen vpon him, because he was a man of euill life, giuen greatlie to lecherie, an infringer of the liberties of the church, and a persuader of the king that he should (for his warres) more grieuouslie exact manie subsidies and contributions vpon the clergie than vpon the laitie. After that he had béene long prisoner in Spaine (by the space almost of three yeares) he was ransomed for a great summe of monie, by Bertram Cleikine, and died (as I coniecture by some sufficient prooffe) betwéene Paris and Calis, as he came into England, in the fortie ninth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: so that he neuer fullie paid his ransome. He had two wiues, Margaret the daughter of Edward the third, & Anne the daughter of sir Walter Mannie and of Margaret Segraue made dutchesse of Northfolke in the time of Richard the second: but when he married these wiues, I can not certeinlie find. And in the earle of Kents booke (which treateth of the contention of the Hastings and the Greies, for bearing of the armes of Hastings) there is no mention made (as farre as my memorie serueth) of the said Margaret; the reason whereof I suppose to be, for that this Iohn Hastings had no issue by hir: and that booke onelie serued to conueie a lineall descent from the Hastings to intitle the Greies. This Iohn Hastings had by his second wife (Anne) a sonne called Iohn Hastings, which after succéded his father in all his inheritances.

But before I saie anie more of the Hastings, I thinke it not amisse to giue some warning of an error in Polydor of Vrbin, writing that Anne the countesse of Penbroke (wife to this man, for none of the earles of Penbrokes had anie wife so named within the compasse of years wherein Polydor appointeth this time) descended of a noble house of S. Paule in France, a woman of great vertue, and a louer of learning and of learned men, founded a house in Cambridge, to this daie called Penbroke hall: which in truth was not builded by hir, but by Marie the wife of Odomare or Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, who was slaine at tilt in the one & twentie yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: which was thirtie seauen yeares before the death of this Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke: which Marie was in verie déede the daughter of Guie earle of S. Paule, the kinswoman of Edward the third, and a French woman. This woman being in one daie (& that the daie of hir mariage) a maid, a wife, & a widow (hir husband being that day slaine at tilt) did in hir widowhood (in the one & twentieth yeare of Edward the 3, in the yeare of our Lord 1374) erect that house in Cambridge vpon hir owne ground, and appointed the same to be called the hall of Marie Valence, or Penbroke hall: by meanes whereof it was long after called Aula Valentiae Mariæ.



Now to returne (where I left) to the last wife of this Iohn Hastings called Anne, she (after the death of hir husband) did at the coronation of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1382, being about the fift yeare of the reigne of the said Richard, sue by petition to execute by hir deputie the office of the panteler, by reason of the manor of Ashley, which she had for hir iointure, whervnto she was admitted, & by hir deputie sir Thomas Blunt knight did performe the same: as this record dooth testifie, in which is set both hir petitions, and the iudgement thereof in this forme.

The record whereby dame Anne Hastings clameth the office of the pantrie.

ITEM Anna quæ fuit vxor Iohannis Hastings nuper comes Penbrochiæ porrexit in curia quandam petitionem suam in hæc verba. A treshonore seigneur le due de Lancast. & senescall d'Anglitter supplie Anne que fuit le femme Iohn de Hastings nadgares countie de Penbroke, qui cōme le mannor de Asheley in le com. de Northfolke soit tenens de nostre seigneur le roy par le seruice de faire le office de napperie al coronement le roy, quel mannor soel tient en dower del dowement son dit baron. Ore plect luy accepter del faire son office person deputie, a cestie coronement nostre seigneur le roye, pernant les fees du dit office ceastascauoir les nappes quant il sont sustreytz. Et quia post ostensionem verisimilium eidentiarum & rationem ipsius Annæ, ac proclamationem in curia prædicta debitè factam, in hac parte nullus huiusmodi clamor ipsius Annæ contradixit: consideratum fuit quòd ipsa ad officium prædictum per sufficientem deputatum suum faciendum admitteretur, & sic officium illud per Thomam Blunt militem, quem ad hoc deputauit, dicto die coronationis in omnibus perfecit, & peracto prandio mappas de mensis subtractis pro feodo suo recepit.

Thus this much touching this Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke and dame Anne Mannie his wife.

Iohn Hastings (the sonne of Iohn Hastings last recited) was earle of Penbroke lord Hastings Aburgauennie & Weisford, who being verie yoong at the time of his fathers death, was ward first to Edward the third, and then to Richard the second, but neuer saw his full age of one and twentie yeares, nor euer possessed the lands wherevnto he was borne: for not long after that he had married Philip the second daughter of Edmund Mortimer (earle of March Vlster and lord of Wigmore) he was [about the nineteenth yeare of his age, the fiftéenth yeare of king Richard the second, and the yeare of our redemption 1391, being a youthfull and lustie yoong gentleman (but tender and slender) in the Christmase time, when the K. held that feast at Woodstoke in Oxfordshire] willing to learne to iust, whervpon in the parke then incountring with a knight called Iohn saint Iohn (a valiant and stout person) he was slaine when they ran together, as the said knight did cast his speare from him, and so the said earle receiuing this manner of death, no man knew whether it happened by mishap or of purpose. To which Iohn Hastings now slaine, Margaret Segraue duchesse of Northfolke his grandmother (by his mother the daughter of sir Walter Mannie) was executrix and disposer of all his substance. After his death, his widow the ladie Philip was married to Richard earle of Arundell, & after that to Iohn lord saint Iohn, being the same man (as I suppose) which slue hir first husband this Iohn Hastings. But here before the death of this Iohn I must not forget, that though he were within age at the coronation of Richard the second, as not being past nine or ten yeares old; he sued to execute at the said coronation, the offices which his ancestors had afore performed. But bicause his mother had the mannor of Ashley in dower (as is before expressed) he did not sue to serue in the pantrie, but leauing that, demandeth the carieng of the second sword and the golden spurs before the king. The records of both which I haue here set downe.

The petition for the second sword which the earle of Arundell also claimed to beare,  
was in this sort.

IOHANNES de Hastings nuper comes Penbrochiæ protulit quandam petitionē in hæc verba. A treshonoree seigniour le duc de Lancastre & seneschall d'Angleterre, Iohn fitz & heyre Iohn de Hastings counte de Penbroke, que cōme il tient le Chastell de la ville de Tynbye, le grange de Kingswood, le cōmote de Craytrath, le mannor de Chastell Martin, & le mannor de Traygaire per seruice de porter le second espee deuant le roy a son coronement: qui pleast a luy, accepter a son dit office a faire ore a ceste coronement. Et super hoc Richardus comes Arundell & Surrey exhibuit in curia quandā aliam petitionē in hæc verba. A roy de Chastell & de Lion duc de Lancastre & senescall d'Angleterre, supplie Richard counte de Arundell & Surrey, de luy receuer a faire son office, a porter le second espee deuant le roy ore a son coronement, que luy appertient de droit pur le countie de Surrey. Quibus petitionibus intellectis & auditis, & hinc inde dictorum comitum rationibus, pro eo quòd dictus Iohannes comes Penbrochiæ (qui infra ætatē in custodia regis existit) ostendit curiæ meliores & verisimiliores rationes pro se, quàm prædictus comes Arundell pro ipso monstrauit. Dominus rex declarata coram eo materia prædicta, præcepit Edmundo comiti mariscallo, quòd ipse gladium prædictum ista vice in nomine iure prædicti comitis Penbrochiæ deferret, saluo iure alterius cuiuscunq;. Qui quidem mariscallus gladium ilium ex hac causa die coronationis gestabat calcaribus deauratis.

The other bill exhibited for the golden spurs, is registred in this order,

IOHANNES filius & hæres Iohannis de Hastings nuper comitis Pēbrochiæ exhibuit in curia quandam petitionem in hæc verba. A treshonore seigneur le roy de Chastell, &c. Et seneschall d'Anglterre, supplie Iohne fitz & heyre Iohne Hastings nadgares counte de Penbroke, de estre receue a son office de porter les grandes esperon, d'oores deuant le roy nostre seigneur ore a son coronement, en mannor cōme William le marischall son ancester les porta il coronoment de roy. Edw. audita & intellecta billa prædicta, pro eo quòd Iohannes est infra ætatem & in custodia domini regis, quanquam sufficientes ostendit curiæ recorda & euidētias, quòd ipse seruitium prædictum de iure facere deberet; consideratum extitit, quòd esset ad voluntatem regis, quis dictum seruitium ista vice in iure ipsius Iohannis faceret. Et super hoc rex assignabat Edmundum comitē mariscallum, ad deferēdum dicto die coronationis prædicta calcaria in iure ipsius hæredis. Saluo iure alterius cuiuscunque, & sic idem comes mariscallus illa calcaria prædicta in dicto die coronationis coram ipso domino rege deferebat.

[808]

In this Iohn Hastings ended all the honorable titles of the Hastings, bicause this man dieng without issue, his inheritances were dispersed to diuerse persons; for the honour of Penbroke came to Francis at court by the kings gift, the baronies of Hastings and Weisford came to Reinold Greie of Ruthine, the baronie of Aburgauennie was granted to William Beauchampe of Bedford: for all which lands, and for the bearing of the armes of this same Iohn Hastings without difference, great contention grew betwéene sir Edward Hastings knight (descended of Isabell Spenser) and Reinold Greie lord Greie of Ruthine, sonne of Reinold Greie, sonne of Roger Greie, that married Elizabeth daughter of Isabell Valence, for both the said lord Greie and sir Edward Hastings were descended by two venters (as partlie before and partlie hereafter shalbe shewed) from one man Iohn Hastings, husband to both said Isabels. For the explanation whereof, and lineall descent to conueie the said sir Edward Hastings from the said sir Iohn Hastings, first lord of Aburgauennie of that surname; I must here repeat a little of that which I haue alreadie written: which is, that the said Iohn Hastings first lord of Aburgauennie, hauing two wiues, both Isabels, by his first wife Isabell Valence had Elizabeth married to Roger Greie, and by his second wife Isabell Spenser, he had issue Hugh Hastings knight, from whome we are to deduce the said sir Edward Hastings in this sort. Hugh Hastings knight lord of Folliot (in the right of his wife) being sonne of the second wombe of Isabell Spenser, and Iohn Hastings sonne of Henrie Hastings married Margerie the daughter and heire of sir Richard Folliot, by whom he came to be lord of Folliot, and alwaies bare the armes of Hastings with a difference of a second brother of a second venter. This marriage was procured and made by Isabell his mother, who purchased the said ward for him. This Hugh died in the yeare of Christ 1347, in the one and twentieth yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the church of Elsing, in Elsrug in Northfolke which he builded; his wife Margerie died in the yeare 1349, being the thrée and twentieth yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the chappell of Fornewell. This Hugh had issue by his wife Hugh Hastings his heire, and a daughter married to sir Robert de la Mare.

Hugh Hastings knight, the sonne of Hugh and Margerie Folliot did marrie the daughter of Adam de Eueringham, by whom he had Hugh Hastings his sonne and heire, and two daughters, the one married to Winkfield, and the other to a knight called Elmham. This Hugh died at Calkewelhell or Gwines, and was buried in the friers of Doncaster, in the yeare of our Lord 1369, about the foure & fortith yéere of Edward the third. This man for him and his heires in difference from the other Hastings, earles of Penbroke his kinsmen by the halfe blood, did beare the Hastings armes with the labell, quartered with the armes of Folliot. Hugh Hastings knight the sonne of Hugh and Margaret Eueringham married Anne the daughter of Edward Spenser earle of Glocester, by whom he had issue Hugh Hastings and Edward Hastings, which

contended with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine. This Hugh tooke his pilgrimage to Ierusalem & died in Spaine, after whose death dame Anne Spenser his wife was married to Thomas lord Morleie. Hugh Hastings eldest son of Hugh Hastings and dame Anne Spenser, married the daughter of sir Wil. Blunt knight; this Hugh died at Calis at the mariage of Richard the second, to Isabell the daughter of the king of France, about the 19 yeare of the reigne of the said Richard, being the yeare of our redemption 1395, who dieng without issue, all his right and title came to his brother Edward.

[809]

Edward Hastings knight brother of the last Hugh began the contention with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine, for the right of the lands, honors, and armes without difference of the last Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke. This sute began about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth, and continued at least vntill the fift yeare of Henrie the fift, if not longer; but in the end (notwithstanding manie false pedegrees counterfeited by this Hastings, and his vncler Henrie bishop of Norwich, one of the house of the Spensers) yet it was adiudged against the said sir Edward Hastings in the marshals court, that the lands, honors, and armes without difference, as the last Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke did beare them, with the armes of William Valence earle of Penbroke, should be onelie borne by the said lord Greie of Ruthine and his heires, as being of the whole blood, and next heire to the said last Iohn Hastings earle of Penbroke, and that the said Edward Hastings should vtterlie be barred to beare the armes of Hastings, but quartered with the armes of Folliott, as onelie descending of the halfe blood of the said last earle of Penbroke of that name. And that all other pedegrees what so euer (except this) are false, and of purpose contriued, as appeareth by a notable booke and monument thereof remaining in the hands of Henrie Greie now earle of Kent (descended of the said Reinold Greie of Ruthine) conteining all the processe, examinations, witnesses, pedegrees & iudgements thereof, more plainelie maie appeare. In which contention there was shewed a matter by the deposition of sir William Hoo knight not vnworthie to be remembred (though it touch not the Hastings) concerning armorie and bearing of differences in armes, which was, that the said sir William said on his oth in the tenth yeare of Henrie the fourth, that before the times of Edward the third, the labell of three points was the different appropriat and appurtenant for the cognizance of the next heire; but the same king made his sons to beare the entire armes with labels of threé points, with certeine differences in the said labels, to be knowen the one from the other, except his sonne the duke of Glocester, who bare a border about the armes of France and England. And thus, this much Francis Thin touching the name of Hastings.

In this yeare Thomas earle of Lancaster, for the opinion which had béene conceiued of him, by reason of miracles and other respects, was canonized for a saint. The mondaie next after the feast of saint Hilarie, a parlement was begun at Westminster, in which there was a bill exhibited by the commons, that the lords and great men of the realme should not giue to their men badges to weare as their cognizances; by reason that through the abuse thereof, manie great oppressions, imbraseries, vnlawfull maintenances, and wrongs were practised, to the hinderance of all good orders, lawes, and iustice. The lords would not consent altogether to laie downe their badges; but yet they agreed that none should weare any such cognizance except their seruants of houshold, and such as were in ordinarie wages by the yeare. ¶ In the same parlement, certeine persons that had gone about some new rebellion in Kent, being apprehended, were condemned, and so were drawne and hanged. ¶ There was also an act made against such as should passe the seas, to purchase prouisions (as they termed them) in any church or churches. And if any from thencefoorth attempted so to doo, he should be reputed and taken as a rebell. Also there was an act prouided against those that committed any wilfull murder, that none should presume to sue for their pardon. A duke or an archbishop that so sued, should forfeit to the king an hundred pounds. Likewise an earle or a bishop, an

The earle of Lancaster canonized for a saint.

A bill against wearing of badges.

No retainers to weare badges.

An act against mediators for wilfull murderers.

hundred marks, &c.

Moreouer, in this parlement it was granted, that the king should haue of euerie sacke of wooll fortie shillings, of the which ten shillings should be applied presentlie to the kings vses, and thirtie shillings residue of the fourtie shillings should remaine in the hands of the treasurers, towards the bearing forth of the charges of wars when any chanced. ¶ Also there was a subsidie granted of six pence in the pound, foure pence to the vse last mentioned, and two pence to be imploied at the kings pleasure. In the same parlement, Iohn duke of Lancaster was created duke of Aquitaine, receiuing at the kings hand the rod and cap, as inuestures of that dignitie. Also the duke of Yorke his sonne and heire was created earle of Rutland. In the fift of March a sore and terrible wind rose, with the violence whereof, much hurt was doone, houses ouerthrowne, cattell destroyed, and trees ouerturned. After this insued great mortalitie by pestilence, so that much youth died euerie where, in cities and townes, in passing great numbers. Herewith followed a great dearth of corne, so that a bushell of wheat in some places was sold at thirtéene pence, which was thought to be at a great price. ¶ About the feast of S. Peter ad Vincula, Iohn duke of Lancaster caused a great number of the nobles and péeres of the realme to hunt at Leicester in the forrest and all the parkes there to him apperteining. On the saturdaie the king and quéene were present, the archbishop of Yorke, the duke of Yorke, Thomas Woodstoke duke of Glocester, the earle of Arundell Iohn of Holland, the earle of Huntington, with other bishops, lords and ladies a great manie, and on thursdaie next following the king departing from thence towards Notingham soiourned with the lord of Beaumont besides Loughborrow.

In this thirtéenth yeare of king Richards reigne, the christians tooke in hand a iournie against the Saracens of Barbarie, through sute of the Genowais, so that there went a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen of France and England, the duke of Burbon being their generall. Out of England there went one Iohn de Beaufort bastard son to the duke of Lancaster (as Froissard hath noted) also sir Iohn Russell, sir Iohn Butler and others. They set forward in the latter end of this thirtéenth yeare, and came to Genoa, where they remained not long, but that the gallies and other vessels of the Genowais were readie to passe them ouer into Barbarie. And so about Midsummer in the beginning of the fourteenth yeare of this kings reigne, the whole armie being embarked, sailed foorth to the coasts of Barbarie, where neare to the citie of Affrike they landed, at which instant the English archers (as some write) stood all the companie in good stead, with their long bowes, beating backe the enimies from the shore, which came downe to resist their landing.

After they had got to land, they inuironed the citie of Affrike, (called by the moores Mahemedia) with a strong siege: but at length constrained with the intemperancie of the scalding aire in that hot countrie, bréeding in the armie sundrie diseases, they fell to a composition vpon certeine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens, and so 61 daies after their first arriuell there, they tooke the seas againe, & returned home, as in the histories of France and Italie is likewise expressed. Where, by Polydor Virgil it may séeme, that the lord Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derby, should be capteine of the English men, that (as before ye haue heard) went into Barbarie with the Frenchmen, and Genowais. It should otherwise appeare by other writers, who affirme that the said earle made a iournie in deed the same time against the miscreants, not into Barbarie, but into Prutzenland, where he shewed good prooffe of his noble and valiant courage: for ioining with the masters and knights of the Dutch order there, the armie of the Lithuanians that came against the said order was vanquished, and foure chiefe leaders of the Lithuanians were taken prisoners, thrée other being slaine, with thrée hundred of their chiefest and best approoued soldiers.

The duke of Lancaster made duke of Aquitaine.  
Great tempest.  
Great plague.  
Great dearth.  
*Ab. Fl.* out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester abbeie.  
A roiall hunting.

|810|

A iournie against the Saracens.

An. Reg. 14.

The English archers good seruice.

*Thom. Wals.*

The earle of Derby his exploits in his iournie against the infidels of Prutzenland.

Through the policie also and worthie manhood of the earle of Derby, there was a certeine citie taken, where the said earle and his men first entring vpon the walles, did set vp his banner: other being slouthfull, or at the least vnskilfull how to deale in such exploits. There were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common people, and amongst them that were found dead, the king of Polognies brother was one. The castell of the same citie was besieged fiue weekes space: but by reason of sicknesse and such infirmities as chanced in the armie, the masters of Prutzen, and Lifeland would not tarie any longer, but breake vp their siege and returned. The master of Lifeland led with him into his countrie thrée thousand prisoners.

In the meane time, whilst the christians were thus occupied, as well against the infidels Barbarie, as in the east parts towards Littawe, a roiall iusts and martiall turnament was proclaimed to be holden within Smithfield in London, to begin on sundaie next after the feast of saint Michaell. And bicause this triumphant pastime was published, not onelie in England, but also in Scotland, in Almaine, in Flanders, in Brabant, in Heinault, & in France, manie strangers came hither foorth of diuerse countries, namelie Valeran erle of saint Paule, that had married king Richards sister the ladie Mauld de Courtneie, and William the yoong erle of Osteruant, sonne to Albert de Bauiere earle of Holland and Heinault. At the daie appointed, when all things were prepared there issued foorth of the tower about thrée of the clocke in the after noone sixtie coursers apparelled for the iustes, and vpon euerie one an esquier of honor, riding a soft pace. Then came foorth foure and twentie ladies of honour (three score saith Froissard) mounted on palfries, riding on the one side richlie apparelled, and euerie ladie led a knight with a chaine of gold. Those knights being on the kings part, had their armor and apparell garnished with white hearts and crownes of gold about their necks, and so they came riding through the stréets of London vnto Smithfield, with a great number of trumpets and other instruments before them.

The king and the queene, with manie other great states were readie placed in chambers richlie adorned to see the iusts: and when the ladies that led the knights, were come to the place, they were taken downe from their palfries, and went vp into chambers readie prepared for them. Then alighted the esquires of honor from their coursers, & the knights in good order mounted vpon them. And so when their helmets were set on their heads, and that they were redie in all points, after proclamations made by the heraults, the iusts began, and manie commendable courses were run, to the great pleasure, comfort, and recreation of the king, the quéene, and all other the beholders. The prise that daie on the answerers part was giuen to the earle of saint Paule; and on the chalengers side, to the earle of Huntington. On the mondaie, the king himselfe, with dukes, earls, lords, and knights, came to the iusts, he being cheefe of the inner part. That daie the prise was giuen to the erle of Osteruant, for the best dooer of the vtter part: and of the inner part, to a knight of England called sir Hugh Spenser. On the tuesdaie, all manner of esquiers iusted, and likewise on the wednesday all maner of knights and esquires that would, on which daie was a sore and rude iusts, enduring till night. And so manie a noble course and other martiall feats were atchiued in those foure daies, to the great contentation and pleasure of manie a yoong batcheler desirous to win fame, & also highlie to the kings honour, who by all that season held his court in the bishops palace by Paules church, kéeping open houshold for all honest persons that thither resorted, especiallie euerie night after the iusts were ended, a right sumptuous and princelie supper was prepared for the strangers and other, and after supper, the time was spent in dansing and reuelling after the most courtlike maner. On the thursdaie, the king made a supper to all the lords, knights, and gentlemen strangers, and the quéene to all the ladies and gentlewomen. On the fridaie the duke of Lancaster feasted at dinner all the said lords, knights, and gentlemen strangers, in most sumptuous and plentifull maner. On the

A roiall iusts holden in Smithfield at London.

The manner of the iusts in Smithfield.

Siluer saith *Froissard*.

|811|

The king kept opè household in the bishop of London his palace by Paules church. The K. festeth the strangers.

The duke of Lancaster feasteth the strangers.

saturdaie, the king and all the whole companie departed from London vnto Windsore, where new feasting began, and speciallie the king did all the honour that might be deuised vnto the earls of saint Paule and Osteruant. The earle of Osteruant, at the earnest request of the king, receiued of him the order of the Garter, for the which he was euill thought of afterwards by his freends, namelie the French king and others. Finallie, after the king had thus feasted the strangers and others at Windsore, each man tooke leaue of the king, the queene, and the kings vncles, and other lords and ladies, and so departed, the strangers into their owne countries, and other home to their houses, or whither they thought best.

¶ This solemne iusts or tornement being touched, or rather in ample maner described by Ch. Okland, is reported of him to haue béene kept for actiuitie sake, and to set the youth & lustie blouds of the court on worke, who otherwise (bicause the king was yong and loued to liue in peace and ease, feats of armes and warlike prowesse both abroad and at home languished and laie as it were a fainting) through idlenesse and want of exercise, degenerating and growing out of kind from their woonted warlike valiantnesse, should giue themselues to filthie lecherie, riot, sléepe, loitering pastimes, and slouthfulnesse, all which doo greatlie impaire prowesse. Wherevpon (saith he)

Rege priùs de re consulto, ludicra diri  
 Martis opus simulatum inter se bella mouebant,  
 Atq; dies totos viginti quattuor hastis  
 Assumptis, studio statuunt decurrere fixo.  
 Deinde idem numerus procerum pars prima lacessens  
 Mittit ad externas gentes qui talia pandant.  
 Ludus ab Angligenis mense exercebatur vno  
 Hasticus. Vrbi hærens \*fabrorum dictus\* agellus  
 Extra Londini muros, spatiosus & amplus  
 Est locus: hîc stadium cursuris, certâq; meta  
 Ponitur, huc veniant quacúnq; ex gente creati  
 Sanguine magnorum heroum. Certamine victor  
 Qui fuerit, terris prosternens corpora plura,  
 Aut plures hastas frangens, donabitur auri  
 Multa vi, capiet quàm plurima ditia dona  
 Præmia virtutis, Richardo hæc dante brabæa, &c.

Hauing thus described the place where the iusts should be kept, with the rewards, and other circumstances; he toucheth the countries from whence the forren nobilitie came, that should vndertake triall of chiuallrie with these foure and twentie challengers: who at the daie appointed (saith he) came pransing out of the Towre vpon their great barded horsses through the broad streets, and their ladies of honor with them gorgiouslie decked with bracelets, owches, cheines, iewels, spangles, and verie sumptuous attire: a goodlie sight for the people to behold. At last, when they were come to Smithfield, and althings readie, the trumpets sounded to the exercise; and both parties, as well the English as the outlandish cheualiers ran together, and tried their strengths till they did sweat and were tired, their horsses panting and braieng with the violence of their bodilie motion; their stauies being crasht in sunder, flue vp into the aire, and the broken stocke or stumpe hitting the aduersarie ouerthrew him to the ground: the beholders with ioy of heart gaue a shout thereat, as greatlie delighted with the sight. Then came the night and brake off the first daies tornement. On the next daie when they should renew and fall afresh vnto it againe, they shewed themselues in courage equall to their ancestors, and handled their matters so well that they got them great renowme. The third daie came, and the multitude of people still gathered together woondered at the right valiant deeds of the valorous horssemen, how they did tosse, hoisse vp, and wind their speares, and with what force they vsed their armes, what courage appeared in their statelie horsses, and how the verie heauens rang with the ratling of their armor, and the strokes giuen to and fro. Euerie daie brought with it his portion of pleasure, both to the contenders, and to the beholders. When the time was expired of this tried chiuallrie, necessarie occasion mooued the king of England to set his mind on other matters, so that commending the prowesse of the outlandish lords, he bestowed vpon them massie cheines of gold, &

*Abr. Fl. out of Angl. præel. sub. Rich. 2.*

\* Smithfield. \*

[812]



loading them with other gifts of great valure, dismissed them into their countries. But the English challengers required nothing but renowme for their reward, being allured onelie with the loue of praise; and thus when these pastimes of chiuallrie were quite ended, euerie man got him home to his owne house. Thus farre Christopher Okland, touching the description of this Hippomachia ludicra inter concertatores Anglos & externos.

Ambassadors were sent from the French king, vnto the king of England, to make an ouerture of peace to be had, and to indure for euer betwixt the two realmes of England and France, sith that by warre it was apparant inough, that neither realme, could greatlie benefit it selfe, but rather sore indamage either other, as afore time it had come apparantlie to passe. Therefore the matter being well considered, both parts séemed well affected towards some good conclusion by treatie to be had of a full and perfect peace. About the same time, by the king with the aduise of his councell, proclamation was made and published at London, that all beneficed men abiding in the court of Rome, being Englishmen borne, should returne home into England before the feast of S. Nicholas, vnder paine to forfeit all their benefices; and such as were not beneficed, vnder a paine likewise limited. The Englishmen hearing such a thunder clap a farre off, fearing the blow, left the popes court, and returned into their natiue soile.

The pope troubled with such a rumbling noise, sent in all hast an abbat as his nuncio vnto the king of England, as well to vnderstand the causes of this proclamation, as of statutes deuised and made latelie in parlement against those that prouided themselues of benefices in the court of Rome by the popes bulls, which séemed not a little preiudiciall to the church of Rome: in consideration whereof the said nuncio required that the same statutes might be repealed and abolished, so farre as they tended to the derogation of the church liberties: but if the same statutes were not abolished, the pope might not (said his nuncio) with a safe conscience otherwise doo than procéed against them that made those statutes, in such order as the canons did appoint. Moreouer the said nuncio declared to the king certeine dangerous practises betwixt the antipape and the French king; as to make the duke of Touraine the French kings brother king of Tuscan and Lombardie, and to establish the duke of Aniou in the kingdome of Sicile.

Moreouer, he gaued the king to vnderstand, that if the French king might compasse by the antipapes meanes to be chosen emperour, he would seeke to vsurpe vpon ech mans right, and therefore it stood the king of England chieflie in hand to prouide against such practises in time. And as for the treatie of peace which the Frenchmen séemed so much to fauour, it was to none other end, but that vpon agreement once had, they might more conuenientlie compasse their purpose in the premisses. Furthermore the nuncio earnestlie besought the king of aid in the popes behalfe against the French king, if (as he threatned to doo) he should inuade him in Italie with open force. The king séemed to giue fauourable eare vnto the nuncio, and after aduise taken, appointed to staie till after Michaelmasse, at what time a parlement was appointed to be assembled, wherein such things as he had proponed should be weied and considered, and some conclusion taken therein.

About this time or in the yeare 1391, according to Henrie Knightons account, there was a prophane statute made against the church & churchmen; namelie, that no ecclesiastical person or persons should possesse manors, glebeland, houses, possessions, lands, reuenues or rents whatsoever, at the hands of the feoffer, without the kings licence & the chiefe lords. And this statute extended it selfe, as well to parish churches, chappels, chanteries, as abbeies, priories, & other monasteries whatsoever: likewise to citizens of cities, to farmers, & burgesses, hauing such rents or possessions

1391.

*Thom. Wals.*

Ambassadors from the French king for a perpetual peace.

*Froissard.*

A proclamatiō that all English beneficed men in Rome should returne into England.

[813]

The pope sendeth his nuncio to king Richard.

The popes nuncio openeth to the king the Frēch kings priuie practises.

Nuncio.

*Abr. Fl.* out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

A sore bridle for the clergie.

for the common profit. For men in those daies, that would bestow land or liuelod vpon church, fraternitie, or conuent, and were not able for cost and charges to procure a mortmane, vnder the kings licence and chiefe lords; were wont to feoffe some speciall men, in whom they had confidence and trust; vnder whose name and title, churchmen, or anie other fraternitie or conuent might inioy the profit of the gift, and might haue the commoditie thereof in possession. And it was prouided by that statute, that all and euerie as well persons ecclesiasticall as parishioners, both citizens, burgesses, and farmers, or anie other whatsoever, hauing such rents, possessions, manors, or anie reuenues whatsoever, in the hands of such feoffers, without the licence of the king and chiefe lords; that either they should obteine and get a licence of the king and the chiefe lords to make it a mortmaine; or else set such things to sale, & raise profit of them, on this side or before the feast of Michaelmasse next insuing: or the said feast being past and expired, that then the king and the chiefe lords, in things not ordered and disposed accordinglie, may enter and seize vpon the same, and them haue and hold at his and their pleasure.

[814]

About the same time, the duke of Glocester went into Prutzen land, to the great grieffe of the people, that made account of his departure, as if the sunne had beene taken from the earth, doubting some mishap to follow to the common wealth by his absence, whose presence they thought sufficient to stay all detriments that might chance, for in him the hope of the commons onelie rested. In his returne home, he was sore tormented with rough weather and tempestuous seas. At length he arriued in Northumberland, and came to the castell of Tinmouth, as to a sanctuarie knowen to him of old, where after he had refreshed him certeine daies, he tooke his iournie homewards to Plaschie in Essex, bringing no small ioy for his safe returne to all the kingdome. ¶ On the ninth of Iulie the sunne séemed darkened with certeine grosse and euill faouered clouds comming betwixt it and the earth, so as it appeared ruddie, but gaue no light from noone till the setting thereof. And afterwards continuallie for the space of six weeks, about the middest of the daie, clouds customablie rose, and sometimes they continued both daie and night, not vanishing awaie at all. ¶ At the same time, such a mortalitie and death of people increased in Northfolke, and in manie other countries of England, that it seemed not vnlike the season of the great pestilence. In the citie of Yorke there died eleuen thousand within a short space. ¶ Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland lieutenant of Calis, was called home from that charge, and created warden of the marches against Scotland, and Robert Mowbraie was sent to Calis to be the kings lieutenant there.

The duke of Glocester his iournie into Prutzen land.

The duke of Glocester in great fauor with the commons.

An. Reg. 15.

A great death in Yorke and sundrie other places.

On friday next after All soules day, the parlement began at London, in which the knights would in no wise agrée, that the statute made against spirituall men, for the prouiding themselues of benefices in the court of Rome should be repealed: but yet they agréed thus much, that it should be tollerated, so as with the kings licence such spirituallmen might purchase to themselues such benefices till the next parlement. ¶ In this parlement aforsaid, there was granted vnto our lord the king one tenth of the clergie, and one fiftéenth of the people towards the expenses of Iohn duke of Lancaster, who in Lent next following went ouer into France to the citie of Amiens for a finall peace betweene the kingdoms of England and France: where the king of France met him with a shew of great pompe and honor, sending before him first of all to welcome him thither the citizens of the same citie on horssebacke in a verie great number. Then afterwards, he sent earles and barons a great manie to the same end, then his two vncles, last of all went the king himselfe to meet him, and saluting him called him by the name of The most worthie warrior of all christendome, the inuincible woorthinesse of the king onelie excepted. And the duke had seauentéene daies (by

A parlement at London.

*Abr. Fl.* out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

The duke of Lancaster ambassador for the king, right honorable receiued into France.

*Abr. Fl.* out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

couenant) to compasse this treatie of peace: at last he returned, hauing attendant vpon him in his traine the bishop of Durham, and the sonne of the duke of Yorke the earle of Rutland, with a thousand horssemen, set foorth in a woonderfull sumptuous sort with goodlie furniture. ¶ Also conditionallie a whole tenth and a whole fiftéenth were granted to him, if it chanced that he made anie iournie that yeare against the Scots. ¶ In this yeare, the duke of Gelderland sent to the king of England letters of commendation & praise, wherein also were prouocations and stirrings vp to warre and warlike actiuitie, and to the exercise of kinglie noblenesse, the tenor whereof followeth:

The tenor of the said dukes letter to king Richard.

MAGNIFICE princeps, innata vobis probitas, & prudentum consilia (vt opinamur) simul agerent in officium, quòd singula hæreditaria iura, quæ ex natalitio vestram magnificentiam regiam maiestatem, temporibus vestræ discretionis altissima providentia munirentur illæsa; et si quæuis oppugnaret violentia, clypeo militari studeat regalis industria fortiter defendere sua iura. Et quòd vestram regiam personam cōtingamus in affinitate, ni vetet Deus ipse, quin semper parati erimus vobis in vestris iuribus defendendis assistere cum duobus milibus lancearū, quando & quotiens disponemini ad bellica conuolare. Nec perire debeant iura propter verba aut promissa, quomodolibet ad hoc laborat versutia Gallicorum. Sanè serenissime princeps in orbem volat fama, nec ambigitur quòd propter lanam & innumerabilia vestra singularia commoda, sine quibus non viuit oriens neque auster, regna singula in pecunijs vos salutant. In comparatione igitur ad alios reges vobis confert Deus ipse diuitias centuplatis. Probitas etiam militaris, & arcuum asperitas, sine pari, taliter huc vsque extulere gentem magnanimam occidentis, quòd timor non paruus vestros inuadit aduersarios; & ad hunc diem impariter victoriosè dimicauit cum Gallicis Angliæ gens austera. In pusillanimitate igitur (potentissime princeps) contra naturam non obdormeat cor leonis; sed & quales vobis contulit vires natura, ipsas applicare dignemini actibus bellicosis, in defensionem reipublicæ; iuris hæreditarij sustentationem, augmentūque meriti, & incomparabiliter chronicabilem probitatem cordis magnanimi tanti regis.

The same letter in plaine phrase verbatim Englished by A. F.

MOST mightie prince, your roiall prowesse and the counsels of the sage, should altogither (as we thinke) moue you in dutie, by the most profound & deepe foresight of your discretion in time to maintaine and defend all and singular your rights & inheritance vnharmed, which by birth doo magnifie and make great your roiall maiestie, and if anie violence whatsoever gainstand and assault the same, your kinglie diligence should indeuor with the shield of a warrior valiantlie to defend your title and right. And bicause we are neere you, & doo as it were touch your roiall person in aliance, vnlesse God himselfe doo forbid and hinder vs, we will alwaies be readie in all your rights to assist and aid you with two thousand pikes, when and how often soeuer you shall be disposed to rush out to battell. Your right ought not to be lost for words and promises, howsoever the craftinesse of the French labor to this purpose. Trulie most excellent prince, your renowme doth flie into the world, neither is it doubted but for your wooll sake, and other your singular commodities being innumerable (without the which the east and the south can not liue) all realmes with their coines doo greet you. In comparison therefore of other kings God himselfe hath bestowed vpon you riches a hundred fold. Your warlike prowesse also, & the roughnesse of your bowes, being peerelesse, haue hitherto so extolled the couragious nation of the west, that no small feare dooth inuade your aduersaries; and to this day the sterne people of England haue (none like them) victoriouslie incountered with the French. Therefore ô most puissant prince, let not the hart of a lion sleepe in cowardlinesse against nature: but what force and valiantnesse nature hath giuen you, the same vouchsafe to put in practise with feats of armes in defense of your common wealth, the maintenance of your right by inheritance, the increase of your desert, and the peerelesse prowesse of so great a kings couragious hart right worthie to be chronicled.

The price of corne that had continued at an high rate, almost for the space of two yeares, began to fall immediatlie after haruest was got in, to the great reliefe of the poore, which before through immoderate eating of nuts and apples, fell into the disease called the flix, whereof manie died, and suerlie (as was thought) the death and dearth had beene greater, if the commendable diligence of the lord maior of London had not béene, in relieuing the commons by such prouision as he made for corne to be brought to London, from the parties of beyond the seas, where otherwise neither had the countrie béene able in anie thing to haue sufficed the citie, nor the citie the countrie. H. Knighton referreth this scarsitie to the yeare 1390, and maketh a large discourse both of the miseries which it brought with it, as also of the cause whereby it was procured, and of the notable meanes whereby the same in most places was remedied.

The flix gotten by excessive feeding on fruits.

The lord maior of London commended for his carefull prouision of corne from beyond the seas in the time of dearth.

[816]

In this yeare (saith he) was a great dearth in all parts of England, and this dearth or scarsitie of corne began vnder the sickle, and lasted till the feast of saint Peter ad vincula, to wit, till the time of new corne. This scarsitie did greatlie oppresse the people, and chieflie the commoners of the poorer sort. For a man might see infants and children in stréets and houses, through hunger, howling, crieng, and crauing bread: whose mothers had it not (God wot) to breake vnto them. But yet there was such plentie and abundance of manie yeares before, that it was thought and spoken of manie housekéepers and husbandmen, that if the séed were not sowen in the ground, which was hoorded vp and stored in barnes, lofts, and garners, there would be enough to find and susteine all the people by the space of fiue yeares following. But the cause of this penurie, was thought to be the want of monie in a great manie. For monie in these daies was verie scant, and the principall cause hereof was, for that the wooll of the land lay a sléepe and hoong heauie in some mens hands by the space of two yeares; and in others thrée yeares, without a chapman. For it was enacted in a certeine

*Abr. Fl.* out of *Henrie Knighton* canon of *Leceister* abbeie.

The cause of the scarsitie was not want of bread or corne.

Wooll sold dogcheape by the stone.

Prouision against scarsitie to relieue the poore.

Ô charitie of London!

parlement, that the merchants of England should not passe out of the land with wooll and other merchandize, but should bring the same vnto twelue places within the realme appointed for the same purpose, that the merchants strangers might haue recourse thither with their commodities and so by exchange should transport our merchandize for theirs. By meanes whereof the merchants of England did forbear to buy wooll and other wares vntil the next parlement insuing, wherein it was granted them to traffike whither they would with their commodities. In these daies wooll was dogcheape: for one stone of good wooll of the chosen and piked sort, was sold for thrée shillings, and in Leicester and Kent at some times for two shillings or two and twentie pence. This scarsitie of victuals was of greatest force in Leicester shire, & in the middle parts of the realme. And although it was a great want, yet was not the price of corne out of reason. For a quarter of wheat, when it was at the highest, was sold at Leicester for 16 shillings 8 pence at one time, and at other times for a marke or fourteene shillings: at London and other places of the land a quarter of wheat was sold for ten shillings, or for litle more or lesse. For there arriued eleuen ships laden with great plentie of victuals at diuerse places of the land, for the reliefe of the people. Besides this, the citizens of London laid out two thousand marks to buy food out of the common chest of orphans: and the foure and twentie aldermen, euerie of them put in his twentie pound a péce for necessarie prouision, for feare of famine, likelie to fall vpon the citie. And they laid vp their store in sundrie of the fittest and most conuenient places they could choose, that the néedie, and such as were wroong with want, might come & buy at a certeine price so much as might suffice them and their familie: and they which had not readie monie to paie downe presentlie in hand, their word and credit was taken for a yeares space next following, and their turne serued. Thus was prouision made that people should be relieued, and that none might perish for hunger.

On Christmasse day, a dolphyn that came foorth of the sea vp the Thames vnto London-bridge, was espied of the citizens as he plaid in the water, and being followed & pursued, with much adoo was taken. He was ten foot long, and a monstrous growne fish, so as the sight of him was strange to manie that beheld him. He was thought by his comming so farre into the landward, to foreshew such stormes and tempests as within a wéeke after did raginglie follow. Ye haue heard how the matter for a treatie of peace had béene first broched by the French king, by sending ambassadors to the king of England, to mooue the same. Which motion being throughlie considered of the estates assembled in this last parlement, it was décréd, that it should go forward (as before ye haue heard) and so about Candlemasse, the lord Thomas Persie, sir Lewes Clifford, and sir Robert Briquet, with diuerse other in their companie, were sent ouer to the French king, and comming to Paris, found him lodgd in his house of Loure, where they declared to him the good affection of the king their maister toward peace. And the better to bring it to passe, they shewed that king Richards desire was to haue some place and time appointed for commissioners to méet, with authoritie to treat and conclude vpon articles, as should be thought expedient. The French king greatlie honored these ambassadors, in feasting and banketting them for the space of six daies togither, and for answer, concluded with them, that he himselfe, with his vncles and other of his councell, would be at Amiens by the middest of March next insuing, there to abide the king of Englands comming, and his vncles, if it should please them thither to come.

A dolphyn taken at London bridge.

1392.

Ambassadors sent to the French king to treat of peace.

[817]

The English ambassadors said there was no doubt, but that either the king himselfe, or his vncles shuld be there at the day assigned, with full authoritie to conclude anie agrément that should seeme reasonable, and so those ambassadors returned with great gifts presented on the kings behalfe to ech of them, sir Robert Briquet excepted, vnto whome it séemed the French king bare no great good will, for that being a Frenchman borne, he had euer serued the Nauarrois or Englishmen, and was now one of king Richards priuie chamber. The king of England (as some write) was once

minded to haue passed the seas himselfe, to haue met the French king at Amiens, at the time appointed, but finallie the duke of Lancaster, the bishop of Durham, and others, were sent thither with a traine néere hand of a thousand horsse. At their comming into France, they were roiallie receiued: for the French king had made no lesse preparation for the duke of Lancasters comming, than if he had béene emperor. The duke of Lancaster verelie was estéemed to be a verie mightie prince, and one of the wisest and sagest princes in all christendome, in those daies; so that it séemed the French king reioised greatlie, that he might come to haue conference with him.

Sir Robert Briquet a Frenchman of king Richard his priuie chamber. The dukes of Lancaster & Yorke, the earls of Derby and Huntington, the lord Thomas Persie, the bishops of Durham and London were sent ouer, as *Froissard* saith.

A roiall ambassage.

The duke of Lancaster, a prince of great renowne.

There were with the French king héere at Amiens, his brother the duke of Thoureigne; his vnclcs, the dukes of Berrie, Burbon, and Burgognie, & a great number of earles, lords, and other nobles of the realme of France. Before the Englishmens comming, for auoiding of strife and debate that might arise betwixt the English and French, a proclamation was set foorth conteining certeine articles, for the demeanor which the French men should obserue towards the Englishmen.

Whilest they there remained, all the Englishmens charges were borne by the French king, from their setting foorth from Calis, till they came backe thither againe. As touching their treatie, manie things were proponed, diuerse demands made, and some offers, though to small purpose, for they tooke not effect, insomuch as they departed without concluding anie thing, further than that the truse which was to end at Midsummer next, was prolonged to continue one yéere more, that in the meane time, the lords and estates of the realme of England might assemble, and with good aduise deliberate, whether it were more expedient to agréé vnto a determinate peace, or to pursue the doubtfull chances of warre. And such was the end of that roiall ambassage, to the furnishing foorth whereof, the king demanded an aid as well of the abbats and priors, as of the cities and good townes through the whole realme.

The truce prolonged for a yeare. *Thom. Wals.*

Anon after the returne of the duke of Lancaster, and other the ambassadors that had béene at Amiens, a councill of the lords and chiefe states of the realme was called at Stamford, the which (as if it had béene vnto a parlement) there came foorth of euerie good towne certeine persons appointed to deliberate and take aduise in so weightie a matter, as either to conclude vpon peace, or else vpon warre. But in the end they brought little or nothing to passe, sauing that they agréed to haue the truce to indure for twelue moneths longer: both kings sware to obserue the same, afore such as were appointed to see their othes receiued. About the same time came the duke of Gelderland into this realme, being the kings cousine, a right valiant and hardie gentleman: he was honorablie receiued and welcomed of the king, and of his vnclcs, the dukes of Lancaster and Glocester. This duke of Gelderland counselled the king not to conclude peace, either with the Frenchmen or Scots, except vpon such conditions as might be knowne to be both profitable and honorable to him and his realme, promising that if he had occasion to make warre against either of those two nations, he would be readie to serue him with a conuenient power of men at armes of his countrie. After he had béene here a time, and highlie feasted and banketted, aswell by the king as other great estates of the realme, he returned home, not without diuerse rich gifts.

A councill at Stamford.

The duke of Gelderland commeth into England.

The duke of Gelderland dissuadeth the king from peace with the French and Scots.

[818]

The king about this season sent to the Londoners, requesting to borrow of them the summe of one thousand pounds, which they vncourteouslie refused to lend: and moreouer they fell vpon an Italian or Lombard (as they termed him) whom they beat and néere hand slue: bicause he offered to lend the king that monie. Whereof when the king was aduertised, he was sore moued against them, and calling together the most part of the péeres and noble men of his realme, declared vnto them the froward dealings of the Londoners,

The Londoners refuse to lend the king a thousand pounds.

complaining sore of such their presumption. The lords and great men, séeming not greatlie to fauour the Londoners, gaue counsell that the insolent pride of those presumptuous persons might with speed be repressed. The citizens of London in those daies (as should appeare) vsing their authoritie to the vttermost, had deuised and set fourth diuerse orders and constitutions to abridge the libertie of forreners that came to the citie to vtter their commodites. Religious men that wrote the dooings of that age, seemed also to find fault with them, for that they fauored Wicliffes opinions, & therefore did charge them with infidelitie, and mainteining (I know not how) of Lollards & heretikes: but howsoeuer the matter, went they fell at this present into the kings heauie displeasure.

Some there be that write, how the king piked the first quarell against the maior and shiriffes, for a riot committed by the vnrule citizens, against the seruants of the bishop of Salisburie: for that where one of the same bishops seruants had taken a horse-lofe frō a bakers man, as he passed by in Fléetstréet with his basket to serue his masters customers, and would not deliuer it againe, but brake the bakers mans head, when he was earnest to haue recouered the lofe, the inhabitants of the stréet rose, and would haue had the bishops man to prison for breaking the kings peace: but he was rescued by his fellowes, and escaped into Salisburie house, that stood there within the allie, and as then belonged to his master the bishop of Salisburie, being at that time high treasurer of England. The people being set in a rage for the rescue so made, gathered together in great multitudes about the bishops palace gate, and would haue fetched out the offender by force.

To conclude, such a hurling was in the stréet, that the maior, with the shiriffes, & diuers aldermen came thither with all speed, to take order in the matter, and to sée the peace kept; but after the cōming thither of the maior, the commons of the citie resorted to the place in far greater numbers than before; and the more they were the worsse they were to rule, and would not be persuaded to quiet themselues, except the bishops seruant, whose name was Walter Romane, might be had out of the house, and committed to prison: but at length, after manie assaults, lifts, & other indeuours made to haue broken vp the gates of the house, the maior & aldermen, with other discrét commoners appeased the people so, as they brought them to quiet, and sent euerie man to his house.

The bishop was then at Windesor where the court laie, who being informed of this matter, by a gréeuous report and happilie in worsse manner than the thing had happened indeed, tooke such indignation therewith, that taking with him Thomas Arundell archbishop of Yorke, then lord chancellor of England, he went to the king and made an heinous complaint against the citizens for their misdemeanor, so that his displeasure was the more kindled against the citizens, in so much that, whether in respect of this last remembered complaint, or rather for their vncourteous deniall to lend him the thousand pounds, and misusing the Lombard that offered to lend the same, I cannot saie; but sure it is, that the maior and shiriffe, and a great sort more of the citizens, were sent for to come to the court, where diuerse misdemeanors were obiected and laid to their charge: and notwithstanding, what excuse they pretended, the maior and shiriffes with diuerse other of the most substantiall citizens, were arrested. The maior was committed to the castell of Windesor, and the other, vnto other castels and holds, to be safelie kept, till the king, by the aduise of his councell, should determine further what should be doone with them.

The liberties of the citie were seized into the kings hands, and the authoritie of the maior vtterlie ceased, the king appointing a warden to gouerne the citie, named sir Edward Darlingrug knight, that should both rule the citie, and see that euerie man had iustice ministred, as the case required. This sir Edward Darlingrug began to gouerne

A great fire kindled about a little sparke.

A riot by the Londoners vpon the bishop of Salisburies men.

Walter Romane.

The bishop of Salisburie maketh a gréeuous cōplaint of the Londoners to the king.

The maior & shiriffes of London sent for to Windesore to the king, & there imprisoned.



the citie of London by the name of lord warden, the one and twentieth of Iune, on which day the king entered into the 16 yeare of his reigne: by reason it was thought that the said sir Edward Darlingrug was ouerfauourable to the citizens, he continued in his office but till the first of Iulie, and being then discharged, one sir Baldwine Radington, a right circumspect and discrét knight, was put in that roome, who knew how both to content the kings mind, and to comfort the citizens, and put them in hope of the kings fauour in time to be obtained, to the reliefe of their sorow and heauinesse.

The liberties of London seized. A gardian appointed to gouerne the citie of London.

An. Reg. 16.

Sir Edward Darlingrug lord warden of London. Darlingrug remooued, & sir Baldwine Radington made lord warden of London.

At length, the king, through sute and instant labour made by certeine noble men, speciallie the duke of Glocester, began somewhat to relent and pacifie himselfe, as touching his rigorous displeasure against the Londoners, calling to mind the great honour he had diuerse waies receiued at their hands, with the great gifts which they had likewise bestowed vpon him, wherevpon he purposed to deale the more mildlie with them, and so sent for diuerse of the chiefe citizens to come vnto Windesor, where he then kept his court, there to shew foorth the priuileges, liberties, and lawes of their citie, as well the new as old, that with the aduise of his councell, he might determine which should remaine in force, and which should be abolished. Herevpon, when the said priuileges, and liberties were laid foorth, to the view of such persons as had to consider of them, some were ratified, some permitted by tolleration, and some vtterlie condemned and abrogated.

The liberties of London in part confirmed in part condemned.

Neither might they recouer at that present, either the person or dignitie of their maior, nor obteine the kings entire fauour, till they had satisfied the king of the damages and iniuries by them doone, either to him or his people. And where he had beene at great charges, in preparing forces to chastise them, as he was determined, if they had not submitted themselues vnto him, they were sure that their purses must answer all that he had laid foorth about that matter. They therefore with humble submission, in recompense & satisfaction of their trespasses, offered to giue him ten thousand pounds, but they were for this time sent home, and appointed to returne againe at a certeine day, not vnderstanding what they must pay, till the king with the aduise of his councell had taken further order for them. At length, through such dailie sute as was made for the quieting of the kings hot displeasure towards the Londoners, he was contented to pardon all offenses past. But first, the citizens were told, that the king meant to come from his manor of Shene, to the citie of London, and then vndoubtedlie, vpon knowledge had of their good meanings, hereafter to beare themselues like louing subiects, they should obteine his fauour.

The citizens aduertised hereof, did not onelie prepare themselues to meet him and to present him with gifts in most liberall manner; but also to adorne, decke, and trim their citie with sumptuous pageants, rich hangings, and other gorgeous furniture, in all points like as is vsed at anie coronation. At the day appointed, there met him (beside other) foure hundred of the citizens on horsebacke, clad in one liuerie, presenting themselues in that order, vpon the heath on this side Shene, and in most humble wise, crauing pardon for their offenses past, besought him to take his waie to his palace thorough the citie of London. This sute made by the recorder, in name of all the citizens, he graciouslie granted, and so held on his iournie, till he came to London bridge, where vnto him was presented a passing faire stéed, white, saddled, bridled, and trapped in rich cloth of gold, parted with red and white. And likewise to the quéene was giuen a milke white paltrie, saddled, brideled, and trapped in the same sort, as the other was. These presents were thankfullie accepted, and so both the king and the queene passing forward, entered the citie, prepared and hanged with rich clothes (as before you haue heard) the citizens standing on ech side the stréets in their

A swéet sacrifice.

He was met with procession of the bishop & clergie at S. Georges church in Southwarke.

Gifts presented to the K. by the Londoners to pacifie his displeasure conceiued against them. K. Richard roiallie receiued into London.

lieries, crieng; King Richard, king Richard.

At the standard in Cheape, was a right sumptuous stage ordeined, on which were set diuerse personages, and an angell that put a rich crowne of gold, garnished with stone and pearle vpon the kings head, as he passed by, and likewise an other on the queenes head. This doone, the king rode to Paules, and there offered, and so tooke his horsse againe, and rode to Westminster, where the maior and his companie taking their leaue, returned to London. On the morrow, the maior and his brethren went againe to Westminster, and there presented the king with two basens gilt, & in them two thousand nobles of gold, beséeching him to be good and gracious lord to the citie; he receiued their present in courteous manner, and gaue them manie comfortable words. The third daie after, they receiued a new confirmation of all their old liberties (at the least such as might be an aid to the citie, and no detriment to forreners) wherefore, by counsell of their freends, they ordeined a table for an altar of siluer and gilt, ingrauen with imagerie, and inameled in most curious wise, conteining the storie of saint Edward, it was valued to be worth a thousand marks. This was presented to the king, the which he shortlie after offered to the shrine of saint Edward within the abbeie. The Londoners beléeued, that by these gifts they had beene quite rid of all danger; but yet they were compelled to giue the king after this, ten thousand pounds, which was collected of the commons in the citie, not without great offense and grudging in their minds.

¶ You haue heard hitherto, what means was made by the maior, aldermen, and whole bodie of the commonaltie of London to procure the kings maiesties (in whose disfauour they were deeplie drowned) gracious reconciliation. Wherein though there hath beene large matter deliuered; yet to set foorth the dignitie thereof the fuller, take heere by the waie the report of Henrie Knighton. In the yeare (saith he) 1392, the king called a great councell on the morrow after Trinitie sundaie at Stamford, about certeine affaires concerning the Frenchmen, in which councell he assembled together all the old soldiers of his relme, that by the aduise of the elder sort he might see what were best for him to doo in the premisses. The king also held a great councell at Notingham, on the feast of S. Iohn the Baptist, whereat he caused the maior of London with the foure and twentie aldermen, the two shiriffes, and foure and twentie of the best commoners of the citie in the second degré to be conuented before him. Héere he charged them that they had forfeited a certeine bond of 9000 pounds to the king, besides the losse of their liberties and priuileges. Which obligation or bond they had made in former time to the king, their deserts requiring the same. Now the king, after rehearsall made of their new offenses & faults, discharged the maior, the two shiriffes, and the rest of his officers of their offices, and sent the maior and the two shiriffes to certeine places of custodie as his prisoners, defeating the citie of London of the honour of all their priuileges; in so much that a citizen or fréeman should haue no more prerogatiue than a forrener or stranger. He appointed also the lord Edward Balerige to be gouernor therof, to kéepe and see kept the kings lawes and his liege people within London in due order, vntill such time as the king had otherwise prouided for them. And he set them a day to answer the king and his councell to certeine interrogatories on the feast of S. Marie Magdalen then next insuing, at Windsore. In the meane while, at the mediation of certeine freends and welwillers, the kings indignation was somewhat mitigated and asswaged towards them; in somuch that at length he released the maior and the shiriffes, and sent them home to their houses; setting ouer them notwithstanding a new kéeper or gouernour of the citie, and reseruing in his hand all the priuileges of the citie. In the meane time, on the sundaie next after the feast of the Assumption of the blessed virgin Marie; all the wealthiest and worthiest commoners of the citie came to the king, and submitted themselues and all their goods to his grace, and then did he first receiue and take them into his fauour. On the wednesdaie insuing, the king was purposed to come into

More gifts by the  
Lōdoners to the king.

*Tho. Walsin.* The  
liberties of London  
ratified by king Richard.

*Abr. Fl.* out of *Henrie  
Knighton* canon of  
Leceister abbeie.

London, and the citizens in multitudes innumerable met him on horsebacke; & they that had no horses went out on foot to welcome him thither; women also and infants shewed themselves vnto him; likewise the bishop of London, with all the clergie, no order, degree, condition, estate, or sex of ecclesiasticall dignitie being excused, went out in procession to meet the king and the queene with great reioising. It was reported how in that procession there were aboute fiue hundred boies in surplisses. Moreouer, the citizens of London trimmed the outsides of their houses and chambers in euerie stréet through which the king and the queene were to passe, from S. Georges to Westminster. As for the houses of the welthier sort, they were brauelie garnished with cloth of gold, siluer, tissue, veluet, & other sumptuous stuffe whatsoever by any possible means could be gotten. In Cheapside there was a conduit, out of the which two spouts ran with read wine & white, and vpon the conduit stood a little boie apparelled in white like an angell, hauing a golden cup in his hand, who presented wine to the king and queene to drinke as they passed by. In the meane time they offered to the king a golden crowne of great value, and another golden crowne to the queene; and a while after passing forwards, they presented to the king a golden tablet of the Trinitie, to the value of eight hundred pounds: and to the queene another golden tablet of S. Anne, whome she had in speciall deuotion and reuerence, bicause hir owne name was Anne. Such, and so great, and so wonderfull honors did they to the king, as the like in former times was neuer doone to anie king of this realme: and so going forward, they brought the king and the queene to Westminster hall. The king sitting in his seat roiall, & all the people standing before him; one in the kings behalfe as his speaker, gaue the people thanks for the great honour and princelie presents which they had bestowed vpon the king; and being bidden to fall euerie man to his businesse and affaires, it was told them that in the next parlement they should haue their finall answer.

At the same time, the duke of Gloucester, hauing receiued monie to leaue an armie, which he should haue conueied ouer into Ireland, of which countrie, a good while before that present, the king had made him duke, was now readie to set forward, when suddenlie through the malice of some priuie detractours about the king, he was contermanded, and so his iournie was staied, to the great hinderance and preiudice of both the countries of England and Ireland: for euen vpon the fame that was bruted of his comming into Ireland, in manner all the Irish lords determined to submit themselves vnto him, so greatlie was his name both loued, reuerenced, and feared, euen among those wild and sauage people. This yeare Robert Véere, late earle of Oxenford, and duke of Ireland, departed this life at Louaine in Brabant, in great anguish of mind, & miserable necessitie: which young gentleman (doubtlesse) was apt to all commendable exercises and parts fit for a noble man, if in his youth he had béene well trained and brought vp in necessarie discipline.

This yeare after Christmasse, a parlement was called at Winchester, in which onelie a grant was made by the cleargie, of halfe a tenth, for the expenses of the duke of Lancaster & Gloucester, that were appointed to go ouer into France, to treat of peace, betwixt the two kingdomes. The courts of the kings bench and chancerie, which had béene remooued from Westminster to Yorke, either in disfauour onelie of the Londoners, or in fauour of the citizens of Yorke, for that the archbishop of that citie, being lord chancellor, wished to aduance (so farre as in him laie) the commoditie and wealth thereof, were neuertheless about this season brought backe againe to Westminster, after they had remained a small time at Yorke, to the displeasure of manie. ¶ This yeare, the lord Auberie de Veere, vnclie to the late duke of Ireland, was made earle of Oxenford. ¶ The two and twentieth of Februarie, Iohn Eures, constable of Douer castell, & lord steward of the kings house departed this life, in whose roome the lord Thomas

The duke of Gloucester made duke of Ireland.  
His iournie into Ireland unluckilie staied.  
Véere, late duke of Ireland, dieth at Louaine.  
1393.  
Tho. Walsi. A parlement at Winchester.  
The chancerie and kings bench kept at Yorke and frō thence remooued to Londō.  
Eures.  
The Ile of Man.

Persie that before was vicechamberlaine was created lord steward; and the lord Thomas Beaumont was made constable of Douer, and lord warden of the cinque ports: and the lord William Scroope was made vicechamberlaine, who about the same time, bought of the lord William Montacute the Ile of Man, with the regalitie therof, for it is a kingdome; as Thomas Walsingham affirmeth.

The dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester went ouer vnto Calis, and downe to Bullongne came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie. These noblemen were sufficientlie furnished with authoritie, to conclude a perfect peace, both by sea and land, betweene the two realmes of France and England, and all their alies. The place appointed for them to treat in, was at Balingham, where tents and paulions were pight vp, for the ease of both parties. They met there twice or thrise a wéeke, in a faire tent prepared for the purpose, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. This was about the beginning of Maie. When they entered first into communication, and had séene each others authoritie, one of the first demands that the Frenchmen made, was to haue Calis raced, in such wise, as there should neuer be anie habitation there after that time. The dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester answered herevnto, how they had no authoritie to conclude so farre, but that England should hold Calis still, as in demesne, and true inheritance; and therefore, if they purposed to enter any further in the treatie of peace, they should ceasse from that demand and speake no more thereof. When the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie heard their two cousins of England answer so roundlie, they spake no more of that matter.

The dukes of Lancaster & Gloucester sent to Frâce to treat of a peace.

The French comissioners would haue Calis raced to the ground.

Then the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester demanded to haue restitution of all such lands as had béene deliuered, either to king Richard, or to king Edward the third, or to anie their deputies or commissioners, and also to haue fullie paid the summe of florens that was left vnpaid, at the time when the warre reuiued betwixt England and France: and this the English lawiers prooued to stand with equitie and reason. But neuerthelesse, the lords and chancellor of France argued to the contrarie, and so agrée they could not, insomuch as the Frenchmen required, that if the Englishmen meant to haue anie conclusion of peace, they should draw to some neerer points. At length, the foure dukes tooke order, that all their demands on either side should be set downe in writing, and deliuered to either partie interchangeablie, that they might be regarded at length, and such as should be found vnreasonable, to be raced or reformed. After they had communed together diuerse times, and remained there fiftéene daies, they appointed to aduertise the two kings of their whole dooings, and after nine daies space to meet againe. The French dukes rode to Abbeuile, where the French king then laie: and the English dukes returning to Calis, wrote to the king of England, of all the whole matter. The duke of Gloucester was harder to deale with in each behalfe, concerning the conclusion of peace, than was the duke of Lancaster, for he rather desired to haue had warre than any peace, except such a one as should be greatlie to the aduantage and honour of the realme of England: and therefore the commons of England vnderstanding his disposition, agreed that he should be sent, rather than anie other. For where in times past the Englishmen had greatlie gained by the warres of France, as well the commons, as the knights and esquires, who had by the same mainteined their estate, they could not giue their willing consents, to haue anie peace at all with the Frenchmen, in hope by reason of the wars, to profit themselues, as in times past they had doone. The French king & nobles of France were greatlie inclined to peace, and so likewise was the king of England, & the duke of Lancaster. But the Frenchmen were so subtile, and vsed so manie darke and coloured words, that the Englishmen had much a doo to vnderstand them: which offended much the duke of Gloucester. But neuerthelesse, at the daie prefixed, these foure dukes met againe at Balingham, and with the French lords came

The demand of the English cōmissioners.

Order taken that the demands on either side should be set downe in writing, the better to be considered of.

The English gentlemen mainteined by the French warres.

The subtiltie of the French men.

The commissioners meet againe.

the king of Armenie, newlie returned into France foorth of Grecia, for into his owne countrie he durst not come, the Turkes hauing conquered it, the strong towne of Conich, which the Genowaies held, excepted.

The king of Armenie would gladlie that peace might haue béene established betwixt France and England, in hope to procure the sooner some aid of the kings to recouer his kingdome. But to conclude after that the dukes, and other with them associat as assistants, had diligentlie perused and examined the articles of their treatie, they would not passe nor seale to anie, till all darke and obscure words were cléerelie declared, opened, and made perfect, so that no generall peace might be concluded. Notwithstanding, as Froissard saith, a truce for foure yeares space, vpon certeine articles was agreed to be kept as well by sea as by land. It was thought, that when they were at point to haue growne to agreement concerning manie articles, if the French king had not newlie fallen into his former disease of frensie, there had better effect followed of this treatie; but by occasion of his sicknesse, each man departed, before that anie principall articles could be fullie ordered and make perfect. The same time, sir Thomas Persie the yoonger was made lord warden of Burdeaux and Aquitaine.

The king of Armenie.  
Obscure and doubtfull words to be opened.  
A truce for foure yeares betwéene England and France.

In September, much hurt was doone, thorough excéeding great thunder, lightening, and tempests, which chanced in manie parts of England, but speciallie in Cambridgeshire, where manie houses were burned, with no small quantitie of corne. Great inundations and flouds of water followed shortlie after in October, which did much hurt at Burie, and Newmarket in Suffolke, where it ouerthrew wals of houses, and put men and women in great danger of drowning. In Essex also in September, great mortalitie fell by pestilence amongst the people, whereof manie died. ¶ The towne of Chierburgh was restored againe to the king of Nauarre, who had ingaged it to the king of England, for two thousand markes. ¶ A parlement was holden at Westminster, which began in the octaues of Hilarie. ¶ The king purposing to go ouer into Ireland, required a subsidie, the cleargie granted to him a whole tenth, toward the furnishing foorth of that iournie, if he went himselfe; if he went not, yet they agréed to giue to him the moitie of a tenth. In time of this parlement, there appeared great euill will to remaine betwixt the duke of Lancaster and the earle of Arundell, for the duke imposed to the earle, that about the Exaltation of the crosse, he laie with a companie of armed men in the castell of Holt by Chester, the same time that the countrie there rose against the duke, with their capteine Nicholas Clifton, and his complices, whome he ment (as the duke alledged) to haue aided against him: but this the earle flatlie denied, and with probable reasons so excused himselfe, as the quarrell at length was taken vp, and the parties for the time well quieted.

An. Reg. 17.  
Great tempests.  
Much hurt doone by great flouds in Suffolke.  
A great plague in Essex.  
1394.  
Variance betwéene the duke of Lancaster and the earle of Arundell.

This yeare on Whitsundaie being the seauenth of Iune, quéene Anne departed this life, to the great greefe of hir husband king Richard, who loued hir intirelie. She deceassed at Shene, and was buried at Westminster, vpon the south side of saint Edwards shrine. The king tooke such a conceit with the house of Shene, where she departed this life, that he caused the buildings to be throwne downe and defaced, whereas the former kings of this land, being wearie of the citie, vsed customablie thither to resort, as to a place of pleasure, and seruing highlie to their recreation. Thus the king, the duke of Lancaster, and his sonne the earle of Derby, were widowers, all in one season: for the ladie Constance duchesse of Lancaster daughter to Peter king of Spaine, deceassed the last yeare, whilst hir husband the duke of Lancaster was at the treatie in France: at the same time also deceassed the countesse of Derby, wife to the lord Henrie earle of Derby. ¶ Moreouer, in this yeare 1394, Isabell duchesse of Yorke departed this life, that was halfe sister to the duchesse of Lancaster, being borne of one mother. She was buried at Langleie.

The death of quéene Anne.  
The K. defaceth the house of Shene bicause the quéene died there.

This yeare in August, was a proclamation set foorth, that all Irishmen should auoid this land, and returne home into their owne countrie, before the feast of the Natiuitie of our ladie, on paine of death. The occasion of which proclamation was, for that such multitudes of Irishmen were come ouer into this region, in hope of gaine, that the countries in Ireland, subiect to England, were in manner left void of people, so that the enimies spoiled and wasted those countries at their pleasure, finding few or none to withstand them. And where king Edward the third had placed in Ireland his bench and iudges, with his exchequer for the good administration of iustice and politike gouernement to be vsed there, he receiued from thence yearelie in reuenues and profits, comming to his owne cofers, the sum of thirtie thousand pounds: the king now laid foorth no lesse a summe to repell the enimies, which by absence of those that were come ouer hither, could not otherwise be resisted, sith the power of the rebels was so increased, and the force of the countries subiect, thorough lacke of the former inhabitants, so diminished. ¶ About the feast of the Natiuitie of our ladie, the king set forward to passe into Ireland, hauing made such preparation for that iournie, as the like for Ireland had not béene heard of at anie time before. There went out with him the duke of Glocester, the earles of March, Nottingham, and Rutland, the lord Thomas Persie lord steward, and diuerse other of the English nobilitie.

A proclamation that all Irishmen shuld returne into their countrie.

The English pale in Irelād almost left desolate.

The yearelie reuenues of Ireland in K. Edward the third his daies.

[824]

The duke of Lancaster, that in the thirteenth yeare of king Richards reigne had beene created by authoritie of parlement, duke of Aquitaine, was about this present time sent thither, with fiue hundred men of armes, & a thousand archers, to take possession of that duchie, according to the kings grant, by his letters patents thereof had, made, and confirmed with his seale, in presence of the most part of all the nobles and great lords of England, to hold all that countrie to the said duke and his heires for euer in as large manner and forme, as his father king Edward the third, or anie other kings of England, or dukes of Aquitaine before time had holden, and as king Richard at that season had & held the same, the homage alwaies yet reserued to the kings of England for euer. But all this notwithstanding, at his comming thither, so farre were the Gascoignes, and other people of those marches from receiuing him with ioy and triumph, that they plainelie told him, they would not atturue to him, nor be vnder his iurisdiction at anie hand, although he had brought ouer with him commissioners sufficientlie authorised, both to discharge them of their former allegiance to the king, and to inuest him in possession of that duchie, in maner and forme as before is said.

The duke of Lancaster saileth into Aquitaine with an armie.

The Gascoignes flatlie refuse to accept the duke of Lancaster for their souereigne.

But now to returne to king Richard, ye shall vnderstand, that when all his prouision and roiall armie was readie, about Michaelmas, he tooke the sea, and landed at Waterford the second of October, and so remained in Ireland all that winter: his people were lodged abroad in the countrie, and lay so warilie as they might. For although the Irishmen durst not attempt anie exploit openlie against the Englishmen, after the kings arriuall with so puissant an armie, yet they would steale sometimes vpon them, where they espied anie aduantage, and disquiet them in their lodgings. But when the English still preuailed, diuerse of the greatest princes among them came in, and submitted themselues. Amongst other, foure kings are mentioned, as the great Onell king of Meth, Brine of Thomond king of Thomond, Arthur Macmur king of Lineister, and Conhur king of Cheueno and Darpe: these kings were courteouslie interteined and much made of by king Richard, who kept his Christmas this yeare at Dubline. And after that feast was ended, he held a parlement there, to the which all his subiects of Ireland, vnto whom it appertained, resorted, as well those that had continued vnder the English gouernement aforetime, as those that were latelie yéelded.

K. Richard passeth ouer into Ireland with a mightie armie.

*Froissard.* Foure Irish kings submit themselues to K. Richard.

1395.

A parlement holden in Ireland.

Also at the same time, after the octaves of the Epiphanie, the duke of Yorke, lord warden of England, now in the kings absence, caused a parlement to be called at Westminster, to the which was sent foorth of Ireland the duke of Glocester, that he might declare to the commons the kings necessitie, to haue some grant of monie to supplie his want, hauing spent no small quantitie of treasure in that iournie made into Ireland. The dukes words were so well heard and beléued, that a whole tenth was granted by the clergie, and a fiftéenth by the laitie; but not without protestation, that those paiements were granted of a meere good will, for the loue they bare to the king, and to haue his businesse go forwards, which bicause it required great expenses, both for that his owne roiall person was abiding in Ireland about the subduing of the rebels, as also bicause his retinue and power could not be mainteined without excessiue charges; they seemed to be no lesse desirous to haue the same ended, than they which were dailie agents in the same, not without feare of misfortune likelie to befall them, hauing to deale with a people of such barbarous and rebellious behaiour.

A parlement at Westminster, king Richard being in Ireland.

[825]

At the same time, those that followed Wickliffes opinions, set vp publikelie on the church doore of Paules in London, and the church doores of Westminster, certeine writings, conteining accusations of the clergie, and conclusions, such as had not commonlie béene heard, against ecclesiasticall persons, and the vse of the sacraments, as the church then mainteined. They were encouraged thus to doo, as it was said, by some noble men, and knights of great worship, as sir Richard Sturrie, sir Lewes Clifford, sir Thomas Latimer, sir Iohn Montacute, & others, who comforted & pricked forward those kind of men, then called heretikes & Lollards, to the confounding of monks, friers, and other religious persons, by all waies they might. Herevpon, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of London, and certeine other as messengers from the whole state of the clergie, passed ouer into Ireland, where, to the king they made a grieuous complaint, as well against those that had framed and set foorth such writings, as against them that mainteined them in their dooings, and therefore besought him with spéed to returne home into England, there to take such order, for the restraining of those misordered persons, as vnto the reliefe of the church might be thought expedient, being then in great danger of susteining irrecoverable losse and damage, if good reformation were not the sooner had. King Richard hearing these things, vpon good deliberation had in the matter, determind to returne home, but first on the day of the Annuntiation of our ladie, he made the foure aboue remembred kings, to wit, Onell, Brine of Thomond, Arthur of Mackmur, and Conhur, knights, in the cathedrall church of Dublin, and one likewise sir Thomas Orphen, sir Ioatas Pado, and his coosine sir Iohn Pado.

The Wickleuists wrote against the cleargie.

The clergie complaine to the king of the Wickleuists, and their fauorers.

K. Richard knighteth the foure Irish kings, and others. *Froissard.*

This doone, and now after that they were set inquiet in that countrie (the rebels not being so hardie as to stirre, whilst such a mightie armie was there readie at hand to assaile them) king about Easter came backe into England without anie more adoo, so that the gaine was thought nothing to counteruaile the charges, which were verie great: for the king had ouer with him in that iournie, foure thousand men of armes, and thirtie thousand archers, as Froissard saith he was informed by an English esquier that had béene in that iournie. The king at his coming ouer, did not forget what complaint the archbishop of Yorke and the bishop of London had exhibited to him, against those that were called Lollards, and heretiks, wherevpon immediatlie, he called before him certeine of the noble men, that were thought and knowne to fauour such kind of men, threatning terriblie, if from thence foorth they should in anie wise comfort and relieue them. He caused sir Richard Sturrie to receiue an oth, that he should not mainteine from that day forward anie such erroneious opinions, menacing him, and as it were, couenanting with him by an interchangeable oth, that if euer he might vnderstand, that he did violate and breake that oth, he should die for it a most shamefull death.

K. Richard returneth out of Ireland.

K. Richards dealings against the fauorers of the Wickleuists.

¶ By the report of H. Knighton it should séeme, that this sect (as he calleth them) mightilie increased, to the no small offense of the lords temporall and spirituall, wherevpon after sundrie complaints, and serious sollicitations for the supplanting of them, commissions were granted, and the tenure of them (as it should séeme) though not absolutelie, yet in part executed. Now therefore listen what mine author saith, whose addition, though by his owne supputation of yeares it require to be placed elsewhere; yet for the consonancie of the matter, and because writers varie greatlie in their accounts of time, I haue here inserted the same, as in a verie conuenient place of the historie. The noblemen and the commons (saith Henrie Knighton) séeing the ship of the church, with these & other innumerable errors, & verie lewd opinions as it were on all sides from day to day with ceasselesse violence and force to be shaken; besought the king in the parlement, that redresse might be had herof; lest the arke of the faith of all the church by such violences and inforcements giuen in those daies, should through want of gouernement be battered without remedie, and the glorious realme of England by corrupting of faith should by little and little be drawne into a distresse of grace and losse of honor. Wherefore the king vsing the sound counsell of the whole parlement, commanded the archbishop of Canturburie, & the rest of the bishops of the realme, to execute their charge and office, all and euerie of them in his and their diocesse, according to the canon lawes, more seuerelie and zealouslie; to correct the offenders, to examine their English books more fullie and substantiallie, to root out errors with all their indeuors, to bring the people into an vnitie of the right faith, to wéed vp out of the church all netles, thistles, and brambles wherewith she is disgraced; and to beautifie hir with lillies and roses; and should cause an establishment of his roiall power more boldlie and stoutlie. And the king forthwith commanded, without delaie, that his letters patents should be sent abroad into all and euerie shire of his kingdome; and appointed in euerie shire certeine searchers for such books and their faouurers; charging them to applie a spéedie remedie vnto these disorders, and to lay vp the rebels in the verie next gaoles, till the king sent vnto them. But verie slow execution or none at all followed, because the houre of correction was not yet come. [Howbeit, to prepare and make an entrance to the purposed reformation and correction of those enormities, he gaue out a commission against the Wickleuists, a copie whereof followeth both in Latine and English. Whereby the world may see how the springing church of Christ was hated and abhorred of the antichristian rout.]

*Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.*



Copia regiæ commissionis aduersus Lollardos & Lollardorum sequaces.

RICHARDUS Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, dilectis sibi magistro Thomæ Brightwell in theologia doctori, decano collegij noui operis Leicestriæ, & Gulielmo Chesulden præbendario præbendæ eiusdem collegij, ac dilectis & fidelibus nostris Richardo de Barow Chinall, & Roberto Langham, salutem. Quia ex insinuatione credibili certitudinaliter informatur, quòd ex insana doctrina magistrorum Iohannis Wickliffe dum vixit, Nicholai Herford, Iohannis Liston, & suorum sequaciū, quàm plures libri, libelli, schedulæ, & quaterni, hæresibus & erroribus manifestis in fidei catholicæ læsionem, & sanæ doctrinæ derogationem, expressè, & palàm, & notoriè redundantes, frequentius compilantur, publicantur, & conscribuntur, tam in Anglico quàm in Latino, ac exinde opiniones nefariæ sanæ doctrinæ contrariantes, oriuntur, crescunt, & manutinentur, ac prædicantur, in fidei orthodoxæ eneruationem, ecclesiæ sanctæ subuersionem, & ex consequenti (quod absit) quàm plurimum incredulitatem, eorūmq; animarum periculum manifestum. Nos zelo fidei catholicæ, cuius sumus & esse volumus defensores in omnibus (vt tenemur) moti salubriter & inducti, nolentes huiusmodi hæreses aut errores infra terminos nostræ potestatis, quatenus poterimus, oriri, seu quomodolibet pullulare: assignamus vos coniunctim & diuisim, ad omnes & singulos libros, libellos schedulas, & quaternos huiusmodi doctrinā dactorū Iohannis, Nicholai, Iohannis, & sociorum sequacium, seu opinionum aliquam minus sanam continentes, vbicūq;, & in quorumcūq; manibus, possessione, seu custodia inueniri poterunt, infra libertates vel extra, inuestigandum, capiendum, & arrestandum, & penes concilium nostrum cum omni celeritate possibili deferri faciendum, vt tunc ibidem de iisdem ordinare valeamus, prout de auisamento concilij nostri prædicti fore viderimus faciendum: ac etiā ad proclamandum, & ex parte nostra firmiter inhibendum, ne quis cuiuscūq; status, gradus, seu conditionis fuerit, sub pœna imprisonmenti & forisfacturationum, quæ nobis forisfacere poterit, aliquas huiusmodi prauas & nefarias opiniones manuteneret, docere, pertinaciterque defendere, clàm vel palam, seu huiusmodi libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaternos detinere, scribere, vel scribi facere, aut emere vel vendere præsumat quouis modo; sed omnes & singulos huiusmodi libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaternos secum habitos & inuentos, ad mandatum nostrum vobis reddat, seu reddi faciat indilatè. Et ad omnes illos, quos post proclamationem & inhibitionem prædictis contrarium inueneritis facientes, & huiusmodi nefarias opiniones manutentes, coràm vobis præfato Thoma decano & Gulielmo euocandum, & diligenter examinandum: & cùm inde legitimè euicti fuerint, ministris proximisq; prisonis committendum, in iisdem detinendum, quousque à suis erroribus, hæresibus, & prauis opinionibus respiscant, seu nos pro deliberatione eorundem aliter duxerimus ordinandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quòd dicta præmissa cum omni diligentia & efficacia intendatis, & ea faciatis & exequamini in forma prædicta. Damus autem tam vniuersis & singulis viris ecclesiasticis, quàm vicecomitibus, maioribus, balliuis, ministris, & alijs fidelibus & subditis nostris, tam infra libertates quàm extra tenore præsentium firmiter in mandatis, quòd vobis, & cuilibet vestrum, in præmissis faciendis assistentes sint, consulentes, & auxiliantes, prout decet. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tertio die Maij, anno regni nostri vndecimo.

A copie of the kings commission against the Lollards or Wickleuists and their followers: Englished by A. F.

RICHARD by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to his beloued, maister Thomas Brightwell doctor in diuinitie, deane of the college of the new worke of Leicester, and to William Chesulden prebendarie of the prebend of the same college; and to our beloued and trustie subiects, Richard of Barow Chinall, and Robert Langham; greeting. For so much as we are certeinlie informed by credible report, that by the vnsound doctrine of maister Iohn Wickliffe, whiles he liued, of Nicholas Herford, Iohn Liston, and their followers, many bookes, libels, scheduls, & pamphlets expresselie, eidentlie, and notoriouslie swarming with manifest heresies and errors to the hurt of the catholike faith, & the abolishment of sound doctrine, are commonlie compiled, published, and written, as well in English as in Latine, and therevpon wicked opinions contrarie to sound doctrine, doo spring, grow, and are mainteined and preached to the weakening of the right faith, the ouerthrow of holie church, and consequentlie (which God forbid) the misbeleefe of a great many, & the manifest danger of their soules. We being moued with zeale to the catholike faith, whereof we are, and will be defenders in all things, as we are bound, vnwilling that such heresies or errors within the limits of our iurisdiction, so far as we are able, should grow, or by any meanes spring vp: doo assigne you iointlie and seuerallie, all and singular the books, libels, scheduls, & pamphlets conteneing such doctrine of the said Iohn, Nicholas, Iohn, and their fellow-followers, or any of their corrupt opinions, wheresoeuer, & in whose hands, possession, or keeping soeuer they shalbe found within the liberties or without; them to search, take, arrest, and cause to be brought before our councell with all possible speed, that then and there we may take order for the same accordingle, as by the aduise of our foresaid councell we shall see requisite to be doone. And also to proclaime, and on our behalfe firmelie to forbid all and euerie one, of whatsoeuer state, degree, or condition he be, vnder paine of imprisonment and forfeitures, which to vs he shall forfeit, any of these wicked and lewd opinions to mainteine, teach, obstinatlie to defend, priuillie or openlie, or any of these bookes, libels, scheduls & pamphlets to keepe, write, or cause to be written; but all and euerie such booke and bookes, libels, scheduls, and pamphlets with them had & found, at our commandement vnto you to deliuer, or cause to be deliuered without delaie. And all them, whome after proclamation and inhibition you shall find dooing contrarie to the premisses, and such lewd opinions mainteining, to call foorth before you the said Thomas the deane, & William, and them to examine: & when they shalbe lawfullie conuincid therein, to commit them to the next officers & prisons, there to be kept, till they haue recanted their errors, heresies, and wicked opinions; or till we for their deliuerance shall otherwise thinke order to be taken. And therefore we command, that you intend the said premisses, with all diligence and effect, and the same doo and execute in forme aforesaid. We doo also giue in streict commandement and charge, to all and euerie as well churchman & churchmen, as shiriffes, maiors, bailiffes, officers, and other our trustie subiects, as well within the liberties as without, by the tenor of these presents, to assist, counsell, and helpe you and euerie of you in doing the premisses, as it is conuenient. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnesse our selues at Westminster the twentie third day of Maie, and the eleuenth yeare of our reigne.

[828]

¶ About this time, or (as Henrie Knighton saith) in the yeare 1392, maister William Courtenie archbishop of Canturburie, brother to the earle of Denshire visited the diocesse of Lincolne, and on the feast of saint Faith the virgine he visited maister Iohn Bokingham bishop of Lincolne in the cathedrall church of Lincolne, with the chapter, and an hundred of the canons, and he came to Leicester abbeie in visitation, the sundaie before the feast of All saints, where he abode all the tuesdaie, and on the eeue also, of All saints being mondaie, calling together all the canons of the said monasterie, with the chaplines of his owne chappell, euerie of them hauing in their hands burning candels. The same archbishop confirmed sentence of excommunication against the Lollards or Wickleuists, with their faouurers, which either now mainteined or caused to be mainteined, or hereafter did mainteine or should mainteine the errors and

Archbishop of Canturburies visitatiō.

Wickleuists excommunicated.

A ridiculous penance.

opinions of master Iohn Wickliffe, in the diocesse of Lincolne. On the morrow next after All saints, the same bishop flashed out his sentence of excommunication like lightning in open sight, with a crosse set vpright, with candels burning bright, and with bells roong alowd, and namelie against those of Leicester towne that had too too much defiled and infected the said towne and countrie. The archbishop departing from thence, went to saint Peters church, to a certeine anchoresse named Matildis there kept as in a closet, whom he reproving about the foresaid errors and opinions of the Lollards, and finding hir answers scarce aduisedlie made, cited hir that she should appeare before him, on the sundaie next insuing, in saint Iames his abbeie at Northampton, to answer vnto the foresaid erronious and prophane points. Now she appeared at the day appointed, and renouncing hir errorrs, and hauing penance inioined hir, she went awaie reformed. But till the second day before the feast of saint Lucie, she kept hir selfe out of hir closet, and then entred into the same againe. Other Lollards also were cited, and appeared at Oxford, and in other places, as the archbishop had commanded them: who renouncing their superstitious errorrs, and forswearing their prophane opinions, did open penance. Also one William Smith was made to go about the market place at Leicester, clothed in linnen [or in a white sheet] holding in his right arme the image of the Crucifix, and in his left the image of saint Katharine, bicause the said Smith had sometimes cut in peeces and burned an image of saint Katharine, whereof he made a fire to boile him hearbes in his hunger.

In those daies there was a certeine matrone in London, which had one onelie daughter, whome manie daies she instructed and trained vp to celebrat the masse, and she set vp an altar in hir priuie or secret chamber with all the ornaments therevnto belonging, and so she made hir daughter manie daies to attire hir selfe like a priest, and to come to the altar, and after hir maner to celebrate the masse.

† For the papists saie that the sacrificing præst is the maker of his maker, namelie God. Boldnesse of women in ecclesiasticale matters taxed.

Now when she came to the words of the sacrament, she cast hir selfe flat on hir face before the altar, & † made not the sacrament; but rising vp, dispatched the rest of the masse euen to the verie end, hir mother helping hir therein, and dooing hir deuotion. This errorr a long time lasted, till at last by a certeine neighbour that was secretlie called to such a masse, it was told abroad, and came to the bishops eares, who causing them to appeare before him, talked with them about that errorr, and compelled the yoong woman openlie to shew the priestlie shauing of hir haire, whose head was found to be all bare and bald. The bishop sighing and sorrieng that such an errorr should happen in the church in his time, made manie lamentations, and hauing inioined them penance, dispatched and sent them away. Thus far Henrie Knighton. [It is not to be doubted, but that in these daies manie of the female sex be meddling in matters impertinent to their degré, and inconuenient for their knowledge; debating & scanning in their priuat conuenticles of such things as wherabout if they kept silence, it were for their greater commendation; presuming, though not to celebrat a masse, or to make a sacrament; yet to vndertake some publike peece of seruice incident to the ministerie: whose ouer-sawcie rashnesse being bolstered and borne vp with abbettors not a few, whether it be by ecclesiasticall discipline corrected, I wot not; but of the vniformed presbiterie I am sure it is lamented.]

[829]

A certeine thing appeared in the likenesse of fier in manie parts of the realme of England, now of one fashion, now of another, as it were euerie night, but yet in diuerse places all Nouember and December. This fierie apparition, oftentimes when any bodie went alone, it would go with him, and would stand still when he stood still. To some it appeared in the likenesse of a turning whéele burning; to othersome round in the likenesse of a barrell, flashing out flames of fier at the head; to othersome in the likenesse of a long burning lance; and so to diuerse folks at diuerse times and seasons it shewed it selfe in diuerse formes and fashions a great part of winter, speciallie in

A fierie apparition of diuerse likenesses.

A head of wax wrought by necromancie speaketh.

A fierie dragon séene in diuers places.

*Abr. Fl.* out of *Thom. Walsin.* in *Rich. 2.* pag. 341.

A coniunctiō of Iupiter & Saturne.

Leicestershire and Northamptonshire: and when manie went together, it approched not neere them, but appeared to them as it were a far off. In a parlement time there was a certeine head of wax made by the art of necromancie (as it was reported) which head at an houre appointed to speake, vttered these words following at thrée times, and then ceased to speake any more. These be the words; first, The head shall be cut off; secondlie, The head shall be lift vp aloft; thirdlie, The feet shall be lift vp aloft aboue the head. This happened in the time of that parlement which was called the mercillesse parlement, not long before the parlement that was named the parlement which wrought wonders. In Aprill there was séene a fierie dragon in manie places of England; which dreadfull sight as it made manie a one amazed, so it ministred occasion of mistrust to the minds of the maruellors, that some great mischéefe was imminent, whereof that burning apparition was a prognostication. In this kings daies (as saith Thomas Walsingham) whose report, bicause I am here dealing with certeine prodigious accidents importing some strange euent, I am the more bold to interlace about the troublesome time when discord sprang betwéene the king and his youthlie companions with the duke of Lancaster, in the moneth of Maie, there happened a coniunction of the two greatest planets, namelie Iupiter and Saturne, after the which did follow a verie great commotion of kingdoms, as in the processe of this historie may appeare.

The French king about this time summoned a conuocation of the French cleargie, to decide and search out the power of the two popes, which of them had fuller right and authoritie in S. Peters chaire, for the schisme and diuision betwéene the two popes was not yet ended. The French clergie wrote in the behalfe of Clement their pope, & cōfirmed their script or writing with the vniuersitie seale of Paris. Which writing Charles the French king sent ouer to Richard king of England, that touching these doubts and difficulties he with the councell of his cleargie might deliberat. Wherefore king Richard summoned a conuocation at Oxford of the lerner diuines as well regents as not regents of the whole realme; who wrote for and in the behalfe of Vrbane their pope of Rome, and confirmed their writing with the vniuersitie seale of Oxford, & sent it ouer sea to Paris vnto the French king. But nothing was doone further in the premisses, both popes, vnder the shrowd or shelter of schisme preuailing betwéene them, iustifieng their title & interest. [This is the last record found in Henrie Knighton, who for that which he hath doone touching chronographie, hath written (the blindnesse of the time wherein he liued, and his order considered) though not so well as the best, yet not so ill as the woorst: and whose collections, if they were laid together, would afford a large augmentation to maters of chronicle: but O spite that so abruptlie he breaketh off, and continueth his annales no further than this yeare, 1395.]

A schisme betwéene two popes for the dignitie of S. Peters chaire.

[830]

This yeere, the Danes that laie rouing on the seas did much hurt to the English merchants, taking and robbing manie English ships, and when the hauen townes alongst the coasts of Northfolke, made fourth a number of ships, and ventured to fight with those pirats, they were vanquished by the Danes, so that manie were slaine, and manie taken prisoners, which were constreined to paie great ransoms. The enimies also found in ransacking the English ships, twentie thousand pounds, which the English merchants had aboard with them to buy wares with, in place whither they were bound to go. ¶ In the same yeare, William Courtneie archbishop of Canturburie, hauing more regard to his owne priuat commoditie, than to the discommoditie of others, purchased a bull of the pope, whereby he was authorised to leaue through his whole prouince foure pence of the pound of ecclesiasticall promotions, as well in places exempt, as not exempt, no true nor lawfull cause being shewed or pretended, why he ought so to doo; and to see the execution of this bull put in practise, the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of London, were named and appointed.

The Danes rob the English merchäts on the seas.  
Great prizes woone by the Danish pirats of the Englishmen.

Manie that feared the censures of such high executions, chose rather to paie the monie fourthwith, than to go to the law, and be compelled happilie, mauger their good

willes. Some there were that appealed to the see of Rome, meaning to defend their cause and to procure that so vnlawfull an exaction might be reuoked. Speciallie, the prebendaries of Lincolne stood most stiffelie against those bishops, but the death of the archbishop that chanced shortlie after, made an end of those so passing great troubles. This yeare, Iohn Waltham bishop of Salisburie, and lord treasurer of England departed this life, and by king Richard his appointment had the honor to haue his bodie interred at Westminster amongst the kings. After this decease, Roger Walden that before was secretarie to the king, and treasurer of Calis, was now made lord treasurer. Yee haue heard, that in the yeare 1392, Robert Véer duke of Ireland departed this life in Louaine in Brabant. King Richard therefore this yeare in Nouember, caused his corps being imbalmed, to be conueied into England, and so to the priorie of Colnie in Essex, appointing him to be laid in a coffine of cypresse, and to be adorned with princelie garments, hauing a chaine of gold about his necke, and rich rings on his fingers. And to shew what loue and affection he bare vnto him in his life time, the king caused the coffine to be opened, that he might behold his face bared, and touch him with his hands: he honored his funerall exequies with his presence, accompanied with the countesse of Oxenford, mother to the said duke, the archbishop of Canturburie, and manie other bishops, abbats, and priors: but of noble men there were verie few, for they had not yet digested the enuie and hatred which they had conceiued against him.

Waltham bishop of Salisburie buried at Westminster amongst the kings.

An. Reg. 19.

The duke of Irelāds corps conueied from Louaine into England, and there roiallie interred.

In this meane while, the duke of Lancaster was in Gascoigne, treating with the lords of the countrie, and the inhabitants of the good townes, which vtterlie refused to receiue him otherwise than as a lieutenant or substitute to the king of England, and in the end addressed messengers into England, to signifie to the king, that they had beene accustomed to be gouerned by kings, and meant not now to become subiects to anie other, contrarie to all reason, sith the king could not (sauing his oth) alien them from the crowne. The duke of Lancaster vsed all waies he might devise, how to win their good wils, and had sent also certeine of his trustie counsellors, ouer hither into England, as sir William Perreer, sir Peter Clifton, and two clearkes learned in the lawe, the one called maister Iohn Huech, and the other maister Iohn Richards a canon of Leicester, to plead and sollicit his cause.

*Froissard.*

The Gascoignes send vnto K. Rich. signifieng vnto him, that they ought not to be diuided from the crowne.

But to be breefe, such reasons were shewed, and such matter vnfolded by the Gascoignes, whie they ought not be separated from the crowne of England, that finallie (notwithstanding the duke of Glocester, and certeine other were against them) it was décréd, that the countrie and duchie of Aquitaine should remaine still in demesne of the crowne of England, least that by this transporting thereof, it might fortune in time, that the heritage thereof should fall into the hands of some stranger, and enimie to the English nation, so that then the homage and souereigntie might perhaps be lost for euer. Indeed, the duke of Glocester, being a prince of an high mind, & loth to haue the duke of Lancaster at home, being so highlie in the kings fauor, could haue béene well pleased, that he should haue enioied his gift, for that he thought thereby to haue borne all the rule about the king, for the duke of Yorke was a man rather coueting to liue in pleasure, than to deale with much businesse, and the weightie affaires of the realme.

The grant of the duchie of Aquitaine to the duke of Lancaster reuoked.

[831]

About the same time, or somewhat before, the king sent an ambassage to the French king, the archbishop of Dublin, the earle of Rutland, the earle Marshall, the lord Beaumont, the lord Spenser, the lord Clifford named Lewes, and twentie knights with fortie esquiers. The cause of their going ouer, was to intreat of a marriage to be had betwixt him, and the ladie Isabell, daughter to the French king, she being as then not past eight yeares of age, which before had beene promised vnto the duke of Britaines

Ambassadors sent into France to treat a marriage betwéene king Richard & the French K. daughter.

sonne: but in consideration of the great benefit that was likelie to insue by this communication and aliance with England, there was a meane found to vndoo that knot, though not presentlie. These English lords, at their comming to Paris, were ioifullie receiued, and so courteouslie interteined, banketted, feasted, and cherished, and that in most honorable sort, as nothing could be more: all their charges and expenses were borne by the French king, and when they should depart, they receiued for answer of their message, verie comfortable words, and so with hope to haue their matter sped, they returned.

But now when the duke of Lancaster had, by laieng foorth an inestimable masse of treasure purchased in a manner the good wils of them of Aquitaine, and compassed his whole desire, he was suddenlie countermanded home by the king, and so to satisfie the kings pleasure, he returned into England, and comming to the king at Langleie, where he held his Christmase, was receiued with more honor than loue, as was thought; wherevpon he rode in all hast that might be to Lincolne, where Katharine Swinford as then laie, whom shortlie after the Epiphanie, he tooke to wife. This woman was borne in Heinault, daughter to a knight of that countrie, called sir Paou de Ruet: she was brought vp in hir youth, in the duke of Lancasters house, and attended on his first wife the duchesse Blanch of Lancaster, and in the daies of his second wife the duchesse Constance, he kept the foresaid Katharine as his concubine, who afterwards was married to a knight of England, named Swinford, that was now deceased. Before she was married, the duke had by hir three children, two sonnes and a daughter; one of the sons was named Thomas de Beaufort, & the other Henrie, who was brought vp at Aken in Almaine, prooued a good lawyer, and was after bishop of Winchester.

*Thom. Wals.*

1396.

The duke of Lancaster marieth a ladie of a meane estate, whome he had kept as his concubine.

For the loue that the duke had to these his children, he married their mother the said Katharine Swinford, being now a widow, whereof men maruelled much, considering hir meane estate was farre vnmeet to match with his highnesse, and nothing comparable in honor to his other two former wiues. And indeed, the great ladies of England, as the duches of Glocester, the countesses of Derby, Arundell and others, descended of the blood roiall, greatlie disdeined, that she should be matched with the duke of Lancaster, and by that means be accompted second person in the realme, and preferred in roome before them, and therefore they said, that they would not come in anie place where she should be present, for it should be a shame to them that a woman of so base birth, and concubine to the duke in his other wiues daies, should go and haue place before them. The duke of Glocester also, being a man of an high mind and stout stomach, misliked his brothers matching so meanlie, but the duke of Yorke bare it well inough, and verelie, the ladie hir selfe was a woman of such bringing vp, and honorable demeanor, that enuie could not in the end but giue place to well deseruing. About this season, the doctrine of Iohn Wickliffe still mightilie spred abroad héere in England. ¶ The schisme also still continued in the church, betwixt the two factions of cardinals French and Romane; for one of their popes could no sooner be dead, but that they ordeined an other in his place.

*Wickleuists increase.*

[832]

In this eighteenth yeare also was a woonderfull tempest of wind in the months of Iulie and August, and also more speciallie in September, by violence whereof, in sundrie places of this realme, great and woonderfull hurt was doone, both in churches and houses. ¶ The ambassadors that had béene latelie in France, about the treatie of the marriage (as before yée haue heard) went thither againe, and so after that the two kings by sending to and fro were growne to certaine points and couenants of agreement, the earle marshall, by letters of procuration, married the ladie Isabell, in name of king Richard, so that from thencefoorth she was called quéene of England. Amongst other couenants

The earle marshall affieth y<sup>e</sup> French kings daughter, in y<sup>e</sup> name of king Richard.

An. Reg. 20.

A truce for 30 yeares betwéene England and France. *Tho. Walsin.*

and articles of this marriage, there was a truce accorded, to indure betwixt the two realms of England and France, for tearme of thirtie yeares. The pope wrote to king Richard, beseeching him to assist the prelats against the Lollards (as they tearmed them) whom he pronounced to be traitors, both to the church and kingdome, and therefore he besought him to take order for the punishment of them, whom the prelats should denounce to be heretikes.

At the same time, he sent a bull reuocatorie concerning religious men, that had either at his hands or at the hands of his legats or nuncios purchased to be his chapleins, and accompting themselues thereby exempt from their order; so that now they were by this reuocatorie bull, appointed to returne to their order, and to obserue all rules thereto belonging. This liked the friers well, namelie the minors, that sought by all means they might deuise, how to bring their brethren home againe, which by such exemptions in being the popes chapleins, were segregated and diuided from the residue of their fraternitie or brotherhood. The king in this twentieth yeare of his reigne, went ouer to Calis with his vncles the dukes of Yorke and Glocester, and a great manie of other lords and ladies of honour, and thither came to him the duke of Burgognie, and so they communed of the peace. There was no enimie to the conclusion thereof but the duke of Glocester, who shewed well by his words that he wished rather war than peace, in somuch as the king stood in doubt of him, least he would procure some rebellion against him by his subiects, whome he knew not to fauour greatlie this new aliance with France.

The king after the duke of Burgognie had talked with him throughlie of all things, and was departed from him, returned into England (leauing the ladies still at Calis) to open the couenants of the marriage and peace vnto his subiects, and after he had finished with that businesse, and vnderstood their minds, he went againe to Calis, and with him his two vncles, of Lancaster and Glocester, and diuerse prelats and lords of the realme; and shortlie after came the French king to the bastide of Arde, accompanied with the dukes of Burgognie, Berrie, Britaine and Burbon. There was set vp for the king of England a right faire and rich paulion a little beyond Guisnes within the English pale; and another the like paulion was pight vp also for the French king on this side Arde, within the French dominion; so that betwéene the said paulions was the distance of thréescore & ten pases, and in the midwaie betwixt them both, was ordeined the third paulion, at the which both kings comming from either of their tents sundrie times should méet and haue communication together.

The distance betwixt the two tents was beset on either side in time of the interview with knights armed with their swords in their hands; that is to say, on the one side stood foure hundred French knights in armor with swords in their hands, and on the other side foure hundred English knights armed with swords in their hands, making as it were a lane betwixt them through the which the two kings came and met, with such noble men as were appointed to attend them. And a certeine distance from the two first paulions, were appointed to stand such companies of men as either of them by appointment had couenanted to bring with them. The two kings before their méeting, receiued a solemne oth for assurance of their faithfull and true meaning, to obserue the sacred lawes of amitie one toward an other, in that their interview, so as no damage, violence, molestation, arrest, disturbance, or other inconuenience should be practised by them, or their friends and subiects: and that if anie disorder rose through anie mishappe, arrogancie, or strife mooued by anie person, the same should be reformed, promising in the words of princes to assist one an other in suppressing, the malice of such as should presume to doo or attempt anie thing that might sound to the breach of friendlie amitie, during the time of that assemblie eight daies before, and seuen daies after.

The popes letters to K. Rich. against y<sup>e</sup> Wickleuists.

K. Richard goeth ouer to Calis.

The maner of the interview betwéene king Richard and the French king. *Fabian.*

*Froissard.*  
*Fabian.*

The oth of the two kings.

On the six and twentieth of October, the king of England remooued from Calis toward the castell of Guisnes, and with him the duke of Berrie, who was sent to take his oth. The morow after, being the euen of Simon and Iude, the kings met, and the lords of France, to wit, the duke of Berrie, Burgogne, Orleans, and Burbon, the earle of Sauoie, the vicount of Meaux, and others conueied the king of England; and from him were sent to conduct the French king diuerse of the English lords, as the two dukes of Lancaster and Glocester, foure earles; to wit, of Derby, Rutland, Notingham, and Northumberland. After the two kings were come together into the tent for that purpose prepared, it was first accorded betwixt them, that in the same place where they thus met, should be builded of both their costs a chapell for a perpetuall memorie, which should be called The chapell of our ladie of peace. On saturdaye being the feast daie of the apostles Simon and Iude, the kings talked together of certeine articles touching the treatie of peace, and hauing concluded vpon the same, they receiued either of them an oth vpon the holie Euangelists, to obserue and kéepe all the couenants accorded vpon.

The chapell of our ladie of peace.

On the mondaie the French king came to the king of England his pauillion, and the same time was brought thither the yoong queene Isabell daughter to the French king, who there deliuered hir vnto king Richard, who taking hir by the hand kissed hir, & gaue to hir father great thanks for that so honorable and gracious a gift, openlie protesting, that vpon the conditions concluded betwixt them, he did receiue hir, that by such affinitie both the realmes might continue in quietnesse, and come to a good end and perfect conclusion of a perpetuall peace. The quéene was committed to the duchesses of Lancaster & Glocester, to the countesses of Huntington and Stafford, to the marchionesse of Dublin daughter to the lord Coucie, to the ladies of Namure, Poinings, and others: which with a noble traine of men and horsse, conueied hir to Calis: for there were twelue charrets full of ladies & gentlewomen. This doone, the kings came together into the king of Englands pauillion to dinner. The French king sate on the right side of the hall, and was roiallie serued after the maner of his countrie, that is to saie, of all maner of meats appointed to be serued at the first course in one mightie large dish or platter, and likewise after the same sort at the second course. But the king of England was serued after the English manner. When the tables were taken vp, and that they had made an end of dinner, the kings kissed ech other, and tooke their horsse. The K. of England brought the French king on his waie, and at length they tooke leaue either of other, in shaking hands and imbracing on horsebacke. The French king rode to Arde, and the king of England returned to Calis.

The French K. giueth his daughter to king Richard in marriage.

The order of the French kings seruice at table.

¶ We haue omitted (as things superfluous to speake of) all the honorable demenor and courteous interteinement vsed and shewed betwixt these princes and noble men on both parts, their sundrie feastinges and banketings, what rich apparell, plate and other furniture of cupboords and tables, the princelie gifts and rich iewels which were presented from one to an other, striuing (as it might séeme) who should shew himselfe most bounteous and liberall: beside the gifts which the king of England gaue vnto the French king, and to the nobles of his realme (which amounted aboue the summe of ten thousand marks) the K. of England spending at this time (as the fame went) aboue thrée hundred thousand marks. After the kings returne to Calis on wednesdaie next insuing, being All hallowes daie, in solemne wise he married the said ladie Isabell in the church of saint Nicholas, the archbishop of Canturburie dooing the office of the minister.

The expenses of king Richard at this interview.

The mariage solemnized at Calis.

The thursdaie after, the dukes of Orleance and Burbon, came to Calis to sée the king & the quéene: and on the fridaie they tooke their leaue and departed, and rode to saint Omers to the French king. On the same daie in the morning the king and the queene tooke their ship, and had faire passage: for within thrée houres they arriued at Douer,

The maior of London and the citizens meete the K. & the quéene on Blackeheath.



from whence they sped them towards London, whereof the citizens being warned, made out certeine horssemen, well appointed in one liuerie of colour, with a deuse imbrodered on their sléeues, that euerie companie might be knowne from other, the which with the maior and his brethren, clothed in skarlet, met the king and quéene on Blackeheath, and there dooing their duties with humble reuerence attended vpon their maiesties till they came to Newington: where the king comanded the maior with his companie to returne, for that he was appointed to lodge that night at Kennington.

Shortlie after, to wit, the thirteenth of Nouember, the yoong quéene was conueied from thence with great pompe vnto the Tower, at which time there was such prease on London bridge, that by reason thereof, certeine persons were thrust to death: among the which the prior of Tiptrie, a place in Essex was one, and a worshipfull matrone in Cornehill an other. The morrow after she was conueied to Westminster with all the honor that might be deuised, and finallie there crowned queene vpon sundaie being then the seauenth of Ianuarie. On the two and twentith of Ianuarie was a parlement begun at Westminster, in which the duke of Lancaster caused to be legitimated the issue which he had begot of Katharine Swinfort, before she was his wife. ¶ At the same time Thomas Beaufort sonne to the said duke, by the said Katharine, was created earle of Summerset. ¶ There was an ordinance made in the same parlement, that iustices should not haue anie to sit with them as assistants. ¶ Moreouer there was a tenth granted by the clergie to be paied to the kings vse at two seuerall termes in that present yeare. In this yeare the king contrarie to his oth reuoked the iustices foorth of Ireland, whom by constraint (as before ye haue heard) he was inforced to banish, thereby to satisfie the noble men that would haue it so.

In this twentith yeare of his reigne king Richard receiuing the summes of monie (for the which the strong towne of Brest was ingaged to him) by euill counsell (as manie thought) deliuered it vnto the duke of Britaine, by reason whereof no small sparke of displeasure arose betwixt the king and the duke of Glocester, which kindled vp such a flame (as it was easie to doo) finding matter inough to féed vpon in both their brests, that finallie it could no longer be kept downe, nor by any meanes quenched. In the moneth of Februarie, the king holding a sumptuous feast at Westminster, many of the soldiars that were newlie come from Brest preased into the hall, and kept a roome together. Whom as the duke of Glocester beheld, and vnderstood what they were, to remember how that towne was giuen vp contrarie to his mind and pleasure, it grieved him not a little: and therefore as the king was entred into his chamber, and few about him, he could not forbear, but brake foorth, and said to the king: "Sir, saw ye not those felowes that sate in such number this daie in the hall, at such a table?" The king answered that "he saw them," and asked the duke what they were? To whom the duke made this answer: "Sir, these be the soldiars that came from Brest, and haue nothing now to take to, nor yet know how to shift for their liuings, and the worse, for that (as I am informed) they haue béene euill paied." Then said the king; "That is against my will, for I would that they should haue their due wages; and if anie haue cause to complaine, let them shew the matter to the treasurer, and they shall be reasonable answered:" and herewith he commanded that they should be appointed to foure certeine villages about London, there to remaine, and to haue meate, drinke, and lodging vpon his charges till they were paied.

Thus as they fell into reasoning of this matter, the duke said to the king: "Sir, your grace ought to put your bodie in paine to win a strong hold or towne by feats of war, yer you take vpon you to sell or deliuer anie towne or strong hold gotten with great aduenture by the manhood and policie of your noble progenitours." To this the king with changed countenance answered and said: "Vncle, how say you that?" And the

Certaine thrust to death in the prease on London bridge. *John Stow.*

The quéens coronation.

1397.

The duke of Lancaster his bastards made legitimate by parlement.

The iustices reuoked out of exile.

Brest yéelded vp to the duke of Britaine.

Priue grudge betwixt the king and the duke of Glocester.

The talke betwixt the king and the duke of Glocester.

Out of a French pamphlet.

duke boldlie without feare recited the same againe, not changing one word in anie better sort. Wherevpon the king being more chafed, replied; "Sir, thinke you that I am a merchant, or a verie foole, to sell my land? By saint Iohn Baptist no: but truth it is, that our coosine the duke of Britaine hath satisfied vs in all such summes of monie as our progenitors lent vnto him, and to his ancestors, vpon gage of the said towne of Brest, for the which reason and conscience will no lesse but that the towne should therevpon be to him restored." Vpon this multiplieng of woords in such presumptuous maner by the duke against the king, there kindeled such displeasure betwixt them, that it neuer ceased to increase into flames, till the duke was brought to his end.

The earle of saint Paule at his last comming into England to receiue king Richards oth for obseruing the truce, had conference with the king of diuerse matters. The king by waie of complaint, shewed vnto him how stiffe the duke of Glocester was in hindering all such matters as he would haue go forward, not onlie séeking to haue the peace broken betwixt the realmes of England & France, but also procuring trouble at home, by stirring the people to rebellion. The earle of saint Paule hearing of this stout demeanor of the duke, told the king that it should be best to prouide in time against such mischéefs as might insue thereof, and that it was not to be suffered, that a subiect should behaue himselfe in such sort toward his prince. The king marking his woords, thought that he gaue him good and faithfull counsell, and therevpon determined to suppress both the duke and other of his complices, and tooke more diligent regard to the saiengs & dooings of the duke than before he had doone. And as it commeth to passe that those which suspect anie euill, doo euer déeme the woorst; so he tooke euerie thing in euill part, insomuch that he complained of the duke vnto his brethren the dukes of Lancaster and Yorke, in that he should stand against him in all things and seeke his destruction, the death of his counsellors, and ouerthrow of his realme.

The two dukes of Lancaster and Yorke to deliuer the kings mind of suspicion, made answer, that they were not ignorant, how their brother of Glocester, as a man sometime rash in woords, would speake oftentimes more than he could or would bring to effect, and the same proceeded of a faithfull hart, which he bare towards the king, for that it grieved him to vnderstand, that the confines of the English dominions should in anie wise be diminished: therefore his grace ought not to regard his woords, sith he should take no hurt thereby. These persuasions quieted the king for a time, till he was informed of the practise which the duke of Glocester had contriued (as the fame went amongst diuerse persons) to imprison the king. For then the duke of Lancaster and Yorke, first reprocuing the duke of Glocester for his too liberall talking, vttering vnaduisedlie woords that became not his person, and which to haue concealed had tended more to the opinion of vertue, than to lash out whatsoever his vnstaied mind afforded, which is a great fault (as in effect the poet noteth:

Eximia est virtus præstare silentia rebus,  
At contra grauis est culpa tacenda loqui)

and perceuing that he set nothing by their woords, were in doubt least if they should remaine in the court still, he would vpon a presumptuous mind, in trust to be borne out by them, attempt some outragious enterprise. Wherefore they thought best to depart for a time into their countries, that by their absence he might the sooner learne to staie himselfe for doubt of further displeasure. But it came to passe, that their departing from the court was the casting awaie of the duke of Glocester. For after that they were gone, there ceased not such as bare him euill will, to procure the K. to dispatch him out of the way.

The duke in déed sore stomached the matter, that his counsell might not be followed in all things, and speciallie for that he saw (as he tooke it) that the king was misled by some persons that were about him, otherwise than stood with his honor: for reformation whereof, he conferred with the abbat of saint Albons, and the prior of

The earle of saint Paule  
his counsell to K.  
Richard.  
*Polydor.*

The dukes of Lancaster  
& Yorke excuse the  
duke of Glocester to the  
king.

Westminster. The abbat was both his coosine and godfather: and hauing on a daie both the duke and the prior at his house in saint Albons, after dinner he fell in talke with the duke and prior, and amongst other communication required of the prior to tell truth, whether he had anie vision the night before or not. The prior séemed loth to make a direct answer; but at length being earnestlie requested as well by the abbat as the duke, he declared that he had a vision in déed, which was "that the realme of England should be destroyed through the misgouernement of king Richard." "By the virgine Marie," said the abbat, "I had the verie same vision." The duke herevpon disclosed vnto them all the secrets of his mind, and by their deuises presentlie contriued an assemblie of diuerse great lords of the realme at Arundell castell that daie fortnight, at what time he himselfe appointed to be there, with the earles of Derby, Arundell, Marshall, and Warwike: also the archbishop of Canturburie, the abbat of saint Albons, the prior of Westminster, with diuerse others.

A conspiracie betwéene the duke of Glocester, and the abbat of saint Albons.

Out of an old French pamphlet belonging to *John Stow*.

These estates being come to Arundell castell at the daie appointed, about the verie beginning of the one and twentieth yeare of king Richards reigne, they sware ech to other to be assistant in all such matters as they should determine, and therewith receiued the sacrament at the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, who celebrated masse before them the morow after. Which doone, they withdrew into a chamber, and fell in counsell together, where in the end they light vpon this point; to take king Richard, the dukes of Lancaster & Yorke, and commit them to prison, and all the other lords of the kings counsell they determined shuld be drawne and hanged. Such was their purpose which they ment to haue accomplished in August following. But the earle marshall that was lord deputie of Calis, and had married the earle of Arundels daughter, discouered all their counsell to the king, and the verie daie in which they should begin their enterprise. The king bad the earle marshall take héed what he had said, for if it prooued not true, he should repent it: but the earle constantlie herevnto answered, that if the matter might be prooued otherwise, he was contented to be drawne and quartered.

An. Reg. 21.

The purpose of the conspirators.

The earle marshall discloseth the conspiracie.

The king herevpon went to London, where he dined at the house of his brother the earle of Huntington in the stréet behind All hallowes church vpon the banke of the riuier of Thames, which was a right faire and statelie house. After dinner, he gaue his councill to vnderstand all the matter; by whose aduise it was agreed, that the king should assemble foorthwith what power he might conuenientlie make of men of armes & archers, and streightwaies take horsse, accompanied with his brother the earle of Huntington, & the earle marshall. Herevpon at six of the clocke in the afternoone, the iust houre when they vsed to go to supper, the king mounted on horssebacke, and rode his waie; whereof the Londoners had great maruell. After that the king began to approch the dukes house at Plashie in Essex, where he then laie, he commanded his brother the earle of Huntington to ride afore, to know if the duke were at home, and if he were, then to tell him that the king was comming at hand to speake with him.

The earle of Rutland saith *R. Grafton*.

The earle with ten persons in his companie amending his pase (for the king had made no great hast all the night before, as should appeare by his iournie) came to the house, and entering into the court, asked if the duke were at home, and vnderstanding by a gentlewoman that made him answer, that both the duke and duchesse were yet in bed, he besought hir to go to the duke, and to shew him that the king was comming at hand to speake with him, and foorthwith came the king with a competent number of men of armes, and a great companie of archers, riding into the base court, his trumpets sounding before him. The duke herewith came downe into the base court, where the king was, hauing none other apparell vpon him, but his shirt, and a cloke or a mantell cast about his shoulders, and with humble

The duke of Glocester arrested.

reuerence said that his grace was welcome, asking of the lords how it chanced they came so earlie, and sent him no word of their coming? The king herewith courteously requested him to go and make him readie, and appoint his horse to be saddled, for that he must needs ride with him a little waie, and conferre with him of businesse. The duke went vp againe into his chamber to put vpon him his clothes, and the king alighting from his horse, fell in talke with the duchesse and hir ladies. The earle of Huntington and diuerse other followed the duke into the hall, and there staid for him, till he had put on his raiment. And within a while they came foorth againe all together into the base court, where the king was deliting with the duchesse in pleasant talke, whom he willed now to returne to hir lodging againe, for he might staid no longer, and so tooke his horse againe, and the duke likewise. But shortlie after that the king and all his companie were gone foorth of the gate of the base court, he commanded the earle marshall to apprehend the duke, which incontinentlie was doone according to the kings appointment.

¶ Here we find some variance in writers. For as by an old French pamphlet (which I haue séene) it should appeare, the king Out of an old French pamphlet. commanded first, that this duke should be conueied vnto the tower, where he ment to commen with him, & not in any other place: but neuertheless, the king shortlie after appointed, that he should be sent to Calis, as in the same pamphlet is also contened. Other write, that immediatlie vpon his apprehension, the earle marshall conueied him vnto the Thames, and there being set aboard in a ship prepared of purpose, he was brought to Calis, where he was at length dispatched out of life, either strangled or smothered with pillowes (as some doo write.) For the king thinking it not good, that the duke of Glocester should stand to his answer openlie, because the people bare him so much good will, sent one of his iustices called William Kikill, an Irishman borne, ouer vnto Calis, there to inquire of the duke of Glocester, whether he had committed any such treasons as were alledged against him, and the earles of Arundell and Warwike, as after shall be specified. Iustice Kikill hearing what he confessed vpon his examination, wrote the same as he was commanded to doo, and therewith spédilie returned to the king, and as it hath beene reported, he informed the king (whether trulie or not, I haue not to say) that the duke franklie confessed euerie thing, wherewith he was charged. Wherevpon the king sent vnto Thomas Mowbraie earle marshall and of Notingham, to make the duke secretlie awaie.

The earle prolonged time for the executing of the kings † For he was son to a king, and vnclie to a king. commandement, though the king would haue had it doone with all expedition, wherby the king conceiued no small displeasure, and sware that it should cost the earle his life if he quickly obeied not his commandement. The earle thus as it séemed in maner inforced, called out the duke at midnight, as if he should haue taken ship to passe ouer into England, and there in the lodging called the princes In, he caused his seruants to cast featherbeds vpon him, and so smother him to death, or otherwise to strangle him with towels (as some write.) This was the end of that † nobleman, fierce of nature, hastie, wilfull, and giuen more to war than to peace: and in this greatlie to be discommended, that he was euer repining against the king in all things, whatsoever he wished to haue forward. He was thus made awaie not so soone as the brute ran of his death. But (as it should appeare by some authors) he remained aliue till the parlement that next insued, and then about the same time that the earle of Arundell suffered, he was dispatched (as before ye haue heard.) His bodie was afterwards with all funerall pompe conueied into England, and buried at his owne manor of Plashie within the church there, in a sepulchre which he in his life time had caused to be made, and there erected.

The same euening that the king departed from London towards The earle of Arundell apprehended. Plashie, to apprehend the duke of Glocester, the earle of Rutland and the earle of Kent were sent with a great number of men of armes and archers to arrest the erle of Arundell; which was doone easilie inough, by reason that the said

earle was trained with faire words at the kings hands, till he was within his danger: where otherwise he might haue béene able to haue saued himselfe, and deliuered his fréends. The earle of Warwike was taken, and committed to the tower the same day that the king had willed him to dinner, and shewed him verie good countenance. There were also apprehended and committed to the tower the same time, the lord Iohn Cobham, and sir Iohn Cheinie knights. The earle of Arundell was sent to the Ile of Wight, there to remaine as prisoner, till the next parlement, in the which he determined so to prouide, that they should be all condemned, and put to death. And for doubt of some commotion that might arise amongst the commons, he caused it by open proclamation to be signified, that these noblemen were not apprehended for any offense committed long agoe, but for new trespasses against the king, as in the next parlement should be manifestlie declared and prooued.

Shortlie after, he procured them to be indicted at Notingham, suborning such as should appeale them in parlement, to wit, Edward earle of Rutland, Thomas Mowbraie earle marshall, Thomas Holland earle of Kent, Iohn Holland earle of Huntington, Thomas Beaufort erle of Summerset, Iohn Montacute earle of Salisburie, Thomas lord Spenser, and the lord William Scroope lord chamberleine. In the meane time, the king fearing what might be attempted against him by those that faouored these noblemen that were in durance, sent for a power of Cheshire men, that might day and night keepe watch and ward about his person. They were about two thousand archers, paid wéekelie, as by the annales of Britaine it appeareth. The king had little trust in any of the nobilitie, except in his brother the earle of Huntington, and the earle of Rutland sonne to the duke of Yorke, and in the earle of Salisburie: in these onelie he reposed a confidence, and not in any other, except in certeine knights and gentlemen of his priuie chamber.

In the meane time, whiles things were thus in broile, before the beginning of the parlement, diuers other, beside them of whom we haue spoken, were apprehended and put in sundrie prisons. The parlement was summoned to begin at Westminster the 17 of September, and writs therevpon directed to euerie of the lords to appeare, and to bring with them a sufficient number of armed men and archers in their best arraie: for it was not knowen how the dukes of Lancaster and Yorke would take the death of their brother, nor how other péeres of the realme would take the apprehension and imprisonment of their kinsemen, the earls of Arundell and Warwike, and of the other prisoners. Suerlie the two dukes when they heard that their brother was so suddenlie made awaie, they wist not what to saie to the matter, and began both to be sorowfull for his death, and doubtfull of their owne states: for sith they saw how the king (abused by the counsell of euill men) abstained not from such an heinous act, they thought he would afterwards attempt greater misorders from time to time. Therefore they assembled in all hast, great numbers of their seruants, fréends, and tenants, and comming to London, were receiued into the citie. For the Londoners were right sorie for the death of the duke of Glocester, who had euer sought their faour, in somuch that now they would haue béene contented to haue ioined with the dukes in seeking reuenge of so noble a mans death, procured and brought to passe without law or reason, as the common brute then walked; although peraduenture he was not as yet made awaie.

Here the dukes and other fell in counsell, and manie things were proponed. Some would that they shuld by force reuenge the duke of Glocesters death, other thought it méet that the earles Marshall and Huntington, and certeine others, as chéefe authours of all the mischeefe should be pursued and punished for their demerites, hauing trained vp the king in vice and euill customes, euen from his youth. But the dukes (after their displeasure was somewhat asswaged) determined to couer the stings of their griefes for a time, and if the king would amend his maners, to forget also the iniuries past. In the meane time the king laie at Eltham,

The names of the appellants.

A gard of Cheshire men about the king.

The lords appointed to come in warlike manner to the parlemēt.

*Polydor.*

The dukes of Lancaster & Yorke assemble their powers to resist the kings dealings.

*Caxton. Fabian.*

*Polydor.*

and had got about him a great power (namelie of those archers, which he had sent for out of Cheshire, in whome he put a singular trust more than in any other.)

There went messengers betwixt him and the dukes, which being The king and the dukes reconciled. men of honour did their indeuour to appease both parties. The king discharged himselfe of blame for the duke of Glocesters death, considering that he had gone about to breake the truce, which he had taken with France, and also stirred the people of the realme to rebellion, and further had sought the destruction and losse of his life, that was his souereigne lord and lawfull king. Contrarilie, the dukes affirmed, that their brother was wrongfullie put to death, hauing doone nothing worthie of death. At length, by the intercession and meanes of those noble men that went to and fro betwixt them, they were accorded, & the king promised from thencefoorth to doo nothing but by the assent of the dukes: but he kept small promise in this behalfe, as after well appeared.

When the time came, that the parlement should be holden at Caxton. Westminster, according to the tenour of the summons, the lords The great parlement. repaired thither, furnished with great retinues both of armed men and archers, as the earle of Derby, the earle Marshall, the earle of Rutland, the lord Spenser, the earle of Northumberland, with his sonne the lord Henrie Persie, and the lord Thomas Persie the said earles brother, also the lord Scroope treasurer of England, & diuerse other. All the which earles and lords brought with them a great & strong power, euerie of them in their best araie, as it were to strengthen the king against his enimies. The dukes of Lancaster and Yorke were likewise there, giuing their attendance on the king with like furniture of men of armes & archers. There was not halfe lodging sufficient within the citie & suburbes of London for such cōpanies of men as the lords brought with them to this parlement, called the great parlement: in somuch that they were constrained to lie in villages abroad ten or twelue miles on ech side the citie.

In the beginning of this parlement, the king greatlie complained of the misdemeanour of the péeres and lords of his realme, as well for the things doone against his will and pleasure, whiles he was yoong, as for the streit dealing, which they had shewed towards the quéene, who was thrée houres at one time on hir knees before the earle of Arundell, for one of hir esquiers, named Iohn Caluerlie, who neuertheless had his head smit frō his shoulders, & all the answer that she could get, was this: "Madame, praie for yourselfe, and your husband, for that is best, and let this sute alone." Those that set foorth the kings greeuances, as prolocutors in this parlement were these: Iohn Bushie, William Bagot and Thomas Gréene. The kings gréeuances opened in this parlement. The king had caused a large house of timber to be made within the palace at Westminster, which he was called an hall, couered aboue head with tiles, and was open at the ends, that all men might see through it. This house was of so great a compasse, that scarce it might stand within the roome of the palace. In this house was made an high throne for the king, and a large place for all estates besides to sit in. There were places also made for the appellants to stand on the one side, and the defendants on the other, and a like roome was made behind for the knights and burgesses of the parlement. There was a place deuised for the speaker, named sir Iohn Bushie, a knight of Lincolnshire, accompted to be an exceeding cruell man, ambitious, and couetous beyond measure. Tho. Walsing. Iohn Bushie, William Bagot, Thomas Gréene.

Immediatlie after, ech man being placed in his roome, the cause of assembling that parlement was shewed, as that the king had called it for reformation of diuerse transgressions and oppressions committed against the peace of his land by the duke of Glocester, the earles of Arundell, Warwike, and others. Then sir Iohn Bushie stept foorth, and made request on the behalfe of the communaltie, that it might please the kings highnesse for their heinous acts attempted against his lawes and roiall maiestie, to appoint them A new house made within the palace of Westminster for the areignment of the lords indicted. Additions to Polychron. Sir Iohn Bushie speaker. The archbishop of Canturburie sitting in parlement is accused of treason by the speaker.

punishment according to their deservings, and speciallie to the archbishop of Canturburie (who then sat next the king) whome he accused of high treason, for that he had euill counselled his maiestie, inducing him to grant his letters of pardon to his brother the earle of Arundell, being a ranke traitor.

When the archbishop began to answer in his owne defense, the king willed him to sit downe againe and to hold his peace, for all should be well. Herewith sir Iohn Bushie besought the king, that the archbishop should not be admitted to make his answer, which if he did, by reason of his great wit and good vtterance, he feared least he should lead men awaie to beléeue him: so the archbishop might be heard no further. Sir Iohn Bushie in all his talke, when he proponed any matter vnto the king, did not attribute to him titles of honour, due and accustomed, but inuented vnused termes and such strange names, as were rather agreeable to the diuine maiestie of God, than to any earthlie potentate. The prince being desirous inough of all honour, and more ambitious than was requisite, seemed to like well of his speech, and gaue good eare to his talke.

Thus when the archbishop was constrained to keepe silence, sir Iohn Bushie procéded in his purpose, requiring on the behalfe of the commons, that the charters of pardons granted vnto the traitors, to wit, the duke of Glocester, and the earles of Arundell and Warwike, should be reuoked by consent of all the estates now in parlement assembled. The king also for his part protested, that those pardons were not voluntarilie granted by him, but rather extorted by compulsion, and therefore he besought them that euerie man would shew foorth their opinions what they thought thereof. There were two other persons of great credit with the king, besides sir Iohn Bushie, that were, as before yee haue heard, verie earnest to haue those charters of pardon reuoked and made void, to wit, sir William Bagot, and sir Thomas Gréene.

But bicause this matter séemed to require good deliberation, it was first put to the bishops, who with small adoo gaue sentence, that the said charters were reuocable, and might well inough be called in: yet the archbishop of Canturburie in his answer herevnto said, that the king from whome those pardons came, was so high an estate, that he durst not saie, that anie such charters by him granted, might be reuoked: notwithstanding, his brethren the bishops thought otherwise: not considering (saith Thomas Walsingham) that such reuoking of the kings charters of pardon should sound highlie to the kings dishonor: forsomuch as mercie and pardoning transgressions is accompted to be the confirmation and establishing of the kings seat and roiall estate.

The temporall lords perceiuing what the bishops had doone, likewise giue their consents, to reuoke the same pardons: but the iudges with those that were toward the law, were not of this opinion, but finallie the bishops pretending a scrupulositie, as if they might not with safe consciences be present where iudgement of bloud should passe, they appointed a laie man to be their prolocutor to serue that turne. To conclude, at length all maner of charters of pardon were made void, for that the same séemed to impeach the suertie of the kings person. When sir Iohn Bushie and his associats had obtained that reuocation, it was further by them declared, that the earle of Arundell had yet an other speciall charter of pardon for his owne person, which he had obtained after the first. And therefore sir Iohn Bushie earnestlie requested in name of the commualtie that the same might likewise be reuoked.

The question then was asked of the bishops, who declared themselues to be of the like opinion, touching that charter, as they were of the other. At that selfe time the archbishop of Canturburie absented himselfe from the parlement, in hope that the king would be his fréend, and stand his verie good lord, for that he had promised nothing should be doone against him in the parlement whilest he was absent. But neuerthesse, at the importunate sute of the said sir Iohn Bushie and others, the

*Impudent flatterie.*

[840]

*Tho. Walsi.*

*The charters of pardō granted to y<sup>e</sup> lords made void by parlement.*

*Thom. Wals.*

*The archb. of Canturburie condemned to perpetuall banishment.*

*Six daies saith Grafton.*

archbishop was condemned vnto perpetuall exile, and appointed to auoid the realme within six wéekes. And therewith the king sent secretlie to the pope for order that the archbishop might be remooued from his sée to some other, which sute was obtained, and Roger Walden lord treasurer was ordeined archbishop in his place, as after shall appeare.

On the feast daie of saint Matthew, Richard fitz Aleine, earle of Arundell, was brought foorth to sweare before the king and whole parlement to such articles as he was to be charged with. And as he stood at the bar, the lord Neuill was commanded by the duke of Lancaster, which sat that daie as high steward of England, to take the hood from his necke, and the girdle from his waste. Then the duke of Lancaster declared vnto him, that for his manifold rebellions and treasons against the kings maiestie he had béene arrested, and hitherto kept in ward, and now at the petition of the lords and commons, he was called to answer such crimes as were there to be obiected against him, and so to purge himselfe, or else to suffer for his offenses, such punishment as law appointed.

The earle of Arundell areigned.

The duke of Lācaster high Steward of England at this areignement.

[841]

First, he charged him, for that he had traitorouslie rid in armour against the king in companie of the duke of Glocester, and of the earle of Warwike, to the breach of peace and disquieting of the realme. His answer herevnto was, that he did not this vpon anie euill meaning towards the kings person, but rather for the benefit of the king and relme, if it were interpreted aright, and taken as it ought to be. It was further demanded of him, whie he procured letters of pardon from the K. if he knew himselfe giltlesse? He answered, that he did not purchase them for anie feare he had of faults committed by him, but to staie the malicious speach of them that neither loued the king nor him. He was againe asked, whether he would denie that he had made anie such rode with the persons before named, and that in companie of them he entred not armed vnto the kings presence against the kings will and pleasure? To this he answered, that he could not denie it, but that he so did.

The earle of Arundell his answers to the points of his indictmēt.

Then the speaker sir Iohn Bushie, with open mouth, besought that iudgement might be had against such a traitour: "and your faithfull commons (said he to the king) aske and require that so it may be doone." The earle turning his head aside, quietlie said to him; "Not the kings faithfull cōmons require this, but thou, and what thou art I know." Then the eight appellants standing on the other side, cast their gloues to him, and in prosecuting their appeale (which alreadie had béene read) offered to fight with him man to man to iustifie the same. Then said the earle, "If I were at libertie, and that it might so stand with the pleasure of my souereigne, I would not refuse to prooue you all liers in this behalfe." Then spake the duke of Lancaster, saieng to him; "What haue you further to saie to the points before laid against you?" He answered, "that of the kings grace he had his letters of generall pardon, which he required to haue allowed." Then the duke told him, "that the pardon was reuoked by the prelates and noble men in the parlement, and therefore willed him to make some other answer." The earle told him againe "that he had an other pardon vnder the kings great seale, granted him long after of the kings owne motion, which also he required to haue allowed." The duke told him, "that the same was likewise reuoked." After this, when the earle had nothing more to saie for himselfe, the duke pronounced iudgement against him, as in cases of treason is vsed.

The earle of Arundell condemned.

But after he had made an end, and paused a little, he said: "The king our souereigne lord of his mercie and grace, bicause thou art of his bloud, and one of the peeres of the realme, hath remitted all the other paines, sauing the last, that is to saie, the beheading, and so thou shalt onelie lose thy head;" and forthwith he was had awaie, & led through London vnto the Tower hill. There went with him to sée the execution doone six great lords, of whome there were thrée earles, Notingham (that had married his daughter) Kent (that was his daughters son) and Huntington, being mounted on



great horsses, with a great companie of armed men, and the fierce bands of the Cheshire-men, furnished with axes, swords, bowes and arrowes, marching before and behind him, who onelie in this parlement had licence to beare weapon, as some haue written. When he should depart the palace, he desired that his hands might be losed to dispose such monie as he had in his pursse, betwixt that place and Charingcrosse. This was permitted, and so he gaue such monie as he had in almes with his owne hands, but his armes were still bound behind him.

When he came to the Tower hill, the noble men that were about him, moued him right earnestlie to acknowledge his treason against The executiō of the earle of Arundell. the king. But he in no wise would so doo, but mainteined that he was neuer traitour in word or deed: and herewith perceiuing the earles of Notingham and Kent, that stood by with other noble men busie to further the execution (being as yée haue heard) of kin and alied to him, he spake to them, and said: "Trulie it would haue beséemed you rather to haue béene absent than here at this businesse. But the time will come yer it be long, when as manie shall meruell at your misfortune as doo now at mine." After this, forgiuing the executioner, he besought him not to torment him long, but to strike off his head at one blowe, and féeling the edge of the sword, whether it was sharpe enough or not, he said; "It is verie well, doo that thou hast to doo quicklie," and so knéeling downe, the executioner with one stroke, strake off his head: his bodie was buried together with his head in the church of the Augustine friers in Breadstréet within the citie of London. |842|

The death of this earle was much lamented among the people, *Ouid.* considering his sudden fall and miserable end, where as not long before among all the noblemen of this land (within the which was such a number, as no countrie in the world had greater store at that present) there was none more esteemed: so noble and valiant he was, that all men spake honour of him. After his death, as the fame went, the king was sore vexed in his sléepe with horrible dreames, imagining that he saw this earle appeare vnto him threatning him, & putting him in horrible feare, as if he had said with the poet to king Richard;

Nunc quóq; factorum venio memor vmbra tuorum,  
Insequor & vultus ossea forma tuos.

With which visions being sore troubled in sleepe, he cursed the daie that euer he knew the earle. And he was the more vnquiet, bicause he heard it reported, that the common people tooke the erle for a martyr, insomuch that some came to visit the place of his sepulture, for the opinion they had conceiued of his holinesse. And where it was bruted abroad as for a miracle, that his head should be growne to his bodie againe, the tenth daie after his buriall, the king sent about ten of the clocke in the night, certeine of the nobilitie to see his bodie taken vp, that he might be certified of the truth. Which doone, and perceiuing it was a fable, he commanded the friers to take downe his armes that were set vp about the place of his buriall, and to couer the graue, so as it should not be perceiued where he was buried.

But now to returne to the parlement. After the death of this earle, The earle of Warwike arreigned of treason. the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike was brought forth to abide his triall by parlement, and when his accusers charged him in like points of treason, such as before were imposed to the earle of Arundell; he answered that he neuer meant euill to the kings person, nor thought that those rodes and assemblies that were made in companie of the duke of Glocester, the earle of Arundell, and others, might not be accompted treason. But when the iudges had shewed him, that they could not be otherwise taken than for treason, he humbly besought the king of mercy and grace. The king then asked of him whether he had rid with the duke of Glocester, and the earle of Arundell, as had beene alledged? He answered that he could not denie it, and wished that he had neuer seene them. Then said the king, Doo yee not know that you are guiltie of treason? He answered againe, I acknowledge it; and with sobbing teares besought all them that were present, to make intercession to the kings maiestie for him.

Then the king and the duke of Lancaster communed, and after the king had a while with silence considered of the matter, he said to the earle; By saint Iohn Baptist, Thomas of Warwike, this confession that thou hast made, is vnto me more available than all the duke of Glocesters and the earle of Warwikes lands. Herewith the earle making still intercession for pardon, the lords humblie besought the king to grant it. Finallie the king pardoned him of life, but banished him into the Ile of Man, which then was the lord Scroopes, promising that both he, and his wife, and children, should haue good enterteinment. Which promise notwithstanding was but slenderlie kept, for both the earle and the countesse liued in great penurie (as some write) and yet the lord Scroope, that was lord chamberleine, had allowed for the earles diet foure thousand nobles yéerelie paid out of the kings coffers.

[843]

On the mondaie next after the arreignement of the earle of Warwike, to wit, the foure and twentie of September, was the lord Iohn Cobham, and sir Iohn Cheinie arreigned, and found guiltie of like treasons for which the other had beene condemned before: but at the earnest instance and sute of the nobles, they were pardoned of life, and banished, or (as Fabian saith) condemned to perpetuall prison. ¶ The king desirous to see the force of the Londoners, caused them (during the time of this parlement) to muster before him on Blacke heath, where a man might haue seene a great number of able personages. And now after that the parlement had continued almost till Christmasse, it was adiourned vntill the quinden of S. Hilarie, then to begin againe at Shrewesburie.

The king then came downe to Lichfield, and there held a roiall Christmasse, which being ended, he tooke his iournie towards Shrewesburie, where the parlement was appointed to begin in the quinden of saint Hilarie, as before yée haue heard. In which parlement there holden vpon prorogation, for the loue that the king bare to the gentlemen commons of the shire of Chester, he caused it to be ordeined that from thencefoorth it should be called and knowne by the name of the principalitie of Chester: and herewith he intituled himselfe prince of Chester. He held also a roiall feast, kéeping open houshold for all honest commers, during the which feast, he created fiue dukes and a duchesse, a marquesse, and foure earles. The earle of Derby was created duke of Hereford, the earle of Notingham that was also earle marshall duke of Norfolke, the earle of Rutland duke of Aubemarle, the earle of Kent duke of Surrie, and the earle of Huntington duke of Excester; the ladie Margaret marshall countesse of Norfolke, was created duchesse of Norfolke; the earle of Summerset marques Dorset, the lord Spenser earle of Glocester, the lord Neuill surnamed Daurabie earle of Westmerland, the lord William Scroope lord chamberleine earle of Wiltshire, and the lord Thomas Persie lord steward of the kings house earle of Worcester.

The king keepeth his  
Christmasse at  
Lichfield.

1398.

Cheshire made a  
principalitie.

K. Richard prince of  
Chester.

Creation of dukes and  
earles.

And for the better maintenance of the estate of these noble men, whome he had thus aduanced to higher degrees of honour, he gaue vnto them a great part of those lands that belonged to the duke of Glocester, the earles of Warwike, and Arundell. And now he was in good hope, that he had rooted vp all plants of treason, and therefore cared lesse who might be his freend or his fo, than before he had doone, estéeming himselfe higher in degré than anie prince liuing, and so presumed further than euer his grandfather did, and tooke vpon him to beare the armes of saint Edward, ioining them vnto his owne armes. To conclude, whatsoever he then did, none durst speake a word contrarie therevnto. And yet such as were cheefe of his councill, were estéemed of the commons to be the woorst creatures that might be, as the dukes of Aumarle, Norfolke and Excester, the earle of Wiltshire, sir Iohn Bushie, sir William Bagot, and sir Thomas Gréene: which thrée last remembred were knights of the Bath, against whom the commons vndoubtedlie bare great and priuie hatred.

K. Richard beareth saint  
Edward his armes.

But now to proceed. In this parlement holden at Shrewesburie, the lord Reginald

Cobham, being a verie aged man, simple and vpright in all his dealings, was condemned for none other cause, but for that in the eleuenth yéere of the kings reigne he was appointed with other to be attendant about the king as one of his gouernours. The acts and ordinances also deuised and established in the parlement holden in the eleuenth yeare were likewise repealed. Moreouer, in this parlement at Shrewesburie, it was décréd, that the lord Iohn Cobham should be sent into the Ile of Gernesie, there to remains in exile, hauing a small portion assigned him to liue vpon. The king so wrought & brought things about, that he obtained the whole power of both houses to be granted to certeine persons, as to Iohn duke of Lancaster, Edmund duke of Yorke, Edmund duke of Aumarle, Thomas duke of Surrie, Iohn duke of Excester, Iohn marquesse Dorset, Roger earle of March, Iohn earle of Salisburie, and Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas earle of Glocester, and William earle of Wiltshire, Iohn Hussie, Henrie Cheimeswike, Robert Teie, and Iohn Goulofer knights, or to seauen or eight of them. These were appointed to heare and determine certeine petitions and matters yet depending and not ended: but by vertue of this grant, they procéded to conclude vpon other things, which generallie touched the knowledge of the whole parlement, in derogation of the states therof, to the disaduantage of the king, and perillous example in time to come.

The L. Reginald Cobham condemned.  
The authoritie of both houses in parlement granted to certaine persons.  
*Thom. Wals.*

[844]

When the king had spent much monie in time of this parlement, he demanded a disme and a halfe of the cleargie, and a fiftéenth of the temporaltie. Finallie, a generall pardon was granted for all offenses to all the kings subiects (fiftie onelie excepted) whose names he would not by anie meanes expresse, but reserued them to his owne knowledge, that when anie of the nobilitie offended him, he might at his plesure name him to be one of the number excepted, and so kéepe them still within his danger. To the end that the ordinances, iudgements, and acts made, pronounced and established in this parlement, might be and abide in perpetuall strength and force, the king purchased the popes buls, in which were contened greeuous censures and cursses, pronounced against all such as did by anie means go about to breake and violate the statutes in the same parlement ordeined. These buls were openlie published & read at Paules crosse in London, and in other the most publike places of the realme.

The K. procureth the popes buls against the breakers of his statute.

Manie other things were doone in this parlement, to the displeasure of no small number of people; namelie, for that diuerse rightfull heires were disherited of their lands and liuings, by authoritie of the same parlement: with which wrongfull dooings the people were much offended, so that the king and those that were about him, and chéefe in councell, came into great infamie and slander. In déed the king after he had dispatched the duke of Glocester, and the other noblemen, was not a little glad, for that he knew them still readie to disappoint him in all his purposes; and therefore being now as it were carelesse, did not behaue himselfe (as some haue written) in such discrét order, as manie wished: but rather (as in time of prosperitie it often happeneth) he forgot himselfe, and began to rule by will more than by reason, threatning death to each one that obeied not his inordinate desires. By means whereof, the lords of the realme began to feare their owne estates, being in danger of his furious outrage, whome they tooke for a man destitute of sobrietie and wisdom, and therefore could not like of him, that so abused his authoritie.

Rightfull heires disherited.  
*Polydor.*  
K. Richard his euill gouernment.

Herevpon there were sundrie of the nobles, that lamented these mischéefes, and speciallie shewed their greefes vnto such, by whose naughtie counsell they vnderstood the king to be misled; and this they did, to the end that they being about him, might either turne their copies, and giue him better counsell; or else he hauing knowledge what euill report went of him, might mend his maners misliked of his nobles. But all was in vaine, for so it fell out, that in this parlement holden at Shrewesburie, Henrie duke of Hereford

The duke of Hereford appealeth the duke of Norfolk of treson.  
*Thom. Wals.*

accused Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, of certeine words which he should vtter in talke had betwixt them, as they rode togither latalie before betwixt London and Brainford, sounding highlie to the kings dishonor. And for further prooffe thereof, he presented a supplication to the king, wherein he appealed the duke of Norfolke in field of battell, for a traitor, false and disloiall to the king, and enimie vnto the realme. This supplication was red before both the dukes, in presence of the king: which doone, the duke of Norfolke tooke vpon him to answer it, declaring that whatsoever the duke of Hereford had said against him other than well, he lied falselie like an vntrue knight as he was. And when the king asked of the duke of Hereford what he said to it: he taking his hood off his head, said; "My souereigne lord, euen as the supplication which I tooke you importeth, right so I saie for truth, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke is a traitour, false and disloiall to your roiall maiestie, your crowne, and to all the states of your realme."

Then the duke of Norfolke being asked what he said to this, he answered: "Right déere lord, with your fauour that I make answer vnto your coosine here, I saie (your reuerence saued) that Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, like a false and disloiall traitor as he is, dooth lie, in that he hath or shall say of me otherwise than well." No more said the king, we haue heard inough: and herewith commanded the duke of Surrie for that turne marshall of England, to arrest in his name the two dukes: the duke of Lancaster father to the duke of Hereford, the duke of Yorke the duke of Aumarle constable of England: and the duke of Surrie marshall of the realme vnderooke as pledges bodie for bodie for the duke of Hereford: but the duke of Northfolke was not suffered to put in pledges, and so vnder arrest was led vnto Windsor castell, and there garded with kéepers that were appointed to sée him safelie kept.

Now after the dissoluing of the parlement at Shrewsburie, there was a daie appointed about six wéeks after, for the king to come vnto Windsor, to heare and to take some order betwixt the two dukes, which had thus appealed ech other. There was a great scaffold erected within the castell of Windsor for the king to sit with the lords and prelats of his realme: and so at the daie appointed, he with the said lords & prelats being come thither and set in their places, the duke of Hereford appellant, and the duke of Norfolke defendant, were sent for to come & appeare before the king, sitting there in his seat of iustice. And then began sir Iohn Bushie to speake for the king, declaring to the lords how they should vnderstand, that where the duke of Hereford had presented a supplication to the king, who was there set to minister iustice to all men that would demand the same, as appertained to his roiall maiestie, he therefore would now heare what the parties could say one against an other, and withall the king commanded the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, the one being constable, and the other marshall, to go vnto the two dukes, appellant and defendant, requiring them on his behalfe, to grow to some agrément: and for his part, he would be readie to pardon all that had beene said or doone amisse betwixt them, touching anie harme or dishonor to him or his realme: but they answered both assuredlie, that it was not possible to haue anie peace or agrément made betwixt them.

When he heard what they had answered, he commanded that they should be brought foorthwith before his presence, to heare what they would say. Herewith an herald in the kings name with lowd voice commanded the dukes to come before the king, either of them to shew his reason, or else to make peace togither without more delaie. When they were come before the king and lords, the king spake himselve to them, willing them to agree, and make peace togither: "for it is (said he) the best waie ye can take." The duke of Norfolke with due reuerence herevnto answered it could not be so brought to passe, his honor saued. Then the king asked of the duke of Hereford, "what it was that he demanded of the duke of Norfolke, and what is the matter that ye can not make peace togither and become friends?"

The duke of Surrie  
marshall and the duke  
of Aumarle constable of  
England.

[845]

The order of the  
proceeding in this  
appeale.

Then stood foorth a knight; who asking and obtaining licence to speake for the duke of Hereford, said; "Right deare and souereigne lord, here is Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford and earle of Derby, who saith, and I for him likewise say, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke is a false and disloiall traitor to you and your roiall maiestie, and to your whole realme: and likewise the duke of Hereford saith and I for him, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke hath receiued eight thousand nobles to pay the souldiers that keepe your towne of Calis, which he hath not doone as he ought: and furthermore the said duke of Norfolke hath béene the occasion of all the treason that hath beene contriued in your realme for the space of these eighteene yeares, & by his false suggestions and malicious counsell, he hath caused to die and to be murdered your right déere vncle, the duke of Glocester, sonne to king Edward. Moreouer, the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, that he will proue this with his bodie against the bodie of the said duke of Norfolke within lists." The king herewith waxed angrie, and asked the duke of Hereford, if these were his words, who answered: "Right déere lord, they are my woords; and hereof I require right, and the battell against him."

The obiection against the duke of Norfolke.

There was a knight also that asked licence to speake for the duke of Norfolke, and obtaining, it began to answer thus: "Right déere souereigne lord, here is Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, who answereth and saith, and I for him, that all which Henrie of Lancaster hath said and declared (sauing the reuerence due to the king and his councell) is a lie; and the said Henrie of Lancaster hath falselie and wickedlie lied as a false and disloiall knight, and both hath béene, and is a traitor against you, your crowne, roiall maiestie, & realme. This will I proue and defend as becommeth a loiall knight to doo with my bodie against his: right déere lord, I beséech you therefore, and your councell, that it maie please you in your roiall discretion, to consider and marke, what Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, such a one as he is, hath said."

[846]

The king then demanded of the duke of Norfolke, if these were his woords, and whether he had anie more to saie. The duke of Norfolke then answered for himselfe: "Right déere sir, true it is, that I haue receiued so much gold to paie your people of the towne of Calis; which I haue doone, and I doo auouch that your towne of Calis is as well kept at your commandement as euer it was at anie time before, and that there neuer hath béene by anie of Calis anie complaint made vnto you of me. Right deere and my souereigne lord, for the voiage that I made into France, about your marriage, I neuer receiued either gold or siluer of you, nor yet for the voiage that the duke of Aumarle & I made into Almane, where we spent great treasure: Marie true it is, that once I laid an ambush to haue slaine the duke of Lancaster, that there sitteth: but neuerthesse he hath pardoned me thereof, and there was good peace made betwixt vs, for the which I yéeld him hartie thanks. This is that which I haue to answer, and I am readie to defend my selfe against mine aduersarie; I beseech you therefore of right, and to haue the battell against him in vpright iudgement."

The duke of Norfolke his answer for himselfe.

After this, when the king had communed with his councell a little, he commanded the two dukes to stand foorth, that their answers might be heard. The K. then caused them once againe to be asked, if they would agréé and make peace together, but they both flatlie answered that they would not: and withall the duke of Hereford cast downe his gage, and the duke of Norfolke tooke it vp. The king perceiuing this demeanor betwixt them, sware by saint Iohn Baptist, that he would neuer séeke to make peace betwixt them againe. And therefore sir Iohn Bushie in name of the king & his councell declared, that the king and his councell had commanded and ordeined, that they should haue a daie of battell appointed them at Couentrie. ¶ Here writers disagrée about the daie that was appointed: for some saie, it was vpon a mondaie in August; other vpon saint Lamberts daie, being the seuinteenth of September, other on the eleuenth of September; but true it is, that the king assigned them not onlie the daie, but also

The combat appointed to be doone at Couentrie. The French pamphlet. *Iohn Stow. Fabian.*

appointed them listes and place for the combat, and therevpon great preparation was made, as to such a matter apperteined.

At the time appointed the king came to Couentrie, where the two dukes were readie, according to the order prescribed therein, An. Reg. 22. comming thither in great arraie, accompanied with the lords and gentlemen of their linages. The king caused a sumptuous scaffold or theater, and roiall listes there to be erected and prepared. The sundaie before they should fight, after dinner the duke of Hereford came to the king (being lodged about a quarter of a mile without the towne in a tower that belonged to sir William Bagot) to take his leaue of him. The morow after, being the daie appointed for the combat, about the spring of the daie, came the duke of Norfolke to the court to take leaue likewise of the king. The duke of Hereford armed him in his tent, that was set vp néere to the lists, and the duke of Norfolke put on his armor, betwixt the gate & the barrier of the towne, in a beautifull house, hauing a faire perclois of wood towards the gate, that none might see what was doone within the house.

The duke of Aumarle that daie, being high constable of England, The order of the combat. and the duke of Surrie marshall, placed themselues betwixt them, well armed and appointed; and when they saw their time, they first entered into the listes with a great companie of men apparelled in silke sendall, imbrodered with siluer, both richlie and curiouslie, euerie man hauing a tipped staffe to keepe the field in order. About the houre of prime came to the barriers of the listes, the duke of Hereford, mounted on a white courser, barded with gréene & blew veluet imbrodered sumptuouslie with swans and antelops of goldsmiths woorke, armed at all points. The constable and marshall came to the barriers, demanding of him what he was, he answered; "I am Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, which am come hither to doo mine indeuor against Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, as a traitor vntrue to God, the king, his realme, and me." Then incontinentlie he sware vpon the holie euangelists, that his quarrell was true and iust, and vpon that point he required to enter the lists. Then he put vp his sword, which before he held naked in his hand, and putting downe his visor, made a crosse on his horsse, and with speare in hand, entered into the lists, and descended from his horsse, and set him downe in a chaire of gréene veluet, at the one end of the listes, and there reposed himselfe, abiding the comming of his aduersarie. |847|

Soone after him, entred into the field with great triumph, king Richard accompanied with all the péeres of the realme, and in his companie was the earle of saint Paule, which was come out of France in post to see this challenge performed. The king had there aboute ten thousand men in armour, least some fraie or tumult might arise amongst his nobles, by quarelling or partaking. When the king was set in his seat, which was richlie hanged and adorned; a king at armes made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the king, and of the high constable and marshall, to enterprise or attempt to approach or touch any part of the lists vpon paine of death, except such as were appointed to order or marshall the field. The proclamation ended, an other herald cried; "Behold here Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford appellant, which is entred into the listes roiall to doo his deuoir against Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke defendant, vpon paine to be found false and recreant."

The duke of Norfolke houered on horssebacke at the entrie of the lists, his horse being barded with crimosen veluet, imbrodered richlie with lions of siluer and mulberie trées; and when he had made his oth before the constable and marshall that his quarrell was iust and true, he entred the field manfullie, saieng alowd: "God aid him that hath the right," and then he departed from his horsse, & sate him downe in his chaire which was of crimosen veluet, courtined about with white and red damaske. The lord marshall viewed their speares, to see that they were of equall length, and deliuered the one speare himselfe to the duke of Hereford, and sent the other vnto the duke of Norfolke by a knight. Then the herald proclamed that the trauerses & chaires

of the champions should be remooued, commanding them on the kings behalfe to mount on horssebacke, & adresse themselues to the battell and combat.

The duke of Hereford was quicklie horssed, and closed his bauier, and cast his speare into the rest, and when the trumpet sounded set forward couragiously towards his enimie six or seuen pases. The duke of Norfolke was not fullie set forward, when the king cast down his warder, and the heralds cried, Ho, ho. Then the king caused their speares to be taken from them, and commanded them to repaire againe to their chaires, where they remained two long houres, while the king and his councill deliberatlie consulted what order was best to be had in so weightie a cause. Finallie, after they had deuised and fullie determined what should be doone therein, the heralds cried silence and sir Iohn Bushie the kings secretarie read the sentence and determination of the king and his councill, in a long roll, the effect wherof was, that Henrie duke of Hereford should within fifteene daies depart out of the realme, and not to returne before the terme of ten yeares were expired, except by the king he should be repealed againe, and this vpon paine of death; and that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, bicause he had sowed sedition in the relme by his words, should likewise auoid the realme, and neuer to returne againe into England, nor approch the borders or confines thereof vpon paine of death; and that the king would staie the profits of his lands, till he had leuied thereof such summes of monie as the duke had taken vp of the kings treasurer for the wages of the garrison of Calis, which were still vnpaid.

The combat staid by the king.  
The king his dome betwixt the two dukes.

[848]

When these iudgements were once read, the king called before him both the parties, and made them to sweare that the one should neuer come in place where the other was, willinglie; nor kéepe any companie to gither in any forren region; which oth they both receiued humblie, and so went their waies. The duke of Norfolke departed sorowfullie out of the realme into Almanie, and at the last came to Venice, where he for thought and melancholie deceased: for he was in hope (as writers record) that he should haue béene borne out in the matter by the king, which when it fell out otherwise, it greeued him not a little. The duke of Hereford tooke his leaue of the king at Eltham, who there released foure yeares of his banishment: so he tooke his iornie ouer into Calis, and from thence went into France, where he remained. ¶ A woonder it was to see what number of people ran after him in euerie towne and stréet where he came, before he tooke the sea, lamenting and bewailing his departure, as who would saie, that when he departed, the onelie shield, defense and comfort of the commonwealth was vaded and gone.

The duke of Hereford beloued of the people.

At his comming into France, king Charles hearing the cause of his banishment (which he esteemed to be verie light) receiued him gentlie, and him honorable interteined, in so much that he had by fauour obtained in mariage the onelie daughter of the duke of Berrie, vnclé to the French king, if king Richard had not béene a let in that matter, who being thereof certified, sent the earle of Salisburie with all speed into France, both to surmize by vntrue suggestion, heinous offenses against him, and also to require the French king that in no wise he would suffer his cousine to be matched in mariage with him that was so manifest an offendor. This was a pestilent kind of proceeding against that nobleman then being in a forren countrie, hauing béene so honorable receiued as he was at his entrance into France, and vpon view and good liking of his behaiour there, so forward in mariage with a ladie of noble linage. So sharpe, so seueré, & so heinous an accusation, brought to a strange king from a naturall prince, against his subiect, after punishment inflicted (for he was banished) was inough to haue made the French king his fatall fo, & vpon suspicion of assaieng the like trecherie against him, to haue throwne him out of the limits of his land. But what will enuie leaue vnattempted, where it is once settled? And how are the malicious tormented with egernes of reuenge against them whom they maligne, wringing themselues in the meane time with inward pangs gnawing them at the hart? wherevnto

The duke of Hereford is honorable interteined with the French king.  
Froissard.  
Hor. lib. epist. 1.

serueth the poets allusion,

Inuidia Siculi non inuenêre tyranni  
Maius tormentum.

On Newyeares day this yeare, the riuer that passeth betwixt 1399.

Suelleston or Snelston, and Harewood, two villages not far from Bedford, sudenlie ceased his course, so as the chanell remained drie by the space of thrée miles, that any man might enter into, and passe the same drie foot at his pleasure. This diuision, which the water made in that place, the one part séeming as it were not to come néere to the other, was iudged to signifie the reuolting of the subiects of this land from their naturall prince. It may be, that the water of that riuer sanke into the ground, and by some secret passage or chanell tooke course till it came to the place where it might rise againe as in other places is likewise séene.

Ye haue heard before, how the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas *Fabian.* Arundell, was banisht the relme, and Roger Walden was made *Blanke charters.* archbishop of that sée, who was a great faouurer of the citie of London, the which was eftsoones about this season fallen into the kings displeasure: but by the diligent labour of this archbishop, and of Robert Braibrooke then bishop of London, vpon the humble supplication of the citizens, the kings wrath was pacified. But yet to content the kings mind, manie blanke charters were deuised, and brought into the citie, which manie of the substantiall and wealthie citizens were faine to seale, to their great charge, as in the end appeared. And the like charters were sent abroad into all shires within the realme, whereby great grudge and murmuring arose among the people: for when they were so sealed, the kings officers wrote in the same what liked them, as well for charging the parties with paiment of monie, as otherwise. [849]

In this meane time, the duke of Lancaster departed out of this life *The death of the duke of Lancaster.* at the bishop of Elies place in Holborne, and lieth buried in the *Tho. Walsi.* cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, on the northside of the high altar, by the ladie Blanch his first wife. The death of this duke gaue occasion of increasing more hatred in the people of this realme toward the king, for he seized into his hands all the goods that belonged to him, and also receiued all the rents and reuenues of his lands which ought to haue descended vnto the duke of Hereford by lawfull inheritance, in reuoking his letters patents, which he had granted to him before, by vertue wherof he might make his attorneis generall to sue lierie for him, of any maner of inheritances or possessions that might from thencefoorth fall vnto him, and that his homage might be respited, with making reasonable fine: whereby it was euident, that the king meant his vtter vndooing.

This hard dealing was much misliked of all the nobilitie, and cried out against of the meaner sort: but namelie the duke of Yorke was therewith sore mooued, who before this time, had borne things with so patient a mind as he could, though the same touched him verie néere, as the death of his brother the duke of Glocester, the banishment of his nephew the said duke of Hereford, and other mo iniuries in great number, which for the slipperie youth of the king, he passed ouer for the time, and did forget aswell as he might. But now perceiuing that neither law, iustice nor equitie could take place, where the kings wilfull will was bent vpon any wrongfull purpose, he considered that the glorie of the publike wealth of his countrie must néeds decaie, by reason of the king his lacke of wit, and want of such as would (without flatterie) admonish him of his dutie; and therefore he thought it the part of a wise man to get him in time to a resting place and to leaue the following of such an vnaduised capteine, as with a leden sword would cut his owne throat.

Herevpon he with the duke of Aumarle his sonne went to his house *The duke of Yorke misliketh the court & goeth home.* at Langlie, reioising that nothing had mishappened in the common-wealth through his deuse or consent. The common brute ran, that *The realme let to farme by the king.* the king had set to farme the realme of England, vnto sir William Scroope earle of Wiltshire, and then treasurer of England, to sir Iohn *Tho. Walsi.* Bushie, sir Iohn Bagot, and sir Henrie Gréene knights. ¶ About the same time, the



earle of Arundels sonne, named Thomas, which was kept in the duke of Exeters house, escaped out of the realme, by meanes of one William Scot mercer, and went to his vncler Thomas Arundell late archbishop of Canturburie, as then sojourning at Cullen. ¶ King Richard being destitute of treasure to furnish such a princelie port as he maintained, borrowed great summes of monie of manie of the great lords and peeres of his realme, both spirituall and temporall, and likewise of other meane persons, promising them in good earnest, by deliuering to them his letters patents for assurance, that he would repaie the monie so borrowed at a daie appointed: which notwithstanding he neuer paid.

Moreouer, this yeare he caused seenteene shires of the realme by waie of putting them to their fines to paie no small summes of monie, for redéeming their offenses, that they had aided the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Arundell, and Warwike, when they rose in armor against him. The nobles, gentlemen, and commons of those shires were inforced also to receiue a new oth to assure the king of their fidelitie in time to come; and withall certeine prelates and other honorable personages, were sent into the same shires to persuade men to this paiement, and to see things ordered at the pleasure of the prince: and suerlie the fines which the nobles, and other the meaner estates of those shires were constrained to paie, were not small, but excéeding great, to the offense of manie. Moreouer, the kings letters patents were sent into euerie shire within this land, by vertue whereof, an oth was demanded of all the kings liege people for a further assurance of their due obedience, and they were constrained to ratifie the same in writing vnder their hands and seales.

New exactions.

The paiement of these fines was called a plesanse as it were to please the K. withall, but y<sup>e</sup> same displeased manie that were thus constrained to paie against their willes.

The people confirme the oth of allegiance by writing sealed.

[850]

Moreouer they were compelled to put their hands and seales to certeine blankes, wherof ye haue heard before, in the which, when it pleased him he might write what he thought good. There was also a new oth deuised for the shiriffes of euerie countie through the realme to receiue: finallie, manie of the kings liege people were through spite, enuie, and malice, accused, apprehended, & put in prison, and after brought before the constable and marshall of England, in the court of chivalrie, and might not otherwise be deliuered, except they could iustifie themselues by combat and fighting in lists against their accusers hand to hand, although the accusers for the most part were lustie, yoong and valiant, where the parties accused were perchance old, impotent, maimed and sicklie. Wherevpon not onelie the great destruction of the realme in generall, but also of euerie singular person in particular, was to be feared and looked for.

Indirect dealings.

¶ About this time the bishop of Calcedon came into England, with letters apostolicall of admonition, that the faithfull and loiall of the land should of their goods disbursse somewhat to the emperour of Constantinople, who was extremelie vexed and troubled by the Tartars, and their capteine called Morect. And to the intent that the peeres of the land might be made the more willing and toward to bestow their contribution in this behalfe, the pope granted vnto all benefactors (trulie contrite and confessed) full remission, and wrapped in his bitter censures all such as hindered those that were willing to bestow their beneuolence in this case; considering, that although the emperour was a schismatike, yet was he a christian, and if by the infidels he should be oppressed, all christendome was in danger of ruine; hauing in his mind that saieng of the poet full fit for his purpose,

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Wals. pag. 395.

Tunc tua res agitur paries cùm proximus ardet.

¶ In this yeare in a manner throughout all the realme of England, old baie trées withered, and afterwards, contrarie to all mens thinking, grew gréene againe, a strange sight, and supposed to import some vnknowne euent. ¶ In this meane time the king being aduertised that the wild Irish dailie wasted and destroyed the townes and villages within the English pale, and had slaine manie of the souldiers which laie there in garison for defense of that countrie, determined to make eftsoones a voiage thither,

& prepared all things necessarie for his passage now against the spring. A little before his setting foorth, he caused a iusts to be holden at Windesor of fourtie knights and fortie esquiers, against all commers, & they to be apparelled in gréene, with a white falcon, and the queene to be there well accompanied with ladies and damsels. When these iusts were finished, the king departed toward Bristow, from thence to passe into Ireland, leauing the queene with hir traine still at Windesor: he appointed for his lieutenant generall in his absence his vnclé the duke of Yorke: and so in the moneth of Aprill, as diuerse authors write, he set forward from Windesor, and finallie tooke shipping at Milford, and from thence with two hundred ships, and a puissant power of men of armes and archers he sailed into Ireland. The fridaie next after his arriuall, there were slaine two hundred Irishmen at Fourd in Kenlis within the countie of Kildare, by that valiant gentleman Ienico Dartois, and such Englishmen as he had there with him: and on the morrow next insuing the citizens of Dublin inuaded the countrie of Obrin, and slue thirtie and thrée Irishmen.

The king also after he had remained about seuen daies at Waterford, marched from thence towards Kilkennie, and comming thither, staid thereabout fourteene daies, looking for the duke of Aumarle that was appointed to haue met him, but he failed and came not, where vpon the king on Midsummer euen set forward againe, marching streight towards the countrie of Macmur the principall rebell in that season within Ireland, who kéeping himselfe among woods with three thousand right hardie men, seemed to passe little for any power that might be brought against him. Yet the king approching to the skirts of the woods, commanded his soldiers to fier the houses and villages: which was executed with great forwardnesse of the men of war. And here for some valiant act that he did, or some other faourable respect, which the king bare to the lord Henrie sonne to the duke of Hereford, he made him knight. ¶ This Henrie was after king of England, succeeding his father, and called by the name of Henrie the fift. There were nine or ten others made knights also at the same time.

Moreouer, there were two thousand & fiue hundred pioners set a worke to cut downe the woods, and to make passages through, and so then the Englishmen entred, and by force got through: for the Irishmen sore feared the English bowes, but yet now and then they espieng their aduantage, assailed oftentimes Englishmen with their darts, and slue diuerse that went abroad to fetch in forrage. The vnclé of Macmur hauing a withie or with about his necke, came in and submitted himselfe, and likewise manie other naked and bare legged; so that the king seeming to pitie their miserable state, pardoned them, and afterward he also sent vnto Macmur, promising that if he would come in and require pardon as his vnclé had doone, he would receiue him to mercie: but Macmur vnderstanding that for want of vittels, the king must néeds retire within a short time, he refused the kings offer. The king with his armie remaining in those parts eleuen daies, was in the end constreined to come backe, when all their vittels were spent: for more than they brought with them they could not get. They lost manie horsses in this iournie for want of prouision and forrage.

As the king was withdrawne towards Dublin, marching through the countrie, in despite of his enimies, that houered still about his armie, Macmur sent to the king, offering to talke of an agreement, if it should please him to send any noble man to méet him at a place appointed. The king herevpon commanded the earle of Glocester to take with him two hundred lances, and a thousand archers, and to go to trie if he might by persuasion cause him to come in and submit himselfe. The earle went, and comming to talke with him, found him so obstinate, that their parlée streightwaies brake off: so taking leaue each of other, they departed, and the earle returned to the king, to aduertise him what he had doone and

*Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Wals. pag. 395.*

*Polydor.*

A iusts at Windesor. The king saileth ouer into Ireland with a great armie. *Fabian.*

*Caxton.*

The duke of Yorke lieutenant generall of England, the king being in Ireland. *Hen. Marl.*

Out of a French pamphlet that belongeth to master *John Dee.*

*Macmur.*

[851]

perceiued by the communication which he had had with Macmur.

The king was sore offended with the obstinatnes of the rebell, that would not agree otherwise: but so as he might remaine still at libertie, without danger to suffer anie maner of punishment for his passed offenses. Wherevpon the king after his comming to Dublin, and that the armie had rested there, and in the countrie neere to the citie, for the space of fiftéene daies, he diuided his people into three parts, and sent them abroad into the countrie to pursue the enimies and withall made proclamation, that who so euer could bring Macmur vnto his presence, should haue for his recompense a great reward: for he determined not to depart the countrie, till he had him either dead or aliue. But he knew full little then what incidents to hinder his purposed intention would after follow.

An. Reg. 23.

He came to Dublin the 28 of Iune as *Henrie Marl.* saith.

The same daie that he sent abroad his armie thus into three seuerall parts, the duke of Aumarle with an hundred saile arriued, of whose coming the king was right ioifull; and although he had vsed no small negligence in that he came no sooner according to order before appointed, yet the king (as he was of a gentle nature) courteouslie accepted his excuse: whether he was in fault or not, I haue not to saie; but verelie he was greatlie suspected, that he dealt not well in tarieng so long after his time assigned. But now whilest the king rested at Dublin, his people so demeaned themselues, that the most part of the rebels, what by manhood and policie were subdued, and brought vnder subiection, and (as is to be thought) if no trouble had risen in England to haue called him backe, he meant to haue rid vp the woods, and made some notable conquest at that time vpon the rebels that yet held out. Neuerthelesse, during the time of his abode there, such was the prowesse of him and his, that the Irish were well tamed, and forced to submit themselues: and yet the kings power made no great slaughter of them, if it be true that Christ. Okl. saith, speaking hereof in few words as after followeth:

*Pergit ad indomitos princeps Richardus Hibernos,  
Inq; potestatem multo sine sanguine, sæuo  
Marte reluctantes.*

[852]

Now whilest he was thus occupied in deuising how to reduce them into subiection, and taking orders for the good staie and quiet gouernment of the countrie, diuerse of the nobilitie, aswell prelates as other, and likewise manie of the magistrats and rulers of the cities, townes, and communaltie, here in England, perceiuing dailie how the realme drew to vtter ruine, not like to be recouered to the former state of wealth, whilest king Richard liued and reigned (as they tooke it) deuised with great deliberation, and considerate aduise, to send and signifie by letters vnto duke Henrie, whome they now called (as he was in déed) duke of Lancaster and Hereford, requiring him with all conuenient spéed to conueie himselfe into England, promising him all their aid, power and assistance, if he expelling K. Richard, as a man not meet for the office he bare, would take vpon him the scepter, rule, and diademe of his natiue land and region.

The duke of Lancaster solicited to expel king Richard, and to take vpon him the regiment.

He therefore being thus called vpon by messengers and letters from his fréends, and chéeflie through the earnest persuasion of Thomas Arundell, late archbishop of Canturburie, who (as before yée haue heard) had béene remooued from his sée, and banished the realme by king Richards means, got him downe to Britaine, together with the said archbishop, where he was ioifullie receiued of the duke and duchesse, and found such fréendship at the dukes hands, that there were certeine ships rigged, and made readie for him, at a place in base Britaine, called Le port blanc, as we find in the chronicles of Britaine: and when all his prouision was made readie, he tooke the sea, together with the said archbishop of Canturburie, and his nephue Thomas Arundell, sonne and heire to the late earle of Arundell, beheaded at the Tower hill, as you haue heard. There were also with him, Reginald lord Cobham, sir Thomas Erpingham, and

The duke of Britaine a great friend to the duke of Lancaster.

The duke of Lancaster & his adherents saile into England. Additions to *Polychron.*

*Thom. Wals.*

*Chron. Brit.*

*Froissard.*

*Tho. Walsing.*

sir Thomas Ramston knights, Iohn Norburie, Robert Waterton, & Francis Coint esquires: few else were there, for (as some write) he had not past fifteene lances, as they tearmed them in those daies, that is to saie, men of armes, furnished and appointed as the vse then was. ¶ Yet other write, that the duke of Britaine deliuered vnto him three thousand men of warre, to attend him, and that he had eight ships well furnished for the warre, where Froissard yet speaketh but of three. Moreouer, where Froissard and also the chronicles of Britaine auouch, that he should land at Plimmouth, by our English writers it séemeth otherwise: for it appeareth by their assured report, that he approching to the shore, did not streight take land, but lay houering aloofe, and shewed himselfe now in this place, and now in that, to sée what countenance was made by the people, whether they meant enuiouslie to resist him, or fréendlie to receiue him.

When the lord gouernor Edmund duke of Yorke was aduertised, that the duke of Lancaster kept still the sea, and was readie to arriue (but where he ment first to set foot on land, there was not any that vnderstood the certeintie) he sent for the lord chancellor Edmund Stafford bishop of Excester, and for the lord treasurer William Scroope earle of Wiltshire, and other of the kings priuie councill, as Iohn Bushie, William Bagot, Henrie Greene, and Iohn Russell knights: of these he required to knew what they thought good to be doone in this matter, concerning the duke of Lancaster, being on the seas. Their aduise was, to depart from London, vnto S. Albons, and there to gather an armie to resist the duke in his landing, but to how small purpose their counsell serued, the conclusion thereof plainlie declared, for the most part that were called, when they came thither, boldlie protested, that they would not fight against the duke of Lancaster, whome they knew to be euill dealt withall.

The lord treasurer, Bushie, Bagot, and Gréene, perceiuing that the commons would cleaue vnto, and take part with the duke, slipped awaie, leauing the lord gouernour of the realme, and the lord chancellor to make what shift they could for themselues: Bagot got him to Chester, and so escaped into Ireland; the other fled to the castell of Bristow, in hope there to be in safetie. The duke of Lancaster, after that he had coasted amongst the shore a certeine time, & had got some intelligence how the peoples minds were affected towards him, landed about the beginning of Iulie in Yorkshire, at a place sometime called Rauenspur, betwixt Hull and Bridlington, and with him not past thréescore persons, as some write: but he was so ioifullie receiued of the lords, knights, and gentlemen of those parts, that he found means (by their helpe) foorthwith to assemble a great number of people, that were willing to take his part. The first that came to him, were the lords of Lincolneshire, and other countries adioining, as the lords Willoughbie, Ros, Darcie, and Beaumont.

At his comming vnto Doncaster, the earle of Northumberland, and his sonne sir Henrie Persie, wardens of the marches against Scotland, with the earle of Westmerland, came vnto him, where he sware vnto those lords, that he would demand no more, but the lands that were to him descended by inheritance from his father, and in right of his wife. Moreouer, he vndertooke to cause the paiment of taxes and tallages to be laid downe, & to bring the king to good gouernment, & to remooue from him the Cheshire men, which were enuiued of manie; for that the king estéemed of them more than of anie other; happilie, bicause they were more faithfull to him than other, readie in all respects to obeie his commandements and pleasure. From Doncaster hauing now got a mightie armie about him, he marched foorth with all spéed through the countries, coming by Euesham vnto Berkelie: within the space of thrée daies, all the kings castels in those parts were surrendered vnto him.

The duke of Yorke, whome king Richard had left as gouernour of the realme in his absence, hearing that his nephue the duke of

The commōs denie to resist the duke of Lancaster.

The duke of Lancaster lādeth in Yorkshire.

Additions to *Polychron.* [853]

The duke of Lācasters oth to the lords that aided him.

The harts of the commons wholie bent to the duke of Lancaster.

Lancaster was thus arriued, and had gathered an armie, he also assembled a puissant power of men of armes and archers (as before yée haue heard) but all was in vaine, for there was not a man that willinglie would thrust out one arrow against the duke of Lancaster, or his partakers, or in anie wise offend him or his fréends. The duke of Yorke therefore passing foorth towards Wales to méet the king, at his comming foorth of Ireland, was receiued into the castell of Berkelie, and there remained, till the comming thither of the duke of Lancaster (whom when he perceiued that he was not able to resist) on the sundaie, after the feast of saint Iames, which as that yeare came about, fell vpon the fridaie, he came foorth into the church that stood without the castell, and there communed with the duke of Lancaster. With the duke of Yorke were the bishops of Norwich, the lord Berkelie, the lord Seimour, and other: with the duke of Lancaster were these, Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie that had béene banished, the abbat of Leicester, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Thomas Arundell sonne to Richard late earle of Arundell, the baron of Greistoke, the lords Willoughbie and Ros, with diuerse other lords, knights, and other people, which dailie came to him from euerie part of the realme: those that came not, were spoiled of all they had, so as they were neuer able to recouer themselues againe, for their goods being then taken awaie, were neuer restored. And thus what for loue, and what for feare of losse, they came flocking vnto him from euerie part.

At the same present there was arrested, and committed to safe custodie, the bishop of Norwich, sir William Elmam, and sir Walter Burlie, knights, Laurence Drew, and Iohn Golofer esquiers. On the morow after, the forsaid dukes with their power, went towards Bristow, where (at their comming) they shewed themselues before the towne & castell, being an huge multitude of people. There were inclosed within the castell, the lord William Scroope earle of Wiltshire and treasurer of England, sir Henrie Greene, and sir Iohn Bushie knights, who prepared to make resistance: but when it would not preuaile, they were taken and brought foorth bound as prisoners into the campe, before the duke of Lancaster. On the morow next insuing, they were arraigned before the constable and marshall, and found giltie of treason, for misgouerning the king and realme, and foorthwith had their heads smit off. Sir Iohn Russell was also taken there, who feining himselfe to be out of his wits, escaped their hands for a time.

The duke of Lancaster marcheth to Bristow. Scroope lord treasurer. Bushie and Gréene executed.

In this meane time, king Richard aduertised, how the duke of Lancaster was landed in England, and that the lords, gentlemen, and commons assembled themselues to take his part, he forthwith caused the lord Henrie, sonne to the said duke of Lancaster, and the lord Humfrie, sonne to the duke of Glocester, to be shut vp fast in the castell of Trimme, and with all spéed made hast to returne into England, in hope with an armie to incounter the duke, before he should haue time to assemble his fréends together. But here you shall note, that it fortunéd at the same time, in which the duke of Hereford or Lancaster, whether ye list to call him, arriued thus in England, the seas were so troubled by tempests, and the winds blew so contrarie for anie passage, to come ouer foorth of England to the king, remaining still in Ireland, that for the space of six wéeks, he receiued no aduertisements from thence: yet at length, when the seas became calme, and the wind once turned anie thing fauourable, there came ouer a ship, whereby the king vnderstood the manner of the dukes arriuall, and all his procéedings till that daie, in which the ship departed from the coast of England, wherevpon he meant foorthwith to haue returned ouer into England, to make resistance against the duke: but through persuasion of the duke of Aumarle (as was thought) he staid, till he might haue all his ships, and other prouision, fullie readie for his passage.

A politike madnesse. Out of master Dees French booke.

In the meane time, he sent the earle of Salisburie ouer into England, to gather a power together, by helpe of the kings freends in Wales, and Cheshire, with all spéed possible, that they might be readie to assist him against the duke, vpon his arriuall, for

he meant himselfe to follow the earle, within six daies after. The earle passing ouer into Wales, landed at Conwaie, and sent fourth letters to the kings freends, both in Wales and Cheshire, to leaue their people, & to come with all speed to assist the K. whose request, with great desire, & very willing minds they fulfilled, hoping to haue found the king himselfe at Conwaie, insomuch that within foure daies space, there were to the number of fortie thousand men assembled, readie to march with the king against his enimies, if he had béene there himselfe in person.

But when they missed the king, there was a brute spread amongst them, that the king was suerlie dead, which wrought such an impression, and euill disposition in the minds of the Welshmen and others, that for anie persuasion which the earle of Salisburie might vse, they would not go fourth with him, till they saw the king: onelie they were contented to staie foureteene daies to see if he should come or not; but when he came not within that tearme, they would no longer abide, but scaled & departed awaie; wheras if the king had come before their breaking vp, no doubt, but they would haue put the duke of Hereford in aduventure of a field: so that the kings lingering of time before his comming ouer, gaue opportunitie to the duke to bring things to passe as he could haue wished, and tooke from the king all occasion to recouer afterwards anie forces sufficient to resist him.

At length, about eighteene daies after that the king had sent from him the earle of Salisburie, he tooke the sea, together with the dukes of Aumarle, Excester, Surrie, and diuerse others of the nobilitie, with the bishops of London, Lincolne, and Carleill. They landed néere the castell of Barclowlie in Wales, about the feast of saint Iames the apostle, and staid a while in the same castell, being aduertised of the great forces which the duke of Lancaster had got together against him, wherewith he was maruellouslie amazed, knowing certeinelie that those which were thus in armes with the duke of Lancaster against him, would rather die than giue place, as well for the hatred as feare which they had conceiued at him. Neuertheless he departing from Barclowlie, hastened with all speed towards Conwaie, where he vnderstood the earle of Salisburie to be still remaining.

K. Richard returneth out of Ireland and landeth in Wales. Thom. Wals.

He therefore taking with him such Cheshire men as he had with him at that present (in whom all his trust was reposed) he doubted not to reuenge himselfe of his aduersaries, & so at the first he passed with a good courage: but when he vnderstood as he went thus forward, that all the castels, euen from the borders of Scotland vnto Bristow were deliuered vnto the duke of Lancaster, and that likewise the nobles and commons, as well of the south parts, as the north, were fullie bent to take part with the same duke against him; and further, hearing how his trustie councillours had lost their heads at Bristow, he became so greatlie discomforted, that sorowfullie lamenting his miserable state, he vtterlie despaired of his owne safetie, and calling his armie together, which was not small, licenced euerie man to depart to his home.

Additions to Polychron. K. Richard in vtter despaire.

[855]

The souldiers being well bent to fight in his defense, besought him to be of good chéere, promising with an oth to stand with him against the duke, and all his partakers vnto death: but this could not incourage him at all, so that in the night next insuing, he stole from his armie, and with the dukes of Excester and Surrie, the bishop of Carleill, and sir Stephan Scroope, and about halfe a score others, he got him to the castell of Conwaie, where he found the earle of Salisburie, determining there to hold himselfe, till he might see the world at some better staie; for what counsell to take to remedie the mischéefe thus pressing vpon him he wist not. On the one part he knew his title iust, true, and infallible; and his conscience cleane, pure and without spot of enuie or malice: he had also no small affiance in the Welshmen, and Cheshire men. On the other side, he saw the puissance of his aduersaries, the sudden departing of them whom he most trusted, and all things turned vpside downe: he euidentlie saw, and manifestlie

K. Richard stealeth awaie from his armie, and taketh the castell of Flint.

perceiued, that he was forsaken of them, by whom in time he might haue béene aided and relieued, where now it was too late, and too farre ouer passed.

¶ This suerlie is a verie notable example, and not vnwoorthie of all princes to be well weied, and diligentlie marked, that this Henrie duke of Lancaster should be thus called to the kingdome, and haue the helpe and assistance (almost) of all the whole realme, which thereof thought or yet dreamed; and that king Richard should thus be left desolate, void, and in despaire of all hope and comfort, in whom if there were anie offense, it ought rather to be imputed to the frailtie of wanton youth, than to the malice of his hart: but such is the deceiuable iudgement of man, which not regarding things present with due consideration, thinketh euer that things to come shall haue good successe, with a pleasant & delitefull end. But in this deiecting of the one, & aduancing of the other, the prouidence of God is to be respected, & his secret will to be woondered at. For as in his hands standeth the donation of kingdoms, so likewise the disposing of them consisteth in his pleasure, which the verie pagans vnderstood right well; otherwise, one of them would neuer haue said,

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,  
Reges in ipsos imperium est Iouis  
Cuncta supercilio mouentis.

Sir Thomas Persie earle of Worcester, lord steward of the kings house, either being so commanded by the king, or else vpon displeasure (as some write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother the earle of Northumberland traitor, brake his white staffe, which is the representing signe and token of his office, and without delaie went to duke Henrie. When the kings seruants of houshold saw this (for it was doone before them all) they dispersed themselues, some into one countrie, and some into an other. When the duke of Lancaster vnderstood that king Richard was returned foorth of Ireland, he left the duke of Yorke still at Bristow, and came backe with his power vnto Berkleie; the second daie he came to Glocester, and so to Roos, after to Hereford, where came to him the bishop of Hereford, and sir Edmund Mortimer knight. On the sundaie following, he went to Limster, and there the lord Charleton came to him. From thence he went to Ludlow, and the next daie to Shrewsburie, where he rested one daie, and thither came to him sir Robert Leigh, and sir Iohn Leigh, and manie other being sent from Chester, to treat with the duke of Lancaster, for the citie and countie of Chester, that were now readie to submit themselues vnto him in all things.

There came hither vnto him the lord Scales, and the lord Berdolge, foorth of Ireland, hauing béene spoiled of all they had about them in Wales, as they came through the countrie. From Shrewsburie, he kept on his iournie towards Chester, and lodging one night by the waie, in a towne there in the borders of Wales, he came the second night to Chester, and staid there certeine daies together, making a iollie muster of his armie there in sight of the citie. The clergie met, & receiued him with procession: he sent foorthwith for his sonne & heire, & likewise for the duke of Glocesters sonne & heire, that were as yet remaining in Ireland, commanding them with all spéed to returne home into England. But the duke of Glocesters sonne, through mischance perished, as he was on the seas to come ouer, for whose losse his mother tooke such greefe, that shortlie after through immoderate sorow she likewise passed out of this transitorie life.

In this meane time, king Richard being in the castell of Conwaie sore discomfited, and fearing lest he could not remaine there long in safetie, vpon knowledge had by his trustie fréends Iohn Paulet, and Richard Seimour, of the dealings and approach of his aduersaries, sent the duke of Excester to talke with the duke of Lancaster, who in this meane while had caused one of king Richards faithfull and trustie freends, sir Piers a Leigh, commonlie called Perkin a Lée, to lose his head, & commanded the same to be set vp, vpon one of the highest turrets about

A speciall note woorthie to be well weied.

*Hor. lib. car. 3. ode. 1.*

The earle of Worcester leaueth the K. and fléeth to the duke.

Where fortune fauoureth, thither the peoples fauour fléeth.

The duke of Lancaster comming to Chester.

*Pérkin a Lee.*

all the citie; and so that true and faithfull gentleman, for his stedfast faith, and assured loialtie to his louing souereigne, thus lost his life. There came to him about the same time, or somewhat before, the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, the lord Louell, and sir Iohn Stanleie, beséeching him to receiue him into his fauour.

¶ By some writers it should seeme, not onelie the duke of Excester, but also the duke of Surrie were sent vnto duke Henrie from king Richard, and that duke Henrie staid them both, and would not suffer them to returne to the king againe, kéeping the duke of Excester still about him, and committing the duke of Surrie to prison, within the castell of Chester. The king herewith went to Beaumaris, & after to Carnaruan: but finding no prouision either of vittels or other things in those castels, no not so much as a bed to lie in, he came backe againe to Conwaie, and in the meane time was the castell of Holt deliuered to the duke of Hereford, by those that had it in kéeping wherein was great store of iewels, to the value of two hundred thousand marks, besides an hundred thousand marks in readie coine. After this, the duke, with aduise of his counsell, sent the earle of Northumberland vnto the king, accompanied with foure hundred lances, & a thousand archers, who coming to the castell of Flint, had it deliuered vnto him; and from thence he hasted foorth towards Conwaie. But before he approched néere the place, he left his power behind him, hid closelie in two ambushes, behind a craggie mounteine, beside the high waie that leadeth from Flint to Conwaie.

This doone, taking not past foure or fiue with him, he passed foorth, till he came before the towne, and then sending an herald to the king, requested a safe conduct from the king, that he might come and talke with him, which the king granted, and so the earle of Northumberland passing the water, entred the castell, and coming to the king, declared to him, that if it might please his grace to vndertake, that there should be a parlement assembled, in the which iustice might be had, against such as were enimies to the commonwealth, and had procured the destruction of the duke of Glocester, and other noblemen, and herewith pardon the duke of Hereford of all things wherin he had offended him, the duke would be readie to come to him on his knées, to craue of him forgiuenesse, and as an humble subiect, to obeie him in all dutifull seruices. The king taking aduise vpon these offers, and other made by the earle of Northumberland on the behalfe of the duke of Hereford; vpon the earles oth, for assurance that the same should be performed in ech condition, agréed to go with the earle to méete the duke, and herevpon taking their horsse, they rode foorth, but the earle rode before, as it were, to prepare dinner for the king at Rutland, but coming to the place where he had left his people, he staid there with them.

The king kéeping on his waie, had not ridden past foure miles, when he came to the place where the ambushes were lodged, and being entred within danger of them, before he was aware, shewed himselfe to be sore abashed. But now there was no remedie: for the earle being there with his men, would not suffer him to returne, as he gladlie would haue doone if he might; but being inclosed with the sea on the one side, and the rocks on the other, hauing his aduersaries so néere at hand before him, he could not shift awaie by any meanes, for if he should haue fled backe, they might easilie haue ouertaken him, yer he could haue got out of their danger. And thus of force he was then constrained to go with the earle, who brought him to Rutland, where they dined, and from thence they rode vnto Flint to bed. The king had verie few about him of his freends, except onelie the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Carleill, the lord Stephan Scroope, sir Nicholas Ferebie, a sonne also of the countesse of Salisburie, and Ienico Dartois a Gascoigne that still ware the cognisance or deuse of his maister king Richard, that is to saie, a white hart, and would not put it from him, neither for persuasions nor threats; by reason whereof, when the duke of Hereford vnderstood it, he caused him to be committed to prison

Out of master *Dees* booke.

Holt castell deliuered to the duke. Some write that the archbishop of Caturburie and the earle of Westmerland wēt also with the earle of Northumberland to Conwaie.

The earle of Northumberland's message to the king.

The king leaueth Conwaie castell, and betaketh himselfe to his enimies.



within the castell of Chester. This man was the last (as saith mine author) which ware that deuise, and shewed well thereby his constant hart toward his maister, for the which it was thought he should haue lost his life, but yet he was pardoned, and at length reconciled to the dukes fauour, after he was king.

But now to our purpose. King Richard being thus come vnto the castell of Flint, on the mondaie, the eighteenth of August, and the duke of Hereford being still aduertised from houre to houre by posts, how the earle of Northumberland sped, the morow following being tuesdaie, and the ninetenth of August, he came thither, & mustered his armie before the kings presence, which vndoubtedlie made a passing faire shew, being verie well ordered by the lord Henrie Persie, that was appointed generall, or rather (as we maie call him) master of the campe, vnder the duke, of the whole armie. There were come already to the castell, before the approching of the maine armie, the archbishop of Canturburie, the duke of Aumarle, the earle of Worcester, and diuerse other. The archbishop entred first, and then followed the other, comming into the first ward.

The king that was walking aloft on the braies of the wals, to behold the comming of the duke a farre off, might see, that the archbishop and the other were come, and (as he tooke it) to talke with him: wherevpon he foorthwith came downe vnto them, and beholding that they did their due reuerence to him on their knées, he tooke them vp, and drawing the archbishop aside from the residue, talked with him a good while, and as it was reported, the archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured, not to haue anie hurt, as touching his person; but he prophesied not as a prelat, but as a Pilat. For, was it no hurt (thinke you) to his person, to be spoiled of his roialtie, to be deposed from his crowne, to be translated from principalitie to prison, & to fall from honor into horror. All which befell him to his extreame hart greefe (no doubt:) which to increase, meanes alas there were manie; but to diminish, helps (God wot) but a few. So that he might haue said with the forlorne man in the mercilesse seas of his miseries,

Vt fera nimbo tumuerunt æquora vento,  
In medijs lacera naue relinquitur aquis.

¶ Some write (as before in a marginall note I haue quoted) that the archbishop of Canturburie went with the earle of Northumberland vnto Conwaie, and there talked with him: and further, that euen then the king offered, in consideration of his insufficiencie to gouerne, freelie to resigne the crowne, and his kinglie title to the same, vnto the duke of Hereford. But forsomuch as those that were continuallie attendant about the king, during the whole time of his abode at Conwaie, and till his comming to Flint, doo plainelie affirme, that the archbishop came not to him, till this tuesdaie before his remoouing from Flint vnto Chester, it maie be thought (the circumstances well considered) that he rather made that promise here at Flint, than at Conwaie, although by the tenour of an instrument, conteining the declaration of the archbishop of Yorke, and other commissioners sent from the estates assembled in the next parlement, vnto the said king, it is recorded to be at Conwaie, as after ye maie read. But there maie be some default in the copie, as taking the one place for the other.

[858]

But wheresoeuer this offer was made, after that the archbishop had now here at Flint communed with the king, he departed, and taking his horsse againe, rode backe to meet the duke, who began at that present to approach the castell, and compassed it round about, euen downe to the sea, with his people ranged in good and séemelie order, at the foot of the mounteins: and then the earle of Northumberland passing foorth of the castell to the duke, talked with him a while in sight of the king, being againe got vp to the walles, to take better view of the armie, being now aduanced within two bowe shootes of the castell, to the small reioising (ye may be sure) of the sorowfull king. The earle of Northumberland returning to the castell, appointed the king to be set to dinner (for he was fasting till then) and after he had dined, the duke came downe to the castell himselfe, and entred the same all armed, his bassenet onelie

excepted, and being within the first gate, he staid there, till the king came forth of the inner part of the castell vnto him.

The king accompanied with the bishop of Carleill, the earle of Salisburie, and sir Stephan Scroope knight, who bare the sword before him, and a few other, came forth into the vtter ward, and sate downe in a place prepared for him. Forthwith as the duke got sight of the king, he shewed a reuerend dutie as became him, in bowing his knée, and comming forward, did so likewise the second and third time, till the king tooke him by the hand, and lift him vp, saieng; "Déere cousine, ye are welcome." The duke humblie thanking him said; "My souereigne lord and king, the cause of my comming at this present, is (your honor saued) to haue againe restitution of my person, my lands and heritage, through your fauourable licence." The king hervnto answered; "Déere cousine, I am readie to accomplish your will, so that you may inioy all that is yours, without exception."

Méeting thus together, they came forth of the castell, and the king there called for wine and after they had dronke, they mounted on horssebacke, and rode that night to Flint, and the next daie vnto Chester, the third vnto Nantwich, the fourth to Newcastell. Here, with glad countenance, the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike met them, that had beene confined into the Ile of Man, as before ye haue heard; but now was reuoked home by the duke of Lancaster. From Newcastell they rode to Stafford, and the sixt daie vnto Lichfield, and there rested sundaie all daie. After this, they rode forth and lodged at these places insuing, Couentrie, Dantrée, Northhampton, Dunstable, S. Albons, & so came to London: neither was the king permitted all this while to change his apparell, but rode still through all these townes simplie clothed in one sute of raiment, and yet he was in his time excéeding sumptuous in apparell, in so much as he had one cote, which he caused to be made for him of gold and stone, valued at 30000 marks: & so he was brought the next waie to Westminster.

As for the duke, he was receiued with all the ioy and pompe that might be of the Londoners, and was lodged in the bishops palace, by Paules church. It was a woonder to see what great concourse of people, & what number of horsse came to him on the waie as he thus passed the countries, till his comming to London, where (vpon his approach to the citie) the maior rode forth to receiue him, and a great number of other citizens. Also the cleargie met him with procession, and such ioy appeared in the countenances of the people, vttering the same also with words, as the like not lightlie béene séene. For in euerie towne and village where he passed, children reioised, women clapped their hands, and men cried out for ioy. But to speake of the great numbers of people that flocked together in the fields and stréets of London at his comming, I here omit; neither will I speake of the presents, welcommings, lauds, and gratifications made to him by the citizens and communalitie.

But now to the purpose. The next day after his comming to London, the king from Westminster was had to the Tower, and there committed to safe custodie. Manie euil disposed persons, assembling themselues together in great numbers, intended to haue met with him, and to haue taken him from such as had the conueieng of him, that they might haue slaine him. But the maior and aldermen gathered to them the worshipful commoners and graue citizens, by whose policie, and not without much adoo, the other were reuoked from their euill purpose: albeit, before they might be pacified, they cōming to Westminster, tooke maister Iohn Sclake deane of the kings chappell, and from thence brought him to Newgate, and there laid him fast in irons.

After this was a parlement called by the duke of Lancaster, vsing the name of king Richard in the writs directed forth to the lords, and other states for their summons. This parlement began the thirtéenth daie of

The dukes behaiour to the king at their méeting.  
The dukes demand.

The king and the duke iournie together towards London.  
K. Richard sumptuous in apparell.

The dukes receiuing into London.

[859]

The king cōmitted to the tower.

A parlement in the kings name.

September, in the which manie heinous points of misgouernance and iniurious dealings in the administration of his kingly office, were laid to the charge of this noble prince king Richard, the which (to the end the commons might be persuaded, that he was an vnprofitable prince to the common-wealth, and worthie to be deposed) were ingrossed vp in 33 solemne articles, heinous to the eares of all men, and to some almost incredible, the verie effect of which articles here insue, according to the copie which I haue séene, and is abridged by maister Hall as followeth.

The articles objected to king Richard, whereby he was counted worthie to be deposed from his principallitie.

1 FIRST, that king Richard wastfullie spent the treasure of the realme, and had giuen the possessions of the crowne to men vnworthie, by reason whereof, new charges more and more were laid on the poore cōmunaltie. And where diuerse lords, as well spirituall as temporall, were appointed by the high court of parlement, to commune and treat of diuerse matters concerning the common-wealth of the realme, which being busie about the same commission, he with other of his affinitie went about to impeach, and by force and menacing compelled the iustices of the realme at Shrewesburie to condescend to his opinion, for the destruction of the said lords, in so much that he began to raise warre against Iohn duke of Lancaster, Richard earle of Arundell, Thomas earle of Warwike, and other lords, contrarie to his honor and promise.

2 Item, that he caused his vnclie the duke of Glocester to be arrested without law and sent him to Calis, and there without iudgement murdered him, and although the earle of Arundell vpon his arreignment pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shamefull manner suddenlie put to death.

3 Item, he assembled certeine Lancashire and Cheshire men, to the intent to make warre on the same lords, and suffered them to rob and pill, without correction or regréue.

4 Item, although the king flateringlie, and with great dissimulation, made proclamation through out the realme, that the lords before named were not attached of anie crime of treason, but onlie for extortions and oppressions doone in this realme; yet he laid to them in the parlement, rebellion and manifest treason.

5 Item, he hath compelled diuers of the said lords seruants and friends, by menaces & extreme pains, to make great fines to their vtter vndoing; and notwithstanding his pardon, yet he made them fine anew.

6 Item, where diuerse were appointed to commune of the state of the realme, and the commonwealth thereof, the same king caused all the rols and records to be kept from them, contrarie to promise made in the parlement, to his open dishonor.

7 Item, he vncharitablie commanded, that no man vpon paine of losse of life, and goods, should once intreat him for the returne of Henrie now duke of Lancaster.

8 Item, where this realme is holden of God, and not of the pope or other prince, the said king Richard, after he had obtained diuerse acts of parlement, for his owne peculiar profit and pleasure, then he obtained bulles and extreame censures from Rome, to compell all men streightlie to kéepe the same, contrarie to the honour and ancient priuileges of this realme.

9 Item, although the duke of Lancaster had doone his deuoire against Thomas duke of Norfolke in prooffe of his quarrell; yet the said king, without reason or ground, banished him the realme for ten yeers, contrarie to all equitie.

10 Item, before the dukes departure, he vnder his broad seale licenced him to make atturnies to prosecute and defend his causes: the said king after his departure, would suffer none atturnie to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleasure.

11 Item, the same king put out diuerse shiriffes lawfullie elected, and put in their roomes diuerse other of his owne, subuerting the law, contrarie to his oth and honor.

12 Item, he borrowed great summes of monie, and bound him vnder his letters patents, for the repaiment of the same, and yet not one penie paid.

13 Item, he taxed men at the will of him and his vnhappie councill, and the same treasure spent in follie, not paieng poore men for their vittels and viands.

14 Item, he said, that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and sometimes in his brest, by reason of which fantastical opinion, he destroyed noble men, and impouerished the poore commons.

15 Item, the parlement setting and enacting diuerse notable statutes, for the profit and aduancement of the common-wealth, he by his priuie fréends and solicitors caused to be enacted, that no act then enacted, should be more preiudiciall to him, than it was to anie of his predecessors: through which prouiso he did often as he listed, and not as the law did meane.

16 Item, for to serue his purpose, he would suffer the shiriffes of the shire to remaine aboue one yeare or two.

17 Item, at the summons of the parlement, when knights and burgesses should be elected, that the election had béene full procéded, he put out diuerse persons elect, and put other in their places, to serue his will and appetite.

18 Item, he had priuie espials in euerie shire, to heare who had of him anie com-

munication; and if he communed of his lasciuious liuing, or outragious dooings, he straightwaies was apprehended, and put to a gréeuous fine.

19 Item, the spiritualtie alledged against him, that he at his going into Ireland, exacted manie notable summes of monie, beside plate and iewels, without law or custome, contrarie to his oth taken at his coronation.

20 Item, where diuerse lords and iustices were sworne to saie the truth of diuerse things to them committed in charge, both for the honor of the relme, and profit of the king, the said king so menaced them with sore threatenings, that no man would or durst saie the right.

21 Item, that without the assent of the nobilitie, he carried the iewels, plate, and treasure, ouer into Ireland, to the great impouerishment of the realme: and all the good records for the common wealth, and against his extortions, he caused priuilie to be imbessled, and conueied awaie.

22 Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded or sent to the sée of Rome, or other regions, his writing was so subtill and darke, that none other prince once beléeued him, nor yet his owne subiects.

23 Item, he most tyrannouslie and vnprincelie said, that the liues and goods of all his subiects were in his hands, and at his disposition.

24 Item, that contrarie to the great charter of England, he caused diuerse lustie men to appeale diuerse old men, vpon matters determinable at the common law in the court Martiall, bicause that there is no triall, but onelie by battell: wherevpon, the said aged persons, fearing the sequele of the matter, submitted themselues to his mercie, whome he fined and ransomed vnreasonable at his will and pleasure.

25 Item, he craftilie deuised certeine priuie othes, contrarie to the law, and caused diuerse of his subiects first to be sworne to obserue the same, and after bound them in bonds for kéeping of the same, to the great vndooing of manie honest men.

26 Item, where the chancellor, according to the law, would in no wise grant a prohibition to a certeine person, the king granted it vnto the same, vnder his priuie seale, with great threatenings, if it should be disobeied.

27 Item, he banished the bishop of Canturburie without cause or iudgement, and kept him in the parlement chamber with men of armes.

28 Item, the bishops goods he granted to his successor, vpon condition, that he should mainteine all his statutes made at Shrewesburie anno 21, and the statutes made anno 22 at Couentrie.

29 Item, vpon the accusation of the said bishop, the king craftilie persuaded him to make no answer for he would be his warrant, and advised him not to come to the parlement, and so without answer he was condemned and exiled, and his goods seized.

These be all the articles of anie effect, which were laid against him, sauing foure other, which touched onelie the archbishops matter, whose working wroong king Richard at length from his crowne. Then for so much as these articles, and other heinous and detestable accusations were laid against him in open parlement, it was thought by the most part, that he was worthie to be deposed from all kinglie honor and princelie gouernement: and to bring the matter without slander the better to passe, diuerse of the kings seruants, which by licence had accesse to his person, comforted him (being with sorrow almost consumed, and in manner halfe dead) in the best wise they could, exhorting him to regard his health, and saue his life.

And first, they aduised him willinglie to suffer himselfe to be deposed, and to resigne his right of his owne accord, so that the duke of Lancaster might without murther or battell obtaine the scepter and diademe, after which (they well perceiued) he gaped: by meane whereof they thought he might be in perfect assurance of his life long to continue. Whether this their persuasion procéded by the suborning of the duke of Lancaster and his fauourers, or of a sincere affection which they bare to the king, as supposing it most sure in an extremitie, it is vncerteine; but yet the effect followed not, howsoeuer their meaning was: notwithstanding, the king being now in the hands of his enimies, and vtterlie despairing of all comfort, was easilie persuaded to renounce his crowne and princelie preheminance, so that in hope of life onelie, he agreed to all things that were of him demanded. And so (as it should seeme by the copie of an instrument hereafter following) he renounced and voluntarilie was deposed from his roiall crowne and kinglie dignitie, the mondaie being the nine and twentieth daie of

The king is persuaded to resigne the crowne to the duke.

Fabian.

September, and feast of S. Michael the archangell in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and in the thrée and twentieth yeare of his reigne. The copie of which instrument here insueth.

A copie of the instrument touching the declaration of the commissioners sent from the states in parlement, vnto king Richard.

THIS present indenture made the nine and twentieth daie of September, and feast of saint Michaell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and the three and twentieth yeare of king Richard the second. Witnesseth, that where by the authoritie of the lords spirituall and temporall of this present parlement, and commons of the same, the right honorable and discreet persons heere vnder named, were by the said authoritie assigned to go to the Tower of London, there to heare and testifie such questions and answers as then and there should be by the said honorable and discreet persons hard. Know all men, to whome these present letters shall come, that we, sir Richard Scroope archbishop of Yorke, Iohn bishop of Hereford, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas lord Berkeleie, William abbat of Westminster, Iohn prior of Canturburie, William Thirning and Hugh Burnell knights, Iohn Markham iustice, Thomas Stow and Iohn Burbadge doctors of the ciuill law, Thomas Erpingham and Thomas Grey knights, Thomas Ferebie and Denis Lopeham notaries publike, the daie and yeere aboue said, betweene the houres of eight and nine of the clocke before noone, were present in the cheefe chamber of the kings lodging, within the said place of the Tower, where was rehearsed vnto the king by the mouth of the foresaid earle of Northumberland, that before time at Conwaie in Northwales, the king being there at his pleasure and libertie, promised vnto the archbishop of Canturburie then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the said earle of Northumberland, that he for insufficiencie which he knew himselfe to be of, to occupie so great a charge, as to gouerne the realme of England, he would gladlie leaue of and renounce his right and title, as well of that as of his title to the crowne of France, and his maiestie roiall, vnto Henrie duke of Hereford, and that to doo in such conuenient wise, as by the learned men of this land it should most sufficientlie be deuised & ordeined. To the which rehearsall, the king in our said presences answered benignlie and said, that such promise he made, and so to do the same he was at that houre in full purpose to performe and fulfill; sauing that he desired first to haue personall speach with the said duke, and with the archbishop of Canturburie his cousins. And further, he desired to haue a bill drawne of the said resignation, that he might be perfect in the rehearsall thereof.

This promise he made at Flint rather than at Conwaie, as by that which goeth before it may be partlie coniectured.

[862]

After which bill drawne, and a copie thereof to him by me the said earle deliuered, we the said lords and other departed: and vpon the same afternoone the king looking for the comming of the duke of Lancaster, at the last the said duke, with the archbishop of Canturburie and the persons afore recited, entered the foresaid chamber, bringing with them the lords Roos, Aburgenie, and Willoughbie, with diuerse other. Where after due obeisance doone by them vnto the king, he familiarlie and with a glad countenance (as to them and vs appeered) talked with the said archbishop and duke a good season; and that communication finished, the king with glad countenance in presence of vs and the other aboue rehearsed, said openlie that he was readie to renounce and resigne all his kinglie maiestie in maner and forme as he before had promised. And although he had and might sufficientlie haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane person; yet for the more suertie of the matter, and for that the said resignation should haue his full force and strength, himselfe therefore read the scroll of resignation, in maner and forme as followeth.

The tenor of the instrument whereby king Richard resigneth the crowne to the duke of Lancaster.

IN the name of God Amen: I Richard by the grace of God, king of England and of France, &c: lord of Ireland, acquit and assoile all archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, secular or religious, of what dignitie, degree, state, or condition so euer they be; and also all dukes, marquesses, earles, barons, lords, and all my liege men, both spirituall and secular, of what manner or degree they be, from their oth of fealtie and homage, and all other deeds and priuileges made vnto me, and from all manner bonds of allegiance, regaltie and lordship, in which they were or be bounden to me, or anie otherwise constreined; and them, their heires, and successors for euermore, from the same bonds and oths I release, deliuer, and acquit, and set them for free, dissolued and acquit, and to be harmeslesse, for as much as longeth to my person by anie manner waie or title of right, that to me might follow of the foresaid things, or anie of them. And also I resigne all my kinglie dignitie, maiestie and crowne, with all the lordships, power, and priuileges to the foresaid kinglie dignitie and crowne belonging, and all other lordships and possessions to me in anie maner of wise perteing, of what name, title, qualitie, or condition soeuer they be, except the lands and possessions for me and mine obits purchased and bought. And I renounce all right, and all maner of title of possession, which I euer had or haue in the same lordships and possessions, or anie of them, with anie manner of rights belonging or apperteing vnto anie part of them. And also the rule and gouernance of the same kingdome and lordships, with all ministrations of the same, and all things and euerie each of them, that to the whole empire and iurisdictions of the same belongeth of right, or in anie wise may belong.

[863]

And also I renounce the name, worship, and regaltie and kinglie highnesse, clearelie, freele, singularle and wholie, in the most best maner and forme that I may, and with deed and word I leaue off and resigne them, and go from them for euermore; sauing alwaies to my successors kings of England, all the rights, priuileges and appurtenances to the said kingdome and lordships abouesaid belonging and apperteing. For well I wote and knowledge, and deeme my selfe to be, and haue beene insufficient and vnable, and also vnprofitable, and for my open deserts not vnworthie to be put downe. And I sweare vpon the holie euangelists here presentlie with my hands touched, that I shall neuer repugne to this resignation, demission or yeelding vp, nor neuer impugne them in anie maner by word or deed, by my selfe nor none other: nor I shall not suffer it to be impugned, in as much as in me is, priuile or apertlie. But I shall haue, hold, and keepe this renouncing, demission, and giuing vp for firme and stable for euermore in all and euerie part thereof, so God me helpe and all saints, and by this holie euangelist, by me bodilie touched and kissed. And for more record of the same, here openlie I subscribe and signe this present resignation with mine owne hand.

Now fourthwith in our presences and others, he subscribed the same, and after deliuered it vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, saieng that if it were in his power, or at his assignement, he would that the duke of Lancaster there present should be his successour, and king after him. And in token heereof, he tooke a ring of gold from his finger being his signet, and put it vpon the said dukes finger, desiring and requiring the archbishop of Yorke, & the bishop of Hereford, to shew and make report vnto the lords of the parlement of his voluntarie resignation, and also of his intent and good mind that he bare towards his cousin the duke of Lancaster, to haue him his successour and their king after him. ¶ All this doone euerie man tooke their leaue and returned to their owne.

Vpon the morrow after being tuesdaie, and the last daie of September, all the lords spirituall and temporall, with the commons of the said parlement, assembled at Westminster, where, in the presence of them, the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Hereford, according to the kings request, shewed vnto them the voluntarie renouncing of the king, with the fauour also which he bare to his cousine of Lancaster to haue him his successour. And moreouer shewed them the schedule or bill of renouncement, signed with king Richards owne hand, which they caused to be read first in Latine, as it was written, and after in English. This doone, the question was first asked of the lords, if they would

K. Richards resignation confirmed by parlement.



admit and allow that renouncement: the which when it was of them granted and confirmed, the like question was asked of the commons, and of them in like manner confirmed. After this, it was then declared, that notwithstanding the foresaid renouncing, so by the lords and commons admitted and confirmed, it were necessarie in auoiding of all suspicions and surmises of euill disposed persons, to haue in writing and registred the manifold crimes and defaults before doone by king Richard, to the end that they might first be openlie declared to the people, and after to remaine of record amongst other of the kings records for euer.

All this was doone accordinglie, for the articles which before yee haue heard, were drawne and ingrossed vp, and there shewed readie to be read; but for other causes more néedfull as then to be preferred, the reading of those articles at that season was deferred. Then forsomuch as the lords of the parlement had well considered the voluntarie resignation (of king Richard, and that it was behouuefull and as they thought) necessarie for the weale of the realme, to proceed vnto the sentence of his deposing, there were appointed by the authoritie of all the estates there in parlement assembled, the bishop of saint Asaph, the abbat of Glastenburie, the earle of Glocester, the lord Berkleie, William Thirning iustice, and Thomas Erpingham, with Thomas Graie, knights, that they should giue and pronounce the open sentence of the deposing of king Richard. Whervpon the said commissioners taking counsell together, by good and deliberate aduise therein had, with one assent agréed, that the bishop of S. Asaph should publish the sentence for them and in their names, as followeth.

## The publication of king Richards deposing.

IN the name of God Amen. We Iohn bishop of S. Asaph, Iohn abbat of Glastenburie, Thomas earle of Glocester, Thomas lord Berkeleie, William Thirning iustice, Thomas Erpingham & Thomas Graie knights, chosen and deputed speciall commissaries by the three states of this present parlement, representing the whole bodie of the realme, for all such matters by the said estates to vs committed: we vnderstanding and considering the manifold crimes, hurts, and harmes doone by Richard king of England, and misgouernance of the same by a long time, to the great decaie of the said land, and vtter ruine of the same shortlie to haue beene, had not the speciall grace of our God therevnto put the sooner remedie: and also furthermore aduerting, that the said king Richard by acknowledging his owne insufficiencie, hath of his owne meere voluntee and free will, renounced and giuen ouer the rule & gouernance of this land, with all rights and honours vnto the same belonging, and vtterlie for his merits hath iudged himselfe not vnwoorthilie to be deposed of all kinglie maiestie and estate roiall. We the premisses well considering by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name, and authoritie to vs (as aboue is said) committed, pronounce, decerne, and declare the same king Richard, before this to haue beene, and to be vnprofitable, vnable, vnsufficient, and vnwoorthie of the rule and gouernance of the foresaid realms and lordships, and of all rights and other the appurtenances to the same belonging. And for the same causes we depriue him of all kinglie dignitie and worship, and of any kinglie worship in himselfe. And we depose him by our sentence definitiue, forbidding expresselie to all archbishops, and bishops, and all other prelates, dukes, marquesses, erles, barons and knights, and all other men of the foresaid kingdome and lordships, subiects, and lieges whatsoever they be, that none of them from this daie forward, to the foresaid Richard as king and lord of the foresaid realmes and lordships, be neither obedient nor attendant.

After which sentence thus openlie declared, the said estates admitted foorthwith the forenamed commissioners for their procurators, to resigne and yeeld vp vnto king Richard, all their homage and fealtie, which in times past they had made and owght vnto him, and also for to declare vnto him (if need were) all things before doone that concerned the purpose and cause of his deposing: the which resignation was respited till the morow following. Immediatlie as the sentence was in this wise passed, and that by reason thereof the realme stood void without head or gouernour for the time, the duke of Lancaster rising from the place where before he sate, and standing where all those in the house might behold him, in reuerend manner made a signe of the crosse on his forehead, and likewise on his brest, and after silence by an officer commanded, said vnto the people there being present, these words following.

The duke of Lancaster laieth challenge or claime to the crowne.

IN the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, & of the Holie-ghost. I Henrie of Lancaster claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood comming from that good lord king Henrie the third, and through the right that God of his grace hath sent me, with the helpe of my kin, and of my freends, to recouer the same, which was in point to be vndoone for default of good gouernance and due iustice.

After these words thus by him vttered, he returned and sate him downe in the place where before he had sitten. Then the lords hauing heard and well perceiued this claime thus made by this noble man, ech of them asked of other what they thought therein. At length, after a little pausing or staie made, the archbishop of Canturburie hauing notice of the minds of the lords, stood vp & asked the commons if they would assent to the lords, which in their minds thought the claime of the duke made, to be rightfull and necessarie for the wealth of the realme and them all: whereto the commons with one voice cried, Yea, yea, yea. After which answer, the said archbishop going to the duke, and knéeling downe before him on his knee, addressed to him all his purpose in few words. The which when he had ended, he rose, & taking the duke by the right hand, led him vnto the kings seate, the archbishop of Yorke assisting him, and with great reuerence set him therein, after that the duke had first vpon his knées made his praier in deuout manner vnto almightie God. When he was thus placed in his throne to the great reioising of the people, the archbishop of Canturburie began a breefe collation, taking for his theme these words, written in the first booke of kings the ninth chapter; Vir dominabitur in populo, &c: handling the same, & the whole tenour of his tale to the praise of the king, whose settled iudgement, grounded wisdom, perfect reason, and ripe discretion was such (said he) as declared him to be no child, neither in yeares, nor in light conditions, but a man able and méete for the gouernement of a realme: so that there was no small cause of comfort ministred to them through the faourable goodnesse of almightie God, which had prouided them of such a gouernor, as like a discrét iudge shall déeme in causes by skilfull doomes, and rule his subiects in vpright equitie, setting apart all wilfull pleasures, and childish inconstancie. This is a summarie of his oration. But because the qualitie of this volume is such, as that it hath set fourth matters at large: I will laie downe the archbishops words, as they are recorded by Fabian in ample manner as followeth.

The demand of the archbishop of Canturburie to the commons.

Thom. Wals.

The duke of Hereford placed in the regall throne.

The archbishop preached.

The archbishop of Canturburie his oration, framed vpon this text, Vir dominabitur in populo, &c: written in the first booke of kings and ninth chapter.

THESE be the words of the high, and most mightie king, speaking to Samuel his prophet, teaching him how he should choose and ordaine a gouernor of his people of Israell, when the said people asked of him a king, to rule them. And not without cause may these woords be said here of our lord the king that is. For, if they be inwardlie conceiued, they shall giue vnto vs matter of consolation and comfort, when it is said that a man shall haue lordship and rule of the people, and not a child. For God threatneth not vs as he sometime threatned the people by Esaie, saiong: Esa. 3. Et dabo pueros principes eorum, & effeminati dominabuntur eis, I shall (saith our Lord) giue children to be their rulers & princes, and weake or fearefull shall haue dominion ouer them. But of his great mercie he hath visited vs, I trust his peculiar people, and sent vs a man to haue the rule of vs, & put by children that before time ruled this land, after childish conditions, as by the woorkes of them it hath rightlie appeared, to the disturbance of all this realme; and for want and lacke of a man. For, as saith the apostle Paule ad Corinthos, 1. capite 14. Cùm essem paruulus, loquebar vt paruulus, &c: quando autem factus sum vir, euacuaui quæ erant paruuli, that is to say, When I was a child, I sauored and spake as a child, but at the time when I came vnto the estate of a man, then I put by all my childish conditions.

*Abr. Fl. out of Fabian, pag. 351.*

[866]

The apostle saith, he sauored and spake as a child, in whome is no stedfastnesse, or constancie. For a child will lightlie promise, and lightlie he will breake his promise, and doo all things that his appetite giueth him vnto, and forgetteth lightlie what he hath doone. By which reason it followeth, that needilie great inconuenience must fall to that people, that a child is ruler and gouernour of: nor it is not possible for that kingdome to stand in felicitie, where such conditions reigne in the head and ruler of the same. But now we ought all to reioise, that all such defaults be expelled, and that a man, and not a child, shall haue lordship ouer vs. To whom it belongeth to haue a sure rane vpon his toong, that he maie be knowne from a child, or a man vsing childish conditions: of whom I trust I maie say, as the wise man saith in his prouerbs, Prouerb. 3. cap. Beatus homo qui inuenit sapientiam, & qui affluit prudentia, that is to say; Blessed be the man that hath sapience or wisdom, and that aboundeth in prudence. For that man that is ruled by sapience, must needs loue & dread our Lord God, and who so loueth & dreadeth him, it must consequentlie follow that he must keepe his commandements. By force whereof he shall minister true iustice vnto his subiects, and doo no wrong nor iniurie to any man.

So that then shall follow the words of the wise man the which be rehearsed, Prouerb. 10. Benedictio Domini super caput iusti, os autem impiorum operit iniquitatem, that is to saie, The blessing of our Lord God shall light vpon the head of our king, being a iust and righteous man, for the toong of him worketh equitie and iustice; but the toong of the wicked & of sinners couereth iniquitie. And who so worketh or ministreth iustice in due order, he not onlie safegardeth himself, but also holdeth people in a suertie of restfulnes, of the which insueth peace and plentie. And therefore it is said of the wise king Salomon, Eccles. 10. Beata terra cuius rex nobilis est, vel cuius principes vescuntur in tempore suo, wich is to be vnderstanded, that blessed & happie is that land, of the which the king or ruler is noble and wise, and the princes be blessed that liue in his time. As who would say, they may take example of him to rule and guide their subiects. For by the discretion of a noble and wise man being in authoritie, manie euils be sequestred and set apart, all dissemblers put to silence. For the wise man considereth and noteth well the great inconueniences which dailie now growe of it, where the child or insipient drinketh the sweet and delicious words vnadusedlie, and perceiueth not intoxication which they be mingled or mixt with, till he be inuironed and wrapped in all danger, as latelie the experience thereof hath beene apparent to all our sights and knowledges, & not without the great danger of all this realme. And all was for lacke of wisdom in the ruler, which deemed & taught as a child, giuing sentence of wilfulnesse and not of reason. So that while a child reigned, selfe-will & lust reigned, and reason with good conscience were outlawed, with iustice, stedfastnesse, and manie other vertues.

But of this perill and danger we be deliuered by the especiall helpe and grace of God, Quia vir dominabitur in populo, that is to saie, He that is not a child but perfect in reason. For he commeth not to execute his owne will, but his will that sent him, that is to wit, Gods will, as a man vnto whome God of his abundant grace hath giuen

[867]

perfect reason and discretion, to discern & deeme as a perfect man. Wherefore not all onlie of this man we shall saie that he shall dwell in wisdom, but as a perfect man and not a child, he shall thinke, and deeme, & haue such a circumspection with him, that he shall diligentlie forelooke and see that Gods will be doone, & not his. And therefore now I trust the words of the wise man, Ecclesiast. 10. shall be verified in our king: *saieng, Iudex sapiens iudicabit populum suum & principatus sensati stabilis erit*; that is (as saith the wiseman) A wise and discreet iudge shall now deeme his people, and the dominion or lordship of a discreet wiseman shall stand stedfast. Wherevpon shall then follow the second verse of the same chapter, *saieng, Secundum iudicem populi, sic & ministri eius*, that is, Like as the head & soveraigne is replenished with all sapience and vertue, in guiding of his people, administring to them law, with due and conuenient iustice, so shall the subiects againward be garnished with awe and louing dread, and beare vnto him next God all honour, truth and allegiance.

So that then it may be concluded with the residue of the foresaid verses; *Qualis rector est ciuitatis, tales & inhabitantes in ea*, which is to saie, Such as the ruler of the citie is, such then be the inhabitants of the same. So that consequentlie it followeth, a good master maketh a good disciple. And likewise an euill king or ruler shall lose his people, & the cities of his kingdome shall be left desolate and vnhabited. Wherefore thus I make an end. In sted of a child wilfullie doing his lust and pleasure without reason, now shall a man be lord and ruler, that is replenished with sapience and reason, and shall gouerne the people by skilfull doome, setting apart all wilfulnesse and pleasure of himselfe. So that the word that I began with may be verified of him, *Ecce quia vir dominabitur in populo*. The which our lord grant, & that he may prosperously reigne vnto the pleasure of God and wealth of his realme, Amen.

After the archbishop had ended, wishing that it might so come to passe, and the people answered, Amen; the king standing on his The words of the elected king. feet, said unto the lords and commons there present: "I thanke you my lords both spirituall and temporall, and all the states of this land, and doo you to wit, that it is not my will that any man thinke, that I by the waie of conquest would disherit any man of his heritage, franchises, or other rights, that him ought to haue of right, nor to put him out of that which he now inioueth, and hath had before time by custome or good law of this realme, except such priuat persons as haue béene against the good purpose, and the common profit of the realme." When he had thus ended, all the shiriffes and other officers were put in their authorities againe, to exercise the same as before, which they could not doo whilst the kings roiall throne was void.

Moreouer, a proclamation was made, that the states should Thom. Wals. assemble againe in parlement on mondaie then next insuing, being The coronation proclaimed. the feast daie of saith Faith, which is the sixt of October; and that The parlemēt. the monday then next following, being the 13 of the same moneth, and the feast day of saint Edward the king and confessor, the coronation should be solemnized, and that all such as had to claime any seruice to be doone by them at the same by any tenure, they should come to the White-hall in the kings palace, before the steward and constable of England, on saturday next before the same day of the parlement, and presenting their petitions that were due & rightfull, they should obtaine that to them appertained. Excuse was also made on the kings behalfe, for calling of a parlement vpon so short a warning, so as the knights and burgesses were not changed, but onelie appointed to assemble againe, as if the other parlement had rather beene continued than dissolved. The cause was alledged to be for easing of the charges that would haue risen, if ech man had béene sent home, and new knights and burgesses called.

These things doone, the king rose from his place, and with a chéerefull and right courteous countenance regarding the people, King Henrie y<sup>e</sup> fourth proclaimed. went to White-hall, where the same day he held a great feast. In the T. Wats. Amintas querula 5. after noone were proclamations made in the accustomed places of the citie, in the name of king Henrie the fourth. On the morrow following, being wednesdaie the first of October, the procurators aboue named repaired to the tower of

London, and thare signified vnto king Richard the admission of king Henrie. And the aforesaid iustice William Thirning, in name of the other, and for all the states of the land, renounced vnto the said Richard late king, all homage and fealtie vnto him before time due, in maner and forme as apperteined. Which renuntiation to the deposed king, was a redoubling of his greefe, in so much as thereby it came to his mind, how in former times he was acknowledged & taken for their liege lord and souereigne, who now (whether in contempt or in malice, God knoweth) to his face forsware him to be their king. So that in his heuines he might verie well haue said with a gréeued plaintife,

Heu quantæ sortes miseris mortalibus instant!  
 Ah chari quoties obliuia nominis opto!  
 O qui me fluctus, quis me telluris hiatus  
 Pertæsum tetricæ vitæ deglutiat ore  
 Chasmatico?

Thus was king Richard deprived of all kinglie honour and princelie dignitie, by reason he was so giuen to follow euill counsell, and vsed such inconuenient waies and meanes, through insolent misgouernance, and youthfull outrage, though otherwise a right noble and woorthie prince. He reigned two and twentie yeares, three moneths and eight daies. He deliuered to king Henrie now that he was thus deposed, all the goods that he had, to the summe of three hundred thousand pounds in coine, besides plate and iewels, as a pledge and satisfaction of the iniuries by him committed and doone, in hope to be in more suertie of life for the deliuerie thereof: but whatsoever was promised, he was deceiued therein. For shortlie after his resignation, he was conueied to the castell of Leeds in Kent, & frō thence to Pomfret, where he departed out of this miserable life (as after you shall heare.) He was séemelie of shape and fauor, & of nature good inough, if the wickednesse & naughtie demeanor of such as were about him had not altered it.

His chance verelie was greatlie infortunate, which fell into such calamitie, that he tooke it for the best waie he could devise to renounce his kingdome, for the which mortall men are accustomed to hazard all they haue to atteine therevnto. But such misfortune (or the like) oftentimes falleth vnto those princes, which when they are aloft, cast no doubt for perils that maie follow. He was prodigall, ambitious, and much giuen to the pleasure of the bodie. He kept the greatest port, and mainteined the most plentiful house that euer any king in England did either before his time or since. For there resorted dailie to his court aboue ten thousand persons that had meat and drinke there allowed them. In his kitchen there were thrée hundred seruitors, and euerie other office was furnished after the like rate. Of ladies, chamberers, and landerers, there were aboue thrée hundred at the least. And in gorgious and costlie apparell they exceeded all measure, not one of them that kept within the bounds of his degré. Yeomen and grooms were clothed in silkes, with cloth of graine and skarlet, ouer sumptuous ye may be sure for their estates. And this vanitie was not onelie vsed in the court in those daies, but also other people abroad in the towns and countries, had their garments cut far otherwise than had beene accustomed before his daies, with imbroderies, rich furies, and goldsmiths worke, and euerie daie there was deuising of new fashions, to the great hinderance and decaie of the common-welth.

Moreouer, such were preferred to bishoprikes, and other ecclesiasticall liuings, as neither could teach nor preach, nor knew any thing of the scripture of God, but onelie to call for their tithes and duties; so that they were most vnworthie the name of bishops, being lewd and most vaine persons disguised in bishops apparell. Furthermore, there reigned abundantlie the filthie sinne of leacherie and fornication, with abominable adulterie, speciallie in the king, but most chéefelie in the prelatie, whereby the whole realme by such their euill example, was so infected, that the wrath of God was dailie prouoked to vengeance for the sins of the prince and his people. How then could it continue prosperously with this king?

*K. Richard deprived.  
Hall.*

*His personage.*

*Harding.*

*The noble house-  
kéeping of king  
Richard.*

*Excesse in apparell.*

*Ignorant prelats.*

against whom for the fowle enormities wherewith his life was defamed, the wrath of God was whetted and tooke so sharpe an edge, that the same did shred him off from the scepter of his kingdome, and gaue him a full cup of affliction to drinke; as he had doone to other kings his predecessors, by whose example he might haue taken warning. For it is an heauie case when God thundereth out his reall arguments either vpon prince or people.

Thus haue ye heard what writers doo report touching the state of the time and doings of this king. But if I may boldlie saie what I thinke: he was a prince the most vnthankfullie vsed of his subiects, of any one of whom ye shall lightlie read. For although (thorough the frailtie of youth) he demeaned himselfe more dissolutelie than séemed conuenient for his roiall estate, & made choise of such councillors as were not faouored of the people, whereby he was the lesse faouored himselfe: yet in no kings daies were the commons in greater wealth, if they could haue perceiued their happie state: neither in any other time were the nobles and gentlemen more cherished, nor churchmen lesse wronged. But such was their ingratitude towards their bountifull and louing souereigne, that those whom he had chéeflie aduanced, were readiest to controll him; for that they might not rule all things at their will, and remooue from him such as they misliked, and place in their roomes whom they thought good, and that rather by strong hand, than by gentle and courteous meanes, which stirred such malice betwixt him and them, till at length it could not be asswaged without perill of destruction to them both.

The duke of Glocester chéefe instrument of this mischéefe, to what end he came ye haue heard. And although his nephue the duke of Hereford tooke vpon him to reuenge his death, yet wanted he moderation and loialtie in his doings, for the which both he himselfe and his lineall race were scourged afterwards, as a due punishment vnto rebellious subiects; so as deserued vengeance seemed not to staie long for his ambitious crueltie, that thought it not inough to driue king Richard to resigne his crowne and regall dignitie ouer vnto him, except he also should take from him his guiltlesse life. What vnnaturalnesse, or rather what tigerlike crueltie was this, not to be content with his principalitie? not to be content with his treasure? not to be content with his depriuation? not to be content with his imprisonment? but being so neerelie knit in consanguinitie, which ought to haue moued them like lambs to haue loued each other, wooluishlie to lie in wait for the distressed creatures life, and rauenuslie to thirst after his bloud, the spilling whereof should haue touched his conscience so, as that death ought rather to haue beene aduentured for his safetie, than so sauagelie to haue sought his life after the losse of his roialtie.

But to let this passe to the consideration of the learned: according to our order, I will shew what writers of our English nation liued in his daies, as we find them in Iohn Bales centuries. First Henrie Bederic, otherwise surnamed of Burie, after the name of the towne where he is thought to haue béene borne, an Augustine frier; Simon Alcocke, Vthred Bolton a moonke of Durham, borne in the borders of Wales beyond Seuerne; William Iordan a blacke frier, Iohn Hilton a frier Minor, Iohn Clijton a Carmelite frier in Notingham, Henrie Daniell a blacke frier and a good physician, Ralfe Marham, Iohn Marcheie a graie frier or cordelier as some call them, Thomas Broome a Carmelite frier of London, Iohn Bridlington borne in Yorkeshire, William Thorne an Augustine frier of Canturburie, an historiographer, Adam Meremouth a canon of saint Paules church in London, that wrote two tretises of historicall matters, the one intituled Chronicon 40 annorum, and the other Chronicon 60 annorum; Simon Bredon borne in Winchcombe a doctor of physicke and a skilfull astronomer, Iohn Thompson borne in Norfolke in a village of that name, and a Carmelite frier in Blacknie.

More, Thomas Winterton borne in Lincolnshire, an Augustine frier in Stamford; William Packington secretarie sometime to the Blacke prince an excellent historiographer, Geffraie Hingham a civilian, Iohn Botlesham borne in Cambridgeshire a blacke frier, William Badbie a Carmelite frier, bishop of Worcester, and confessor to the duke

of Lancaster; William Folleuil a frier Minor borne in Lincolnshire, Iohn Bourgh parson of Collingham in Nottinghamshire a doctor of diuinitie, and chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge; William Slade a moonke of Buckfast abbie in Deuonshire, Iohn Thoresbie archbishop of Yorke and lord chancellor of England, was admitted by pope Urbane the fift into the college of cardinals, but he died before K. Richard came to the crowne, about the eight and fourtith yeare of king Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374. Thomas Ashborne an Augustine frier, Iohn Astone an earnest follower of Wickliffes doctrine, and therefore condemned to perpetuall prison; Casterton a moonke of Norwich and an excellent diuine, Nicholas Radcliffe a moonke of saint Albons, Iohn Ashwarbie a diuine and faouurer of Wickliffes doctrine, Richard Maidstone so called of the towne in Kent where he was borne, a Carmelite frier of Ailesford.

Adde to these Iohn Wardbie an Augustine frier, and a great diuine; *Adunensis episcopus*. Robert Waldbie excellentlie learned as well in diuinitie as other arts, for the which he was first aduanced to a bishoprike in Gascoigne, and after he was admitted archbishop of Dublin; William Berton a doctor of diuinitie, & chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and aduersarie to Wickliffe; Philip Repington abbat of Leicester a notable diuine and defender of Wickliffe, Thomas Lombe a Carmelite frier of Lin, Nicholas Hereford a secular priest, a doctor of diuinitie, and scholer to Wickliffe; Walter Brit also another of Wickliffes scholers wrote both of diuinitie & other arguments, Henrie Herklie chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, an enimie to Wickliffe, and a great sophister; Robert Iuorie a Carmelite frier of London, and the twentith prouinciall of his order here in England; Lankine a Londoner, an Augustine frier, professed in the same citie, a doctor of diuinitie, an aduersarie to Wickliffe.

More, William Gillingham a moonke of saint Sauours in Canturburie; Iohn Chilmarke a fellow of Marton colledge in Oxford, a great philosopher and mathematician; Iohn Sharpe a philosopher, and a diuine, wrote manie treatises, a great aduersarie to Wickliffe; Richard Lauingham borne in Suffolke, and a frier of Gipswich, an excellent logician, but a sore enimie to them that faouered Wickliffes doctrine; Peter Pateshull, of whome ye haue heard before: it is said that he was in the end constreined for doubt of persecution to flie into Boheme; William Woodford a Franciscane frier, a chosen champion against Wickliffe being now dead, procured thereto by the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arudnell; Iohn Bromyard a Dominicke frier, both a notable lawyer & a diuine, a sore enimie also to Wickliuists; Marcill Ingelne an excellent philosopher and a diuine, one of the first teachers in the Vniuersitie of Heidelberge, which Robert duke of Bauier and countée palantine of the Rhene had instituted about that season; Richard Northall sonne to a maior of London (as is said) of that name, he became a Carmelite frier in the same citie; Thomas Edwardson prior of the friers Augustines at Clare in Suffolke, Iohn Summer a Franciscane frier at Bridgewater, an enimie to the Wickliuists; Richard Withée a learned priest & an earnest follower of Wickliffe, Iohn Swafham a Carmelite frier of Lin, a student in Cambridge who became bishop of Bangor, a great aduersarie to the Wickliuists.

Finallie, and to conclude, William Egumond a frier heremit of the sect of the Augustins in Stamford; Iohn Tissington a Franciscane frier, a maintainer of the popes doctrine; William Rimston or Rimington a moonke of Salleie, an enimie also to the Wickliuists; Adam Eston well séene in the toongs, was made a cardinall by pope Gregorie the eleauenth, but by pope Urban the sixt he was committed to prison in Genoa, and at the contemplation of king Richard he was taken out of prison, but not fullie deliuered till the daies of Boniface the ninth, who restored him to his former dignitie; Iohn Beaufu a Carmelite of Northampton, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, and was made prior of his house; Roger Twiford aliàs Goodlucke, an



Stamford; Iohn Moone an Englishman borne, but a student in Paris, who compiled in the French toong the Romant of the Rose, translated into English by Geffrie Chaucer, William Shirborne; Richard Wichingham borne in Norffolke, and diuerse other.

Thus farre Richard of Burdeaux, whose depriuation you haue heard; of his lamentable death hereafter, to wit, pag. 516, 517.

[In the present Edit. Vol III. pages 13 & 14.]

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

#### TRANSCRIBER'S NOTE

Original spelling and grammar are generally retained, with a few exceptions noted below. Original page numbers look like this: [735]. I constructed the cover image, and hereby release it to the wild.

This transcription is based on page images scanned from an edition with publication date 1807. The title page information, together with Part 1 of this Volume II, is located in Project Gutenberg ebook#16738. The page images used herein probably were private, not available on the internet; but Google has made page images from the same edition available—see [Title: Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, Volume 2 Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, Raphael Holinshed; Author: Raphael Holinshed; Publisher: Johnson, 1807; Original from: the Bavarian State Library; Digitized: Nov 25, 2009; ID=4r0\_AAAAcAAJ] at books.google.com. This 1807 edition seems to be closely based on the 1587 edition of the *Chronicles*, printed in blackletter. Page images from the 1587 edition are available from the University of Pennsylvania. Vol. II, part 12 is at <http://sceti.library.upenn.edu> (textID=holinshed\_richII). In a very few instances listed below, corrections have been made, or questions have been answered, by referring to the 1587 edition.

Current ebook software does not lend itself optimally to the original close association of sidenotes with specific lines of text. Therefore sidenotes are now assigned to specific paragraphs rather than to lines. Moreover, the original sidenotes were often printed in a manner which makes it impossible to distinguish one sidenote paragraph from the next. One example of this occurred on page [850](#), with a sidenote printed like this:

*Abr. Fl. out of  
Thom. Wals.  
pag. 395.  
Polydor.*

It turns out, proven by comparison with the 1587 edition, that *Polydor.* is a separate paragraph from the rest. But there are many similar instances, both in this 1807 edition and in the 1587 edition, none of which have been checked.

Page [735](#). In “the denied to paie for hir” *the* was changed to *she*, to agree with the 1587 edition.

Page [739](#). In “cruell proceedings of those rude & bae people”, change *bae* to *base*, to conform with the 1587 edition.

Page [763](#). The extra *the* was removed from “heard the the friers information”.

Page [767](#). From “An other day 72 French ships (as they”, the unmatched left parenthesis mark was removed.

Page [772](#)-773. Two sidenotes appear similar; the first is partially illegible, and is herein made the same as the second. The second is less illegible, and appears to be “*Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie*”.

Page [776](#). The sidenote attached to the last paragraph was partly illegible, and is herein rendered “The king of Armenia sueth for”.

Page [788](#). In “to hurt them, or or cause any hurt”, removed the extra *or*, per the 1587 edition.

Page [790](#). In “to tarie lougher, as one despairing”, changed *lougher* to *longer*, per the 1587 edition.

Page [798](#). In “the state of the meanest peason”, changed *peason* to *person*, to conform with the 1587 edition.

Page [801](#). In “one of the heires to to Iohn Scot”, removed the extra *to*.

Page [803](#). From “which (according (as I haue seene noted) was”, removed the second left parenthesis, to agree with the 1587 edition.

Page [804](#). In “deliuered by the mouth of Walter Langhton”, retained, the *n* should probably be *u*, making the word *Laughton*.

Page [807](#). In “saluo iure alterius cuiuscunq;.”, the text in the 1587 edition shows the “semicolon” as subscript, although it is retained herein as shown unsubscripted in the 1807 edition. Together with the *q*, this might be a ligature for *que*. There are several other instances of words ending in “q;”, none of which have subscripted semicolons in this 1807 edition.

Page [829](#). From “more bold to interlace) about”, removed the unmatched right parenthesis.

Page [834](#). Original “prease on London bridg [\*missing\*] by reason thereof”, changed to “prease on London bridge, that by reason thereof”, per the 1587 edition.

Page [842](#). In “foure thousand nobles yéere e paid out of”, changed *yéere e* to *yéerelie*, per the 1587 edition.

Page [844](#). In “than well.” “No more said the king,”, removed the unmatched left quotation mark from *No*.

Page [845](#). The unmatched right double quotation mark was removed from the phrase ‘it could not be so brought to passe, his honor saued.’

Page [847](#). A matching right double quotation mark was added to the end of the sentence beginning “The proclamation ended, an other herald cried”.

Page [857](#). In “but the earle rode before, at it were”, changed *at* to *as*, per the 1587 edition.

Page [869](#). In “God thundereth out his reall arguements”, changed *arguements* to *arguments*, per the 1587 edition.

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

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

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

START: FULL LICENSE

# THE FULL PROJECT GUTENBERG LICENSE

PLEASE READ THIS BEFORE YOU DISTRIBUTE OR USE THIS WORK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.E.6. You may convert to and distribute this work in any binary, compressed, marked up, nonproprietary or proprietary form, including any word processing or hypertext form. However, if you provide access to or distribute copies of a Project Gutenberg™ work in a format other than “Plain Vanilla ASCII” or other format used in the official version posted on the official Project Gutenberg™ website (www.gutenberg.org), you must, at no additional cost, fee or expense to the user, provide a copy, a means of exporting a copy, or a means of obtaining a copy upon request, of the work in its original “Plain Vanilla ASCII” or other form. Any alternate format must include the full Project Gutenberg™ License as specified in paragraph 1.E.1.

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

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

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

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

1.F.

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

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

1.F.3. LIMITED RIGHT OF REPLACEMENT OR REFUND - If you discover a defect in this electronic work within 90 days of receiving it, you can receive a refund of the money (if any) you paid for it by sending a written explanation to the person you received the work from. If you received the work on a physical medium, you must return the medium with your written explanation. The person or entity that provided you with the defective work may elect to provide a replacement copy in lieu of a refund. If you received the work electronically, the person or entity providing it to you may choose to give you a second opportunity to receive the work electronically in lieu of a refund. If the second copy is also defective, you may demand a refund in writing without further opportunities to fix the problem.

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

1.F.5. Some states do not allow disclaimers of certain implied warranties or the exclusion or limitation of

certain types of damages. If any disclaimer or limitation set forth in this agreement violates the law of the state applicable to this agreement, the agreement shall be interpreted to make the maximum disclaimer or limitation permitted by the applicable state law. The invalidity or unenforceability of any provision of this agreement shall not void the remaining provisions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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